



EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Title: Unpacking the *indigenato*: the evolution of primary school enrolment rates in Mozambique, 1947-1962

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Abstract:

1. Introduction

In this paper, I combine yearbook and census data to reconstruct and analyse the regional and gender distribution of primary school enrolment rates in colonial Mozambique under the racial discrimination system of the *indigenato*, between 1947-1962.

The story of systems of mass education during the last century is one of convergence, and apparent global success. However, numerous challenges remain for low-income regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, including concerns about educational quality, and disparities between genders and across regions.

Addressing these challenges requires an understanding of the historical trajectories of national education systems. In this regard, Chaudhary & Garg (2015, pg. 938) posit in their study of India that “(p)olicy prescriptions to improve education can be very different depending on whether historical factors are impeding progress or whether

contemporary factors are at work.” This is particularly the case for sub-Saharan Africa, for which there is a vast literature on the historical trajectories of education. Meier zu Selhausen (2019) provides a thorough survey of the main subjects covered, which include prominently the long-term effects of Christian missions on educational levels and economic development.

Many of the analyses of long-term educational development around the world have focused on enrolment rates.¹ These include cross-country analyses of historical global trends in primary enrolment (Benavot & Riddle, 1988; Easterlin, 1981; Meyer et al., 1977, 1992), as well as regionally specific studies of Latin America (Frankema, 2009), sub-Saharan Africa (Frankema, 2012), Europe and the United States (Soysal & Strang, 1989), or the BRIC countries (Chaudhary et al., 2012). When it comes to sub-Saharan Africa, much of the literature analysing the historical evolution of primary schooling during the colonial and post-colonial period focuses on differences in enrolment rates between territories under British and French domination. These differences are often attributed to opposing models and education policies by the two European powers. In particular, as Juif (2019) points out, the literature has paid great attention to their contrasting attitudes towards missions. In this regard, cross-country analyses for Sub-Saharan Africa generally find greater primary school enrolment rates among (former) British colonies in different periods, as compared to the French (Benavot & Riddle, 1988; Brown, 2000; Garnier & Schafer, 2006).²

The focus on the effects of metropolitan identity means that very few studies of schooling expansion in colonial Africa have paid attention to regional dynamics at the sub-national level.³ Juif (2019) provides one of the few examples in her analysis of school enrolment in the Belgian colony of Congo since 1920, in which she explores the

¹ For an idea of how prominently this measure is featured in the economic history of education, see the general overview of the literature carried out by Mitch (2013), or the volume edited by Mitch & Cappelli (2019) on the rise of mass education around the world.

² Focusing on the identity of the coloniser to explain differences in educational outcomes is problematic. Given the overall differences between territories colonised by Britain and France, cross-country analyses that do this run into a variety of selection problems. In general, British-colonised territories offered more opportunities for trade and commerce, and thus the demand for education was higher, while conditions were also better for the settlement of missionaries, thus favouring the expansion of schooling (Cogneau & Moradi, 2014; Frankema, 2012).

³ This is not the case for the literature on other regions of the world, which includes country studies showing regional variation in enrolments (see, for example: Backhaus, n.d.; Cappelli, 2016; Chaudhary, 2012; Chaudhary et al., 2012; Fuentes-Vásquez, 2019; Musacchio et al., 2014).

role of the mining industry and its demand for skilled labour in the growth of enrolments in primary schools. She provides primary school enrolment rates for boys in 1930, 1935 and 1946 at the level of the province,⁴ and documents regional inequalities that are reflected in similar patterns of women enrolment and illiteracy rates in 1984 at the provincial level. Similarly, few historical studies have documented educational disparities by gender at the regional level. An important recent study that has done so is that by Baten et al. (2020), which use census data to explore the determinants of gender gaps between 1920-1979 in 19 sub-Saharan countries at the sub-national level, through multivariate regression.⁵

Thus, most of the quantitative historical analyses focusing on colonial systems of education in sub-Saharan Africa have taken a macro perspective, using data at the national level and without disaggregating by gender. This limits their utility for the understanding of current day educational challenges in Africa, given the regional and gender dimension of these issues.

In this paper I contribute to the literature by working at the intersection of these two dimensions, gender and regional disparities, employing a case-study methodology that allows me to delve deep into the potential drivers of historical dynamics in education for one specific country. The reason for selecting Mozambique is that it brings together the four elements described above: persistent challenges in the realm of education, regional and gender imbalances within these low educational outcomes, and a long shadow of the colonial period.

2. Education under the *indigenato*

The African population in Mozambique was harshly exploited under colonial rule, with one of the main factors behind this being Portuguese economic weakness (Marshall, 1985). This exploitation was organised and made possible by the system of racial discrimination known as the *indigenato*. O’Laughlin (2000) provides an analysis of said system. Although it was adopted formally in 1928, the code of the *indigenato*

⁴ Although the coverage and construction of these “figures can most certainly tell us something about differences between provinces but not actual enrolment rates” (Juif, 2019, pg. 315).

⁵ Their sample does not include Mozambique, which is the object of the present study.

systematised legislation passed as early as the 1899 Labour Law. This system distinguished between *civilizados* or *não-indígenas* (the so-called civilised), who had the same rights as citizens of Portugal, and *indígenas* (natives), who did not (Bandeira Jerónimo, 2018; O’Laughlin, 2000). Different laws were applicable to each of these groups, as the *indigenato* permeated all aspects of life in colonial Mozambique, from administrative hierarchy and culture to the access of each group to services, and remained ingrained in colonial culture even after it was formally abolished (Havik, 2018, pp. 216, 218). Formal abolishment of the *indigenato* took place only in the early 1960s, when much of the legislation that provided the basis for it was modified or revoked (O’Laughlin, 2000).

Educational policies in Mozambique were embedded within the system of the *indigenato*. Within this framework a dual educational system was developed by the colonial state, “one part of which was to reproduce the rulers and the other to reproduce the ruled” (Marshall, 1985). This duality manifested itself in every aspect of schooling, from the agent running the schools, to the quality of the education and the level of investment.

In Mozambique, expenditure on health and education represented 10% of the colonial budget in 1920, and fell to only 5% in 1960 (Alexopoulou, 2018, p. 62). Within these levels, expenditure priorities were skewed greatly across population groups. In 1930 the so-called *indígenas*, who represented more than 99% of the total population of Mozambique at the time, received only 48% of expenditure on education, while the rest of the population received 52%.⁶ These differences in investment were accompanied by disparities in the quality of education received by each population group. Primary education was divided into two main types. ‘Elementary’ education (*ensino primario elementar e complementar*), targeted at the *civilizados* or *não-indígenas*, was subject to the same legislation as education provided in the metropolis, and purportedly had the same goals and programs as those in force in Lisbon. ‘Rudimentary’ education (*ensino primario rudimentar*), on the other hand, was meant only for *indígenas* and was of very

⁶ Figures used for expenditure and their distribution between the two population groups are from the *Anuario do Ensino* for 1930. Population figures are from the 1928 census for *civilizados* and the 1930 census for *indígenas*, and do not even take into account the severe undercounting of the black population which was prevalent in colonial Africa, especially in early censuses. Both population figures are reported in the 1930 statistical yearbook for the colony.

poor quality.⁷ Finally, primary schooling was provided by different actors, which varied in their relative importance depending on the type of schooling and the target population group. Providers included the colonial state, Catholic missions (mainly Portuguese), Protestant missions (mainly foreign), and a host of other institutions which included Islamic schools.⁸ Education of white children was mainly run directly by the colonial state, while the Catholic Church was responsible for most of the schooling provided to black children.

Education for *indígenas* was divided into three types: *ensino primario rudimentar* (rudimentary schooling), *ensino profissional* (trade schools), and *ensino normal* (training schools for teachers). In this paper, I focus on the rudimentary education provided to the black population in Mozambique. The basic principles for rudimentary schooling were first developed in *Portaria 1114*, of 17th May 1930, and were subsequently modified and substituted multiple times during the *indigenato*.

The educational programs, such as they were, were also be affected by these modifications. The first program was established through *Portaria 1115*, of 17th May 1930, and it included classes of Portuguese language, arithmetic, chorography and history of Portugal, drawing, geometry and manual work, physical education and hygiene, and moral and civic education. Religion and agricultural work would later be incorporated, for example in the program passed by *Portaria 6668*, of November 16th 1946. One of the consistent features of rudimentary schooling was the separation of boys and girls, whenever the number of students allowed for it. Educational programs were also consistently different across gender, even late in the colonial period with the program passed by *Portaria 14837*, of March 4th 1961, which still included specific ‘female education’ focused on sewing, embroidery, and cooking.

The network of rudimentary schools for the black population started expanding in the 1930s. The state was responsible for the direct running of a significant proportion of these schools, but Catholic mission schools progressively increased in importance until

⁷ Similar dual systems were established in other Portuguese colonies. See, for example, the work by Noré & Adão (2003) on the system in Angola.

⁸ Rudimentary education was also provided by the state to its recruited military units.

in 1941 they were granted a monopoly over the education of the African population.⁹ From then onwards, rudimentary schooling became a primarily Portuguese Catholic endeavour throughout the end of our period of analysis, when children enrolled in Catholic mission schools represented 98% of the total (Table 1). As part of these regulations, missionaries and auxiliaries were explicitly required to use Portuguese both when teaching and after lessons, but were allowed to use the vernacular for the teaching of religion.¹⁰

This expansion of the school network, however, did not result in great increases in literacy. As was often the case in Portuguese colonies in Africa, policy prescriptions and declarations did not go hand in hand with the reality on the ground. Although rudimentary schooling was supposed to be free, students were often required to work on mission farms (Munslow, 1985, p. x, cited in Newitt, 1995), growing crops that would then be sold to bring in revenue for the missions, and sometimes parents would even be required to supply the hoes to be used by their children, as well as sacks of maize or beans in payment for their education (Hedges, 1982, p. 10, cited in Marshall, 1985). The quality of education also suffered from the above mentioned requirement to teach in Portuguese, a language often not spoken by the children, and the inadequate training of the teachers, who often neglected the syllabus and instead focused on rote learning of the catechism (Marshall, 1985). As a result, educational outcomes were poor, with illiteracy rates being estimated at 98% in 1958 (Ferreira, 1974, p. 71, cited in Marshall, 1985).

Also, it was theoretically possible for Africans to advance beyond rudimentary schooling and enrol in elementary schooling. However, a series of bureaucratic obstacles and age restrictions made this a very difficult task (Cross, 1987; Marshall, 1985). Indeed, by 1950 only one black African in Mozambique had completed secondary school (Marshall, 1985). Marshall (1985) points out that this does not mean

⁹ This was established through article 66 of *Estatuto Missionário*, of April 5th 1941. I analyse the reasons why the colonial state followed this strategy in a separate, yet unpublished paper. Please feel free to ask for a copy if interested.

¹⁰ Article 69 of *Decreto 31,207, Estatuto Missionário*.

Table 1: Enrolment numbers for black children in rudimentary schooling, 1930-1962

Source: Based on data from *Anuários Estatísticos da Colónia de Moçambique* (yearbooks), 1930–1962

Year	Enrolment of black children (male and female) in <i>ensino primario rudimentar</i>								
	Total enrolment	State		Portuguese Catholic		Protestant missions		<i>Particular</i>	
		Enrolment	% total	Enrolment	% total	Enrolment	% total	Enrolment	% total
1930	32,080	8,674	27.0	15,693	48.9	7,713	24.0	-	-
1935	46,060	10,554	22.9	28,527	61.9	6,760	14.7	219	0.5
1941	80,489	12,346	15.3	62,766	78.0	4,834	6.0	543	0.7
1942	90,058	3,081	3.4	82,296	91.4	4,681	5.2	-	-
1945	107,612	3,231	3.0	98,177	91.2	6,204	5.8	-	-
1950	153,068	3,569	2.3	141,662	92.5	7,635	5.0	202	0.1
1955	240,813	1,158	0.5	232,923	96.7	6,478	2.7	254	0.1
1960	386,032	315	0.1	379,060	98.2	6,420	1.7	237	0.1
1962	360,628	266	0.1	353,445	98.0	6,775	1.9	142	0.0

that the system was a failure, but rather that it was “*highly successful in terms of its ‘hidden agenda’ of forming a ‘nation’, destroying a class, and creating the notion of individual failure*”, by establishing education as the channel for social advancement while simultaneously making it impossible for Africans to advance.

Towards the end of the *indigenato*, a slow process of change seemed to be underway. Under the second six-year plan, a “*first real attempt*” was made in the 1950s to expand the network of schools and cover the colony, seeking to provide workers for an industrialising economy while continuing the indoctrination of its inhabitants (Newitt, 1995, p. 480-481). This trend continued into the turn of the decade, when the colonial state adopted a more flexible policy that included the abolition of forced labour and increased social, economic, and educational opportunities for the native population (Cross, 1987). This has been seen as a response to local and international pressures, an attempt to buy time within the context of emerging anti-colonial, revolutionary movements globally and in Africa, as well as the proclamation of armed struggle by FRELIMO in Mozambique in 1964 (Cross, 1987; Marshall, 1985; Newitt, 1995).¹¹ For a small minority within Portuguese leadership, the idea was to create an African middle class that would avoid revolutionary change and protect Portuguese colonial interests (Cross, 1987). Thus, the 1960s saw a relative increase of spending on education, with the *Estado Novo* thinking “*investments in public goods could place the metropole in a better position to negotiate its future relations with the colonies*” (Alexopoulou, 2018, p. 65-66). Nevertheless, education was still not a top priority, and there were contrasts between noticeable investments in areas such as infrastructure, communications, industry and agriculture, and the marginal investments made in health and education, which lead even Mozambican colonial authorities to highlight the lack of investment in these public goods (Bandeira Jerónimo, 2018, pg. 18).

The *indigenato* was formally abolished in 1961, and with it the dual system of education was ostensibly finished. However, according to Cross (1987), “*the removal of “civilized” and “uncivilized” status was accompanied not by a democratization of education but by a more restrictive and difficult qualifying examination system*”, and the

¹¹ Earlier, wars between nationalist movements and the Portuguese colonial administration had started in Angola in 1961 and Guinea-Bissau in 1963.

lack of adequate schools and transportation meant that distant rural areas, where the majority of African children lived, were excluded from the implementation of free and compulsory education.

3. Data construction

I construct primary school enrolment rates for black boys and girls enrolled in rudimentary schooling in colonial Mozambique between 1947-1962, at the regionally disaggregated level of *concelhos* and *circunscrições*.¹² Constructing enrolment rates requires data on enrolment numbers and data on the school age population. For these, I rely on two main sources: *Anuários Estatísticos da Colónia de Moçambique* (statistical yearbooks for the colony of Mozambique) and *Recenseamentos Gerais da População* (population censuses). Several reasons justify focusing on the 1947-1962 period. The first one is data availability and homogeneity. The second one is that the availability of data for the period between 1947-1962 coincides with an interesting moment in the educational history of Mozambique. It spans a great deal of the period during which the *indigenato* was in force, and thus it allows us to explore the political economy of the provision of public goods under a regime of extreme racial discrimination. It also captures the period after the withdrawal of the state from the provision of primary schooling for the black population, and the correlative expansion of the system of rudimentary schooling primarily by Catholic missions, from a total enrolment of 98,177 children in their schools in 1945 to 379,060 children in 1960 (Table 1). This growth in the number of black children enrolled in primary schooling is an interesting setting for the analysis of regional and gender divergence, given that, by construction, differences across these vectors cannot be significant at very low levels of overall educational development.

¹² Although the borders of administrative divisions and their nomenclature changed frequently through the years, especially at the lowest levels, categories were fairly constant. Below the colony of Mozambique itself, the largest division was *provincias*. At a lower level, each *provincia* was divided into *distritos*, and each *distrito* was divided into *concelhos* and *circunscrições*. Under the *Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina* of 1933, articles 7 and 8 determined that areas with large populations of *civilizados*, intense commercial or industrial activity and numerous buildings in good conditions were classified as *concelhos*, whereas *circunscrições* covered the areas inhabited by populations not completely adapted to Portuguese civilisation or culture. In essence, *circunscrições* were primarily rural areas, whereas *concelhos* governed the urban areas (Havik, 2018, p. 216). Figure 1 shows the administrative division of the colony at the level of *distritos* as well as *concelhos* and *circunscrições*, at the beginning of our period in 1947.

I collect data on enrolment from the colonial statistical yearbooks for seven benchmark years between 1947 and 1962, at the level of *concelhos* and *circunscrições*.¹³ Data on population comes from the late colonial census of 1960, which I project backwards and forwards using the population growth rates provided by Frankema & Jerven (2014). This is intended to address issues of underestimation of the African population common to colonial censuses (Manning, 2010), following a similar methodology to that used by Frankema (2012).¹⁴

Administrative divisions changed frequently throughout the period 1947-1962. Colonial maps for this period are only available for certain benchmark years, and are often not very accurate. However, calculating and mapping enrolment rates precisely relies on being able to trace accurately the changes to the administrative division of the colony: this affects both the mapping of enrolment numbers to their respective *concelho* or *circunscrição*, and the projection of population numbers from the 1960 census data backwards and forwards into changing regions. Thus, in order to map enrolment rates, I construct new maps at the *concelho* and *circunscrição* level for each of the years in my database.¹⁵ The resulting database is unbalanced, yielding a minimum of 80 observations for the years 1947, 1950, and 1952, and a maximum of 88 observations for the years 1960 and 1962.

¹³ The years for which data is collected are 1947, 1950, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1960, and 1962.

¹⁴ To gather population data at the level of *concelhos* and *circunscrições*, I must still use a colonial census as the source of the data, but the problem of undercounting should be a lesser concern as compared to earlier colonial censuses, considering the increased state capacity of colonial states towards the end of the colonial period.

¹⁵ The construction of these new maps represents a further contribution of this paper, as it will allow the mapping of any number of variables collected for Mozambique at the *concelho* and *circunscrição* level for the period between 1947-1962.

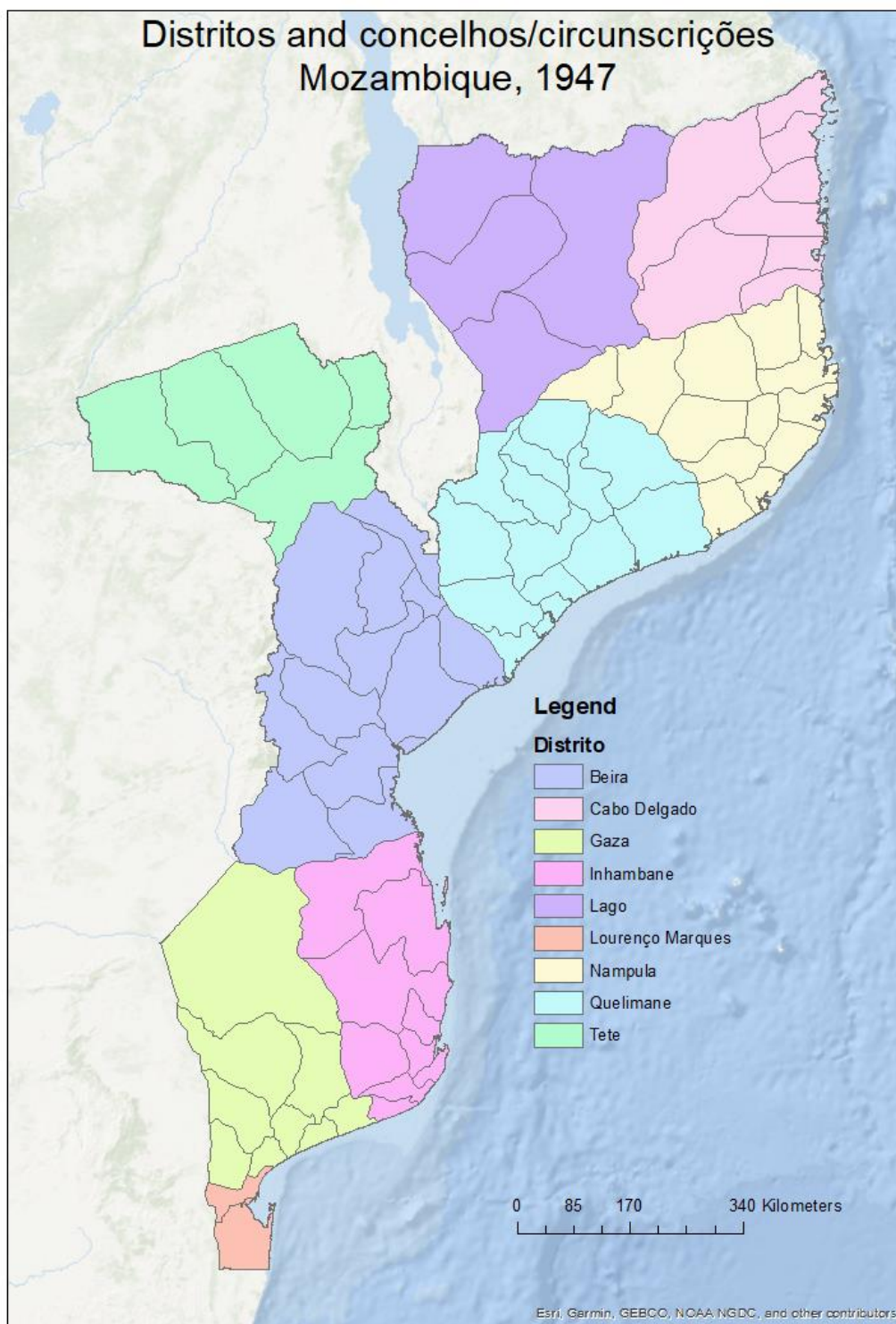


Figure 1. Administrative division of the colony of Mozambique, 1947

Source: Based on 1945 map published by *Repartição Técnica de Agrimensura*

Note: *Distritos* are distinguished by colour. *Concelhos* and *circunscrições* are the smaller regions in which *distritos* are divided.

As a variable of interest, enrolment rates cannot tell us everything about a system of schooling. The quality of the education received, for example, is one key aspect that this measure tells us nothing about. However, as Benavot & Riddle (1988) point out, enrolment rates are useful when doing comparative research and, of particular importance to our analysis, they can indicate “*the penetration of the state (or colonial power) into older social structures*” and “*the exposure, however rudimentary, of rural (or urban) masses to new ideas and skills.*” The cross-country literature on educational outcomes uses different types of enrolment rates, which are succinctly described by Benavot & Riddle (1988). In this paper I construct gross enrolment rates for primary rudimentary schooling.

I address gender gaps in enrolment rates through the construction of a Gender Parity Index (GPI), which I calculate as the ratio of female to male gross enrolment ratios. Following the Global Education Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2017), GPIs between 0.97 and 1.03 indicate parity. Figures below 0.97 show gender gaps favouring male enrolment, while figures above 1.03 indicate gender gaps favouring female enrolment.

4. Patterns in enrolment and gender gaps

In 1942, after a virtual monopoly over native education was granted to Catholic missions, enrolment in their schools represented 91% of total enrolment in rudimentary schooling. This would grow up to 98% in the early 1960s (Table 1). Consequently, the relative importance of the remaining providers of rudimentary schooling (the state, foreign Protestant missions, and other institutions englobed as *particular*), was small and decreasing. Thus, in order to understand the regional and gender dynamics generated by the expansion of rudimentary schooling in Mozambique, I primarily focus on the provision of schooling by the Catholic missions.

Table 2 provides an overview of the regional and gender distribution of enrolment rates in Catholic mission rudimentary schools, at the level of *distritos*. Figure 2 shows enrolment rates for black males in Catholic mission rudimentary schools, at the level of *concelhos* and *circunscrições*.¹⁶ Figure 3 does the same for female enrolment, and Figure 4 shows the constructed GPIs for rudimentary schooling in Catholic missions.

Black male enrolment rates in *ensino primario rudimentar* in 1947 were low at the level of the colony. This is reflected in colony-level enrolment rates for Catholic missions, which were only 17% (Table 2). Figure 2, however, shows interesting regional patterns. There was a cluster of high levels of schooling in the southernmost tip of the colony, primarily in the coastal areas of the *distritos* of Gaza and Inhambane, as well as in the *concelho* of Lourenço Marques.¹⁷ The central *distrito* of Beira and, to a lesser extent, the northern *distrito* of Nampula, showed enrolment rates in the 20-40% range in some of their regions, but their overall enrolment rates were 18% and 8% respectively. Conversely, the majority of the regions in the *distritos* of Quelimane and Tete, and especially those of the northern *distritos* of Lago and Cabo Delgado, showed very low enrolment rates despite the presence of Catholic missions in these areas.

The picture remained essentially unchanged through 1952. By 1955, however, enrolment had grown significantly in many areas where levels were previously low, such as the northern Lago and Cabo Delgado. The central *distrito* of Quelimane saw general improvement up to medium range enrolment rates in many of its regions, and both Beira and Nampula saw very large increases in enrolment in localised regions. This dynamic continued through 1957 and 1960, with a new cluster of high enrolment rates going from the northern limits of Quelimane, through Nampula, and into Cabo Delgado.

¹⁶ Enrolment rates at this level of disaggregation sometimes experience big changes between each of the benchmark years. This may owe to several factors. Certain missions and/or their schools could stop functioning for some periods, and the establishment of new missions could result in great increase in supply of schooling. Changes in administrative borders could also result in abrupt transfers of enrolment from one region to another: for example, certain schools that were considered to be in a particular *circunscrição* could be located in a contiguous region in our next benchmark year. I bear this in mind, and I describe general patterns within groups of *concelhos* and *circunscrições*.

¹⁷ See Figure 1 for a visual guide to the location of *distritos*.

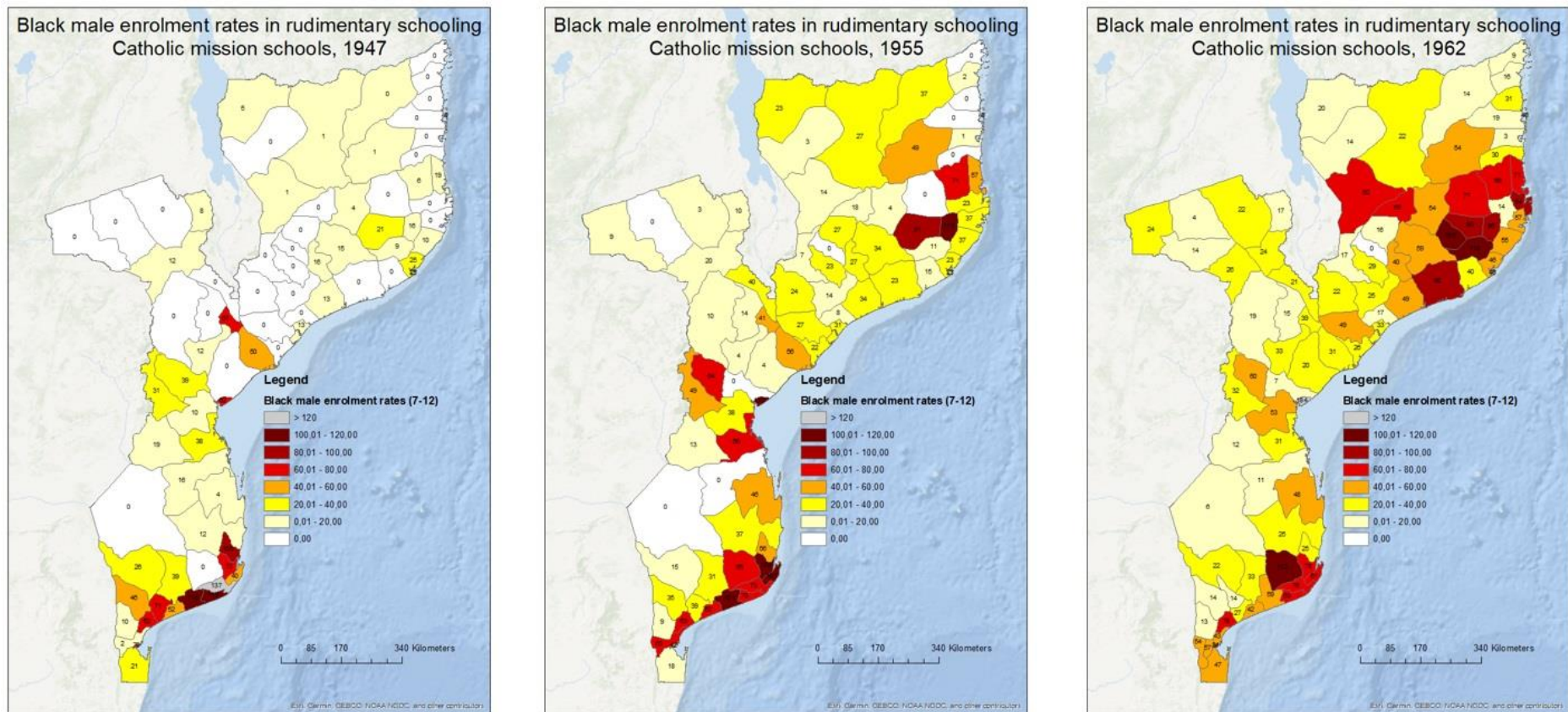


Figure 2. Black male enrolment rates in rudimentary schooling provided by Catholic missions, 1947-1962

Source: Based on data from *Anuários Estatísticos da Colónia de Moçambique* (yearbooks) and *III Recenseamento Geral da População na Província de Moçambique 1960*

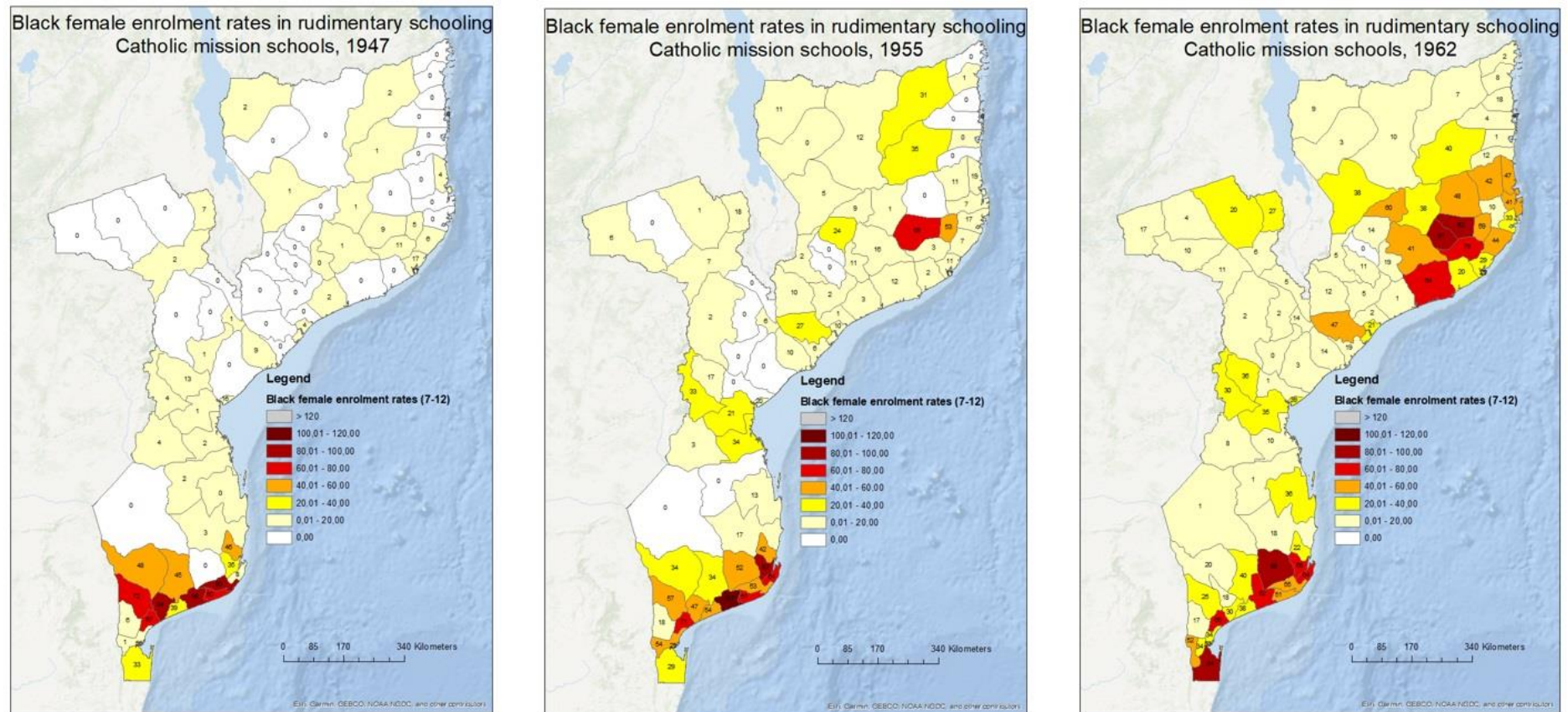


Figure 3. Black female enrolment rates in rudimentary schooling provided by Catholic missions, 1947-1962

Source: Based on data from *Anuários Estatísticos da Colónia de Moçambique* (yearbooks) and *III Recenseamento Geral da População na Província de Moçambique 1960*

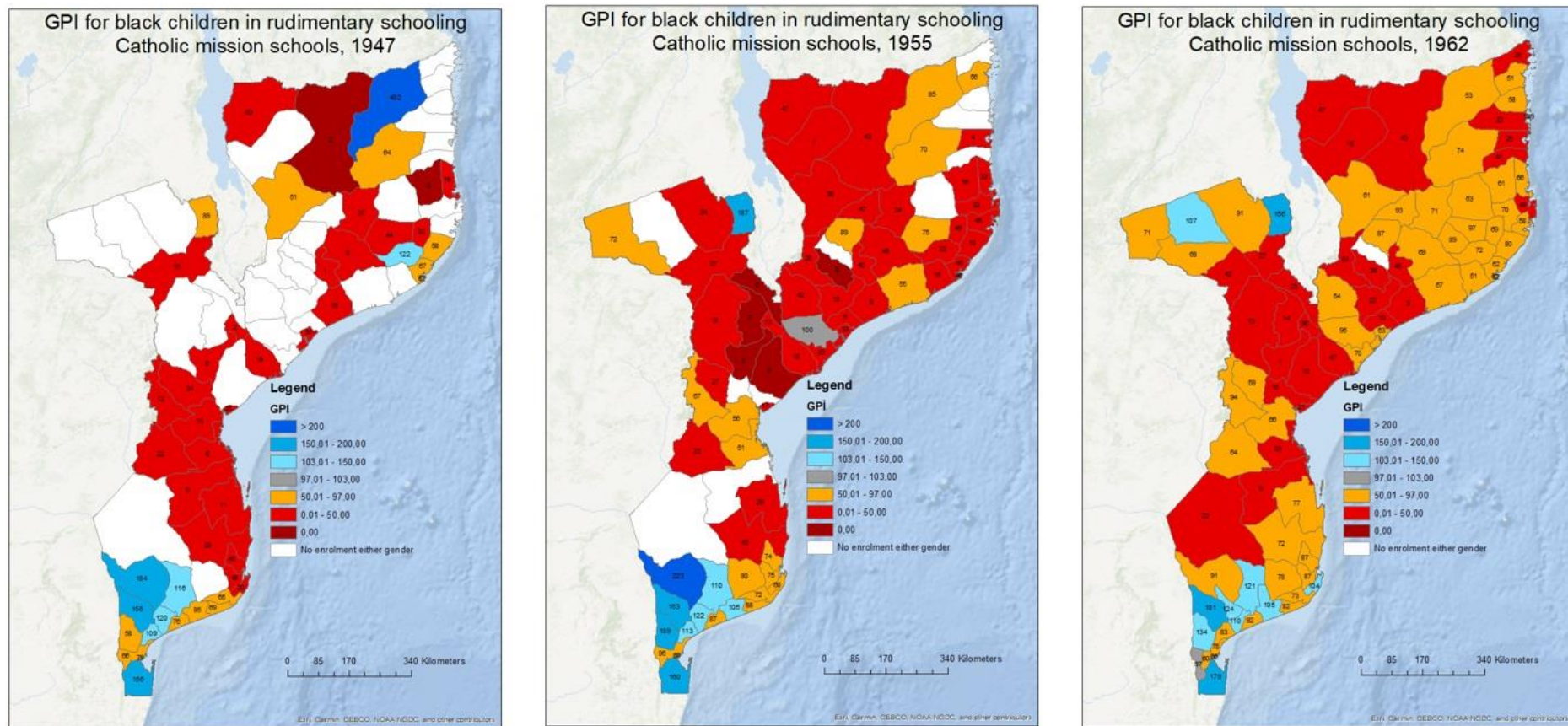


Figure 4. Gender parity indexes in rudimentary schooling provided by Catholic missions, 1947-1962

Source: Based on data from *Anuários Estatísticos da Colónia de Moçambique* (yearbooks) and *III Recenseamento Geral da População na Província de Moçambique 1960*

Table 2: Enrolment rates for black children in rudimentary schooling provided by Catholic missions, 1947-1962

Source: Based on data from *Anuários Estatísticos da Colónia de Moçambique* (yearbooks) and *III Recenseamento Geral da População na Província de Moçambique 1960*

		Enrolment rates in Catholic Mission rudimentary schools (7-12 school age)			
Distrito	Year	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	GPI
Lourenço Marques	1947	36.10	32.65	34.71	90.45
	1950	37.98	37.04	37.88	97.52
	1952	41.47	34.87	38.55	84.08
	1955	40.57	39.89	40.42	98.32
	1957	46.02	43.23	44.83	93.94
	1960	52.36	48.46	50.64	92.55
	1962	58.50	48.98	53.99	83.73
Gaza	1947	51.06	54.40	53.44	106.53
	1950	50.39	53.18	52.48	105.53
	1952	44.76	50.54	48.29	112.92
	1955	42.24	47.55	45.65	112.55
	1957	48.09	54.09	51.95	112.46
	1960	39.18	48.53	44.59	123.85
	1962	32.18	33.80	33.54	105.04
Inhambane	1947	51.81	23.80	40.20	45.93
	1950	46.51	22.52	36.70	48.43
	1952	53.54	30.42	44.65	56.82
	1955	63.43	38.20	54.03	60.22
	1957	66.69	43.75	58.72	65.60
	1960	61.77	44.98	56.76	72.82
	1962	51.31	37.87	47.41	73.81
Beira	1947	17.95	2.61	10.80	14.55
	1950	23.45	2.95	13.87	12.59
	1952	22.75	5.35	14.77	23.53
	1955	30.84	9.49	21.15	30.77
	1957	38.23	15.67	28.27	40.98
	1960	39.72	21.15	31.92	53.24
	1962	33.34	13.24	24.43	39.71
Tete	1947	6.37	2.75	4.73	43.24
	1950	5.42	2.36	4.04	43.53
	1952	7.94	4.58	6.49	57.62
	1955	17.23	6.32	12.29	36.66
	1957	14.47	5.62	10.48	38.83
	1960	22.21	12.23	17.97	55.05
	1962	19.73	12.78	16.97	64.78
Quelimane	1947	5.84	0.66	3.48	11.31
	1950	19.63	4.65	12.99	23.66
	1952	13.76	6.13	10.64	44.53
	1955	22.25	7.23	15.78	32.51
	1957	35.85	14.92	27.17	41.60
	1960	38.08	17.58	29.79	46.16
	1962	33.10	14.34	25.39	43.33

		Enrolment rates in Catholic Mission rudimentary schools (7-12 school age)			
Distrito	Year	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	GPI
Nampula	1947	8.49	3.25	6.47	38.24
	1950	11.73	4.08	8.71	34.75
	1952	13.98	5.00	10.46	35.79
	1955	39.87	13.80	29.58	34.62
	1957	56.71	25.89	45.51	45.64
	1960	61.93	34.66	53.23	55.97
	1962	66.73	37.92	57.67	56.84
Lago	1947	1.35	0.42	0.99	30.91
	1950	3.04	0.95	2.22	31.18
	1952	2.97	0.99	2.21	33.38
	1955	14.93	4.78	10.99	31.99
	1957	24.28	7.06	17.49	29.10
	1960	30.02	10.86	22.81	36.17
	1962	33.74	13.81	26.53	40.93
Cabo Delgado	1947	0.37	0.41	0.43	111.02
	1950	0.93	0.46	0.77	49.40
	1952	0.96	0.36	0.72	37.64
	1955	19.73	12.05	17.47	61.08
	1957	46.76	26.41	40.23	56.49
	1960	45.33	25.22	38.79	55.65
	1962	27.33	13.42	22.41	49.13
Whole colony	1947	17.02	10.24	14.56	60.19
	1950	21.27	11.29	17.38	53.07
	1952	20.55	12.60	17.70	61.32
	1955	32.22	16.89	26.22	52.41
	1957	43.42	24.48	36.25	56.36
	1960	45.11	28.11	39.09	62.31
	1962	41.51	24.43	35.21	58.86

By 1960, colony-wide enrolment rates for boys had improved, standing at 45% for Catholic mission rudimentary schools, and a relative convergence had taken place among *distritos*, most notably in the northern *distritos* of Lago, Cabo Delgado, and especially Nampula, which now had the highest enrolment rates for boys out of all *distritos*. In 1962 the picture was similar but overall levels of enrolment had fallen to 42% for Catholic missions, perhaps due to the start of the colonial war and the disruptions this entailed to social and economic life. In this regard, it is significant that the largest drop in enrolment rates took place in the northern *distrito* of Cabo Delgado, which was where the conflict began and where much of its fighting took place.

Increases in the enrolment of black girls in rudimentary schools were much slower. As with male enrolment, it was the southernmost tip of the colony that showed the greatest levels of enrolment in 1947, with very high levels in the *distrito* of Gaza and the southern limits of the *distrito* of Inhambane. The rest of the colony, however, showed very low levels of enrolment, and overall enrolment rates for all of Mozambique were 10%. It wasn't until 1952 that a small number of regions scattered across the rest of the territory showed enrolment rates in the 20-40% range. By 1957 a cluster similar to that of male enrolment had developed in the north, going from Quelimane to Cabo Delgado. In 1960, colony-wide enrolment rates for girls had grown to 28%, a smaller absolute increase than that for boys. The next two years saw a decline in enrolment mirroring that for boys.

These parallel dynamics are reflected in the evolution and the regional distribution of GPIs. As noted above, in 1947 overall enrolment rates in Catholic mission rudimentary schooling for boys and girls were 17% and 10% respectively. At this time, the majority of the regions in the colony showing any enrolment in rudimentary schooling favoured the enrolment of boys.¹⁸ However, the southernmost tip of the colony, where enrolment rates were highest for both boys and girls, showed GPIs closer to parity than for the rest of the colony, and many regions in the *distritos* of Gaza and Lourenço Marques even presented GPIs favouring the enrolment of girls. Throughout the end of our period in 1962, this southern area of Mozambique continued to favour enrolment of girls, while the southern limits of *distrito* of Inhambane remained relatively close to gender parity.

¹⁸ Some of the extreme values for GPIs, favouring either girls' or boys' enrolment, for example in the northern *circunscrições* of Marrupa and Macondes in 1947, can be explained by very low levels of enrolment: at levels close to zero, any increase in the enrolment of either gender can yield extremely high or low GPIs.

Other pockets of gender parity seemed to appear and disappear in different regions of the colony after 1947. However, it wouldn't be until 1957, with the expansion of enrolment rates for girls, that larger areas of the colony came closer to gender parity, starting with the northern cluster of Quelimane, Nampula, and Cabo Delgado, and expanding in later years to smaller clusters in Beira, the southern limits of Quelimane, and Tete. By 1960, absolute differences in colony-wide enrolment rates for boys and girls had grown, but the overall GPI was at essentially the same level as in 1947.

Analyses of the drivers behind these patterns are preliminary at this point in time, and are thus not included in this extended abstract. I use qualitative analysis and OLS regressions to explore historical factors on both the supply and the demand side. Firstly, I look at supply side factors such as the six-year investment plan implemented by the colonial state, or the incentives faced by Catholic authorities when deciding where to locate missions and invest in schooling. Secondly, I look at factors influencing local demand for schooling from African parents, and how these differed for girls and for boys, which ranged from the changing quality of rudimentary education to the pull exerted by migratory flows to the mines in the Transvaal.

5. Conclusion

Exploring the historical regional and gender differences in education in Mozambique, I make several contributions. Firstly, I contribute to a nascent literature that studies the intersection between regional and gender divides in historical educational outcomes. In doing so, my hope is to contribute to the understanding of educational patterns in Mozambique, and potentially other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, from a dynamic perspective that traces both continuities and discontinuities.

Secondly, I make an empirical contribution to a literature that has mainly taken a macro, cross-country focus, by constructing enrolment rate data at the sub-national level for the colonial period in Mozambique. A further contribution is the construction of maps for each of the benchmark years by tracing, digitising and homogenising the many changes that the administrative division of Mozambique saw during the period 1947-1962. These homogenised maps at the regional level should be useful for anyone interested in studying Mozambique during the colonial period.

Finally, the majority of the African economic history literature on education has focused on the dichotomy between British and French colonial models of education. I contribute to said literature by analysing the case of Mozambique, an ex-Portuguese colony.

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