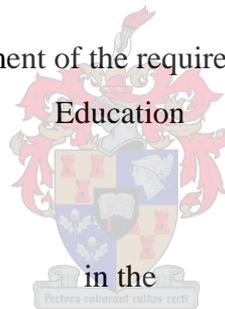


Democratic Citizenship Education: Implications for Teaching and Learning in Post-Colonial Mozambique

by

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This study deals with an analysis of Mozambican education policy documents, linking this analysis to theories of democratic citizenship education. It suggests that, for Mozambican people to become active citizens who are able to face and challenge their social problems, a deliberative democratic citizenship education has to be adopted in their schools. In such deliberation the citizens should participate equally and freely in different debates and activities, without feeling intimidated by those in power. If such deliberative democratic citizenship education does not exist in schools, the citizens may not be able to recognise their rights and find solutions for the problems in society. The ideas of philosophers of deliberative democratic citizenship education, such as Amy Gutmann and David Thompson, Seyla Benhabib and Iris Marion Young, are used to think about democratic citizenship education in Mozambique. This analysis assists in answering the following research question: ‘Can the education policies in schools contribute to promoting democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican society? If not, what should be done?’ Furthermore, interpretive methodology and analytical inquiry are applied as methods to interpret and understand the education policy documents and to undertake a critical analysis of the concept of democratic citizenship education, as well as of education policy documents.

The analysis of Mozambican education policy documents illustrates clearly that the government is concerned about the eradication of illiteracy, by increasing access to education, equality and quality of education, and the preparation of citizens who know their basic rights and can contribute to the development of their communities and democracy. The results demonstrate that the government is achieving some of the goals related to access to education. For instance, the government increased the number of primary schools from 7 013 in 1999 to 11 859 in 2008. However, more still needs to be done with respect to the quality of education.

Furthermore, the study demonstrates that Mozambican education policies lack democratic citizenship education. For instance, the education policies were analysed in three distinct periods, namely post-independence, post-civil war and the period of the Millennium Development Goals. The policies are indicated to be inadequate to cultivate democratic citizens in Mozambican society, particularly because there is a need to boost a deliberative democratic citizenship education in schools. For example, in the first period, citizens did not have an opportunity to deliberate and be autonomous citizens in the educative process. Everything was done by the government. In the second period the government allowed the

participation of other organisations, communities and institutions in the educative process, but there is no specification of how those citizens participated in the process of decision making. In the third period the government became concerned about important aspects and values of democratic citizenship education that should be taught directly in school. In this context the government introduced Civic and Moral Education and themes to be discussed in the classroom, which potentially will enable citizens to be critical.

This situation shows that, in public schools, teachers should educate learners through classroom deliberations. It implies that teachers need to create conditions for the teaching and learning process so that all citizens, independent of their origin, class, sex and race, can participate and work together in deliberation.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie handel oor 'n analise van Mosambiekse onderwysbeleidsdokumente, en verbind hierdie analise aan teorieë van demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys. Dit stel voor dat vir Mosambiekers om aktiewe burgers te word wat die vermoë het om hulle sosiale probleme te konfronteer en uit te daag, 'n beraadslagende demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys in hulle skole nodig is. In sulke beraadslaging moet burgers op 'n gelyke voet en vrylik aan debatte of aktiwiteite deelneem, sonder dat hulle deur die maghebbers geïntimideer word. Indien so 'n beraadslagende demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys nie in die skole bestaan nie, sal burgers moontlik nie hulle regte herken nie en ook nie oplossings vir die samelewing se probleme kan vind nie. Die idees van filosowe van beraadslagende demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys soos Amy Gutmann en David Thompson, Seyla Benhabib en Iris Marion Young is gebruik om demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys in Mosambiek te oorweeg. Hierdie analise dra daartoe by om die volgende navorsingsvraag te beantwoord: 'Kan die onderwysbeleide in skole 'n bydrae maak tot die bevordering van demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys in die Mosambiekse samelewing? Indien nie, wat moet gedoen word?' Verder is verklarende metodologie en analitiese ondersoek as metodes gebruik om die onderwysbeleidsdokumente te interpreteer en te verstaan en om 'n kritiese analise van die konsep van demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys, sowel as van die onderwysbeleidsdokumente, te onderneem.

Die analise van Mosambiekse onderwysbeleidsdokumente toon duidelik dat die regering ernstig is oor die uitwissing van ongeletterdheid, met toenemende toegang tot onderwys, gelyke en kwaliteitopvoeding, en die voorbereiding van burgers wat bewus is van hulle basiese regte en 'n bydrae kan maak tot die ontwikkeling van hulle gemeenskappe en die demokrasie. Die resultate toon dat die regering sommige van sy doelwitte behaal met betrekking tot toegang tot onderwys. Byvoorbeeld, die regering het die aantal laerskole vermeerder van 7 013 in 1999 tot 11 859 in 2008. Meer moet egter nog gedoen word met betrekking tot die kwaliteit van onderwys.

Die studie demonstreer verder dat Mosambiekse onderwysbeleide 'n gebrek aan demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys toon. Die onderwysbeleide is byvoorbeeld in drie afsonderlike tydperke geanaliseer, naamlik ná onafhanklikheid, ná die burgeroorlog en in die tydperk van die Millennium Ontwikkelingsdoelwitte. Die beleide is duidelik onvoldoende om demokratiese burgers in die Mosambiekse samelewing daar te stel, veral omdat daar nog 'n behoefte daaraan is om 'n beraadslagende demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys in skole 'n hupstoot te gee. Byvoorbeeld, in die eerste tydperk is burgers nie die geleentheid gegun om te

beraadslaag en as outonome burgers in die onderwysproses op te tree nie. Alles is deur die regering gedoen. In die tweede tydperk het die regering deelname deur ander organisasies, gemeenskappe en instansies in die onderwysproses toegelaat. Maar daar is geen aanduiding van hoe hierdie burgers in die besluitnemingsproses deelgeneem het nie. In die derde tydperk was die regering besorgd oor belangrike aspekte en waardes van demokratiese burgerskapsonderwys wat direk in die skool onderrig moet word. In hierdie konteks het die regering Burgerleer en Sedeleer en temas wat in die klaskamer bespreek moet word, ingevoer wat burgers potensieel sal help om krities te wees.

Hierdie situasie toon dat onderwysers in staatskole leerders in klaskamerberaadslaging moet opvoed. Dit impliseer dat onderwysers vir die onderrig- en leerproses toestande moet skep waarin alle burgers, ongeag hulle oorsprong, klas, geslag en ras, kan deelneem en saam kan beraadslaag.

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During the journey, particularly while doing my proposal, I often had tears pouring down my face because I did not know what to do. Fortunately I have in my life an angel, my husband Carlos, who always supported me, wiped away my tears, and encouraged me to continue working and never give up. Thanks for that, Love.

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List of Acronyms

Ep1 – First Cycle of Primary Education (*Primeiro Ciclo de Educação Primária*)

Ep2 – Second Cycle of Primary Education (*Segundo Ciclo de Educação Primária*)

FRELIMO – Liberation Front of Mozambique (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*)

INDE – National Institution for Development of Education (*Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação*)

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

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

MINED – Ministry of Education (*Ministério de Educação*)

PARPA – Strategic Plan for the Absolute Reduction of Poverty (*Plano de Acção da Redução da Pobreza Absoluta*)

PCEB – Curricular Plan for Basic Education (*Plano Curricular de Ensino Básico*)

PCESG – Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education (*Plano Curricular do Ensino Secundário Geral, PCESG*)

PEE – Strategic Plan for Education (*Estratégico Plano de Educação*)

PEEC II – Strategic Plan for Education and Culture (*Plano Estratégico de Educação e Cultura*)

PNE – National Education Policy (*Política Nacional de Educação*)

RENAMO – Mozambican National Resistance (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*)

SNE – National System of Education (*Sistema Nacional de Educação*)

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction to the thesis

1.1 Background

Mozambique was a Portuguese colony for almost 500 years until gaining its political independence in 1975. The country is situated in the South-East of Africa and shares borders with Tanzania to the North, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe to the East, and Swaziland and South Africa to the South. It has about 800 000 km² of territorial area. It is divided into eleven administrative regions called provinces, distributed across three main geographic regions. The provinces are Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula in the Northern region, Zambeze, Tete, Manica and Sofala in the Central region, and Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo Province and Maputo City in the Southern region. Mozambique has about 20 million inhabitants (Censo, 2007).

During the colonial period, the Portuguese colonials were not interested in the development of their colonies, particularly Mozambique. Everything they did was for the expansion of their own interests, which left the African people behind. This behaviour was noticeable in the education system, which was characterised by discrimination on the basis of origin, social position and financial condition. Therefore there were specific forms of education for white, assimilated and African (indigenous) people. The assimilated were those natives who could speak and write correctly in Portuguese, were aged 18 years and older, displayed good behaviour, were financially stable and had divested themselves of all tribal customs. Only if these requirements were met could the people (natives) enjoy the benefits of being a citizen, which included, for instance, having an identification document, having the right to vote, their children would have access to public schools, they would be exempt from certain taxes, and they would be allowed to purchase land. The indigenous people, the most disadvantaged group, were those who were black and did not meet the requirements stated above. They had no citizenship and had to carry an identity card or *caderneta indígena* and produce it on demand. They were subject to all the regulations of the *regime do indigenado*, such as forced labour, influx control, movement control, and restrictions on the use of social services (Cross, 1987: 558).

Education for the African people was introduced in 1930, and was known as rudimentary instruction or adaptation instruction (in 1966), and was taught by Catholic missionaries. Rudimentary instruction was for the civilisation and nationalisation of the indigenous people; professional instruction was aimed at technical-professional shaping; normal instruction was directed at training rudimentary teachers for rudimentary schools. The girls received “female education”, such as cooking, sewing and embroidery. The indigenous schools were situated predominately in rural areas, and the education was provided in missionary schools that were controlled and subsidised by the colonial Portuguese, who restricted the activities of non-Catholic missionaries, which discouraged the influx of non-Portuguese Catholic missionaries (Cross, 1987: 561). Missionary schools taught the African people to obey the colonial Portuguese demands, prepared the people to serve colonialism, and to be loyal to and patient with the colonial system. At the primary school level, the government and the Catholic missions established a lower level of education in arts and technical subjects for the African population. Secondary education was generally offered by a few *liceus* (grammar schools) in urban areas and was open to African pupils on the basis of the results of state examinations. An indigenous graduate from the rudimentary primary school would qualify to enter the *liceus* only by completing additional instruction in the primary-elementary school and then passing the entrance examination. This bureaucratic process was heightened by other obstacles, such as the difficulty of mastering a foreign language, restrictive regulations, age limitations, and the lack of space in rural elementary schools (Cross, 1987: 561).

Education for the assimilated population and white children in the primary schools was sophisticated and compulsory from the age of seven to the age of eleven. The curriculum and textbooks were the same as those used in Portugal, with a few modifications to meet local requirements. Students received secondary education in *liceus* or entered commercial and industrial schools for technical and professional education. The education provided by these schools consisted of a preparatory two-year cycle, common to all pupils, followed by vocational training over three years, with separate courses in skills such as commerce, woodwork and mechanics. There also were agricultural training schools that trained farmers through practical courses lasting three or four years (Cross, 1987: 561).

It is possible to see that, in the colonial period, the government did not create conditions for active citizens because education policies were unequal, characterised specifically by discrimination based on race and the unequal distribution of resources and basic services. There was unequal access to education. For the African people, education was not to achieve

a highly intellectual position, but to be exploited by and participate for the development of Portugal. They were the majority of the population and were not allowed to participate in decision-making processes concerning policy development and governance.

In order to change these inequalities, Mozambique fought for liberation and democracy, which was obtained in 1975 after a brutal war. The country's independence created hopes that poverty, inequality and the injustices of past policies, such as a differentiated and weak education for the black people, would soon be eradicated and that everyone would benefit. The idea of democratic citizenship gained momentum after independence. The new government that came to power was comprised mostly of Africans (blacks), who considered it essential to replace the unfair colonial education system with an inclusive democratic education system. For this reason, the democratic government introduced the National System of Education (*Sistema Nacional de Educação*, SNE) by law number 4/83 on 23 March 1983. The main objective of this policy was the eradication of illiteracy, the introduction of universal schooling, and the education of citizens for socioeconomic and scientific investigation and to fulfil the country's technological and cultural development needs (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983: 13). Unfortunately, a civil war between the government forces, *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)*, and the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO)*, which began shortly after independence, frustrated the objectives and ideas of Law 4/83 and postponed the hopes of a life of mutual respect and democracy for the Mozambican society. It is important to note that, after independence, Mozambique had very few skilled or educated people, and its public institutions, farms and factories were abandoned and often sabotaged by the departing Portuguese. Thus, the country became dependent on skilled foreigners, called *cooperantes*, and received lots of support from the socialist bloc; thousands of secondary school pupils, for example, were educated in Cuba (De Renzio & Hanlon, 2007: 6). During this time, the government embarked upon a broad programme of socioeconomic and political transformation, which followed the socialist ideology, and declared itself a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party in 1977 (Manning, 2002: 62). It played the leading role in the economy and was composed of a single party, FRELIMO. However, FRELIMO's ideology was contested by an armed opposition movement (RENAMO), which emerged with extensive support, first from Rhodesia and later from the South African apartheid regime. This movement initiated the sabotage of Mozambican economic infrastructure.

Some of the outcomes of the war included the destruction of basic infrastructure. For instance, by 1992, 58% of the schools that had been in existence in 1983 had been destroyed or closed (Ministério de Educação, 1996: 40), and this fact contributed to the perpetuation of the large proportion of illiterate people in the country. Further, about one million people had died, roughly 1.7 million had migrated to neighbouring countries, and at least three million people had relocated from their places of origin (Hanlon, 1997: 14). Fortunately, the warring forces concluded a peace treaty in 1992, thereby creating a proper environment for improving the education system. In this sense, the National System of Education was adjusted in order to reflect the social and economic conditions of the country from both a pedagogical as well as organisational perspective, by way of Law 6/92 of the National System of Education (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1992: 8). The eradication of illiteracy therefore became one of the priorities of the government.

In 1995, the Mozambican government adopted the National Education Policy (*Política Nacional de Educação*), which established the policy framework for the National Education System. This policy identified the main goals of the government with respect to the education system as a whole, and defined specific policies for every sub-sector within the system. Besides the effort to identify the various educational needs, the government also recognised that the lack of financial and human resources would not allow all of the needs to be addressed at once (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1995: 176). Therefore the National Education Policy identified basic education and adult literacy as the priorities of the government. In this regard, 1997 saw the introduction of the Strategic Plan for Education (*Plano Estratégico de Educação PEE*), which had as its main objective to increase access to basic education, improve the quality of education and enhance institutional, financial and political capabilities in order to secure the sustainability of the system.

In 2003, the Curricular Plan for Basic Education (*Plano Curricular de Ensino Básico, PCBE*) was introduced, reformulating the National System of Education. It constituted the most important document of the curriculum of basic education in Mozambique, and presents the principal ideas that support the curriculum and the perspectives of basic education in the country. Its principal challenges included making the curriculum more relevant in order to shape citizens capable of contributing to the quality of their own lives, the life of their families, as well as the life of their communities and the country. It also aimed to promote the spirit of national unity, to keep the peace and stability of the nation, and to contribute to the development of democracy, respect for human rights, and the preservation of Mozambican

culture (INDE/MINED, 2003: 7). In order to achieve these goals, two new school subjects that implicitly manifested democratic values in education were introduced to direct the implementation of the education policies. These school subjects were Civic Education and Moral Education, and the intention was that they should strengthen existing subjects such as History and Geography. These subjects focused more on the teaching of rights, the relationship between students, school, family and the community, and government structures such as the judiciary, the legislative and executive. Also, the subjects focused on the duties and responsibilities of a good citizen, and different parts and functions of the government (Fenhane, 2004: 7-72).

In 2006, the Strategic Plan for Education and Culture (*Plano Estratégico de Educação e Cultura*, PEEC) was introduced. It was introduced in order to serve the government vision in relation to the development of education and culture in Mozambique for the period 2006 to 2010/11, and identified important actions to be executed in the short and medium term for the realisation of the vision. The Strategic Plan for Education and Culture aimed to offer quality education, with equity, while training citizens with self-esteem and a patriotic spirit who were capable of becoming involved actively in combating poverty and in the promotion of the socioeconomic development of the country. It also aimed to promote, harmonise, coordinate and facilitate the initiatives of various cultural interventions.

Lastly, in 2007, the Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education (*Plano Curricular do Ensino Secundário Geral*, PCESG) was introduced. The plan aimed to guarantee continuity in the transformation of the Curricular Plan for Basic Education and secure a better transition from secondary education to higher education and the labour market. The big challenge of the Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education is to train citizens capable of dealing with change and adapting to an economy based on knowledge and technologies, therefore contributing to the development of socioeconomic and political changes and reducing the poverty of their families, communities and the country. The curricular plan originated in the collaboration of different social and professional organisations, community leaders, academics, teachers, students and educational techniques. It also originated from research and public resolutions in various documents produced by the MEC (Ministry of Education and Culture), educational institutions, higher institutions, and national and international organisations.

This background has shown how the government was concerned with the eradication of illiteracy, the increase of access to and the equality and quality of education, and the preparation of citizens who know their basic rights and can contribute to the development of their communities and democracy. Therefore there was a need for a deliberative model of democratic citizenship education in Mozambique if a commitment to democratic citizenship is to be developed. According to Gutmann and Thompson (2004), in a deliberative model of democratic citizenship education, citizens participate freely and equally to discuss their problems and to achieve their common goods. By engaging deliberatively, citizens can learn from one another, come to recognise misunderstandings and develop new policies that can more successfully sustain the new reality of the country and solve their social problems. Also, when citizens deliberate in their communities, they expand their knowledge (self-understanding and collective understanding) of what will best serve their society. This model potentially can be helpful for Mozambican citizens to recognise their rights and to respect each other, and to enable them to face the problems confronting their society.

1.2 Problem statement and research questions

Democratic citizenship means participating positively in a collective effort to shape society in ways that will preserve the existing rights of citizens, enhance the possibilities for their practical realisation and develop new ways of making them more widely available (Carr, 1991: 380). This kind of deliberative democracy, which promotes free and equal participation, is what Mozambican society needs in order to solve its social problems. In particular, this need arose because one result of colonialism was that the Mozambican population, after independence, was poorly prepared to identify and discuss their own social problems and to be active in the formulation of policies. As already mentioned, access to the various public services, including education, was racially segregated.

The ideal place where Mozambican citizens can learn to be democratic is in school. In this regard, the school system in a democracy aims to prepare children to become free and equal citizens, as schools are the best places to practise and prepare for deliberation (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004: 35). It therefore is very important for schools to teach the knowledge, skills and values needed for democratic deliberation to enable citizens to live with others and solve visible social problems in society. This knowledge (understanding of political systems, the

world, history and economics) and skills (literacy, numeracy and critical thinking) are also what children need in order for them to become effective citizens in the modern world (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004: 36). An effective citizen is one who enjoys the rights to personal security, to freedom of speech, to vote, to access to housing, health care and education, and so forth.

In fact, the Mozambican government made efforts to transform the education policies from those existing at the time of the non-democratic government to policies that include democratic citizenship education. These transformations were necessary, principally because access to education was very unequal before independence. Black people were the disadvantaged group and therefore were offered the worst education possible. Also, after independence, the new government formulated policies to transform these unequal policies and offer equal education, and education in which citizens were taught to take care of each other. Further, the policies were transformed in order to change the social, economic and political situation of the country. The transformation goals were aimed at bringing access, equality, quality and democracy. However, these education policies do not present a type of deliberative model of democratic citizenship education that, according to Gutmann and Thompson (2004), allows citizens to live together and engage actively, freely and equally in solving problems in society. In a deliberative democracy, citizens feel free to participate equally and engage actively in diverse activities, such as deliberating on issues that concern them. Such deliberation is important in order to obtain a variety of information about the issues that concern citizens in their lives. Therefore, I agree that, by educating citizens for a deliberative model of democratic citizenship education in Mozambique, the citizens will mostly likely be enabled to solve social problems, such as discrimination, intolerance, domestic violence (women and child abuse) and early pregnancy, and to protect themselves against certain diseases such as HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmissible diseases (STDs).

For the reasons mentioned above, my research question is: Can the educational policies in schools contribute to cultivating democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican society? If not, what should be done?

In order to examine the aforementioned research question, some secondary research questions will be attended to:

- What is required for teaching and learning in Mozambican schools in order to promote democratic citizens?
- What are the challenges that delay effective democratic citizenship education in Mozambican schools?
- What is meaningful democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican context?

1.2.1 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study was to analyse education policy documents, the curriculum and programmes within Mozambican primary and secondary schools and to understand how they contribute to or subvert the cultivation of democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican society, as well as to recommend the most appropriate ways to implement democratic citizenship education. A further objective was to highlight some of the challenges that delay or impede the effective implementation of democratic citizenship education in Mozambique. Finally, the study aimed to make a contribution to the debate on meaningful democratic citizenship education in Mozambican schools.

1.3 Motivation for the study

The background has shown how the citizens of Mozambique were treated with racial discrimination and unequally by the non-democratic Portuguese government. The Portuguese did not make any effort to educate the population equally, or to create autonomous and free citizens. They instead devised ways of limiting the citizens' capabilities to think and solve the problems in society. As a result, after independence, the citizens of Mozambique were poorly prepared and poorly informed to participate actively in the democratic process. In this regard, Mozambique needs educational policies that will promote deliberative models of democratic citizenship education, which in turn will enable citizens to look forward to solutions for their problems.

The Mozambican government has made efforts to promote democratic citizens who participate in the process of development of Mozambique. But the Mozambican society still

deals with visible social ills such as discrimination (women, disabled people), intolerance, domestic violence, and increasing numbers of people infected with HIV and AIDS. For instance, the government increased access to education, but girls still drop out from school before the end of basic education (7th grade) to take care of their siblings and to do chores in the house (Lemoyne, 2012: 1). Girls also drop out of school to get married to people much older than themselves, or because they fall pregnant. In Mozambique, 15% of pregnant women (aged 15 to 49 years) live with HIV, mostly infected as a result of unprotected sex (Conselho de Ministros, 2010: 1). Therefore, educating citizens for deliberation hopefully will enable them to solve these kinds of problems and feel free to question issues and look for justice. The details provided in the background and all these visible social problems drew my attention and motivated me to analyse whether the Mozambican educational policies are developed sufficiently to cultivate democratic citizenship education in Mozambican society in order to achieve the government's goals and to allow Mozambican citizens to solve their social problems.

Furthermore, this thesis is important because Mozambican citizens hopefully will be able to think differently about their social problems and therefore find credible solutions to these problems. Mozambican citizens should be able to participate equally and freely in different kind of activities, and to provide arguments without feeling any kind of discrimination and disrespect towards others' points of view. Also, in this regard the Mozambican government should take into consideration aspects that were not covered in previous policies, in order to improve and develop such policies. Therefore the introduction of a deliberative model of democratic citizenship education potentially will be helpful for Mozambican citizens to recognise their rights and respect the rights of others, and to enable citizens facing problems in society to solve them through deliberations.

1.4 Research design and methodology

To progress in this investigation I use philosophy of education as a research design. I use the concept research design to refer to the way the research will be conducted. I use the research design of philosophy of education to think about and gain a better understanding of educational research. According to Burbules and Abowitz (2008: 273), implementing a philosophy of education is to reflect critically on the policies that implicitly define and direct

what we do – to ask how they affect social problems, the styles of reasoning adopted, and discourse practice. For these authors, philosophy of education illuminates significant educational dimensions underlying major philosophical problems. Put differently, philosophy of education is an approach and activity that helps to address and eliminate social problems. It seeks to provide an analysis, searching for meaning and criticising education policy programmes that are supposed to cultivate citizenship identities, skills and values in Mozambique. To help me to do this I read and analysed the views of philosophers of education on democratic citizenship education. I explored the seminal ideas of theorists of democratic citizenship education from Western countries, such as Amy Gutmann and David Thompson (2004), Seyla Benhabib (1996) and Iris Marion Young (1996, 2000). Furthermore, I explored the views of two African theorists of democratic citizenship education, N'Dri Assié-Lumumba and Kwame Antony Appiah, in order to balance the ideas of the Western theorists. This is important because Mozambique is an African country, and problems that African countries face are unique and numerous, different from those in Western countries. Therefore it is important to have African perspectives of democratic citizenship education.

Together with philosophy of education, this study makes use of interpretive theory as a methodology and analytical inquiry as a method. I considered the education policy documents and curriculum materials to be the most important sources of democratic citizenship education programmes in Mozambique. I first used the interpretive methodology, because the study involves an understanding and interpretation of the meaning of these documents and how they describe democratic citizenship education within the context of the Mozambican education process. In other words, I looked for the meaning in, and interpreted and understood these educational policies with respect to the way they work, as well as the way they are linked to the cultivation of democratic citizenship education in Mozambique.

Because I used theoretical concepts of democratic citizenship education, at the level of method I used document analysis as a technique to construct evidence about democratic citizenship education in Mozambique. In this regard I analysed Mozambican education policy documents, curriculum materials and programmes as my main sources to understand how they are used to cultivate active democratic citizens. Analytical inquiry is usually considered a reflective and critical educational tool, which can produce coherent and justifiable arguments that are useful in education policies (McLaughlin, 2000: 443). By using analytical inquiry in this study, the concept was broken down into its constituent parts, which contributed to an understanding of the theories of democratic citizenship education by

showing what they involve. Therefore, the theories were employed in the analysis of the education policy documents and curriculum materials from Mozambique, since the latter were the main sources of information on democratic citizenship education. The analysis of the concept of democratic citizenship education also served for clarification (Burbules & Warnick, 2003: 24).

1.5. Structure of the thesis

This chapter provided the introduction to the thesis, concretely showing the background to the Mozambican education system, the problem statement, research methodology, as well as the structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides the research design. I explore and explain the meaning of and what philosophy of education does. I also explore the interpretive methodology and the analytical method.

Chapter 3 aims to analyse the Mozambican education system and shows its transformation over the past 35 years, in particular what the government has been doing in order to achieve democratic citizenship. In this regard, seven Mozambican education policy documents are introduced, namely the National System of Education in 1983, the National System of Education in 1992, National Education Policy, the Strategic Plan for Education in 1997, the Curricular Plan for Basic Education, the Strategic Plan for Education and Culture, and the Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education. Before the analysis of the education policy documents I explore the meaning of education policy.

Chapter 4 explores different theoretical perspectives of democratic citizenship education. This is necessary in order to understand the different concepts relating to democratic citizenship education, and to address the issue of democratic citizenship education within the Mozambican context. The chapter also explores the theories of two African democratic citizenship educationists. This discussion is important to balance the Western theories of democratic citizenship education, since Mozambique is an African country and problems that African countries face are unique.

Chapter 5 provides the connection between the theories of democratic citizenship education and the Mozambican education policies. Essentially, this analysis verifies whether the Mozambican education policy documents, curriculum programmes and materials achieve the

requirements of theories of democratic citizenship education sufficiently, and whether the education policies help citizens to solve their problems. Therefore this helps in answering the main question of the thesis, namely: Can the educational policies in schools contribute to cultivating democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican society? And, If not, what should be done? Lastly, Chapter 6 contains my findings, conclusions and recommendations for future research in education.

1.6 Summary

This chapter provides an introduction to the educational research. It provides an overview of the background of the Mozambican educational system and what the government has been doing to cultivate democratic citizenship education in Mozambican society. The thesis suggests that, for Mozambican citizens to be active, there is a need for a deliberative democratic citizenship education in schools. A deliberative democratic citizenship education potentially will enable citizens to address their social problems and actively participate in any activity to help their families and community.

Lastly, the chapter presents the structure of the thesis. Here the purpose of each chapter is presented.

In the next section I shall discuss the research methodology and the methods applied in this study.

Chapter 2

2. Philosophy of education, research methodology and methods

2.1. Introduction

I often hear people saying, ‘this is the philosophy of my life’, in the sense that people would like to express the way they behave in different environments, and the way they conduct their own lives. I also hear that philosophy is directly concerned with real-life issues. But the questions I ask are the following: Is this philosophy? What does it mean to be a philosopher? Today we have the task to make sense of our world, make sense of our concepts and make sure that they are clear and understandable. This is vital because they are going to serve as instruments in solving problems and will shape our own lives in society. In doing this, doing philosophy is about helping us make sense of things. Hogan and Smith (2003: 167) point out that what is being investigated when education is submitted to reflection is nothing other than human experience itself. In such reflection, the investigator is already a part of what is being investigated. For these authors, philosophy of education is a systematic and well-organised discipline that helps to solve different social problems. In doing so, philosophy of education does not divorce itself completely from other branches of philosophy, but rather borrows from these philosophies, such as epistemology, metaphysics, ethics morality, and so on.

My research design, as I said in Chapter 1, is philosophy of education. The aim of this chapter is to understand the concept of philosophy of education. In order to understand this, it is necessary to first understand the meaning of philosophy and of education. In this study I shall discuss meanings of philosophy of education, as well as explore and analyse the notions of research methodology and method. I shall use an analysis of concepts as a research method, and interpretative theory as research methodology in constructing and discovering information. I shall use an analysis of concepts and interpretative theory in order to clarify and understand meanings of democratic citizenship education to be able to judge the Mozambican education policy documents, which are responsible for promoting active democratic citizens who are capable of solving their own problems.

2.2 General overview of the concept of philosophy and education

The term philosophy literally means “love of wisdom” (Scholfield, 1972: 3), or simply the love of knowledge. It is derived from two Greek words, *phileo* (love) and *sophia* (wisdom) (Scholfield, 1972: 1; Hamm, 1989: 4). This tells us something about the nature of philosophy, but not much because many disciplines’ search for wisdom.

People constantly pose questions that cannot be answered through mere observations. For instance, there have been various pursuits aimed at uncovering the mystery of the universe, birth and death. The ultimate truth is yet to be found. These types of eternal questions searching for the truth constitute the origin of philosophy, because the latter is linked to probing or wanting to know more about something or an event (Scholfield, 1972: 5).

Scholfield (1972: 3) describes philosophy as the process of asking questions. For him, when a philosopher asks certain types of questions he or she wants to know the answers to certain problems. Asking questions allows people to clarify their ideas, and to make sense of their arguments and ideas. This differs from ‘science’, which looks for facts based on observations and results. Philosophy attempts to think about the universe and is a comprehensive system of ideas about human nature and the nature of the reality we live in. It is a guide for living because the issues it addresses are basic and pervasive, determining the course we take in life and how we treat people. Put differently, philosophy is a search for an understanding of the values and reality by mainly speculative rather than observational means. It signifies a natural and necessary urge in human beings to know themselves and the world in which they live and move and have their being. Hirst and Peters (1998: 28) also define philosophy as an activity that is distinguished by its concern with certain types of second-order questions (questions that require reflective actions), and with questions of a reflective kind that arise when activities like science, painting pictures, worshipping and making moral judgements are attended to. For them, philosophy of education is concerned with questions about the analysis of concepts and questions about the grounds of knowledge, beliefs, actions and activities (Hirst & Peters, 1998: 28). In asking questions, the individual is willing to have a greater understanding about what he/she already knows or is familiar with. Philosophy is less about generating knowledge of new matters than providing greater understanding of what we are already familiar with (Barrow & Woods, 2006: ix). According to Barrow and Woods (2006: xii), the task of the philosopher is to arrive at a set of clear, coherent and specific concepts.

As philosophers (of education) we need to clarify our concepts in order to assess them. For instance, we need to be able to explain and make sure that concepts are understandable. The concept of philosophy, or philosophy of education, ought to be understood as an activity that enables us to examine or expound on concepts profoundly.

Now what constitutes education? According to Winch and Gingell (2008: 63) the word 'education' may be derived from one of two Latin words, or perhaps both. These are *educere*, which means 'to lead out' or 'to train', and *educare* which means 'to train' or 'to nourish'. Education, like philosophy, is a way of human life. Education refers to the human activity of preparation for life (Winch & Gingell, 2004: 6). It primarily concerns children and young people, but since one can be prepared for different phases of life, it also concerns adults who wish to re-orient the direction of their lives. John Dewey (1916), in his book *Democracy and Education*, argues that education, in its broadest sense, is the means of the "social continuity of life". He points out that the knowledge of a person as an individual disappears and what stays is the knowledge of a group. He argued that the primary ineluctable facts of the birth and death of each one of the constituent members in a social group determine the necessity of education (Dewey, 1996: 3). Put differently, education equips individuals with skills and knowledge that allow them to pursue their goals and to participate in the life of the community or society.

In the next section I shall discuss what philosophy of education as a whole is about.

2.3 Philosophy of education

As I said before, philosophy aims to solve different problems that are not necessarily solved by other disciplines such as sociology, psychology and so on. Philosophy of education is a process of solving educational problems from philosophical perspectives in order to arrive at conclusions and results. As Hamm (1989: 1) mentions, philosophy of education is simply philosophy about education. Reflecting on specific problems concerning education, a philosopher applies one of different fields of philosophy, such as philosophy of science, history, mathematics or religion, together with ethics, aesthetics and social philosophy (Hirst & Peters, 1998: 37). Philosophy of education therefore draws on established branches of philosophy and brings together those segments that are relevant to the solution of educational

problems. For instance, on the one hand, if a philosopher of education is interested in problems of teaching and learning from a theoretical point of view, because he or she is simply puzzled about why some children learn and others do not, he/she will be drawn to philosophical psychology, which deals with theories of human development, types of learning and their relationship with teaching, and theories of motivation and concept formation. On the other hand, a philosopher may have a practical interest concerning questions about what ought to be done in education. In this case (s)he will have also to study ethics and social philosophy in order to arrive at clearer answers to questions about what should be put in the curriculum, teaching methods, and how children should be treated. Practical interest may be of importance to my work, since I deal with education policies that include practical questions of what should be done in the Mozambican education system in order to promote democratic citizens who are able to solve their problems.

Assuming that a philosopher of education has both a theoretical and a practical interest in education, it can easily be shown in more formal ways what branches of philosophy will be of central interest to him or her. Educating people suggests developing in them states of mind that are valuable and that involve some degree of knowledge and understanding. A philosopher of education therefore will have to go into ethics in order to deal with the valuations, and into theory of knowledge in order to get a clearer picture of the distinction between concepts such as 'knowledge', 'belief' and 'understanding' (Hirst & Peters, 1998: 38). In sum, the hope is that the philosophical study set out on here will do something to deepen an understanding of how we are placed as educators and make more explicit the dimensions in which decisions have to be made in relation to democratic citizenship education in Mozambique (Hirst & Peters, 1998: 38).

2.4. Research methodology and method

Research is a way of finding out and developing new ideas. According to Mouton and Marais (1988: 156), research is a specific way of conducting an investigation – a collaborative activity by means of which a given phenomenon in reality is studied in a particular manner, with a view to establishing an understanding of that phenomenon. It involves both critical and creative activity (Swann & Pratt, 2003: 3). For Mouton and Marais, research also implies some kind of systematic investigation, with outcomes that are presented in a publicly

accessible form, for discussion and use by others. For Hopkins and Antes (1990: 21), research is structured inquiry that utilises acceptable scientific methodology to solve problems and create new, generally applicable knowledge. McMillan and Schumacher (2001: 9) define research as a systematic process of collecting and logically analysing information for some purpose. This definition is general, because many methods are available to investigate a problem or a question. I shall use analysis of concepts as method and interpretative theory as methodology to collect and analyse information, because finding out the meanings that constitute an education system in relation to democratic citizenship education is central to my research.

The terms ‘method’ and ‘methodology’ are often used to refer to methodological issues. It is through this discrepancy that method and methodology become almost homogenous, thus losing their significance and value for research as separate entities (King, 1994). However, these concepts are not necessarily the same. Harding (1987), in her book entitled *Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues*, contends that a distinction between method and methodology is necessary. On the one hand, for her, method refers to techniques for gathering empirical evidence (the way of proceeding when conducting research). Put differently, method is a technique for gathering evidence, and the instruments by which data are collected: interviews, questionnaires, observation, tests and document analyses. Harding identifies three categories of methods of gathering evidence, namely observation, listening to (interrogating) informants, and examining historical traces and records. For Harvey (1990: 1), method refers to the way empirical data are collected and ranges from asking questions, through reading documents to the observation of both controlled and uncontrolled situations. While some methods lend themselves more readily to certain epistemological perspectives, no method of data collection is inherently positivist, phenomenological or critical. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2001: 9), research methods are the ways of collecting and analysing data. Methods, more simply, help the researcher to find out what he or she wants to know (Bowles, as cited in King, 1994).

The concept of methodology is broader and is a philosophical framework that guides the research activity, or could be viewed as a theory behind the method, and looms much larger than method (King, 1994: 21). Therefore, methodology is the theory of ideas, opinions on knowledge (epistemology) and an interpretative framework guiding a particular research project (Harding, 1987: 2). Put differently, methodology is the framework that guides the research activity. It involves a consideration of research design, data (production), data

analysis, and, examining the social, ethical and political concerns of the social researcher. McMillan and Schumacher (2001: 10) define research methodology as a design through which the researcher selects data collection and analysis procedures to investigate a specific research problem. According to Harvey (1990: 1), methodology is the interface between methodic practice, substantive theory and epistemological underpinnings. Epistemology is used here to refer to the presuppositions about the nature of knowledge and science that inform practical enquiry. For Waghid (2002: 42), research methodology has become the practice of educational research, because an understanding of research methodology involves thinking about and producing knowledge and knowledge constructs.

In this study I shall use an analysis of concepts as the research method and interpretive theory as the research methodology to explore the notion of democratic citizenship education and analyse some of the education policy documents from Mozambique related to this study. The purpose in doing this is to have a clear understanding of the concept of democratic citizenship education, and to be able to analyse the Mozambican education policy documents.

2.4.1 Analysing a concept

Burbules and Warnick (2003) discuss ten methods of doing research in the field of philosophy of education. These are analysing concepts, deconstructive critique, exploring the hidden assumptions, reviewing an argument, questioning, proposing, speculating, using the thought experiment, exegetical work, and synthesising. In this work I choose conceptual analysis (analysis of concepts) as method, because this method is the most appropriate for this study and I am interested in analysing the concept of democratic citizenship education, as well as the Mozambican education policy documents and materials, to see how and whether they guide democratic citizenship education in Mozambique.

Analytical studies provide knowledge and understanding of past educational historical and policy events. According to Hirst and White (in McLaughlin, 2000: 45), “analysis has been described as the elucidation of the meaning of any concept, idea or unit of thought that we employ in seeking to understand ourselves and our world, by reducing it, breaking it down, into more basic concepts that constitute it and thereby showing its relationship to a network of other concepts or discovering what the concepts denote”. Analysis in this sense is

concerned not merely with the meaning of beliefs, but also with their justification and truth (McLaughlin, 2000: 45). In other words, by using analysis in this study, the concept of democratic citizenship education is analysed, which hopefully will contribute to an understanding of the theories of democratic citizenship education and its relationship or otherwise with Mozambican education policies for the cultivation of democratic citizens.

Moreover, a conceptual analysis is a study that clarifies the meaning of a concept by describing the essential or genetic meaning, the different meanings, and the appropriate usage of a concept (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 506). By presenting an analysis of the concept, the study helps us understand the way people think about education. The focus is on the meaning of a concept, and not so much on the researcher's values or on factual information. Clearly, we can see that conceptual analysis is concerned with an analysis of concepts, and is an analytical and theoretical tool used in philosophy of education in terms of which concepts are understood in relation to other concepts.

Hirst and Peters (1998: 30) argue that, in conceptual analysis, we usually settle for making explicit defining characteristics in the weak sense. For them, in attempting to make explicit the rules behind our usage of words, and therefore becoming clearer about our concepts, it is important to distinguish the necessary conditions from other sorts of conditions that may be presented. Put differently, conceptual analysis seems to consist of looking for necessary conditions for the use of a word, and hence is concerned with definition in a loose sense. Hirst and Peters (1998: 33) claim that if, therefore, we are trying to analyse a concept, it is important to realise that this cannot be done adequately by just examining the use of words in any self-containing way. We have to study carefully their relation to other words and their use in different types of sentences. An understanding of their use in sentences does not come just through the study of grammar; it is also necessary to understand the different sorts of purposes that lie behind the use of sentences. And this requires reflection on the different purposes, both linguistic and non-linguistic, that human beings share in their social life (Hirst & Peters, 1998: 33).

In addition, the point of conceptual analysis is to get clarity about the types of distinction that words have been developed to designate. The point is to see through the words, to get a better grasp of the similarities and differences that are possible to pick out. These are important in the context of other questions that I cannot answer without such preliminary analysis. Furthermore, conceptual analysis help us to pinpoint more precisely what is implicit in our

moral consciousness (Hirst & Peters, 1998: 34). It enables us to stand back a bit and reflect on the status of the demand to which the word bears witness. It also frees us to ask a fundamental question in ethics, which is that of whether this demand is justified.

2.4.2 Interpretive theory

Interpretive theory in philosophy of education is a theoretical framework that guides the research effort of philosophers of education. It determines the problems that are to be analysed, as well as the adequacy of proposed solutions to these problems. Interpretive theory is also concerned with understanding what is going on in the author's mind within the context in which the author lives. According to Waghid (2002: 46-47), interpretive theory insists on two central issues, namely self-understanding of the individual as the basis for all social interpretation, and that human consciousness remains transparent. This means that human explanation and interpretations, as they appear, do not conceal any deeper understanding of events. Therefore interpretive theory is about analysis that involves more than observation. This means that the action should not be only observed, but also has to be explained. For Fay (cited in Waghid, 2002: 47), the crucial point of analysis is to reach the self-understanding of the person acting in the situation, analysing and understanding his or her reasons for actions.

Moreover, interpretive methodology is often described as qualitative research. According to Afzal, Azeem and Bashir (2008: 38), qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as real-world settings in which the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomena of interest, but only reveal the truth. The approach therefore has a direct concern with experience as it is lived, felt and undergone, thus aiming at understanding experience as closely as possible to how its participants feel it or live it. In addition, according to Sherman and Webb (1990: 4), qualitative research is an effort to comprehend not only the modes of cultural arrangements, but the ways in which those arrangements are experienced by individuals in order to provide intelligibility and to involve one personally and intersubjectively in conscious pursuits of meaning. That is, through the qualitative approach, researchers get to know people personally and experience what they experience in their daily struggle in society or any other institution. Within this paradigm, researchers collect data, and interpret the data to construct some meaning and understanding from it. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2001: 395),

qualitative research describes and analyses people's individual and collective social actions, beliefs, thoughts and perceptions.

In this study, education policy documents and materials are the main sources to investigate the nature of democratic citizenship education programmes in Mozambique. These policies need to be understood, given meaning and interpreted within the context of the country. Therefore interpretive theory seems to be most appropriate for this study, since it will help me to uncover meaning in education policy documents and their function in promoting democratic citizens who are capable of solving the problems in society. According to Higgs (1995: 11), interpretation comes from the word hermeneutic. The term 'hermeneutics' stems from the Greek verb *hermeneúein*, which has three meanings: to make something explicit (to express), to unfold something (to explain) and to translate (to interpret) (Danner, 1995: 223). The term hermeneutics is associated with the understanding of historical and literary texts. I contend that it is important to understand the history of the education system of the country, as bringing together the past and the present. These two temporal dimensions need to encounter themselves in order to understand the education system, as well as how the education policies are formulated. According to Higgs (1995: 12), when we understand history we do not merely reconstruct this history, because that would be similar to regarding it as dead. Instead, to understand history fully we have to integrate the dynamics of the past and the present. To understand is not to duplicate something which is dead. It is to bring together two worlds in an act of dynamic encounter. Hermeneutics is often limited to the interpretation of texts. However, hermeneutics cannot be reduced to the interpretation of texts without misrepresenting its real and full content; interpretation of texts is a special, and important, case of hermeneutics. Hermeneutic understanding happens every time a person encounters another human being or human artefact (Danner, 1995: 223). For instance, educators deal with (mostly young) people, who talk, gesticulate, deal with other persons, produce things, paint, write, and solve tasks in mathematics and so on. All this – and not only the theory of education or the writings of famous educators – must be understood.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter I firstly started by providing a general overview of philosophy and education. These explanations were important to understanding the meaning of the concept of

philosophy of education. Philosophy of education is concerned with questions that are not answered by other disciplines. A philosopher constantly looks to examining things in the world through posing questions. Philosophy of education is one of the fields of philosophy that is concerned with addressing problems related to education.

I am using philosophy of education as my research design. I will use the analysis of concepts as a research method and interpretive theory as research methodology. Analysis of concepts is the study that clarifies the meaning of concepts. It involves searching for conditions that constitute concepts. A concept is broken down into pieces until all information is uncovered. This will benefit the phi addressing educational problems. Interpretive theory was chosen for this study to help me to bring meaning to the theory of democratic citizenship education and to understand the Mozambican education policies.

In the next chapter, I shall explore and analyse the notion of education policy. Furthermore, I shall analyse and understand the Mozambican education policy documents, since they are the important sources that guide the meaning of democratic citizenship education in Mozambique.

Chapter 3

3. Analysis and meaning of education policies

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse, in more detail, some of main education policy documents that have emerged and that have had a profound impact on the Mozambican education system. Policy analysis of these education policy documents is important, because they have a deep impact on promoting democratic citizens who are able to face their social problems without feeling intimidated by anyone in power. Therefore, the analysis of these policies will enable me to understand what the government does to promote democratic citizens in Mozambique.

In the next section I shall address an important question to uncover the meaning of the concept of education policy. This will be followed by an analysis of the education policy documents and curricula that contribute to promote democratic citizens in Mozambique.

3.2 Uncovering the meaning of the concept of education policy

Different definitions of the importance of education policy analysis can be found. For example, some actors define policy analysis as that which evaluates government policies to provide policy makers with pragmatic, action-oriented recommendations, among other policy alternatives (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 545). Policy is what is intended to be accomplished by both government action and the cumulative effort of the actions, assumptions and decisions of people who implement public policy. Trowler (1998: 48) describes education policy as a specification of principles and actions related to educational issues that are followed or are designed to bring about desired goals. For him, in this sense, policy is a piece of paper, a statement of intentions or practice as it is perceived by policy makers, or as they would like it to be.

On the one hand, education policy is described as “a set of political decisions which have been taken by those who exercise power (policy makers, teachers unions and community organizations) through a prescription of actions aimed at changing educational institutions or

practices” (McLaughlin, in Waghid, 2002: 1). Waghid (2002: 1-2) claims that this explanation of education policy accentuates at least three main aspects. The first aspect is that policy is formulated by those who exercise power. The second aspect is that policy is a set of justifiable prescribed actions. The third aspect is that policy is a coherent framework for implementation in an education system aimed at bringing about change (preservation and adjustment). Education policy is formulated by people who make it an activity in human experiences, purposes and needs. In other words, education policy as formulated by people grows out of their self-understandings that are intent on changing educational institutions or practices.

On the other hand, Fataar (1999) describes policy as how it is seen by the people who implement it and its goals in different locations. For instance, he says that policy (education) is the result of compromise, negotiation and ideological political contestation, and that it is interpreted differently by the various role players, depending on their particular location. This means that the term policy could variously refer to defining objectives, setting priorities, describing a plan or specifying decision rules (Gordon, 1993, in Fataar, 1999). According to Fataar (1999: 3), policy could have different objectives, including: regulating institutional functioning, mapping courses of action and enforcing or enabling courses of action. Further, policy aims to incorporate statements of intent, courses of action and resource allocation, and could be about the resolution of problems.

Following the above, educational policy serves to regulate and control the behaviour of people in an educational institution, keeping them in a particular way (working, following the rules of the institution and making sure that the educational objectives are achieved). It also protects the interests of an educational institution, gives direction to teachers, sets the vision and transforms or changes the common practice in schools.

Ball (1995: 15) distinguishes two kinds of policies: policy as text and policy as discourse. Policy as text is the contested, changing and negotiated character of policy between the fields of formation and implementation. In other words, policy documents are interpreted as the expression of political purpose that is statements of the course of action that policy makers and administrators intend to follow. In this view, the analysis of policy documents becomes a mission for the authorial intention presumed to lie behind the text (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2004: 60). Policy statements are always the outcome of struggle and compromise between the different individuals, groups and interests involved in policy-making (Trowler, 1998: 78).

The document itself is regarded as a vehicle of communication between these agents (policy makers, researchers and teachers) in the process. In education, policy statements or documents relate educational intentions, in the form of values and goals, to factual information resulting from research. Furthermore, policies are seen as decoding the text, where the individuals on the ground, such as teachers, interpret policy messages in the context of their own culture, history, ideology, experiences, skills, resources and context.

In the implementation of education policy documents, the documents are exposed to different meanings and contradictions and therefore produce different results. Teachers will decode the documents differently. In the end, teachers will construct a different meaning of the policy document, depending on the context in which they are located. In other words, policy as text is open for different interpretations by people, depending on their understanding, interest and views. Also, disagreement on policy can be straightened out by making common concessions about it, and it is important that people understand the meaning of policy. Regarding what was mentioned above, it is clear that policy makers cannot control the meanings of their policy documents. Also, reinterpretation and recreation of policy can take place because people keep what is important for them and what they understand to be easier or simpler to implement.

With respect to policy as discourse, it is the capacity of policy makers to give meaning to the policy, being influential, contesting and constructing responses, dealing with contradictions and attempting representations of policy. Put differently, it is the debate that people responsible for making policy undertake, working every day to give meaning and sense to the policies that they formulate and implement. By discourse is meant the language or other forms of communication (e.g. pictures, signs) that are used in the way ideas are expressed. As Olssen *et al.* (2004: 65) argue, discourse is used to embody both the formal system of signs, and the social practices that govern their use. In this sense, discourse refers not only to the meaning of language, but also to the real effects of language use, to the materiality of language. According to Foucault (cited in Ball, 1995: 21), discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Discourses do not identify objects, but rather constitute them and, in the practice of so doing, conceal their own invention. Discourses are about “what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses represent the meaning and use of propositions and words” (Ball, 1995: 22). Ball is suggesting that discourse does not just represent reality, but helps to create it.

Another aspect of policy as discourse changes the possibilities we have for thinking otherwise. It also limits our response to change, and leads us to misunderstand what policy is by misunderstanding what it does. Policy as discourse can lead to the redistribution of voice, but it does not matter what some people say or think, only certain voices can be heard as meaningful or authoritative (Ball, 1995: 23).

3.3 Tensions between education policy formulation and policy implementation

Paul Trowler (1998: 48-49) discusses the conflicts that usually occur between policy makers and policy implementation. Trowler (1998: 48-49) confirms that it is better to see policy as process, as something dynamic rather than static. This dynamism comes from a number of sources:

- There usually is conflict between those who make policy, as well as those who put it into practice, about what the important issues or problems for policy are, and about the desired goals.
- Interpreting policy is an active process; policy statements are almost always subject to multiple interpretations, depending on the standpoints of the people doing the interpretive 'work'.
- The practice of policy on the ground is extremely complex, both that being 'described' by policy and that intended to put policy into effect. Simple policy descriptions of practice do not capture its multiplicity and complexity, and the implementation of policy in practice almost always means that the outcomes differ from the policy makers' intentions (which were, anyway, always multiple and often contradictory).

Furthermore, Ball (in Trowler, 1998: 49) clarifies that policy is both text and action, words and deeds; it is what is enacted as well as what is intended. Policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map onto the 'wild profusion' of local practice. Policy as text has already been discussed above.

According to Ball and Bowe (in Ball, 1995: 26) there are three contexts of policy making: the context of influence, the context of policy text production, and the context of practice. The context of influence is where public policy is normally initiated and where policy discourses

are constructed. It is in this domain where interested parties struggle to influence the definition and social purposes of education. Policy concepts are established within this context, and it is also where these concepts acquire currency and credence. It is these concepts that provide a discourse and lexicon for policy initiation.

The context of policy text production is normally articulated in the language of the general public good, which often disguises its lack of clarity and internal coherence. The construction or production of this policy as discourse is closely related to issues of power (Ball, 1995: 21). The context of practice says that policy is not simply received and implemented in practice, but that it is subject to interpretation and then recreated. The context of practice allows different levels of the education system to have different interpretations of policy. The meaning that a policy has cannot be controlled. The construction of policy meanings and interpretations is part of the struggles within civil society.

Ham and Hill (in McLaughlin, 2000: 49) draw a distinction between analysis for policy and analysis of policy. Analysis for policy contributes to the formulation of policy and takes two forms: first, policy advocacy, which has the purpose of making specific policy recommendations. Second, information for policy, in which the researcher's task is to provide policy makers with information and data to assist them in the revision or formulation of actual policies. Philosophers can contribute to both, although in their case the information for policy will take the form of offering conceptual clarification.

Analysis of policy, according to Ham and Hill (in McLaughlin, 2000: 49), can also take two forms: first, analysis of policy determination and effects – which examines the processes and outcomes of policy in operating on the construction of public policy. The analysis of policy content examines the values, assumptions, ideologies and social theories underpinning the policy process. In this regard, the central focus of this thesis is on the analysis of policy content, more specifically the analysis of the context of Mozambican policy documents in order to understand Mozambican education policy transformation and its contribution to the promotion of democratic citizens. In the next section I shall analyse Mozambican education policy documents.

3.4 Analysis of Mozambican education policy documents

3.4.1 National System of Education (SNE) 1983 and 1992

An education system is a process organised by each society. It transmits experiences, knowledge and cultural values to the new generation. It also develops capacities and individual skills in order to secure the reproduction of ideology and of economic and social institutions (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983: 13). Before Mozambique's independence, the Portuguese colonial government imposed an education system that aimed to reproduce the exploration, oppression and continuity of the capitalist colonial structures. Two parallel education systems were developed. One catered for the children of the dominant class and the other for black people.

The beginning of the 1960s saw the formation of liberation groups. FRELIMO, which resulted from the amalgamation of these groups, fought until independence was achieved in 1975. The fight for freedom represented the highest expression of negation of and rupture with colonialism. It was within this fight that a new concept was originated, the concept of *Homem novo* (new person). This will be discussed later. It was also in the context of this fight that a new concept of education emerged: an education that serves the people, independently of their social origin, race and religion, and profoundly identified with the national culture. The school was linked to production and inserted into the community, in accordance with the needs of the country (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983).

The National System of Education (SNE), which was introduced in Mozambique in the 1980s, was created to respond to the new needs of the country. It was the fundamental legislation that regulated the functioning of the Mozambican system of education. The life of the national system of education is split into two distinct periods. The first ran from 1983 to 1992, the phase of law 4/83. The second spans from 1992 to the present. It repealed the previous law and introduced reforms to the system on the basis of the new socio-political and economic situation in the country.

3.4.1.1 Introduction of National System of Education (1983)

Immediately after independence in 1975, then President Samora Machel announced the nationalisation of education as one of the solutions to the problems that Mozambican education was facing at the time. Nationalisation was a radical solution and had a great

impact on government control of the schools, as well as on education to socialism. With respect to socialism, Mazula (1995: 151), for instance, argued that it gave the nationalisation of education a revolutionary meaning. In other words, FRELIMO intended to avoid further depreciation and sabotage in the private schools; break with the elements of social inequality; make education planning possible in order to create an education system in service of the interests of the masses; and ideologically eliminate elements that excluded the political hegemony (Mazula, 1995: 151).

Apart from nationalisation, from 1975 to 1976 the government also introduced a few curricular reforms in order to eliminate education inequality and to give education a national focus. For instance, the government removed the subjects History and Geography of Portugal, and Religion and Moral Education. These two subjects were substituted by History and Geography of Mozambique and Africa, and Political Education respectively. Another example of curricular reform was the introduction of the subject of political studies for those who wanted to become teachers.

In 1980 the government introduced an ambitious plan, the Prospective Indicative Plan (known as PPI). It was a plan to adjust the Mozambican economic situation and to modernise society (Mazula, 1995: 170). It defined goals and idealised big economic projects to create a strong industry that would accelerate socialisation. It also defined steps to follow for the elimination of the underdevelopment of the country within ten years, thereby situating Mozambique at the same level of developed countries.

As a response to the goals of PPI, the ministry of education and culture introduced the National System of Education, approved on 23 March 1983 in law 4/83. The National System of Education was a socialist-oriented system of education, based on Marxist-Leninist thinking and in goods as common property (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983: 13). It responded to the exigencies of that era and to the strategy of socialist development. It aimed to contribute to the consolidation of labourer-peasant alliances and to be a potential agent of socialist transformation, agricultural mechanisation and industrialisation of the country. Put differently, the National System of Education was supposed to guarantee that labourers, peasants and their offspring had access to all levels of education, therefore permitting the appropriation of scientific, technical and cultural skills.

In this context, the National System of Education had the following objectives:

- The eradication of illiteracy;
- The introduction of universal primary schooling; and
- The training of local specialists in order to contribute to economic and social development, as well as to scientific, technologic and cultural investigation (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983: 13).

The National System of Education was to contribute to the formation of Mozambican citizens with patriotic conscience, technical capacity and who were culturally open. The central objective of the 1983 National System of Education was to form the *Homem novo* (new person), as mentioned above. This was supposed to be a person free of darkness, free of superstitious beliefs and free of colonial mentality, a person who assumed the values of the socialist society (Article 4 of law 4/83). These values included:

- National unity and patriotism;
- A taste for learning, for work and for collective life;
- A spirit of initiative and responsibility;
- A scientific and materialist conception of the world; and
- Engagement in and active contribution to the construction of socialism (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983: 14).

It was important that the new person had a new mentality and was capable of assimilating and using science and technology to serve the socialist revolution. The new person would contribute to the appropriation of scientific, technical and cultural skills by the popular masses, thus constituting a general factor in the economic, social and political development of the country.

In order to fulfil the central objective of creating the new person, the government defined subsidiary objectives. One was to form citizens with solid political, ideological, scientific, technological, cultural and physical preparation, and with a highly patriotic and civic education. From the political and ideological perspective, the role of education was to guarantee access of the workers to science and technology, in order to make them leaders of society and to secure the formation of a socialist new person, capable of following the process of social transformation (Mazula, 1995: 175).

Another objective was that education had to create conditions for the formation of an adequate and effective school network, guaranteeing in this way the introduction of universal

schooling according to the development of the country. This was an essential strategy to eradicate illiteracy, thus forming the skilled labour force that would be necessary for agro-industry, as well as for the other priority sectors of the national economy. A subsidiary objective of the national system of education was also constituted to ensure that all Mozambicans had access to professional education and training. All teachers were to become conscious professional educators with a profound political, ideological, scientific and pedagogic preparation, capable of educating young and adult people with the values of a socialist society.

Other objectives included training scientists and specialists with qualifications that allowed the development of scientific investigation, disseminating the use of the Portuguese language to contribute to the consolidation of national unity, developing aesthetic sensibility and artistic capacity in children, the youth and adults, and lastly, making education institutions revolutionary for the consolidation of popular power profoundly inserted into the community (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983: 15).

It is important to mention that the government had been using the concept of democracy since the colonial war, but with a different name, that of popular power. According to Egero (1992: 44), popular power had the characteristic of creating conditions for all citizens to be engaged in different activities for the development of society. Popular power was against the *status quo*, which was characterised, as mentioned, by extreme inequality, high illiteracy rates among the African people and the exploitation of the labour force. The basic principle of popular power was that each community had to be organised on its own, had to analyse its own problems and perspectives, and had to find appropriate solutions for the common good of the community (Egero, 1992: 46).

In addition, the National System of Education (1983) defined pedagogic principles that were to guide the teaching and learning process. First, teaching and learning had to develop the skills and qualities of the individual. In order to transfer this principle, areas of integral training were defined, such as political ideology and morals, communication, mathematical sciences, natural and social sciences, polytechnic skills and labour, and aesthetic-cultural and physical education. Second, teaching and learning were to be based on the dialectic unity between scientific education and ideological education. The teaching programmes and contents had to reflect the political and ideological orientation of FRELIMO. Third, the teaching and learning process had to be organised in such a way that it would develop

initiative, independent or individual studies and the critical assimilation of knowledge. Fourth, another principle was that all teaching and learning processes had to be developed based on the link between theory and practice. This was the fundamental condition for understanding reality, assimilating scientific knowledge and understanding natural and social transformation. Fifth, the school was supposed to generate the individual skills important for the labour market. Lastly, the school was to be linked to the community, where schools were to act as centres for the socio-economic and cultural development of the community.

Unfortunately, the National System of Education was introduced in a period when Mozambique was facing great difficulties (civil war, droughts, and economic crises). This demonstrated that the national system of education of 1983 was inadequate for the new social, economic and political conditions of the country that were seen at the beginning of the 1990s. It therefore was necessary to adjust the national system of education of 1983 to the new context. The system was reformulated in 1992 by law 6/92 of the National System of Education. This will be discussed in more detail later. In the next section I shall talk about the components and structure of the national system of education of 1983.

Components and Structure of the National System of Education (SNE) of 1983

The national system of education consisted of the follow subsystems: the subsystem of general education, the subsystem of adult education, the subsystem of technical-professional education, the subsystem of teacher training and the subsystem of higher education. It was structured on four levels, namely primary, secondary, middle and higher education. In this thesis I shall focus only on the subsystem of general education, in particular on the primary and secondary levels.

The subsystem of general education was (and still is) the main part of the national system of education. The levels and contents of this subsystem constitute the reference point for all the subsystems of the national system of education. It is important to note that pre-training education, special education and vocational educational are part of the subsystem of general education.

The subsystem of general education catered for children and young people aged between seven and nineteen years. It comprised primary education, secondary education and pre-academic education.

Primary education entailed seven years of education and was split into two levels. The first level comprised five grades and the second level two grades. Primary education was supposed to be attended by children aged between seven and thirteen years. Therefore learners from the age of fifteen had to be registered in adult education. Primary education had the role to prepare learners to access the education levels of other subsystems (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983). The objective of primary education was to give learners basic training in communication, mathematical and natural sciences, political ideology, cultural aesthetics and physical education. Another objective of this education level was to provide basic technical knowledge and to develop skills for manual work, and attitudes and convictions that are important for a productive life. Lastly, primary education had to ensure that learners had a socialist personality.

Secondary education covered three grades, namely grades 8, 9 and 10. It was to be attended mainly by young people aged between fourteen and seventeen years. Secondary education aimed to deepen and consolidate the training acquired in the previous education level. In particular, it aimed to increase knowledge in the areas of communication, mathematical, natural and social sciences, political ideology, cultural aesthetics and physical education. It also aimed to develop work methods and scientific thinking, as well as to nurture socialist thinking, convictions, attitudes and behaviour among young people. Middle education, also known as pre-university, comprised grades 11 and 12 (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983).

3.4.1.2 The reform of the National System of Education in 1992

In 1992, the national system of education was reformulated by law 6/92 in order to reflect the social and economic conditions of the country, both from a pedagogical as well as an organisational perspective. The State began allowing the participation of other organisations in the educative process. These included community cooperatives and private institutions. The State organised and promoted education as an integral part of educative action, according to the terms defined in the Constitution.

The general objectives of the National System of Education were kept the same as before. However, the formation of the new person was no longer the main objective. The main objective became to develop the personality, the economy and the society. Also, the political

ideology of the government, based on the experiences and principles of Marxism-Leninism, was abolished. Therefore, the national system of education gave way to personal, social, economic, educational and investigative development.

In the newest national system of education, general education was split into two levels: primary and secondary. Primary education comprised two levels: the first includes grades 1 to 5, and the second level includes grades 6 and 7. Secondary education is subdivided into two cycles: the first cycle includes grades 8, 9 and 10, and the second includes grades 11 and 12.

The fundamental differences between the national system of education of 1983 and 1992 are summarised in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Differences between the National System of Education of 1983 and 1992

Categories of analysis	National System of Education	
	Law 4/83	Law 6/92
Political discourse and ideology	The education programmes and contents should reflect the political orientation and ideology of FRELIMO; The primary and secondary level should increase socialist thought and convictions, attitudes and behaviour.	The government is enforcing the socio-economic development of the country.
Function of the State	The education is directed, planned and controlled by the State, which guarantees its universality and secularism.	The State allows participation of other organisations, including community cooperatives and private institutions, in the educative process.
Principles and objectives	Education is based on the experiences and principles of Marxism-Leninism; The central objective is the formation of <i>Homem novo</i> (new person), a person free of darkness, superstition and colonial mentality, a person who assumes the values of socialist society.	There is a call for the personal, social and economic development of the country, as well as advancement in education and investigation. Examples include the development of capacities, personality and creative initiatives.
Origins of the system	Inequalities resulting from the colonial struggle.	New social, economic and political conditions in the country.
Structure	General education; Adult education; Technical-professional education; Teacher training; Higher education.	Pre-school education; School education (general education, technical-professional education, higher education); Extra-curricular education.
School entry age	School entry age is seven (7) years.	School entry age is six (6) years.

3.5 National Education Policy and Strategic Plan for Education (PEE I and PEEC II)

The National Education Policy was introduced in 1995 and established the policy framework for the National Education System. This policy identified the main goals of the government with respect to the education system as a whole, and defined specific policies for every sub-sector within the system, always taking into consideration the increase in access to education and the better quality and relevance of the education. It aimed to ensure access to education for more people and to improve the quality of education services at all levels and in all types of education (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1995: 176). By doing this, the government intended to provide citizens with an education with appropriate content that promoted the development of knowledge, abilities, attitudes and values, in ways to satisfy society. Next I shall discuss how the government intended to implement the national education policy.

3.5.1 Strategies for the implementation of the National Education Policy in primary and secondary education

According to the National Education Policy of 1995, the objectives at the primary level of education are: to provide basic training in different areas such as communication, natural, social and mathematical sciences, and physical, aesthetic and cultural education; to encourage children to observe and think, and to develop their autonomy; to encourage the capacity of children to develop values and relevant attitudes for the society in which they are inserted; to help children to develop their potential; and to develop knowledge about health, nutrition and environmental protection.

In order to achieve the objectives mentioned above, the government created some strategies at the primary level, such as expanding access to education by dividing it into three groups, namely alternative scenarios and goals, increasing accessibility and equity, and promoting access to schools by girls (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1995: 177-178). These groups were divided on the basis of the situation in the country and the government's wish for the development of the country in terms of primary education. By these strategies being met, the government intended to increase access to education, first by increasing the

admission rate from 63% in 1994 to 70% in 2000. The other scenario was to increase the admission rate from 86% in 2000 to 95% by 2008. The option of the second scenario was based on the fact that the number of schools in existence in 1992 represented 50% of those in existence in 1983. Also, admission rates had dropped from 110% to 59% in 1992.

The other strategy was to improve the quality and relevance of the education. By doing this the government planned to improve the material conditions of schools and reduce the disparities between them; promote access to schools by girls; create more relevant and flexible curricula; increase the quality and professional competence of teachers; produce enough textbooks and other basic materials and guarantee equitable access to them; and promote the involvement of parents and communities in the administration of schools.

Regarding secondary education, multiple efforts are concentrated on reducing disparities between provinces, and between districts in provinces, with a greater focus on repeating grades, school dropout rates, gender parity and education quality. The objectives of the general secondary education are to consolidate, increase and deepen the knowledge acquired in primary education in the natural, social and mathematical sciences, and in cultural and aesthetic education. It also aims to prepare learners for admission to higher education levels, as well as to participate in a productive life. Lastly, it aims to develop knowledge about health, nutrition and environmental protection.

The government realised that the lack of financial and human resources unfortunately would not allow all of the educational needs to be addressed at once. Thus, the national education policy identified basic education and adult literacy as the priorities of the government. In this regard, 1997 saw the introduction in Mozambique of the Strategic Plan for Education (PEE), which had as its main objective to increase access to basic education, improve the quality of education and enhance institutional, financial and political capabilities in order to secure the sustainability of the system. The government had some success regarding access to education at the primary and secondary level. For example, the number of registrations in the first cycle of primary education (Ep1) increased by 65% between 1999 and 2005, and school admissions increased from 85% to 131% (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 2006: 6). The benefits occurred particularly in terms of the registration of more girls in schools, which contributed to the reduction of the gender gap between girls and boys. These improvements were followed by the rehabilitation of the existing schools and the construction of more primary and secondary schools during this period. Unfortunately, there was a lack of improvement in

quality and institutional capacity, particularly because of a lack of financial resources for different levels of education in various regions in the country. Also, there was a lack of understanding between central planning and the operational plans of the provinces (which did not reflect adequately the objectives of PEE).

In 2006 the government introduced the Strategic Plan for Education and Culture II (PEEC II), which continued to apply the principal objectives of the Strategic Plan for Education I. However, it emphasises improving the quality of education and retaining students until the end of grade 7. The Strategic Plan for Education and Culture suggests improving the development of technical-professional and vocational education to provide professional secondary education and higher education. Furthermore, the government recognises the need for economic development and poverty reduction for the development of the country. According to the government strategy for the absolute reduction of poverty (PARPA) (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 2006: 5), granting all citizens (women, men and children), independent of their residential location, the right of access to basic knowledge will give them the necessary capacity to better their own lives and that of their community. Therefore PEEC II was introduced to respond to three central objectives of the government's policy on economic and social development. The central objectives were to reduce the level of absolute poverty, secure justice and gender equity, and fight against the spread of HIV and its impact on society.

3.6 Curricular Plan for Basic Education

A Curricular Plan for Basic Education was introduced in order to accomplish one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015, namely to achieve universal primary education. The government recognises that much still needs to be done concerning access to and the quality of education if the MDGs are to be achieved. For instance, it is important to check the context in which the Curricular Plan for Basic Education was introduced. By 1990, more than 50% of primary schools that had existed in 1975 had been destroyed or were no longer functioning (INDE/MINED, 2003: 13). In 1981, the admission rate for primary education had reached 93%, but it had reduced drastically to 54% by 1994. Since then the admission rate has been increasing, achieving 85% in 1999.

The Ministry of Education (MINED) has also been expanding the school network. In 1999 the country had 6 608 primary schools teaching grades 1 to 5 (Ep1), and 405 primary schools teaching grades 6 and 7 (Ep2). In 1980 there were only 5 730 Ep1 schools (INED/MINED, 2003: 14). Over time, the number of schools continued to increase, reaching 9 649 EP1 schools and 2 210 Ep2 schools in 2008 (Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 2009: 1). However, during this period (1999), the quality of education was not desirable. The internal efficiency of primary schools was very low, and rates of grade repetition and dropout reached 25% and 15% in Ep1 and Ep2 respectively in 1999. As a result, only 25% of the learners who were admitted to grade 1 successfully completed the five grades of Ep1. Also, transition rates to Ep2 were low, with only six in 100 learners graduating to Ep2 (MINED, 1997, cited in INED/MINED, 2003: 14).

In addition, different studies have pointed out that, before the introduction of the Curricular Plan for Basic Education, there was a very big learner/teacher ratio, weak preparation by the teachers, precarious working conditions and under-adjustment of the structure and curriculum content (INED/MINED, 2003). For instance, the learner/teacher ratio was 73:1 in Ep1. In some provinces it was bigger, despite the fact that most urban and peri-urban schools functioned in a regime of three shifts. In Ep2 the learner/teacher ratio was the 41:1. At all education levels there were teachers who were not qualified for the grades that they taught. About one quarter of E1 teachers did not have specific training, and the majority had received only six years of schooling and one year of professional training.

The structure and the curriculum content developed in 1983 have been shown to be inadequate for the rapid economic and social changes in the country. The curriculum structure was too rigid and prescriptive, leaving only a small margin for adaptation at the regional and local levels. Most of the content taught in schools was irrelevant and of insignificant practical utility. For example, the education programmes and textbooks conceived for the learners, as well as the teacher guides, approached the programmes in a compartmented manner, therefore not respecting the principle of interdisciplinarity. Also, the primary education curriculum did not explicitly make integration of the local curriculum possible.

To solve the issues mentioned above, the Curricular Plan for Basic Education (*Plano Curricular de Ensino Básico*) was introduced in 2003. It constitutes the most important document of the curriculum for basic education in Mozambique, and presents the principal

ideas that support the curriculum and the basic education perspective in the country. Its principal challenges included making the curriculum more relevant in order to form citizens capable of contributing to the quality of their own lives, the lives of their families, as well as the life of their communities and the country. It also aimed to promote a spirit of national unity, to keep the peace and stability of the nation, and to contribute to the development of democracy, respect for human rights, and the preservation of Mozambican culture (INDE/MINED, 2003: 7).

The Curricular Plan for Basic Education reformulated the structure and content of the primary education level, introduced by the national system of education in 1983 and revised in 1992. Its objectives are in accordance with those of the 1992 national system of education. In the next section I shall discuss the new aspects introduced by this curricular plan.

3.6.1 Innovations of the Curricular Plan for Basic Education

The basic education curriculum has seven grades, organised into two parts. The first part is split into two cycles, the first corresponding to grades 1 and 2, and the second cycle corresponding to grades 3, 4 and 5. The second part includes grades 6 and 7, and corresponds to the third cycle.

The learning cycle progression is the main innovation in the system of evaluation introduced by the government. It consists of the transition of learners from one cycle to another. This presupposes the creation of conditions for teaching-learning, so that all learners will achieve the minimum objectives of a specific cycle. These conditions are based fundamentally in a formative evaluation, in which the teaching-learning process is centred on the learner and serves as a feedback loop of the teaching-learning process. This system of progression by cycle allows for grades to be repeated at the end of each cycle. However, this happens only in cases where the teacher, the principal, and the parents or educators reach an agreement that the child did not achieve the required skills for grade promotion.

One of the reasons that sustain the promotion of learners is the fact that studies show that grade repeaters tend to have lower productivity than non-repeaters. This means that, in some cases, repeating a grade does not significantly improve the quality of the teaching-learning process. On the contrary, it could block learners because they may become overage for their

grade, therefore leading to inferiority complexes, inhibition and even cognitive blocks (INDE, 1999, cited in INDE/MINED, 2003: 29).

Another innovation of the Curricular Plan for Basic Education was the introduction of bilingual education, where learners are taught in their mother tongue in the first cycle of education, with the Portuguese language being introduced as a subject and not as a way of teaching. The reverse occurs in the second cycle, when Portuguese becomes the language of teaching and the mother tongue becomes the subject.

However, Mozambique is a country that has linguistically homogeneous as well as heterogeneous areas (urban and peri-urban areas). In the latter areas there is convergence of cultures and consequently several languages. It is this scenario that characterises the schools in these areas, where learners speak Portuguese as mother tongue or as a second language. Therefore, in this context it is not possible to apply the bilingual model, because this would imply that teachers and learners share the same language. Because learners should have the opportunity to learn other languages as a way to maintain contact with the Mozambican culture, and because this increases the efficiency of communication in a multilingual context, another model of bilingual education was introduced. In this model, the local languages are introduced as curricular subject, and the teaching-learning language to be used is decided by the school.

In addition to the mentioned innovations, the Curricular Plan for Basic Education introduced the English language as a subject in the third cycle. The objective is to provide learners with a basic English vocabulary. English is an international language of communication, used for instance for the acquisition of scientific knowledge and in commercial transactions. However, in the Mozambican context the introduction of the English language in the third cycle is justified by the geographic location of the country. Mozambique is bordered by countries that use English as an official language. The Curricular Plan for Basic Education also introduced a specific subject of moral and civic education in the third cycle of education. Previously, this subject had been integrated into the social sciences in the first and second cycles of education. A final innovation of the Curricular Plan for Basic Education is the introduction of music as subject. This should help learners to understand and appreciate the wealth and diversity of their cultural patrimony, as well as consolidate solidarity and national unity.

3.7 Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education

The Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education was introduced in 2007 and translates the aspirations of Mozambican society into the formation of active, responsible and participative citizens and entrepreneurs. The aim is to form young people to allow their successful integration into society, which is changing rapidly, as well as to prepare them for the dynamics of the labour market.

Mozambique has recently experienced profound changes motivated by political, economic and socio-cultural factors. These have determined the curricular transformation of general secondary education. The present plan aims to continue the process of curriculum transformation started with basic education, and to improve the transition from secondary to higher education or to the labour market. The principal challenges of this curriculum entail training citizens who are capable of dealing with different types of work and who are able to adapt to an economy based on knowledge and new technologies (INDE/MEC, 2007). This will contribute to reducing poverty in families and communities, as well as in the country as a whole.

The Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education is concerned with the development of citizens who will leave secondary education prepared to face the challenges of society, and their own challenges. The principles that orientate the conceptualisation of general secondary education are:

a) **Inclusive education**

Every citizen has a right to education. Goals are defined within the Strategic Plan for Education (I and II) with respect to access to quality education for all. Actions are designed to achieve these goals. These include the promotion of gender equity and the integration of learners with learning difficulties and disabled people into the regular learning system. Regarding gender equity, this principle includes actions that promote the admission of girls and the development of strategies for their permanence in the system. A few examples are the creation of a safe environment for girls, the promotion of female teachers and the organisation of activities that attract girls to school.

In relation to disabled people, conditions should be created so that all children and young people feel free from any type of discrimination. This can be done through the promotion of

positive attitudes, and values such as solidarity, neighbourly love and so on. For learners with learning problems, inclusive education should consider the pace of learning in order to develop strategies for the identification of difficulties and their respective treatment, taking into consideration the level and type of problem. In this way, education will combat the stigmatisation that learners experience when they fail to progress at the normal pace.

b) Teaching-learning centred in the learner

In general secondary education the learner becomes the centre of the teaching-learning process, in which he/she is an active individual looking for knowledge and attempting to construct his/her vision of the world. In this case, the teacher works as a facilitator who is responsible for creating diverse educational opportunities to allow students to develop their potential. For these purposes, strategies are suggested that provide for active participation by the learner, such as group work, debates, creative thinking, paper games and so on (INDE/MEC, 2007). These will help learners to ask questions about reality, to confront their opinions, and to propose solutions to their problems. However, in the context of Mozambique it is vital to consider the phenomenon of large classes.

c) Teaching-learning oriented for the development of life competencies

To cope in the actual world requires that people are able to solve complex problems, accommodate to rapid changes and know how to live with others. The development of competencies is considered relevant for life, but this exceeds the limits of the school. This means that all moments of life, inside or outside school, should constitute opportunities for effective learning. In this context, the approach of teaching should be oriented to the solution of community problems, linking the curriculum contents to real-life situations.

The values to be developed in general secondary education are equity, freedom, justice, solidarity, humility, honesty, tolerance, responsibility, perseverance, respect and love for the motherland (INDE/MINED, 2003). In addition, young people should develop good manners, discipline, posture, order, cleansing and hygiene habits, humility, self-love, love of the truth, and respect for others. In this way the youth will be encouraged to be humble citizens, responsible, entrepreneurial and able to face the challenges of their everyday life, therefore promoting the idea that the quality of their life depends on themselves.

3.7.1 Innovations of the curriculum

The Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education continues from the Curricular Plan for Basic Education, and accommodates some of the innovations of this curriculum. One of the innovations made in this new curriculum is the transversal themes that should be approached in the school. These themes include aspects such as culture of peace, human rights, and democracy; gender and equity; reproductive health (HIV and AIDS); health and nutrition; prevention and combating of the abuse of alcohol, tobacco and other drugs; the environment and sustainable use of natural resources; natural disasters (floods, droughts, cyclones and earthquakes); road safety; the protection of cultural patrimony; and cultural identity and patriotism (INDE/MEC, 2007). These themes were selected in accordance with their importance, relevance and ability to be integrated into the curriculum, with the aim of developing a set of skills that allow learners to reflect on and discuss the problems of and propose changes for the country.

Completing the introduction of subjects such as tourism, information and communication technology, notions of entrepreneurship, and French language into the first cycle (grades 8 to 10) of general secondary education is among the innovations made in the new curriculum. Further, the second cycle (grades 11 and 12) has seen the introduction of subjects such as introduction to philosophy and introduction to psychology and pedagogy. These subjects should help learners to develop a new mentality, think creatively, question the reality and the world around them, and respect others, thus contributing to the development of their family, community and country.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has uncovered the meanings of education policy in Mozambique. It shows the importance of policy analysis, which helps government bodies to provide information about the needs of the educational institutions that will be valuable in the formulation and implementation of education policy. It shows that education policy analysis may be controversial and negotiable, particularly with respect to policy formulation and implementation. For instance, education policy arises from different debates that are exposed

to different opinions and ideas by the participants, who can come to an agreement (policy as discourse). However, education policy is often misunderstood or misinterpreted by teachers, depending on their own context, history, ideology, experiences, skills, resources and culture (policy as text).

The second section analysed fundamental Mozambican education policy documents that have a profound impact on cultivating democratic citizens. In this regard, the National System of Education (law 4/83) was the first system to be implemented after the fight against colonialism, when the government followed the socialist ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Its main goals were to form a new person, a man free from darkness, superstition and colonial mentality, a man who assumed the values of socialist society. In 1992 the government, then a multiparty country, adjusted the National System of Education through law 6/92 to reflect the social and economic conditions of the country from both a pedagogical as well as organisational perspective. The eradication of illiteracy was still one of the principal goals of the government.

In 1995, the Mozambican government adopted the National Education Policy, which established the policy framework for the National Education System. This policy identified the main goals of the government with respect to the education system as a whole, and defined specific policies for every sub-sector within the system. The National Education Policy identified basic education and adult literacy as the priorities of the government. In 1997 the Strategic Plan for Education (PEE I) was introduced, with its main objective being to increase access to basic education, improve the quality of education and increase institutional, financial and political capabilities in order to secure the sustainability of the system. The Strategic Plan for Education and Culture (PEEC II) 2006-2010/11 was introduced in 2006 in response to the government agenda to reduce absolute poverty, secure justice and gender equity, and fight against the propagation of HIV and its impact on society.

One of the big innovations of the education policy was the introduction of the Curricular Plan for Primary Education and the Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education. The Curricular Plan for Basic Education originated from the necessity to improve the education system. The government realised that the majority of their goals were not being achieved because of weak economic development and a lack of education quality and appropriate teaching content that could prepare citizens for the future. Therefore the Curricular Plan for Basic Education reformulated the National System of Education introduced in 1983 and

adjusted in 1992. It introduced promotion by learning cycle, Mozambican languages, moral and civic education, and international languages in earlier grades compared to what had been the case previously. The Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education incorporated some of the innovations in the Curricular Plan for Basic Education and continued to prepare citizens to be active in social life. It also prepares citizens to be capable of participating and engaging in the development of their communities and of the country. In order to allow this development, transversal themes were introduced and discussed openly.

In the next chapter I shall discuss some of the Western theories of democratic citizenship education and two African scholars of democratic citizenship education. The former are Seyla Benhabib, Iris Marion Young, and Amy Gutmann and David Thompson, while the latter are N'Dri Assié-Lumumba and Kwame Anthony Appiah.

Chapter 4

4. Theoretical concepts of democratic citizenship education

4.1 Introduction

A person lives individually or in a community with differences in culture, religion, beliefs and ideas of personal morality, and with values he or she should hold when performing some responsibilities and duties within the society (Carr, 2008: 20-24). Individuals or groups with this kind of identity need to live together educationally, which means they have to find a common basis. For this reason, citizenship in a country such as Mozambique that is culture diversity will unite these differences in a way that citizens will act freely and equally, performing rights and obligations that are accepted by everyone in this society.

In this chapter I shall explore the different theorists of democratic citizenship education that will help to address democratic citizenship education in Mozambique. This approach is necessary because it will help to gain a deeper understanding of democratic citizenship education and what it entails. In order to achieve this I shall provide an understanding of democracy and citizenship education – that is meanings of democratic citizenship education. Also, I shall discuss different theorists of democratic citizenship education, such as Seyla Benhabib, Iris Marion Young, Amy Gutmann and David Thompson, Kwame Anthony Appiah and N'Dri Teresa Assié-Lumumba.

4.2 Understanding democracy and citizenship education

Democracy is both a “sacred and a promiscuous word” (Crick, 2008: 13), meaning that everyone loves it but no one knows its meaning, or simply that it means different things to different groups of individuals. For instance, the word can suggest certain institutional arrangements, or authorities and individuals behaving in a democratic manner. On the one hand, the majority decisions must prevail, but on the other hand, democracy is simply a synonym for good government or just government. According to Warren (2002: 173), democracy consists of two ideas: the first involving the equal distribution of power to make

collective decisions, and the second equal participation in collective judgement. In a democracy, individuals affected by a collective decision have an equal and effective right to affect the outcome through their vote. Through communication, ideas are expressed and arguments, reasons, opinions and justifications are given so as to empower citizens' decisions. Democracy is about freedom of expression and access to alternative, independent sources of information. Citizens must be free to gather together for an extensive variety of purposes, including religious groups, interest groups and political parties, and no one should deny the rights available to citizens. Citizens have rights and responsibilities (duties) to attain, such as voting in elections, debating issues, attending civic meetings, being members of organisations, paying taxes and protesting.

Marshall (in Kymlicka, 2002: 287) gave the most influential expositions of the concept of citizenship as rights in his book *Citizenship and social class*, written in 1949. For Marshall, citizenship essentially is a matter of ensuring that everyone is treated as a full member of society. This implies that to ensure citizenship entails increasing the number of citizenship rights. Marshall divides citizenship rights into three categories: civil rights (right to vote, freedom of speech, press and assembly, right to equality), political rights (right to vote, freedom of speech, press and assembly) and social rights (public education, health care, unemployment insurance, and old age pension). For him the fullest expression of citizenship requires a liberal democratic welfare state. This means that, by guaranteeing civil, political and social rights to all citizens, the welfare state should ensure that every member of society feels like a full member of society, in which citizens are able to participate in public life and enjoy the common life of society. If any of these rights are violated, people will be marginalised and unable to participate in public life. However, the quality of citizens' lives also depends on the community, which has to take responsibility by participating in life to make sure their life is good.

Galston (1991: 221-224) elucidates that responsible citizenship is constituted of four types of civic virtues. The first are: a) general virtues: courage, law-abidingness and loyalty. This implies that citizens should have courage to defend the country and fight for their rights and for the good of the community. Also, citizens should respect the law and accept it, and be able to understand and act according to the principles of the society. Secondly are b) social virtues: independence and tolerance. Citizens must care for and take responsibility for what they do, therefore learn to be independent. This means they should solve their own problems and any issues in the community, instead of waiting for the government or members of the

government to solve the problems that concern them. Thirdly are c) economic virtues: work ethic, capacity to delay self-gratification, adaptability to economic and technological change and, finally, d) political virtues: capacity to discern and respect the rights of others, willingness to demand only what can be paid for, ability to evaluate the performance of those in office, and willingness to engage in public discourse. These include the ability and willingness to question political authority, and to engage in public discourse about matters of public policy. The need to engage in public discourse arises from the fact that the decisions of governments in democracy should be made publicly, through free and open discussion. But the virtue of public discourse is not just the willingness to participate in politics, or to make one's views known. It also involves the willingness to engage in conversation. This means to listen as well as to speak, to seek to understand what others say, and to respond respectfully to the views of others, so as to continue the conversation.

Rawls attempted to develop the concept of citizenship in his *Theory of Justice*, in terms of which justice is identified as a set of principles that individuals can endorse to fix the terms of social cooperation in order to achieve the wellbeing of all citizens (Miller, 2000: 45). Such principles include the rights of citizens, freedom and equality. This means that citizens have the right to participate and engage equally, with the same opportunity as others, to achieve the common good of everyone following the principle of justice. Therefore, citizens should use these principles in their day-to-day life, such as at school, in the workplace and so on.

Miller (2000: 82) argues for a form of citizenship that he calls republican (communitarian). He makes a distinction between a liberal concept of citizenship and the republican (communitarian) concept of citizenship. On the one hand, the liberal conception describes citizenship as a set of rights and corresponding obligations enjoyed equally by every person who is a citizen of the political (educational) community. In other words, to be a citizen is to enjoy rights to personal security, to freedom of speech, to vote and so forth. Citizens are obligated to keep the law, and not to interfere with others' enjoyment of their rights.

On the other hand, republican (communitarian) concepts of citizenship accept citizens' rights, but consider important the idea of the active citizen who engages actively with others in shaping the future direction of his or her society in political (educational) debates and decision making. In communitarian citizenship, citizens are considered full members of their community, where they assume responsibilities and work together to achieve their common good by participating in community life. Miller (2000: 83) exemplifies communitarian

citizenship as having four central components, of which the first two share similarities with the liberal concepts. These components are equal rights among citizens when they carry out private aims and purposes, as well as their public roles, such as rights to property and free speech. They also include the set of obligations that correspond to these rights, such as respect for the law, to pay taxes in the interests of social justice, and to serve on juries when required. In addition, in communitarian citizenship, citizens should be willing to take active steps to defend the rights of other members of the political educational community and to promote their common interests. The citizen is someone who is ready to volunteer for public service when the need arises. Finally, the communitarian citizen plays an active role in formal and informal arenas of politics (educational). Citizens in political (educational) participation express their commitment to the community. A citizen is willing to achieve an agreement with other citizens in order to reach a common good. The call for the common good implies that the citizen does not do things individually or for him/herself. He or she participates as an individual in different activities in order to help or do something for the good of others. Miller (2000: 84) states that communitarian citizenship demands motivation and responsibility. Firstly, it requires citizens to be sufficiently motivated to carry out the tasks that political educational citizenship involves. Secondly, it requires citizens to act responsibly, in the sense that citizens do not only necessarily have to get involved in public decision making, but they have to attempt to promote the common good. For instance, citizens should take a long-term view of the community's interests, rather than a short-term view. This involves being willing to set aside personal interests and personal ideals in the interests of achieving a democratic consensus.

Citizenship call for democracy, the use of arguments and discussions rather than physical force or violence, and the practice of criticism is central. An active citizen accepts responsibility for his/her wellbeing, and that of his/her family and the community. A citizen has knowledge of the people, history and traditions that have shaped his/her local communities or nation and the world. Also, an active citizen has knowledge of his/her nation's founding documents, civic institutions and political processes. He/she asks meaningful questions and is able to analyse and evaluate information and ideas and to collaborate actively as a member of a group (Tyson & Park, 2008: 32-33).

Citizenship education is about the knowledge, understanding, skills and dispositions that are connected with public life. In using this knowledge, citizenship education helps to develop social and moral responsibility, and entails treating young people with respect and giving

them meaningful spaces in which their views can be listened to (Kerr, in Gorard & Sundaram, 2008: 77).

It is considered that deliberation as communication is the best way of making collective judgements. Deliberations induce individuals to give due consideration to their judgement, so that they know what they want, understand others' needs, and can justify their judgements to others as well as to themselves (Warren, 2002: 173). Put differently, a democratic system is deliberative to the extent that the decisions it reaches reflect open discussion among the participants, with people ready to listen to the views and to consider the interests of others, and to modify their own opinions. It is important to note that, in deliberative democracy, the final decision taken may not be approved by all participants. But it should represent a fair balance between the different views expressed in the course of the discussion, and to the extent that it does, it should be recognised as legitimate by all participants in the debate, even those who disagree. Deliberative democracy will be discussed in detail in the next section.

4.3 The model of deliberative democracy as a concept of democratic citizenship education

In this section I describe the concept of democratic citizenship education in three Western theories of deliberative democratic citizenship education, namely those of Seyla Benhabib, Iris Marion Young, and Amy Gutmann and David Thompson, and two African theorists of democratic citizenship education, namely Kwame Antony Appiah and N'Dri Assié-Lumumba.

4.3.1 Benhabib's discursive democracy model of a concept of democratic citizenship education

In the book *Democracy and difference: Contesting the boundaries of the political*, Benhabib (1996: 67-94) argues for a discursive democracy model of democratic citizenship education. She argues that modern democratic societies have the task to secure three public goods, namely legitimacy, economic welfare and a viable sense of collective identity. These are

“goods” in the sense that their achievement is considered valuable and advantageous by most members of such a society. If a democratic society functions well, these three goods (legitimacy, economic welfare and collective identity) ideally exist in some form of equilibrium (Benhabib, 1996: 68). In this particular book, Benhabib focuses on the idea of one public good, namely legitimacy, in order to achieve democracy. For her, legitimacy in a democratic society must result from the free and unconstrained public deliberation by all citizens on matters of common concern. In my view, legitimacy means that all citizens, including the marginalised and minority groups such as women, children, disabled people and blind people, as well as those who are not citizens of the country, participate freely and equally in public debates, without rules limiting the discussion of different aspects that affect their society, and that they are able to make and deliberate together on decisions concerning their problems.

Benhabib views “democracy as best understood as a model for organizing the collective and public exercise of power in the major institutions of society on the basis of the principle that decisions affecting the well-being of a collectivity can be viewed as the outcome of a procedure of free and reasoned deliberation among individuals considered as moral and political equals” (Benhabib, 1996: 68). In discursive democracy, the decision-making process is considered the majority ones (decisions) preferred by most of the participant members of the public deliberation that meet the terms of the rules of legitimacy. This implies that legitimacy proceeds from most participating citizens’ persuasive, justifiable and convincing ideas about why their reasons should be the valid ones on certain matters of common concern, relative to other’s reasons. In this regard, the majority ideas voted for by most of the participants remain valid until the minority or another group provides a different and convincing reason for their ideas to be taken into consideration. However, in the deliberative discourse of democracy, conflicts and disagreements might arise during public discussions. These conflicts and disagreements are good in the sense that individuals will provide their opinions and ideas critically to others in order to reach an agreement and make a decision.

Benhabib argues for discursive democracy, which shows that the deliberative democratic process is governed by the norms of equality and symmetry, such as the following: all participants have the same chances to initiate speech acts, to question, to interrogate, and to open debate; all have the right to question the assigned topics of conversation; and all have the right to initiate reflexive arguments about the very rules of the discourse procedure and the way in which they are applied or carried out (Benhabib, 1996: 70). This means that all

citizens have the right to take the same opportunity to participate equally in different public debates, and to provide reasoned and reflexive arguments and be listened to by others, whether or not their ideas are accepted by everyone. The participation of all citizens in these kinds of public debates is vital, because they (citizens) have a chance to provide clarifications of and justifications for why their ideas should be accepted. Also, during the debates, all participants will have a chance to ask questions in order to understand others' points of view, and to decide together whether or not the idea is valuable in their context. In Benhabib's discursive model of democracy, citizens are not merely passive individuals who listen and obey what others (teachers, government, principals and so on) say they are supposed to do. In a discursive democracy, citizens feel free to participate equally and to engage actively in diverse activities, such as deliberation on issues that concern them, and their decisions must engage with the legitimacy rule to promote democracy. Such deliberation is important in order to obtain information about the issues that citizens are concerned with in their lives. Also, the individual him/herself does not have all the answers that concern society. Therefore the participation of all citizens in deliberation is important, so that they discuss as many as possible of the issues concerning society.

In 'Toward a deliberative model of democratic legitimacy', Benhabib (1996) questions some critics of deliberative democracy, such as liberal theorists and feminists theorists. For instance, she questions the liberal theorist Rawls's idea of public reason. For Rawls, "in democratic society public reason is the reason of equal citizens who, as a collective body, exercise final political and coercive power over one another in enacting laws and in amending the constitution" (Benhabib, 1996: 74). Benhabib says that Rawls's idea of public reason and a deliberative model of democracy share certain fundamental premises: both theories view the legitimation of political power and the examination of the justice of institutions to be a public process, open to all citizens to participate in. However, Rawls restricts the exercise of public reason to deliberation about "constitutional essential[s]" and questions of basic justice. This means that Rawls limits the public reasons for a specific subject matter that relates to constitutional issues and basic justice. Citizens are not allowed to go forward with their ideas and with critical reflection that might be valuable for their situations. Also, public reason is best viewed not as a process of reasoning amongst citizens, but as a regulative principle imposing limits on how individuals, institutions (schools) and agencies ought to reason about public matters. The limits of public reason are determined by a "political conception of liberalism" (Benhabib, 1996: 75). On the contrary, Benhabib views public reason as a process

of reasoning among citizens. Benhabib (1996: 69) argues that, according to a deliberative model of democracy, there are necessary conditions for attaining legitimacy and rationality with regard to collective decision-making processes in a polity. She also argues that the institutions (schools) of this polity are so arranged that what is considered in the common interest of all results from processes of collective deliberation conducted rationally and fairly between free and equal citizens. This means that if more collective groups participate in decision making it will increase the presumptions of legitimacy and rationality among free and equal citizens.

Finally, for Rawls, the limits of public reason are not applicable to personal deliberations and reflections about political questions, or “reasoning about them by members of associations such as churches and universities (and schools)” (Benhabib, 1996: 75). Put differently, the reasoning of corporate bodies and associations is public with respect to their members, but non-public with respect to political societies and to citizens in general, that is, the state, including the legal sphere and its institutions. Benhabib’s discursive notion of democracy does not separate the personal from the political (and educational), precisely because “politics and public reason are always seen to emerge out of a cultural and social context” (Benhabib, 1996: 76). Therefore, for Benhabib, deliberative democracy does not restrict the agenda of public conversation, but rather encourages discourse that integrates the public and the private, as well as being more interested in ways in which political processes interact with cultural and social contexts, and deliberative democracy focuses on unfinished processes and an open mind for opinion formulation in an unrestricted public sphere.

Benhabib disagrees with feminist theory, Young (1996), namely that deliberations are not truly inclusive in public discussion. For instance, Young advocates that, in a deliberative democracy, what she calls communicative democracy, different forms of communication such as greeting, rhetoric and storytelling are necessary, because these help other participants to understand views, reasons and justifications based on individual situations. For her, communicative democracy is inclusive because the deliberation process begins from the social perspective, culture, whatever class, gender and race of individuals who engage freely and equally to achieve their common good and interest. Benhabib (1996: 82) argues that the forms of communication such as greeting, rhetoric and storytelling may have their place within the informally structured process of everyday communication among individuals who share a cultural and historical life world. For her, because these informal forms of communication take place in our everyday lives, they cannot become the public language of

institutions and legislatures in a democracy for the following reason: to attain legitimacy, democratic institutions require the articulation of the bases of their actions and policies in discursive language that appeals to commonly shared and accepted public reasons. In constitutional democracies, public reasons take the form of general statements consonant with the rule of law (Benhabib, 1996: 83). In the next section I shall provide Young's communicative democracy as a concept of democratic citizenship education.

4.3.2 Young's communicative democracy model as a concept of democratic citizenship education

Iris Marion Young's (1996: 120) conception of democratic citizenship education is described in her essay, 'Communication and the other: Beyond deliberative democracy'. She argues that some deliberative theorists assume a culturally unfair conception of discussion that tends to silence or devalue some people and groups. For this reason she proposes some revisions of the ideal deliberative democracy, which she calls communicative democracy and which will include the profound experiences of the less heard groups in society. She believes in communicative democracy with different forms of communication that will include and help to understand differences in cultures and social perspectives for reaching understanding in democratic discussion (Young, 1996: 120). Such forms of communication are greeting, rhetoric and storytelling, which in the end give rise to arguments that contribute to political (educational) discussion and deliberative democracy. In this essay she distinguishes between deliberative and communicative democracy, where the deliberative democracy model visualises democracy as a process that is created by the public, with citizens coming together to talk about collective problems, goals, ideas and actions to achieve their common good, without including citizens' particular experience and interest (Young, 1996: 121). On the other hand, Young's notion of communicative democracy is inclusive, with individuals attending to one another's differences of culture, interests, class, gender, race, religion and so on, with the final goal of the discussion being to create a common interest that all can share.

Furthermore, as was mentioned above, Young's (1996: 129) concept of communicative democracy insists on different forms of communication, in addition to persuasive arguments such as greeting, rhetoric and storytelling or narrative. This is because she believes that these forms of communication have the prospect to establish and maintain freedom and equality in

public discussion in order to achieve collective goals by providing different ways of speaking across different groups of people (culture, class, gender, race and so on) to a shared understanding of their common goods. For Young (2000: 40), “common goods implies addressing problems that people face together, without any assumption that these people have common interest or common way of life, or that they must subordinate or transcend the particular interest and values that differentiate them”. Greeting in a dialogue aims to reach understanding between people who participate in a public debate and consider each participant individually. Also, greeting refers to the various forms and informal ways citizens in public debate recognise one another prior to and during the discussion. Greeting in a dialogue makes citizens become close to each other, promotes differences and continuous discussions and a particular acknowledgement of the everyday life of each citizen. Also, the participants differ from each other in culture, social perspective, values and interests that they have during the discussion. For this reason, trust and respect grow in order to reach agreement and solve conflicts between them.

Rhetoric refers to the various forms of speech and argument that identify the speaker with a particular audience. It announces the situatedness of communication. Rhetoric constructs speaker, audience and occasion by invoking or creating specific meanings, connotations and symbols, and it serves this connecting function whether the speaker and audience share meanings or not (Young, 1996: 130). The objective of the use of rhetoric is to make the discussion easier and more understandable by giving examples from reality in order to get and keep the attention of the audience. It also serves to engage and motivate the audience not merely to think, but also to act in certain ways.

Storytelling refers to speech in which someone presents a personal narrative, which in discussion aims at reaching understanding about solutions to their collective problems. Here each citizen explains his/her own experience and problems to others, and the problems are not shared or similar to those of the other citizens participating in the debate. The other participants in the debate will be able to understand the situation and difficulties that others have been through, therefore this will help all participants to come up with decisions that benefit all of them. This form of communication is affected by the emotional state of the narrator who exposes his or her story to other people who are not familiar with his/her situation. Also, narrative reveals a source of values, culture and meaning, which can bring conflict, insult, insensitivity and misunderstanding into the debate. However, narrative can serve to explain to others what practices, places or symbols mean to each individual who

holds them. Furthermore, storytelling (narrative) not only reveals the experiences and values of the participants, but also the social knowledge that affects an individual's position. Therefore, all listeners can learn and understand how their own position, actions and values appear to others from the stories they tell.

In the book *Inclusion and democracy*, Young (2000) continues her argument for deliberative democracy (communicative democracy) with inclusive democracy. In the first three chapters, Young addresses the following question: What are the norms and conditions of inclusive democratic communication under circumstances of structural inequality and cultural differences? By refining theories of deliberative democracy, she argues that the model of deliberative democracy (communicative democracy) implies a strong meaning of inclusion and political (educational) equality, which, when implemented, increases the likelihood that the democratic decision-making process will promote justice (Young, 2000: 8). With respect to this result, Young finds four normative elements necessary for a well-functioning and deliberative democratic society in a public discussion, namely inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity. These elements are related in the deliberative model in which they link to each other to promote democratic citizenship education in a determined society.

4.3.2.1 Inclusion

Inclusion in deliberative democracy (communicative democracy) is normatively legitimate only if all those affected by democratic decisions (all participants in decision making, independent of their social class, race, gender, education and so on) are included in the process of discussion and decision making. Inclusion embodies a norm of moral respect for each participant. Each person in a deliberation should give his ideas concerning his interests and be respected and listened to by other people (participants). Citizens are expected to abide by rules and adjust their actions according to decisions, the determination of which has excluded their voice and interests. This normative model promotes "belonging" and trust among citizens, in the sense that each person, particularly those affected, feel that they are welcome and treated equally. Also, it gives confidence to those who, although they were left behind, have the right to express themselves. Furthermore, Young (2000: 23) claims that, when coupled with norms of equality, inclusion allows for the maximum expression of interest, opinions and perspectives relevant to the societal problems or issues requiring a public solution.

4.3.2.2 Equality

According to Young (2000: 23), normative equality in democracy means political equality, in the sense that those who are affected by decision making must be included equally and have the same opportunities and equal right to express their opinions about important aspects concerning their interests in a public discussion. They have an equal opportunity to question one another, to respond, to criticise, to propose and to provide their arguments. The deliberative democracy model promotes freedom and equal opportunity to speak. This condition can be met when individuals are free from domination, which implies that individuals (participants) in public discussions of problems and issues must feel free to express their ideas, without being coerced or threatened by others into accepting certain proposals or outcomes. When a discussion is inclusive it allows for individuals' expression of their interests, opinions and criticism, and brings confidence that the results arise from good reasons and arguments that all participants provide during the debate. According to Young (2000: 24), this confidence can be maintained only when all participants in the debate take in a reasonable disposition.

4.3.2.3 Reasonableness

According to Young (2000: 24), reasonableness requires that individuals (participants) adopt a set of dispositions that will sustain their contributions to different kinds of debate in public space. Further, reasonable people are willing to listen to others, and provide justifiable reasons and arguments in order to solve collective problems with the aim of reaching agreement. In order to reach agreement, all participants need to be confident about their reasons, have faith, listen to each other and trust one another, which will lead to providing persuasive and convincing arguments that all will agree is the best for them. In addition, individuals in democratic discussions must have an open mind, which refers to a disposition to listen to others, treat them with respect and believe in other ideas, and make an effort to understand them by asking questions without judgement. Young (2000: 25) says that to be reasonable is to be willing to change your opinions or preferences because others persuade you that your initial opinions or preferences, as they are relevant to the collective problems under discussion, are incorrect or inappropriate.

4.3.2.4 Publicity

Young (2000: 25) argues that the conditions of inclusion, equality and reasonableness entail interaction between participants in a democratic decision-making process in public, in which all participants hold one another accountable. A public space consists of a plurality of individuals' collective experiences, histories, commitments, ideals, interests and goals as they face one another to discuss their collective problems in achieving a common good (Young, 2000: 25). In such a plurality, individuals express their points of view and value those of others, and this leads to compromise in all ideas to reach the outcome. The participants explain their particular background experiences, interests or proposals in ways that others can understand, and at the same time express their reasons and justifications, which might be accepted or rejected by others.

4.3.3 Gutmann and Thompson's deliberative democracy model as a concept of democratic citizenship education

Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (2004), in their book *Why deliberative democracy?*, present their concept of democratic citizenship education, which they call deliberative democracy. They present four characteristics of deliberative democracy, namely reason-giving, reciprocity, binding in some period of time, and dynamic. In the process of deliberation, these elements compromise each other when individuals collectively look for solutions to problems. Individuals participate freely and equally in open discussion, giving their reasons for and persuasive justifications of their ideas, which contribute to mutual respect. Furthermore, these reasons given should be accessible to all citizens to whom they are addressed. For this reason, this kind of political (educational) discussion must take place in a public space where everybody is included and can feel free to contribute to decision making. This reciprocity gives an opportunity for each citizen to formulate his ideas, understand others with respect, listen to them and ask considerate questions. Deliberative democracy is important because it aims to produce reasonable decisions that are binding for some period of time, which means they are open to constant revision. Gutmann and Thompson (2004: 3) state that citizens must not be treated as passive objects of legislation, but as autonomous, free and equal agents who participate in the governance of their society directly or through their representatives. Here, citizens exercise their power by participating

actively, providing reasons and justification, and not by voting in elections. Finally, deliberative democracy is a dynamic process in the sense that it keeps open the possibility of a continuing dialogue, in which citizens can criticise previous decisions and collectively find new solutions to their problems.

Gutmann and Thompson's (2004: 7) notion of deliberative democracy combines these characteristics in their definition of deliberative democracy as a form of government in which free and equal citizens (and their representatives) justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible, with the aim of reaching conclusions that are binding in the present on all citizens, but open to challenge in the future. In addition, Gutmann and Thompson (2004: 10-12) state that deliberative democracy aims to promote the legitimacy of collective decisions, to encourage public-spirited perspectives on public issues, and to promote a mutually respectful process of decision making, and that it helps to correct mistakes that might emerge during the collective decisions being made by citizens and their representatives.

In my view, this deliberative democracy model combines the above deliberative democracy models of Benhabib (discursive democracy) and Young (communicative democracy) in the way that all citizens (participants) come together collectively to legitimate their decisions, including those affected by them (regardless of class, gender, race, education and so on), by promoting an individual and collective understanding of the reasons, led by persuasive and reasonable arguments and justification. For instance, Miller (2000: 143) argues that this kind of deliberative democracy entails three conditions, namely inclusion, rationality and legitimacy. It is inclusive when citizens participate equally and freely in political (educational) community by taking part in decision making, and it is rational in the sense that decisions reached are determined by the reasons offered during the deliberation. Finally, it becomes legitimate when all participants understand how and why the outcome was reached, even when individually they are not convinced by the arguments. By participating in deliberation, the participants can learn from each other, come to recognise any misunderstanding and develop new policies that can more successfully sustain the new reality of the country. Also, when citizens deliberate in community they expand their knowledge (self-understanding and collective understanding) of what will best serve their society.

Moreover, Gutmann and Thompson (2004: 35) confirm that, in a democracy, schools are the best places to prepare future free and equal citizens to be democratic. In doing so, schools

must prepare citizens to deliberate. Deliberative citizens engage in different activities freely and equally for reaching a common good. Furthermore, Gutmann and Thompson (2004: 35) argue that “democracy cannot thrive without a well-educated citizenry”. For that reason, public schools should educate future citizens and provide them with the knowledge and skills needed for democratic deliberation. This knowledge is concerned with an understanding of political systems, world history and economics, and skills related to literacy, numeracy and critical thinking. This is what young people need in order to become effective citizens. They also argue that if such deliberation does not exist in public schools, other institutions are unlikely to include them. In brief, deliberative democracy advocates that, based on cooperation, citizens owe one another justifications for the laws they collectively impose on one another and, in the end, the conclusion is open to revision. Put differently, a democratic system is deliberative to the extent that the decisions it reaches reflect open discussion among participants, with people ready to listen to the views and consider the interests of others, and modify their own opinions.

In the next section I shall examine two African scholars, namely Kwame Anthony Appiah (1992, 2006) and N’Dri T. Assié-Lumumba (2006), and their ideas on the concept of democratic citizenship education.

4.4 Africans’ concepts of democratic citizenship education

Most African countries such as Mozambique were European colonies until they gained their independence. In this chapter I approached some important Western theories of democratic citizenship education. However, I consider it vital to have an African perspective of the concept of democratic citizenship education, since the problems that African people face may not be the same as the challenges facing Western people. Therefore this approach will balance Western and African thinking on democratic citizenship education.

Kwame Appiah (1992), in his book *In my father’s house*, gives his idea of what it means to be an African today. He says that, in the previous century, African identity had been influenced by European culture. This implies that African identities drew on other identities central to contemporary life on the continent, namely the constantly shifting redefinition of tribal identities to meet the economic and political exigencies of the modern world. Appiah

(1992: 282) argues that an African identity is coming into being. It does not exist alone, essentially because an identity is something complex and multiple that society has to reshape continuously to fulfil the needs of the country and in response to changes in economic, political and cultural forces. The African identity also is shaped by African culture, specifically through their societies' attitudes, ideas, values and beliefs.

Appiah (2006) continues this argument in his book, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers*. In this book he invites people to live together as common humanity. He argues that society concentrates too much on what makes us different, rather than recognising our common humanity. Appiah (2006: xiii) says the notion of cosmopolitanism incorporates two distinctions. Firstly is the idea that people have obligations to others (just as the others have to the people), obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by ties of kith and kin, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. Secondly, people take seriously the value not just of human life, but of particular lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. The point is that, in cosmopolitanism, people are different and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many possibilities worth exploring, people neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life.

The idea in cosmopolitanism is that people engage with variety in society in order to learn to live together, particularly by respecting and understanding the culture (values, ideas, beliefs) of others, even if they disagree morally. This is essential for a conversation between people before judging each other. Appiah (2006: 57) says cosmopolitanism entails that all cultures have enough overlap in their vocabulary of values to begin a conversation. But it is not supposed, as by some universalists, that cosmopolitans could all come to agreement if only they had the same vocabulary. The essence of democratic citizenship education is that, during the debate, the participants can engage with the experiences and ideas of others deliberatively, given justifiable reasons and arguments to persuade others to look for solutions to their problems. Furthermore, the participants can ask meaningful questions to better understand the points of others. With different arguments, people can start thinking differently from the way they thought before. Citizens can live together without agreeing on what the values are that make it good to live together. We can agree about what to do in most cases, without agreeing about what is right.

The point that Appiah makes is that people should learn about other people in other places, take interest in their civilizations, their arguments, their errors and their achievements, not because this will bring citizens to agreement, but because it will help citizens get used to one another. Citizens can learn from one another, or could be intrigued by alternative ways of thinking, feeling and acting. For instance, Mozambique, like so many African countries, is a country with huge cultural diversity. It does not present a specific identity, but presents different aspects even from other countries and continents. Also, Mozambique is a country where people from different cultures and countries live together in one place. In this case of cosmopolitan society (through democratic citizenship education), Mozambican society should recognise, understand and respect the differences of others to be able to live together and solve their social problems collectively. The same can be applied in the classroom, where there are students from different cultures who are in the same place and learning the same thing. These students are “citizens of the world” (Appiah, 2006: xvi) and should be able to learn about and understand the values of others. Students will be able to understand the others’ points of view and the significance of their histories and differences. Another African scholar who concurs with the ideas of Kwame Appiah, despite also claiming access to education for women, is N’Dri Assié-Lumumba.

Assié-Lumumba (2006) argues for an indigenous knowledge in higher education in African institutions. For her it is important to regain the relevant socio-historical context, and to critically examine the cumulative process that produced the current education system in order to make sense of the crises and the productive solutions that are prescribed in policies to solve societal challenges (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 156). This suggests that researchers, policy makers, teachers and students must understand, rethink and critically use past histories and the actual social context of everyday life in finding solutions for social problems. In African tradition, the individual is highly dependent on others, on the memory of the past and on emphasising the balance between nature and culture. In African traditions and practical life, the connection with others is essential. This implies that individuals will live democratically through their common culture, and understand and respect the culture of others. Also, they will experience their cultural expression and the use of culture together. In this regard, democratic citizenship education must rethink and understand the African traditional experiences and practices in order to adopt a useful approach to those challenges facing society.

In addition, Assié-Lumumba (2006: 151-153) advocates for women's access to education in African higher education institutions. She attempts to address some of the problems concerning African education, particularly problems such as gender inequality in higher education, and the lack of women's advancement in education policies to allow women to participate fully in different decision-making agendas to their full capacity. Women's lack of participation in top professional and political decisions is affected by their lack of access to higher education. Assié-Lumumba (2006: 142) claims that, because women are under-represented in the education system, they are under-represented in most economically rewarding occupations. Women are also less likely to hold positions of power and authority that would allow them to influence policies for redressing specific imbalances. The point is that women need appropriate knowledge to be able to challenge their societal problems, especially since they are responsible to sustain their families and for economic development.

In addition, it is important to create gender-sensitive environments. In addressing gender discrimination in African education institutions and in higher education, Assié-Lumumba (2006: 152) agrees with the promotion of gender parity in classical institutions, the creation of specific units (gender/women's studies programmes and departments), and all-women institutions of higher learning. She posits that, despite the relatively low proportion of women entering higher education, increasing engagement with gender studies in Africa is vital in the context of the political, institutional and social challenges of the contemporary era and the growth in the number of African women entering higher education. The point is that promoting gender equality and equal numbers of men and women in all places of work and education will enforce participation and the protection of citizens' rights. Also, women will feel that they belong in the society, with a responsibility for developing it and searching for solutions to their problems.

African countries face unique and numerous societal problems that must be solved by the countries themselves. According to Assié-Lumumba (2006: 133), the role of African people in taking the lead in building their societies is central to African history. It is important to emphasise that African problems will not find solutions from the outside. Problems such as HIV/AIDS constitute the major challenge that has an impact on education institutions and schools. For instance, the devastating effects of the disease have been shortening the life expectancy of the labour force. The loss of human resources such as teachers in schools negatively affects the continuation of teaching and learning for the students, who will need to wait for new teachers.

Furthermore, African societies need to boost the capacity of the population to have access to knowledge that, even in the absence of jobs, can help analyse and understand the structural matters that affect the continent, its people and societies (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 124). In other words, African countries need education systems that can provide a solid education, and educated people who can participate competently in the production of knowledge not for its own sake, but which can be relevant in addressing these challenges and promoting broad societal advancement. In order to advance themselves, African people need deliberate, vigorous, focussed and consistent action at all levels of African society as a whole. This is essential for the existence of African education institutions, particularly higher education and schools, which shape critical thinking and form new minds that are free of the seeds of self-destruction and that can use knowledge for the construction of a solid African society. Assié-Lumumba (2006: 123) confirms that education institutions cannot function effectively and productively in the context of constant social and political turmoil in which students and schools constitute the major actors.

Finally, these two African scholars (Kwame Appiah and N'Dri Assié-Lumumba) both clearly advocate the need to use indigenous knowledge and African traditional experience in democratic citizenship education. Both advocate that specialists, philosophers, teachers and students should not leave their traditional experiences behind when analysing different aspects that are of concern to them. On the one hand, Appiah claims that, in democratic citizenship education, students should be able to recognise their differences. On the other hand, Assié-Lumumba advocates for women's access to education, particularly higher education. With such an education, women will be able to recognise themselves and their importance for the development of the continent, their community and their families.

I do agree with these African scholars, particularly in as far as Mozambique was a colonised country and that it faces a different phase of its history. It is important that the citizens understand and acknowledge the history and traditional experiences of the country in a critical analysis of any aspect affecting their society. Such knowledge in democratic citizenship education will enable citizens to appreciate their cultures and bring their different skills (not only Western ideas) to a deliberation on their everyday lives.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has, in a way, exposed the similarities between Western theorists of democratic citizenship education and has shown the views of African theorists of democratic citizenship education. It shows that the democratic theorists Benhabib, Young, and Gutmann and Thompson agree that decision making must be done in public deliberations. Such deliberations must occur in a public space where all participate equally and freely, without any oppression from those who are in power, discussing issues that are of concern to them and society. In particular, Benhabib, and Gutmann and Thompson share the same idea that deliberations on issues concerning society should be done in a public space and that the decisions agreed to will be legitimated by the majority affected by the debate. Contrary to this, Young claims that such public deliberation is not enough. Rather, it is necessary to produce different forms of communication for the deliberation to be validated. These include greeting, rhetoric and storytelling.

Nevertheless, this chapter shows that the decisions reached in deliberative democracy reflect the involvement of all citizens in the debate, who freely, equally and reasonably provide their reasonable and justifiable arguments with the aim of reaching agreement on solving their social challenges. The same decisions may not be approved or agreed on by everyone involved in the public deliberations. However, the decisions should represent a fair balance between the different views expressed in the course of the discussion for them to be recognised as legitimate by all participants in the debate, even those who disagree.

In the next chapter I shall show whether the education policies, curriculum programmes and materials in Mozambican education achieve the requirements of theories of democratic citizenship education sufficiently, and whether the education policies help citizens to solve their problems. I shall determine whether or not Mozambique's education policies and programmes contribute to the development of democratic citizenship education.

Chapter 5

5. Democratic citizenship education theories and Mozambican education policy documents

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I argued that deliberative democratic citizenship education in schools is an ideal method of instruction to bring democratic values to Mozambican society. These include values such as deliberation, equality, freedom, inclusion, collaboration, reason, compassion, independence, respect and trust among citizens. It is within democratic citizenship education that citizens learn and interact with all members of the community through cooperation with each other, and listen to and respect the ideas and opinions of others, even when they do not agree with them.

In addition, it is through democratic citizenship education that democracy in a country and among citizens should be developed. Citizens engage and participate actively in a public discussion on building the education policies that potentially will be helpful to cultivate democratic citizens in society. In this context in democratic citizenship education, students are not passive beings that obey and simply listen to what teachers have to say, but have to engage as critical thinkers. It encourages the realisation by students that they are valued as people and that they have a positive role to play in creating a caring community within the school. It is through this active participation and engagement that Mozambican citizens need to become active democratic citizens who are capable of facing and challenging their own social problems.

In the previous chapters (3 and 4) I analysed Mozambican education policy documents and described the ideas of the theorists of democratic citizenship education. I explained how the education policy documents have been changing from independence to the present day in order to fit the needs of the country and provide a better education for its citizens. Also, I argued that for individuals to be active democratic citizens it is necessary to engage in deliberative public discussion to find solutions to issues that concern them and society. In such deliberation, citizens participate equally and freely, without feeling intimidated by those

in power, and they provide persuasive justification of and arguments for their ideas, as well as reasons to the other participants in the debate. During this participatory engagement in deliberative discussion, democratic citizenship education values are developed, such as collaboration, trust, compassion, freedom, equality, inclusion, respect and imagination. This chapter therefore seeks to explore democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican education system. The constitutive meanings of democratic citizenship education acquired in Chapter 4 will enable me to answer the main question of this thesis, namely: Can the educational policies in schools contribute to cultivating democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican society? If not, what should be done? Lastly, I analyse what should be happening in the process of teaching and learning in democratic citizenship education. I shall now proceed with the analysis of Mozambican education policy documents in relation to democratic citizenship education theories.

5.2 Analysis of Mozambican education policy documents in relation to democratic citizenship education theories

In this section I investigate how the Mozambican education policy documents are connected with democratic citizenship education theories. In Chapter 3 I concluded that the Mozambican education policies have been part of a dynamic process, presenting some significant differences in three periods. Therefore these investigations are presented in three distinct periods, namely the post-colonial period in 1975, the post-civil war period in 1992, and the post-Millennium period, because there are significant differences in the Mozambican education policies between these periods in relation to the way the government approached democratic citizenship education. Next I shall proceed with the analysis of the post-colonial period.

5.2.1 Post-colonial period

Here I analyse the first education policies that were introduced after the colonial period, namely a national system of education. The national system of education originated eight years after Mozambique's independence in 1975, to replace the unfair education system of

the colonial period and to fulfil the goals and objectives of the new government. The new government, FRELIMO, considered themselves a single party that followed Marxist-Leninist ideology. In order to achieve its objectives and to live in a country with mutual respect and democracy, the government considered important the eradication of illiteracy, the introduction of universal primary schooling, and training citizens to contribute to economic and social development, as well as to scientific, technologic and cultural investigation.

In fact, one of the positive aspects of the national system of education is that it brought equal access to education for all Mozambican citizens, independent of their race, sex, colour, culture and religion. This was a break particularly from the past, unfair policy of the Portuguese colony, which did not make any effort to educate black people to be autonomous and active citizens who participated actively, equally and freely and were capable of challenging their social problems. At the time, citizens were not allowed to participate in any political (educational) decisions that concerned them.

After independence, it was through education that the government found a way to correct the inequalities and disparities among Mozambican citizens and grant all citizens equal access to education, freedom and democracy. For instance, after independence was verified, an education explosion took place in schools that increased representation to 93% of Mozambican citizens, compared to 0,1% in the colonial period (Mazula, 1995: 149-151). Unfortunately, in the following years the number of students decreased as a result of the civil war. For education and a society to become democratic, everyone should have access to education. This means that every individual and citizen of the country must have equal access to and quality education, and their basic needs must be met. It also implies that the citizens, and society in general, should be able to address social issues that affect the spirit and soul of the country, such as poverty, violence, crime, women and child abuse, early pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and so on. As Gutmann and Thompson (2004) claim, schools are the best places to prepare future free and equal citizens to be democratic. It is in schools that citizens learn democratic values, which include the civic and moral values that are required for citizens to be able to challenge and address social issues. In achieving this, schools must prepare citizens to deliberate. In such deliberation, citizens engage actively, freely and equally in different activities to reach a common good.

However, despite the government bringing access to education to everyone, independent of their origin, sex, race, social position and gender, the national system of education failed in

not encouraging participation and deliberation by citizens in different issues that concern them. It was clear that citizens in the national system of education had to develop according to the specific ideology of the government. For example, it is possible to see in all the objectives of the national system of education that citizens were supposed to be educated to adopt the socialist ideology (cf. Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1983). This objective did not allow citizens to be free, autonomous, critical thinkers and citizens who could speak and express their wishes. The citizens were obliged to behave according to the government ideology, and follow and respond to the government ideology, which did not allow Mozambican citizens to be democratic.

Another positive aspect of the national system of education was the central objective to form the *Homem novo* (new person). This was supposed to be a person free from darkness, free from superstitious beliefs and free from a colonial mentality, a person who assumed the values of the socialist society. This central objective was understandable if democratic citizens and a new society were to be achieved. It was necessary, particularly taking into consideration the unfair education system established by the Portuguese colony. For instance, according to the first constitution (Boletim da República de Moçambique, 1975: 1), in order to create a modern state or new society it was essential to eliminate the oppressive and dominating structures, and the traditional and colonial mentality that were imposed at the time. Samora Machel (cited in Mazula, 1995: 178) showed the impossibility to create “new structures without the creation of a new mentality”, a “revolutionary mentality”, a mentality that was adopted through the use and dominium of science and technology for the service of people. For him, the use of culture (music, dance, poetry, drama, art) within society was necessary to create a new society in order to destroy the old mentality and build a new mentality (Machel, 1970, cited in Mazula, 1995: 178). The government understood by this new society a society without exploitation of people by any person; a society without hunger, without epidemics and ignorance: a society that was stronger and flourished (Mazula, 1995: 179). Unfortunately, this policy displayed a lack of inclusion of and participation by the citizens who were affected by the policy in the legitimation of it. It is clear that the policy was legitimated exclusively by members of the government (FRELIMO), although the citizens needed to acknowledge the particular government ideology. Citizens were mere passive individuals who obeyed what the government said, and therefore were prevented from being autonomous and free citizens with their own needs and thinking. This goes against what Benhabib (1996) argues about discursive democratic citizenship, in which

citizens are not merely passive individuals who listen and obey what others (teachers, government, principals and so on) say they are supposed to do. Rather, citizens feel free to participate equally and engage actively in diverse activities, such as deliberation on issues that concern them, and their decisions must engage with the rule of legitimacy to promote democracy.

Furthermore, the government had total power in controlling the education system, and did not allow the participation of other organisations in contributing to education. This policy demonstrates the lack of a concept of democratic citizenship education, and the participation and inclusion of others who could contribute different ideas on how the policy could address the different needs of society. Despite the efforts of the government to bring equality and democracy to its citizens, the policy presented a thin or almost invisible democratic citizenship education, because nothing was said about the involvement of citizens in public debates aimed at looking for solutions to their problems. Also, the policy did not demonstrate the importance of an understanding of deliberative democratic citizenship education, as described in Chapter 4. This implies that the policy did not give importance to deliberation in which citizens participated equally and engaged actively in different discussions, being allowed to give their reasons and persuasive justification for their arguments when facing their problems. It is this kind of interaction that Mozambican citizens need in order to be active and critical citizens in democratic society. Because the policy demonstrated the lack of an essential aspect of democratic citizenship education, as mentioned above, it was not adequate to produce and promote democratic citizens who were able to take a step by themselves in solving social problems that concerned them. In the next section I shall analyse the policies that were introduced in the 1990s, after the civil war.

5.2.2 Post-civil war

Here I analyse the education policies that were introduced after the civil war in Mozambique, namely the National System of Education, the National Education Policy and the Strategic Plan for Education. In 1992, the national system of education was reformulated, and the country had a multiparty democratic political system in terms of the constitution of 1990, and free elections. Being a multiparty democratic country could allow a balanced and fuller representation of the people's views. Different from the national system of education of 1983,

the government started in 1992 to allow the participation of other organisations in the educative process, including community, cooperative and private institutions. However, the national system of education of 1992 did not show how these organisations could contribute to decision making in drawing up education policy. There is no evidence that the policy was legitimated through open discussion in which citizens participated freely and equally, providing arguments, reasons and justifications for their ideas for solutions that could sufficiently sustain the reality of the country. For education to be democratic, every person must be valued, listened to, and participate actively in their learning and decision-making process. As Young (2000) argues, education policy becomes fully legitimated only if all citizens that are affected by democratic decisions (including all participants in decision making, particularly the marginalised – women, children and disable people) are included in the process of discussion and decision making. Each person has the right to be heard in a public deliberation, his/her ideas should be valued and are important to contribute in the formulation of the policy that sustains the social reality. This also brings the idea of Appiah and Assié-Lumumba that people should leave together independently of their differences. That people need to engage to each other and be willing to understand the life of others before judging, to be able to understand why a particular society or person behave in a certain way. So that disadvantage voices (women, children, disabled [people]) can be acknowledge and be able to participate for the development of their families, communities and country. Therefore Mozambique that is a country with culture differences, the society need to engage to each other so that each voice be acknowledge and understandable so that all needs can be accomplish in the education system.

In addition, it is evident that the education policies that were introduced in the 1990s (National System of Education, National Education Policy and Strategic Plan for Education) were concerned with increasing access to education and the quality of education in Mozambique. However, these policies showed a lack of encouragement of deliberative democratic citizenship education in schools and in public discussion. The point is that the education policies did not encourage participation and deliberation by citizens (learners) in schools and in public debates, where citizens were able to discuss different issues that concern them and give their arguments, ideas and justification to each other. This therefore implies that, if schools do not teach citizens (learners), who are the future generations of the country, to deliberate, it is very unlikely that they will be able to face their social problems and contribute to the development of their community and the country. As Gutmann and

Thompson (2004: 35) argue, “democracy cannot thrive without a well-educated citizenry”. For this reason, public schools are the best place to prepare equal and free citizens to be democratic. Schools therefore must prepare citizens to deliberate. In my understanding, the idea of deliberation is a way of being informed, where citizens (learners) can engage with each other on issues of concern to society. In this deliberation, citizens can acknowledge the history of others, and understand and recognise misunderstandings of issues that they were not familiar with. If schools teach citizens to be democratic, citizens can learn and be able to understand and deal with the outside world and contribute to its development.

However, the education policies presented a thin democratic citizenship education, setting aside important aspects that can contribute to active democratic citizens in the country, such as citizen participation and deliberation in schools, and public deliberation in decision making. It is clear that the government is concerned with increasing access to and the quality of education for its citizens (this is not the least important for democracy to flourish). To be specific, what I am saying is that access and quality are also important if democracy is to flourish, but that the lack of encouragement of participation and deliberation in schools could affect democracy’s ability to flourish in a country such as Mozambique. In schools, participation and deliberation contribute to promoting democratic citizens and instilling in them democratic values such as responsibility, respect, collaboration, independence, equality and justice. This is what Mozambican society needs in order to have active, democratic citizens. Because of this thin democratic citizenship education in the content of the education policies, they (the education policies) are demonstrated to be inadequate for promoting democratic citizens in the Mozambican society.

5.2.3 Period after the Millennium Development Goals

In this section I analyse the education policies that were introduced after the conference on the Millennium Development Goals in 2000. At this time, the government was aware that much still needed to be done (about access to and quality of education) if one of the MDGs was to be achieved, namely to achieve universal primary education. In fact, the government had been increasing access to education by increasing the number of schools. For instance, the number of primary schools increased from 7 013 in 1999 (INED/MINED, 2003: 14) to 11 859 in 2008 (MEC, 2009: 1). However, the quality of education is still not pleasing; for

example, there continue to be large numbers of learners who drop out of school before the end of grade 7, as well as a large number of learners who repeat a grade. Also, there is a big learner/teacher ratio and weak preparation of teachers. Furthermore, the content of the curriculum has been demonstrated to be inadequate for teaching and learning. As a result, the government introduced the Curricular Plan for Basic Education and the Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education in order to improve the quality of education and offer citizens better education that potentially can help them to participate in and contribute to the quality of their life.

Furthermore, the government is aware of the necessity to improve and change the content of the primary and secondary curriculum to allow citizens (learners) to integrate successfully into the life of society and the world, which is changing faster than ever, and to prepare them to be independent and dynamic in the labour market. This desire determined the curriculum transformation based on the need to train active, responsible and participatory citizens and entrepreneurs. The government is concerned about preparing citizens who are able to challenge and face their own problems in society if democracy is to flourish. For this reason, the government realises the need to introduce subjects that direct the teaching and learning of democratic citizenship education, such as moral and civic education, and subjects (introduction to philosophy and introduction to psychology and pedagogy) that can contribute to the development of citizens culturally, mentally and critically. This means that these subjects should help citizens to develop a new mentality, to think creatively, to question the reality and the world around them, and to develop respect for others. In addition, different themes were introduced in order to develop skills that would allow citizens to reflect on and discuss social problems together, and to propose changes for society and the country. In this regard I can say that democracy in schools means having more voice and opinions on what happens in classrooms and in society, and being able to practise democracy and not only read about it. Therefore, the themes introduced in the Mozambican curriculum, such as culture of peace, human rights and democracy; gender and equity; reproductive health (HIV and AIDS); health and nutrition; prevention and combating of the abuse of alcohol, tobacco and other drugs; the environment and sustainable use of natural resources; natural disasters (floods, droughts, cyclones and earthquakes); road safety; the protection of cultural patrimony; and cultural identity and patriotism, should help citizens to think critically and have more knowledge of what is happening in their society and in the world. Furthermore, it should help

citizens take action and be able to learn to use the tools of democracy, such as collaboration, deliberation, equity, and writing letters.

In addition, Mozambican society and schools are not invulnerable to the extreme social issues of the day. For instance, children affected by HIV/AIDS, disabled people, girls falling pregnant at an early age, alcohol abuse, women and child abuse, and so on, are problems that citizens (learners) face every day of their lives. Therefore, it is essential that schools address these social issues in the classroom concerned by looking for different environmental solutions. Learners are the future generations of the country, and one day will be the ones to lead society and the country, therefore it is vital to address these social issues with young people. When these learners grow up, they therefore will be able to face their problems and find solutions for themselves, without waiting for anybody to come and solve their problems for them. This could reduce the number of people infected by HIV, and ensure that more children attend school (because the parents, one-time learners, will understand the importance of going to school and of being educated), and it would be possible to see more rights to protect to favour Mozambican citizens. Starting to address these kinds of social issues in the classroom can help to develop the values of democratic citizenship education, such as freedom and responsibility, participation and collaboration, and a loving and supporting community. Citizens can learn to participate and deliberate in issues that are of concern to themselves and society. Also, by addressing these social issues, citizens can learn to respect and recognise their rights and give an opportunity for others to speak and be heard. This goes particularly with what Assié-Lumumba argue that it is important that African society solve their problems from inside. That African societies needs to boost the capacity of the population to have access to knowledge of the issues that the society is facing. Therefore Mozambican citizens can be able to acknowledge their direct problems and looking together ways in solving them.

In addition, it is clear that, through its education policy, the government encourages the participation of citizens in the educational discussion. Participation is an important aspect for democratic citizenship education to flourish. Yet it seems that deliberation is forgotten, in the sense that not much of it is seen in education policies. Deliberation in democratic citizenship education means that all citizens, independent of their differences and diversity, are included in the conversation through argument, reasons given and justifications when looking for solutions to their problems. For instance, according to Gutmann and Thompson (2004: 7), in

these deliberations citizens equally and freely justify decisions made by them, even if all citizens are not in agreement with each other.

Furthermore, the government has said that these education policies (Curricular Plan for Basic Education and Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education) were devised based on the opinions of different personalities (organisations, teachers, learners, members of the government) and studies. However, it is not clear how the different citizens (women, disabled people, children) were involved in the process of decision making. It seems that the education policies lack inclusion whereby all people, independent of their social conditions, race, culture and education, were involved in the process of decision making. Despite being pleased with the improvement that the government has made with regard to the development of democratic citizenship education in schools and society, there still is a need for more involvement and deliberation in the process of education policy decision making. For these reasons I argue that education policies are still not adequate to cultivate democratic citizenship education. Yet I applaud the government for the improvements they have made when I compare the latest education policies with the first ones that originated in the 1980s and 1990s.

In brief, it is evident that, in a way, education policies have been transformed in respect of how government treats democratic citizenship education. At the beginning of the study period, the government was concerned with the eradication of illiteracy by increasing access to education and the quality of education. It therefore left aside aspects that should be helpful to promote active democratic citizens in Mozambique. These aspects are related to the democratic participation of citizens in educational discussion, and in subjects that could direct the teaching and learning of democratic citizenship such as civic and moral education. The education policies from the 1980s (national system of education) and 1990s (National System of Education, National Education Policy and Strategic Plan for Education) lack specifications and commitments to encourage the participation and deliberation of citizens in the education discussion, which was described in Chapter 4 as deliberative democratic citizenship education. Therefore, these policies seem to be inadequate to promote active democratic citizens in Mozambican society.

Fortunately, this scenario changed in the 21st century, when the education policies (Curricular Plan for Basic Education and Curricular Plan for Secondary Education) advocated democratic citizenship education through participation, in which citizens become active and

participative citizens. The government encourages the discussion of different issues concerning society in schools, which should enable citizens to be active and to participate in the life of their communities and society. However, despite these improvements, the education policies seem to lack deliberation on the process of education policy decision making, in which, according to Gutmann and Thompson (2004) and Benhabib (1996), citizens should participate equally and freely in deliberation, giving reasons and justifications for their arguments, even if the participants in the debate do not agree with each other. But, in the end, the decision agreed to by most of the citizens who participated in the discussion is the one to be legitimated.

In the next section I shall describe what should happen in teaching and learning in relation to democratic citizenship education in schools.

5.3 Teaching and learning in democratic citizenship education

Teaching and learning are important concepts in democratic citizenship. Different authors have discussed what should be included in citizenship education, as well as how it should be taught (Arthur, Davies & Hahn, 2008: 6). All express the basic concern that how teachers teach children will influence what kind of citizens they will become. However, this does not mean that how teachers teach is more important than what teachers teach. Democratic citizenship education in the process of teaching and learning requires that teachers and students use critical and creative thinking skills. It implies that students should not only be taught to understand the general concepts in citizenship education, but that they should also engage in practical activities that will contribute to a free, equal and active citizenry. Put differently, in democratic citizenship education, teaching is not simply about the direct transmission of knowledge and skills, but it is also about discovery, where teachers should be teaching students to embrace the qualities of cooperation, independence and kindness that will help them to participate in political and social life (Arthur *et al.*, 2008: 7). Simply put, teaching involves sharing knowledge with others (Purkey & Novak, 1996: 49). Here, students are taught to participate and engage actively with each other, and to learn to trust and respect each other. One of the big challenges facing educators, policy makers and teachers is what kind of pedagogy schools should embrace and how schools should involve students in decision making. The content of democratic citizenship education can be found in subjects

such as civic education, social studies, and personal and moral education, which can be integrated into subjects such as history and geography. Subjects such as civic education should help young people identify and understand issues related to their communities. In my understanding, democratic education is where people listen to one another and where children are the sources of learning for teachers. It means people having a say in their own learning process. In Mozambican society there is a need to engage citizens at a very young age to play a role in deciding what and how they should be learning. In engaging in these activities, citizens (learners) can benefit themselves in terms of their relationships, reciprocity, mutuality and interdependence, which ultimately will serve their wellbeing and the wellbeing of all. These types of decisions should also be taken in community conversations, and not just individually when solving problems. The point is that, by engaging in community, citizens can exchange ideas, arguments and justifications for the problems that are challenging them in the moment of the engagement.

In addition, students ultimately are required to become active participants in and shapers of their own learning. Therefore, the teachers' role is to guide their students, to facilitate an open mind, and to help students reflect on their decisions and arguments. According to Arthur *et al.* (2008: 7), democratic citizenship education is not simply about the transmission of knowledge or about information and facts. It is about understanding and awareness. It means citizens need to know their rights, but also how these rights operate within a democracy. In democratic citizenship education, students learn through participation and develop skills such as how to negotiate, to compromise, to collaborate, to exercise leadership, to communicate and to listen. Here, citizens are not passive beings that obey what others have to say, but citizens also have something to say to others and should listen, even when they do not agree with each other. This is vital for the students, because democratic citizenship education will involve the student's voice and the promotion of certain democratic values and voluntary service concerned with the environment and with justice. To promote these benefits, teachers need to be prepared for the diverse, challenging and changing learning contexts that might be encountered during teaching and learning, and that will contribute to successful democratic citizenship education. Teachers must have a deep understanding that will enable them to work with learners, and to operate in many different contexts, including in the communities. In democratic citizenship education, teachers and students have a duty to work expansively and creatively in order to develop democratic diversity.

Purkey and Novak (1996: 41-47) advocate that, in a democratic citizenship education teaching and learning process, teachers should perceive learners as able, valuable and responsible citizens who are capable of thinking, choosing and learning. Teachers should have positive views about their students' abilities, which will help students to respond positively to the process of teaching and learning. For instance, teachers who believe that certain children cannot learn or benefit from instruction will have little success in teaching them. Therefore, teachers who believe that certain children cannot think for themselves will create a school system that will actually make it impossible for these children to think for themselves.

From a brief analysis of the Mozambican education policies, it would seem that, in the last few years, the government is taking into consideration the need to teach democratic citizenship education in schools. For instance, I can see that the government has been encouraging learners' participation in the classroom and suggesting that the teaching and learning process should be centred on them (the learners). The idea is that Mozambican learners should be responsible for what they learn in the classroom, and that the teacher serves as facilitator or guide for the students. But the question I would like to ask is how education can be centred on the learners where the teacher/learner ratio is so huge? The problem becomes particularly bad when the teacher/learner ratio is at least 1/70 per class – how can teachers manage a class as big as this and how would the learners even find time to discuss anything in the short time available? Just to clarify, I do not disagree with the need for education to be centred on learners, but I am concerned that the environment in Mozambican schools at present may not favour the development of democratic citizenship education.

Recently, authors have been embracing the need for teachers' teaching and learning to include compassion and imagination in schools (Nussbaum, 2001; Waghid, 2004, 2005).

5.3.1 The use of compassion and imagination in the teaching and learning process

Waghid (2004) explores how citizenship education in South Africa is guided by liberal and communitarian concepts of citizenship. However, he argues that the liberal-communitarian concept is not sufficient on its own to bring about educational transformation in institutions.

Instead, citizenship education initiatives in South Africa need to promote a sense of compassion and motivate learners to take seriously the suffering of others. It is argued that such compassion represents a precondition of genuine educational transformation. For him, the liberal-communitarian values can result in learners developing capacities for rational argumentation and deliberative engagement through which they can build relationships of trust and mutual respect. But these values alone will not cultivate in learners the virtue of being compassionate towards others. Compassion focuses greater attention on those who suffer and are oppressed, and gives less attention to the learners' self-interest. Democratic citizenship requires that people cultivate mutual respect, warmth, friendship, trust, self-respect, dignity, generosity and compassion towards others.

The use of compassion in the teaching and learning process clearly shows the connection with Young's communicative democracy model of democratic citizenship education, described in Chapter 4, in which she argues for an inclusive engagement between all the participants in the public decision-making process. She advocates that it is important to give voice to marginalised groups and to listen to their stories to have a better understanding of their suffering. According to Waghid (2004) and Nussbaum (2001), the same is required in the education system, in which they call for the use of compassion. It is through compassion that students and teachers will be concerned about the wellbeing of others, and focus concretely on their suffering. Through stories, literature and drama, students and teachers will understand the other side of the story and recognise the importance of engaging and participating in activities that help ease suffering (Nussbaum, 2001: 426-428).

Taking the example of Waghid (2004: 539), it can be said that, in Mozambican classrooms, where students are beginning to deliberate in schools about matters of public concern such as violence, alcoholism and drugs, domestic violence and women and child abuse, job discrimination, unemployment, poverty and lack of food, the students are required to make certain practical judgements about how to deal with these variables in their public and personal lives. Judgements regularly will be based on the students' perceptions of others' distress, undeserved misfortunes, suffering, injustice, disability and disease. It is in this context that compassion becomes necessary for adequate deliberation, since it not only shows an awareness of the misfortune and suffering of others, but also gives individuals an opportunity to focus on the suffering of others.

Waghid (2005) argues for the importance of teaching students to be compassionate and imaginative toward others. He attempts to show that compassionate and imaginative actions have the potential to extend some of the fundamental dimensions of democratic citizenship education: deliberative argumentation and the recognition of others and differences. Waghid (2005: 322) argues that cultivating democratic citizenship in schools cannot focus exclusively on teaching students deliberative argumentation and the recognition of difference and others. Students should also be taught what it means to act with compassion and imagination. This is vital, because imaginative action seems to be attractive in promoting civic reconciliation, which is a practice that is necessary for building relations of care, justice and trust in schools' dialogical action. In this way, a different democratic citizenship education agenda that not only connects with the lived stories of people, but also opens possibilities for the realisation of civic reconciliation, could be engendered.

Nussbaum (2001: 432) also confirms that an education for compassionate citizenship should be a multicultural education. Learners must learn to appreciate the diversity of circumstances in which human beings struggle to flourish. This means not just learning some facts about classes, races, nationalities and sexual orientation, but being drawn into those lives through imagination, becoming a participant in those struggles. For this, learners must also be engaged in studies such as political and social studies, and economic history. Learners should further be in contact with works of literature and other artworks that involve the spectator in the significance of the events of history for human individuals. For instance, some truths about human emotions can best be conveyed in verbal and textual form. The use of imagination will help learners to be willing to participate in and understand the situation of others and to compare this with their own situation.

Furthermore, teachers should have compassion for students, who through no fault of their own have received inadequate schooling. This includes, for example, those students who need to do chores early in the morning before going to school, and those who walk long distances to arrive at school, as a result arriving late. Also, there are parents who cannot afford to send their children to more affluent and well-organised schools. In this case, such teachers should recognise the need to find creative ways to help disadvantaged students to come to grips with difficult concepts and, at the same time, to acknowledge that the students are not responsible for the unjust educational system that they might have been exposed to. One could argue that all students should be treated equally and that no student should receive preferential treatment of any sort, including additional pedagogical support. Here, the

compassion of these teachers and students will result in an understanding of the suffering of others and of differences.

5.4 Summary

This chapter provided an analysis of the Mozambican education policy documents and a comparison with the theories of the concept of democratic citizenship education. The education policy documents have been transformed in the way that the government approaches democratic citizenship education. The government is always concerned about eradicating illiteracy by increasing access to education and the quality of education in Mozambique. This concern originated from the inequalities that Mozambican citizens were subjected to in the colonial past. Therefore the need to build more schools in order to provide citizens with education is constantly part of the plans of the government. It seems that, because of this concern, the government did not attach significant importance to other aspects that could contribute to promoting democratic citizenship education.

However, this situation has been changing in the past few years. The government is more aware of the need for subjects that could contribute to promoting democratic citizens who are able to solve their own social problems in the community and that could enable citizens to participate in the life of society and the world. Furthermore, the government has been encouraging the participation of citizens in different activities in schools and in communities, and expecting them to act critically and together in solving their problems. However, despite these improvements, I conclude that the education policies still are not adequate to promote the development of Mozambican citizens who are able to face and challenge their problems. This is because there is a need for the involvement of the citizens in the process of decision making on education policies.

Through democratic citizenship education, teachers and students are asked to act critically and to use their skills in solving problems. Students are active participants, as they are not in school just to obey what teachers say, but to critically ask questions and provoke others to engage actively in different activities and to give their opinions on the issue they are debating. Therefore, teachers act as facilitators in schools to guide students in order to make them arrive at the solutions to the problems they are facing themselves. It is argued that, in

the teaching and learning process, teachers and students should learn to be compassionate towards those who are in different situations to themselves. It is within this compassion and imagination that teachers and students will understand the story and the suffering of others. In the next chapter I discuss the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the thesis.

Chapter 6

6. Findings, conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I analysed Mozambican education policy documents in connection with theories of democratic citizenship education. The objective of the chapter was to verify whether or not the Mozambican education policy documents achieve the requirements of the democratic citizenship education theories concretely to answer the main question of this educational research, namely: Can the Mozambican education policies in schools contribute to cultivating democratic citizens in the Mozambican society? If not, what should be done? I concluded that the Mozambican educational policies are not adequate to cultivate democratic citizens who are capable of addressing their social issues, because of a lack of or thin democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican education policies.

However, I suggested that, if democratic citizenship education were to be achieved in Mozambique, a deliberative model of democratic citizenship education needs to be implemented in Mozambican schools. This suggestion arose because this deliberative model of democratic citizenship education potentially can contribute to promoting democratic citizens in Mozambican society. Put differently, deliberative democratic citizenship education allows all citizens to participate freely and equally in different types of activities in which they can engage with themselves, expressing their ideas by giving arguments, justifications and reasons for them. It is through this engagement that citizens come to understand each other, recognise their misunderstandings and become more familiar with something that they were not familiar with. Citizens (learners) also can become critical thinkers and not be afraid of talking in public, and be able to contribute to finding different solutions to the problems that society is facing every day. Therefore, it is essential that citizens (learners) start dealing with these kinds of problems at an earlier age, which will enable them to recognise their rights and exercise citizenship without feeling intimidated by those in power. As a result they will be able to contribute to better education policies and decision making.

In this Chapter 6 I describe my findings, conclusions and recommendations arising from this educational research. I start by describing the findings of my educational research. This is

followed by my conclusions drawn from the research for this thesis, and lastly I present my recommendations for future research. Next I shall summarise my findings.

6.2 Summary of findings

When I started this educational research, particularly while I was doing my proposal, I was getting upset because I could not see any important aspects of democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican education policy documents from simple observation. I mean that through simple observation I was expected to look at the education policies and straight away find those that spoke of the values of democratic citizenship education, such as collaboration, deliberation, discussion, independence, friendship and so on. But completely the opposite was happening, which made me feel so angry with myself and with the government. This situation changed when I spoke to one lady. We were just talking about our work and I explained my situation to her. The lady said, no, you cannot just find bad things in the education policies; you must also find good things about the education policies and you should speak about that too. It was after this conversation that I started looking at the Mozambican education policies differently and maybe really started doing my research. I became the observer and the analyst of the thesis, trying not to be too emotional about the things I was observing. Therefore in this section I describe what I found during the educational research on the Mozambican education policies and theories of democratic citizenship education. I have separated my discussion of the observations according to the chapters to better understand what I found during the research and how I was guided to my conclusions. To be explicitly, the summary of my thesis contain my research findings. The summary of findings explained what I have been doing during the educational research and what my main findings were.

Chapter 2 aimed to gain an understanding of the concept of philosophy of education and to describe the research methodology and method of this thesis. This was essential, particularly to have a better understanding of the importance of philosophy of education, its objectives, and in what way it contributes to educational research. I also described the research methodology (interpretive theory) and research method (analysis of a concept) that were used to gain information about the relationship between democratic citizenship education and the Mozambican education policies to promote democratic citizens in Mozambican society. The

main findings of this chapter were the following. Philosophy of education is a process of solving educational problems through philosophical attitudes (constantly asking questions to understand something better, or to clarify some phenomenon that one might not be familiar with) in order to arrive at conclusions or results. For instance, the use of philosophy of education contributes to understanding and clarifying the Mozambican education policies, which are the main sources for this educational research.

Furthermore, interpretive theory and the analysis of concepts were used as research methodology and method respectively to collect, think about and analyse information so as to explore the notion of democratic citizenship education and analyse essential Mozambican education policy documents. The purpose of doing this was to have a clear understanding of the concept of democratic citizenship education, and to be able to judge the Mozambican education policy documents. Conceptual analysis was done to seek to understand and clarify the meaning of the concepts. For this reason, the use of conceptual analysis was vital in this study, because the study involved an understanding of and uncovering (information) the theory of democratic citizenship education to better understand the approach of the theories in Mozambican education policies.

Regarding interpretive theory, in philosophy of education it is a theoretical framework that guides the research effort of philosophers of education. It determines the problems that are to be analysed, as well as the adequacy of the proposed solutions to these problems. In this regard, the theories of democratic citizenship education were used to understand and clarify the meaning of the Mozambican education policies in relation to the way the government addresses social problems and promotes democratic citizens.

In fact the use of philosophy of education helped me to identify the problem in Mozambique society and find ways in addressing them. Constants questions were made during the investigation to understand the meaning of education policies documents. To help me to do that the use of interpretive theory and conceptual analysis were essential particularly to understand and interpret the meaning of education policy documents in Mozambique, in order to examine the type of democratic system the government is promoting in the country. The methodology and method used guided me to get to my findings. Without the understanding of the policies and the conceptual analysis of the concept of democratic citizenship education would be difficult to examine if the type of democratic citizenship

education that the government is promoting correspond to the ideal of democratic citizenship theories.

Chapter 3 aimed to analyse in more detail the main Mozambican education policy documents that had emerged and that have had a profound impact on the Mozambican education system. The purpose of doing this analysis was to understand and find out what the government has been doing to promote democratic citizens who are able to solve their own problems without the need to wait for the government to do so. However, before the analysis of the Mozambican education policy documents, it was necessary to understand the meaning of the concept of education policy. In this regard I found that education policy essentially is a set of objectives or goals that members of the government, policy makers, teachers and organisations attempt to accomplish. Policy is also described as a text and as a discourse. Policy as a text involves different documents that are exposed to different interpretations by people who are willing to understand the present document to implement it. Therefore education policies are exposed to different meanings and interpretations, because teachers (mostly the ones who implement the education policies) understand the document differently according to where they are located. Consequently, education policies may be recreated because of the way teachers or people understand them.

Regarding the Mozambican education policies, the main finding is that the government is tackling the eradication of illiteracy by increasing access to education (increasing the number of schools) and the quality of education. These objectives are possible to see in all the Mozambican education policies. It also is clear that the government has been transforming the education policies to better incorporate the needs of Mozambican citizens. For example, seven Mozambican education policies were introduced that the government trusted were adequate to promote democratic citizens. However, these policies present three significant differences in the way the government approached them according to its objectives and goals. For instance, in 1983, after independence, the government introduced the National System of Education, which aimed to eradicate illiteracy and form a new person free from darkness and superstition, a new person with a new mentality who was free from colonial domination. The government was following a Marxist-Leninist ideology. Citizens were required to follow and learn a specific government ideology (socialist ideology). The education system was controlled by the government, which considered itself a single-party state.

In contrast, in the 1990s, after the civil war, the government, which now ran a democratic country based on a multiparty system, introduced three education policies, namely the National System of Education (reformulated), National Education Policy (which was the framework for the National System of Education) and the Strategic Plan for Education. During this period the government started to allow the participation of other organisations in the education system. The central objective of training the new person was abolished, and the government was no longer following the socialist ideology. However, the government was concerned about the socio-economic development of the country and the personal development of its citizens.

In addition, the education policies indicate that the government was concerned with basic education and adult education. This was because the government lacked the financial resources to address all the problems that the education system was facing at the time. Therefore, access to basic education and adult education become the main concerns of the government.

In the new era that dawned in the 21st century, the government introduced three education policies (Curricular Plan for Basic Education, Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education and Strategic Plan for Education and Culture), which indicated that the government was more aware of the needs of its subjects, and of the topics to be approached in schools if democratic citizenship education was to be achieved and citizens were to be able to care for themselves. The government recognised that the structure and curriculum of the previous education policies had been demonstrated to be inadequate to respond to the rapid socio-economic changes in the country. Therefore the government made some important changes, which involved introducing important aspects of moral and civic education, different topics of social life and different subjects that involved critical thinking (introduction to philosophy, introduction to psychology and pedagogy), which were essential if democratic citizens were to be achieved. With these innovations, the government has shown its concern with the involvement and integration of citizens (learners) into social life and the labour market. In other words, the government is concerned about preparing citizens to face the challenges of real life and to be able to find solutions for these problems, using their reason, providing justifications and arguments, negotiating with each other and listening to others.

Chapter 4 aimed to explore different theoretical meanings of democratic citizenship education. The purpose of doing this was to enable me to address democratic citizenship education in Mozambique in order to answer the main question of the thesis, namely whether or not the Mozambican education policies can contribute to promoting democratic citizens in Mozambican society. I described three similar ideas of democratic citizenship education, namely those of Seyla Benhabib, Iris Marion Young, and Amy Gutmann and David Thompson. I also described two African theories of democratic citizenship education, namely those of Kwame Anthony Appiah and N'Dri Teresa Assié-Lumumba.

Based on the information in Chapter 4, I discovered that, in their theories (discursive, communicative and deliberative) of democratic citizenship education, Benhabib, Young, Gutmann and Thompson agree that decision making must be done in public spaces. In such deliberations, debates should occur in a public space where all participate equally and freely, without any oppression from those who are in power, to discuss issues that are of concern to them and society. In particular, Benhabib, in her discursive model of democratic citizenship education, and Gutmann and Thompson, in their deliberative model of democratic citizenship education, share the same idea that deliberations on issues concerned with society should be done in a public space and that the decisions agreed to will be legitimated by the majority affected by the debate. They agree that deliberative democratic citizenship education, despite favouring the promotion of legitimacy in collective decisions, also aims to promote mutual respect in the process of decision making, helps to correct mistakes that may emerge during the discussion, and helps the participants to gain a better understanding of something that they as citizens may not be familiar with. Benhabib (1996) and Gutmann and Thompson (2004) confirm that, in deliberative democratic citizenship education, citizens cannot be reduced to or treated as merely passive objects of legislation, but rather should be treated as autonomous beings who wish to participate freely and equally in the process of decision making. In other words, citizens are not merely passive citizens who obey what others have to say without questioning the reasons for the decisions they have made. Citizens also should participate equally and freely in different activities, giving justifications and arguments and questioning aspects that are of concern to them.

In contrast to the above theorists, Iris Young (1996, 200) states that such deliberation in public spaces is not enough. For her it is necessary to include all citizens, particularly the marginalised (women, children, disabled people), who usually are heard or included less in important resolutions on social issues. She believes that different forms of communication,

such as storytelling, greeting and rhetoric, draw people together and give them space to speak more about themselves, and also gives them confidence, harmony, trust and respect for other citizens. Young confirms that, for well-functioning deliberative democratic citizenship education, there is a need for four elements that will legitimate the decision-making process, namely inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity. This implies that deliberation will be inclusive when all citizens affected by the decision making are included, also the marginalised (women, children, disabled people) and less heard, and that they can participate freely and equally in this process. During the debates, citizens are willing to listen to each other, and given persuasive justification and arguments to others, which brings trust, respect, mutuality, friendship and so on.

Furthermore, the concept of democratic citizenship education was discussed in relation to the ideas of two African theorists, namely Kwame Appiah and N'Dri Assié-Lumumba. Both advocate the need to use indigenous knowledge and African traditional experience in democratic citizenship education. This means that analysts, specialists, philosophers, teachers and students should recognise their stories, traditions, culture and experience when approaching different educational and social issues. On the one hand, Appiah states that African identity is coming into being essentially because of the influence of diversity. The point is that identity is complex and multiple, and society is always reshaping it in order to fulfil the needs of the country. Appiah believes that people should learn to live together and appreciate each other, learn about other places, take an interest in other civilisations, and listen to their arguments and ideas, which will bring respect, trust and mutuality between citizens. The essence of democratic citizenship education is that, during the debate, the participants can engage with the experiences and ideas of others deliberatively, giving justifiable reasons and arguments to persuade others in looking for solutions to their problems. On the other hand, Assié-Lumumba advocates women's access to education in African higher education institutions. With such an education, women will be able to recognise themselves and their importance for the development of the continent, their community and their families.

Chapter 5 aimed to explore democratic citizenship education in the Mozambican education system connected with the theories of democratic citizenship education discussed in Chapter 4. This investigation potentially enables me to answer the main question of this thesis, namely: Can the educational policies in schools contribute to the cultivation of democratic citizenship education in Mozambican society? If not, what should be done? Lastly, I analysed

what should be happening in the process of teaching and learning in democratic citizenship education.

The investigation was separated into three significant periods relating to the introduction of Mozambican education policies because of the different ways in which the government has treated democratic citizenship education. The periods are post-independence, post-civil war, and the period of the Millennium Development Goals. In the period of post-independence the first policy to be introduced was the National System of Education. The policy indicated that the government was concerned with the eradication of illiteracy, and the forming of a new person free from darkness and superstition and with a new mentality free from colonial domination. It also indicates that the government considered itself as a single-party state that followed Marxist-Leninist ideology, which did not allow the intervention of other organisations in the education system. Therefore, citizens were obligated to follow the government ideology, without having the autonomy to follow their desires. It also is clear that the citizens were not allowed any type of participation to discuss their issues, but simply had to follow the government's wishes. For these reasons I concluded that the policy lacked democratic citizenship education, in which citizens participate freely and equally in public discussion on different aspects that are of concern to them. Therefore, the National System of Education was not adequate to promote democratic citizens in Mozambican society, since they did not have any voice to express their problems.

In the period post-civil war, in the 1990s, the government reformulated the National System of Education and introduced the National Education Policy and the Strategic Plan for Education. The main findings in relation to these education policies were that the government started allowing the participation of other organisations and private institutions in the education system. Increasing access to education by increasing the number of schools and improving the quality of education continued to be the main concern of the government. The government was concerned about developing the socio-economic state of the country, and also about people's personal development. However, these policies demonstrated a lack of democratic citizenship education. There is no evidence of how citizens participated actively in the process of decision making. There was a lack of promotion of deliberative democratic citizenship education that allowed citizens to participate freely and equally in discussing different issues that are of concern to them. For this reason I concluded that these education policies were not adequate to allow the flourishing of democratic citizens who are able to challenge their social problems and recognise their rights.

In the period of the Millennium Development Goals, the government recognised that the previous education policies were not enough to contribute to democratic citizens in Mozambican society. For instance, the quality of education was not satisfactory (weak preparation of teachers, large numbers of learners who drop out of school before the end of grade 7, as well as a large number of learners who repeat a grade). For these reasons, the government recognised the need to transform the curriculum to better sustain the reality of the country and to contribute to the creation of democratic citizens. The government therefore introduced the Curricular Plan for Basic Education, the Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education and the Strategic Plan for Education and Culture II. The objective of these education policies was, by the end of school education, to have trained active, responsible and participatory citizens and entrepreneurs. The point is that the government is concerned about training participative citizens who are able to contribute to the development of their families, communities and the country. For this to be accomplished, the government made some innovations, such as introducing different topics in order to develop skills that would allow citizens to reflect on and discuss social problems together, and to propose changes for society and the country; introducing subjects that direct the teaching and learning of democratic citizenship education, such as moral and civic education, and subjects (introduction to philosophy and introduction to psychology and pedagogy) that can contribute to the development of citizens culturally, mentally and critically.

Furthermore, the government encourages the participation of citizens in educational discussion. The government clearly states that the education policies were introduced based on the opinions of teachers, learners, organisations, educational research and so on. However, there is no specification of how citizens were involved in the process of decision making. For this reason I conclude that the Mozambican education policies are not yet adequate to promote democratic citizens in Mozambican society. There is a need for deliberative democratic citizenship education in Mozambican education policies, which potentially will enable citizens to challenge their social problems without feeling intimidated by those in power.

In addition, I discovered that, in democratic citizenship education, the process of teaching and learning requires that teachers and students use critical and creative thinking skills. This implies that students should not only be taught to understand the general concepts in citizenship education, but they should also engage in practical activities that will contribute to

a free, equal and active citizenry. Teachers in democratic citizenship education are facilitators who guide learners to discover how to resolve their problems.

This implies that, in Mozambican public schools, students need to be more active and participatory citizens in all activities. Teachers need to leave aside the old methods of teaching, particularly the direct transmission of knowledge, and incorporate the qualities of cooperation, independence and trust in the classroom. Teachers should give opportunities for students to lead the teaching and learning process. Teachers in democratic citizenship education should create spaces for deliberations so that all learners can contribute their ideas and have the right to be heard and to speak. In the teaching and learning process, teachers work as agents of deliberation, where they create spaces for and facilitate and educate learners to deliberate on different issues that are of concern to society. In the next section I shall finalise my conclusions based on the findings.

6.3 Conclusions

In this educational research I analysed different education policy documents that are essential for the promotion of democratic citizens in Mozambican society. This investigation took a close look at democratic citizenship education theories. I concluded that the government is concerned about increasing access to education by increasing the numbers of schools, and that it is concerned with the quality of education. Also, the government is concerned about the integration of citizens into the life of society and into the labour market. Put differently, the government is concerned about training citizens who are able to contribute to the development of their lives, and that of their family, their community and the country.

Finally, in answering the main question of the thesis, based on the findings I conclude that, despite the effort of the government to transform the Mozambican education policies to better contribute to the development and quality of Mozambican citizens' lives, the education policies are not adequate to contribute to promoting democratic citizens in Mozambican society because of the lack of or thin democratic citizenship education in the policies. This is so particularly because there is a need to boost a deliberative democratic citizenship education in Mozambican education policies so that citizens participate freely and equally,

with the same chance and right to initiate speech acts, to question, to interrogate, to open debate and to provide reflexive arguments and reasons. This means that all citizens have the right to the same opportunity to participate equally in different public debates, and to provide reasoned and reflexive arguments and to be listened to by others, whether or not their ideas are accepted by everyone. Therefore, having a deliberative democratic citizenship education in Mozambican schools potentially will enable citizens to recognise their rights, exercise citizenship and find solutions for their social problems.

6.4. Recommendations

In this educational research I specifically analysed Mozambican education policy documents in terms of their contribution to promoting democratic citizens in Mozambican society. In particular, I analysed the content of these education policies in relation to what the government had introduced and what it was doing to promote democratic citizens who are able to face and challenge their social problems without feeling intimidated and waiting for the government to solve the problems for them. However, more work on democratic citizenship education still needs to be done. For example, I suggest that more work is done on the involvement of citizens in policy decision making, since in this education research, particularly in the education policies, I could not explicitly find how citizens were involved in education policy decision making.

The government needs to support a deliberative democratic citizenship education model if it is to achieve democratic citizens in Mozambican society. As I pointed out in Chapter 4, deliberative democratic citizenship education theorists such as Seyla Benhabib, Iris Marion Young, Amy Gutmann and David Thompson agree that deliberation should be done in public spaces and that this will contribute to citizens feeling free and participating equally in discussion.

6.5 Summary

This chapter provided a summary of the findings, the conclusions and recommendations for future educational research. The main findings of the educational research demonstrate that the government is concerned about increasing access to education by increasing the number of schools, and that the government is concerned about the quality of education. It also demonstrates that the government recently has been concerned with the development of its citizens and with their integration into society and the labour market. The government has also recognised that the education policies of the 1980s and 1990s were not adequate to promote democratic citizens who are able to solve their social problems.

According to the findings of this thesis, I conclude that the Mozambican education policies are not adequate to promote democratic citizens in Mozambican society. This is because the policies lack the promotion of democratic citizenship education in terms of which citizens can participate freely and equally in different discussions, while looking for solutions to their social problems. There is a need to boost deliberative democratic citizenship education in Mozambican education policies, which potentially will enable Mozambican citizens to solve their problems without the need to wait for the government to do this for them. Through deliberative democratic citizenship education, citizens also will be able to recognise their rights, discuss different issues in society, and together find solutions for such problems. This also will give rise to trust, respect, mutuality, compassion and friendship, which can be helpful in recognising misunderstandings between citizens.

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