

# PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

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Volume 28 • Number 2  
Winter 2020

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ISSN 1057-1515

Interdisciplinary

Special Theme Issue  
**Identities in the Lusophone  
World**

Issue Editors:  
Robert A. Kenedy  
Fernando Nunes

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VOLUME 28 • NUMBER 2

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

WINTER 2020



VOLUME 28 • NUMBER 2 • 2020

# PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

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AN IMPRINT OF BAYWOLF PRESS ✱ ÉDITIONS BAYWOLF (2012 – )  
Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6  
<http://www.maproom44.com/psr>; <http://lsa.apps01.yorku.ca>



FORMERLY PUBLISHED BY THE PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (2002-2011)

Printed and bound in Peterborough, Ontario, Canada.  
Design, digital setting, general production: Baywolf Press ✱ Éditions Baywolf

*Pro Forma* Academic Institutional Host, 2020 – : Lusophone Studies Association (LSA)  
(presently at York University, Toronto)

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*Note:* The present issue was delayed by the COVID-19 worldwide pandemic and by corresponding public health and lockdown measures implemented in the Province of Ontario, Canada.

*National Library of Canada Cataloguing Data*

Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v. : ill. : 23 cm

1. Portugal–Civilization–Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking–Civilization–Periodicals.  
3. Brazil–Civilization–Periodicals. 4. Portugal–Civilisation–Périodiques. 5. Afrique lusophone–  
Civilisation–Périodiques. 6. Brésil–Civilisation–Périodiques.

DP532 909/.0917/5691005 21

*Library of Congress Cataloguing Data*

Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v. : ill. : 23 cm

1. Portugal–Civilization–Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking–Civilization–Periodicals.  
3. Brazil–Civilization–Periodicals.

DP532 .P67 909/.091/5691 20 92-659516

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW  
VOLUME 28, No. 2 2020

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SPECIAL ISSUE

IDENTITIES IN THE LUSOPHONE WORLD



*SPECIAL ISSUE EDITORS*

ROBERT A. KENEDY  
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Given the broad historical and analytical coverage of Portuguese Caribbean communities and their long-run history, in *PSR* vol. 28, no. 2, and given the April 2021 volcanic and geomorphological events on the Island of St Vincent (also affecting The Grenadines and with eruptive ash fallout as far the Bahamas and other Caribbean locations), the *PSR* dedicates this issue – with the permission and agreement of the Issue Editors – to the rank-and-file people of St Vincent and The Grenadines (the south-east Windward Islands zone of the Lesser Antilles), and to the people of all Caribbean islands affected in various ways by the volcanic activity and its consequences.



## ABSTRACTS

Queen Leonor of Viseu, Corporate Kingship and the Centralization of Pious Institutions in Early Modern Portugal (1479-1521) (*Susannah Ferreira*)

Between December 1496 and October 1497, King Manuel I (1495-1521) issued legislation that both expelled all non-Christians from Portugal and impeded the emigration of the majority of Sephardic Jews. In consequence, tens of thousands of Jews – many of whom had recently migrated from Spain-- were forcibly converted to Christianity. The sudden suppression of Judaism triggered an immediate social crisis where thousands of Jewish families were separated from one another and deprived of their traditional networks of social assistance. This article examines the aftermath of this mass conversion and the strategies by which the Portuguese crown sought to integrate and assimilate the New Christians. These strategies included: the creation of *misericórdias* to dispense charity, the regulation of burials and the creation of centralized hospitals to manage orphans and displaced persons as well as legislation that prohibited marriage between New Christians. Historians have given scant attention to the experiences of New Christians in the four decades leading up to the establishment of the Inquisition. Part of the reason for this omission is attributable to the difficulty of identifying former Jews in the historical record. With baptism, their Jewish names and indications of their legal and fiscal status disappeared. However, records in the royal chancery point to some of the lived experiences of Portuguese New Christians in the early sixteenth century. In addition, this article draws on *regimentos*, writs and correspondence to examine how the Portuguese crown attempted to integrate and assimilate New Christians into mainstream society.

Historical Perspectives of the Portuguese in the Caribbean (*Joanne Collins-Gonsalves*)

This paper is an historical analysis of the Portuguese from Madeira, the Azores and Cape Verde Islands in the English-official Caribbean territories of Guyana, St. Vincent, Trinidad, Bermuda, St. Kitts, Grenada and Antigua from the nineteenth century. Grounded in the nineteenth century, this research includes contemporary references and builds on the existing scholarship on the Portuguese in the Caribbean. The paper is presented thematically with a focus on arrivals across the Caribbean, entrepreneurship, inter-country communication and travel, culture, religion, country statistics and historical gastronomical references. Lusophone connections are explored and assessed in a comparative context.

Edições dos manuscritos sobre os descobrimentos como fundamentos da identidade portuguesa oitocentista: o caso da *Crónica de Guiné* (*Alexsandro Menez*)

The present article seeks to show that the 1841 first edition of Gomes Eanes Zurara's *Crónica da Guiné* manuscript played a fundamental role in terms of asserting in European diplomatic circles the relevance and pan-European primacy of Portuguese oceanic voyages. The published manuscript was leveraged to justify the priority of Portuguese contacts with overseas territories within a tense European context characterized by increasing interest in various regions of Africa. The study supports the hypothesis that the first edition of the *Crónica de Guiné* served not only as one of the core signifiers of Portuguese identity within the country as such, through pinpointing a past shared by all Portuguese, but also outside the country, through prompting European powers to acknowledge a link between the modern Portuguese nationality and the

historical primacy of specific fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maritime voyages and discoveries.

*A Statue of Guilt: Memory as a Painful Reminder in Caderno de Memórias Coloniais (Notebook of Colonial Memories) by Isabela Figueiredo (Ricardo Rato Rodrigues)*

In the book *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* (2010), Isabela Figueiredo writes about her memories of her early life in Mozambique. Born in Lourenço Marques (currently Maputo), she spent her first 13 years in Africa, living as a colonial subject of the Portuguese Empire. Like many others, due to the independence of Mozambique, she had to move to Portugal in 1975, leaving behind a complex identity, one full of pain and guilt. The book is an exploration of those memories, often painful and violent, permeated by the guilt of a white colonial, (unwitting) participant of brutal colonialism. This article explores how Figueiredo's biographical experiences have informed her writing and the formation of her "schizophrenic" identity, and how her work contributes to the better understanding of the issue of identity for displaced persons. The article also explores the process of formation of a personal (and collective) identity and how these are articulated in/by memory and postmemory (Hirsch). It focuses on the issues of identity formation in terms of the collective Portuguese post-colonial memory and on its particular and critical view which challenges nostalgia with its sharp and vivid language. Crucially, this paper also aims to assess the literary importance of Figueiredo's book in terms of not only its contribution to Portuguese post-colonial debate, but specifically, its value as a feminine perspective in what is mostly a male dominated topic in the specific case of the Portuguese literary sphere.

*The Use of Languages as Tool to (re)Create Social and National Identities over Three Generations in Mozambique from 1975 to Modern Times (Xénia Venusta de Carvalho)*

The relationship between language(s) and identities are described by three generations of Mozambicans, in Southern Africa, from 1975 to modern times. How are languages used to (re)create national and social identities in post-colonial Mozambique? Portuguese, the former colonial language, continues to be an identity marker of social and political dominant position in society, particularly in urban settings, giving access to political power and modernity, reinforcing race stereotypes. Conversely, national languages represent social and political resistance described by the 18 life histories collected over three generations, alongside with ethnographic fieldwork done in southern Mozambique. The three generations are divided within a specific historic and ideological setting (i.e., socialism, democracy, and neoliberalism). The periods are based upon the notion of generation understood as a space and time of identity and political construction, in which biography and history meet. In addition, a gender approach is also described with different identity outcomes and strategies.

*Portuguese-Canadians as "Dark-Whites": Dynamics of Social Class, Ethnicity, and Racialization through Historical and Critical Analysis (Esra Ari)*

This article explores the question of "whiteness" among Portuguese-Canadians. Portuguese-Canadians who immigrated mostly from Portugal, sometimes its former colonies such as Brazil, are automatically lumped under the "white" category because they have a European background. However, this article argues that whiteness is beyond an objective criterion such as the origin country of people. First, this article uses a historical and critical approach to provide

a background for the discussion of this study topic. It argues that even before Portugal's colonial empire collapsed, during the first half of the eighteenth century, the whiteness of Portuguese was questionable in the English-speaking world. Second, drawing from twenty interviews with Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto, this article argues that the cultural background and low socio-economic positions of Portuguese give shade to their whiteness. Overall, this paper will argue that whiteness of the Portuguese is not solely related to their skin color and their European origin. Any discussion on whiteness or lack of whiteness of the Portuguese is related as much to their socio-economic position and cultural background because hegemonic whiteness refers to "white-skinned," middle-class, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and English speakers (Murguía and Forman, 2003). Accordingly, this paper prefers to use Harney's (1990) term, "dark-white," to address Portuguese living in the English-speaking world instead of "white" for the latter is not sufficiently nuanced. The claim here is that social class and culture can confer social color, which can, in turn, determine social standing. The theories and concepts guiding this work are racialization, whiteness studies, immigration, and capitalism and development.

#### Language of Non-belonging: Linguaging Race and Portuguese-speaking Youth Subjectivities in a Toronto High School (*David A. Pereira*)

Formal education plays a key role in consolidating national identity based on unified culture(s) and linguistic capacity that offer a path to national belonging. Portuguese-speaking students' (PSS) experiences in schools reveal a non-belonging in formal education. The paper draws on data from a 16-month ethnography in a Toronto high school with a large PSS population and uses raciolinguistics to understand the disciplinary practices targeting PSS and (re)producing a linguistically mediated non-belonging in education. PSS adapt several language strategies. Some resist the practices of surveillance and discipline. Others avoid speaking Portuguese altogether at school. These adaptive responses are not available to all PSS equally for reasons that gesture to race, class, and language. Participants' experiences reflect painful emotions that impact the social and cultural integration of some PSS at school. Critical language awareness offers potential strategies to raise understanding and empathy among school personnel for students' responses to language disciplining.

#### Tutoring and Mentoring for the Educational Success of Portuguese-Canadians and Latin-Canadians Through Community-Based Lived Experience (*Robert A. Kenedy*)

This article utilizes Brofenbrenner's ecological theory and Turner's notion of lived experience to analyze focus group and interview data with 22 *On Your Mark* tutors and mentors. This educational program has been developed by the *Working Women Community Centre (WWCC)* in Toronto to offer Portuguese-Canadian and Latin-Canadian youth and their families after school and weekend tutoring. The analysis of the data suggests that tutoring and mentoring builds community and promotes student success through the tutor's dedication to helping to mentor and guide students and work with their parents. Their proactive tutoring and mentoring efforts highlight the program strengths and efficacy. The data also reveals how *OYM* tutors find their volunteer work to be very rewarding in terms of helping students who struggle and making an impact that contributes to their specific ethnic and wider community of new Canadians who often cannot afford costly private tutoring. They report wanting to help students who struggle and make their experience better through supporting them pedagogically, personally, and socially. While tutoring is the main activity, mentoring also occurs in terms of form-

ing a long-term relationship to nurture academic success, promoting social growth through instilling confidence, encouraging post-secondary aspirations, and mentoring through being a sympatric listener.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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DAVID A. PEREIRA is a postdoctoral fellow in sexuality, gender, and education at York University and lecturer and research fellow at the University of Toronto. His research and writing broadly focus on intersectional, queer, and post-structural analyses of ethnoracialized, sexual, and gender minority youth (including in Portuguese diasporas) in urban and school contexts.

RICARDO RATO RODRIGUES is currently Assistant Professor of Portuguese Studies at UMCS (Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie), Poland. In 2016, he obtained his PhD in Lusophone Studies from the University of Nottingham, with a thesis entitled “A Silent Scream: Madness and Trauma in the early works of António Lobo Antunes.”



# The Use of Languages as Tool to (re)Create Social and National Identities over Three Generations in Mozambique from 1975 to Modern Times <sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

Language represents far more than a simple understanding of how people communicate, giving meaning to how people share and (re)construct their identities within the building of a certain nation-state. In modern times, “language has become a powerful marker of ethnicity and of national identity.”<sup>2</sup> In Mozambique, after independence in 1975, “language issues have played an important constitutive role in the development of the Mozambican nation-state.”<sup>3</sup> Portuguese is the official language of Mozambique, being a colonial legacy and a political choice made by the national movement fighting against Portuguese colonialism, reshaped into the ruling political party after independence until nowadays (i.e., Frelimo). After independence, Portuguese language was chosen to ‘unify’ the nation instead of any other national languages. None of the national or local languages are spoken throughout the country, having no *lingua franca* recognized besides Portuguese.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank Robert Kenedy for comments and suggestions on the manuscript, Fernando Nunes as co-editor of this special issue, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of the manuscript. The usual disclaimers apply.

<sup>2</sup>Gerard Delanty and Patrick O’Mahony, *Nationalism and Social Theory* (London: Sage, 2002), 129.

<sup>3</sup>Christopher Stroud, “Portuguese as Ideology and Politics in Mozambique: Semiotic (Re)constructions of a Postcolony,” in *Language Ideological Debates* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 343.

<sup>4</sup>Gregório Firmino, *A “Questão Linguística” na África Pós-Colonial: o Caso do Português e das Línguas Autóctones em Moçambique* (Maputo: Texto Editores, 2005).



In the beginning of the nation, during the socialist period, ethnicity was labeled as being part of the ‘colonial and traditional’ worlds and “Mozambican languages were ideologically dismissed as part of colonial structures of management and of patrimonial interest only.”<sup>5</sup> To claim an ethnic identity was to defend a divided nation similar to colonial times. On the contrary, speaking Portuguese after independence became a ‘sign of distinction’<sup>6</sup> of Mozambicans who were part of the new nation, unified through a common language. Conversely, to speak Portuguese during colonial times was also a ‘sign of distinction’, symbolizing the entrance into modernity, translated through schooling patterns. “Education allowed a few lucky ones to progress (as much as possible) in the ‘modern’ and particularly urban sector of the colonial economy; and it is here precisely that we can find the roots of the ideology of modernity.”<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, the ‘persistence’ of the colonial language is also linked to practical reasons related with the language in which the schoolbooks were written, and to the (re)creation of the ‘new’ elite, who spoke Portuguese, one of the “foreign [colonial] languages, whose possession had marked the colonial elite, [and] became too precious as marks of status to be given up by the class that inherited the colonial state.”<sup>8</sup>

In fact, accessing Portuguese language during colonial period was a controlled process, being “one of the measures the colonial government put in place to contain ‘native’ mobility—both socially and geographically.”<sup>9</sup> In

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<sup>5</sup>Christopher Stroud, “O Português de Moçambique na Construção de um Espaço Social e Político,” *VEREDAS*, 9 (2008): 137-154, 141 [URI:<http://hdl.handle.net/10316.2/34456>] (original in English with a Portuguese title).

<sup>6</sup>Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction, Critique Sociale du Jugement* (Paris : Les Editions de Minuit, 1979).

<sup>7</sup>“A educação permitia a uns poucos afortunados progredir (tanto quanto possível) no sector “moderno” e predominantemente urbano da economia colonial, e é precisamente aqui que podem ser encontradas as raízes da ideologia de modernidade,” in Jason Sumich, “Construir uma Nação: Ideologias de Modernidade da Elite Moçambicana,” *Análise Social*, XLIII, 2.º (2008): 319-345, 334.

<sup>8</sup>Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In my Father’s House – Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>9</sup>Christopher Stroud, *O Português de Moçambique*, 139. For information regarding the colonial education system see Eugénio Lisboa, *O Ensino em Moçambique* (Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique: Maputo, n/d); Eugénio Lisboa, “Education in Angola and Mozambique” (in Rose, B., ed, *Education in Southern Africa*. London: Collier-MacMillan, 1970): 264-321.

deed, the effects of geographical control of Portuguese language during colonial times still impact on modern Mozambique through the school network around the country. Equally important are factors such as the Civil War (1976-1992)<sup>10</sup> and the development index of the country that continues to contribute for the reproduction of social inequalities in accessing school and learning the official language of the country. Indeed,

the war led to the destruction or closure of 58 per cent of schools. This affected those regions most which had lagged behind historically in terms of education. Almost 82 per cent of all schools in the Central Region were destroyed or closed between 1983 and 1992 (...) In contrast, in Maputo City no schools were destroyed or closed.<sup>11</sup>

With the 2000 and 2001 floods and cyclones, namely in Zambezia and Nampula provinces, having the largest population in the country, “some of those schools were destroyed again.”<sup>12</sup>

These patterns of inequality contributed to the consolidation of an urban educated socio-economic elite,<sup>13</sup> located in the capital city, Maputo, in a country in which 87.3% of the population live in rural areas with 62.6% living in severe poverty.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>About the Civil War in Mozambique: Hans Abrahamsson and Anders Nilsson, *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition – From Socialist Construction to Free Market Capitalism* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995); Christian Geffray, *La cause des armes au Mozambique. Anthropologie d'une guerre civile* (Paris: Karthala, 1990); Elísio Macamo, “Accounting for Disaster: Memories of War in Mozambique,” *Afrika Spectrum* 41 (2) (2006): 199-219; Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

<sup>11</sup>Servaas van der Berg, Carlos da Maia and Cobus Burger, “Educational Inequality in Mozambique,” *WIDER Working Paper* 2017/212 (2017), 1 [<https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/Publications/Working-paper/PDF/wp2017-212.pdf>].

<sup>12</sup>*The Gender and Education in Mozambique - Analysis of Results, Lessons and Recommendations – Final Report*, 2001, pp. 9-10 [[https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/MOZ\\_02\\_006a.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/MOZ_02_006a.pdf)].

<sup>13</sup>Mario Mouzinho, Peter Fry, Lisbeth Levy and Arlindo Chilundo, *Higher Education in Mozambique: A Case Study* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

<sup>14</sup>OPHI, *Global MPI Country Briefing 2019: Mozambique (Sub-Saharan Africa)* [[https://ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/CB\\_MOZ\\_2019\\_2.pdf](https://ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/CB_MOZ_2019_2.pdf)]; UNDP, *Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st Century – Briefing Note for Countries on the 2019 Human Development Report: Mozambique* [[http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr\\_theme/country-notes/MOZ.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/MOZ.pdf)]

Furthermore, the appropriation of the former colonial language is a “contradictory process, because it leads to the idea of a unified nation, and at the same time ends up producing social exclusion due to the linguistic diversity that characterizes Mozambique.”<sup>15</sup>

*The Three Generations of Modern Mozambique and Language(s)*

Drawing on findings from the study conducted in the southern region of Mozambique, Maputo, with ethnographic fieldwork done from 2011 to 2013, including collection of 18 life histories, with bibliographic and documental research done from 2011 to 2016,<sup>16</sup> it is argued that the official language is used as a social and political tool to promote social and political (im)mobility, granting elites, made during ‘colonial times,’<sup>17</sup> the continue privilege of accessing power.

In modern Mozambique, and according to the narratives of the three generations, the Portuguese language is an important identity marker regarding social and political dominant positions in the Mozambican society. Identity is understood as “never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions.”<sup>18</sup> This approach to how language is used and incorporated in one’s identity is described by three generations of Mozambican students over three ideological and political periods after 1975 until recently. The descriptions are constructed around the idea of a ‘public self’ symbolized by each president of Mozambique, as following:

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<sup>15</sup>“(…) um processo contraditório, por conduzir à projecção de uma nação-estado unificada, ao mesmo tempo que acaba tendo efeitos de exclusão social, face às características da diversidade linguística prevalente em Moçambique,” in Gregório Firmino, *A Situação do Português no Contexto Multilíngue de Moçambique* (n.d.), 1 [http://dlcv.fflch.usp.br/sites/dlcv.fflch.usp.br/files/06\_19.pdf].

<sup>16</sup>Xénia de Carvalho, *The Construction of Knowledge in Post-colonial Societies: Identity and Education over Three Generations in Mozambique* (Brighton: University of Brighton, 2016) [URL: The construction of knowledge in postcolonial societies: identity and education over three generations in Mozambique — The University of Brighton].

<sup>17</sup>Sumich, *Construir uma Nação*.

<sup>18</sup>Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who Needs ‘Identity?’” in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: SAGE, 2011), 4.

*Table 1* Description of the Three Generations<sup>19</sup>

	<p>The 1<sup>st</sup> generation is symbolized by the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Mozambique, Samora Machel (1975-1986), being composed by people from the period of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation (1964-1975), their families and exiled people by the colonial regime; also by the so-called '8<sup>th</sup> March Generation' of 1977 and students sent abroad by the regime to study in foreign countries (e.g., Cuba, former GDR, former USSR, Hungary, Brazil). The identification is towards Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology.</p>
	<p>The 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation is symbolized by the 2<sup>nd</sup> President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano (1986-2005), simultaneously representing the period of highest intensity of the Civil War (1976-1992) and the end of war with the Rome General Peace Agreement in 1992, the introduction of political multi-party system and the idea of democracy. In this generation, there are younger faculty members teaching college students. The identification is based on Democracy as an ideology.</p>
	<p>The 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation is symbolized by the former President, Armando Guebuza (2005-2014), representing the introduction of the neo-liberal economy. This is the time of the young college students, the present time, where we find the globalized and technological youth like in other parts of the world. The identification is towards Neo-Liberalism as an ideology, looking for a job that provides them the future "com tako" (in slang Portuguese, meaning "with dough"). This is the so-called "waithood generation."<sup>20</sup></p>

An example of what one participant told me can illustrate the way narratives are organized when telling the story, having an identification that grants a sense of shared identity calling for each president of the country: "Aquele jovem ali – vês? – chegou num carro grande! Essa geração é o espe-

<sup>19</sup>Source: Carvalho, *The Construction of Knowledge*.

<sup>20</sup>According to Alcinda Honwana (2013, 2014), 'youth in waithood' live in uncertain times; it is difficult to predict what will be the outcome of youth social movements against neoliberal ideology. See: Alcinda Honwana, " 'Waithood': Youth Transitions and Social Change," in *Development and Equity: An Interdisciplinary Exploration by Tén Scholars from Africa, Asia and Latin America* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 28-40; Alcinda Honwana, *O Tempo da juventude: Emprego, política e mudanças sociais em África* (Maputo: Kapicua Livros e Multimédia, 2013).

lho da política de Guebuza: teu valor é o que mostras aos outros! Não era assim no tempo de Samora!” (“That young man over there – can you see it? – he just arrived in a big car! This generation is the mirror of Guebuza’ politics: your value is what you show to others! It was not like this during Samora’s time!”).<sup>21</sup> But, in the same narrative, I find the other side of the story, when he told me that during Samora’s times there already was a social distinction, not measured by ‘good cars,’ but by political filiation:

O nosso regime funcionou [no período de Samora Machel] muito numa tentativa de tentar criar uma elite pré-fabricada ao seu jeito, estás a ver? Quer dizer, que as pessoas que não pertencem aqui [a este grupo, à Frelimo], por muito que eles se esforcem, nunca vão entrar ...

Our regime worked [during Samora Machel period] very much in an attempt to create a prefabricated elite, in its own way, you see? Meaning that people who don’t belong here [to this group, to Frelimo], no matter how hard they try, they will never be in ...<sup>22</sup>

The notion of generation is understood as a space and time of identity and political construction, in which biography and history meet, being “the process of identity formation and the process of social reproduction (...) one and the same.”<sup>23</sup> In each generation there is the possibility for social change, sharing historical and social experiences – ‘politically relevant experiences,’<sup>24</sup> resulting in the (re)construction of fragmented and multiple identities by each participant within each generation.

Concerning data about languages in Mozambique, although the number of Portuguese speakers has increased since 1975, Portuguese is still an urban language spoken mainly by people who attend school and live in the capital city of Maputo.<sup>25</sup> When comparing data about Portuguese speakers in the country, in 2007, the population that spoke Portuguese increased from 9%

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<sup>21</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>22</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>23</sup>Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 262.

<sup>24</sup>Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, 258.

<sup>25</sup>Firmino, A “*Questão Linguística*”; Lourenço Cossa, “Línguas Nacionais no Sistema Nacional de Educação para o Desenvolvimento em Moçambique,” *Educ. Real.*, Porto Alegre, 36 (3) (2011): 705-725. Regarding linguistic diversity and Portuguese language uses see, for example, Alexandre António Timbane, “A Justiça Moçambicana e as Questões de Interpretação Forense,” *Language and Law / Linguagem e Direito*, 3 (2), 2016: 78-97.

in 1997 to almost 51% in 2007, but as native language only 10% referred it as their native language. According to the Census of 2007, around 81% of the urban population said that they speak Portuguese, compared to almost 36% in rural areas of the country.

Regarding national languages, there are 23 national languages in the country representing the mother-tongue of most of the population.<sup>26</sup> The national language more representative in Mozambique, in 2007, was Emakhuwa (26.3%), a Bantu language spoken by the Makua ethnic group in the north of the country, particularly in the Nampula province; followed by Xichangana (11.4%), also called Tsonga or Xitsonga or Shangaan, a language spoken in the south of the country, with Zulu/South African influences.<sup>27</sup>

However, recent data from the Census of 2017, put Portuguese language as the second native language in Mozambique, particularly in urban areas, but representing a low number of speakers (i.e., 3.686.890 out of 22.243.373 of the total population); being Xichangana the third native language, in rural areas (with 1.013.223 out of 14.568.549 total population). Emakhuwa continues to be the first native language, with the highest number of speakers in rural areas (the total number of speakers is 5.813.083 out of 22.243.373 of the total population).<sup>28</sup>

In terms of description of the national languages, there are eight linguistic groups in the country, with sub-divisions into several local Bantu languages, within the four geographic zones:<sup>29</sup>

- Swahili (Zone G);
- Yao and Makua (Zone P);
- Nyanja and Senga-Sena (Zone N); and
- Shona, Tswa-Ronga and Chopi (Zone S).

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<sup>26</sup>Firmino, A “*Questão Linguística*”; Firmino, *A Situação do Português*.

<sup>27</sup>Firmino, A “*Questão Linguística*”; Firmino, *A Situação do Português*. Zulu is the largest South African ethnic group with historical roots in Mozambique.

<sup>28</sup>INE, IV RGPH 2017, *Moçambique, 08 – Língua (2017) – “Quadro 22. População de 5 anos e mais por Idade, segundo Área de Residência, Sexo e Língua Materna”*: [<http://www.ine.gov.mz/iv-rgph-2017/mocambique/08-lingua>].

<sup>29</sup>According to the classification of Malcolm Guthrie (1967/71), quoted by Firmino, A “*Questão Linguística*”: 47-48.

These zones are part of the sixteen Bantu zones conventionally used to divide languages spoken by the Bantu peoples in Sub-Saharan Africa. The table below describes the eight linguistic groups of Mozambique and regions (provinces and districts of Mozambique, and neighbouring countries) in which they are spoken:

*Table 2* Linguistic Groups of Mozambique and Sub-divisions<sup>30</sup>

<i>Linguistic group</i>	<i>Languages</i>	<i>Provinces/districts in which the languages are spoken/mother-tongue (MT)</i>
Swahili	Kimwani	Cabo Delgado (Mocimboa da Praia, Macomia, Quissanga, Ibo, including the Islands of the Quirimbas Archipelago; Pemba and Palma)
Yao	Yao/Ciyaawo	Niassa and Cabo Delgado, being Niassa the 'homeland'. Other countries: Malawi, Tanzania, some regions of Zambia and Zimbabwe.
	Maconde/Shimakonde/Makonde	It is spoken almost in all the country, but as MT it is mainly in 7 districts of Cabo Delgado (Macomia, Meluco, Mocimboa da Praia, Mueda, Muidumbe, Nangade and Palma). Other countries: Tanzania
	Mabiha (Mavia)	~
Makua	Macua/Emakhuwa/Makua	Nampula, Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Zambezia
	Lomwe/Elomwe (variant of Emakhuwa)	Nampula (Malema, partly in the districts of part Ribáwè, Murrupula and Moma), Zambezia (Gurue, Gilé, Alto Molócue e Ile)
	Ngulu (W. Makua)	–
	Chuabo/Echuwabu/Cuabo	Zambezia (Maganja da Costa,

<sup>30</sup>The table was done with data from the following authors, still a working-in-progress research, to distinguish between the languages and the sub-languages: Armindo Ngunga and Osvaldo G. Faquir, *Padronização da Ortografia de Línguas Moçambicanas: Relatório do III Seminário* (Centro de Estudos Africanos, CEA – Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, UEM: Maputo, 2012), 17-259; Firmino, A “*Questão Linguística*.”



	(Cuambo)	Quelimane, Namacurra, Mocuba, Mopeia, Morrumbala, Lugela, Inhassunge, Mugogoda and Milange) and Sofala (Beira)
Nyanja	Nyanja/Cinyanja	Niassa (Mecanhelas, Mandimba and Lago), Zambezia (district of Milange) and Tete (Angónia, Furancungo, Macanga, Zumbo, Tsangano and parts of Fingoé, Cazula and Moatize). Other countries: Malawi and Zambia
	Cewa	–
	Mananja	–
Senga-Sena	Nsenga	–
	Kunda	–
	Nyungwe/Cinyungwe	Tete (Moatize, Changara, Cahora Bassa and parts of Maravia). Other countries: Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia
	Sena/Cisena	Beira City and 22 districts of 4 provinces: Manica (Gondola, Guru, Macosa and Tambara), Sofala (Beira City and districts of Caia, Chemba, Cheringoma, Dondo, Gorongoza, Maringue, Marromeu, Muanza, Nhamatanda), Tete (Changara, Moatize and Mutarara) and Zambezia (Chinde, Inhassunge, Mocuba, Mopeia and Morrumbala, Nicoadala). Other countries: Malawi and Zimbabwe
	Cilbalke/Ruwe/Rue	Manica and the entire district of Bárue, except Sierra Chôa locality
	Podzo	–
Shona	Korekore	–
	Zezuru	Other countries: Zimbabwe
	Manyika/Cimanyika	Border region of the province of Manica with the Republic of Zimbabwe (Mossurize, Manica, Barwe and Sussundenga). Other

		countries: east Zimbabwe
	Têbe/Ciutee/Ciwute	Province of Manica, Chimoio City and surroundings of Chimoio
	Ndau/Cindau	Sofala, Manica and the northern part of Inhambane. Other countries: Zimbabwe
Tswa-Ronga	Tsonga: 3 languages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Xirhonga/Ronga,</li> <li>• Xichangana</li> <li>• Citshwa/Tswa</li> </ul>	The three languages are 'intelligible', spoken in the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, and in the southern part of the provinces of Manica and Sofala. Other countries: southern of Zimbabwe; northeastern of South Africa/former Province of Transvaal (Note: Xironga is spoken mainly in the Province of Maputo and the capital city of Maputo)
	Gwamba	–
Chopi	Chope/Cicopi/Copi (Lenge)	Inhambane (Zavala, Inharrime, Homoine) and Gaza (Manjacaze, Chidenguele, Chongoene)
	Bitonga/Gitonga/Tonga (Shengwe)	Inhambane (regions surrounding Inhambane Bay, cities of Inhambane and Maxixe; districts of Jangamo, Morrumbene and Homoine); speakers in all country, including the capital city, Maputo

### *Methodology*

The methodological approach used in this study is grounded in the epistemological position of Bruner's theory of 'narrative construction of reality.' He notes that "it is through our own narratives that we principally construct a version of ourselves in the world, and it is through its narrative that a culture provides models of identity and agency to its members."<sup>31</sup> Within a narrative it is possible to unfold the unexpected, opposed or silenced meanings,

<sup>31</sup>Jerome Bruner, *The Culture of Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), xiv.

understanding “more about individual and social change,”<sup>32</sup> incorporating notions such as the hidden and public transcripts as forms of resistance in everyday life practices.<sup>33</sup>

The public transcript is an onstage practice, in which people share the public and socially acceptable visions about social reality made by the ruling social classes in the country: “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas.”<sup>34</sup> Within the (re)production of the public transcripts, as a self-portrait of the dominant elite, hidden transcripts are (re)products as well: “The practice of domination, then, creates the hidden transcript. If the domination is particularly severe, it is likely to produce a hidden transcript of corresponding richness.”<sup>35</sup> The hidden transcript is an offstage practice, a counter-narrative about ideas and practices shared by the participants side by side with the dominant ideas and practices of society.

*Methods.* To explore the public and hidden transcripts, I combined ethnographic and narrative approaches, having life history as the main research method. Ethnography allowed for a deeper understanding of the hidden meanings of languages within context, as well as having a “thick description” of narratives of everyday life interactions.<sup>36</sup> When asking, we are ‘inscribing’

<sup>32</sup>Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou, eds., *Doing Narrative Research* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2008), 1-2.

<sup>33</sup>James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

<sup>34</sup>Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 315.

<sup>35</sup>Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 315.

<sup>36</sup>Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou, *Doing Narrative Research*; J. Borneman and A. Hammoudi, eds., *Being There: The Fieldwork Encounter and the Making of Truth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); J. Clifford, and G. Marcus, G., eds., *Writing Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (California: Stanford University Press, 1988); I. Goodson, A. Loveless and D. Stephens, eds., *Explorations in Narrative Research* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012); Marianne Horsdal, *Telling Lives – Exploring Dimensions of Narratives* (London: Routledge, 2012); Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984); G. Spindler and L. Spindler, *Interpretative Ethnography of Education – at Home and Abroad* (London: LEA, 1987); Kathleen Wilcox, “Ethnography as a Methodology and Its Application to the Study of Schooling: a Review,” in *Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action* (New York: CBS College Publishing, 1982).

social discourse, knowing that the ethnographic description is a ‘highly situated’ description,<sup>37</sup> in which we need to know “who speaks? who writes? when and where? with or to whom? under what institutional and historical constraints?”<sup>38</sup>

In that sense, life history as a research method merges biography and history<sup>39</sup> and is based on “the story we tell about our life” (Goodson, 1992), while life history is that story “located within its historical context.”<sup>40</sup> When using life history, I used few questions<sup>41</sup> to give participants the possibility of constructing and unfold their own narratives, avoiding the pitfalls of hearing my own voice;<sup>42</sup> as well as allowing participants to organize their narratives according to what they considered to be more relevant in their life journey.<sup>43</sup> This approach gave me also the “intensity of their feelings,”<sup>44</sup> in which I participate mainly as a listener.<sup>45</sup> As a female participant shared with me: “É a primeira vez que penso sobre minha vida... Sabe bem” (“It is the first time that I am thinking about my life... It is a good feeling”).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Geertz, *Works and Lives*, 5.

<sup>38</sup>Clifford, *Writing Cultures*, 13.

<sup>39</sup>Jean Poirier, Simone Clapier-Valladon and Paul Raybaut, *Histórias de vida – Teoria e prática* (Oeiras: Celta, 1995); I. Goodson and P. Sikes, *Life History Research in Educational Settings: Learning from Lives* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001); I. Goodson, *Investigating the Teacher's Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008); R. L. Miles, *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories* (London: SAGE, 2000); Ivor Goodson, “The Rise of the Life Narrative,” in *Teacher Education Quarterly* 33 (4) (2006): 7-21.

<sup>40</sup>David Stephens, “Girls and Basic Education in Ghana: A Cultural Enquiry,” in *International Journal of Education Development* 20 (2000): 29-47, 32.

<sup>41</sup>The open questions used were organized around two main thematic areas: (i) Personal and social identity: life story with description of memories about personal and family events; gender issues when growing up; how they describe themselves - that brought the language issue as central to understand their identity construction process; people they considered to be a reference; feelings about telling their story/history; (ii) Education: describing their experiences in school and in informal educational settings (i.e., Family, Community and Religion).

<sup>42</sup>Goodson, *Investigating the Teacher's*; Goodson and Sikes, *Life History Research*.

<sup>43</sup>Foddy, *Como Perguntar*.

<sup>44</sup>“... a intensidade dos sentimentos dos inquiridos,” in Foddy, *Como Perguntar*, 143.

<sup>45</sup>Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past – Oral History* (Great Britain: Oxford University Press), 165.

<sup>46</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism.

*Sampling.* Taking in account the linguistic diversity, I looked for Mozambican students who studied from primary education to university, to be able to collect the life story of the (re)uses of languages in the history of the country. The idea was to collect life histories of participants who speak Portuguese and national languages simultaneously in their life journey. Another criteria used for inclusion was the location of the family, group or of the participants during the Civil War period (1976-1992), since the war contributed to the redefinition of ethnicity in Mozambique, in which the Ndau/Shona ethnic group, from the central provinces of the country, represented the elite of Renamo (i.e., nowadays the second political party and leading political opposition in Mozambique), being the Xichangana group, from the south province of Gaza, part of the elite representing Frelimo, (i.e., the leading political party since independence).<sup>47</sup> Indeed, during the Civil War, teachers and health care workers were targeted by Renamo; and traditional healers or ‘curandeiros’ and ‘mambos’ or the traditional authorities by Frelimo. As one participant said: “O meu pai sempre odiou a Frelimo [estava do outro lado na guerra], então mandou passear essa história de falar (...) ‘português falas na escola’” (“My father always hated Frelimo [he was on the other side during the war], so he said that that thing of speaking Portuguese should go away ... ‘Portuguese you speak at school’ [he said].”).<sup>48</sup>

The participants were chosen using a ‘snowball sampling’ technique to select 18 out of 36 participants identified in Maputo, with family or personal origins from different provinces of Mozambique, including Maputo Province. The narratives over the three generations have a gender focus, to include gender perspectives on how people tell their story, as mentioned in the literature: “women typically included other people in their descriptions of the past, whereas men’s memories had an evident lack of details about other people,” being more likely that women include the social context when telling their story<sup>49</sup>. In doing so, each generation has 6 participants: 3

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<sup>47</sup>Nordstrom, *A Different Kind*; Fernando Florêncio, “Identidade étnica e práticas políticas entre os vaNdaus de Moçambique,” *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 3 (2002): 39-63; Fernando Florêncio, *Ao Encontro dos Mambos: Autoridades tradicionais vaNdaus e estado em Moçambique* (Lisboa: ICS, 2005).

<sup>48</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

<sup>49</sup>Agnieszka Niedzwinska, “Gender Differences in Vivid Memoires,” *Sex Roles* 49 (7/8), (2003): 321-331, 321. See also: Josette Coenen-Huther, *La mémoire familiale: Un travail de reconstruction du passé* (Paris: Éditions L’Harmattan, 1994).

females and 3 males. The 18 life histories collected represent less than 1% of the Mozambican population regarding schooling patterns.<sup>50</sup> In 2018, around 29.8% of the Mozambican population had completed primary education, with near 58.9% having no formal education.<sup>51</sup>

Our participants are characterized as following:

*Table 3* Socio-Anthropological Description of the Three Generations<sup>52</sup>

<i>Generations</i>	<i>Mother-tongue (MT)</i>	<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Ethnic belonging (self-definition)</i>
<i>1<sup>st</sup> generation:</i> Born between 1957 and 1966; having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology	50% Portuguese (all women); the other 50% (men) have as MT Changana, Ronga, Bitonga e Nyungwe	50% from Maputo (South); the rest from Inhambane (South); Zambezia and Tete (Centre)	<i>Assimilado</i> <sup>53</sup> , Zulu, Changana and Bitonga (South); Sena and Nyungwe (Centre). 50% are from the South
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> generation:</i> Born between 1974 and 1980; having Democracy as an ideology	50% Portuguese (all women); the other 50% (men) have as MT Tswa, Bitonga and Ndaú	50% from Maputo (South); 2 from Inhambane (South) and 1 from Sofala (Centre)	2 Tswa (Centre); 1 Macua (North); 1 Ndaú (Centre); 1 Bitonga (South); 1 Chuabo and Sena (Centre)

<sup>50</sup>See Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI), *BTI 2014 | Mozambique Country Report*, 28 [[https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2014/pdf/BTI\\_2014\\_Mozambique.pdf](https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2014/pdf/BTI_2014_Mozambique.pdf)].

<sup>51</sup>Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI), *BTI 2018 | Mozambique Country Report* [[https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2018/pdf/BTI\\_2018\\_Mozambique.pdf](https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2018/pdf/BTI_2018_Mozambique.pdf)].

<sup>52</sup>Source: Carvalho, *The Construction of Knowledge*.

<sup>53</sup>Regarding the category of "assimilado" it is important to note that it is both the outcome of the ethnic colonial policies, but also according to the narratives of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation, "assimilados" are not described as an ethnic group *per se*, but they are socially recognized as a group of people that share particular memories and a specific language that unifies them – i.e., ethnic identity, see Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries – the Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Norway: Scandinavian University Books, 1969); Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); about the historical contextualization of "assimilados" in Mozambique see, for example, José Cabaço, *Moçambique – Identidades, Colonialismo e Libertação* (Maputo: Marimbique, 2010).

<p>3<sup>rd</sup> generation: Born between 1982 and 1987; having Neoliberalism as an ideology</p>	<p>All have Portuguese as their MT</p>	<p>The majority are from Maputo (South); 1 from Zambezia (Centre)</p>	<p>The majority defines themselves as being Mozambicans (national identity); 1 Changana (South)</p>
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Regarding the data collection process, the preparation to collect life histories began in October 2012 using privileged key informants, that gave me access to each generation. I established contacts via email, Skype, phone/WhatsApp to identify at least 36 potential women and men interested in sharing their life history. I used the ‘snowball sampling’ technique to select the participants, as mentioned earlier, knowing that in general interviewees tend to indicate similar persons.<sup>54</sup>

*Interviews.* In May 2013, I collected 18 life histories in Maputo. Most of the times, the interviews were conducted in a private space, selected by the participants, and recorded. The interviews were conducted in Portuguese and translated into English by me. The data collection occurred because anonymity was provided to the participants, stating that any personal data that challenges anonymity would not be used in the writing process, because ethics is essentially the respect for the other.<sup>55</sup> It is important to underline that in the Mozambican landscape everything is political. As one participant told me: “Não sei se és espia da Frelimo ou não...” (“I don’t know if you’re a Frelimo spy or not...”<sup>56</sup>), knowing that there was someone watching our conversation. Furthermore, ethnography is designed to achieve a “proximity” towards the participants, conducting the participants to forget the explicit aims of the research when they come to know the ethnographer as a person.<sup>57</sup> As most of the participants told me: “é um meio muito pequeno”

<sup>54</sup>William Foddy, *Como perguntar – Teoria e prática da construção de perguntas em entrevistas e questionários* (Oeiras: Celta, 1996).

<sup>55</sup>A. Orb, L. Eisenhauer and Wynaden, “Ethics in Qualitative Research,” *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 33 (1) (2001): 93-96.

<sup>56</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

<sup>57</sup>M. Hammersley and P. Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (London: Routledge, 1995).

(“this is a small world”<sup>58</sup>), “quantos têm o ... [grau académico específico] em X? Ficam logo a saber que sou eu” (“how many people have the degree I have? Immediately, they can identify me”<sup>59</sup>), “Quantos foram estudar para fora, estudar onde eu estudei?” (“How many people went to study abroad in a particular country with my personal life story?”<sup>60</sup>), “tudo é político aqui” (“everything here is political”<sup>61</sup>) and “você tem que ter cuidado com o que diz” (“we have to be careful about what we say”<sup>62</sup>). Due to anonymity and trust, participants felt that they could speak “abertamente, com emoção, sobre tudo” (“spontaneously about all things”<sup>63</sup>). In the collection phase, the fact that I am “part of” the nation building process somehow was important to establish trust. Indeed, this research developed from my reflection as a teacher in higher education in Mozambique during 2011 and 2012, but also rooted in my experience of being a student in public high school in Maputo during the middle 80s, returning to Mozambique several times during the 90s and 2000s.

During the collection stage, the country had a major strike in the health sector demanding higher salaries.<sup>64</sup> The sudden arrest of the President of the Mozambican Medical Association, Jorge Arroz,<sup>65</sup> who organized the strike, resulted in popular demonstrations near the police station, in Maputo, where he was being held. People shared text messages saying, “não temos Arroz” (“we lack Arroz [rice]”<sup>66</sup>) to speak about his arrest. The accusation used for his arrest was described to me as being from the “old times,” from

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<sup>58</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy (different from footnote 38).

<sup>59</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>60</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

<sup>61</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism.

<sup>62</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism.

<sup>63</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism (different from the above).

<sup>64</sup>At the time, resulting in a general paralysation of hospitals and other public health services. People talked about the strike using WhatsApp and Facebook mainly, knowing that the political regime was not democratic.

<sup>65</sup>Deceased in March 2020, at the age of 39 years old.

<sup>66</sup>Transcripts of my Fieldwork Notebooks, 2013 (i.e., Arroz is the Portuguese word for rice.)



“colonial times,” from a “fascist regime.”<sup>67</sup> It was a shared feeling that “não podemos falar livremente” (“you cannot speak freely”), or “tem de saber com quem está a falar” (“you need to know with who you are speaking”), because “esse regime está de olho” (“the regime has people watching you”<sup>68</sup>). In addition, the census for the municipal elections, held in November 2013, was going on.<sup>69</sup> However, the machines used for the census registration “ficou sem tinta assim num dia” (were “suddenly out of ink”<sup>70</sup>). After Arroz’ arrest, people mobilized and went in mass to register. Consequently, the ink issue and other obstacles appeared, as the participants shared with me “para quê ir lá votar se já sabes os resultados?” (“what is the point to go and vote if we already know the result?”<sup>71</sup>), “Como me vou registar – se da última vez não tinha tinta e faltava um papel que não pediram antes??” (“How can I go and register myself if last time they told me there was no ink and I lacked a paper that they did not ask me before?”<sup>72</sup>), “Se for votar na oposição, Frelimo ganha, eles estão a dar galinhas e capulanas fora de Maputo – as pessoas vão votar neles (...) maior parte não lê nem percebe nada, vive na miséria” (“Even if we vote in the opposition parties, the ruling party will win, they are giving *capulanas*<sup>73</sup> and chicken outside of the city capital, and people will vote for them (...) the majority of the population still cannot read or understand nothing, they are living in poverty.”<sup>74</sup>). Another social change under-

<sup>67</sup>Transcripts of my Fieldwork Notebooks, 2013 (collected during the demonstration near the police station during Arroz’ arrest).

<sup>68</sup>Transcripts of my Fieldwork Notebooks, 2013 (collected during the demonstration near the police station during Arroz’ arrest). The metaphor of the “big brother” from Orwell’s book *1984* is a perfect portrait of the situation.

<sup>69</sup>Before every election in Mozambique people must go and register again to be able to vote.

<sup>70</sup>Transcripts of my Fieldwork Notebooks, 2013 (collected during the demonstration near the police station during Arroz’ arrest).

<sup>71</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>72</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

<sup>73</sup>It is a kind of sarong, a traditional length of material that can either be used as a wrap-around skirt or can be a “baby carrier” on the back by the women.

<sup>74</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism. About the 2013 elections, see 2013 Local Election Bulletins | Mozambique Documents (open.ac.uk). About civil society in Mozambique see, for example, Elísio Macamo, “Cultura Política e Cidadania em Moçambique: uma Relação Conflituosa” In Luís de Brito, Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, Sérgio Chichava and António Francisco, org, *Desafios para Moçambique 2014* (Ma-

lined at the time, was the so-called “colour morphology of the city”. Indeed, Maputo is becoming similar to the city during colonial times, where we can identify places in which “white people” are, being “white” translated into “*estrangeiros com grandes casas, 4 by 4 e boa renda*” (“foreigners with good houses, good cars and good salaries”<sup>75</sup>). But also, Mozambican “ruling party members” that are getting richer by the day,<sup>76</sup> with high levels of corruption.

Regarding the length of the interviews, each had an average of three hours, but I had some interviews that were 10 hours long.

*Analysis.* The analytic framework used was discourse and conversation analysis, being discourse understood as a category that “cover all spoken and written forms of language use (talk and text) as social practice.”<sup>77</sup> My approach to the discourse analysis took in account three dimensions:<sup>78</sup> (i) frequency analysis of the main themes evoked by the participants to tell their story/history, frequency of the concepts and memories, as well the ‘silenced’ ones; (ii) evaluation analysis of the favorable and unfavorable perceptions, attitudes, gestures (verbal and non-verbal), within their systems of values and beliefs; and (iii) associative analysis of the structure in which each generation tells their life histories. The second layer of analysis introduced was conversation analysis, aiming to understand particularly the acts and social interactions described in my ethnographic fieldwork notebooks from 2011 to 2013. Indeed, social interaction is “a form of social organization in its own right”<sup>79</sup> and it is (re)constructed within language(s).

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puto: IESE, 2014).

<sup>75</sup>Transcripts of my Fieldwork Notebooks, 2013 (from informal talks with people that did not want to give me formal interviews but spoke with me about the situation in Mozambique).

<sup>76</sup>Transcripts of my Fieldwork Notebooks, 2013 (see footnote above).

<sup>77</sup>L. Wood and R. Kroger, *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text*, (London: SAGE, 2000), 19; M. Jorgensen and L. Philipps, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: SAGE, 2002); J. Heritage, “Goffman, Garfinkel and Conversation Analysis”. in *Discourse Theory and Practice - a Reader* (Los Angeles: SAGE and Open University, 2001).

<sup>78</sup>Designed by Osgood, framework developed by Jorge Vala, “A Análise de Conteúdo” in Santos Silva, A. and Madureira Pinto, J., org, *Metodologia das Ciências Sociais* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1986), 104-105.

<sup>79</sup>As stated by Goffman according to Heritage, 2001, 48.

### *Findings and discussion*

The Portuguese language is still a sign of distinction and of relations of symbolic power<sup>80</sup> in modern Mozambique, representing a high-level schooling pattern in urban areas compared to low-level schooling in rural regions of the country. The Portuguese language is also a symbol of schooling and formal qualifications, being what allows social mobility,<sup>81</sup> taking into account that “one key social institution believed to make a significant and positive difference in the way societies and individuals behave and develop is education.”<sup>82</sup> However, “in any social field, distinctions will emerge between ‘legitimate’ language (the ‘norm,’ one could say) and deviant forms of language.”<sup>83</sup> The ‘legitimate’ language is to be found in school as an institution that reproduces social (in)equalities, arguing that “Education is still known to be the single most important determinant of social position.”<sup>84</sup>

In countries in which the official language is not the language spoken in everyday life interactions, it is argued that school assumes a role that was previously in the domain of family:

Since for most of these children English [referring to the education system in the USA] is not their mother tongue but has to be learned in school, schools must obviously assume functions which in a nation-state would be performed as a matter of course in the home.<sup>85</sup>

#### *School, language and power: The (re)construction of elites through language*

School is a political and social institution in which Portuguese language assumes a discourse of hegemonic social position in society. Despite the intro-

<sup>80</sup>Bourdieu, *La Distinction*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).

<sup>81</sup>Firmino, A “*Questão Linguística*”.

<sup>82</sup>Clive Harber, C., *Education and International Development: theory, practice and issues* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2014), 16.

<sup>83</sup>Jan Blommaert, “Pierre Bourdieu: Perspectives on Language in Society” (In J-O. Östman and J. Verschueren, eds., *Handbook of Pragmatics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2015: 1-16), 6.

<sup>84</sup>Malte Reichelt, Matthias Collischon and Andreas Eberl, “School tracking and its role in social reproduction: reinforcing educational inheritance and the direct effects of social origin,” *The British Journal of Sociology*, 70 (4) (2019): 1323–1348, 1328 [doi: 10.1111/1468-4446.12655].

<sup>85</sup>Hannah Arendt, “The crisis in Education”. in *Between Past and Future: Six Exercises in Political Thought*. (New York: Viking Press, 1961:173-196), 174.

duction of national languages in the Mozambican National System of Education (SNE), in 2004, namely at the primary education level, side by side with Portuguese language, Portuguese is still the dominant language in urban public discourses and official interactions in society<sup>86</sup>. However, languages spoken at a family or group level are still used at a 'hidden' level, in non-official interactions, because speaking Portuguese is to make a statement of belonging to modernity and of a recognized social status, giving access to jobs and power.

Besides colonial policies regarding language, the division of the African continent between the colonial powers in the nineteenth century "was imposed on the continent with little regard to the distribution of peoples (ethno-linguistic or culture groups) or pre-colonial political units."<sup>87</sup> Nowadays, "is generally agreed that African borders are merely artificial, formal and symbolical and that's the reasons why they are porous."<sup>88</sup>

Bearing that in mind, the schooling system is used also as a tool to unite the nation, reinforcing the role of Portuguese as a language in the country, but with a different aim: schools should be for everyone, shaping the '*New Man*' ('*Homem Novo*'), during the socialist regime, as part of '*National Unity*' ('*Unidade Nacional*'), with no ethnic or gender differences contrary to the colonial period. According to Samora Machel, in one of the most known speeches he made during the Transitional Government on September 20, 1974, education has a central role in the new society:

We are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of People's Democratic Power. Therefore, at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradely relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of na-

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<sup>86</sup>In 2008, bilingual education at the primary level was done in seventy-five schools around the country, using Portuguese and 16 national languages (Ngunga and Faquir, *Padronização*, 286-287); to have an idea of the education system and reforms see: Ann Bartholomew, Tuomas Takala, Zuber Ahmed, *Mid-Term Evaluation of the EFA Fast Track Initiative – Country Case Study: Mozambique (2011)* [[http://mokoro.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/FTI\\_FullCCSMozambiqueEnglish\\_Feb2010X.pdf](http://mokoro.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/FTI_FullCCSMozambiqueEnglish_Feb2010X.pdf)].

<sup>87</sup>I. Griffiths, *The African Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1995), 2.

<sup>88</sup>Marta Patrício, "Ndau Identity in Mozambique-Zimbabwe Borderland" (2011), 2. [<http://hdl.handle.net/10071/8986>].

tional reconstruction. Our schools must truly be centers for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge.<sup>89</sup>

During the colonial period, schools were attended by a minority of the population, with the purpose of developing a working class, particularly manual labours among the local population.<sup>90</sup>The outcome of the education colonial policies was that,

In the 1970 census, the last one before independence in 1975, 93 percent of Mozambican women and 86 percent of men were considered illiterate in Portuguese. Only 6 percent of women and 12 percent of men had completed a primary education.<sup>91</sup>

With the socialist regime and educational policies, the 8<sup>th</sup> March generation of 1977 was born to reverse the very low illiteracy rates and because most teachers left the country with independence.<sup>92</sup> In 1977, at the Maxaquene Stadium in Maputo, Samora Machel asked all students from the secondary level to stop studying in order to help constructing the new nation. Young students of 16 to 19 years old began to teach in primary and secondary schools; while other were sent to study in Cuba, East Germany, former USSR, Hungary, Portugal and Brazil. For the new regime, schools were essential in the construction of the nation-state, “emphasizing a symbiotic relationship between academic study and its productive application,”<sup>93</sup> with the introduction of military training and political education. As a student-teacher of the 8<sup>th</sup> March Generation told me,

Eu estive no Centro 8 de Março [em 1977] ... ficámos lá durante um ano internados [a viver lá] ... Foi uma experiência única, para mim, eu nunca tinha saído de casa... estou numa camarata com oito pessoas... Havia dois blocos: o bloco masculino e o bloco feminino... E depois lá no 8 de Março, nós tínhamos de ter a

<sup>89</sup>In “Appendix II” by Thomas Henriksen, *Mozambique – a History* (Great Britain: Rex Collings, 1978: 253-267).

<sup>90</sup>Teresa Cruz e Silva, “Educação, Identidades e Consciência Política: A Missão suíça no Sul de Moçambique (1930-1975)”, *Lusotopie* (5) (1998): 397-406; Kathleen Sheldon, “I Studied with the Nuns, Learning to Make Blouses’: Gender Ideology and Colonial Education in Mozambique”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31 (3) (1998): 595-625.

<sup>91</sup>Sheldon, “I Studied with the Nuns,” 625.

<sup>92</sup>I.e., before 1975 most teachers were Portuguese citizens. Nordstrom, *A Different Kind*, 66.

<sup>93</sup>Tanja Muller, “‘German Children’ of Mozambique: Long-term Legacies of a Socialist Educational Experiment,” *Comparative Education* 48 (1) (2012): 57.

disciplina militar. Tínhamos que vestir a farda militar e tínhamos... treinos militares... Eu estava satisfeita da vida!... Mas houve exageros da parte dos instrutores... nós éramos estudantes, que devíamos ter a disciplina de educação militar, sim, mas só por uma questão de formação... Ali no 8 de Março tínhamos vários grupos: tínhamos o grupo do professorado, no qual eu estava integrada; tínhamos o grupo dos propedêuticos, que depois saíam para engenharias, para matemática, para outros ramos; tínhamos o grupo dos pilotos, da força aérea; e o dos políticos também... A organização tinha muito a ver com a militar. Nós tínhamos pelotões... gente de diferentes províncias de Moçambique... Eu acho que o 8 de Março, a importância foi aprender a trabalhar em equipa ... solidariedade... aprender a disciplinar a nossa vida... a disciplinar o meu tempo...

I was in the 8th March Centre [where the 8<sup>th</sup> March generation was trained] ... We stayed there for one year, living there ... It was a unique experience for me, I never had left home ... I am in a dormitory with 8 people ... We had two blocks: the male and the female blocks ... And then we had military discipline, inclusive we had military trainee... I love that! But there were some exaggerations by the instructors ... we should have the discipline of military education but only because it was part of the teachers' training ... In the 8<sup>th</sup> March Centre, we had several groups: the teachers' group ... the pilots' group, from the Air Force; the politicians' group ... The organization had a lot in common with the military system, we had squads ... people from different provinces of Mozambique ... I think the importance of the 8<sup>th</sup> March Centre was to learn to work in group ... solidarity ... Learning to discipline our lives ... To manage time...<sup>94</sup>

The educational system and curriculum adopted over the three generations, since 1975 until recently, is described as following:

*Table 4* Education System in Mozambique<sup>95</sup>

<i>Generations and literacy rates</i>	<i>Education system in Mozambique</i>
<i>1<sup>st</sup> generation:</i> Born between 1957 and 1966; having Marxism-Leninism/Socialism as an ideology	Abandonment of Mozambique by the Portuguese teachers after 1975 leaving the country with a lack of teachers; Socialist pedagogy; Portuguese as the official language; Creation of the <i>New Man</i> (no ethnic, or gender divisions); Introduction of national literature; Alphabetization campaigns; Adult education

<sup>94</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>95</sup>Source: Carvalho, *The Construction of Knowledge*.

<p><i>Literacy rates</i> 1975 – 7% 1978 – 15% 1983 – 20%</p>	<p>The creation of the ‘Frelimo’ school for the sons of ‘Frelimo’ members; Nationalization of all schools; Students teaching in the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grades, with 16, 17 and 18 years old (8<sup>th</sup> March generation of 1977); Suspension of the two last years of the secondary education (10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grade) between 1977 and 1980 changing the schooling reality; Studying abroad after the independence (e.g., Cuba, Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary); School for people to take the power; State took the place of family</p>
<p><i>2<sup>nd</sup> generation:</i>  Born between 1974 and 1980; having Democracy as an ideology.  <i>Literacy rates</i> 1990 – 14% 1998 – 40%</p>	<p>1983, Implementation of the National System of Education (SNE); 1995, private Higher Education institutions were created; Introduction of mandatory schooling until the 7<sup>th</sup> grade; The idea of mobility (due to the Civil War and the “invention” of African borders by Europe); Civil War especially in the centre of the country (Zambezia, Tete and Sofala) resulting in huge migrant movements of people from rural to urban areas; The constant need of changing places due to the lack of schools reinforcing the idea of a ‘nomadic’ identity; The experience of communal villages in the socialist period outside Maputo (rural areas)</p>
<p><i>3<sup>rd</sup> generation:</i>  Born between 1982 and 1987; having Neoliberalism as an ideology.  <i>Literacy rates</i> 2008 – 44% 2013 – 48%</p>	<p>2004: Introduction of national languages in the National System of Education (SNE), particularly at the primary education level; Decentralization of school management; Inclusion of educational materials in local/national languages; Achieve universal primary education (MDG); Development of technical education</p>

Indeed, school is far from being a neutral institution, reproducing the social inequalities of society, and the relations between language(s) and social classes:

The influence of linguistic capital, particularly manifest in the first years of schooling when the understanding and use of language are the major points of leve-

rage for teachers' assessments, never ceases to be felt: style is always taken into account, implicitly or explicitly, at every level of the educational system (...) Moreover, language is not simply instrument of communication: it also provides, together with a richer or poorer vocabulary, a more or less complex system of categories, so that the capacity to decipher and manipulate complex structures, whether logical or aesthetic, depends partly on the complexity of the language transmitted by the family.<sup>96</sup>

This notion of inequality is shared in the narratives of the participants from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation. As one of the participants told me,

Se as pessoas começarem a ir à universidade, à escola, tiverem acesso à escola, não ser mais esclarecidas, não de poder criticar mais, não de poder exigir mais e não de começar a participar mais nas soluções... Ainda muita gente não tem acesso à educação ... Existe uma classe que tem acesso à educação ... pouca gente... Eu vou dar o exemplo do que está a acontecer agora, que é o mercado de emprego, que é como está. Nós estamos a ir para uma altura, uma fase em que só ser licenciado como tal já não é suficiente... Então, existe uma cultura de nepotismo que está a ser criada... Eu para ter emprego ali, eu tenho de conhecer alguém... Já te dás ao luxo de chegar lá e ter alguém lá dentro que te facilita a entrada. Que te diz: “Olha, paga-me tanto. Eu te dou a vaga” ... o que costuma causar isso é um certo desânimo... Algumas pessoas acham que já para se darem bem na vida, “não precisa estudar, basta que eu conheça alguém.

If people start to go to university, to school, they will become more enlightened, they will be able to criticize, to demand more and to participate in the decisions ... Many people do not have access to education [in Mozambique]. There is a class that has access to education ... Few people ... I will give an example of what is happening now, how the labour market is. We are crossing a stage where to have a BA is no longer enough ... There is a culture of nepotism that is growing up ... To have a job there I need to know someone there ... Now you have the luxury of having someone inside that tells you “Look, give me money and I will give you” [a job] ... This is causing disenchantment ... Now there are people

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<sup>96</sup>Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), p. 73. See also: Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control: Volume 1 - Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); Basil Bernstein, “Elaborated and Restricted Codes: An outline”, in *Explorations in Sociolinguistics* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1967: 126-133); James Coleman, Ernest Campbell, Carol Hobson, James McPartland, Alexander Mood, Frederick Weinfeld and Robert York, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).



who think that to get along in life, “I don’t need to study, it is enough that I know someone.”<sup>97</sup>

Furthermore, school follows also models of masculinity, reinforcing hegemonic masculinity, preserving “patriarchal power and privilege,”<sup>98</sup> such as the social models described by the three Mozambican generations.

*Listening to the language(s) of modern Mozambique*

The ability of society to maintain one’s identity is through the transmission of social memory, that depends on how culture represents language, how it is used in communication and how it conceives knowledge and ways of remembering<sup>99</sup> over several generations.

When describing the use of Portuguese in their lives, in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation, all women have Portuguese as their mother-tongue; men speak Portuguese in their everyday life, but their mother-tongue are the local or national languages. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, all participants speak Portuguese in their everyday life, tending to lose their ability to speak the local or national languages of their origin group. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, all participants speak Portuguese in their everyday life, with the creation of a new Portuguese language,<sup>100</sup> incorporating expressions from national languages and English. According to the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, Portuguese language used by teachers in school is completely ‘out of modernity’, because they do not know the ‘new’ Portuguese (re)created by this generation. However, in all three generations, Portuguese is described as a language that is being (re)shaped after independence, being a different kind of Portuguese, the Mozambican Portuguese: “Aquela senhora que está a vender cigarros na rua, ela fala português com o filho, faz um esforço para não parecer diferente, mas fala o português da maneira dela” ( “That lady over there, the one that is selling cigars in the street, she speaks Portuguese with her son, she makes an effort to be like others, but she speaks *her own* Portuguese.”<sup>101</sup>).

<sup>97</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism.

<sup>98</sup>Harber, *Education*, 162.

<sup>99</sup>James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory – New perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992); see also: Joel Candau, *Mémoire et Identité* (Paris: PUF, 1998); Joel Candau, *Anthropologie de la Mémoire* (Paris: PUF, 1996).

<sup>100</sup>A social phenomenon already described by Firmino, *A Situação do Português*.

<sup>101</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

The official language is transmitted both in school and in the family, especially by women to their children, in order to protect them in a society in which Portuguese is the school language, the language of formal jobs and of accessing power. In general, in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generations, the grandfather or the father were primary school teachers during colonial times. As one female participant of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation/socialism, from the southern region (Maputo province), told me,

Eu só falo português, não falo nenhuma língua, estás a ver? Não falo Ronga, não falo Changana, vivi na Beira, não falo nenhuma das línguas... A minha avó, porque era a minha avó que estava em casa... eu não podia ouvir nada que não fosse português... Nós tínhamos que ir à escola, que era em português, convinha que não tivéssemos pronúncia.

I only speak Portuguese, I don't speak any language, you see? I don't speak Ronga, don't speak Changana [national languages], lived in Beira, don't speak any of the languages ... My grandmother, because it was my grandmother that stayed at home ... I shouldn't hear nothing but Portuguese... We had to go to school, that was in Portuguese, it was desirable that we didn't had any accent.<sup>102</sup>

Another female participant from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation/socialism, from the central region (Zambezia province), described the same appropriation of language(s), through their grandmothers, saying that “as minhas avós falavam em português, mas às vezes falavam na língua [Sena] e a gente ouvia elas a falar ... e então aprendemos” (“my grandmothers spoke in Portuguese, but sometimes they spoke in the language [Sena] and we hear them ... So, we learn that way.”<sup>103</sup>).

The 1<sup>st</sup> generation (socialism) remembers national languages and the impact on their lives, particularly in the case of men. According to a male participant from the southern region (Maputo province), Portuguese language is becoming dominant because of the absence of national languages in writing, teaching and working,

Os meus pais eram de Inhambane, então pertencem ao grupo étnico que é o grupo dos Bitongas, principalmente a minha mãe, porque o meu pai não era Bitonga... Eu acredito que assimilei um bocadinho do *modus vivendo* dos Bitongas ... Eu lembro-me, por exemplo, quando ia para a escola, quando era criança, a

<sup>102</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>103</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism (different from above)

minha mãe incentivava-me a aprender um pouco de carpintaria, um pouco de construção ... naquele tempo colonial, os Bitongas eram muito conhecidos por serem carpinteiros e pedreiros. Então eu acho que isso era do conceito de emprego que ela tinha e tudo o mais... a língua desempenha um grande valor na educação e não há melhor coisa do que aprender na sua língua materna... Em Moçambique, é a falta, portanto, de linguistas... a língua é que traz uma certa identidade portanto daquilo que é etnia, daquilo que é o povo e tudo o mais... da nossa história... e isso em Português perde-se... chega a uma certa altura em que a gente acaba pensando em português. Eu agora já não penso em Bitonga... eu embora fale Bitonga, não sei como escrever Bitonga...

My parents were from Inhambane, so they belong to the ethnic group of the Bitongas, especially my mother, because my father was not Bitonga ... I think I have assimilated a little bit of the *modus vivendi* of Bitongas ... I remember, for example, when I went to school, when I was a child, my mother encouraged me to learn a little bit of carpentry ... during colonial time, Bitongas were known for being carpenters and masons. So, I think that was her concept of job ... Language also has a huge role [in my life]. Although my father was not Bitonga, the language we used at home was Bitonga. This was the first language I learned before Portuguese ... Language is important in education and there is nothing better than to learn in one's mother-tongue... In Mozambique, there is a lack of linguists ... Language brings a certain identity, therefore from what is ethnicity, from what a people is ... our history ... and that, in Portuguese is lost... At a certain time, we end up thinking in Portuguese. Now, I don't think any more in Bitonga ... I can speak Bitonga, but don't know how to write it...<sup>104</sup>

Another male participant from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation (socialism), from the central region (Tete province), added that he started to forget his mother-tongue, Nyungwe, when he came to Maputo, because he was in the army, after independence, and had no one that could speak Nyungwe with him.

Language(s) and ethnicity are highlighted as well by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, connecting the absence of knowing their ethnic language as something that will impact on the lives of their children. As one male participant from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (democracy), from the southern region (Inhambane and Maputo provinces), described,

A única coisa que eu acho que aprendi mesmo que é tipicamente africana que é a língua. (...) A minha língua materna não é Português... É assim que eu defino etnia, através da partilha da língua bantu que é falada essencialmente naquela zona [onde nasceu] ... O meu filho acho que vai ter muitos problemas a esse ní-

<sup>104</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

vel, porque a mãe dele, a minha esposa, ela é de uma etnia que é de X [outra região do país] ... o meu filho fala português...

The only thing I think I have learned that is particularly African is the language. My mother-tongue is not Portuguese ... That's how I define my ethnic group: by sharing a Bantu language that is spoken mainly in the area where I grew up ... My son, I think he will have problems, because my wife is from a different region of the country, with a different language ... my son speaks Portuguese...<sup>105</sup>

Language(s) and gender differences are explicit in the narratives of the participants. The same male participant told me about his understanding of the 'gender gap', that

O meu pai ensinou-me [sobre a minha linhagem], porque eu sou filho dele, ele é filho de Y [apelido], meu avô Z é filho de W, que é o meu bisavô... Perguntavam-me sempre: "Como tu te chamas?". Quando perguntassem isso era para eu cantar... toda a linhagem... talvez 12 figuras que nós conhecíamos... todos nós sabíamos isso... isso tinha de ser dito em Tswa... Da minha mãe não sei de nada, eu só sei nomes de homens... as mulheres foram sempre desprezadas nesse processo, nunca tinha parado para pensar isso, mas não se refere nome de mulher.

My father told me [about our lineage], because I was his son, he is the son of Y [surname], my grandfather Z is the son of W, which is my great grandfather ... People always asked me: "What is your name?". When people asked this was for me to sing ... the whole lineage ... Maybe 12 names we knew ... We all knew that ... That should be said in Tswa ... From my mother, I don't know anything, I only know men's names ... Women were always put aside in this process. I had never stopped to think about that, but we don't refer women's names.<sup>106</sup>

But women are the ones teaching the national languages, as he added when remembering about the languages he knows,

Tu sabes que a língua é um veículo... aprendi muito porque acho que logo de início aprendi a falar xiTswa e algumas coisas tipicamente nossas... aprendi através da língua... Ao mesmo tempo ensinavam português... a ler... antes mesmo de ir à escola e aprendi a falar português com os meus irmãos e a falar Changana... e Tswa com a minha mãe... na rua tinha amigos que falavam changana... Essas línguas todas aprendi de forma natural, quase todas ao mesmo tempo... Na escola... era obrigado falar português...

<sup>105</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

<sup>106</sup>As mentioned, same transcript footnote above, 104.

You know that language is a tool ... I think since the beginning I have learned to speak xiTsaw and things that are typically ours ... I have learned through language ... At the same time, they taught us Portuguese ... to read ... even before going to school, I have learned how to speak Portuguese with my brothers and Changana ... Tswa, I have learned with my mother ... I had friends outside home that spoke Changana. So, all those languages, I have learned naturally, almost all at once ... In school ... it was mandatory to speak Portuguese.<sup>107</sup>

Similarly, another male participant, from the central region of Mozambique (Sofala province), describes Portuguese as the mandatory language in school, “só falávamos português na escola. Em casa continuávamos a falar em Ndau” (“we only spoke Portuguese at school. At home we spoke in Ndau”<sup>108</sup>). As he remembers, in school it was normal for someone saying “professora, está a falar uma nativa e vinha alguém e dava-te um carolo por causa disso” (“teacher, [he] is speaking a native [language] and they were punished because of that”). He adds that “os sotaques estão muito presentes, porque a língua está lá presente ... A questão da língua está lá, é efectivamente um choque e a gente vai-se adaptando, aceitando” (“accents are very much present, because [our local] language is there ... The issue of language is there, it is really upsetting, but we adapt, gradually we accept.”).

Another male participant from the same generation (2<sup>nd</sup> generation/democracy), from the southern part of the country (Inhambane province), also described the languages he uses, such as Xitswa, Bitonga, Chope, Changana and Ronga, mentioning that “[n]a zona dos meus pais, falava-se o Bitonga” (“[in] the region of my parents, we spoke Bitonga.”<sup>109</sup>). He underlines that in school Portuguese was the language used by everyone. He explains the way he grew up, in between languages,

Então era proibido dentro da sala de aulas e no recinto escolar falar-se a língua local. Então nós comunicávamos em português e comunicávamos em língua local, em Bitonga quando fosse para fazer troça dos amigos, gozar ... Usávamos a língua local como se fosse falar em voz baixinha. ... Oficialmente, não, mas em casa eu falei muito a minha língua, porque os meus avós existiam, paternos como maternos, e meus tios ... e esse pessoal fazia questão que nós falássemos a

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<sup>107</sup>As mentioned, same transcript footnote 104.

<sup>108</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy (different from the above).

<sup>109</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy (different from transcript footnote 107 and 103).

língua Bitonga no caso. E também o facto de nos fins-de-semana irmos passar ao campo não tínhamos como ... No campo nós falávamos muito a língua Bitonga no caso.

Inside the classroom and in the school grounds it was forbidden to speak the local language. So, we communicate in Portuguese and communicate in local language, in Bitonga, when we wanted to make fun of our friends ... We used local language speaking softly, almost with no noise ... Officially, no [didn't speak local languages], but at home I spoke my language a lot, because I had my grandparents, both from my father and my mother sides, and my uncles ... And they made sure we spoke Bitonga. And on weekends, we went to the countryside ... In the countryside we spoke Bitonga.

Growing up in between languages, the official and the national languages of each group, has issues when thinking about which language should be the one taught at school. The same male participant adds that,

Agora algumas pessoas estão a adoptar o ensino bilingue aqui. O problema é que numa zona como Maputo tu tens pessoas de todos os cantos de Moçambique. Então qual é a língua local que tu vais adoptar? É um problema ... Porque nós estamos a atingir agora uma geração que não fala bem português mesmo sendo o português a primeira língua e não sabe nada da língua local ... de tu teres uma geração que não vão saber falar nem bem português, nem a língua local, mas são moçambicanos ...

Now people are adopting bilingual education here. The problem is that in an area such as Maputo, you have people from all parts of Mozambique. So, which local language are you going to adopt? It is a problem ... We are reaching a generation that do not speak Portuguese well, even when Portuguese is their first language, and don't know local languages ... you are going to have a generation that won't be able to speak Portuguese or the local language, but they are Mozambicans ...

In the female participants' narratives, women are clearly described as the ones who are responsible for protecting the family by not allowing their children to speak national languages and teaching them Portuguese. As one female participant described,

A minha bisavó, a avó da minha mãe, era Sena, ela nasceu no Vale do Zambeze ... A minha avó já falava Chuabo, mas para dar melhores chances às filhas falou sempre com elas em Português. Na casa do meu pai, os homens falavam Português e as mulheres falavam o Sena. Então o meu pai fala Sena com a mãe e falava Português com o pai, portanto ele é bilingue ... Eles estudaram em Portu-

guês, então a língua de casa era o português ... enquanto que a língua sentimental, no meu pai muito mais, que é Sena ... Eles falam [línguas nacionais], não têm problemas em falar, mas porque eu acho, a maneira como o interpreto é que sendo o homem a falar não prejudica o avanço, mas ser mulher e falar prejudicaria ... o homem tinha mais maneiras de avançar sabendo e podia ir aprendendo, agora as mulheres elas percebem mais ou menos e então não transmitiram ... A minha língua materna é o Português ... Mas considero que as minhas línguas de origem são o Sena e o Chuabo ... Tem a ver com a minha origem ... O Chuabo é uma espécie de crioulo e o Sena também. O povo Sena é a confluência de vários povos: os Nguni, os portugueses, e os indianos, os chineses, os alemães ...

My great grandmother, the grandmother of my mother, she was Sena, she was born in the Zambezi Valley ... My grandmother already spoke Chuabo, but in order to give her daughters better chances, she always spoke in Portuguese with them. In my father's house, men spoke Portuguese and women spoke Sena. So, my father speaks Sena with her mother and Portuguese, so he is bilingual ... They studied in Portuguese, so the house' language was Portuguese ... But the sentimental language, with my father much more, it is Sena ... Men, they speak [national languages], they don't have problems in speaking [national languages], but I think, my interpretation is that being the man speaking it does not hinder progress, but being a woman and speaking [national languages] would hinder [progress] ... Man had advantages knowing [national languages] and could learn [Portuguese]; now, women, they know [national languages] and they didn't spread [their knowledge of national languages] ... My mother-tongue is Portuguese ... But I consider that my native languages are Sena and Chuabo ... It has to do with my origin... Chuabo is a kind of crioulo and Sena also. The Sena people are the confluence of several peoples: the Nguni, the Portuguese, the Indians, the Chinese, the Germans ...<sup>110</sup>

Indeed, women are described as responsible for family memory maintenance, being ostracized with the socialist regime due to the implementation of gender equality policies. The same participant continues her story, telling about Zambezia and the impact of socialism on women:

A Zambézia é muito feito pelas mulheres ... e isso é reconhecido mesmo pelos homens ... O socialismo moçambicano, ou o Samorismo, era um bocado castro para as mulheres, foi muito mau para a Zambézia ... O poder da mulher foi muito [baixado] sim, porque foi equiparado, aquela maneira de estar foi equiparada a uma espécie de imperialismo, porque é muito hierárquico ... aquele tipo de mulher não foi muito bem visto ... as mulheres demasiado indepen-

<sup>110</sup> Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

dentes ... as divorciadas, as sozinhas, não, isso não era muito bem visto pelo socialismo ... E se calhar para o sul, um pouco patriarcal, até foi libertador, mas ali não.

Zambezia is very much done by women ... and that is recognized even by the men... the Mozambican socialism, or 'Samorismo' [allusion to Samora Machel], was a little bit castrating for women, very bad for Zambezia ... Women's power was diminished, because it matched a kind of imperialism, very hierarchical ... those kind of woman [from Zambezia] was not very well accepted ... women are too much independent ... divorced, alone, that is not well accepted by the socialism ... Maybe, in the South, a little patriarchal, it was liberating, but not there.

Another female participant from Nampula province, in the northern region of Mozambique, told us that although she and her family migrate to Maputo in the 80s, in her family house they keep Macua traditions and language. However, Portuguese is the language they use at home with their daughters, teaching simultaneously, the women's role within their group,

Percebo muito [Macua], os meus pais nunca falaram connosco assim, tipo em Macua. Eles sempre falaram connosco em português, porque quer os meus vizinhos, quer na escola, tu tinhas sempre de falar em português ... o facto de eu ser muçulmana tem a ver com o facto de eu ser Macua ... por causa da própria cultura, a alimentação ... hábito em si ... Porque os meus pais são Macua ... nós estamos cá, em Maputo, mas é como se estivéssemos em Nampula ... Nós nos diferenciamos dos Machanganas ... O ser Macua, eu tiro a X [diz o seu nome] e ponho a mulher Macua, muçulmana ... Eu tenho duas caras ... Esta [a Macua] é aquela submissa ... tu precisas ser para seres reconhecida pelo teu grupo ... As mulheres têm uma educação diferente dos rapazes ... Eu no fundo, no fundo, sou mulher africana também, sou mulher africana, tenho um pouco daquilo que é a cultura africana. Sei qual é o meu papel como mulher ... Os homens têm muito poder, porque é muito matrilinear ... Aquelas do litoral, apesar de serem submissas, essas do litoral é que são mais submissas ... agora aquelas Macuas não! Aquelas do centro não! Não há submissão! ... No norte já encontras uma mulher com dois maridos e os dois na mesma casa e não há confusão e ela é líder.

I understand a lot [of Macua], my parents never spoke with us Macua. They always spoke to us in Portuguese, because of our neighbors; in school, you had to speak always in Portuguese ... The fact that I am Muslim because I am Macua ... My culture, the food ... the habits ... Because my parents are both Macua ... We are in Maputo, but it is like we are in Nampula ... We are different from Machanganas [southern region] ... To be Macua, I take out me [say her name] and



put the Macua woman, Muslim ... I have two faces ... This one [the Macua] is obedient ... you need to be recognized by your group ... Women have a different education from boys ... Deep down, I am an African woman, I have a little bit of what is the African culture. I know what my role as woman is ... Men have a lot of power, because it is very much a matrilineal system ... Those women from the coast, they are more obedient ... but those Macuas from the Center, no! There is no obedience! ... In the north you find a woman with two husbands and both living in the same house with no problem, she is the leader.<sup>111</sup>

For the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation (neoliberalism), Portuguese language is the native language they claim publicly, but simultaneously there are descriptions that in order to have social interaction within society one must know local languages. The women continue to be the ones protecting family, not allowing the use of other languages besides Portuguese, and men teach their sons how to speak the national or local languages. As one male participant from the southern region of the country (Maputo province), described,

Eu cresci a falar português ... Os meus pais, a minha mãe principalmente era educadora! Dizia: “Essa coisa de changana aqui, não funciona agora. Entra nesta linha do português, vocês devem aprender português, português!”. Só que o meu pai era de uma outra vertente. Ele dizia: “você não sabe falar Changana? Imaginemos um dia que você for trabalhar para o mato, lá, encontrar aquelas senhoras que não sabem falar Português, como é que tu vais lidar com a situação?”. E o meu pai, o que fazia? Atirava-nos, por exemplo, para alguns vizinhos, eu tenho alguns vizinhos que, epa!, para brincar com eles é preciso falar Changana ... Se você não falar Changana, “é branco aquele gajo ali!” ... E então já estamos a olhar para *status* ... O meu pai atirava-me para a minha avó porque eu tinha de aprender algumas coisas, não só do Changana como língua, mas algumas coisas que têm a ver com tradição, família ... Ele dizia: “não existem outras pessoas, então você deve aprender; então você vai passar o legado às outras pessoas” ... O que eu fui aprendendo nesse transporte de legado é a questão de lidar com certos aspectos ... tu não podes-te bastar ao modernismo, tudo não pode bastar-se.

I grew up speaking Portuguese ... My parents, especially my mother, she was an educator! She always said: “That thing of speaking Changana [national language, south] here, it doesn’t work now. Go and speak Portuguese, you all must learn Portuguese”. But my father thought differently. He told me: “You don’t speak Changana? Imagine that one day you are going to work in the countryside, you are going to find that ladies who don’t speak Portuguese. How are you going to solve the situation?” My father used to send us to play with our

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<sup>111</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy (different from footnote 108).

neighbours. Epa! To play with them you need to know how to speak Changana. If you don't speak Changana they say, "that guy over there is white!" ... And now we are looking to the social status ... My father used to send me to my grandmother so I could learn things, not only Changana as a language, but also things that have to do with traditions, family ... He said: "There are no other people, so you must learn, so you can transmit the legacy to other people" ... What I learn is that to be modern is not enough.<sup>112</sup>

But when asked about his mother-tongue, the answer was "Portuguese," adding that the use of languages depends on the context,

Há uma espécie de mistura de coisas. Às vezes vem um calão, às vezes vem Português, às vezes vem até o Changana ... Depende com quem eu estou ali a interagir ... Estou a interagir com amigo [diz palavras em calão em Inglês] ... Sou moderno ... [fala em Português] ... agora quando estou com a minha avó a conversar, ela diz-me uma coisa que eu não estou de acordo, também tem a ver com a figura que ocupa em casa, então eu digo [em Changana] ...

There is a kind of mixed things. Sometimes I speak slang, sometimes Portuguese, sometimes Changana ... It depends on whom I am interacting with ... I am interacting with a friend [speak slang English] ... I am modern ... [speak Portuguese] ... but when I speak with my grandmother and she tells me something I disagree, it has also to do with the role she occupies in the house, so I say to her [speak Changana] ...<sup>113</sup>

Another participant from the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, from the southern region as well (Maputo province), told us that Portuguese is also her mother-tongue, a language that she learned with her mother,

ela fala as três [Ronga, Changana e Xitswa] e o Português e um bocado de Macua porque ela viveu um bocado em X ... mas ela não tinha o hábito de conosco falar essas línguas, era só o Português ... Eu aprendi um bocado do Ronga mesmo por curiosidade com a empregada ...

she [mother] speaks all three languages [Ronga, Changana and xTswa] and Portuguese and a little bit of Macua [Nampula province, north region], because she lived a little bit there ... but she didn't have the habit of speaking those languages with us, it was only Portuguese ... I have learned a little bit of Ronga, out of curiosity, with the house maid ...<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism.

<sup>113</sup>Same transcript footnote 110 (above).

<sup>114</sup>Transcript of Life History, Female Participant, 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation/Neoliberalism.

To speak Portuguese is to be identified with modernity and the construction of the nation state, and simultaneously with the dominant race stereotypes, such as the ones incorporated during the colonial period. Indeed, in modern Mozambique, speaking Portuguese is still a strategy of social acceptability, a legacy from the colonial period, and a mark of modernity, development and globalization.<sup>115</sup> As mentioned before by one of the male participants of the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation (neoliberalism), from Maputo province, not being able to speak with your neighbour's national languages is to be "white"; but not being able to speak Portuguese in the 'big city' is to "speak dog language". Or as another female participant from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (democracy), from Nampula province, explains,

Eu era a única africana na minha turma [no estrangeiro]. O africano era um bicho, ainda era um bicho ... Se tu não és forte, tu não aguentas ... Existe uma discriminação, ninguém quer estar perto de ti, ninguém quer partilhar as coisas contigo ... Mas a minha identidade ... a minha maneira de ser ... muito do que eu sou hoje ... tem a ver como a forma como lidei com a situação ... foi um trauma mesmo ... tu teres que no meio de muitos dizer "eu estou aqui," "eu também sou pessoa" ... A minha família muito ligada à religião ... o facto de teres Deus no coração ... talvez fez-me suportar aquilo tudo.

I was the only African in my class [abroad]. The African was still seen as an animal ... If you are not strong, you cannot deal with that ... There is discrimination, no one wants to be near you, no one wants to share things with you ... But my identity ... my way of being ... much of what I am today ... has to do with the way I deal with that situation ... It was a very traumatic situation ... you want to say "I am here," "I am also a person" ... My family is very religious ... so having God in my heart ... maybe it was that that made me bear all that in the end.

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<sup>115</sup>For an understanding of race debates, see the classical works of Franz Fanon: Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (England: Pluto Press, 2008[1952]); Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Books, 1967 [1961]). And Antonádia Borges, Ana Carolina Costa, Gustavo Belisário Couto, Michelle Cirne, Natascha de Abreu e Lima, Talita Viana & Stella Z. Paterniani, "Pós-Antropologia: as Críticas de Archie Mafeje ao Conceito de Alteridade e sua Proposta de uma Ontologia Combativa," *Revista Sociedade e Estado* 30 (2) (2015): 347-369; Archie Mafeje, "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 9 (2) (1971): 253-261; Archie Mafeje, "Africanity: a Combative Ontology," *CODESRIA Bulletin* 1 (2000): 66-71; Paula Meneses, "Images Outside the Mirror? Mozambique and Portugal in World History," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 9, Special Issue (2011): 121-137; Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

When thinking about the construction process of the nation-state, the role of language(s) and in how people understand it, a male participant from the same generation, in the southern part of the country (Inhambane province), underlined that,

Porque eu penso que nós tivemos uma construção de moçambicanidade interrompida, porque é um processo que começou depois da independência, mas foi durante um período muito curto e porque havia uma necessidade de romper com o colonialismo ... Então isso chega a uma altura em que se interrompe, até porque depois tens um processo de guerra ... é uma guerra entre nós ... Quando nós entramos num processo de multipartidarismo há uma necessidade de ... continuar com o processo de construção de moçambicanidade ... eu acho que há elementos comuns ... a língua já não pode ser, poder ser, porque é a língua oficial e a que se ensina nas escolas ... a língua portuguesa é uma língua que ainda é conotada com uma língua colonial ... A língua não pode ser, é muito difícil ser uma língua de unidade nacional porque há muitas pessoas que vão ser excluídas ... A língua portuguesa não é a primeira língua de muitos moçambicanos e tu notas isso quando tu saís da cidade de Maputo, a 100 quilómetros daqui tu falas português e as pessoas ficam a olhar para ti, e são comunidades, comunidades e comunidades ... e algumas pessoas que dizem: “mas tu estás a falar Português, tu és branco para tu falares Português? Fala lá uma língua para a malta se entender!”

I think we had an interrupted construction of Mozambicanity, because it is a process that began with independence, but it was for a short period of time, and because we had the need to cut off colonialism ... There is a time that it was interrupted, because afterwards you have a war going on [Civil War] ... a war amongst us ... When we entered in the multiparty process [with democracy], there is the need to ... continue with the process of constructing Mozambicanity ... We have common elements ... Language cannot be, because it is the official language and the one taught in schools ... the Portuguese language is still a language related with a colonial language ... it will be very difficult to be one language, to develop national unity, because a lot of people will be excluded ... Portuguese language is not the first language of many Mozambicans and you realize that when you leave Maputo city. Less than a mile from here, you speak Portuguese and people just look at you, in the communities ... And some people say: “but you are speaking Portuguese, are you white to speak Portuguese?! Speak a language that we can understand!”<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation/Democracy.

### *Limitations*

The ethnographic fieldwork conducted clarified the need to more thoroughly explore the links between national identity and languages and understanding the politics of gender in the process. The study could be improved by collecting data of people without schooling to understand the (re)use of local languages, gender strategies and the location of Portuguese in the national identity construction process.

The Mozambican landscape is also broader than the formal borders of the country, with people living in neighbouring countries that are part of the participants' families that I interviewed. The colonial legacy regarding physical borders needs to be considered and fieldwork could be completed within the same family over at least three generations and/or group to understand the impact of using Portuguese and national languages in the construction of national identity.<sup>117</sup>

Political issues are central for an understanding of the languages landscape in Mozambique, underscoring that Portuguese is claimed as a sign of distinction and associated with the dominant political party, Frelimo, in southern region, and in urban locations. The following questions could guide future research: Is Portuguese a matter of consideration in other provinces of the country? Is it associated with political affiliation as in urban settings? How is it located into one's identity construction when neighbouring countries speak English?

As mentioned by Mozambican authors<sup>118</sup>, the linguistic diversity in the country requires further research due to complexity and the number of languages spoken in the country.

In addition, due to political issues and to preserve the anonymity of my participants, I took the option of revealing only the gender and identification of each participant within each generation associated with group or family origin. I used different transcripts that are clearer in Portuguese, but when translated some of the meaning and significances is lost. Numbering the participants in the footnotes to distinguish who is speaking in each gen-

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<sup>117</sup>See the study I conducted in 2011 to 2003 regarding three generations (grandmother, mother and daughter or grandfather, father and son) of the Portuguese Jewish Community: Xénia de Carvalho, *Identidade e Memória na Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2014).

<sup>118</sup>See footnote 28, Table 2: Linguistic groups of Mozambique and sub-divisions.

eration throughout the quoted interview material was a possibility that I considered. However, I thought it may compromise interviewees' anonymity and possibly put them in danger of political or other retribution. In short, knowing specifically who was being quoted would have perhaps offered more transparency at the expense of compromising the interviewees.

### *Conclusions and implications*

With the three generations of Mozambicans, the (re)uses of languages are contested, accepted and questioned from socialism, democracy to neoliberalism. However, with independence and having no *lingua franca* in the country, the former colonial language seemed to be the most 'neutral' language to create the idea of a nation<sup>119</sup>, the nation-state of Mozambique. Though, the (re)use of Portuguese language is an *ideological* process described over the three generations, mainly present in the 'hidden transcripts' when telling the story within the historical context, underlining the idea that

Language policy, consequently, should best be seen as a *niched* activity, and the same goes for its desired product, national identity. We can now identify it as a *niched ideological* activity, necessarily encapsulated in and interacting with many others, regardless of how dominant it may seem at first sight.<sup>120</sup>

Ethnic and national identities are present in the (re)uses of languages in contemporary Mozambique, where Portuguese language is a symbol of inequality and not of a nation-state with more than 20 national languages. Portuguese was chosen after independence to unify the nation, but only represents people with formal education, and able to study abroad; it gives them access to formal jobs, describes an urban minority in the southern region of the country and is symbolically associated with a particular political affiliation (i.e., Frelimo). The language policy implemented after independence followed the patterns of colonial language policies, promoting as well resulting in social exclusion when facing the linguistic diversity in Mozambique. Indeed, losing the past, the history, is something that crosses all three generations when mentioning the fact that Portuguese is, on an onstage level (i.e.,

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<sup>119</sup>About how nations were/are created see Smith, *National Identity*; Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006).

<sup>120</sup>J. Blommaert, "Language Policy and National Identity." in Thomas Ricento, ed., *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 249-250.

public transcripts), the dominant language in their lives. One participant said, sadly: “Agora eu sonho em português ...” (“Now, I dream in Portuguese ...”<sup>121</sup>).

Conversely, the Portuguese language is not hegemonic in the Mozambican linguistic landscape. The (re)uses of national languages when interacting in the daily life, especially outside the capital city, in which people ask “mas tu estás a falar Português, tu és branco para tu falares Português? Fala lá uma língua para a malta se entender!” (“but you are speaking Portuguese, are you white to speak Portuguese?! Speak a language that we can understand!”<sup>122</sup>), are also representative of how the nation is constructed, the nation besides the political elites ruling in the southern region of the country. Clearly, “it is evident that non-dominance does not necessarily imply being subordinate or oppressed.”<sup>123</sup> Portuguese as the official language reflects “ideological processes, that is, processes that need not in any significant way reflect what people in the nation actually use in the way of language.”<sup>124</sup>

Languages are part of the “repertoire”<sup>125</sup> used by the three generations to construct their social and national identities, knowing that “language speaks, that is, shows, makes present, brings into being ... language as belonging to being requires, then, that one reverse the relation once more and that language appears itself as a mode of being in being”<sup>126</sup>. To be is to speak, to speak is to be within each language. When one’s identity is claimed in Portuguese, it is similar to conquer the “Western European city,” or the “colonial city,” or “a cidade de cimento.”<sup>127</sup> Conversely, claiming one’s identity in national or local languages is to remember and (re)share family and social

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<sup>121</sup>Transcript of Life History, Male Participant, 1<sup>st</sup> Generation/Socialism.

<sup>122</sup>As mentioned previously by a male participant of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation/democracy, footnote 115.

<sup>123</sup>C. B. Pailston, and K. Heidemann, “Language Policy and the Education of Linguistic Minorities.” in Thomas Ricento, ed., *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 294.

<sup>124</sup>Blommaert, “Language Policy and National Identity” 243.

<sup>125</sup>Blommaert, “Language Policy and National Identity” 245.

<sup>126</sup>Paul Ricoeur, *The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics* (USA: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 265.

<sup>127</sup>“Conquistar a cidade de cimento” (in Portuguese), meaning “conquer the concrete city” or “to go and live in the white people’s city” – being white as a symbol of wealth and social status.

histories to continue the family legacy and history outside *modernity*, in which the hidden transcripts are underlined, and the level of counter-narratives are (re)used to organize social life.

Implications for further research could include future investigations regarding the (re)uses of Portuguese language in rural regions of Mozambique such as the population that have no access to formal education, representing most of the population, could reveal far more details on how languages are (re)used to construct not only a national identity, but national identities in Mozambique. Indeed, the research revealed the importance of understating the (re)use of languages to (re)create national identities, underlining the ambiguous role of Portuguese language in one's identity construction process.



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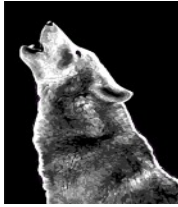
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*Lorenzo de' Medici, 1475*

PREPARED IN 2020-2021  
FOR  
BAYWOLF PRESS  
IN  
PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO



VOLUME 28 • NUMBER 2

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

WINTER 2020



ISSN 1057-1515