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**The School as an Institution of Democracy: An Assessment  
of Mozambique**

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## **Abstract**

*This study explores the concept of the school as an institution of democracy, in the context of Mozambique. A desk review of school textbooks and in-depth interviews with school representatives reveal that publicly funded schools in Mozambique provide education about aspects of democracy, and can be seen, to a certain extent, as institutions of democracy, however that democratic education is shallow.*

*The scenario is that all students who attend 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes in primary school will receive some basic education about democracy (including the notion of citizenship, sovereign organs and forms of popular participation). However, for those who progress to secondary school, only students who choose humanities subjects will receive further education about democracy. This means that a significant amount of students, those who opt to study sciences, will not study any subjects that teach about the principles and practice of democracy. Further, extracurricular school activities to support democracy education, such as: visiting institutions of democracy or having officials of institutions of democracy speaking in schools about their roles, tend not to be integrated into school activities. This study makes recommendations that can boost schools in Mozambique to become enduring democratic structures that can instil democratic values into future generations of Mozambican citizens.*

**Key words:** school, democracy, institutions of democracy, civic education, Mozambique.

# The School as an Institution of Democracy: An Assessment of Mozambique<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Introduction

Democracy is a form of government that delivers civil liberties and political, social and economic rights to its citizens (see Diamond and Morlino 2005, Dalton and Chin 2007, Mattes and Bratton 2007, Shenga 2007).<sup>2</sup> In order to do so, it requires:

- i. holding ‘free and fair’ competitive regular multiparty elections (Lindberg 2006);
- ii. the establishment of the legislative branch (Quirk and Binder 2005) of government that makes laws or policies that govern the society, oversees policy implementation and represents the societal diversity; the executive branch (Aberbach and Peterson 2005) that implements those policies; and the judicial branch (Hall and McGuire 2005) that reviews government branches and clarifies disputes as part of the process of checks and balances; and
- iii. the creation of a strong and vibrant civil society (Skocpol and Fiorina 1999) and media (Overholser and Lazerson 2005, Curran 2011).

However a democracy cannot survive without democrats – that is, the people who legitimate it (Mishler and Rose 2001). Democracy needs an institution that can inculcate its citizens’ ideas about ‘what democracy is’, what it delivers, its rules of procedures, its institutions and how its institutions function. As reviewed below, the school is one of those institutions (Fuhrman and Lazerson 2005, Noddings 2011).

During socialist rule, the school played an important role inculcating students or ‘apprentice citizens’ about the regime in Mozambique. Following independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975, the government introduced a ‘Political Education’ subject into schools with the aim of teaching young people about aspects associated with socialist (Marxism-Leninism) rule and other relevant national issues, such as symbols of the republic (e.g. emblem of the republic, national anthem and flag) and patriotism.<sup>3</sup> With the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism in 1989<sup>4</sup>, Mozambique’s schools dropped the ‘Political Education’ subject from the school curricula.

However, with the adoption of the 1990 democratic constitution and conduct of the 1994 founding and subsequent democratic multi-party elections, the government re-introduced aspects of democracy into the school curricula in Mozambique.

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<sup>1</sup> This study focuses on schools that are publicly funded by the government of Mozambique.

<sup>2</sup> This is a substantive understanding of democracy. Another understanding of democracy is procedural incorporating democratic procedures of political participation and competition, rule of law, vertical accountability and horizontal accountability.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the generation that studied at Sansão Muthemba secondary school and Manga secondary school in Beira in 1988/89 said in exploratory conversations that they studied the Political Education subject (conversations held on 19 and 20 June 2017)

<sup>4</sup> The ruling Frelimo party abandoned Marxism-Leninism in its 5<sup>th</sup> Congress in 1989, the same year the Berlin Wall fell.

This context leads to the following questions:

- Which classes and subjects in the school curricula were chosen to include topics on democracy?
- What is the focus and content of democracy topics that were introduced in those classes and subjects?
- How much content on democracy is incorporated into school textbooks?
- Do schools organize any activities to enable students to experience institutions of democracy and how they function?
- Do schools organize any activities to bring leaders or officials from institutions of democracy to speak in schools about democratic principles?

The aim of this study is to analyse these questions to test the hypothesis that schools are institutions of democracy in Mozambique.

Based on the experiences of the socialist government, as portrayed above, where the school played an important role in teaching younger generations about the socialist form of government and patriotism, this study expects to find that with the change from socialism to democracy, the school has shifted to teaching younger generations about democracy in Mozambique and can be considered an institution of democracy.

## 2. The School is an Institution of Democracy

An institution of democracy can be defined as the structure that performs the most basic functions of social organization and communal existence that characterize democracy. Examples includes state institutions (e.g. legislature, executive and judicial) and non-state institutions (e.g. civil society, media, religious groups and the school, in general). But for a social structure that performs democratic functions in society to be considered an institution of democracy, it must pass the crucial test of prolonged democratic endurance.

*“Many institutions fail to survive the acid test. Many media outfits are no more than seasonal advertising agencies and to confuse them with enduring institutional arrangements that concern themselves with public information and education is a serious mistake. Some religious establishments are no more than crafty schemes making money off the desperate in this world by reorienting them to a utopian world beyond”.<sup>5</sup>*

In certain societies, the school is an institution of democracy. In general, the school educates values of patriotism (Reuben 2005) and military service and political education (Noddings 2011). Mozambican schools in the 1980s, as mentioned above, are an example of that. But more specifically, the school educates citizens on democratic rights and responsibilities (Gearon 2007). The school has a purpose for

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<sup>5</sup> What democratic institutions? By Filipe Miranda, <http://www.philstar.com/opinion/231181/what-democratic-institutions>, accessed on 28 November 2017.

teaching and learning ‘apprentice citizens’ about democracy (Simon 2005, Johanek and Pucket 2005, Johnson 2005, and Merrow 2005). This has been the case in many countries, including the United States of America (Fuhrman and Lazerson 2005) and United Kingdom (Gearon 2007). The African Union also recognizes the primordial role educational institutions play in promoting the role of democracy and governance that will shape and form youth into empowered individuals<sup>6</sup>.

The school can increase people’s civic knowledge and also lead them to participate in political processes. By assessing the effect of educational factors on democracy in 28 countries, controlling for other considerations, Torney-Purta and Richardson (2002) found that having higher levels of home literacy resources, education and an open classroom climate for 14-year-olds boosts their civic knowledge and their likelihood to vote. They also found that having an open classroom climate and learning about voting affected positively their likelihood to vote. Glaeser, Ponzetto and Shleifer (2006) concluded that education raises the benefits of civic participation, including voting and organizing.

The school also helps people to support democracy. Studies find that ordinary African citizens with high levels of formal education are more likely to be committed to democracy (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi 2005, Shenga, 2007, Evans and Rose 2012, Shenga 2017). Besides leading to democratic commitment, Shenga (2017) also found recently that formal education leads people to understand what democracy is as well as be knowledgeable about democratic citizenship in Mozambique.

### **3. Data and Methodology**

This study investigates the school as an institution of democracy by firstly, surveying whether the school curricula, through school textbooks, includes topics on democracy, Secondly it explores whether the school’s extracurricular activities engage students with institutions of democracy by either taking them to visit the functioning and practice of those institutions, or whether leaders or officials from those institutions visit schools to talk with students about democracy.

The textbooks survey was conducted in October 2017 on textbooks of all subjects and classes of primary and secondary education (i.e. from 1<sup>st</sup> class to 12<sup>th</sup> class) with particular attention to relevant subjects.<sup>7</sup>

The extracurricular activities’ exploration was carried out through face-to-face in-depth interviews with school representatives also in October of 2017. Three school representatives were interviewed in Maputo City schools; one primary school representative and two secondary school representatives. Although this number does not make this study sample representative to the extracurricular activities in the country or even Maputo City, we believe little or no significant difference will occur if

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<sup>6</sup> See African Union ‘Developing a strategy for the inclusion and mainstreaming of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance in school curricula in member states’, August 2017

<sup>7</sup> See Annex 1 for a full list of textbooks reviewed.

a larger sample would be employed. We observed that in some cases school visits were made to institutions of democracy but that these were mainly the result of initiatives made by individuals from institutions of democracy or individual teachers rather than by being organised routinely by schools themselves.<sup>8</sup> School's extracurricular activities tend to be focused only on sports and cultural activities.

#### **4. The Structure of the Study**

This study examines first the aspects of democracy that are included in the curricula of primary and secondary education. In doing so, it assesses all classes and subjects by looking for those that educate students on democracy related topics; the respective content of democracy topics in each class and subject; and length of the content focusing on democracy, measured by the number of pages covered. The assessment covered all social science and humanities subjects taught in schools so that an assessment could be made about any relevant subjects that could include topics dealing with democracy.

Secondly it probes the school's extracurricular activities – that is, those not in the school curricula but that are part of the educational system. This can include activities that take students to visit certain institutions or bring institutions to schools to deal with specific issues. In this section, this study assesses the extent to which the school teaches students about democracy in a practical way by taking them to institutions of democracy or by bringing officials from institutions of democracy to educate students about their roles and experiences.

#### **5. The School Curricula**

Before analysing whether the school is an institution of democracy it is important to reference that, with the abolishment of the Political Education subject in the late 1980s, the current school curricula in Mozambique educates students on patriotism, including the symbols of the republic (e.g. national emblem and national anthem) and sovereign organs (see Fenhane 2003:48-52 and 2004:41-49). Some school textbooks include the national anthem, emblem and flag at the back cover.

##### ***School Subjects and Classes***

To assess the inclusion of democracy in the school curricula, we start with analysing which school classes and subjects teach the topic of democracy. By reviewing the curriculum content from all classes from primary and secondary education (see Annex 2 for full details), the data in the first column of Table 1 shows that democracy topics are taught in four classes: the last two grades of primary education (6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes) and 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades of secondary school. Analysing all school subjects from all classes of primary and secondary education, this study observes in the second column of Table 1 that the topic of democracy is taught in the subjects of

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<sup>8</sup> The visits to schools were initiatives of individual school teachers who had an interest in the subject of institutions of democracy, rather than it being a planned school-led initiative.

Moral and Civic Education (in 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes), Philosophy (in 12<sup>th</sup> grade classes), and History (in 12<sup>th</sup> grade classes and to some extent in 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes).

**Table 1: Summary of democracy topics taught in classes and subjects of primary and secondary schools in Mozambique**

Class	Subject	Democracy topics taught	Length
6 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Moral and Civic Education	The notion of citizenship (Citizens' Rights; and Citizens' Duties); the relationship between the State and citizens; and exercise of democracy (Fenhane and Capece 2003:56-58)	3 pages
		Sovereign organs (Fenhane and Capece 2003:53-55)	3 pages
		Human rights (Fenhane and Capece 2003:71-76)	6 pages
7 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Moral and Civic Education	Citizens' rights and duties and freedoms (Fenhane 2004:45)	1 page
		Human rights (Fenhane 2004:53-54)	2 pages
		The forms of popular participation: the formation of political parties; freedom of expression; legislative, presidential and autarky elections; and electoral campaigns (Fenhane 2004:59-61)	3 pages
		The role of each of us preserving peace (Fenhane 2004:62)	1 page
10 <sup>th</sup> Grade	History	Multiparty politics; and electoral process (Sopa 2011:178-180)	3 pages
12 <sup>th</sup> Grade	History <sup>9</sup>	Electoral process: legislative, presidential, autarky and provincial elections (Cumbe and Nhapulo 2015:246-249)	4 pages
		Election results (Cossa and Mataruca ND:189)	1 page
		1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> legislative and presidential elections (Pereira 2010:148-149)	2 pages
12 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Philosophy	Political participation, human rights, justice and rule of law (Geque and Biriante 2010:64-70)	7 pages
		Systems of government, political regimes and democracy and good governance (Geque and Biriante 2010:97-100)	3 pages
		Human rights (Chambisse and Nhamaio 2008:60-65)	5 pages
		Human rights (Chambisse et al. 2003:103-108)	5 pages

<sup>9</sup> Only students who choose humanities subjects after finishing 10<sup>th</sup> grade class will be taught History and Philosophy in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade classes. Those who choose science subjects do not.



### ***Content of Democracy Topics Taught***

The third column in Table 1 provides information on the content that is taught in the respective subjects and classes. In the subject of Moral and Civic Education in 6<sup>th</sup> grade ‘the notion of citizenship’ is taught, including who can hold Mozambique citizenship and acquire it, according to the Constitution. It also educates the rights and duties of citizenship.

The subject of Moral and Civic Education in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade also tutors on ‘the relationship between the State and citizens’ where the obligation of the State to guarantee safety, freedom to the people and enforcing laws equally and fairly to everybody is emphasised. It also includes teaching on ‘the exercise of democracy’ that democracy can be exerted through regular direct elections and citizens’ freedoms to express their ideas and rights to access information and form associations or political parties. It also teaches about institutions of democracy (named sovereign organs [of State] and human rights.

The same subject in 7<sup>th</sup> grade educates on citizens’ rights, duties, freedoms and human rights. It also teaches on ‘the forms of popular participation’ covering aspects, such as: the formation of political parties; freedom of expression; legislative, presidential and autarky elections; and electoral campaigns. The last topic covered is on the democracy of peace: “The role of each of us in preserving peace”. In the Mozambican context (and even other parts of the world) peacebuilding is an integral component for democracy. With no peace there is no democracy. Mozambique experienced 16 years of destructive war after its independence that ended with the Peace Accord in 1992. This ‘peace building’ topic of democracy educates that “to preserve peace, each of us [Mozambicans] must develop a spirit of tolerance – that is, people have to forgive, [engage in] dialogue and understand one another in order to live in harmony, regardless of differences”.

History is the second subject that educates school students about democracy. An assessment of four History textbooks at the 10<sup>th</sup> grade class (see Annex 1), however shows that they do not teach aspects associated with democracy. Only a new edition of one of them - Texto Editores - includes, at its end, a section on ‘democratic aspects on multiparty politics and electoral process in Mozambique’ in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade class.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> grade class the subject of History, educates students on the electoral process including legislative, presidential, autarky and provincial elections. It also educates on the systems of government, political regimes, democracy and good governance and human rights.

The third subject that includes topics on democracy is Philosophy in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade class. This subject includes education on political participation, justice and rule of law; human rights; systems of government; political regimes; and democracy and good governance.

### ***Length of Content***

There are many publishers of school textbooks<sup>10</sup> and schools in Mozambique are free to choose any publisher they want to. Instead of detailing the page numbers covered by each textbook, for our analysis we have selected the longest page coverage for democracy topics for each school subject and class. The fourth column in Table 1 shows that the Moral and Civic Education subject in 6<sup>th</sup> grade has up to seven pages of content focused on democracy, depending on which textbook a students' school adopts. In the 7<sup>th</sup> grade the same subject covers aspects on democracy in up to three pages. Similarly, in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade in the subject of History textbooks cover democracy in three pages. When moving to the last grade of secondary school, 12<sup>th</sup> grade, Table 1 shows that democracy topics cover up to four pages in History and up to seven pages in the subject of Philosophy.

Despite there being three subjects in which schools teach students about democracy, there are two other relevant subjects in the school curricula that could include democracy topics but do not: Portuguese and Social Science. Portuguese is taught in all classes of primary and secondary school from 1<sup>st</sup> grade class to 12<sup>th</sup> grade class. Social Science is taught to all primary school students from 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes.

## **6. The School Extracurricular Activities**

Besides curricula activities, this study investigated extracurricular activities developed by schools. We asked, in general, about the extracurricular activities conducted by schools in the past year and those planned for the current year. The in-depth interview results show that in all three schools there were no planned extracurricular activities associated with democracy. Only sports and cultural activities were mentioned as the extracurricular activities their schools have performed in the past year or plan to perform. They also said that there is no significant variation on these activities over time as activities from the past year (i.e. sports and cultural) tend to be the same ones planned for subsequent year.

*“Of all activities that we perform here at school, sport is the only one that we plan, because it is something that everyone likes and attracts the most students including those people from outside the school. [Sport] is a way to keep children occupied with something good” – Primary school representative.*

*“Here the school does sports and cultural activities including poems, theatre, dance and literature competition. But we also march during festive days. All extracurricular activities we performed last year are the same as this year. There is no change” – Secondary school representative 1.*

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<sup>10</sup> The study found five different publishers of school textbooks: Texto Editora, Plural Editores, Alcançe, Pearson, Longman. In addition to these there are still textbooks being used from old publishers like Diname. At least one Diname textbook was found in the library of one of the largest secondary schools of Maputo City (Escola Secundaria Josina Machel) and the librarian said that students consult that book a lot.

*“Here we conducted special programmes of sports, sexual and reproductive health, and cleaning campaigns organized by the municipality. These are activities oriented to the wellbeing of students, in particular, and the school and community, in general. They do not vary according to content; they are the same. But we are open to other initiatives from other organizations and individuals interested in providing a good environment for the school” – Secondary school representative 2.*

We then asked the school representatives specifically about any extra curricula activities relating to democratic experience<sup>11</sup>. Of the three school representatives, one representative from a primary school said that their school did not conduct any activity leading students to institutions of democracy. The two secondary school representatives said ‘yes’. We then probed their school’s experience with democracy institutions with a series of follow up questions. They mentioned the Assembly of the Republic and Maputo Municipality as institutions of democracy that they had visited in the past year and that students received explanations about their roles and functions. One school revealed that before the visit it also visited other institutions of democracy including the Attorney General, Assembly of the Republic, municipality, and a civil society organization.

*“No, there have been no such visits to these decision-making institutions”  
Primary school representative.*

*“Yes, the school visited the Maputo municipality. They were students from the 12<sup>th</sup> grade class. They did so under the scope of political philosophy and separation of powers as part of the subject of Philosophy. Students received explanations about how the municipality functions, the role of the mayor, the speaker of the municipal assembly and councillors. They also received explanations on the establishment of the municipality supporting structures (e.g. secretariados) at municipality districts. It was not the first time that the school conducted this activity. The Philosophy teacher was the only person accompanying the students to this visit. This year there was a visit to be carried out but due to bureaucracy it ended up being cancelled. In the past, the school visited the Attorney-General, municipality, Presidency of the Republic, the Secretariat of the Assembly of the Republic and [the civil society organization named] youth parliament” – Secondary school representative 1.*

*“Yes, the school visited the Assembly of the Republic. The visit involved students from 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes. This happened once. The students had the opportunity to visit the building of the Assembly of the Republic. They also had a meeting with members of parliament from the legislative Standing Committee of Constitutional Affairs, Human Rights and Legality where they received information about the legislative process. The students were accompanied by their teacher. Unfortunately for this year there is no similar activity planned” – Secondary school representative 2.*

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<sup>11</sup> We asked: During the past year, did the school take students to visit any institutions of democracy, such as: the parliament, municipality, municipal assembly, presidency or council of ministers?

Secondly, we asked whether during the last year, the school received a leader from a political party, religious group or civil society organization to talk about democracy or related things. All three school representatives revealed that leaders of political parties, religious groups or civil society organizations do not approach schools to talk about democracy, its procedures or institutions. As showed below, they said that their schools have not received any political institution official to talk about democracy with their students.

*“We never received anyone to talk about democracy. We only receive visits from Ministry of Education who come to monitor and evaluate our activities” - Primary school representative.*

*“No, there were no visits to talk specifically about democracy. This year we received a visit from the President of the Republic and his team and the mayor. Both came to talk about the Government Quinquennial Programme” – Secondary school representative 1.*

*“No, we never receive visits of people to talk about democracy. Most talks that we receive here are on reproductive and sexual health, drugs and the environment. We have been making an effort to keep children away from drugs” – Secondary school representative 2.*

Finally, we asked the school representatives whether teaching democracy in schools was relevant or not with the following question: Do you think that students should be taught issues about democracy at school? If so, should it be something included in the school curricula or it should be reserved to extracurricular activities? All of the school representatives expressed that democracy should be taught in schools with one saying that that it should be taught in both the school curriculum and included in extracurricular activities.

*“Yes, I think that democracy should be included at school curricula and extracurricular activities so that students learn more about the reality of the country, its difficulties, and challenges that the country faces. It would be good if issues on democracy are included in the school curricula and extracurricular activities so that all teachers feel obliged to teach democracy. Otherwise some will teach and others will not. [With the democratic learning] they become conscious about the reality and we know that citizenship can only be acquired if we are knowledgeable about it. We know that for people to improve we need information” – Primary school representative.*

*“Yes, it is something associated with citizenship. This is important so that students can be aware of and to know the difference between those in government and the people. Issues on democracy should be in the curricula so that citizens develop critical thinking” – Secondary school representative 1.*

*“Yes, because one of the big difficulties we have is lack of knowledge about democracy. To explain about our national heroes, that we have to vote for a candidate on election day. Issues on democracy should even be dealt with at primary school. Students have to have contact with these*

*issues in the first years of their studies so that they master their minds once at secondary and university levels as they need to leave behind these ideas that move us backward on our development and to illiteracy and suffering to the people and divide us instead of uniting and leading to peace and consolidation of national unity” – Secondary school representative 2.*

## **7. Conclusion and Discussion**

This study analysed the extent to which publicly funded schools in Mozambique constitute as an institution of democracy by probing primary and secondary schools’ curricula and respective extracurricular activities. A desk review of primary and secondary school textbooks and in-depth interviews with school representatives conducted in 2017 reveal that the Mozambique schools are institutions of democracy.

First, schools in Mozambique educate about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; the obligation of the State to guarantee safety, freedom to the people and enforcing laws equally and fairly to everybody. That democracy can be exerted through regular direct election; citizens’ freedoms to express their ideas; rights to access information; and form associations and/or political parties. The schools also instil that people can participate in political process through formation of political parties; freedom of expression; electoral campaigns; and legislative, presidential, autarky and provincial elections. They inculcate -- that in order “to preserve peace each of us must develop -- a spirit of tolerance. They also teach that citizens’ political participation is a form to exert influence on decisions of those who hold political power.

Second, this study reveals that schools teach students about democracy in three subjects areas and in a minimum of three grade classes: the subject of Moral and Civic Education covers democracy in 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes and the subjects of Philosophy and History teach democracy topics in 12<sup>th</sup> grade classes. In addition some students, if the school adopts the most recent 10<sup>th</sup> grade class textbook for History from Texto Editores publisher (Sopa, A. 2011. *H10. Historia 10 Classe*. Texto Editores) will also be taught about democracy in their 10<sup>th</sup> grade History classes.

Third, the length of coverage on democracy is moderately high varying from one to six pages in primary school textbooks and one to seven pages in secondary school text books.

Although democracy is taught in three subjects in up to four class grades (including History at the 10<sup>th</sup> grade class), we consider that the teaching of democracy in Mozambique schools is shallow. This is on the basis that after completing 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes students opt to choose either ‘humanities’ or ‘science’ based subjects for the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade classes based on their interests and abilities. This means that students who choose science subjects will be only taught about democracy in primary school (6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade classes) or additionally in grade 10 if his or her

school adopts the *Texto Editores* textbook for History (from Sopa 2011). For these students, democracy is not a subject they will learn about in secondary schools meaning they will not be taught about the electoral process, political participation, human rights and the rule of law. Only those who choose humanities will receive more detailed teaching on democracy in History and Philosophy at the 12<sup>th</sup> grade class.

The low levels of democracy education are exacerbated by the fact that in the scope of extracurricular activities schools do not systematically plan to visit or receive officials from institutions of democracy to talk to students about democracy. Where visits to democracy institutions did take place in two of the three schools interviewed, these visits were organised by the initiative of an individual teacher.

This shallow level of democracy education in schools in Mozambique can be associated with the low levels of commitment to democracy by Mozambican citizens, including born frees<sup>12</sup>. Systematic regular public opinion surveys have been showing that Mozambicans, in general (Shenga and Howe 2017); and born frees (Shenga 2017), in particular, are less likely to be committed democrats – that is, support democracy and reject authoritarian forms of government, and engaged in political process.

### **The School towards being a more effective institution of democracy**

This study acknowledges publicly funded schools in Mozambique as institutions of democracy. Nevertheless, to make them more effective institutions of democracy it is recommended that the school curricula is reviewed so that from 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes the subject of History has a stronger focus on Mozambique History rather than African and World History. Thus the 8<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> grade class History could include topics on the effective colonial occupation, as the aftermath of the Berlin Conference; nationalism and liberation movement; national independence; one-party politics; the 16 years' civil war; 1990 democratic constitution and multiparty politics; 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014 general elections; autarky decentralization; 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2013 autarky elections; and so on.

In short, this study's recommendation is for History classes from 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> grade to incorporate education on the history of Mozambique and that wider topics related to the History of Africa and the World are taught in 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade classes (see Annex 3 for more detail). The advantage of this is to enable all secondary school students to study issues of contemporary Mozambique and democracy, as it is only after completing 10<sup>th</sup> grade class that students choose to study either humanities or science subjects for the remaining secondary school grades.

With respect to extra curricula activities, schools should consider expanding their extra curricula activities such as including visits to institutions of democracy like the Assembly of the Republic, Provincial Assemblies and or Municipal Assemblies;

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<sup>12</sup> Born-frees are Mozambican citizens that were born into democratic freedom – they were born and raised since the country's first democratic multiparty elections in 1994.

executive and judicial at national and/or local levels besides non-state actors such as civil society groups and media organisations. At the same time, they may also consider organizing seminars where democracy practitioners such as politicians, public officials or civil society officials are invited to talk about democracy in schools, or other extra curricula activities such as holding mock elections to engage students to better understand the principles and practice of democracy.

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Quirk, P. J. and Binder, S. A. (eds.) (2005) *Institutions of American Democracy: The Legislative Branch*. Oxford University Press.

Reuben, J. A (2005) "Patriotic Purposes: Public Schools and the Education of Citizens" in Furhman, S. and Lazerson, M. (Eds) *Institutions of American Democracy: The Public Schools*. Oxford University Press.

Shenga, C. (2007) "Commitment to Democracy in Mozambique. Performance Evaluations and Cognitions. Evidence from Round 2 of the Afrobarometer Survey Data". *Masters Dissertation*. University of Cape Town.

Shenga, C. (2017) "Born Frees' Attitudes toward Democracy in Mozambique: A Comparative Study of Political Generations". *CPGD Working Paper No 8*.

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\* *This reference list excludes the school textbooks that were reviewed for this study. These are listed separately in Annex 1.*

**Annex 1 – Textbooks reviewed for this study**

- Bijal, F. and Mahilene, I. (2013) Saber *História 10. História 10ª Classe*. Pearson.
- Borges, J.; Paiva, M. and Tavares, O. (2015) *Introdução à Filosofia 12ª Classe*. Plural Editores.
- Borges, J.; Paiva, M. and Tavares, O. (2015) *Introdução à Filosofia 11ª Classe*. Plural Editores.
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- Chambisse, E. *et al.* (2003) *A Emergência do Filosofar. FIL11/12. Filosofia 11ª/12ª Classes*. Texto Editores.
- Cossa, H. and Mataruca, S. (ND) *Moçambique e a sua História. 12ª Classe*. Diname.
- Fenhane, J. (2004) *Ame o Próximo. Educação Cívica e Moral. 7ª Classe*. Texto Editores.
- Fenhane, J. and Capece, J. (2003) *Nós e os Outros. Educação Cívica e Moral. 6ª Classe*. Texto Editores.
- Geque, E. and Biriante, M. (2010) *Filosofia 12*. Longman.
- Impuia, L. (2008) *História 8ª Classe*. Texto Editores.
- Nhapulo, T. (2014) *História 10ª Classe*. Alcance.
- Nhapulo, T. Cumbe, G. (2015). *História 11ª*. Plural Editores.
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- Sumbane, S. (2008) *H9 História 9ª Classe*. Texto Editores.

*Footnote: ND = No Date*

**ANNEX 2: Subjects that include Democracy topics in the Mozambique Primary and Secondary School Curricula**

#	Subject	In which class grades is this subject taught/	Does this subject teach Democracy?	In which class grades is democracy taught?
<b>Relevant subjects for teaching democracy</b>				
1	Moral and Civic Education	6 <sup>th</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup>	Yes	6 <sup>th</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup>
2	Philosophy	11 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Yes	12 <sup>th</sup>
3	History	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Yes	12 <sup>th</sup>
4	Social Science	4 <sup>th</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup>	No	Not Applicable
5	Portuguese	1 <sup>st</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup>	No	Not Applicable
<b>Other relevant subjects for teaching democracy</b>				
6	English	6 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup>	No	Not Applicable
7	French	11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup>	No	Not Applicable
<b>Not relevant subjects for teaching democracy</b>				
8	Mathematics	1 <sup>st</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
9	Natural Science	3 <sup>rd</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
10	Musical Education	4 <sup>th</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
11	Physical Education (Sports)	4 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
12	Craft	4 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
13	Visual Education	6 <sup>th</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
14	Physics	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
15	Chemistry	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
16	Biology	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
17	Geography	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
18	Livestock	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
19	Drawing	8 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
20	Entrepreneurship	11 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup>	Not Applicable	Not Applicable

**ANNEX 3: Topics Covered by the Current Secondary School Curricula and Recommendations for Secondary School Curricula Review**

<b>Class</b>	<b>Topics covered</b>	<b>Comments for Curricula Review</b>
<b>8<sup>th</sup></b>	History as science, origin and evolution of man, social differentiation and state formation, socio-political relations in Europe and Africa between V and XV centuries (Impuia 2008)	<b>Africa history</b> be moved to those who will study history after 10 <sup>th</sup> class. The 8 <sup>th</sup> class can be reserved solely on Mozambique History. This will make sure that those who choose ‘science subjects’ also manage to be educated on contemporary Mozambique and democracy
<b>9<sup>th</sup></b>	Formation of world capitalist system, industrial capitalism and working class movement, from industrial capitalism to imperialism, transition to free market (Recana and Bonde 2017; Sumbane 2008)	<b>World history</b> be moved to those who study history after 10 <sup>th</sup> class. The 9 <sup>th</sup> class can be reserved solely on Mozambique History. This will make sure that those who choose ‘science subjects’ also manage to be educated on contemporary Mozambique and democracy
<b>10<sup>th</sup></b>	Imperialist contradictions from the end of the XIX century and end of the WWII, the world after the WWII, liberation movements and Mozambique independence, Mozambique and the confrontation (cold war/) fall of Berlin war (Recana and Bonde 2017; Sopa 2003 and 2011; Nhapulo (2014) Bijal and Mahilene 2013)	<b>World history</b> be moved to those who study history after 10 <sup>th</sup> class. The 10 <sup>th</sup> class can be reserved solely on Mozambique History. This will make sure that those who choose ‘science subjects’ also manage to be educated on contemporary Mozambique and democracy
<b>11<sup>th</sup></b>	Introduction to history, scramble of Africa, colonial Africa, liberation movements and independence of Africa, Africa issues from 1960 to date (Nhapulo and Cumbe 2015)	<b>Africa and World History</b> are taught at 11 <sup>th</sup> and 12 <sup>th</sup> classes
<b>12<sup>th</sup></b>	Periodization of Mozambique history, from primitive to community of exploration societies in Mozambique, Mozambique states and the foreign penetration, colonialism and liberation movement, post-independence Mozambique (Cossa and Mataruca (ND), Nhapulo 2015)	<b>Mozambique History</b> be moved to 8 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> classes to ensure that this is taught to all students in secondary education

## CPGD Working Paper Series

1. Shenga, C. (2012). “Mozambique Legislative Development: Observation from an Institutionalization Perspective”. *CPGD Working Paper No 1*.
2. Shenga, C. (2013). “Assessing the Democratic Quality of Local Elections in Mozambique”. *CPGD Working Paper No 2*.
3. Shenga, C., Pedro, C. and Muendane, E. (2013). “A Qualidade da Democracia e Governação em Moçambique: Questões Específicas do País”. *CPGD Working Paper No 3*.
4. Shenga, C., Muendane, E. And Pedro, C (2013). “Indicadores da Democracia em Moçambique: Perspectivas Públicas”. *CPGD Working Paper No 4*.
5. Shenga, C. (2015). “Public Approval of Legislators’ Job Performance in Africa”. *CPGD Working Paper No 5*.
6. Shenga, C. (2016). “Electricity Provision and Elections in Mozambique”. *CPGD Working Paper No 6*.
7. Shenga, C. and Howe, L. (2017). “Youth Political Engagement and their Social Condition in Mozambique”. *CPGD Working Paper No 7*.
8. Shenga, C. (2017). “Born Frees’ Attitudes towards Democracy in Mozambique: A Comparative Study of Political Generations”. *CPGD Working Paper No 8*.
9. Shenga, C. and Howe, L. (2017) “The School as an Institution of Democracy: An Assessment of Mozambique”. *CPGD Working Paper No 9*.



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