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Miedema, E.

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CHAPTER 10

“Let’s Move, Let’s Not Remain Stagnant”: Nationalism, Masculinism, and School-Based Education in Mozambique

Esther Miedema

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the role of public schools in shaping young people’s gendered understanding of citizenship and their “sense of place” in Mozambique. I seek to illuminate two interrelated features of processes of civil enculturation, which is defined as education for and about citizenship (Baumann 2004). First, I discuss the centrality of public education to nation-building efforts in Mozambique, examining the approach taken by the country’s ruling party Frelimo to creating and consolidating the Mozambican nation during postindependence days and at the time of data collection. I analyze how current school-based education shapes young Mozambicans’ geographical and cultural imagination, that is, how it seeks to provide them particular ways of imagining and making sense of their place in the world and their nation. In doing so, and drawing on feminist scholars such as Iris Marion Young (1990), Joane Nagel (1998), Cynthia Enloe (2000), Isabel Casimiro (2004), and Signe Arnfred (2010), I investigate the masculinist underpinnings of Frelimo’s nation-building project and the core goals of secondary education as reflected in policy and curricular documents, political speeches, and participant accounts.

Second, I argue that investigating perspectives on, and processes of, civil enculturation and nation-building through formal education requires examining underpinning under-

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standings of childhood and youth. Drawing on the work of scholars who have sought to describe and deconstruct “other” non-Western childhoods (e.g., McIlwaine and Datta 2004; Kesby et al. 2006), I engage with the ways in which secondary school-based education in Mozambique is grounded in a particular construction of desirable young Mozambican women and men. In the process, I highlight the ways in which the aims of school-based education build on local articulations of globally circulating discourses (Peters 2001; Robertson 2005) of, for example, “active citizenship” and “entrepreneurship.” To conduct this analysis, I examine the sociohistorical underpinnings of postindependence and more current thinking about the role of education in Mozambique through an examination of key policy and curricular documents of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), political speeches, and policy-makers and educators’ narratives.

Points of Departure: Gender and the Role of Education in the Construction of Space, Place, and Culture

Within the social sciences, including the field of education, there is a growing recognition that notions of space and place are crucial to the analysis of social life, practices, and relationships (Massey 1994; Holloway et al. 2010). Similarly, there has been a growing awareness of the spatial nature of the production, performance, and contestation of (cultural) identities and citizenships, including through school-based education (Paechter 2004; Allen 2013). Within dominant discourse, “space” and “place” are often conceptualized in scalar and territorial terms, whereby space is conceived of as the abstract and global “out-there,” and place as the bounded, local, and intimate “in-here” (Amin 2002, 388). Building on scholars such as Doreen Massey (1994) and Ash Amin (2002), this chapter is premised on a relational interpretation of space and place, that is, one where space and place are understood as co-

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constitutive and “folded together,” which makes it impossible to ontologically separate proximate from distal happenings (Amin 2002; see also Miedema and Millei 2015).

Another central premise underpinning this chapter is that spaces, places, and cultures are made meaningful through embodied practices that are mediated by power, rather than preexisting, coherent entities ([Gupta and Ferguson 1997](#)). Furthermore, as feminist scholars have argued, notions of space and place are given meaning in gendered ways, and space and gender relations need to be understood as mutually constitutive ([Martin 1982](#); [Massey 1994](#)). Understanding how spaces are created through, for instance, school-based education, and who has the power to do so (e.g., policy-makers and educators) thus requires critical examination. Similar to space and place, associations of places, citizens, and cultures are understood as sociopolitical and historical constructions that are shaped by the past, present, and future and, furthermore, are open to (re)negotiation and resistance ([Bryant and Livholts 2007](#)). Therefore, rather than treating associations between places and cultures as pre-given points of departure, they, too, should be understood as objects of research and examination ([Gupta and Ferguson 1997](#)).

Given the chapter’s focus on processes of civil enculturation, that is, the ways in which the state seeks to educate young people for and about citizenship, *and* given Mozambique is a multiparty democracy that has effectively been governed by one party (Frelimo) since independence, I am particularly concerned with the relationship between the state and the citizen. The work of Luke Desforges, Rhys Jones and Mike Woods (2006) is helpful in this regard. As the authors observe, states serve a central role in the configuration of the *scales* at which citizenship is determined and expected to be performed (see also [Dickinson et al. 2008](#)). While the citizen has long been associated with the nation-state, Desforges and colleagues (2006) argue that recent changes in modes of government have (re)forged the rela-

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tionship between citizen and place, with the citizen defined by, and in relation to, her/his (active) role in subnational communities. In the context of Mozambique, within both policy and curricular documents, and participant narratives, the Mozambican citizen is construed at various levels or scales, with a particular emphasis on her/his place and role at the local level and her/his sense of national identity.

Feminist scholars have not only problematized the gendered nature of the category of citizenship, but also highlighted the masculinist underpinnings of national politics and nation-building processes (see, e.g., [Young 1990](#); [Enloe 2000](#); [Casimiro 2004](#); [Lister 2007](#); [Casimiro, Andrade, and Jacobson et al. 2009](#)). Feminist theorists have done much to problematize and redress the pervasiveness of masculine exclusiveness of political and scholarly thinking. According to [Nagel \(1998\)](#), however, feminist scholarship has failed to address one central issue: that the masculinist exclusiveness of sociologists and political scientists may need to be understood as reflective of the masculinist nature of the enterprise of nation-building *in and of itself*. While women do play a role in the “making and unmaking of states,” Nagel points out that “the scripts in which these roles are embedded are written primarily by men, for men, and about men” (1998, 243; see also [Lyons 2004](#)). Women need to be understood as “supporting actors” in these masculinist endeavors, their functions reflecting masculinist conceptions of the feminine and “women’s proper ‘place’” (*ibid.*, 243).

I concur with Nagel that restricting the study of gender in politics to women may miss the main way in which gender structures politics, that is “through men and their interests, [and] their notions of manliness” (Nagel 1998, 243). For this reason, this chapter seeks not so much to examine the absence of women in educational discourse on citizenship and the nation in Mozambique, but instead to make explicit the predominance of men, notions of manhood, and (what are deemed to be) men’s interests. In particular, I seek to highlight how, in

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important ways, nation-building in the context of Mozambique needs to be understood as grounded in what Enloe (2000) has referred to as “masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope” (44).

Methodology

The data discussed in this chapter were gathered in the framework of a qualitative study that was conducted over a period of seven months (2010–2011). In this chapter, I focus on selected MoEC policy and curricular documents. This analysis is complemented by an examination of speeches delivered by leading political figures, and transcripts of semi-structured interviews with MoEC policy-makers and secondary school staff.

Publications were purposively selected using a snowballing technique that generated a range of relevant policy documents, curricular guidelines, secondary school textbooks, and speeches. The documents presented in this chapter constitute key ministerial texts that, in principle, inform all other MoEC policies, strategies, and curricular and programmatic documents. The selected political speeches were those that were held by the former president, prime minister, and minister of education to mark important national and international days and events, such as World AIDS Day, the publication of the State of the Nation Report, and the opening of the academic year. All documents discussed here were developed shortly after former president Armando Guebuza first took office in 2005, and the Ministries of Education and Culture were merged to form the MoEC.

Semi-structured interviews were held with a gender-balanced sample of policy-makers, and school principals and teachers working in three different public secondary schools. It is important to note that public schools in Mozambique are often regarded to provide low-quality education and those who can afford to do so, namely, the political and business elite, send their children to private schools (Müller, 2014). Educators (n = 9) were re-

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cruited on the basis of their involvement in the delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education to grade nine learners. The sampling of policy-makers (n = 8) was geared toward a recruitment of senior officials who were responsible for ensuring HIV- and AIDS-related issues were addressed within the strategies and work plans of their particular directorate/institution.

All interviews lasted between one and two hours and were conducted by the author in Portuguese, the official language of Mozambique. Following consent, interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed ad verbatim, and cross-checked with participants for accuracy.

Translation of documents and interview transcripts was primarily done by the author. In the discussion of the data derived from interviews, the date of the interview is stated, and the title “Sr.” (Mr.) or “Sra.” (Mrs.) is used in combination with a pseudonym to refer to participants. When citing policy-makers, the acronym “MoEC” is stated, and when quoting an educator, a fictive name is used to refer to the school in question. To ensure confidentiality, no reference is made to the department or directorate to which a policy-maker was connected.

The analysis concentrated on identifying statements in documents and participant narratives with regard to (a) the aims of education, (b) the expected qualities of secondary school graduates, and (c) the role of education in the context of Mozambique. The analysis followed a systematic and iterative process, clustering statements according to thematic focus. On the basis of this analysis, a number of key themes were identified relating to the three broad areas stated above.

Nation-Building in Postcolonial Mozambique: Examining Masculinized Humiliation, Memory, and Hope

Struggles to liberate the nation from the colonizer, Akhil Gupta (1997) observes, could only take place and were deemed politically legitimate where the nation was, however fragile, already discursively recognized as a potential geographically bounded entity. Decolonization

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thus departed from, and reaffirmed, the modernist ideological creation of the nation-state. In addition, Gupta (1997) argues, decolonization involved a process of mapping a national past, present, and future vision on to a territorial entity that was often only consolidated during or directly after colonial rule (see also Anderson 2006).

Nationalism and construction of national identities have been the subject of much postcolonial scholarship and critique (e.g., Said 1979; Chatterjee 1986; Spivak 1988; Bhabha 1990; Dirlik 2002; Lazarus 2002; Loomba 2005; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009). Preeminent postcolonial scholars, such as Said and Partha Chatterjee, have convincingly demonstrated the *structural* homology between, and elitist and coercive underpinnings of, anticolonial nationalist and Orientalist (read: Western) discourses (see also Spivak 1988; Bhabha 1990). Meyda Yeğenoğlu's (1998) analysis of the sexualized nature of nationalism in Algeria and Turkey is particularly illuminative in this regard. The author elucidates the ways in which anticolonial discourse in Turkey and Algeria builds on the distinction between East and West, and, crucially, reproduce the epistemological structure of Orientalist male hegemony. Building on scholars such as Chatterjee and Yeğenoğlu, I contend that nationalist movements in the Global South can neither be reduced to reactive phenomena that are characterized only by their resistance to colonialism nor be interpreted as mere duplication of colonial epistemologies. Instead, nationalist movements need to be understood as being *selective* about what they have adopted and rejected from the West.

In the case of Mozambique, its territorial boundaries had been agreed upon by Portugal and other colonial powers in neighboring regions, "uniting" as well as dividing a widely diverse range of ethnic and linguistic groups, most of which transcended the country's borders (Shelley 2013). After more than ten years of armed struggle, independence from Portugal was gained in 1975, and the one-party state of the People's Republic of Mozambique was

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proclaimed. Samora Machel, the political leader of the former guerrilla movement *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Liberation Front of Mozambique, Frelimo) became the country's first president. Frelimo, which declared itself a Marxist-Leninist party in 1977, set out a program of social reform to construct a modern nation and mentality (Sumich and Honwana 2007; Cabaço 2010).

The process of mapping of meaning onto the territory of the new Mozambican nation consisted of creating a shared identity based on a collective memory of external and internal oppression (Meneses 2012; Miedema and Millei 2015). The former was partly defined in relation to colonial institutions, which Frelimo set about dismantling following independence. Fundamental to Frelimo's approach to end the *internal* oppression of people resided in combating a range of issues, including humiliation suffered at the hands of the colonizers, illiteracy, and traditional practices such as *lobolo* ("bride wealth"), polygamy and traditional healing, which were deemed "irrational" (Cabaço 2010; [Arnfred 2011](#)). Traditional beliefs and practices were to be replaced by "modern" norms and values, including the ideal of the nuclear family, monogamy, scientific knowledge, and rationality (*ibid.*).

The notion of a unified—"tribe-less"—people was central to Frelimo's vision for the nation's present and future. Frelimo perceived the ethnolinguistic and cultural diversity of the country as a potential threat and a barrier to progress ([Macagno 2009](#)). One of Frelimo's central aims, therefore, was to instill a national vision of Mozambique as "one people, one nation, one culture . . . from Rovuma to Maputo" (Machel 1977, cited in [Macagno 2009](#), 22). The expression "from Rovuma (the river on the far northern border of Mozambique) to Maputo (located in the very south of the country)" refers to Samora Machel's epic journey just before independence to demarcate the totality of the new state (Stroud 1999). The expression is regularly used in official speeches (see, e.g., Guebuza 2009, 2010, 2014) and is part of the

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national anthem, which young school-going people jointly sing at the start of their school day. Arguably, the metaphorical reiteration of the territorial boundaries of the country may be understood as indicative of an effort to link Mozambicans to Mozambique and promote the national “geographic imagination” (Malkki 1995; Gupta and Ferguson 1997).

Equally crucial to Frelimo’s postindependence vision was that of the *homem novo*: the new—generic—man. The new man, who was modeled on the guerrilla nationalist of the recent past, and defined as a person liberated from the external and internal forms of oppression and exploitation described above, became “the icon of the truly Mozambican citizen” (Cabaço 2010; Meneses 2012, 129). Crucially, the *homem novo* was a man freed of the past. The following interview excerpt highlights the external, colonial shackles that Mozambicans needed to shed after gaining independence. According to school director Sr. Mateo, the new man was one “who ha[d] liberated himself from that colonial conception of the Black man,” for

the colonisers, the Portuguese used to teach us to despise ourselves, right? We felt “inferiorised” (*inferiorizados*), incapable . . . They said we had to become civilised, [saying] the Mozambican man was not civilised and had to learn to *live like a man*, right? A civilised man, a primitive man who emerged from a primitive culture [and turned] into a civilised or modern man (Ghandi school, November 19, 2010, emphasis added).

The excerpt is illustrative of an imperial masculinity whereby Mozambicans were cast as the racial Other: primitive, childlike, and not fully human, but partially redeemable when tamed by “real,” middle-class, European men (see also Meneses 2012; Spronk 2014). Furthermore, as the following quote from a 1977 speech delivered by one of Frelimo’s founding members Sergio Vieira suggests, the sense of inferiority and humiliation Sr. Mateo alludes to

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above needs to be understood in spatiotemporal terms. According to Sergio Vieira, the “colonised man . . . is a person unable to locate himself historically [and] in space [for] he was taught to despise his own personality” (cited in Barnes 1982, 409).

Thus, the masculinized humiliation and memory that Enloe (2000) speaks of need to be understood in relation to two intersecting processes of colonialization: that of Othering, and silencing and forgetting (Spronk 2014). By imposing its own Portuguese memory on Mozambicans, Maria Paula Meneses (2012) asserts: “The Eurocentric memory became the beginning of history for all the colonized—a process that mean[t] the loss of their own history” (123). As Meneses observes, the erasure of memories, combined with the removal of land and power, entailed an obliteration “of the base from which [Mozambicans] could launch themselves into the world” (2012, 123). To an important degree, therefore, the (memory of the) humiliation of, and suffered under, colonial rule needs to be understood in relation to the historical and cultural *dislocation* of native Mozambicans.

Education was critical to what might be understood as the relocation of the formerly colonized man. Samora Machel, for example, defined the school as a “combat center,” declaring it to be necessary to “win the war, create the new society and develop the homeland” (1978/1981, cited in Macagno 2009, 21, 25). The combination of efforts made to (forcibly) reorganize rural space (e.g., by dis- and relocating smallholders into communal villages) and the removal of those considered incompatible with the ideal of the “new man” to remotely located reeducation camps (party dissidents, “unproductive” urbanites, such as alcoholics and sex workers, and “collaborators” of the colonial regime) are indicative of the geographic, exclusionary, and often violent nature of the strategies deployed by Frelimo in the construction of the new nation (Stroud 1999; Lyons 2004; Hamann 2006).

Frelimo's postindependence approach to women is similarly indicative of the exclusionary character of its nation-building program. Peasant women were actively involved in the fight for independence, including as guerilla fighters, and Frelimo is said to have actively supported women who challenged patriarchal hierarchies and sought to enact new female identities (Arnfred 2010). However, the gains made in the creation of more equitable gender relations rapidly dissipated following the end of the war, women reporting a sense of abandonment by the party in the struggle for emancipation (ibid.; Casimiro 2004). The process of constructing postindependence Mozambique and the "new man" was characterized by new forms of silencing and forgetting, from which—the mostly illiterate, non-Portuguese speaking—female guerilla fighters were largely excluded. Following independence, women's "emancipation" was defined in modernist terms, and would result from the integration of women in processes of (large-scale) industrial or agricultural production on equal footing with men. "Traditional" society was portrayed in terms of women's subjugation, the possibility of emancipation located in the future socialist state (ibid.; Casimiro et al. 2009).

With regard to the new man and the idea of tradition, it is important to note that while Frelimo was vehemently opposed to manifestations of "the traditional," this notion was mainly defined in terms of practices and structures such as initiation rites. Furthermore, while the party did pay explicit attention to women's emancipation and this did lead to a degree of female participation in national politics, Frelimo's reform program was not geared to a critical analysis of women's place in the socio-spatial hierarchy (Casimiro 2004; Casimiro et al. 2009). Frelimo's postindependence nation-building project negated the ways in which women in "traditional" society had maintained (and expanded) "spheres of autonomy" (Arnfred 2010, 12), and attempts to defend aspects of the past were deemed "reactionary" and barriers to progress (ibid.).

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As Arnfred (2004) notes, the model of the “socialist family” promoted by the party, for example, was indistinguishable from a puritan Protestant ideal of the family. As noted elsewhere (Miedema and Millei 2015), the family was both women’s primary domain and constituted “the first cell of the party” (Machel 1973, as cited in Newitt 1995, 548). Additionally, while Frelimo was against traditional marriage ceremonies and the practice of *lobolo* (bridewealth), young people who sought to marry without their parents’ consent or ceremony were severely condemned (Arnfred 2004). Referring to these kinds of errant young people, Machel reputedly stated that “they behave like animals, and they [think] that this is Independence” (Machel 1982, cited in Arnfred 2004, 118). Thus, while traditional marriage was considered an “outdated” practice, not marrying was worse, and in these cases Frelimo sided with (the typically more traditional) caregivers. This ambivalence in Frelimo thought led the party to draw a distinction between “positive and negative aspects of tradition” (Arnfred 2004, 118).

A final illustration of Frelimo’s vision for the future of the country may be found in an early party statement on education, which was described as a prerequisite for the creation “of a prosperous and advanced economy” (Frelimo Education and Culture Department 1970, cited in Mabunda 2005, 66). A fairly extensive excerpt is offered not only to illustrate the pervasive use of militaristic terminology, but also to draw attention to the underpinning ideals of an economically productive society and the spatial terms in which the party’s vision was presented. According to Frelimo, education was necessary to

create, develop and consolidate a new society, . . . a unitary Mozambique, internationalist, self-sufficient economically, politically and militarily; . . . to contribute to the destruction of the old mentality . . .; to form a new man . . . aware of the power of his intelligence and the power of his work to transform society and nature; to create

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the Mozambican persona who, without any subservience . . . should know, in contact with the exterior world, to assimilate critically the ideas and experiences of other peoples, transmitting to them also the fruits of our reflection and practice; to create a conscience of responsibility and collective solidarity; . . . of participating in the production, . . . freeing the capacity [to take] initiative; and to create and develop a scientific attitude, open, free of all superstitious influences [and] dogmatic traditions (ibid., 65).

The excerpt sums up a range of important themes introduced in this section, namely, those of a unified Mozambique and the new Mozambican mentality that Frelimo set out to create and the critical importance (re)education was seen to have in this regard. References to “production” and “a scientific attitude” allude to Frelimo’s modernist ambitions to create a society based on scientific insights rather than traditional beliefs and a technologically advanced economy (see also Mabunda 2005). However, as numerous authors have shown, processes of modernization favor male power and masculine interests (e.g., [Jayawardena 1986](#); [Escobar 1995](#); [Nagel 1998](#); [Casimiro et al. 2009](#); [Arnfred 2010](#); [Meneses 2012](#)). Thus, while in theory the “new man” designates a person of unspecified gender, the analysis shows that the notion needs to be understood as inherently masculinist, excluding women and others considered not conforming to the underpinning revolutionary ideals (see also Meneses, 2012).

The mention of the various forms of national self-sufficiency and the Mozambican “persona” who can interact with the world outside “without any subservience,” points to a view of the modern state as a distinct and bounded territory that mapped directly onto a discrete cultural identity, that is, a “people” (see also [Gupta and Ferguson 1997](#)). These statements suggest, furthermore, that a sense of cultural rootedness and self-confidence was

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deemed a prerequisite for the ability to establish equitable relationships with the outside world (see also Meneses 2012).

The attempt to erase all traces of the former colonizer's presence as well as the remnants of "the traditional" suggests, furthermore, that the mapping of the past, and present and future vision, involved the *destruction* of the old man, which involved an "organized forgetting" and "Othering" of that which was considered undesirable (Pitcher 2006, 88). Frelimo's postindependence nation-building efforts, on the other hand, can be understood as driven by what are typically considered to be a masculinist definition of the desirable Mozambican man: as one who had destroyed the oppressive and downgrading vestiges of colonialism and "traditions," and internalized Frelimo's modern production-oriented mentality. Frelimo's *homem novo* may be understood as the embodiment of the "masculinized hope" of postindependence Mozambique.

In conclusion, the process of construing postindependence Mozambique involved imagining a national past, present, and future vision (Gupta 1997; Pitcher 2006). As the analysis shows, "locating" the new Mozambican, furthermore, entailed an emphasis on unity, and processes of forgetting, silencing, and "Othering." Finally, the discussion revealed that despite the centrality of the "new," from a gender and generational perspective, Frelimo's nation-building efforts need to be understood as geared to a masculinist interpretation of "emancipation" as involvement in industrialized production, and a "re-traditionalization" of society, understood in the patriarchal sense of entrenching women and children's place under the guardianship of a male elder (Nagel 1998; Kesby et al. 2006; Miedema and Millei 2015).

“Consolidating Mozambicanness”: School-Based Education, Capable Citizens, and Nation-Building

This section engages with education policy and curricular documents developed in, and pertaining to, the period between 2006 and 2011, and speeches delivered by key political figures in the same period. The analysis highlights how schools continue to serve as a critical site for the construction of the political, cultural, and geographical imagination in the minds of Mozambique’s young citizens. The intention to shape the contours of young people’s imagination of the nation-state and their sense of “Mozambicanness” is apparent in, for instance, the Ministry of Education’s 2006–2010 strategy (MoEC 2006), which is titled *Turning the school into a centre of development, consolidating Mozambicanness*. The title captures two essential and interlinked goals of the strategy: to provide education that contributes to “development” and to enhancing young people’s sense of cultural identity. These two issues will be examined in turn, beginning with the latter.

As discussed, Frelimo promoted the idea of “consolidating Mozambicanness” during the period leading up to, and directly after, independence. The importance attached to achieving this goal is apparent throughout recent MoEC publications and additional government statements. Illustrative of the role accorded to education in furthering young people’s sense of Mozambicanness, for example, is the following excerpt from the section “Strengthening Mozambicanness: [creating] unity in diversity” in the MoEC strategy (MoEC 2006):

The construction, consolidation [and development] of the Mozambican Nation . . . , requires [its] citizens [are instilled] with proper personalities and identities, [who are] committed to the nation . . . Mozambique is a diversified Nation in all its dimensions and from its beginnings [and the] challenges of [achieving] economic and social development of the Mozambican Nation require, above all, a national consciousness that

supersedes the differences between the persons and groups it is composed of. [While] culture makes differences [between ethnic and linguistic groups] apparent, it equally [contributes to enhancing] cohesion. In this regard, . . . cultural values are crucial to the development of solidarity between members of a group. (131)

Noteworthy in the passage above is the use of terms such as “construction” and “consolidation,” and Mozambique being a diversified nation “from its beginnings.” The latter notion in particular suggests a conception of Mozambique as having “come into being,” or, to paraphrase Gupta (1997), as discursively recognized as a geographically bounded entity from a certain point in time onward. Whether these discursive beginnings are conceived of in relation to Mozambique as a Portuguese colony or as an independent nation-state is not clarified, but the excerpt implies an acknowledgment that Mozambique as a nation, and—by extension—Mozambican culture was *made* meaningful, and, furthermore, , as open to resistance and negotiation (Bryant and Livholt, 2007). The recent upsurge in violent conflict between the ruling party Frelimo and Renamo (Frelimo’s main contender since independence), which emanated from unresolved and new geopolitical disputes, and the solution to which has been construed in terms of a redrawing of the boundaries of the country, arguably further highlights the “negotiability” of the territorial boundaries of the country. The development of the nation is understood as requiring transcendence of difference and the consolidation of a sense of “national consciousness” as a means to overcome resistance to Mozambique *as an entity*.

While the MoEC strategy refers to the importance of recognizing and “valuing” diversity, and “local communities, identities and cultural norms” (MoEC 2006, 114), equally strong emphasis is placed on the need to strengthen young people’s “identif[ication] with national values [and] culture” (ibid., 132), and that this is “fundamental to the success and sustainability of all development programmes” in the country (ibid., 114). The document

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acknowledges, in other words, the Mozambican citizen as emplaced within a specific sociolinguistic group at a local level, but that socioeconomic success of the nation “in the global economy” (ibid., 9) depends on an overarching *national* identity (see also MoEC 2007b). The positioning of Mozambican citizens at these different scales, that is, local, national, and (ultimately) global, resonates with the observation of Desforges et al. (2006) that states serve a crucial role in the configuration of the scales at which citizenship are determined and expected to be enacted.

Although the MoEC strategy does not explicitly indicate what the national culture or value system consists of, the following statement provides further clarity: education, the document states (MoEC 2006, 14), should “inculcate in its citizens . . . good behaviour, . . . a civilized mentality, order, cleanliness and hygiene, modesty, love of self, respect for one’s next and society, [and in doing so] contribute to [Mozambicans] sense of pride in being Mozambican.” Furthermore, the document clarifies that “education should be grounded in family values, respect for [Mozambican and] African [culture and] traditions [as well as] “universally recognized values of modernity” (ibid.).

With regard to “the family,” it is important to note that the MoEC strategy indicates that it is especially important to invest in the education of women, “given [their] role as mother educator of new generations” (MoEC 2006, 13). The conception of women as “mother educator” was echoed in participants’ accounts, Sra. Adelaide (Gandhi school, October 26, 10) indicating, for instance, that

in Mozambique we have an expression: to educate a girl is to educate the nation. In other words, girls have a responsibility to educate themselves to ensure the progress of the nation.

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Participants, furthermore, stressed the importance of the family and community in educating or raising the young. The following quote illustrates the value attached to education in the sense of upbringing and the responsibility placed on women to ensure future generations were, to paraphrase Sr. Simião (MoEC, January 4, 2011), “well-oriented”:

Education “of the cradle” [upbringing], from the first moment one enters the world, is critical. Because if . . . you did not have this cradle [base], basic things, orientation for life, going to school or not going to school is like water on top of a duck—it would make no difference, [it] would fall (Sra. Vanã, MoEC, December 3, 2010)

Speaking of the role of elders, Sr. Carlos explained, furthermore:

[Elders] are people with . . . a lot of experience [in terms of] social and cultural life and above all who have been able to stabilize their emotions, right? . . . [Whilst] a young person . . . likes this and likes that . . . he doesn't have a solidified personality (MoEC, December 2, 2010).

The quotes indicate that, similar to postindependence days, young people were expected to listen to and heed their (more traditional) elders, and that without this form of education or “orientation,” young people would not become “rooted” (Sra. Vânia, MoEC, December 3, 10). The excerpts above illustrate a number of additional issues. To begin with, while reference is made to Mozambican and African culture and the “values of modernity” (MoEC 2006, 14), the list of values provided echo those expounded by Machel in a 1982 speech in which he explicitly acknowledged the similarities between Frelimo and Protestant Christian morals (Arnfred 2004). In his speech, Machel is said to have stressed the importance of “individual and collective hygiene and cleanliness, of clean nails and well-combed hair, and of the dignity of the family” (Arnfred 2004, 117). The values the MoEC

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seek to instill in the young Mozambican citizen an equally conservative set of standards, rather than an articulation of “authentic” Mozambican, African, or “modern” values. Civil enculturation taking place in schools, therefore, continues to be geared to the “re-traditionalization” that Nagel (1998) refers to, and nation-building efforts directed at maintaining and (further) entrenching patriarchal values.

The second core theme referred to in the title of MoEC strategy was that of the school as a “center of development.” According to the MoEC strategy, “accelerated economic growth and poverty reduction” constitute “explicit,” national priorities for Mozambique (MoEC 2006, 5; see also MoEC 2007a). Moving from the local to a national scale, the document goes on to clarify that education should be designed to ensure that “all citizens have the opportunity to acquire basic knowledge and necessary capacities to improve their lives, that of [their] communities and the country” (MoEC 2006, 6). The use of international development terminology of “sustainable economic growth” and “human capital” (see, e.g., MoEC 2006, 10, 18) suggests an important discursive shift has been made from the postindependence rhetoric of the school as a “combat center” (Machel 1981, cited in Macagno 2009, 25). The emphasis on the role of education in relation to socioeconomic development in the MoEC documents is, furthermore, in line with the Mozambican government’s most important financial donors, such as the World Bank and United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (see, e.g., [Fox et al. 2012](#)).

The curricular outline for secondary education (MoEC 2007a) provides insight into the kind of citizen deemed necessary to achieve sustainable economic growth. According to this outline, the curriculum reflects the “aspirations of Mozambican society in [that it seeks to develop] responsible, active . . . and entrepreneurial citizens” (MoEC 2007a, 1). The guidelines clarify, furthermore, that the curriculum aims to develop citizens who can “contribut[e]

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to the political, economic and social victories (*conquistas*) [already] attained and to poverty reduction within the family, community and the country” (ibid.). The notion of the “good” citizen is further clarified in the MoEC curricular guidelines for crosscutting issues (MoEC 2007b), which indicate that schools need to tackle the “degradation of patriotic, moral, ethical and civic values, especially among young [Mozambican] people [such as personal and collective responsibility] in order to [be able to bring about] the change in attitude [and] skills needed to . . . solve very complex problems,” such as HIV and AIDS (8).

The responsible citizen invoked in the two sets of curricular guidelines, that is, as an active entrepreneurial and morally responsible contributor to the developmental process of the country resonated with the views expressed by research participants. School director Sr. Mateo (Gandhi school, November 9, 2010), for instance, spoke of education as enabling young people “to walk on their own [two] feet [and] help Mozambique to get out of the situation in which it [finds] itself,” while according to Sr. Reís:

Our education is not about creating intellectuals but . . . to enable people to live in harmony in the locality they find themselves, to help the people to help themselves to live better: produce better, communicate better, carry out work, create [better] conditions in the community. This is the basic purpose of education. Not neglecting the fact that some may reach higher levels but our education is primarily formative, [so that] people have abilities to live in their locality (MoEC October 9, 2010).

The importance of young Mozambicans learning to “stand on their own feet” and, crucially, “to help themselves” and “take initiative” was clarified against the backdrop of Mozambique’s change from a “socialist system . . . [to] a market economy” (Sra. Matilda, December 7, 2010) in which, as Sra. Alinda (Maxaquene school, December 4, 2010) clarified, young people could no longer expect the state to provide jobs, they should learn “not simply to wait,

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[but that] they can also create [their own employment opportunities].” Poignant in this regard were the words of policy-maker Sra. Matilda (MoEC, December 7, 2010), who, during the interview stated, laughingly: “The whole world [has] this thing of the entrepreneur, which I think really stems from an American ideology, don’t you think? That a man takes care of himself. So, let’s move, let’s not remain stagnant.”

A final theme worth addressing here relates to the strong focus in MoEC texts and participants on the role of (secondary) education in providing learners with technical and vocational skills. The need for these skills was conceptualized in two different ways: on one hand, references to the need to prepare young people for a “rapidly changing” global market and an increasingly knowledge-based economy (MoEC 2006, 8) suggest a view that education needs to prepare young people for a world of work that is complex and in a constant state of flux. A closer inspection of the curricular outlines reveals an emphasis on (small-scale) farming skills, suggesting that, to an important extent, learners are prepared for traditional and local markets. Sr. Reís’s earlier statements underscore this view.

Similar to the MoEC documents, therefore, the excerpts from participant interviews resonate with the kind of scaling downward and upward of the definition and (expected) performance of the “active citizen” to the local and national levels that Desforges et al. (2006) speak of. The quotes conjure a very particular image of the “good” secondary school graduate, namely, a person who will be able to live in harmony with, and have a skill set that is directly applicable in, and relevant to, her/his *direct* surroundings. A simultaneous scaling upward of the notion of citizenship is evident in the references to the well-educated citizen contributing to the “development of the country.” Finally, the mention of the “American ideology” and frequent references to the notion of entrepreneurship and “the knowledge economy” in both the MoEC texts and participant narratives indicate a vision of education that was

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grounded in global discourse on education contributing to young people's entrepreneurial skills and ability to partake in the "knowledge economy" (see, e.g., [Peters 2001](#); [Robertson 2005](#)), but that the activity of the Mozambican entrepreneur was primarily envisaged to take place at the local level.

In important ways, participant narratives and MoEC policy documents stress inculcating in learners "a sense of pride in being Mozambican" (MoEC 2006, 14) and "patriotic, moral, ethical and civic values" (MoEC 2007b, 8), emphasizing the importance of doing so in view of the need to ensure a coherent Mozambican identity was maintained in the "global village" that Mozambique is a part of and the perceived "degradation" of values among young Mozambican women and men. The frequent mention of notions such as "taking initiative," "not remaining stagnant," and the centrality of entrepreneurship in the secondary curriculum suggest that the "desirable" young Mozambique man and woman was defined in two central interlinked ways: (a) his/her patriotism and (b) the ability to "take care of him/herself."

The data suggests that, for women, "patriotism" largely entailed that they took on their "proper" role as "mothers of the nation" (Sra. Adelaide, Gandhi school, October 26, 2010). Therefore, the combination of the emphasis on the notion of entrepreneurship and women's perceived role as educators of the young suggests that education was geared to further entrenching women's double workload located in the economic and domestic domain (on this point see also [Çagatay 2003](#); [Robinson 2006](#); Miedema and Millei 2015). In addition, from a gender perspective, while the emphasis on entrepreneurship in the secondary school curriculum may be interpreted as encouraging in that young women were stimulated to enter domains that traditionally were seen to be the preserve of men, the "emancipatory" potential of the notion is undermined by the considerable gender-based discrimination female entre-

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preneurs are faced with in practice. As the International Labour Organization (2011) reports, for example, women face important constraints in accessing necessary capital to start or expand their business, in part due to lower levels of education and (concomitant) lack of understanding of the financial language and related laws required to access formal finance mechanisms. In practice, therefore, female entrepreneurship is smaller in scale and mainly takes place in informal local markets (Manuel 2015).

Conclusions

As Mohamed Hamoud Kassim Al-Mahfedi (2011) observes, state-maintained schools present young citizens with the official version of a national geography through an understanding of, for instance, national borders. In addition, formal education shapes the sociopolitical imagination of young people, by providing the contours of what is deemed to constitute the “good” national citizen. Emplacing young women and men within a bounded territory, and instilling a “geographic common sense of belonging” (8) thus need to be understood as an integral part of the nationalistic process of constructing and “consolidating” the nation.

The analysis presented in this chapter has highlighted a number of key aspects of the process of inculcating this “geographic common sense” in young Mozambicans. To begin with, the chapter has elucidated the different scales at which citizenship in Mozambique is construed and expected to be practiced: rooted in the citizen’s locality, while committed to the nation and its people in their entirety (Desforges et al. 2006). The chapter has, furthermore, highlighted that across the years, creating and maintaining young Mozambicans’ geographical and sociopolitical imagination and, crucially, their sense of cultural pride, have been perceived to be critical to the country’s ability to progress socioeconomically.

As discussed, during the period leading up to, and directly after, independence, “Mozambicanness” was defined in relation to the notion of the new socialist person and

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his/her contribution to “production,” while during the more recent period between 2006 and 2011, the patriotic, “good” Mozambican citizen was defined in terms of the neoliberal entrepreneur, the person capable of taking care of her/himself. Despite this important political and economic transition, the analysis highlighted that, in various ways, the national imagination across these two broad periods has remained strikingly constant (see also Miedema and Millei 2015). First, across these periods, these imaginations drew on, and further entrenched, a fairly consistent presentation of a shared national past, and vision of the present and future, and that in important ways these “maps” were grounded in a sense of humiliation, memory, and hope (Enloe 2000). Second, during both periods, emphasis was placed on “the Mozambican people,” defined as those residing in the territory between the river Rovuma in the very north of the country and Maputo in the very south.

Third, Mozambicans were construed as united in their diversity: the Mozambican *citizen* was defined as “tribe-less,” determined in the first place by her/his belonging to the nation-state rather than to a particular ethnic or linguistic group or locality (Macagno 2009). Indeed, the focus on cultural pride, patriotism, and the importance of a collective solidarity to increase production during the postindependence period and during the more recent period to tackle “concrete social problems” (MoEC 2007b, 8), such as HIV and AIDS, highlight the emphasis placed on, and perceived value of, Mozambique as a discrete, place-based culture. Furthermore, while the more recent MoEC texts are predicated on modernist ideals of nation-state and the liberal autonomous man who is capable of “taking care of himself” without much state intervention, the purpose of education was conceived of in terms of delimiting the individual to the “traditional” setting of the community. The analysis thus elucidates that the good Mozambican citizen was largely construed in place-based terms.

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The analysis also revealed the gendered nature of nation-building politics in Mozambique in the sense that these are largely defined by men, men's interests, and conceptions of what counts as masculine and feminine (Nagel 1998). While, like in many other settings, women in Mozambique were central to the struggle for independence, they were quickly sidelined in postcolonial Mozambique (Casimiro et al. 2009; Arnfred 2010). Similarly, while Frelimo is said to have provided a degree of support to women who sought to forge new gender roles and identities within the home during the fight for independence, thereafter, women's emancipation was located in the public realm of economic production. As noted by Isabel Casimiro, Ximena Andrade, and Ruth Jacobson (2009), a critique of power relations within the *domestic* sphere and discussion of sexual relations was deemed reactionary, an example of "undesirable, western-derived feminism" (110; see also Arnfred 2010). Frelimo's conception of feminism—in the sense of providing a critique of gender and sexual relations and broader agitation for equal rights—as a Western phenomenon resonates with perceptions of feminism in both the Global South *and* North, noted by Jayawardena (1986). Furthermore, Frelimo's interpretation of women's emancipation in largely economic terms needs to be understood as illustrative of Chatterjee's (1986) argument that anticolonial nationalist movements were grounded in the very colonial structures and hierarchies they strove to discard (see also Yeğenoğlu 1998; Spronk 2014).

From a gender perspective, a crucial commonality across both the postindependence and the more recent periods relates to the masculinist conception of the value of education for women. While education was expected to create the modern Mozambican man and woman across both periods, women were expected to retain what Yeğenoğlu refers to as their "essential feminine virtues" (1998, 134), or, as Sra. Adelaide put it, to continue to fulfil their role as "mothers of the nation." As authors such as Chatterjee have argued, women were deemed re-

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sponsible for striking an “appropriate” balance between modernization and “authenticity”:

they were to become educated and modern while keeping the “original” Mozambican culture intact.

Frelimo’s approach with regard to women and their role in Mozambican society is reflective of Yeğenoğlu’s (1998) argument as to women serving as “the discursive instrument” (136) in the drawing of borders between newly independent countries and their former colonizers, and the process of creating new nation-states and identities (see also Chatterjee 1986). The policing of women’s bodies and subjectivities in Mozambique thus needs to be understood as central to establishing and maintaining both the symbolic and territorial boundaries of what was construed as the authentic (precolonial) Mozambican culture and people (ibid.).

In important ways and irrespective of gender, school-based education in Mozambique appears to be geared to shaping young people who will heed what are construed as “positive” authentic *Mozambican* traditions, such as respect for elders and traditional marriage ceremonies (Arnfred 2004). Additionally, as the analysis revealed, young people were only deemed full members of the community once they had been educated into the existing socio-spatial hierarchy. Sr. Reís’s statement that public education in Mozambique was not about “creating intellectuals” but enabling young people to live in harmony in their locality is particularly salient in this regard. Given virtually all but the children of the political and business elite attend state-maintained schools, his remark arguably suggests a conception of education as geared to a “containment” of young lower-class Mozambican women and men, that they were educated, in other words, to stay put.

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