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16. Portuguese Africa

Mozambique

Capital: Lourenço Marques

Population: 6,310,000 (est., including
65,798 Europeans)

Area: 297,731 sq. miles

Political status: Portuguese overseas
province

Angola

Capital: Luanda

Population: 4,500,000 (est., including
80,000 Europeans)

Area: 481,350 sq. miles

Political status: Portuguese overseas
province

Portuguese Guinea

Capital: Bissau

Population: 565,000 (est.)

Area: 13,944 sq. miles

Political status: Portuguese overseas
province

Cape Verde Islands

Capital: Praia

Population: 147,326 (1952 est.)

Area: 2,000 sq. miles

Political status: Portuguese overseas
province

São Tomé and Príncipe

Capital: São Tomé

Population: 60,159 (1954 est.)

Area: 372 sq. miles

Political status: Portuguese overseas
province

FOR the African child growing up in Angola or Mozambique—or in the other, smaller Portuguese provinces in Africa—the prospect of education beyond the rudimentary level has so far been remote. According to 1958 UNESCO statistics, the illiteracy rate among Angola Africans was 97 per cent. In Mozambique, fewer than 300,000 African children (out of a total school-age African population in the territory of about 900,000) were enrolled in some kind of school during 1957; less than 1 per cent of these were above the third-

grade level.* Intermediate and higher education have been available only to whites, Asians, and children of those few thousand Africans who have so completely absorbed the Portuguese language and culture as to become officially regarded as first-class citizens (*assimilados* in Mozambique and *civilizados* in Angola), on a basis of equality with white Portuguese.

Precisely how the new political reforms announced by Portuguese Overseas Minister Adriano Moreira on August 28, 1961, will affect the system of education now existing in Portugal's African provinces is not yet clear. These reforms would abolish the legal distinction between those Africans who have "assimilated" Portuguese civilization and the great majority of tribal Africans. All will henceforth share the same constitutional rights, Dr. Moreira said, "with no distinction of race, religion, or culture." However, the vote will generally be limited—as in metropolitan Portugal—to persons who can read and write Portuguese or who can pay 200 escudos (about \$7.00) per year in taxes. In some local elections, however, all heads of families will vote. In the same announcement, Dr. Moreira also noted plans to increase white settlement of both Angola and Mozambique, and expressed a particular hope that many of the soldiers engaged in suppressing the Angola rebellion would decide to remain in the territory as settlers.

The Philosophy of Education

At all levels, the schools for Africans are primarily agencies for the spread of the Portuguese language and culture. The educational policies followed in Africa reflect the Portuguese Government's unique concept of its colonial responsibility—to work toward integration of the Africans within its jurisdiction into Portuguese culture and society, rather than toward the goal of preparing them for eventual self-government. Broadly, the Portuguese ideal has been that carefully controlled education will in time create an African populace that speaks only Portuguese, embraces Catholicism, and is as intensely Portuguese nationalist as citizens of the metropole. If all Africans in these territories become Portuguese nationalists, *ipso facto*, there is no threat of African nationalism. But only 30,089† Africans in Angola and 4,349 in Mozambique had reached the

* These statistics must be seen, however, in relation to Portugal's own educational problems. According to 1958 UNESCO figures, the rate of illiteracy in Portugal was 44 per cent. Similarly, more than 50 per cent of Angola's Europeans are illiterate.

† Including families of Africans and mulattoes (called *mistos*).

legally recognized state of complete assimilation into Portuguese culture by 1950.

In implementing these policy objectives, the Portuguese Government has decreed that only one language—Portuguese—is to be taught in schools under its jurisdiction in Africa. African languages are used chiefly as a means of facilitating the teaching of Portuguese, but even this is rare. Whatever the long-range prospects for this approach, the intermediate situation has been the creation of a class of people that looks down upon its own traditional languages, but is not sufficiently educated to be able to use Portuguese effectively.

On the assumption that political unity is founded upon a moral unity, the Portuguese have attached great importance to religion in African education. Although the constitution of Portugal specifies no preference among religious faiths, 98 per cent of the populace of metropolitan Portugal are Roman Catholic, and Portuguese law and practice in recent years have largely restored the pre-Republican unity between Church and state.* On the assumption that creation of a spiritual link between the motherland and overseas territories is vital to the establishment of the desired political oneness, the Salazar regime encourages the diffusion of Catholicism in Africa and has virtually turned over the elementary education of Africans to government-subsidized Roman Catholic mission schools.

School Systems

There are two categories of school systems in the Portuguese territories of East and West Africa: (1) the Roman Catholic mission schools, whose primary function is to educate Africans through the primary level; and (2) the more sophisticated government school system, catering to whites, Asians, and *assimilados*. The schools for Africans are organized as follows:

* Portugal was officially secularized after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1910, but the separation of Church and state was never entirely effective. By 1919, subsidies had been restored to Catholic educational institutions. In 1926, when the present authoritarian regime took control after a decade of violence and instability, the special role of the Church in the civilizing of Africa was given legal status. By the Colonial Act of 1930, Catholic missions were accorded a privileged position as against all other religious groups on the grounds that Catholicism represents the national faith of Portugal and is therefore the logical "instrument of civilization and national influence." The Missionary Agreement of 1940, supplemented by the Missionary Statute of 1941, restored all property confiscated by earlier regimes and emphasized the national character of the Catholic missions. A 1941 decree prohibits the granting of subsidies to other than Portuguese Roman Catholic missions.

Ensino de adaptacao (or *ensino missionario*)—This program is officially the responsibility of the Roman Catholic missions, although some Protestant missions also are permitted to operate modest schools. The school years are: *Iniciacao* (kindergarten), *Primeira Classe* (first grade), and *Segunda Classe* (second grade).

Ensino primário—This program is for students who have passed the *ensino de adaptacao*. It comprises: *Terceira Classe* (third grade), *Quarta Classe* (fourth grade), and *Admissao* (preparation for admission to the *liceu* program).

The schools for Europeans, *assimilados*, and others are organized along the following lines:

Ensino Primário (primary education)—A five-year program; the last year is prescribed for entrance to the high-school program.

Ensino Liceal—Including the *Primeiro Ciclo* (two years), the *Segundo Ciclo* (three years), and the *Terceiro Ciclo* (two years). The third cycle is designed for those preparing for entrance into a Portuguese university.

Prior to 1940, all school curricula for African schools were established by the Department of Education and Instruction in the territory; examinations were conducted by the state, and certificates were awarded solely by the Director of Education. From 1940 to 1960, the Catholic Church officially took charge of preparation of the curriculum, and the examination questions and tests were conducted and certificates awarded to students on Church authority. Preparation of the curriculum is now in the hands of the Ministry of Education in Lisbon, in line with the 1960 reorganization of the African colonies into provinces of Portugal, and inspectors from the territorial office of the Director of Public Instruction pay periodic visits to the mission schools. It is clearly understood, however, that no government inspector may visit a Catholic school without the permission and cooperation of the proper religious authorities. For all practical purposes, the office of the Cardinal Archbishop of Lourenço Marques is the central point of educational authority in Mozambique, while the office of the Archbishop of Luanda directs African schools in Angola and São Tomé. In all schools for Africans in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea, the curriculum is uniform except for a few local variations.

The *ensino de adaptacao* program, the equivalent of kindergarten and the first two grades in most other African territories, is designed to introduce African children to the Portuguese language and the beginnings of the three R's. Since the teaching is done in Portuguese, many African children are unable to pass the *adaptacao* examinations

(normally given after three years of instruction) until they are twelve to fourteen years of age.

The *ensino primário* program—that is, the third and fourth years—covers materials similar to those used for Portuguese children at the same level. Content analysis of the textbooks used indicates that the entire focus is on Portuguese culture; African history and culture are totally ignored. Emphasis is on the Portuguese language; the geography of Portuguese territories; the history of metropolitan Portugal, including Portuguese discoveries and conquests; Christian morals; handicrafts; and agriculture.

Beyond the fourth year, there is a class where students are theoretically prepared for either high school or industrial or technical schools. However, very few mission schools actually have this fifth-year program, so the opportunity for an African child to gain the necessary certification to permit him to enter secondary school has been almost nil, unless he moved to the city to attend a private school qualified to prepare him to take the admission exams for the secondary program.

Although over 98 per cent of the white Portuguese living in the African territories are Catholics, the government has retained control of the schools catering to the educational needs of whites, Asians, and *assimilados*. Children from these groups may attend either state-owned or privately owned schools, but curricula and examinations are, in both cases, supervised by the state. These state schools for Europeans are under the administrative direction of the Ministry of National Education in Lisbon. Within the Ministry, education in Portuguese Africa and Asia is supervised by the Department of Overseas Education. There is a Division of Education for Portuguese East Africa, another for West Africa, and one for Guinea and the islands, each headed by a territorial director. Each director is assisted by two inspectors, one for primary schools and the other for school health.

Education is compulsory for all European children who reside within three kilometers (almost two miles) of a school and are between seven and twelve years of age. Although the prescribed age of entry into primary school is seven, children may be admitted one year earlier. The curriculum of these state schools is the same as that of all Portuguese schools at the same level in metropolitan Portugal, except for some minor adjustments to local geographic, climatic, and social conditions.

A considerable number of European and Asian children, and a very few Africans, attend private schools supervised by the govern-

ment. These schools—all Catholic in orientation, since Protestant schools are generally forbidden to receive Europeans—do not discriminate against Africans, but only a few Africans can afford to send their children to tuition schools. The average tuition is the equivalent of about \$17.50 a month, and most of the African students are necessarily boarders, which raises the cost to a prohibitive level for middle-class African parents.

The Protestant Role

The over-all character of the private schools in Portuguese Africa has undergone considerable change in recent years, with the number of Protestant institutions dwindling sharply and the number of parochial schools rising proportionately. Although there is no specific legislation covering private schools catering to whites and assimilated Africans, government policies have increasingly favored Catholic institutions, especially in Mozambique. In 1940, when the Missionary Agreement turning over African education to the Church was signed, there were eighty Swiss mission schools in the southern region of Mozambique. These have gradually been reduced to eleven. Usually, the sequence has been a report that the school buildings were not in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Health, followed by a "temporary closure" to correct the shortcomings. During the period of suspension, a Catholic mission sets up a bush school a few miles away. When the Swiss mission, having brought its facilities up to standard, applies for reopening, the application is rejected on the ground that it is illegal to have more than one school within five kilometers (about three miles). The few Protestant schools still in operation in 1961 regarded their days as numbered. In most private missionary schools, the government urges that instructors be Portuguese nationals.

Protestant missions have been in a much more favorable position in Angola than in Mozambique because government authorities there have accepted them as one of the means of "Europeanizing" the Africans. However, there has been a marked increase in anti-Protestantism since the rebellion began in Angola in early 1961, and local Portuguese vigilante groups have reportedly killed several Methodist African ministers because of a belief, encouraged by the controlled press, that the Protestant missions were centers of subversion against the regime.

Teacher Training

The same dual standards that apply to the educational process in the Portuguese territories are carried over to the training of teachers for African and European schools. When the Catholic missions took over education of unassimilated Africans in the 1940's, the training of teachers for these African schools also became a function of the Church. The government normal school in Mozambique, which was closed down after the Missionary Agreement of 1940, reopened in 1945 as a Catholic rather than a government institution. Prior to that time, African teacher candidates needed only to complete the fourth grade to be eligible for admission to the training school, but now membership in the Catholic Church is also a prerequisite. Teacher candidates for the African rudimentary schools are drawn largely from nonassimilated Africans, though *assimilados* may also apply in Angola.

In 1960, there were four of these teacher-training schools in Mozambique operated by the Church and subsidized by the government; total enrollment was 341 male students, with some 65 graduates per year. In Angola, there is one such school for training teachers for the beginning *adaptacao* program; the 1954 enrollment was 121 males, with a graduating class of 89.

Staff for the government-operated primary and secondary schools for the "civilized" population of Angola, Mozambique, and other Portuguese areas come from metropolitan Portugal. There is one registered normal school in Angola legally entitled to prepare teachers for the private "civilized" schools. During the year 1954-55 (the last year for which statistical data is available), this school at Sa'da Bandeira had only thirteen students registered.* However, it is possible for an individual who has completed the first cycle of high school to obtain a teacher's certificate qualifying him to teach in the lower grades in the private "civilized" schools.

Schools in Relation to Population

In 1955, according to official reports, there were 2,311 educational establishments in Mozambique, including government, Catholic, Protestant, and private schools. Of these, 2,041 were rudimentary schools, with a total enrollment of 242,412; they consisted of 2,000 Catholic mission schools for Africans, 12 government schools, 27

* *Anuario estatístico da Provincia de Angola, 1954* (Luanda, 1956), pp. 158-85.

Protestant mission schools, and 2 other private schools. Most of the schools at this level are really bush schools with poorly trained personnel and inadequate equipment. There were, in the same year, 190 elementary and transitional schools with 17,663 students. Ninety-four of these were government schools for Europeans, Asians, and *assimilados*; sixty-seven were Roman Catholic schools, chiefly concerned with education of Africans; two were Protestant schools for Africans; and there were twenty-seven other private institutions catering primarily to whites, Asians, and *assimilados*. In effect, the approximately 6 million Africans in Mozambique are served by 69 schools at the third- and fourth-grade level, while less than 100,000 Europeans and other minorities are served by 121 schools at this level. For the Africans, moreover, this level is—except in a few rare cases—the highest they can expect to go. Of the 240,000 African children in schools, two-thirds were male.

In Angola, the total number of pupils (all probably Africans) in the beginning *ensino de adaptacao* schools was officially reported in 1956 as 49,144, of whom 38,849 were in Catholic schools and 10,295 in Protestant schools.* The Angola statistics are of little value for comparison with those for Mozambique, however, since they appear to exclude many bush schools that are obviously included in the Mozambique figure. Lord Hailey† reported that the total enrollment of Protestant schools in Angola was said to be over 79,000. Since this compared with an official total of 10,295, it could be assumed that the bush schools accounted for the very large discrepancy.

In Portuguese Guinea, a territory of 14,000 square miles located between independent Guinea and Senegal, there were ninety-nine rudimentary schools and twenty-three primary schools in 1955; while enrollment figures are not available for that year, unofficial statistics for 1954 indicate that 4,075 European and African children were in rudimentary schools, 2,700 in primary schools, 150 in secondary schools, and 160 in four vocational training schools. These were not all Africans, of course, but the racial breakdown is not available. In an address in Lisbon in January, 1961, the Governor of Portuguese Guinea, Commander Peixoto Correia, said of education in his domain:

There are no separatist ideas afoot in Portuguese Guinea, and there is not the slightest vestige of racial discrimination. . . . With regard to education, one of our main preoccupations has been to make it available to every inhabitant of Portuguese Guinea. Already there exists a high school, also an industrial and commercial school, and, in

* *Ibid.*, 1956, p. 75.

† Hailey, *An African Survey* (rev. ed.; London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 1215.

addition, a school for agricultural apprentices. There are courses in nursing; workshops for the training of artisans; a postal, telephone, and telegraph school; night courses for office workers; about 170 primary schools in the charge of a considerable number of African teachers, and to which farms are annexed for the purpose of staging agricultural demonstrations. We also have twenty night courses for primary education of adults in the interior of the country, and a large number of scholarships for attendance at higher-education courses.

Although the Governor went on to describe Portuguese Guinea as a stable province that enjoys "complete integration with the Portuguese Community and has successfully resisted the influence of all infiltration and propaganda," there were other signs that political stability might be short-lived. A congress of three revolutionary nationalist groups was held in Dakar, July 12-14, 1961, to form a united front against Portuguese rule. At that time, Ibrahim Diallo, leader of the largest of the three groups—the Movement for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands—declared that "armed action will definitely begin before the end of the year."

The islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, in the Gulf of Guinea, about 125 miles off the coast of Africa, have been governed as a Portuguese province since 1522. Out of a total population of 60,159 (including 1,152 Europeans), primary-school enrollment in 1954 included 12 whites, 432 Africans, and 69 children of mixed parentage. There were 13 whites, 23 assimilated Africans, and 7 children of mixed parentage in secondary schools.

In the Cape Verde Islands, according to official reports, there were 5,884 pupils of all races in primary schools and 520 in secondary schools in 1952 out of a total population of 147,326 (3,034 whites, 101,725 mixed, 42,475 Africans and *assimilados*, and 93 of other origins).

Technical and Secondary Education

Technical and academic secondary education in the Portuguese territories have so far been reserved largely for non-Africans. In 1955, there were six high schools in Mozambique, five of them operated by private organizations. Of the 955 students registered in these high schools, there were 858 Europeans, 7 Chinese, 16 Indians and Pakistanis, 14 Goans, 47 mulattoes, and 13 Africans. In the same year, there were 887 students enrolled in commercial schools in Mozambique, of whom 513 were Europeans, 21 Chinese, 46 Indians and Pakistanis, 109 Goans, 140 mulattoes, and 58 Africans. The 457 students in Mozambique industrial schools included 232 Europeans,

17 Chinese, 33 Indians and Pakistanis, 49 Goans, 90 mulattoes, and 36 Africans. In other words, a total of 107 Africans were attending school at the technical or academic secondary level in Mozambique in a given year.

In Angola, there are twenty-four high schools, of which three are state-controlled and twenty-one privately owned. In 1953-54, the total number of high-school students in the territory was 2,578, of whom 2,023 were Europeans, 462 mulattoes, 91 Africans, and 2 *assimilados*. Students enrolled in Angolan technical schools (both commercial and industrial) in 1953-54 totaled 1,463, including 880 Europeans, 223 mulattoes, and 50 Africans. Thus, at that time, 141 Africans out of Angola's total African population of 4.5 million were attending technical or academic secondary schools.

Higher Education

There are no institutions of higher learning for either Africans or Europeans in Portuguese Africa. Some Europeans and Africans receive their university training in metropolitan Portugal, however. By 1961, there were at least three Angolan doctors, two lawyers, two engineers, and several dentists—all now employed by the government. There are said to be a few Mozambique Africans with university degrees, one of them a Ph.D. from an American university. Several university-educated Angolans are leaders of the rebel group based in Conakry. Some 300,000 Angolans had filtered across the border to the Congo by mid-1961, and many of the 60,000 in Léopoldville were receiving education at various levels there.

Theory vs. Practice

The gap between the Portuguese theory of education in its overseas territories and its actual practice has been a very wide one. Some 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique have resulted, not in the creation of millions of full-fledged black Portuguese citizens, but in the evolution of barely 36,000 *assimilados* out of a total population in the two territories of over 10 million. Universal education, even at the beginning *adaptacao* level, is still a long way off. Schooling beyond the fourth grade is reserved for a few hundred Africans a year. Moreover, the continuing encouragement of large-scale migration of Portuguese settlers to Angola and Mozambique raises new questions regarding the ultimate intent of Portuguese policy.

Despite the oft-repeated official claim that there is no discrimination

along racial lines in the Portuguese territories, the fact is that most African education is both separate from and decidedly inferior to that available to non-Africans in Angola and Mozambique. The official rationalization for the maintenance of a completely separate system of schools for Africans is that the purpose of these schools is to introduce African children to Portuguese culture and language and that the approach required would be too elementary for children born into that culture. This argument would have more validity if the same measuring stick were applied to children of other non-European cultures as well; but the Asians in Mozambique, most of whom share the Africans' unfamiliarity with Portuguese language and culture and usually are not Christians, are eligible for entry into government and private schools catering to Europeans. On the other hand, it is quite true that fully assimilated Africans who have already become citizens of Portugal by official act have been accepted with a minimum of color bias in Portuguese schools, although their role in Portuguese society has remained ambiguous.

However sincere may have been the original intent of Portuguese educational policy, practice in recent years has clearly been directed toward keeping the lid on African education. This is accomplished by isolating Africans within Portuguese jurisdiction from the mainstream of African thought and education, discouraging the use of indigenous languages by prohibiting them even at the primary level of education, and educating Africans to a minimal level in a highly controlled, Portuguese-oriented educational environment.

—JANET AND EDUARDO MONDLANE