



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

**A Critical Analysis of Colonial and Postcolonial Discourses and Representations
of the people of Mozambique in the Portuguese Newspaper '*O Século de
Joanesburgo*' from 1970-1980**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics in the Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape**

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PhD Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

The aim of this thesis is to probe how Mozambican people were represented or constructed in the colonial and post-colonial periods through the columns of the Portuguese newspaper, ‘*O Século de Joanesburgo*’.

The study examines a corpus of 58, 070 tokens (consisting of 100 articles, 50 for colonial and 50 for postcolonial periods), which were systematically selected from the political, sport, letters to the reader and editorial domains published from 1970 to 1980. The analytical framework for this study is threefold. It is informed by Corpus Linguistics (CL) as described by, amongst others, McEnery and Wilson (1996/2001) and Bennett (2010); Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in particular the work of Van Dijk (1996; 2003), Wodak (1995; 2011) and Wodak and Meyer (2009) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) as used by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 1998; 2006), Kress (2010) and Machin and Mayr (2012).

Despite employing a multiple methodological approach, CL is the primary tool of analysis in this study, with the other methods being used to verify its findings. The triangulation methodological approach with CL as the leading source of analysis works as a strength in this study due to its inclusive nature (capturing a large body of data) as it provides an ample overview of the corpus description which would have been almost unattainable using CDA alone. In addition, the use of multimodality provides a further understanding of how ideology operates holistically, welding together both verbal as well as visual language, to create certain stereotypical representations, which adds another dynamic to this study. The data is analysed under the following three main themes:

- Generic representation of Mozambican people (covered in Chapter 4);
- Representation of Frelimo members (Chapter 5); and
- Representation of Mozambicans in Sport (discussed in Chapter 6).

The use of exclusionary discursive polarisation is prevalent in both the textual and visual analysis of the data, with indigenous Mozambicans generally portrayed as villains, victims (deserving of their punishment) and negative actors who are largely immoral and unintellectual. This, of course, confirms Ani's (1994: 280) argument that "the European image of others is a composite of all those things that represent lack of value; i.e., 'negative' human characteristics, within the dictates of European ideology". In this respect, the negative stereotypical representation of blacks as the inferior 'other' who do not resemble a far more superior 'us', in many ways is fairly salient, presupposing a discourse of inequality in terms of discourse accessibility and voice dissemination. A more positive representation is presented in Chapter 6, where Mozambicans overall are portrayed in a positive light in the domain of sport.

The study establishes that both verbal and visual languages in the newspaper tend to complement rather than contrast each other, which justifies Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 38) argument that "images have the function of illustrating an argument carried by the written word, that is, of presenting ('translating') the contents of the written language in a different medium".

This research aims at contributing to the field of discourse analysis which has its prime agenda of exposing the underlying "relationships of dominance" (Van Dijk, 1995:136) as well as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality (Van Dijk, 1993: 249-50). It also adds knowledge to this contemporary sociolinguistic field of study merging simultaneously verbal and visual language to explore how both discourses are used to reveal ideologies of domination. This thesis also contributes to the understudied fields of CDA and MDA in the *Luso-África* agenda.

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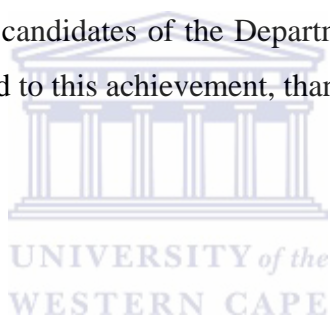
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Declaration

I declare that '*A Critical Analysis of Colonial and Postcolonial Discourses and Representations of the people of Mozambique in the Portuguese Newspaper 'O Século de Joanesburgo' from 1970-1980*' is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

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Date: _____



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List of Abbreviations

FRELIMO = The Mozambique Liberation Front

UDENAMO = National Democratic Union of Mozambique

MANU= The Mozambican – Makonde Union

UNAMI= National African Union of Independent Mozambique

UNEMO = Union Nationale des Etudiantes de Mozambique

PIDE= International Police for Defence of the State

CDA = Critical Discourse Analysis

CL= Corpus Linguistics

MDA= Multimodal Discourse Analysis

MHN = Mozambique History Net

CANM = Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (Centre for Association of the Black Mozambicans)

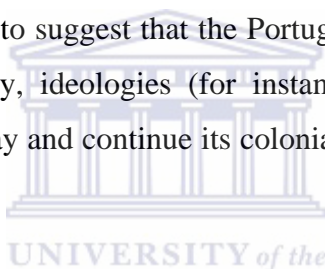


CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

1.0 Introduction

In historical accounts of colonialism there is consensus that European countries were the most active colonial agents of the past few centuries, engaged in the conquest, control and exploitation of most of the globe (Cabecinhas and Feijó, 2010: 30). These scholars further note that by 1960, almost all African colonies had gained independence, the exception being those under Portuguese rule. The relative longevity of the Portuguese empire perhaps could be attributed to the “regime’s propaganda, stressing the country’s natural colonial vocation and the indigenous people’s incapacity to develop on their own” (Cabecinhas and Feijó, *ibid.*: 31). Cabecinhas and Feijó (*ibid.*) further assert that the depiction of colonialism was at its most repressive in the African colonies of Mozambique, and was characterised by oppression, slavery and brutality. These arguments raise very interesting points. They appear to suggest that the Portuguese regime was prepared to employ all sorts of means such as brutality, ideologies (for instance of expressing its superiority over Africans) and so forth, in order to stay and continue its colonial mission in Mozambique and Africa at large.



According to Ani (1994: 294), the image of Africans suffered under a systematic assault of visual propaganda at the hands of whites even when slavery, as an institution, had ended and nations were decolonised. These attempts to enforce white superiority and supremacy were accomplished by the continual reinforcement of positive portrayals of white civilisation as opposed to the degradation of the image of black Africans. Such “layered accounts of otherness” (Hallam and Street, 2000: 9) were inculcated by the institutionalised discursive framework of state-controlled media, one of the most effective weapons in ensuring the exploitation and dependency of African people in this context.

The aim of this thesis is to explore how Mozambican people, through the columns of one newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo* (The Century of Johannesburg), were constructed and deconstructed during the colonial and postcolonial periods. The thesis also examines the discursive role this newspaper played in disseminating ideologies of (white) superiority versus (black) inferiority, criminal versus hero, etc. The study also attempts to uncover the relationship between verbal and visual language and how it was used to articulate or disarticulate representation. However, it is important to point out that though the research explores both colonial and

postcolonial representations, this is not a *comparative* study of both periods, but discusses them concurrently in order to establish the dynamics or longevity of the existing discourses in the newspaper's columns. Nevertheless, I juxtaposed the findings of both periods to trace the discursive changes on how Mozambicans were represented in order to establish whether the newspaper changed its stance in the post-independence period or kept to its colonial status quo.

This chapter provides the geographical, historical and political settings of the study. It looks at the historical development of the print media in Africa, with a specific focus on Mozambique. The chapter also discusses the rationale and aims of the study, the research questions and assumptions, together with a profile of the newspaper being studied as well as the overall structure of the thesis.

1.1 General Background of Mozambique

1.1.1 Geographical Description

Stretching more than sixteen hundred miles north and south along the east coast of Africa, Mozambique is separated in the north from Tanzania by the Rovuma River and is bounded in the northwest by Lake Niassa (Nyasa or Malawi), Zambia, and Malawi; in the west by Zimbabwe; and in the south and south-west (with the relatively short border with Swaziland intervening), by South Africa (Torp *et al.*, 1989: 9). While varying in width from fifty to seven hundred miles, Mozambique divides roughly into coastal lowlands, which comprise about two-fifths of the total area; an undulating central plateau between five hundred and two thousand feet in height; and a higher plateau and mountainous region to the west and northwest (Chilcote, 1967: 105). Its landmass is broken up by 25 sizeable rivers that flow into the Indian Ocean; the largest is the Zambezi, which provides access to central Africa

(<http://www.africa2009.net/common/papers/2001/h-mozambique01.pdf>. Accessed 20/05/2011).

The area of the country is 800, 000 sq.km which is larger than the area of England, France and Portugal combined and the shore is 2, 470 km in length. This country has 10 provinces, namely; Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Tete, Zambezia, Manica, Sofala, Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo, where the capital city by the same name is situated. In 2012 Mozambique's population was estimated to be 23, 515, 934. More than 96 percent of the population is made up of black Africans, with smaller groups of Portuguese, Asians, and *mulatos* (people of mixed racial descent) (http://www.indexmundi.com/mozambique/demographics_profile.html. Accessed 15/08/2013).



Figure 1: Political Map of Mozambique

(Map extracted from: masofworld.com / online. Accessed 15/08/2013)

1.1.2. Pre-colonial Historical Background

Henriksen (1978) states that the original inhabitants of Mozambique were probably distant predecessors of today's Khoisan in south-western Africa. These groups were in nomadic bands of a few dozen people and they lived by hunting and gathering instead of herding and cultivating. Due to a lack of centralised organisation, their small stature and primitive weapons, these groups were subdued or fled southward under pressure of the Bantu-speaking newcomers. Three or four groups of Iron Age agriculturists settled in Mozambique, thereby displacing the ancestors of the Khoisan

and co-existing with each other for as many as 800 years before the Shona arrived. The early Bantu inhabitants of Mozambique to the south of the Zambezi first experienced the power of an organised military state not from the Portuguese regime but from the Karanga, a subgroup of the Shona people. Before the Karanga domination of the Zambezi River, the Zimba, Tawara, Tonga, and subsequently the Sena tribes settled on its banks (Henriksen, 1978: 3-6). Henriksen (*ibid*: 7) points out that the history of south central Africa is replete with the formation and collapse of major kingdoms dating from the fourteenth century. The first was the Mwene Mutapa Empire which pursued a policy of territorial acquisition in all directions of the compass with its sharpest thrust being to the north-west, the Zambezi Valley and then into Mozambique. Before his death in battle, Mutapa extended his empire to the mid-section of Mozambique's portion of the valley. His son Matope carried on the military expansion inspired by his father's grand vision.

Mozambique subsequently experienced another invasion of the Ngoni in the 1830s with the same magnitude as that of the Karanga conquest. The account of Henriksen (1978: 12-13) shows that a series of three principal Malawi kingdoms appeared in the north of the river. According to him, these states originated from small groups of Malawi peoples who settled in the region to the south of Lake Malawi. These Malawi or Maravi, as the Portuguese called them, comprised a number of ethnic groups, such as the Chewa, Nyanja, Chipeta, Zimba, Nsenga and Nyassa. Interestingly, before its decline in the mid-1700s, the Malawi Empire occupied a huge block of Mozambique's territory north of the Zambezi which was bordered by that river in the south, the Luangwa River in the west and the Indian Ocean in the east; it dominated the coastline from Mozambique Island in the north to the Zambezi estuary (Henriksen, 1978: 15). The last significant African (Bantu) invasion of the territory took place in the wake of the Zulu uprising in Natal, South Africa, during the early nineteenth century (*ibid*: 241).

1.1.3 Linguistic Background

Ethnically, the country consists of diverse groups such as the Maravi, Chopi, Makua-Lomue, Ngoni, Shona, Tsonga, Yao and others. Mozambique is a multilingual country with approximately 32 languages. However, there is an ongoing debate over the number of languages spoken in this country. NELIMO (1989) counts 20 languages, namely; Kiswahili, Kimwani, Shimakonde, Ciyao, Emákhuma, Ekoti, Elomwè, Echuwabo, Cinyanja, Cinsenga, Cinyungwè, Cisena, ChiShona, Xitshwa, Xichangana, Xironga, Gitonga, Cicopi, Siswati and isiZulu. The National Census conducted in 1997 lists 21 languages, excluding Portuguese. Strangely enough in this list, languages such as Kiswahili, isiZulu and Siswati are not mentioned while new ones are introduced such as

Malolo, Echuwabo and Citewe (Gadelii, 2001: 7). This number in turn is contrasted by Ethnologue (2014), which claims that in fact there are 49 languages.

The official language is Portuguese, a legacy of the country's colonisers. In terms of language distribution in the north, the Bantu languages of Yao and Makua predominate; in the Zambezi Valley, it is Nyanja; and in the south, Tsonga. Along the northern coast, many people speak Swahili. Portuguese is the language of education and government, but is rarely spoken outside the cities. Due to the fact that six of the neighbouring countries are former British colonies, English is used occasionally, particularly in Maputo, in dealings with business people and tourists from South Africa ([http://www. Everyculture.com / Ma-Ni / Mozambique.Html.23/ 09/ 2011](http://www.Everyculture.com/Ma-Ni/Mozambique.Html.23/09/2011)).

1.1.4 Historical Background of Mozambique during the Colonial Period

Portugal's seaborne expansion began in 1415 with the capture of the Muslim trans-Saharan terminus of Ceuta in Morocco (Henriksen, 1978: 17), but Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, reached Mozambique in 1498, and the Portuguese only began to settle and trade on the coast early in the sixteenth century. At a later stage, they competed with the Arabs for the slaves, gold and ivory, and set up agricultural plantations and estates (Torp *et al.*, 1989: 13). Before 1500, most Mozambican communities were organised into independent chieftaincies, and were governed by land chiefs, who often had religious authority as well (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 12).

By 1510, the Portuguese had control of all the former Arab sultanates on the east African coast. Henriksen (1978) argues that the Portuguese strove primarily for mineral wealth from coastal bases to pay Indian merchants for spices and wares; thus, the focus was directed towards trade and not territorial domination. During the seventeenth century, ivory remained the most important export from eastern Africa, but gold continued to come from Zambesia. Slaves too were traded, through Arab and Swahili middlemen based in the Comoro Islands and Western Madagascar, with the ports of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and India (Newitt, 1981: 8). By the 1830s, Mozambique was exporting as many slaves as Angola (*Ibid.*), and thousands of Mozambicans were captured and subsequently exported to places such as Reunion Republic, Madagascar, Cuba, Brazil, to mention but a few, where these slaves were forced to provide cheap and hard labour in extensive plantation or mineral camps that fed the European industries (Rocha *et al.*, 1988: 27). The trade was, however, officially abolished by the Portuguese in 1836.

Banks *et al.* (2007) note that although Portuguese hegemony was established early in the sixteenth century, when the Mozambican coastal settlement became ports of call for traders from the Far

East, it was not until the Berlin Congress of 1884-1885 that Portuguese supremacy was formally acknowledged by the European powers.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese had made agreements on colonial boundaries with their colonial rivals, England and Germany, and had suppressed much of the African resistance. In order to replace the *prazos*, a policy which forced the local people to pay taxes and encouraged the slave trade, the Portuguese government decided to auction off 25-year, renewable land concessions to private investors. The Portuguese later took over the administration of the country, and in 1951, they declared Mozambique an “overseas province” of Portugal (Torp *et al.*, 1989: 12) thereby making it constitutionally incorporated into Portugal (Banks *et al.*, 2007: 884). Torp *et al.* (1989) further contend that nationalist hopes for a peaceful transition to independence were dashed by the ruthless repression of the Portuguese colonialists. An example of this repression is the massacre of 500 unnamed demonstrators, who were gunned down by Portuguese troops in Mueda, Cabo Delgado province, in 1960 (Torp *et al.*, 1989: 12), three years after the Portuguese brought the PIDE (the Portuguese Secret Police) into Mozambique (Rocha *et al.*, 1988: 40).

Encouraged by successful native rebellions in Angola and Guinéa (Chilcote, 1967: 105), and motivated by the anticolonial ideologies in Pan-African, Pan-Negro, Marxist and anti-fascist philosophies (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 81), African nationalists from Mozambique became unified, and in September 1964, launched their independence struggle (Chilcote, 1967: 105). They were led by Frelimo (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*), which was founded in 1962 by Eduardo Mondlane (Torp *et al.*, 1989: 12), a Mozambican academic living in the United States (Cabrita, 2000: xv), who was assassinated by Portuguese agents in 1969 (Banks *et al.*, 2007: 845).

FRELIMO was formed by merging three parties, namely; UDENAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique) that attracted its supporters from the southern half of the country, MANU (The Mozambican- Makonde Union) which emerged from a cluster of Makonde self-help and cultural associations, and UNAMI (National African Union of Independent Mozambique) which was composed of militants almost entirely from Tete Province (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 80). Notably, all three parties were founded by Mozambicans who had been in exile for several years and headquartered far from the colony. They were disconnected from those they purported to represent. For instance, UDENAMO was based in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia; MANU had its support from workers from Kenya and Tanzania, many of whom had lived abroad; and UNAMI, the least significant of the movements, had its office in Blantyre, the capital of Malawi (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 81). Interestingly, Isaacman and Isaacman (1983) give us a detailed account on how the three parties were invited by President Nyerere of Tanzania in 1962 to establish their

headquarters in Dar- es- Salaam and work toward the creation of a unified movement. Prodded by Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah (the President of Ghana) and the Conference of Nationalist Organisation of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP), the three movements reluctantly agreed to merge into FRELIMO under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane. The war centred at first in the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, spread to Tete in 1969 and (in spite of the assassination of Dr. Mondlane in 1969) to the central provinces of Manica and Sofala in 1973.

During this period, Lisbon turned to its NATO allies for diplomatic, military and economic assistance, maintaining that Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau were legitimate overseas provinces of Portugal. According to Isaacman and Isaacman (1983: 105), they pointed with pride to the “multiracial paradises” they had created and the reforms they had introduced since 1961. They called FRELIMO a communist-backed terrorist organisation controlled by the Soviet Union, which would ultimately benefit from the defeat of Portugal in these countries.

Following Mondlane’s death, Samora Machel and Marcelino dos Santos overcame a bid for control by Frelimo vice-president Uriah Simango and were installed as the movement’s President and Vice-President, respectively (Banks *et al.*, 2007: 845). The Portuguese armed forces’ loss of military initiative in this country played a major role in prompting the Armed forces Movement to overthrow the Portuguese dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano in April 1974. Despite Portugal’s new military rulers’ attempt to keep Mozambique within a Portuguese federation, the power of the movement for national independence forced Portugal to sign an independence agreement with Frelimo on 7 September in 1974 (Torp *et al.*, *ibid*: 13-16). The agreement was challenged by leaders of the white minority, who attempted to establish a white provisional government under a right-wing leadership. After the collapse of this rebellion on September 10, 1974, most of the territory’s 250,000 whites migrated to Portugal or South Africa (Banks *et al.*, 2007: 845). After having been under Portuguese colonial rule for 470 years, Mozambique became independent on 25 June 1975, and power was transferred to Frelimo, under the terms of the Lusaka Accord, which was signed in 1974 (Cabrita, 2000: 4).

1.1.4.1 Portugal as a Colonial Master

Duffy (1961: 206) affirms that the history of Portugal in Africa has been the story of the enslavement and repression of the majority populations of its colonies. In the name of Christianity, Africans were sold into slavery; in the name of civilization, they were obliged to learn “the dignity of labour”. Under the guise of paternalism, Duffy further contends, Portuguese authorities attempted to replace African cultural traditions with their own and succeeded in isolating the

African population from all political and intellectual contact with the rest of the world. Portugal's colonial practices were not aimed at assimilation, but instead toward maintaining a medieval *status quo* in Africa. This argument, on the one hand, clearly confirms the "colonial falsity apology to bring schools and hospitals to hapless natives" (Cooper, 2005: 414) while, on the other hand, it shows that "the entire history of Mozambique and other overseas territory is in a large part the history of a ruthless exploitation of the Africans through the practice of slavery or forced labour" (Duffy, 1963:130). It is this which immediately identifies the Portuguese variant of colonialism as against all others (www.strongwindpress.com/pdf/tuijaian/PerryandersonPortugal2.pdf. Accessed 04/02/2012).

The argument raised by Duffy suggests that the Portuguese regime used all necessary means within its power to accomplish its colonising mission by going as far as establishing laws such as the 1858 decree which made all slaves *libertos* – "slaves who would have been paid and treated like workers until the moment of freedom" (cf. Duffy, 1963:130).

Duffy (1963) argues that it is possible that the equivocal status of the *liberto* planted in the official mind the seed of the idea that the slave could be a slave in the absence of slavery, for this was certainly the concern of all subsequent legislation, which sought simultaneously to guarantee independence to the Africans while ensuring a necessary supply of labour to the Europeans. He further contends that for the rugged colonialists of Mozambique, such legal sophistication was not needed, since most of them continued to ignore all native labour legislation.

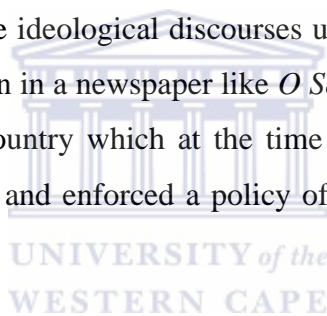
In this respect, it can be argued that Portugal's style of colonisation was marked by subordination by means of physical, moral and even economic oppression, instead of a more humane plan of civilising, educating and christianising. Discursively, through its official documentation and media institutions, Portugal also attempted to mislead both the local and the international community. These official discursive means presented Portugal as an honourable nation with an honourable colonial mission based on mutual respect between the coloniser and the colonised.

The intense forced labour was not fixed with the *Regulamento para os contratos de serviçais e colonos nas províncias da África* (a type of regulatory labour policy), which became law in 1878, and was later considered as the most complete labour law for the natives up to 1928, under the Salazar dictatorship of Portugal. While the natives thought the ideas underlying the law was to relieve them from forced labour, it rather worsened the situation in nurturing a strong belief among governing officials that "Portugal had to develop, and this development rested on the Mozambican

Africans' shoulders" (Duffy, 1963: 131). According to Duffy, the main argument behind such behaviour was founded on the idea that it was the duty of Europe, in this case Portugal, to promote the African advancement into civilisation (p.132).

Furthermore, Duffy (*ibid.*) argues that the committee responsible for such *Regulamento* went on reinforcing their agenda by contending that "the state, not only as a sovereign of semi-barbaric population, but also as a depository of social authority, should have no scruples in obliging and, if necessary, forcing the rude Negroes in Africa...to work, that is, to better themselves by work and to acquire through work the happiest means of existence, to civilise themselves through work". This ideological stance of the Portuguese left "the mass of the African population living as it had done for centuries, in poverty, disease, and ignorance, its chief contact with the Portuguese world being the necessity to pay the white man his tax and to furnish his labour" (Duffy, 1963: 146).

The information presented here both defines the nature of Portugal as a colonial master and permits an understanding of the nature of the ideological discourses underpinning its plan. Naturally, these discourses would also find expression in a newspaper like *O Século de Joanesburgo*, which came to be established in South-Africa, a country which at the time held a similar agenda regarding the treatment of its indigenous peoples, and enforced a policy of separate development for white and black people (*apartheid*).



1.1.4. 2 The Portuguese Idea of Multiracialism

The concept of 'multiracialism' in this study, in contrast to what is understood by many scholars and laypersons as a genuine Portuguese commitment to the ideals of multiracialism, "helps us to explain how in fact there was a racial prejudice in the Portuguese Empire that must be recognised as yet one more factor helping to explain the success of the colonial wars for independence" (Mata, 2007: 4). In addition, it provides a clear picture of how Mozambican natives became 'the other' (in representation) - a group questioning their national identity due to negative cultural citizenship that the multiculturalism policy produced - which was present in almost all Portuguese colonial discourses.

The Portuguese regime "from the beginning of its governance offered simple and misleading explanations" (Duffy, 1963: 215) of its civilising and exploitative mission in Mozambique and in its other 'overseas territories'. It introduced the policy "of 'racial integration' (*multiculturalism*) in Portuguese Africa" (Duffy, 1963: 204), a fantasy used when "faced with growing international

opposition to colonialism doctrines of racial superiority” (Fine, 2007: 10). Fine’s view is supported by Henrikson (1973) who argues that many observers dismissed *luso-tropicalismo* as a propaganda tool employed by Portuguese statesmen to justify the economic exploitation of the African colonies. The notion Luso-Tropicalismo refers to “a social representation of the Portuguese nation emphasising the unique relationships Portugal had with its colonies” (cf. Figueiredo *et al.*, 2011: 167). According to these scholars, the concept was first used by Gilberto Freyre, a Brazilian anthropologist, and was then assimilated and adapted to the political discourse of the government at the time of the colonial war, whereby they tried to defend Portugal’s unique right to have colonies spread around the world. In short, the fact that the “Portuguese politicians espoused a doctrine of racial harmony at the same time that they argued for the importance of Portugal’s continued “civilising mission” (Fine, 2007: 10) made their plan deceitful especially at a time when other colonial masters were granting independence to their colonies.

For Arriaga (1973: 13), the official multiracial quality of life in Portugal’s African territories was of central importance both to the military situation, and even more importantly to the political situation of Mozambique prior to its independence. He believed that multiracialism and moderation in Mozambique could have successfully provided equality of job opportunity for whites and blacks alike, and could have played a vital role in defusing racial polarisation in Southern Africa. However, he conceded (Arriaga, 1973: 8) that the Portuguese practised a form of racial discrimination which was slightly different in detail to South African *apartheid* but no different in the results it produced for Africans.

Arriaga’s argument is a clear picture of how the policy of ‘multiculturalism’, as simple as it sounds, had a different agenda and in turn political and ideological implications for the Mozambican people. The policy exercised great influence in shaping the political colonial discourse of the regime, most of the times disseminated through newsprint. As Araújo (2006) puts it, the ‘colour-blind’ myth was occasionally present in official discourse and preserved in the media. It also had socioeconomic implications for the native population in terms of identity and in awarding them opportunities since they believed that the multiracial plan, according to Figueiredo (1961), could earn them the generous concession of citizens’ rights and thus place them on equal grounds to compete with their white counterparts, which was simply not the case. Instead, “the policy fostered racism and led to ‘a tacit system of job reservations’ at lower levels of management, price policies and extension services favouring the non-African people” (Egerö, 1990: 49).

Furthermore, it was difficult to explain how such a plan of multiculturalism could have been achieved when “almost five centuries of psychological and intellectual labour in Africa had by 1950 produced a harvest of a miniature of 0.44 percent of civilised *indigenous people* in Mozambique” (Duffy, 1963: 10), and on top of that, over ninety-nine percent Mozambicans were illiterate (cf. Figueredo, 1961 in Duffy, 1963: 11). These “denunciations of racial prejudice naturalise the asymmetrical power relations that pervaded the formation of the Portuguese colonial administration and the central role of racialisation” (Maeso and Araújo, 2010: 6). In addition, these figures prove that “if there has been any serious interest in these people (native Mozambicans), it has been in how to better shape their lives to economic exploitation (Figueredo, 1961), but not to give rights of citizenship, the same rights given to the white people”. Thus “Portugal has been exceptional only in the success with which it has deceived itself and so much of the outside world, leaving to its subjects all the disenchantments of experience” (Duffy, 1963: 10) since white Mozambicans themselves had probably never taken such euphoristic statements on brotherhood seriously (Duffy, 1963: 204).

To end this section, it is vital “to realise that the psychic reality which the Portuguese call their overseas consciousness has been a deep and pervasive force in national thought and in African policy— just as it is equally vital to know that the facts of the Portuguese presence in *Mozambique* are somewhat different from those the myth suggests” (Duffy, 1963: 26). After all, why were different categories constructed along racial lines: ‘whites’ strictly reserved for people from mainland Portugal and other Europeans, ‘mestiços’ for all mixed races and lastly ‘negroes’ for native Mozambicans? This dismisses Arriaga’s argument that “the Portuguese are “colour-blind” (Arriaga, 1973: 13) since it “focuses on the “colour-prejudice” of the (white) Portuguese and the subsequent attitudes towards the peoples they encountered. Furthermore, this hierarchical organisation points to an already constructed arithmetic of racial categories (white, negro, mulatto) [...] and broader cultural/religious identities” (Maeso and Araújo, 2010: 5). For instance, “Signs on the doors [...] of restaurants reading “Right of Admission Reserved” are not accidental phenomena any more than are the creation of almost exclusively white towns and colonisation projects in the interior. They signify more than a legal distinction between a civilised man and an uncivilised one; they reflect a racist tendency intruding into the society of Moçambique” (Duffy, 1959 in Maeso and Araújo, 2010: 5).

1.1.4.3 The Portuguese and the Policy of *Assimilados*

In this study, the present researcher particularly addresses the policy of assimilation of some of the indigenous people into the structures of colonial rule. Such people were referred to as *assimilados*. The researcher contends that apart from the traditional short-comings of the policy, which shall be discussed below, it produced some positive outcomes. The policy, according to Sowell (1930), created a new Westernised class, of *assimilados* – those Africans or indigenous people who were basically educated and semi-educated and had acquired European ways such as customs, traditions, values and so forth. Munslow (1983: 65) is of the opinion that “inside Mozambique, *for example*, the educated few were also making halting steps towards nationalist ideas”. In addition, Munslow (*ibid.*) further argues that through education, these indigenous people could gain access to the ideas and organisational forms which could break the impasse of resistance back home. In 1961, the Union Nationale des Etudiantes de Mozambique (UNEMO) was established by a number of Mozambican students who had fled from Portugal to France. This became the student wing of FRELIMO, and several of its members were destined to play an important part in the nationalist movement (Munslow, 1983: 65). These examples prove that many of the so-called *assimilados* became icons and leaders of the liberation struggle.

Under the *Regime do Indigenato* (Policy on the Indigenous People), Africans and *mulatos* (the coloured descendants of indigenous and colonial people) were divided into two groups. The tiny minority who could read and write Portuguese, who had rejected “tribal” customs and were gainfully employed in the capitalist economy were classified as *assimilados*. In principle, they enjoyed all the rights and responsibilities of Portuguese citizens. Africans and *mulatos* who did not satisfy these requirements had to carry identity cards, fulfil stringent labour requirements, and live outside European areas. These persons, known as *indigenas*, were not considered citizens, and they remained subject to customary law (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 39).

Isaacman and Isaacman (*ibid.*) further assert that although it was theoretically possible for any African or *mulato* to change his or her legal status, the constraints imposed by the colonial capitalist system – including the lack of schools, the limited opportunities for paid employment, and the culturally arrogant and racist assumptions of the authorities – effectively precluded this (p.39). This system had more disadvantages than advantages. Newitt (1981: 139) explains that for those who wanted to become civilised it proved very difficult to achieve the status. African *civilizados* had no rights in communally-held land; they could not become chiefs or enjoy rights under African law; they had to pay European taxes, which could weigh more heavily on them yet were easier to evade

than native taxes; and did not qualify for free medical attention or free schooling. Moreover, they found themselves competing for employment with poor whites and *mestiços* (another name to designate a coloured person) and were not usually in favourable positions to make their way in the individualistic society of the whites (Newitt, 1981: 139).

Until the end of the 1950s, the colonial authorities managed quite successfully to keep the various social and racial groups apart. The *Associação Africana* was mainly for mulattoes, while the *Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique* (CANM) was for blacks and in particular for the assimilated. The educated few who could formulate and spread nationalist ideas and organisational forms were kept separated from the mass of the 'native' population. The CANM tended to be dominated by a few bourgeois *assimilado* families (Munslow, 1983: 66). Quoting from Amilcal Cabral, Munslow (1983) further argues that this class (of *assimilados*) were 'marginalised' thus being prisoners of their social and cultural reality. He further contends that they developed a frustration complex, which led them to contest their marginal status in their search for an identity. Remarkably, Cabral (in Munslow, 1983: 64) asserts that only a small section of this class went through a threefold process of rejecting the coloniser's culture, re-Africanising themselves and finally becoming integrated with the national liberation movement, which is for him the organised political expression of the culture of the oppressed people. He also argues (in Muslow, p.67) that people were able to create and develop the liberation movement only because they kept their culture alive, in spite of continued cultural repression.

In the same vein, Chilcote (1967) contends that this ideology was strongly reinforced by the state legislation principles of *assimilados* or civilised status passed in 1926, followed by the Colonial Act of 1930 which enabled Portugal to reassert its imperial presence in Africa. This policy essentially meant that all inhabitants of the colonial territories, whether white or black and irrespective of their level of cultural development, had to be regarded as equal in all respects and subject to the laws of the mother country (Chilcote, 1967: 16). In short, the policy of *assimilados* was founded on the principle that there are no essential differences between races.

Despite these policies, severe inequalities persisted: "Under the Portuguese government, the African workers were discriminated against in many ways; one example of this was the wage level whereby African farm workers received barely 10 per cent of the salary paid to the white agricultural workers" (Torp *et al.*, 1989: 84). The myth of racial harmony could be contested, given that Portugal's concentration on the slave trade was rooted in the belief that the African negro could be legitimately enslaved and was inferior to white men (Chilcote, 1967: 16). This view contradicts

Salazar's public declaration that the distinguishing features of Portuguese Africa "is the primacy which we have always attached to the enhancement of the value and dignity of man without distinction of colour or creed" (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 39). Chilcote argues that in effect, the policy of assimilation served the Portuguese interest of maintaining the *status quo* and as such became so selective that it affected the legal status of less than one percent of the African population (p.16). In short, the regime's propaganda aimed at legitimising colonial rule, stressing the countries' incapacity to develop on their own (Cabecinhas and Feijó, 2010: 31). In the same vein, former Portuguese Prime Minister Marcello Caetano publicly stated: "The blacks in Africa must be directed and moulded by Europeans but they are indispensable as assistants to the latter...The Africans by themselves did not account for a single useful invention nor any usable technical discovery, no conquest that counts in the evolution of humanity, nothing that compare to the accomplishments in the areas of culture and technology by Europeans or even by Asians" (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 27). In the same vein, Isaacman and Isaacman (1983:61) contend that the African Mozambican population were typically characterised both by colonial planners and local officials as 'indolent', 'incapable' and 'incompetent'.

Chilcote (1967: 30) therefore concludes that the various principles enforced by the Portuguese regime resulted from the fear that the educated African might threaten Portuguese political interests, a view frequently advanced by Portuguese officials who argued that natives should acquire an appropriate social background before being educated.

1.2 The role the Church in the Liberation Struggle

One group of Europeans whose intentions and goals were more sweeping than those of the colonial officials was that of Christian missionaries. Missionaries often preceded the colonial officials in Africa. They were seeking not only religious conversions in Africa, but also radical changes in the African way of life – not only the abolition of slavery, but also changed sexual mores, literacy, cleanliness, and numerous other features of Western civilisation (Sowel, 1930: 123).

This work would have been incomplete if the researcher had not included the role of the missionaries, especially the Protestant missionaries, in the liberation movement. The colonial regime obviously favoured the Catholic Church, the state church of Portugal, "accusing other foreign missionaries most *particularly Protestants* of 'denationalising the natives' and acting as advance agents for foreign governments" (Duffy, 1963: 173).

Duffy (1963: 172) asserts that the state recognised the rights and special functions of the church ‘to Christianise and educate, to nationalise and civilise’ and that the Catholic missionary programme in Moçambique and Angola was governed by appropriate provisions of the Constitution, the Missionary Accord of 1940 (which developed the principles contained in the Concordat of 7 May of 1940 between the Vatican and the Portuguese government), and the Mission Statute of 1941.

Munslow (1983) contends that much acrimony was directed by the colonial authorities against the Protestant missionaries, and centred in particular upon their active educational programme. Many people were converted to the Protestant faith in the south and centre of Mozambique. They encountered Protestant churches while working in the mining compounds of South Africa or as migrant labourers in the then Nyasaland (now Malawi) and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). Under the Salazar regime, discrimination against non-Catholic missions increased. In 1928 the Portuguese administration withdrew the rights of Protestant missions to have schools outside their properly registered centres and there were also countless instances of harassment, intimidation, suppression of worship even of private meetings in homes for prayer, assault (even of pastors for attending annual conferences), imprisonment and exile of Christians, particularly pastors.

The Protestant missions came to be regarded as the advance guard of African nationalism. They were essentially centres for resistance in that they opposed the colonial policy of denying education to Africans. Several of the future nationalist leaders received their education from Protestant missions, including Eduardo Mondlane. The colonial authorities were particularly worried by the emergence of an Africanised Protestantism. By the end of the 1950s, there were thirteen Ethiopian and eleven Zionist churches in Mozambique. These Africanist churches were a typical manifestation of the secondary resistance which sprang up all over Africa. Traditional religious beliefs were still dominant in the country, but Islam also had a hold along the coastal region and the old slaving routes. Both were regarded with contempt by the ruling Catholic Church, and adherence to these beliefs was an important implicit rejection of colonial culture by the African population (Munslow, 1983: 67). Missionaries were also at the forefront of publication of the first newspaper on the continent in an African language (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 40). This took place in Nigeria in 1859, when a newspaper called *Iwe Irobin fun awon ara Egba Yorubas* (the newspaper of Egba and Yoruba people) was first published (Mytton, 1983: 38). Missionaries often published news and information of a religious and evangelical nature either in the colonial language or in indigenous languages (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p.40).

1.3 The Printing Press (Newspapers)

The media have always been entwined with public attitudes to Africa – prompting concern at images of suffering, acting as a catalyst for debate and protest. Despite this, far too little understanding and appreciation have been given to the way that the media in Africa itself, in all of its different guises, can help advance a country's economic and social development. The media have a critical role to play in aiding good governance, transparency and accountability. A pluralistic and free media sector has always been needed to ensure that all voices in society are heard (African Media Development Initiative: Research Summary Report, 2006: 8).

This section examines the various issues pertaining to the printing press and newspapers, both in the colonial and postcolonial eras in Mozambique, and the role they played during these two periods. The researcher starts by briefly discussing the history of newspapers across the African continent in order to gain some ideas of the media's conduct in this territory at large.

1.3.1 The Historical Development of the Newspaper in Africa in the Colonial Period

Mytton (1983: 19) captures the bleak reality about the printing press in Africa when he writes: “the mass media in Africa is underdeveloped in comparison with most of those in the rest of the world. The power of the press belongs either to governments or ruling political parties and as a consequence accurate information on this is notoriously difficult to come by”. However, in order to pass such a harsh judgement, one should examine the historical path through which a country's media has travelled, so as to pick up whatever habits of mind its journalists and leaders inherited (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: x).

The first newspapers in Africa date back to 1797 in Egypt during the Napoleonic occupation of this territory (Mytton, 1983: 38). Newspapers first appeared in South Africa in 1800, in Sierra Leone in 1801, and in Liberia in 1826 (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 40). The first indigenous printing press was that of Egypt which began in the nineteenth century. A few years later, freed slaves from America started the press in Liberia. Prior to 1947, local papers rarely carried pictures; those that were used had first to be made as printing blocks in London (Mytton, 1983: 40) and in general, colonial administrative control, censorship and other restrictions severely hampered the birth and growth of a vibrant press.

In southern, central and eastern Africa, the printing press was largely a European creation to serve the information, education and entertainment needs of the large settler communities, leaving the

black readership at the mercy of “an irrelevant content and / or in search of alternative channels of communication” (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 40). As Ainslie (1966: 88) notes, these newspapers simply did not report African politics, violent acts, nationalist statements or stories of political arrests, unless they were the subject of court cases, or Government announcements. “Far from giving up, however, threatened African elites eager to communicate their liberation agenda among themselves and with the African masses adopted various strategies, including the following: publish and perish from the repressive axe of the colonial administration; go underground with the press and its liberation rhetoric enhanced by pamphlets (Nyamnjoh: 41-2).

The most significant of the southern African papers was the Cape Argus, founded in 1857, which would grow into a major newspaper chain expanding northward through South Africa, into Southern and Northern Rhodesia which are now respectively Zimbabwe and Zambia. This newspaper became involved with a venture known as the Bantu Press, formed in 1931 to channel native thoughts away from politics and into safer pursuits (Bourgault, 1995: 160).

In Lusophone Africa, “the press under Portuguese colonialism was also established for the colonial administrative machinery and domination” (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: 326/7) and “the newspapers were usually full of praises for the government and its organisations” (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: 328). It is worth mentioning here that the term *lusophone* has in recent years come under criticism due to its narrow and problematic approach. In its description, Portuguese Speaking African countries may mainly see Portuguese as the most dominant language in these countries when in fact this is not the case. Only a tiny number of the population in each of these formerly colonized countries speaks the language, and the term therefore obscures the multilingual nature which actually characterises these nations. Thus the term lusophone is used with a stereotypical, oppressive and domineering (neo-colonialist) agenda. My argument is reinforced by Dias (2009) who argues that this term was developed during the 1990s after Portugal became a member of the European Union in 1986. Thus the term now constitutes a postcolonial / contemporary Portuguese symbolic and geo-political construction in which the idea of empire is given continuity and glorification, through a privileged relationship between ex-colonies and the ex-coloniser, on the basis of language, culture and history. For this reason, the description: Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa [African Countries of Portuguese Official Language] is rather more acceptable to some communities of intellectuals when referring to the African Portuguese speaking community.

1.3. 2 The Printing Press in the Colonial Era in Mozambique

The influence of colonialism on information in the colonies depended on the attitude to information in Portugal itself. Everything that officially happened in the colonies was in the last instance controlled by Portugal, which supplied most of the news through Portuguese press agencies, broadcast directly to the colonies, and furnished a large proportion of the news [...] -all the mass media were subject to pre-censorship (Ferreira, 1974: 131).

The printing press in Mozambique has a long and intriguing history. Rocha (1985) contends that the industry developed with the introduction of the first printing machine in 1854 and a month later the country had its first official newspaper *Boletim Oficial de Moçambique* (Official Bulletin of Mozambique) the most enduring newspaper in Portuguese colony history. This newspaper published its last edition on 21 June 1975. It was succeeded by the new official newspaper of Mozambique, *Boletim da República* (Bulletin of the Republic), on 25 June of the same year.

In 1900, *The Manica Mining Journal*, a workers' newspaper published in English and French simultaneously, appeared. This newspaper worked alongside *O Ideal* (The Ideal); *Vida Nova* (New Life) and *O Emancipador* (The Emancipator) founded in 1901, 1907 and 1919 respectively and, significantly, all these newspapers served the interest of the working class. From these newspapers, the most notable seems to be 'The Emancipator' which operated undercover, using 35 different titles – from its outset to its closure in 1937. However, a law passed on 24 July 1925 limited the colony newspapers' freedom of expression, leading to the decline of many publications. The Catholic Church started its publication *Diário de Moçambique* (The Daily Mozambican) in 1951 (Rocha, 1985:12-17). Rocha (1985) further acknowledges that the Catholic Church also bought the daily Lourenço Marques' newspaper labeled 'Guardian' with purpose of turning it into an archdiocese voice.

Eventually in 1963 the first FRELIMO newspaper appeared, and up to liberation, the movement distributed more than 11 different titles. The majority of these were published in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, but also in Cabo Delgado and Nachingwea. One of them was *A Voz da Revolução* (The Voice of Revolution).

The coming of liberation was marked in 1974 by the birth of another clandestine newspaper, *Novo Horizonte*, in Nacala, Mozambique, but its mission was to contest independence. Two other publications aimed at the local population and published by the Albasini brothers included the weekly newspaper, *O Africano* (The African), published in both Portuguese and in a native

language, Ronga and *O Brado Africano* (The African Shout). Henriksen (1978: 157) argues the latter adopted an increasingly militant editorial posture that reflected not only a bitter disenchantment with Portugal's broken promises of education and civilising mission, but also with the promises themselves.

With the exception of Frelimo's publications, most of the newspapers were owned by the colonial authorities, and focused on the colonial agenda. The few revolutionary newspapers were active in resisting and shaping public opinion against the colonial occupation. This in turn resulted in almost all territories instituting strict laws regulating the right of Africans to set up and operate newspapers, and aimed at stifling the spread of 'subversive' ideas. Economic measures were also imposed to make it difficult for the proprietors of African newspapers to import newsprint and other technical facilities (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 41), making it particularly difficult for the African elites to articulate their anti-colonial struggle via the mass media. The harsh punitive measures meant that printing press freedom was virtually non-existent in colonial Mozambique (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: 328).



1.4 The Socio-political Situation of Mozambique in the Postcolonial Period

The post-independence period in Mozambique was characterised by a brutal civil war between the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) and Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frelimo). The civil war broke out a year after independence and lasted almost twelve years. This conflict, according to Seibert (2003), was one of the most violent and destructive wars in postcolonial African history in which nearly one million lives were lost and an estimated 200,000 children were orphaned, while another 250,000 were separated from their families. In addition, much of the existing infrastructure was also destroyed in that conflict.

Renamo was established in 1976 by the Rhodesian secret service, the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), with a mission to attack the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) bases just across the Mozambique border, as well as to destabilize the Frelimo government because of the support it offered to the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU). Apart from Rhodesian assistance, Renamo also enjoyed support of the then apartheid government in South Africa who later on took over the Rhodesian government's role following Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 (Seibert, 2003). Seibert (2003) explains that while South Africa became keen to support and equip Renamo in an attempt to destabilize the Frelimo government, its political

objective was to force Frelimo to abandon its socialist policy and pursue a much friendlier attitude towards South Africa, thereby denying the ANC a safe haven. It was not meant to see Renamo in power in Mozambique (Seibert, 2003: 263). However, Frelimo enjoyed military support from the Tanzania government.

The first Renamo members that were recruited by the Rhodesians were demobilized Mozambican soldiers of the Portuguese colonial army and former Frelimo guerrillas, many of whom were former colonial tax collectors or junior officials that had been dismissed by Frelimo after independence (Seibert, 2003:258).

An important stage of the Mozambican civil war was the Nkomati Peace Agreement that was signed in March 1984 between the Mozambican government and South Africa. The accord, which was signed on condition that South Africa would stop its support of Renamo and that Mozambique in turn would also cut ties with ANC, planted a seed of peace that eventually led to the end of the war. Nevertheless, meaningful peace was only realized after several negotiations in Rome. The accord to end the conflict was then signed in October 1992. The end of the apartheid system in South Africa in 1994 contributed considerably to the peace in Mozambique.

Cabrita (2000: xv) explains that Frelimo implemented its political, social and economic program upon becoming the new government. The first president, Samora Moises Machel, was the head of the National Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in its ten-year guerrilla war for independence. He died in a plane crash in 1986, and was succeeded by his foreign minister, Joaquim Chissano. On 25 January 1985, after a decade of independence, the government became locked in a paralyzing war with anti government guerrillas called the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR, or Renamo), who were backed by the white minority government in South Africa. President Chissano decided to abandon the plan to institute socialism in 1989. In October 1992, the Frelimo government of Mozambique and the Renamo guerrilla movement signed a peace accord that ended a 16-year civil war (Cabrita, 2000: xv). The conflict claimed many lives and destroyed much economic infrastructure (Cabecinhas and Feijo, 2010: 32).

In multiparty elections in 1994, President Chissano was re-elected and in November 1995, the country was the first non-former British colony to become a member of the British Commonwealth. About three decades after Mozambican independence, the political landscape has undergone significant changes. As the apartheid regimes in neighbouring countries were dismantled,

Mozambique experienced a democratic opening and transition to a multiparty system (Cabecinhas and Feijo, 2010: 32).

1.5 A General Overview of the Postcolonial printing Press in Africa

According to the World Report on Information Freedom and Censorship (1991: xi), in 62 of 77 countries surveyed in Africa and worldwide, people remain in detention for having peacefully expressed their opinion, and in the same countries, people or their works, or both, continue to be banned because of the beliefs they express. The Report further states that in 27 countries, people, including journalists, continue to be tortured, killed or otherwise maltreated on account of their opinions. The government retains ownership or direct control of the printing press in 22 countries. The mechanisms used to achieve such plans range from tacit agreement between government ministers and newspapers editors, and appointment of trusted friends or relations to positions of power, particularly in the printing press, to the assassination by death squads of those who express beliefs or opinions contrary to the government. These findings are reminiscent of the oppression of the independent media under the colonial regimes in Africa. Soon after independence, it became sadly evident that freedom of expression and freedom of the press were not particularly high on the agenda of the regimes which took power from the colonialists (Bourgault, 1995: 177). Instead, “having been organised to serve the needs of the various colonial administrations, they became, at independence, ideological tools of the new African leaders, and were brought under state control and made to sing the praises of dictators in the name of national unity” (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: x).

A number of valid explanations have been proffered for this state of affairs: First, it has been argued that there is the underlying assumption that the Western media are free and should be the “guiding light” for all other media systems worldwide; secondly, there a neglect of other forms of communication in Africa, such as word of mouth, dance, art, traditional music, and oral literature, which have existed in Africa for centuries and thirdly, there is a failure to recognize that the media in African countries formerly ruled by Britain, Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal, all emerged from colonialism with different communication models and today operate in ways somewhat different from each other (Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: xi).

In fact, Africans never inherited a truly free press. One can thus assert that the media are also involved in a new form of indirect rule, postmodern colonialism, in which the local media try to

give the impression of being independent, while all the time getting guidance from Paris, London, Brussels, New York and Washington or Lisbon (Munene, 2009: 94-100). Hachten (1991) cited in Eribo and Jong-Ebot, 1997: xi) states that the media in Africa have failed to grow and prosper because African governments have not promoted the political and economic climate which would lead to independent, critical, and economically viable media. Instead, African leaders have controlled and suppressed the media, resulting in what he calls a 'kept press' whose role is that of a "cheerleader in supporting unpopular leaders and their policies".

1.5.1 The Postcolonial Printing Press in Mozambique

The post colonial printing press in Mozambique is not different from the rest of the continent and to a certain extent the world at large. It is characterised by censorship and power abuse. As Nyamnjoh (2005) observes, while in other parts of the world (e.g. North America and Western Europe) it is significantly more advanced, and in certain cases there is already talk of *new media* taking over from *old media*, in Africa the so-called old media are yet to take over from the indigenous forms of communication's backwardness" - what Zeleza (2003) calls "ways marginal to current globalisation processes". It is not clear what both Nyamnjoh and Zeleza mean by 'old media' and 'communication backwardness'. They might be referring to either technology or freedom of the press. On the whole, their arguments suggest that little improvement has been made in the printing media industry. In short, one can conclude arguing that in both colonial and postcolonial periods in Africa, elites use almost, if not the same approach to run this industry and in turn control news.

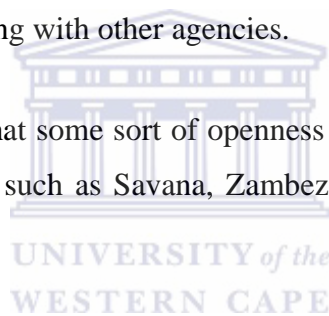
The post-independence period brought some substantial changes, although not many, in the print-media industry. In 1975, the FRELIMO government took over *Notícias (News)* newspaper which became a government controlled publication. *Notícias* appeared in 1926 and it was established by a retired Portuguese military officer. It was a Portuguese language publication based in the then Lourenço Marques (today's Maputo), which later grew to become the country's official newspaper. *Notícias da Beira* remained the country's second newspaper, but all other daily newspapers disappeared as the country embarked on its Marxist-Leninist path under Machel.

Notícias, the Portuguese language newspaper, is published in Maputo and is the only newspaper with a circulation in the range of 25,000 to 50,000. This newspaper, along with the daily *Diário de Moçambique* (circulation 10,000 to 25,000), are the most influential newspapers in the country (<http://.pressreference.com/Ma-No/Mozambique.html>, 15/08/2013). Other prominent newspapers

include *Savana*, a Portuguese weekly and *Domingo*, both published in Maputo. Other publications are the privately owned tabloids *O' Popular* and *Fim de Semana*. It is believed that the circulation of the print media is limited because of the high illiteracy levels in the country.

In 1990, the government of Mozambique, having maintained strict control of the media since independence, permitted substantial printing press liberation to be guaranteed by a supreme Mass Communication Council. In late 1991, a press law was ratified, giving existing publications not less than six months to reregister in accordance with new provisions, including revised ownership rules. In Mozambique, the newspapers *Diário de Mozambique* and *Notícias* are government controlled. The official facility is the Mozambique Information Agency (*Agência de Informação de Moçambique* – AIM) and a number of international agencies are also represented in Maputo (Banks *et al.*, 1997: 572-577) including the Pan African News Agency. Other agencies and organisations also permitted to operate in Mozambique are Reuters, Novosti, and German, Italian, and Portuguese agencies. AIM is a government-run institution charged with collecting and distributing news about Mozambique and, as seen, cooperating with other agencies.

In conclusion, it is worthy to note that some sort of openness and freedom of press has been noted lately in Mozambique. Newspapers such as *Savana*, *Zambeze*, etc. are on the frontline in openly criticizing the government.



1.6 Dynamics of the Research: Rationale, Aims and Assumptions

The rationale for this thesis is the profound need for a clear understanding of the media's discourse practices in order to determine the role it played during the colonial and postcolonial period in Mozambique. As Halloran (1998: 20) cited in Phiri (2009: 26) contends, it is absolutely necessary that researchers “question basic assumptions and policies, challenge professional mythologies and prevailing values, inquire about existing structures, external pressures, and modus operandi”, whenever appropriate, with a view to opening up possibilities for alternative perspectives. A critical analysis of media discourses is highly appropriate because media discourses “provide a series of snapshots of our life and our culture, often from a very specific point of view” (Reah, 2002: 1).

Today, nearly four decades after decolonisation and the subsequent independence of the Portuguese-speaking African territories of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde islands and São Tomé and Príncipe, the people of these territories find themselves struggling with intertwined realities – neo-colonialism and Afro-Westernised tradition. This is because fairly

balanced accounts of the past which should help them to define themselves are insufficient, Eurocentric and chiefly focused on the beauties of the so-called *missão de civilização* (mission of civilisation) with very scant records of past African civilisations apart from "...the warlike African tribes that for many centuries had resisted the Portuguese presence" (Chilcote, 1967: 14). As testimony, up to this stage, Soares and Jesuino (2004) contend that the period of the voyages of discovery is still presented as the 'golden age' in Portuguese state discourses and schoolbooks, where Portuguese kings and navigators appear as heroes. They go on arguing that the Portuguese people are presented as active agents, as protagonists, whereas native people are portrayed as passive. Chilcote (1967:14) agrees that: "the tradition of relegating the black to inferior status prevails today".

This study is therefore an attempt to make some contribution to the Lusophone literature in Africa by "exposing power abuse and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs" (Blommaert, 2005: 25). In terms of the critical discourse analysis of selected articles from *O Século de Joanesburgo*, the thesis attempts to examine the presence of ideologies and institutionally reproduced power in the media discourses of both the colonial and postcolonial eras. This will reveal how discourse patterns relate to social structures (Van Dijk, 2004). Furthermore, the researcher hopes to make the structural relationships of "dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, 1995: 204), more transparent. In terms of history, "discourses [...] play a specific role in how *people* imagine themselves as community and the way they position themselves in terms of time and space" (Stroud, 2007: 509-538). Stroud's account on discourse explores the contextual interplay between language, and society within the diachronic processes. This is because, as Jaworski and Coupland (1999:47) explicate, discourse involves orienting to language as a form of social action, as a functioning form of social action embedded in the totality of social processes.

Lastly, my main motivation for conducting this research started when I was at high school, having been exposed to various texts, including poems like "Grito Negro" (my favourite one) by Mozambican writer José Craverinha. I wondered what the reason behind their counter-discursive approach was. While working as a construction worker in Cape Town, I would use my available free time reading in the Cape Town National library. Here I read old *Cape Argus* and *CapeTimes* newspapers in order to improve my English language skills and also to find articles on the history of both Frelimo in Mozambique and MPLA in Angola, given that these movements were pro-ANC. While I was not very surprised by the findings, I was shocked by the racist and negative discourses that appeared to permeate such articles. Whereas at first I was tempted to conduct my own contrastive analysis of the discourses in these two newspapers, I later changed my plan when I

discovered that in fact there was a Portuguese newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo* in South Africa which I thought was worth researchin, especially given its socio-political and historical background.

In sum, this work is located within the historiographical-linguistics discipline in the colonial and postcolonial periods; it is a contribution towards understanding the *socio-político* and ideological agenda of the Portuguese regime and the media's role in helping these ideological aims to be accomplished. This thesis firstly attempts to show the nature of the type of colonialism established in Mozambique and the relationship between the coloniser and colonised. This is linked to the role of *O Século de Joanesburgo* as a key player in the “colonial institution” or as one of the sites “for the colonisation of consciousness” (Harries, 2007: 5).

The thesis investigates the following research questions:

- i) How were the indigenous Mozambicans, particularly members of Frelimo, represented in the newspaper during the colonial and postcolonial eras?
- ii) What were the ideologies embedded in the discourses of ‘*O Século de Joanesburgo*’ during the colonial and postcolonial periods in Mozambique?
- iii) What role did the newspaper play in the distribution of voice to people during these two periods?
- iv) In terms of representation, how did the newspaper change in the postcolonial period?

The study is underpinned by the following key assumptions:

- This newspaper's particular discourses may have been a potential agent of control and domination during the colonial and postcolonial periods.
- The newspaper's discourses over the years may possibly have made it a voice (social and moral) of pacification among the indigenous people and of increased patriotism to Portugal among the settlers, thus preserving the colonial *status quo*.

1.7 *O Século de Joanesburgo* 's Newspaper

O Século de Joanesburgo is by all accounts a conservative Portuguese newspaper which was founded in 1963 in Johannesburg by António Braz. It was established as a South African version of the renowned Portuguese newspaper *O Século* (The Century), a daily newspaper published in Lisbon from 1880 to 1978. *O Século de Joanesburgo* newspaper has offices throughout South

Africa, as well as outside the country in Portugal (mainly Lisbon) and autonomous regions like Madeira and the Azores, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia. Glaser (2013) explains that the most important newspaper is read by literate immigrants to keep them in touch with the news at home. Thus, readership for *O Século de Joanesburgo* grew substantially throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Scholars further argue that by the mid-1990s this newspaper had a circulation of 40,000 and a readership of over 200,000. Its columns included news from Portugal and from the Portuguese in diaspora, local community news, gossip, small business advertising and classified sections and most popularly, Portuguese football coverage (Glaser, 2013:229). The official research for the newspaper was the Portuguese 'Agência Lusa' (The Portuguese Lusa News Agency).

From 1969 to 1974, the newspaper was acquired by the *Diário de Lourenço Marques* newspaper. The newspaper was then printed in Mozambique and transported to South Africa. In November 1974, the newspaper was re-acquired by the founder. In the first five years after its existence, the newspaper was circulated on a monthly, and then on a weekly basis.

My choice of the discourses of this particular newspaper over others was motivated by a number of factors:

- (a) Although the newspaper primarily catered for Portuguese people in South Africa and abroad, it also was circulated in some southern African countries within the Portuguese speaking communities mentioned above, and the newspaper carried separate sections devoted news from each of these countries. It provided a special edition for the Rhodesian (now Zimbabwean) Portuguese community named '*O Século de Joanesburgo na Rodésia*'.
- (b) It is apparent that the newspaper's strategic spatial location - in South Africa, one of the most powerful nations both politically, military and economically during the colonial and postcolonial periods - created a conducive ground for the dissemination of news to the rest of the continent's Portuguese population as well as the rest of the world. Like *Jornal de Noticias*, which used to be produced in Portugal but was distributed in the so-called *Provincias Ultramarinas* (overseas provinces), this newspaper also "provided vibrant discursive spaces in which people of different territories bound by a common language" who "were able to connect, via print, across many thousands of miles, either participating in the formation of a pan-imperial 'imagined community' [...] or forging political links and made comparison between themselves and others [...] or even helping to breakdown colonial divisions [...] thus consolidating the power and political networks of established elites" (Newell, 2011: 28). Newell (*ibid.*) confirms that this newspaper helped to produce and

sustain one particular new public: a trans-colonial reading public, politically articulated, joined by their shared identity as members of the Portuguese Empire but, of course, separated ideologically in many ways. Thus one can argue that this newspaper, with its extensive coverage of Mozambique and Angola, has been “a dynamic, historically situated articulator of social relationships between different Portuguese speaking groups of literate Africans and Europeans” (Newell, 2011: 27).

The newspaper was bought in 1987 by the late Angolan-born entrepreneur Horácio Roque who fled from Luanda to Johannesburg in 1975 at the age of 32. It was active during virtually the entire historical period which focused on MHN (Mozambique History Net) and during the armed conflicts in Mozambique and Angola (http://www.Mozambiquehistory.net/sec_jb.html.pdf. Accessed 10/10/2012).

In its coverage of news none of the articles reviewed bears a name of the author or a pseudonym, except in the coverage of sport issues. With regards to the current affairs of the newspaper, while due to technological advancement, the electronic (online) copy of the newspapers seems to withstand the same cannot be said about the printing material which has declined dramatically lately. Below are excerpts from an interview with one of the newspaper’s journalists:

O jornal vai abaixo. Até já não depende das suas vendas. Depende das ‘printers’. [The newspaper is going down (not doing well). In fact, it no longer survives on its sales. It’s sustained by the printing machines].

Asked why, he replied:

O jornal perdeu muitos leitores talvez devido a sua política anterior de apoiar o Governo Português. Até ultimamente temos tentado marcar uma audiência com um dos ministros da Frelimo lá em Moçambique mas eles rejeitam porque dizem que apoiavamos o regime.

[The newspaper lost lots of readers due to its ideologies of helping the then Portuguese government. In fact, lately we have been trying to make an appointment with one of Frelimo’s ministers but everytime they hear is us they refuse with allegations that we supported the regime.]

1.8 An Overview of the other Chapters

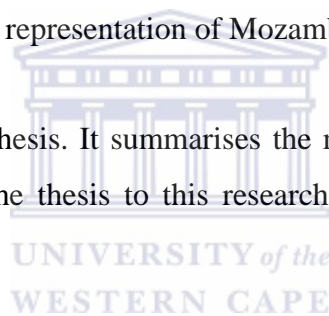
Chapter 2 provides a critical overview of the existing literature as well as the theoretical and analytical framework for this study. These include studies on ideology and discourse – including discourse in the context of colonialism and postcolonialism, orientalism and media. The chapter also explores the notion of representation and stereotypical representation in contexts like sport.

Other theoretical and conceptual sources drawn on are the notion of ‘otherness’, resemiotisation, space and voice. The theoretical and analytical framework includes Corpus Linguistics (CL), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA).

Chapter 3 explores the triangulated methodological approach as well as the analytical tools used in this study. The chapter also discusses corpus, data design, data processing and other methodological aspects used in the study.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 cover the findings of the study based on the data from the colonial and postcolonial periods according to specific themes. Chapter 4 focuses on generic representation of the Mozambican people with a clear focus on stereotyping in the labour domain, stereotyping in coverage of criminal events and stereotyping in coverage of social issues. Chapter 5 explores representation of Frelimo and its members investigating most particularly stereotyping in representation of Frelimo members in general and stereotyping in representations of Frelimo leader, Samora Machel. Chapter 6 discusses representation of Mozambicans in the domain of sport.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion of the thesis. It summarises the main points emerging from the study and considers the contribution of the thesis to this research field, as well as its limitations and suggestions for future research.



1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the background knowledge of this study: geographical, historical and socio-political and printing media. It has also provided the rationale for the thesis. Furthermore, the chapter has shown that the Portuguese colonial regime, like any other colonial regime, operated at the expense of the indigenous people. With regards to the *assimilados* policy in the Portuguese overseas provinces, the study established that it was not primarily and realistically established to uplift indigenous people educationally. The policy was to a certain extent crafted to establish a range of racial, social-economic and political discriminatory hierarchies. Equally the chapter has shown that although the church was a catalyst in fighting against various discriminatory policies established by the colonial regime, to a certain extent, its role also undermined indigenous people. Moreover, the chapter has once again demonstrated that as in other colonised nations, the media suffered from heavy censorship and very few newspapers portrayed the reality of the regime’s brutality, and this censorship has been carried forward in the postcolonial era in Mozambique, with very few policies established by the Frelimo government to give ‘artificial autonomy’ to journalists

or media institutions. The chapter has also explained the choice of *O Século de Joanesburgo* for the study, based on its spatiality (its location) and temporality (having been established in the colonial and *apartheid* eras). It concludes with an overview of the other thesis chapters.



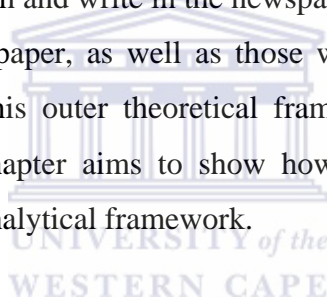
CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical, Analytical and Conceptual Frameworks

2.0 Introduction

As discussed in the first chapter, this study explores how the Mozambican political movement, Frelimo and its members, as well as the indigenous people of Mozambique in general, were represented during the colonial and postcolonial (post-independence) period in the newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo*. It also examines the role of the newspaper in terms of the voices that were permitted to speak through its columns.

This chapter provides the theoretical, analytical and conceptual frameworks for the study. The theoretical framework is situated in studies on media discourses and power. My concern is the role of those who had the power to publish and write in the newspaper, i.e. those who were given a voice in the columns and images of the paper, as well as those who had little say in how they were represented in the paper. Within this outer theoretical framework, there are the analytical and conceptual frameworks, and the chapter aims to show how concepts like ideology, voice and discourse are revealed through the analytical framework.



2.1 Theoretical and Analytical Framework

Within a broader theoretical framework of studies on media language and power, the analytical framework for this study includes current conceptions of Corpus Linguistics (CL), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). Within these frameworks, I situated the relevant theoretical concepts on which I based my arguments and analysis.

It is worth pointing out that studies combining CL and/or CDA and/or MDA are increasing in number. O'Halloran (2010: 565) provides a useful summary of some studies that carried out successful research using CL and CDA in media discourse which include: Stubbs (1996, 2001); Charteris-Black (2004); Baker (2006); O'Keefle (2006) to mention but a few. However, using all three in combination as in the case of this study is fairly rare. My interest in merging CL, CDA and MDA is based purely on the strengths of CL, CDA and MDA when working collectively, rather than independently. CL and CDA are crucial, taking into account the large database used in this

study. The chapter therefore considers the advantages of using these approaches in answering the research questions.

2.1.2 Corpus Linguistics (CL)

The CL revolution has changed the ways in which researchers analyse data (from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives). The steady growth of users of this approach appears to be largely due to its use of large databases and both quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches. As explained in Chapter 1, CL is the leading analytical approach of this study although most of the data is also analysed using CDA. The rationale for using CL is explained clearly in this summary on the back cover of Baker (2009), which is as follows: “Corpus linguistics uses large electronic databases of language to examine hypotheses about language use which can be tested scientifically with computerised tools, without the researcher’s preconceptions influencing their conclusions”.

In principle, any collection of more than one text can be called a corpus which is simply the Latin word for ‘body’ (McEnery and Wilson, 1996: 29). CL as a research approach has developed over the past several decades to “support empirical investigations of language variation and use, resulting in research findings that have much greater generalisability and validity” (Biber, 2010: 159). Since CL can be seen as an empirical approach, the procedure to describe the data that makes use of corpus is therefore ‘inductive’ in that it is “statements of a theoretical nature about the language or the culture which are arrived at from observations of the actual instances” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 2).

While Stubbs (2001: 305) defines ‘corpus’ as “a large collection of computer-readable texts of different text types which represent spoken and/or written usage”, McEnery and Wilson (1996: 1) have a different view. They define corpus as “the study of language based on examples of real life language use”. However, Sinclair (1991: 171) views corpus as “a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterise a state or variety of a language”. Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 2) offers a variation of Sinclair’s definition when he contends that corpus can be defined as “a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language put together so that it can be used for linguistic analysis”.

An examination of these hypotheses reveals a general consensus among these scholars on what the notion of ‘corpus’ means - a large volume of real life, computer-analysed language data. In addition, the database should be stored electronically (as suggested by Stubbs) and most importantly

such data should be “gathered according to explicit design criteria, with a specific purpose in mind, and with claims to represent larger chunks of language selected according to a specific typology” (McEnery and Wilson, 2001: 2). The point McEnery and Wilson stress here is that any researcher should be clear about his/her research purpose in order to be able to select the relevant text(s) to be incorporated in the database. As Sinclair (1991: 171) reasons, “sample corpus *should* often be chosen with great care and studied in detail”. In other words, the argument here is for a balanced collection of data, which implies that if texts are randomly picked it might lead to a risk of having skewed data which in turn will influence the findings.

Studies employing CL technique use two major approaches: Corpus-based and Corpus-driven approaches. The former is used to refer to approaches that “test or exemplify theories and descriptions” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 65). For Biber (2010: 163), the goal of this approach is to “discover systematic patterns of use that govern the linguistic features”, and he also praises it for having high reliability and external validity. In line with the viewpoint put forward by Tognini-Bonelli (2001), Baker (2006: 16) writes that a corpus-based approach uses a corpus as “a source of examples, to check researcher intuition or to examine the frequency and /or plausibility of the language”. However, Biber *et al.* (2004) argue that corpus-based approaches have been criticised owing to the textual environment interacting with register differences so that strong patterns in the register often represent weak patterns in other registers. The argument here is that corpus-based approaches do not attend to the reliability of the data rigorously in overall terms mainly due to the intuitive nature of exploring data characteristic of such approaches.

Taking these reservations into account, this research was informed by Corpus-driven approaches. According to (Biber, 2010: 163), this approach exploits “the potential of corpus linguistic categories and units [...] using the standard methods of linguistic analysis”. Moreover, it aims to derive linguistic categories systematically from recurrent patterns and frequency’s distributions that emerge from language in context (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 87). Therefore, Baker (2006: 16) notes that a corpus-driven approach analysis proceeds in a more inductive way – the corpus itself is the data and the patterns in it are noted as a way of expressing regularities (and exceptions) in language.

The descriptions rendered by this approach also match the nature of this study. This is because the linguistic constructs are directly generated from the actual corpus analysis, making them corpus-driven. Another advantage of corpus-driven approaches is the fact that the approach is strictly committed to the integrity of the data (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001); in other words, it provides evidence

from the real data. Nevertheless, through a critical examination of the approaches one may conclude that in fact both 'corpus-based' and 'corpus driven' offer no clear margins in terms of their differences given that both advocate the issue of frequency and patterns in their analytical approach. However, perhaps the major issue (their distinct functionality) is a researcher's approach to data analysis, either based on intuition (corpus –based) and/or induction (corpus-driven).

To sum up, “CL utilises bodies of electronically encoded text, implementing a more quantitative methodology, for example, by using frequency information about occurrences of particular linguistic phenomena” (Baker, 2006: 1). Therefore, it offers several advantages for researchers. Apart from being a frequency tool of analysis, this approach employs other noteworthy techniques such as concordance, collocates, etc. which make it a multi-tasked approach. This is discussed further in the next chapter devoted to the Methodology.

2.1.3 Types of Corpora

Researchers conducting studies in this field have various options in terms of choices on the nature of corpora. And while the possibilities of more types of corpora cannot be ignored, Bennett (2010: 13) enumerates eight types: generalised, specialised, learner, pedagogic, historical, parallel, comparable, and monitor. These are all relevant, of course, for their specific field of study or research questions, but here the researcher discusses only two types: generalised and specialised, even though he only uses specialised corpora in this study. The reason for discussing both generalised and specialised corpora here is the ongoing debate about the size of corpora, which is an issue faced by most researchers in this field.

Bennett (2010: 14) offers the following description of the two types of corpora. Generalised corpora are “often very large, more than 10 million words” while specialised corpora “can be large or small and is often created to answer very specific questions”. As noted from these descriptions, the major difference here is the size of the corpora. It can also be argued that generalised corpora seem to focus mainly on the quantitative aspect of research-based analysis whereas specialised corpora tend to stress the qualitative output. Though size seems to be the fundamental issue, scholars such as Sinclair (2004) and Koester (2010) appear to agree that both ‘specialised’ and ‘generalised’ corpora have their advantages and disadvantages, and while size should sensibly not be ignored, it should never serve as benchmark for judging a good or bad corpus. Thus the focus of any researcher deciding on the corpora should rather be on how a particular corpora is able to meet the demands of

desired research questions. It is thus compelling to agree with Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 6) who emphasises that types of corpora “depend on what is the use to which the corpus is going to be put”.

This study is based on specialised corpora for various reasons. It is smaller in terms of sample size compared to a generalised corpora, and as is shown in the next chapter, is made up of a hundred million tokens. Apart from this, the genre of this study is limited to the newspaper domain in spite of comprising a variety of texts. This is opposed to generalised corpora which has a broader agenda of covering larger text forms related to a variety of a specific language or varieties. In addition, the researcher’s decision to opt for a specialised corpora rather than a generalised one is based on its distinct advantage as stressed by Koester (2010: 67), that it “allow(s) a much closer link between the corpus and the context in which the texts were produced”. Such an approach is therefore necessary most especially given the researcher’s aim of probing the beliefs and ideological positions of the discourse producers of the newspaper in this study, in an attempt to understand the reasons for their representations of the actors in their articles.

2.1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis



Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an old and well-established theoretical and methodological framework in sociolinguistics. For Hanrahan (2010:150), CDA “emerged as a new transdisciplinary field of study between the mid-1960s and it came into being largely through the work of Fairclough”. This concept has undergone different nomenclature: ‘critical language awareness’ or ‘critical language studies’ before finally being labelled as ‘critical discourse analysis’ CDA. CDA combines diverse disciplinary perspectives in its analyses and is used to complement more standard forms of social and cultural analysis (Fairclough and Wodak, 2010:101). Fairclough (2010: vii) argues that “CDA created in the world of applied linguistics and discourse analysis, a way and means of systematically approaching the relationships between language and social structure. Hence its objective is to explore language power in terms of domination and oppression”.

The use of CDA to expose power relations in texts made it highly significant for this study. Both as a methodological and theoretical framework, it is crucial in helping to establish the nature of the power relations in the corpora of newspaper articles and pictures analysed for this study.

2.1.4.1 Definitions and Applicability of CDA

Despite some divergent views on how CDA should be defined, most scholars appear to agree on a number of issues. A very clear starting point is Van Dijk (2003: 352) who argues that CDA “studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political context”. This viewpoint is elaborated on by O’Halloran (2010: 563) who asserts that “CDA investigates how language use reproduces the perspectives, values and ways of talking of the powerful, which may not be in the interests of the less powerful. It thus focuses on the relationship between language’s power and ideology”.

Hanrahan (2010:150) takes a slightly different position on CDA when he defines it as a “sociolinguistic research tool that facilitates a simultaneous focus on the linguistic features of a text (such as vocabulary, grammar, semantics, and graphological or phonological features) and on social structures and practices underlying the text”. In the same vein, Anthonissen (2001) states that the term CDA is used to refer more specifically to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find “the larger discursive unit of the text to be the basic unit of communication”. Fairclough (2010: 10) though seems to be more critical in distinguishing what counts as CDA and what does not. He argues that CDA should not:

- be merely analysis of discourse (or more concretely texts), but be part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process;
- just be general commentary on discourse, but should include some form of systematic analysis of texts; and
- just be descriptive, but also normative. It should address social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them.

In spite listing these features, Fairclough (*ibid.*) warns that he “tried to make these measures for determining what is and what is not CDA tight enough to work as measures, but loose enough to encompass and allow for many different existing and new versions of CDA”. He further explains that CDA is designed to be open to various interpretations thus there are no ‘rules’: they should not be seen or used as regulative devices; they are designed to be helpful in drawing important distinctions (*ibid.*: 11). He further argues that “CDA offers more generally means of exploring the imbrications between language and social-institutional practices, and beyond these, the intimate links between language as discourse and broader social and political structures” (2010: vii).

These definitions therefore largely capture the relations between language use and power (which include the unequal distribution of voice). Its multi-interdisciplinary approach also makes it an important analytical tool in this study. What one can draw from these definitions and descriptions is that “CDA is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit *per se* but rather in studying social phenomena” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2). In other words, it has moved away from the analysis of individual decontextualised texts to look at the sociocultural factors that lie behind the production of particular types of texts (Bartlett, 2010: 137). Therefore, CDA:

- is concerned with analysis at micro and macro levels, that is, of social practices and structures, in terms of the genres, discourses and styles accessed (Hanrahan, 2010: 150);
- can also be used to critique texts in terms of the ideologies they promote, given its roots in social theory;
- focuses on how power is maintained through accepted social practices that implicitly tend to favour the interests of those currently in power and hinder those competitors; it can also show how hegemonic power can be challenged by participants using creative practices (Hanrahan, 2010: 150);
- analyses opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control manifested in language (Wodak, 1995); and
- offers interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; (Richardson (2007, see Johnson & Milani, 2010: 51); and
- accounts for the relationship between discourse and social power, describes and explains how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions (Van Dijk, 1996: 84).

With particular reference to public texts like newspapers, Huckin (2002: 4) captures most of the above descriptions of the function of CDA when he argues that it “offers a powerful arsenal of analytic tools that can be deployed in the close reading of editorials, op-ed columns, advertisements, and other public texts but it puts more emphasis both on the fine-grained details of texts and so on the political aspects of discursive manipulation”. In the words of Weiss and Wodak (2003: 15), CDA aims to investigate critically the social inequalities as they are expressed, constituted, legitimised, and so on, by language use (or in discourse). Critical discourse analysts, according to Billig (2001), therefore do not see themselves as conventional discourse analysts who happen to have radical or progressive views, as if social or political criticism were something additional to

their academic work. Instead, Critical Discourse Analysis is seen to be a means of criticising the existing social order. In particular, critical approaches contrast themselves with disciplines/paradigms/theories whose theoretical and methodological assumptions seem to exclude direct political or radical analyses (Billig, 2001: 38). Thus CDA “seeks to provide explanations of the causes and development of the crisis, identify possible ways of mitigating its effects and to transform capitalism in less crisis-prone, more sustainable and more socially just directions” (Fairclough, 2010: 18).

This last point raised by Fairclough is interesting in many ways. It suggests that the objectives of CDA are not confined to identifying socio-political and economic ills by discursive means, but also to suggest mechanisms to address or remedy such problems and thus can lead to a more equal and inclusive society. This objective therefore suits the agenda of this study with its particular focus on the type of representation given to indigenous Mozambicans and their former colonial masters.

2.1.5 The Fusion of CL and CDA in this study

Despite Baker’s contention (2006: 60) that studies utilising both analytical approaches are undersubscribed, there are a number of studies that have successfully merged CL and CDA such as “Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: a corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2005” by Gabrielatos Costas, “5000 word report: Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005” by Paul Baker and so forth. Baker (2010: 7) queries why many researchers do not see corpus-based discourse analysis as a worthwhile approach, given that “they are too broad hence do not facilitate close readings of texts”. Baker also cites Widdowson’s (2000:7-12) criticism that corpus linguistics only offers a partial account of real language and that analysts using this approach choose the methodological processes that computers find easier to carry out in preference to more complex forms of analysis. To this, one can add Baldry’s (2000) criticism that corpus linguistics treats language as a self-contained object, abstracting text from its context.

Widdowson’s criticism appears to question the nature of the data in terms of authenticity (founded on language used for real communicative events vs. artificial) on the one hand, and on the validity of results considering, as he suggests, that analysts are driven by their own choices thus ignoring others that might provide better results. Baldry’s criticism, however, is much more concerned with language and context. He questions the viability of textual analysis outside its context. His concern is linked to the ‘generalised corpora’ which deals with a large amount of words (millions) and

whose analysis is left solely to the computer's interpretation. Baker, however, suggests that researchers should look beyond each approach by taking into account its strengths and weaknesses and thus finding innovative ways on how these techniques can be used together to solve a problem rather than setting them against each other. This study embraces Baker's view by merging not only CL with CDA but including MDA as well.

Table 2.1 below shows the main features of CL and CDA and highlights some aspects of the dependability of these two analytical frameworks.

CL	CDA
Offers both qualitative and quantitative analysis	Qualitative analysis
Empirical data	Empirical data
Makes use of computers for data analysis	Analysis left to human interpretation
Analysis of grammatical and lexical aspects	Analysis of grammatical, lexical and social practices underlying the text
Accounts for patterns in language in terms of rarity and frequency	Accounts for the relationship between discourse and social power (ideologies promoted)
Analysis depends a lot on a large corpora	Analysis does not necessarily depend on quantity of data
Material must be in electronic format	Material can be in electronic or printout
Focus on real language	Focus on real language

Table 2.1: A Summary of CL and CDA

If we study the above table carefully it becomes clear that although both approaches have more commonalities than differences, in cases where differences are the major concerns, they can be narrowed or fixed by either methodology. For instance, corpus, which tends to select the data into small portions of frequency, wordlists, etc., allows CDA to have some ideas of the discourse in question which in turn facilitates a further discursive analysis. The point is that the use of computers for data analysis creates a conducive environment for CDA analysis or vice-versa. One advantage of corpus analysis and CDA is that analysts can go beyond single texts and conveniently explore quantitative patterns of ideological meaning in a large number of texts (O'Halloran, 2010: 565).

Regarding the dependability of the two methodologies, Baker (2004) stresses the objectivity in data selection available to researchers as a result of the use of corpora, noting that both 'widespread patterns' and interesting 'rare instances' may be revealed by CL, both of which could go undetected in smaller, and more subjective, studies. Baker's argument once again points to the significance of CL (its frequency process) in ensuring that all data is scrutinised from the most frequent to the least

in such a way that the researcher is well informed by the overall corpora. Baker points out that such kind of analysis would have not been possible when conducted from a CDA perspective alone. This point is corroborated by Mautner (2009a) who argues that CDA also expands its analysis utilising corpus methods by enhancing the credibility of its social analysis and by providing the textual back-up from vast multi-million word corpora.

What the fusion of these methods further offers of course is a triangulation of research methods. Layder (1993: 128) explains that “triangulation facilitates validity checks of hypotheses, it anchors findings in more robust interpretations and explanations, and; it allows researchers to respond flexibly to unforeseen problems and aspects of their research”. In fact, there has become an ever-growing need for CDA researchers to build qualitatively on more reliably quantified textual features, especially when it comes to collocations (Salama, 2011: 316). Salama (2011: 317-318) further argues that “in order to do a collocational (as well as key word) analysis of the ideological representations across opposing discourses, there needs to be a synergy of CL and CDA”.

These views offer further proof of the usefulness of these approaches working together to tackle complex analytical tasks. A further advantage noted by Baker (2006: 16) is that such a fusion “is able to place a number of restrictions on our cognitive biases and ... is a useful way of dealing with the incremental effect of discourse”. By using corpus investigation, critical discourse analysts can now “gain insight into the kinds of cultural and ideological meanings being circulated regularly, as well as being potentially reproduced by readers” (O’Halloran, 2010: 563). O’Halloran (*ibid.*) further stresses the usefulness of such methodological fusion in reducing arbitrariness and analyst subjectivities “since it is the software which reveals salience and not the analyst”.

Given the range of studies which have successfully applied CL and CDA for sociolinguistic purposes, it is beyond doubt that the combination of both had a lot to offer for this particular study, which has effectively used them to supplement each other.

2.1.6 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

In the late-modern world we live in today with its constant technological innovation, discourse producers rely equally on both verbal and non-verbal aspects of texts to disseminate their ideologies. In this respect, analyses solely relying on written words while ignoring visual information lose out on the real discursive meanings implanted in the text. Thus an inclusive analysis should focus on both linguistic and visual aspects of communication. What needs to be

stressed here is that texts are multimodal and therefore both linguistic and non-linguistic (visual) aspects should be given equal analytical weight. This is because language, be it written or spoken always has to be realised through, and in the company of, other semiotic modes and thus any form of text analysis which ignores this visual arrangement will not be able to account for all the meanings expressed in texts (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998: 186-219). Bateman (2008: 1) confirms this when he argues that “varieties of visually-based modes are deployed simultaneously in order to fulfil an orchestrated collection of interwoven communicative goals”. As a matter of fact, “written texts and images have existed together in many registers since the emergence of writing, and inscriptions and are an integral feature of many sculpted objects and architectural artifacts” (Matthiessen, 2007: 29).

The term ‘multimodal/ity’ comes from the field of Linguistics, and refers to different ‘modes’ (manners) of communication. And since context is the primary manifestation of mode, Kress (2009: 54), describes it as “a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning and these include image, layout, gesture, writing, etc.”. For Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 155), multimodality “refers to the truth value or credibility of (linguistically realised) statements about the world” which “is equally essential in accounts of visual communication which in this case can represent people, places and things as though they are real”. This view is complemented by Iedema (2007:39) who explains it as an approach that “provides the means to describe a practice or representation in all its semiotic complexity and richness.”

The above explanations on ‘mode’ and ‘multimodality’ provide us enough light of what MDA entails: a multidisciplinary approach that combines (innovatively) both multimodal and critical discourse approach to expose and contest the various ideologies embedded in the discourse (visual). In this respect, O’Halloran (2011:2) argues that MDA “is concerned with the theory and analysis of semiotic resources and the semantic expansions which occur as semiotic choices combine in multimodal phenomena”. In a complementary move, Djonov and Zhao (2013:1) define MDA as an approach that “explores the meaning-making potential of different communication modes and media and their actual use and dynamic interaction with each other and with the sociocultural context in which they operate”.

In the above hypotheses, the scholars explicitly underscore the position of visual language in discourse production and interpretation given that both the verbal and non-verbal modes are part of the communicative event. The scholars also stress the dependency of these ‘modes’ on their socio-

cultural context. Implicitly they indicate that de-contextualisation of discourse from its contexts might lead to mis-interpretation.

The rationale behind this argument is that no mode should be exploited at the expense of the other taking into account the fact that “these visual modes all serve to structure the text and to bring the various elements of the page such as photographs, headlines, blocks of text together into a coherent and meaningful whole” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998: 219).

From both a theoretical and practical perspective, Harley (1992: 28) takes us to another dimension of the interpretation of multimodality by arguing that “no picture (visual text) is pure image; all of them, still and moving, graphic and photographic, are ‘talking pictures’, either literally, or in association with contextual speech, writing or discourse”. Here, Harley stresses the active role of visual modes in providing information necessary for interpreting any discourse. Harley actually personalises pictures by investing them with human qualities in an attempt to show their credibility in terms of their powerful communicative role. After all, “photographs do not lie” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 154).

This study draws extensively on the theoretical and analytical framework introduced by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006). In their study, they discuss a variety of issues related to visual representation. Among these, they provide a range of choice to researchers between ‘offer’ and ‘demand’ and the selection of a certain size of frame, but also, at the same time, the selection of an angle, a ‘point of view’, which according to Kress and Leeuwen (2006: 129), “implies the possibility of expressing subjective attitudes towards represented participants, humans or otherwise”. According to them the system of perspective which realises ‘attitude’ was developed in the Renaissance period.

Kress and Van Leeuwen’s focus on ‘subjectivity’ has as its ultimate goal to illustrate that such representations are based on personal opinions rather than on facts – informed by stereotypes.


In this respect, it is safe to say that “pictures are objective traces of socio-semiotic struggles (conflict), allegiances (consensus), and ideologies (sense making practices), right across the spectrum from big-deal public politics to intimate personal culture” (Harley, 1992: 28). Harley (ibid.) further argues that pictures are political which means that they are all politicised in more or less formal ways, caught up in myriad power struggles, large and small, by means of which people sort themselves into different communities with allegiances to different ideologies.

Harley's arguments summarise the points raised earlier with regard to the significant role of both verbal and non-verbal modes in discourse production. He captures the idea of how, in its complexity, visual discourse is used to propagate various ideologies of the elite and also proves how pictures, just like verbal text, are also used as powerful means of dominance and oppression, depending on who controls the discursive means (voice) as well as access to these means.

The above discussion and the value of MDA are effectively captured by Machin and Mayr (2012: 49) as follows: "texts we come across often communicate not only through word choices but also through non-linguistic features and elements and even those texts that contain no image, communicate partly through choice of font type, colour, line spacing and alignment of texts. Therefore both textual and visual languages share a common and identical discursive goal of manufacturing and distributing ideologies with liberatory or oppressive agenda".

The MDA in this study, as was noted earlier, is largely informed by Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) theories in respect of the interactional and compositional meaning in representation.

The interactional meaning encompasses:

- 
- **demand** (gaze at the viewer)
 - **offer** (absence of gaze at the viewer)
 - **intimate/personal** (close shot)
 - **social** (medium shot)
 - **impersonal** (long shot)
 - **involvement** (frontal angle)
 - **detachment** (oblique angle)
 - **viewer power** (high angle)
 - **equality** (eye-level angle)
 - **Represented participant power** (low angle)

The compositional meaning, on the other hand, includes the following positions:

- **Centred** (an element is placed in the centre of the composition)
- **Margin** (the non-central elements in a centred composition are identical or near-identical, so creating symmetry in the composition)
- **Given** (the element on the left in a polarised composition)
- **New** (the element on the right in a polarised composition)
- **Ideal** (the element on the top in a polarised composition)
- **Real** (the element on the bottom in a polarised composition)

As noted above, each term suggest an interpretative framework as will be seen in the chapters devoted to the findings.

2.1.7 The Fusion of CL, CDA and MDA

Thus far, the discussions in this chapter have shown the complementary nature of CL and CDA, both of which are used to analyse the linguistic aspects of the data. However since this study also explores the non-linguistic (visual) aspects, MDA, is a necessary addition to the analytical framework for the study in order to reveal the overall ideologies embedded in both verbal and visual modes. The use of pictures and other semiotic resources such as colour, font size, font style and so forth by designer-journalists in integrative ways to create meaning must not be undervalued. In this perspective, “discourse analysts attempting to interpret the wide range of human discourse practices have found the need to account for the meaning arising from multiple semiotic resources” (O’Halloran, 2011: 3). Visual modes, as emphasised by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1998) all serve to structure the text and to bring the various elements of the page such as photographs, headlines, blocks of text together into a coherent and meaningful whole.

Taking into account the fact that both linguistic and visual modes work cooperatively to achieve meaning-making, MDA is essential in this study to attend to the visual analysis, given that the linguistic analysis is left to CL and CDA. Together, the three analytical approaches are used to uncover the various ideologies embedded in the multimodal discourses. MDA is known be a qualitative approach to data analysis and, like CDA and CL, is based on empirical data.

2.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In this part of the chapter, a critical discussion of the main theories and concepts drawn on for the study is presented. I commence with the central concept of ‘voice’.

2.2.1 Voice

In this study, I use the term ‘voice’ in terms of accessibility and control of discourse as well as in terms of dissemination of ideologies embedded in discourse. In this respect, voice is social, meaning that it is shaped by socio-economic, political and cultural issues. In addition, voice is also “the capacity for semiotic mobility” (Blommaert, 2005: 69). On this note, Keane (2000: 271) notes that “research on voice directs attention to the diverse processes through which social identities are

represented, performed, transformed, evaluated, and contested.” This assumption provides insights on how the powerful group, which has control over voice and has a “legitimate capacity to speak on behalf of larger groups, or talk about others” (Keane, 2000: 271). In my view this argument suggests that having voice implies imposing a discursive authority over the subaltern group or rather over the voiceless.

This study aligns to Machin and Van Leeuwen’s (2007: 39) notion of voice which they describe as “transmitting views about the way the world works, about how people behave or should behave, and about the problems we encounter and the solutions that are available for dealing with them; voice promotes and criticises some identities and kinds of social organisations and celebrates others”. Blommaert (2005: 69) on the other hand proclaims that voice in the era of globalisation becomes a matter of the “capacity to accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally, and across different physical and social spaces”. Machin and Van Leeuwen’s discussion on voice tends to relate to the issue of ideology’s circulation by discursive means on the one hand and on how these ideologies are dealt with on the other. While the issue of power in terms of discourse control is not explicit, one can distinguish it by the terms ‘promotion’ and ‘criticism’. One cannot refute the idea that in order to ‘promote’ or ‘criticise’ a group, the issue of control of discursive production and diffusion needs to be taken care of. Blommaert’s view, on the other hand, seems to centre on multi-purposes of voice in terms of its use in particular domains and its mobility across geographical and social structures. This view attends to different functional roles of voice and stresses the importance of this notion in accomplishing socio-political goals.

The above arguments one way or the other propose that “part of linguistic inequality in any society – and consequently, part of much social inequality- depends on the inability of speakers to perform certain discourse functions accurately and the ways in which they are performed by people are constantly assessed and evaluated” (Blommaert, 2005: 71). This view emphasises voice dynamism in terms of accessibility and control of discourse. In other words, individuals or yet institutions that have voices, which are means of resources in any communicative event, have control over the voiceless group or individuals. Voice “differences thus play an important role in signalling inequalities as well as in creating and maintaining the subtle boundaries of power, status, role and occupational specialisation that make up the fabric of our social life” (Gumperz, 1982, cited in Blommaert, 2005: 69). Van Dijk (1996: 86) argues that “access may even be analysed in forms of the topics or referents of discourse, that is, who is written or spoken about”.

Van Dijk (2006) argues that the structure of network in terms of voice enables both centralisation and decentralisation of information. Van Dijk's argument implies that as a means of resource, voice is "largely allocated and used within the structuring constraints and there are symbolic forms produced, distributed, and consumed in terms of commodities under conditions of 'capitalist market competition'" (Garnham, 2000: 39). By 'capitalist market competition, Garnham seems to highlight the existing power struggles in terms of voice's accessibility. This is because the central or peripheral position of people inside communication network or their exclusion from these networks will largely determine their position in the society. Thus it is not just having access to information or knowledge that is important but also being in the right position to use it (*ibid.*).

It is a fact that people who do not have access to the communication network, nor the skill to use them or to process and select the information distributed by them, will be powerless (Van Dijk, 2006: 95). Once again this is because, as argued by Bauman and Briggs (2003), voice becomes a key means of creating new forms of exclusion, thereby sustaining inequality, while at the same time enabling people to elicit feelings and justify relations of power.

Given that accesses to institutions like the media (and thereby to voices) are profoundly conditioned by socio-economic power, Zeleza (2009) describes media in two words: 'exploitation' and 'exclusion'. Similarly, Nyamnjoh (2009) states that voices do not have the same potential in every society, nor are accessible to everyone in the same way or to the same extent and because of unequal access to wealth and power, certain communities and individuals are less privileged than others. Nyamnjoh (2009: 63) contends that "where availability is not synonymous with affordability", not every member of the society can use their voices in significant ways since those with greater supremacy in disseminating those ideas usually have the final say.

In the political domain, voice has gradually become a means of exercising power by virtue of the relatively privileged access to the media by politicians and agents of government as a "legitimate right" (Devereux, 2003: 7). According to Mills (1997: 96-97), "there are institutionalised constraints which serve to silence less privileged or powerless groups". This can certainly happen when certain social groups or classes feel they are deprived of certain rights or pushed to the margins of society as some kind of 'misfits' in the network society (Van Dijk, 2006: 96). However,

Mills (*ibid.*: 97) explains that this does not necessarily suggest that the underprivileged group(s) are simply incompetent speakers or ignorant about the subject matter.

In conclusion, Van Dijk argues that “power and dominance may be enacted, confirmed and reproduced by such differential patterns of access to various forms of discourse in different social situations. Thus, having access to the speech act of a command presupposes as well as enacts and confirms the social power of the speaker” (1996: 88). Van Dijk’s hypothesis shows in fact how voice and accessibility are knitted together. In this regard, one can have voice but if such a voice has no discursive space (in terms of production and dissemination) to propagate its ideologies, it is effectively silenced.

2.2.2 Ideologies

Studies examining ideological practices have enjoyed increasing attention in recent times, not only in the field of linguistics but also in other social sciences such as anthropology and politics. In Linguistics, scholars such as Fairclough (1989/ 2001; 1995, etc.), Van Dijk (1998; 1995; 2004; 2006, etc.) and others have contributed extensively to this literature. Ideology is a core concept for this study given that one of the fundamental goal of the research is to uncover the ideological practices of the newspaper, *O Século de Joanesburgo*. This study embraces Van Dijk’s (1995: 139) view on ideologies from a representational standpoint. His approach has a particular goal of exploring a “number of axiomatic propositions” (Van Dijk, 1995: 139) in-group and out-group membership based on a range of myths of superiority, in particular the ideological representation organised from a ‘Self and Others’, ‘Us and Them’ perspective. For him, ‘Self and Us’, is always elevated at the expense of ‘Others and Them’.

The notion ‘ideology’ is elusive. For Hodge and Kress (1993: 6) it has “a double face”, with its definition being dependent on how it is used in different fields of social science. Van Dijk (2006: 728) argues that this term has always been infused with “negative meaning that goes back to Marx-Engels, for whom ideologies were a form of ‘false consciousness’”. According to Van Dijk (*ibid.*), the term did not have this negative meaning when first introduced more than 200 years ago by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy to denote a new discipline that would study ‘ideas’.

2.2.2.1 Ideology: Definitions

As emphasised above, the term ideology tends to “defy precise definition” (Van Dijk, 1998: 1). The concept is characterised differently by different scholars, but the researcher draws on the definitions provided by Fairclough (2003) and Hodge and Kress (1993). Such a choice was primarily motivated by the research questions. On the one hand, Fairclough (2003) defines ideologies as “representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation”. On the other hand, Hodge and Kress (1993: 6) describe ideologies “as a systematic body of ideas, organised from a particular point of view’ which are “the foundations of social representations such as knowledge, prejudices, norms and values of a group” (Putz *et al.*, 2004: xviii).

A critical examination of these definitions may suggest that they share a close affinity. The central idea developing from them is that ideologies are beliefs and practices that create inequalities in any society in terms of power-sharing. Thus ideologies can be used as powerful means by one group, normally the powerful, to dominate the other, the less powerful. Most importantly, the definitions propose that in fact ideologies are the basis of stereotyping, creating divides of all kinds in society. As van Dijk (2006: 117) contends, “sometimes ideologies become shared so widely that they seem to have become part of the generally accepted attitudes of an entire community, as obvious beliefs or opinion, or common sense”. Thus according to him, ideologies are grounded on ‘falsity’ or stereotyping rather than on reality, which over time, become institutionalised and accepted as reality.

However, the three key aspects of term ideology for Putz *et al.*, (2004: xviii) are as follows:

- ideologies are not innate, but learned;
- they may be exhibited in many social practices, as is the case in sexist or racist violence; and
- such ideological social practices do not appear in isolation, but are often commented upon, legitimised, defended or discussed in (dominant) discourses.

To explain the above points, one can safely say that the scholars infer, firstly, that no individual or group is born with an ideological blueprint. Instead, these ideologies are learnt and nurtured in the society in which one lives. Secondly, these ideologies are revealed in people’s actual behaviour.

Thirdly, such ideologies are often made to sound real rather than false once they are institutionalised by the media, governments, etc.

In the Portuguese colonial empire, the above three characteristics of ideology could be seen underpinning particular policies. For example, the policy on *assimilados* was rationalised by dominant discourses on (Christian) religion (black people are iniquitous unbelievers who urgently need to be saved), race (their blackness is inferior to our whiteness), civility (their behaviour is typically like mischievous animals that need to be domesticated) and socio-economic positioning (they can be improved by education but can never be brought up to the status of their white counterparts). These ideological discourses were reinforced through stereotypical representation and other asymmetrical discourses making the subjugation of black people the predictable consequences of “a nationalist myth of superiority” (Ani, 1994:257) of white men.

Measures were also taken that African natives were obliged to work and to be inoculated with Portuguese cultural values if possible [...] with the excuse that “the infantile capacities of the Negro made the task of civilization a slow one” (Duffy, 1963: 125). Such ideological thinking was clearly devised to embellish the Portuguese self-image and leave the Africans vulnerable to exploitation. Natives who happened to escape the labour law needed to comply with the ideologies of a civilised African (as explained in Chapter 1) - the person “who could be a fully-fledged Portuguese citizen, as one who could speak Portuguese, had divested himself of his tribal customs, and was regularly and gainfully employed” (Duffy, 1963: 126). In either case, black people were inevitably the losers – of their cultural values, dignity, and identity, to mention but a few. This example is a true reflection of the fact that the ideologies held by the Portuguese could “provide both direct and indirect support for the civilising mission” (Goldsworthy, 2010: 147) of the powerful.

2.2.2.2 Ideologies of Language

The close link between language and ideology cannot be overstated. As argued by Fairclough (1998/2001: 73), “ideological struggle pre-eminently takes place in language”. This assumption highlights the importance of language in bringing to light the various beliefs about how the world operates, and the findings of this study will show how the ideological foundations of the newspaper being studied found expression in language.

Rumsey (1990) and Schieffelin *et al.* (1998) describe language ideologies as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world”, including “cultural assumptions about language, the nature and purpose of communication and as [...] a mediating link between social forms, and forms of talk respectively”. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) define language ideologies as “[...] an ingrained, unquestioned belief about the way the world is, the way it has to be with respect to language”. Their definition elicits multiple interpretations. Firstly, it means that “society operates on the language users” (Blommaert, 2005: 35) in terms of how relatively they conceptualise, perceive or even judge their surroundings. Secondly, it shows how language is contextualised in the physical and social environment in relation to socio-economic and political circumstances. Dyers and Abongdia (2010: 123) are of the opinion that “language ideologies are constructed in the interest of specific social or cultural groups”. Their argument is a true reflection on how ideologies as practices benefit the powerful to the detriment of the less powerful, and language ideologies, in particular, become powerful tools of domination and oppression.

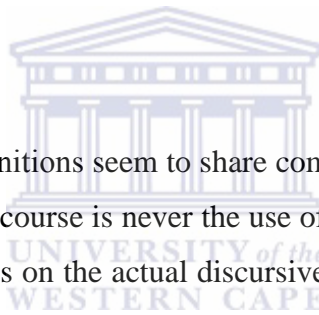
Fairclough (1995: 71) points out that a “number of accounts place ideology in some form of system of potential underlying language practice – be it a ‘code’, ‘structure’, ‘system’ or ‘formation’”. Here the scholar stresses the point raised earlier, on how ideologies manifest themselves through language choice and other linguistic style, particularly at the semantic level. This of course explains Fairclough’s (1995: *ibid.*) assumption that ideology invests language at various levels, leading him to conclude that “language is the material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology”. This thesis demonstrates how languages, both verbal and visual, resort to discriminatory ideologies related to race, behaviour and other discriminative measures in attempts to endorse the Portuguese regime’s political *status quo*.

2.2.3 Discourse

Just like ideology, discourse is also an important concept for this study. As a matter of fact, the broader goal of this research is to analyse the newspaper’s discourse from which the researcher hopes to see which ideological practices will inform how Mozambicans were in fact represented and what sort of ideologies were disseminated. Discourse, as noted in the previous discussion, is closely linked to ideologies because it is through discourse that one can examine the ideological practices. As Mills (1997: 11) remarks, “ideological struggle is the essence of discourse”. This

thesis draws especially on Van Dijk's (1987) definition of discourse in terms of 'power struggle', Schiffrin's (2006) definition of discourse in context and Blommaert's (2005) exploration of the notion of discourse in terms of its dynamics.

The term 'discourse' has not only become common in different fields of social science, but has also become more difficult to define. Schiffrin (2006: 170) defines discourse as, "the use of language above and beyond the sentence: how people use language in texts and contexts". On the other hand, Blommaert (2005: 2) briefly defines discourse as simply "language in action". For Mills (1997: 11) however, "a discourse is not a disembodied collection of statements, but groupings of utterances or sentences, statements which are enacted within a social context". Lastly, and of particular relevance to this study, discourse "is where ethnic prejudice is strategically, often implicitly or indirectly, formulated and persuasively conveyed among majority group members while at the same time it expresses and communicates the shared justifications for discrimination against minority groups" (Van Dijk, 1987: 81).



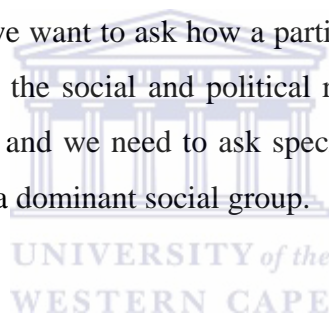
Schiffrin, Blommaert and Mills' definitions seem to share common features. They all emphasise the issue of context. In short, to them discourse is never the use of language away from its context. Van Dijk (1987) however appears to focus on the actual discursive practices in terms of its function, for instance, of spreading ideologies and on the issue of language and power. In addition, Van Dijk implicitly appears to insinuate that discourse as practices involves various aspects of the "processes of text production and text consumption" (Fairclough, 1995: 23). It also suggests that discourse is a complex of communicative purposes (Widdowson, 2010: 164) and as such does not faithfully reflect reality like mirrors (as journalists would have us believe). Instead, they are artifacts of language through which the very reality they purport to reflect is constructed (Riggins, 1997: 2). Overall, discourse is notably seen as an "instrument of power" (Blommaert, 2005: 25).

Thus the term 'discourse' seems to have a broad agenda in dealing with various issues. This is ably captured by Lemke (1995: 12), whose main arguments are summarised as follows:

- Some discourses directly contest existing or dominant social relations, challenging their legitimacy and the discourses that rationalise them, or opposing them materially as well as symbolically;

- Some discourses contribute directly to the maintenance of social relations of power and privilege;
- Other discourses may do so sometimes, but usually just index the existing relations, weakly reinforcing them merely by remaining in general circulation and so readily available for their more directly ideological uses;
- Yet some discourses may be the products of social institutions which embody inequitable social relations but the discourses themselves may be about matters so alien to human social relations that they do not function ideologically in themselves. They may of course be used as tools of power to further projects and agendas of some already dominant group, and they may have been created in part for this reason, but what they say about their subjects may not be specifically shaped by these wider social functions.

Lemke (*ibid.*) warns though that if we want to ask how a particular discourse functions, we need to see how the discourse is situated in the social and political relations of various communities and their interests *vis-à-vis* one another, and we need to ask specifically what it says about its subject that somehow works to the profit of a dominant social group.



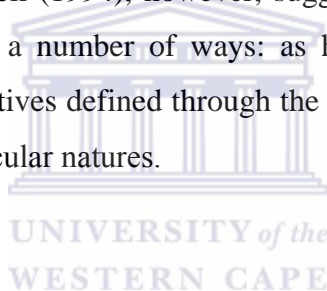
Lemke makes a critical point which to an extent is linked to the issue of context, both social and physical. He argues that discourse production should not be (de)contextualised from society and its forces such as political, economical, cultural, and so forth. This in turn will guide us to an understanding of, in whose favour the discourse is produced - in most cases, to satisfy the political needs of the powerful. This point is corroborated by Van Dijk (1997: 22) who states that, “the powerful will usually tend to emphasise all information that portrays them positively, and de-emphasise the information that does so negatively, and the opposite will be the case for the discourse representation of their opponents, enemies or any other outgroups, depending on the historical and political situation”.

2.2.3.1 Colonial Discourse and the Notion of ‘Otherness’

This thesis is informed by both colonial and postcolonial discourses, with specific reference to the Portuguese regime’s colonial discourse. An understanding of the latter helps to determine whether

or not the newspaper being studied was one of the channels of ideological propagation for the regime, and how it may have served this purpose.

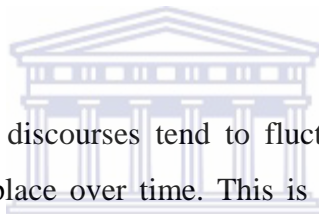
The term ‘colonial discourse’ as subject was brought into currency by Edward Said who saw Foucault’s notion of discourse as valuable for describing that system of knowledge and practices within which the range of practices termed ‘colonial’ come into being (Ashcroft *et al.*, 2000: 41-2). Early colonial discourses distinguished between people regarded as ‘barbarous infidels’ (such as the inhabitants of Russia, Central Asia, and Turkey) and those who were constructed as ‘savage’ such as the inhabitants of the Americas and Africa (Loomba, 1998: 108). This paved the way for the notion of ‘Otherness’. According to Pennycook (1998: 129), “if one of the central aspects of colonial discourse has been to construct the native Other as backward, dirty, primitive, depraved, childlike, feminine, and so forth, the other side of this discourse has been the construction of the colonisers, their language, culture and political structures as advanced, superior, modern, civilised, masculine, mature and so on”. Sowell (1994), however, suggests that modern colonial discourses have represented native peoples in a number of ways: as heathens but potential Christians, as savages to be wished away, as primitives defined through the negation of modernity and as distinct ‘races’ or ‘cultures’ possessing particular natures.



These characterisations introduced by Sowell will be noted in the findings on the newspaper being studied, in which, for example, one race (black) is divided into three distinct groups: *Africanos* (assimilated vs. semi-assimilated, supporters of the Portuguese cause vs. non-supporters); *negros* (imorals and possessing animal instinct in terms of behaviour); and *pretos* (also divided as the first group but showing better moral and more civilised behaviour compared to the other two).

The arguments by Pennycook and Sowell reveal that the use of ‘Otherness’ and ‘Selves’ are not natural resources, but “are rather ideologically construed instruments of power by which relations between the West and its Other, [...] were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space and time” (Fabian, 1983: 144-7). In addition, maintaining and renewing these relations “has always required coarse recognition of the Other as the object of power and/or knowledge; to rationalise and ideologically justify these relations has always needed schemes of allochronic distancing” (Fabian, *ibid.*:149).

It is clear that colonial discourse is mainly characterised by inequality in terms of the representation of the coloniser and colonised, with the coloniser's superiority never being contested. This *status quo* justifies Mills' (1997: 95) argument that in fact "colonial discourse enables the production of knowledge and also maps out powerful positions from which to speak". Mills (*ibid.*) however states that colonial discourse does not simply refer to a body of texts with similar subject matter, but rather to a set of practices and rules which produced those texts and the methodological organisation of the thinking underlying them. In terms of news, this argument produces two fundamental propositions: first, discourses do not faithfully reflect reality like mirrors (as journalists, for instance, would have us believe. Instead, they are artefacts of language through which the very reality they purport to reflect is constructed (Riggins, 1992). Mills' point also implies that discourse production is conditioned by ideologies, i.e., that discourses deliberately spread certain ideologies. In line with this viewpoint, Bhabha (1994: 70) states: "the objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction".



Loomba (1998) notes that colonial discourses tend to fluctuate in tandem with changes in the political situation within the same place over time. This is supported by Mills (1997: 106) who points out that discourses change over time, depending on the economic and social conditions within which they are generated. Here the dependency of discourse production to socio-economic and political situation is stressed to show how in fact discursive means should also be studied in relation to these factors. For Sowell (1994: 3), "colonial discourse has, too frequently, been evoked as global and transhistorical logic of denigration that has remained impervious to active marking or reformulation by the 'Other'. Furthermore, Riggins (1997: 6) contends that 'otherness' "is articulated by both dominant majorities and subordinate minorities". This argument proposes that the construction or representation that creates dividing lines between individuals or groups, *us* and *them* is (bi)-directional and articulated by both groups - the oppressor and the oppressed. This of course confirms the point made by Gilman (1997: 284) that "everyone creates stereotypes". While this is the case, it is also noteworthy to say that only the powerful are able to articulate their voice – the voice of the powerless is silenced.

2.2.3.2 Orientalism and Colonial Discourse

The notion 'Orientalism' was introduced by Edward Said (1978). This theory is closely related to colonial discourse and thus is significant in many ways for this study. The theory in relation to this research, most particularly, provides us with crucial information in understanding western colonial discourse and in turn representation in this newspaper, to a certain extent. Said (1978) states that Orientalism "is never far from the idea of Europe; a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans as against all 'those' non-Europeans" (p.7). He argues that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures.

Said's hypothesis shows how the Western world positioned or re-asserted its superiority, socio-politically, economically and racially - with the intent of exploiting the rest of the world by labelling other races as retarded and thus needing some indispensable civilising order to manage and control their lives. What is noted here is how power is exercised through discourse; how "the colonial system and discourse produces the colonised as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible" (Bhabha, 1994: 71).

The 'Orientalism' theory, according to Ashcroft *et al.* (2000: 41), emerged as a challenge to the system of representation within Western discourses: "Said's orientalism examined the ways in which colonial discourse operated as an instrument of power, which initiated what came to be known as colonial discourse theory, that theory which, in the 1980s, saw colonial discourse as its field of study". As Said wrote:

My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which Europeans culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, socio-logically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (Said, 1978: 3).

Said (1978: 1) further challenges Western notions of the Orient by calling it "the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilisation and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of the deepest and most recurring images of the Other".

Said's Orientalism theory has naturally received a great deal of attention from several scholars. Perhaps one of the greatest criticisms levelled against Said's work on discourse is that he characterised colonial discourse as a homogenous group of texts (Mills, 1997: 106). Nevertheless, apart from this criticism the theory is still contemporary in providing us with some relevant theoretical and historical background of the Western world and its stand in relation to others.

2.2.3.3 The Portuguese Colonial Discourse

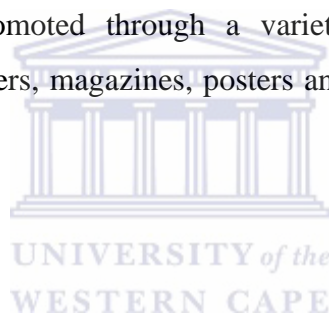
The Portuguese national character is rooted in colonial discourses, which decisively built up self-perceptions that differentiate Portugal from other European nations (Carvalho, 2010: 2). Carvalho argues that three discourses can be pointed to as having developed during the last century of Portugal's colonial rule in Africa, until decolonisation occurred in 1975. The first of these discourses was rooted in ethnocentrism and racism, justifying colonialism as a duty to preserve the 'sacred heritage' of a glorious past. In this theory, according to Carvalho, Africans were seen as people who were innately and immutably inferior, in parallel with "scientific" racial theories of the period. He concludes that it is here where ideas of the 'otherness' of black people were rooted. The second discourse, which he sees as fed by European Enlightenment ideas, also appeared in the 19th century. This discourse saw Africans as underdeveloped beings who could be led to progress by European rule. Carvalho argues that this type of discourse was common to other colonial projects that self-proclaimed their 'civilising mission'. He further explains that though the discourse was paternalistic and ethnocentric, it opened up the way for ideologies of assimilation. The third discourse appeared in the midst of the state's incapacity to perform efficient colonial capitalism. Carvalho contends that it claimed that the nation's mission was a mystic one, as the Portuguese soul had a special 'colonial gift' that allowed for a humanitarian relationship with natives which was unknown to other empires. Furthermore, due to the rising reaction to political humiliation by more powerful empires, this discourse was intended to mark the supposed moral superiority of Portuguese colonialism compared to other allegedly exploitative and materialistic colonisers.

In all the discourses identified by Carvalho, the coloniser is projected as the domesticator of the indigenous people culturally, socially and economically according to the so-called 'correct principles' or standards of living of the colonisers which the colonised lacked. Thus the colonial discourse presents the coloniser as the hope of the native people against their own barbaric ways of living. In addition, native Mozambicans are depicted as physical objects, "here viewed as workforce (labour tools) subordinate to colonial masters [...] and similarly as savages who have to be tamed

by the Portuguese regime” (Carvalho, 2010: 2) by means of education, assimilation, civilisation, conversion and even practical force in order for them to be aligned to the Portuguese lifestyle. I would argue that the third discourse is an attempt by the Portuguese regime to clear its tarnished and inhumane image by introducing the imaginary dream of ‘colour-blind’ colonisation whereby blacks live alongside whites in harmony - “Many races - One Nation: Whites, blacks and mulattoes everyone is Portuguese” (cf. Matos, 2006 in Carvalho, 2010: 4).

The rest of the discourses are mainly built on comparisons between the black and white men which favoured the coloniser. He is vested with all positive representations: educated, Godlike, civilised, etc. in contrast to his black counterpart: uneducated, devil-like, uncivilised, etc.

These examples are what in reality characterised the Portuguese discourses which, according to Matos (2006), were primarily promoted through a variety of officially coordinated media: exhibitions, cinema, radio, newspapers, magazines, posters and postcards, music, theatre, painting, literature and school books.



2.2.3.4 Postcolonial Discourse

Postcolonial studies and discourse theorise their subject matter from political movements, social conditions, literary texts, or concepts (Castle, 2001: xi). Castle (*ibid.*) further notes that postcolonial discourse is a process in which the native intellectual crafts or forges a new discourse, a new literary style, a way of singing or dancing that expresses a native point of view in contest with colonial discourse. Equally, postcolonial discourse emerged “as a literary practice and ideology to question Western epistemology about the postcolonial world”

(<http://evansyah20.hubpages.com/hub/literature-and-postcolonial-discourse.pdf>. Accessed 13/10/2010).

Bhabha (1994) affirms that postcolonial discourse requires forms of dialectical thinking that do not disfavour or sublimate the otherness (alterity) and that constitutes the symbolic domain of psychic and social identifications. He explains that it is because the postcolonial prerogative consisted in reinterpreting and rewriting the forms and effects of an ‘older’ colonial consciousness from the later

experience of the cultural displacement that marks the more recent, post-war histories of the Western metropolis. Both Bhabha (1994) and Castle (1994) articulate that contemporary postcolonial discourse demands rethinking and thus reinvention of the colonial discourse. Castle (*ibid.*) however warns that in spite of postcolonial discourse being an antagonistic mode of national self-fashioning, it does not, in the end, succumb to the seduction of neo-colonialist solutions to native problems.

Mbembe (2001: 3), referring to Africa, states that whether in everyday discourse or in ostensibly scholarly narratives, the continent is the very figure of “the strange”. He argues that the African human experience constantly appears in the discourse of our (postcolonial) times as an experience that can only be understood through negative interpretation, with African attributes generally regarded as being of less value, little importance, and poor quality. For the world, Africa represents that which is “incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished, its history reduced to a series of setbacks of nature in its quest for humankind” (p.1). Furthermore, Mbembe (2001: 1) argues that at another level, postcolonial discourse on Africa is almost deployed in the framework (or on the fringes) of a meta-text about the animal. The life of Africans unfolds under two signs: the sign of the strange, constantly eluding and escaping description, and the sign of the monstrous, associated with absolute brutality, sexual license, and death. However, there is another more positive postcolonial discourse under which the African life is interpreted, which is that of intimacy.

2.2.3.5 Portuguese Postcolonial Discourse

Portuguese postcolonial discourses have not changed much from its colonial discourses although Horta and White (2008: 34) contend that they are now marked by liberalising features, or rather have moved in opposite directions in Portugal over the thirty years. The scholars are referring here to discourses on the so called “ex-Portuguese provinces” (Horta and White, 2008: 42) which according to them were left with the legacy of the Portuguese language and with adherence to various aspects of Portuguese culture.

The Portuguese postcolonial discourse is still narrowly and asymmetrically presented. It is full of praises for the work attained in the colonial mission, describing Portuguese expansion and colonialism as “exceptionally tolerant, in what could be labelled as a form of popular lusotropicalism” (Almeida, 2008: 9). The discourse is never about the brutality (assassination of many indigenous public figures, forced labour, etc.) used to accomplish the so-called civility

mission, and it is never on how they were defeated in many battles during the liberation struggle that lead to decolonisation. Most postcolonial narratives (discourse) are about the Portuguese presence in the world as a “daily reminder, evidence of colonialism, of the colonial conquest” (Goldsworthy, 2010: 147). They are common in TV shows, advertisements, publications, tourism, photographs, and so on. There are hardly any counter-narratives or representations of the African influence or experience in Portugal (Almeida, 2008: 9-10).

It is as if the Lusotropicalist narrative is about spreading Portuguese cultural products around the world but never about the return journey, about the African and other cultural products in Portugal. This explains why one cannot just denounce the colonial in the postcolonial (Almeida, 2008: 9-10). Almeida, here, emphasises the aligned relationship between colonial and postcolonial discourse which in turn furnishes us with a clear picture of the existence of postcolonial discourse. This also suggests that colonial discourse is still alive albeit camouflaged under a new name, ‘postcolonial discourse’.



2.2.4 Representation

Representation is as old as mankind. As argued by Gilman (1997: 284), “everyone creates stereotypes and we cannot function in the world without them simply because they buffer us against our most urgent fears by extending them, making it possible for us to act as though their source were beyond our control”. The notion ‘representation’ is a core concept in this thesis. I use this term in the same way as Downing and Husband (2005) to refer to “constructive and unconstructive portrayal” (p.43) or in other words positive and negative portrayal of individuals and groups.

Apart from describing representation as a ‘constructive and unconstructive portrayal’, Gilman, Downing and Husband argue that the term is also used to “signal the presence or absence of people of colour from media” (Downing and Husband 2005: 43). These scholars further deem that “representation is virtually a synonym for ‘image’ and that this concept is derived metaphorically from the rotary press technology used for printing newspapers” (Downing and Husband, 2005: 43). However, “since representation often requires selection and construction and since choices must be made about what signs are to be selected and welded together to create meaning about the object or idea in question, the resultant text tells the reader something about those representing as well as

those being represented” (Taylor and Willis, 1999: 40). In this respect, representations are not only ideological but also a site of struggle about meaning (Taylor and Willis, *ibid.*).

An examination of these points describing the functionality of ‘representation’ leads one to the conclusion that representations are made possible by ideologies. And such representations can portray an individual or a collective group in a positive or negative light. Thus representations can be powerful instruments of oppression and domination.

2.2.4.1 Representation and Stereotyping

Stereotyping is “a way of thinking that does not acknowledge internal differences within a group, and does not acknowledge exceptions to its general rules or principles of discourse systems” (Scollon *et al.*, 2012: 272). In this regard, stereotyping turns out to be “a matter of conceptually separating people or lumping them together based on limited or superficial differences between the discourse system they participate in” (*ibid.*: 272).

To explain how these representations by means of stereotyping are created, Gilman (1997: 284) says that because there is “no real line between the ‘self’ and the ‘object’, which becomes the Other, an imaginary line must be drawn”. This argument implies that stereotyping is based on ‘false beliefs’ rather than on truth. This may suggest that this kind of representation is flexible, subject to change, and may even cease once the need to represent an individual or group are no longer there. This normally occurs with some media institutions, changing their *status quo* of representation according to political paradigms and power shifts. Representations in this form are marked as those who do or not belong, those who are thought of as insiders or outsiders. The deciding factor in the question of who belongs and who does not is power: those who are powerful are insiders; those who lack social power are outsiders (Taylor and Willis, 1999: 42).

2.2.4.2 Stereotyping in Sport

Representation in sport has an intriguing history. To provide a general overview on what led to stereotyping in sport, Hoberman (1992: 135) provides a brief background. He argues that a study conducted by the European ‘ethnology’ of the nineteenth century which was primarily conducted to

establish the superiority of black athletes over their European counterparts led to judgments about racial differences.

Hoberman (1992: *ibid.*) explains that “the knowledge obtained from the study became an adjunct of administrative power, a politically strategic science of human habits and traits”. In short the findings were not only used in sport in which black and other non-European races demonstrated their physical superiority over whites but also to describe whites as being invested with moral and intellectual superiority. Viewed in this light, the covert aim of the research was to denigrate and oppress the black races and show white supremacy through stereotypical representations.

Perhaps the positive representation of Mozambican athletes as can be seen in Chapter 6 can be explained by Hoberman’s (1992: 20) view on the role of sport’s influence on politics: “sport is a latently political issue in any society, since the cultural themes which inhere in a sport culture are potentially ideological in a political sense”. In addition, Hoberman (1992: 1) states that “on this level, sport functions as an undifferentiated vehicle of self-assertion by the state and that the specific form it takes as a culture is inconsequential; that it should serve the greater glory of the state – any state – is the sole criterion for its appropriation and use”. He concludes by emphasising that sport reinforces the sense or sentimentalism of patriotism, heroism, nationalism or internationalism.

2.2.5 Resemiotisation

The notion of ‘resemiotisation’ evolved from social semiotics which is a field that deals with sign systems in all their complexity. The multi-semiotic nature that characterises this thesis requires an understanding of this concept for a novel consideration of the various discursive modes, in meaning making. After all, “resemiotisation manifest itself discursively” (Iedema, 2010: 145). This study embraces Iedema’s (2010) view on resemiotisation in which the scholar describes this notion, in terms of focus, as “practices enabling semiotic phenomena to shift from one practice context to another”. If we study the nature of this research in terms of its data, we can think how for instance linguistic, visual material and other semiotic materialisations are modified before and after being edited.

Iedema asserts that resemiotisation is about “how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next” (2003: 41). In addition, Iedema (2003) argues that resemiotisation focuses on “the examination of the unfolding and rearticulation of meaning across modes and modalities”. These two points are similar to some extent. In terms of mode, the focus is on its role in modifying meaning. With modalities, both words ‘unfolding’ and ‘rearticulation’ seem to be well positioned. It suggests that a mode goes through a trajectory stage thus shifting its meaning slightly or greatly. Overall, the main lesson that can be drawn here is that resemiotisation’s main business, in a social context, given that modes are realised in context, is to explore how meanings translate themselves as they are modified or shifted. This argument once again shed further light on how in fact resemiotisation “shows how practices capitalise on making meanings oblique across semiotic modes” (Prior and Hengst, 2010: 142) on the one hand and provides analytical means for tracing how semiotics are translated from one into the other as social processes unfold (Iedema, 2007: 29), on the other.

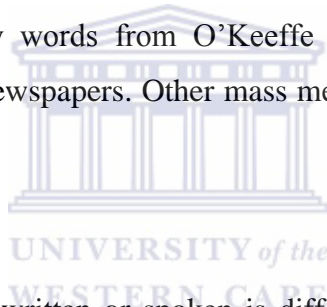
O’Halloran (2011) explains that resemiotisation takes place within the unfolding multimodal discourse itself (as the discourse shifts between different resources) and across different contexts as social practices. She further contends that from a grammatical point of view, this concept necessarily involves a reconstrual of meaning as semiotic choices change over place and time. She goes on to say that in many cases, resemiotisation involves introducing new semiotic resources, and may result in metaphorical expansions of meaning as functional elements in one semiotic resource are realised using another semiotic resource.

When it comes to describing resemiotisation, the scholars discussed so far appear to agree on its dynamism in terms of changing its trajectory “to a new level of semiotic organisation” (Iedema, 2010: 143). Earlier, the researcher provided an example to explain this point in the context of newspapers in which the journalist has in his/her disposition all power to alter semiotic materials available such as wordings, shedding some lighter or darker colour or normalising it, and so forth. The focus on the shift which has been the subject of resemiotisation is due to the fact that “shifts remove original meaning from here-and-now specifics into a domain where knowledge of such specifics is either assumed or strategically backgrounded” (Iedema, 2010: 143).

2.2.6 Media Discourse

For decades, society has been pervaded by media language and within the media industry news is the primary language genre (cf. Bell, 1991: 1). This is because, according to Zeleza (2009: 19), the media is a communicative space for public discourse and the discursive public. Zeleza (*ibid.*) further states that “if communication is the lifeblood of human interaction, the media discourse constitutes the veins through which it flows”. Zeleza here stresses the prominent role of the media as news producer. The scholar also expresses her view on how humans depend on news as means of information, as well as the power of media discourse in reaching large audiences (in terms of space and time).

Media discourse in its broadest sense “can refer to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper” (O’Keeffe, 2006: 1) and it includes news report, movies, TV-programs, and advertising. It is important to emphasise at this point that this thesis is concerned, to borrow words from O’Keeffe (*ibid.*), with media discourse in its narrowest sense, in this case, with newspapers. Other mass means of news production are excluded from the study.



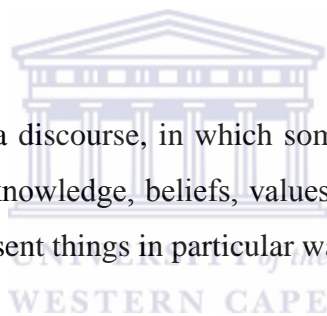
It is a fact that any discourse be it written or spoken is different from a media discourse. When drawing boundaries, issues of ‘original’ text, direct from a speaker or writer, are weighed against the reported discourse (by journalist or any other editorial authority) as in the case of the newspaper in this study. In most cases, there is also “explicit demarcation between the ‘voice’ of the reporter or the newspaper and the ‘voice’ of the person whose discourse is being represented” (Faircough, 1995: 55-6) and so forth. These factors and various others make this discourse distinct from others.

Since these sorts of discourses are disseminated by social mass media, most of the times institutionalised by powerful individuals or groups, they are subjects of scrutiny. In this regard, Devereux (2003: 99) explains “the ruling classes in capitalist society not only control the means of material production but they also control the production of ideas”. To reinforce these two points, Fowler (1987: 68) articulates that the “media occupy a powerful position in a social and economic system and it has a privileged position in that their overt job is to issue public discourse about society and about the world”. He goes on to argue that discourse is both the product and instrument of the ruling classes, and through discourse they maintain their place in the economic system which

they thereby help to maintain (Fowler, 1987: 68). He demonstrates exactly how this is achieved: “newspapers bathe the public in language and in doing so they permeate us with ideology. One of the functions of this process is to actually construct or constitute, reconstruct or reproduce such abstract categories as power, authority, discrimination, subordination” (Fowler, 1987: *ibid.*).

Linking this point to this study is apparent, judging by how black Mozambicans were represented compared to others races and as the findings show, the fact that they lacked both economical and political powers resulted in inequalities in the distribution of voice in the newspaper in question. And since the information disseminators are remarkable by their characteristics of informing a mass group, control of such institutions are essential in the maintenance of power. It is true then that like other types of discourse, media “discourses are also important agents of socialisation in that they reproduce dominant (and other) social norms, beliefs, ideologies and values” (Devereux, 2003: 10) and they are also subject to exploitation or liberation, inclusion or exclusion, etc.

It must be clear therefore that media discourse, in which some voices are far more powerful than others “has the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations and identities and a signifying power, the power to represent things in particular ways” (Fairclough, 1995: 3).



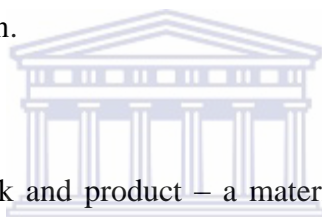
2.2.7 Space

The term ‘space’, according to Lefebvre (1984: 1), had a strictly geometrical meaning in the past, evoking the idea of an empty area - “generally accompanied by some such epithet as ‘Euclidean’, isotropic’, or ‘infinite’, hence the general feeling was that the concept of space was ultimately a mathematical one”. This concept however has been developed to capture various fields of study including the field of linguistics.

In Lefebvre’s view (1984: 83), a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products). While this description might capture the essence of this concept, it is not specific on what these ‘things’ and ‘products’ are, whether they are tangible or abstract and how these relationships are defined, for instance, in terms of power (hierarchy), distance, rank of imposition and so forth. Bourdieu (1991: 238) on the other hand describes space as “a field of forces”: in other words, as “a set of objective power relations imposed on all those who enter this

field, relations which are not reducible to the intentions of individual agents or even to direct interactions between agents”. Bourdieu’s view on space is not far from Lefebvre’s description since both tend to highlight the issue of relationships. However, Bourdieu explicitly depicts the power struggle within space and which in turn creates social structures in terms of distinctions such as “orders, grades and all other symbolic hierarchies” (Bourdieu, 1991: 238).

In this study, the researcher discusses space both in physical (place) and social (social life) terms, with particular focus on how both influence the representation of indigenous Mozambicans. Both spaces can be seen as major contributors to negative representation of this group. Physically, the space of Mozambique is essentially a conquered and colonised space, while socially, indigenous Mozambicans are characterised as having low social status, lack of education and economic opportunities for growth and so forth. Mozambicans moving to Portugal (the colonising power) seem to rise in terms of their social space, as will be seen in Chapter 6 with its positive representations of particular stars in the sporting domain.



Social space *per se* is at once “work and product – a materialisation of social being” (Lefebvre, 1984: 101-102) thus to speak of a social space means that one cannot group together just anyone with anyone else while ignoring the fundamental differences between them, particularly economic and cultural differences. But, according to Bourdieu (1991: 233), this never completely excludes a possible organisation of agents in accordance with other principles of division – ethnic, national, etc. – though it should be remembered that these groups are themselves fit into a particular hierarchy in the social space. In the Portuguese colonial era, people were organised in accordance with their races in the society: *branco* [white], *mulato* [coloured] and *preto/negro* [black /negro] – a ranking that indicates that white is the worthiest skin colour and the black the least, irrespective of their position in the society.

In this respect, it is safe to say that “the position of a given agent in the social and *physical* spaces can be defined by the position he/she occupies in the different fields, that is, the distribution of the powers that are active in each of them. These are, principally, economic capital (in its different kinds), cultural capital and social capital, as well as symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc., which is the form assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1991: 231).

Bourdieu's view once again stresses how space relates to the socio-economic and geopolitical powers. These powers exert great influence on how an individual or group is perceived or treated in a society. Those who are privileged also turn out to be the criterion from which the less privileged is evaluated. Thus "the active properties that are chosen as principles of construction of the social space are the different kinds of power or capital [...] and the differences that 'spontaneously' emerge within it, tend to function symbolically as a space of life-styles or as a set of *Stände*, of groups characterised by different life-styles" (Bourdieu, 1991: 230/237).

Lefebvre (1984) also stresses that when talking about space, the concept of production should be emphasised such as who produces, what is produced, why and for whom. To elaborate on Lefebvre's hypothesis, Bourdieu (1991: 234) contends that "agents'(individuals, groups, institutions, etc.) are representation of the social world and, more precisely, of the contribution they make to the construction of the vision of this world, and thereby to the very construction of this world that they continually perform in order to impose their own vision of the world or the vision of their own position in this world, that is, their social identity" (Bourdieu, 1991: 234).

The point Bourdieu is making is that the privileged always control the means of production for their own advantage. This has the ultimatum goal of inculcating their own ideologies onto the consumers of their products. This view is corroborated by Lefebvre (1984: 72) who argues that, in this regard, "the concept of production can scarcely be separated out from the ideology of productivism, from a crude and brutal economism whose aim is to annex it for its own purposes".

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter commenced with the theoretical and analytical framework for this study. The overall theoretical framework is media discourse and power, while the analytical framework comprises CL, CDA and MDA. The significance of CL in the field of sociolinguistics was first explored. It was made clear that CL's strength in research rests upon its findings that (unlike other methodologies) has much greater generalisability, including quantification and validity, using thousands of words. The chapter presented the two foremost approaches of CL, corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches, and the features that characterise and enhance their utility. It was made clear that this study used corpus-driven approaches.

Thereafter, the chapter moved on to discuss CDA, the prime task of which is to uncover the underlying discursive ideologies which are responsible for sustaining institutionalised dominance in societies. This was followed by a discussion of MDA, whose main agenda is to explore the messages encoded in the visual mode given that in most cases both verbal and visual discourses are used by the media institutions as channels for their ideologies. To repeat Iedema's (2007) view stressed earlier, multimodality provides the means to describe a practice or representation in all its semiotic complexity and richness.

In the second part of the chapter the conceptual framework was provided, and how the different notions discussed related to one another in terms of media representation. It started with the notion of 'voice', used here in terms of accessibility and control of discourse as well as in terms of the dissemination of ideologies. Thereafter, the chapter explored the notion of ideologies in which various definitions of ideologies were discussed in spite of acknowledging that the notion itself is illusive. It was argued that the common thread running through these definitions was that of power and subordination. Ideologies and the propagation of power, as the chapter showed, are revealed through different discourses, another major concept in this study. In this chapter, discourse was discussed extensively. The chapter looked at discourse in the context of colonialism and postcolonialism, otherness, orientalism and Portuguese colonial and postcolonial discourses. This was followed by the notion of representation and stereotyping in general contexts, including in sport. The chapter moved then to examine the notion of 'resemiotisation', the study of how meanings translate themselves as they are modified or shifted. The chapter further explored media discourse and concluded with a discussion on space which was discussed in social and physical terms.

The next chapter presents the methodology used for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the methodologies employed in this study to analyse the discourses of the newspaper articles. I made use of Corpus Linguistic (CL), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodality Discourse Analysis (MDA). In other words, I aimed at a triangulation of the research methods, basing choices, as stressed in the previous chapter, on “the usefulness of specific ‘tools’ for a specific question or specific object of research” (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 8). As pointed out in Chapter 3, CL is the primary analytical methodology, deemed highly appropriate given the large corpora in my data, as it helps to sort out the data into small clusters, for example wordlists, frequency, concordances, collocations, etc. However, most of the analysis was based on CDA, given that “corpus based analysis will not give researchers a list of discourses around the subject; instead, the analysis will point to patterns in language (both frequent and rare) which, on the other hand, must then be interpreted (using CDA) in order to suggest the existence of discourses” (Baker, 2006: 178). Merging CL, CDA and MDA was strategic; it will help to answer the research question in more integrative ways, given the large amount of verbal data in electronic and visual form. To stress the point made in the previous chapter, in the analysis of newspapers, the role of visual language in the production of discourse should not be ignored.

3.1. Corpus Building

At this point, it will be clear that the corpus used in this study falls under the ‘specialised’ category. In addition, since corpus is a principled collection of authentic texts stored electronically, this section commences by stressing three pivotal principles Bennett (2010: 14) deems are essential in corpora creation: (a) corpus must be principled – having a principled corpus is important to narrow investigation or search; (b) it must use authentic text – the language it contains must not be made up for the sole purpose of creating the corpus; (c) and it must have the ability to be stored electronically.

Before explaining these points, attention should also be given to Sinclair (1991: 14) who suggests that there are three normal methods of text input at the present time in terms of corpus creation: adaptation of material already in electronic form; conversion by optical scanning (machine reading) and conversion by keyboarding. While these alternatives would have saved I time, in this context,

the two former cases adaptation of material and conversion by means of scanning were not an option because the material was not available electronically, and secondly the material was not in a good condition for scanning purposes leaving I with the only alternative, re-keyboarding (retyping). On the whole, the corpus should be made up of written (electronic) text.

To address the points raised by Bennett, the corpus of this study consists of hundred systematically selected newspaper articles from political, sport, letter to the reader, social and editorial domains and eleven pictures (accompanying some selected articles) used for visual analysis. The articles were then retyped (turning them into electronic format) to conform to point (c) identified by Bennett. This implies that the corpus was in a print format which was inadequate for the CL software analysis and also that the corpus was newly created, dependent on decisions such as which texts had to be included.

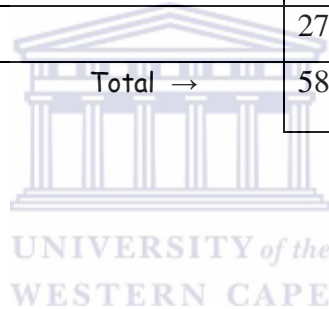
For this study, the data complies with the corpora building principles. It depicts what is being measured and fits in with one of the principal uses of a corpus, which according to Sinclair (1991: 17), is to identify what is central and typical. As previously mentioned, the articles selected by I capture the discourses of various domains in terms of representation in the newspapers genre. I strove to create a balanced corpus from the domains identified above. The corpus was composed of a variety of texts, of which samples were taken. This technique of sampling is in place to ensure that the corpus is not skewed by the presence of a few very large single texts taken from the same source (Baker, 2006: 27). Therefore, it is safe to say that the text under investigation is representative of the type of language (newspapers) in study. This of course, attends to Bennett's concerns (b) and (c) regarding text authenticity and representativeness. The texts used to build this corpus were not randomly chosen but were primarily selected with the research questions in mind.

To return to the issue of creating a corpus, while acknowledging that the entire process of selecting and retyping articles was a demanding exercise, it came with its own advantages. It allowed me to familiarise with the data which is an important exercise in formulating pre-hypotheses. This argument is corroborated by Baker (2006) who states that "the process of finding and selecting texts, obtaining permissions, transferring the data to electronic format, checking and annotating files will result in the researcher gaining a much better feel for the data and its idiosyncrasies" (p.25). Baker (*ibid.*) further argues that "this process in turn may also provide the researcher with initial hypotheses as certain patterns are noticed – and such hypotheses could form the basis for the first stages of corpus research" (p.25).

This evidence thus confirms that the long hours spent in search of the right articles and the activity of having to retype them worked in my favour in the long run. I accustomed myself to the data particularly when three different methodologies (CL, CDA and MDA) were being employed. Furthermore, after compliance with Bennett’s earlier argument and now Sinclair’s (1991: 14) that computer-held corpus has to have the material in electronic form, either from print or obtained direct from a text-processing activity which uses computers, the data was then grouped. The clusters were constructed in ‘ten’ separate mini-samples (see table Appendix I for further details), with five samples for each period: Mozambique (colonial) and Mozambique (postcolonial). This is shown below in the corpus statistics captured in Table 3.1:

Country in focus	Period of the newspaper articles (data)	Number of Tokens (words) in thousands
Mozambique	Colonial	30, 934
Mozambique	Postcolonial	27, 136
Total →		58, 070

Table 3.1: Corpus Statistics



3.2. Data Design

The data (articles) from *O Século de Joanesburgo* were collected from the newspaper archives located in Johannesburg and to a lesser extent at the National Library of South Africa based in Cape Town. As has already been explained, a total of hundred articles were selected taking into consideration their specific characteristics in terms of representation in the domains highlighted in Section 3.1. The articles collected cover a period of ten consecutive years ranging from 1970 to 1975 (covering the colonial period) and from 1976 to 1980 (covering the post-independence period).

In both cases, I tried to capture almost the entire period of the liberation struggle and the civil war. My task was made difficult by a number of factors. In its earliest years, the newspaper offered very limited coverage of Mozambique and the other overseas provinces. There was also the issue of newspapers’ duplication on a regular basis. As was already pointed in Chapter 1, the newspaper was

initially published on a monthly basis, and only later on a weekly basis. Lastly, there is a gap between the times this study covers and in which the civil war ended in Mozambique in 1992. This occurred as I wanted to have more balanced data, covering five years from each period.

3.3. Data Processing

The articles were sourced systematically taking into consideration how Mozambicans (indigenous people) were depicted by the newspapers in terms of representation. They were photocopied, grouped and annotated according to the day (in some cases), month and year of publication and thereafter re-typed to create electronic data (corpora). The data was then organised in ten clusters of a year each (1970, 1971...1980) and then in two clusters – the colonial data covering the period 1970 to 1975), and postcolonial data (from 1976 to 1980). Once again see table Appendix I which explains this organisation. Afterwards, the data was cleaned (edited) to match the original and to remove any non-text items. This task is very important in corpora building since any non-text items may interfere with corpora analysis. Lastly the data (separated into ten subcorpora files) was imported into AntConc software to look for wordlist, collocates of words, etc. AntConc is a computer concordance based text analysis developed by Laurence Anthony. AntConc started out as a relatively simple concordance program, but has slowly been progressing to become a rather useful text analysis tool using a computer. The program is free and can be downloaded from the Laurence Anthony Laboratory web site.

Going back to the issue of data cleaning, while all efforts were put in place to create completely clean data, during processing trials (using software tools) a few meaningless cases of single letters were still seen in the corpus which were deleted thereafter. While the consequences of this phenomenon have few repercussions for both findings and results, it slowed down the flow of data processing at some point.

3.3.1 Wordlists and Frequency

A wordlist contains all the words in the corpora. Baker (2006: 51) characterises it as “a list of all of words in a corpus along with their frequencies and percentage contribution that each word makes towards the corpus”. Frequency on the other hand institutes the times certain words occur in the corpus. If we study Baker’s definition of a wordlist, we note that wordlist can provide us with a clue on exactly how words and perhaps discourse are organised in the corpus. On the other hand, frequency is one of the most central concepts underpinning the analysis of corpora (cf. Baker, 2006: 47) which as noted shows occurrences of words in the corpus. Both wordlist and frequency are

directly linked to one another. Stubbs (2001: 126) advises that “an essential starting point for many quantitative text analyses is a word frequency list”. These of course, provide an overview of words’ statistics.

Wordlists (see Table Appendix II for examples) are usually presented in ascending order, from the most frequently-occurring ones to the least (Sinclair, 1991). They present us more or less with statistical information about what is going on in the corpus overall. It has been almost a tradition including in this study to have functional words on the leading role of the list. These are words that Baker (2010: 100) regrettably acknowledges “do not always reveal much of interest, particularly in terms of discourse”. As we note in Table Appendix II, the preposition ‘*de*’ [of/from] with 2902 frequency occupy the first place in the rank whereas the word ‘*únicos*’ [only], not reflecting in the table, with 1 frequency ranks in the bottom line. In the same Table the first content word which is *Frelimo* emerges in 19th place with 377 frequencies, in the overall corpus. This indicates that the term *Frelimo* is highly significant for this study in terms of discourse. The same can be said about its president, appearing as separate entities in the corpus: *Samora* ranking 82 with 66 occurrences and *Machel* ranking 70 with 72 words frequency, respectively. Here, I can also include the word *portugueses* and its female counterpart *portuguesa* both translated as Portuguese people ranking 57 and 69 and occurring 94 and 74 respectively which are also in prominent places.

Another group of words to consider is that of pronouns which have a tendency to show inclusionary and exclusionary discourse prosodies. These include *nós* [we], *nosso* [our/s) and *eles* [they] ranking in 85th, 101st and 123rd place with 62, 53 and 45 frequencies.

3.3.2. Concordances

Concordance, argues Stubbs (2001: 62), “is not an invention of computational linguistics, they have existed for hundreds of years, and have been used as a way of studying words or phrases in context”. McCarthy and O’ Keeffe (2010: 3) explain that “concordance arose out of a practical need - to provide biblical scholars with an alphabetical arrangement of the words contained in the Bible along with citations of where and in what passages they occurred”. Concordance which is also commonly referred to as ‘keyword in context’ or KWIC, is a list of occurrences of a particular search term in corpus, presented within the context that they occur in (Baker, 2006: 71). Similarly Sinclair (1991: 32) contends that concordance “is a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment”. In its simplest form, it is an index in a sense that each word-form is indexed, and a reference is given to the place of each occurrence in text (Sinclair, 1991:

ibid.). Baker (2006) states that usually a few words are found to the left and right of the search term. Thus far, these perspectives in describing concordance demonstrate that this analytical frame simply explains the importance of words not to be studied out of their contextual co-occurrences.

To obtain the concordance data, the researcher enters the term s/he wants to analyse and immediately the program displays all examples found in the corpus in which the word in context is placed in the middle of each single line. The words, on either side, surrounding the word in context are also shown. Each occurrence is displayed in a separate textual line. 'Frelimo', for example, has 377 concordancing lines. Some of these lines contained one or more clauses. Also of importance is the fact that concordance data can be arranged by words appearing on either side. The researcher simply specifies how the data should be sorted, for example, second word to right and also second word to the left. In this study, I conducted extensive concordancing search for almost all search terms identified. The idea was to look for further trends in which the search terms appeared.

Baker (2006) however, warns that even though concordance analysis is one of the most qualitative forms of analysis associated with corpus linguistics by allowing researchers to sort and view the data in a variety of different ways, it is still the responsibility of the analyst to recognise linguistic patterns and also to explain why they exist. Baker concludes by arguing that a concordance analysis is only as good as its analyst. I certainly found the concordancing analysis valuable in this study especially due to its discursive results – positive, negative and neutral - and further discourse prosodies.

3.3.3 Collocation

In any text, no words co-occur in isolation, but rather they occur as units with a meaning. On this note, Baker (2006: 96) explains that “when a word regularly appears near another word, and the relationship is statically significant in some way, then such occurrences are referred to as collocates”. He adds that the phenomenon of certain words frequently occurring next to or near each other is called ‘collocation’ (*ibid.*). Collocation is therefore a way of understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from small-scale analysis of a single text (Baker, 2006: 96). Baker’s argument exemplifies the tendency of a specific word to co-occur with semantically related others. This point highlights the importance of studying collocates, which according to Bennett (2010: 8), “provide a deeper understanding of the meaning and use of a word than studying a word alone”.

Stubbs (2001) provides a clear illustration to best explain this concept. He explicates that for example the word ‘cushy’ is quite rare and when it occurs, there is a high probability that it will occur in the phrase ‘cushy job’. Oakey (2009: 142) explains that collocation therefore “is more concerned with relationship between words over shorter distances”. This example is informative enough for one to understand that any ‘term’ under investigation (which in this study I treat / call a ‘search term’) has either high or low probability of co-occurrence with either word and it also explains that prediction of co-occurrences of semantic relatedness of words is possible.

Teubert and Čermáková (2007: 140) expand on Baker and Bennett’s view by looking at collocation in two simple ways: firstly, as a list of all words found in the immediate context of the keyword, listed according to their statistical significance as collocates of keyword and secondly, in a lexical relationship and quantitative context as the degree to which the probability of a word Y occurring in text is increased by the presence of another word X. This argument simply means that through a relationship that a specific word has with others that surround it one is able to establish their meanings. Stubbs (1996: 172) corroborates this point by stressing that words occur in “characteristic collocations which show the associations and connotations they have”, and therefore the assumptions which they embody. Overall, these arguments suggest that while it is imperative to acknowledge what collocate analysis is able to achieve, it is also vital for the researcher to understand how to obtain such relevant results to enhance findings. In this respect, the decision on the software or tool to calculate whether or not there is a strong probability of co-occurrences of words is the researcher’s sole responsibility. In this thesis as already explained, I used AntConc Software, which is a “freeware, multiplatform corpus toolkit that has been developed with advice of some of the leading corpus linguists in the world” (Anthony, 2009: 88). This software is Unicode compliant, meaning it can work smoothly with any language in the world (Anthony, 2009: 95), which made sense as I worked with the Portuguese language. AntConc also offers tools for collocate analysis.

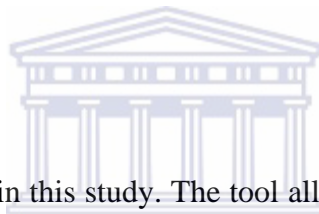
In this research, the Mutual Information score (MI) method is used to examine the relationship between words in terms of semantic tendency of occurrence. MI (Mutual Information) is a statistical test which takes into account the frequency of words in a corpus and their relative number of occurrences both next to and away from each other. This test is calculated by examining all of the places where two potential collocates occur in a text or corpus which indicates strength of the collocation – the higher the number, the stronger the collocation. Any score higher than three is usually deemed to be indicative of a strong collocation (Baker, 2006: 101). This method is highly effective (Mautner, 2009; Baker, 2006) due to its approach in looking more at content rather than

function words (as noted in the Table in which the first 10 most frequent words are functional). As argued by Baker, these are irrelevant in providing valid discourse prosodies.

While in some cases, findings consisted of few collocates, I considered Baker's standard of MI 3.0 to analyse collocates, but in examples with greater findings set the score to MI 5. This attempt is primarily methodological. Not all collocates were worthy of investigation in spite of the having 3 or 4 MI score given that they contributed almost nothing to the research questions. Nevertheless, whenever examples showed relevant patterns of occurrence, I took the findings into consideration.

In this study, the search terms were collocated in a span of 5L (five words to the left) and 5R (five to the right) when calculating their MI strength of co-occurrences. This was arrived at after many trials with 1L-2R, 2L-2R, 3L-3R and lastly 4L-4R spans. 'Span' is the number of word-forms, before and/or after the *word under investigation*, within which collocates are studied Stubbs (2001: 29). These attempts, except the last one (5L and 5R), provided poor results.

3.3.4. Concordance Plot



This is another tool which was used in this study. The tool allows the researcher to get an overview number of hits as per file on a yearly basis as in the case of the samples of this study. 'Concordance plot' tool offers an alternative view of concordance lines. However, here, all the hits for each file are plotted in the form of 'barcode' indicating the position in the file where the hit occurred. It also provides information on the file's length which then can, for example, be compared to other files. This tool affords an easy way to see which files include the target search term, and can also be used to identify where the search term hits cluster together. To generate concordance plots, one has to click on the specific term from the list generated by wordlist which then displays all files, i.e., 1970, 1972, 1973, 1974 and so forth, once again as samples structured in this research. For instance, with regards to the search term 'Frelimo', which has 377 concordance hits, the results show that the file 'Newspaper 1980' has 36 hits; 1979 has 73; 1978 has 53; 1977 has 75; 1976/58 ; 1975/21; 1974/31; 1972/1; 1971/17, and lastly 1972 has 12 hits. An examination of this information becomes clear that from the 377 hits covering both colonial and postcolonial corpus, only 82 cases refer to the colonial period of this study and the remaining 295 deal with postcolonial examples. This tool was useful in providing quick results in comparing representation in both periods which otherwise should have been done manually.

3.4. Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted using the methodologies discussed in the previous sections, namely CL, CDA and MDA. The analysis was carried out by dividing the findings into three different themes. These were the most prominent in the discourse of the newspapers. These themes are: ‘The Generic Representation of the Mozambican People’ which is covered in chapter 4, ‘Stereotyping in representations of Frelimo Members in general’ (Chapter 5) and finally ‘Representation of Mozambicans in Football’ discussed in Chapter 6.

At this stage, it may be valuable to reiterate the point highlighted by Baker (2006: 178) that “a corpus linguistic analysis will not give researchers a list of discourses around a subject. Instead, the analysis will point to patterns in language (both frequent and rare) which must then be interpreted in order to suggest the existence of discourses. Also, the corpus linguistic analysis can only show what is in the corpus. Although it may be a far-reaching analysis, it can never be exhaustive”. I therefore expected to see to what degree the quantitative data established by CL analysis could be substantiated by CDA and how in turn MDA (visual discourse analysis) could reinforce the points already emphasised by the CL and CDA analysis. Yet, I also emphasised that in this context most of the analysis including that of CL was conducted by CDA. The aim, therefore, in using these three methods was to reach to a more reasonable and consistent conclusion in terms of representation, ideologies and authorised voices in the discourses.

Throughout the analysis chapters, I started with CL by processing and examining the overall corpus’ wordlist. And after re-examing the research questions he decided to attend to the search terms (see table Appendix III: A for all search terms used in this thesis). Search terms are those essential and selected words which will help I to answer the research questions. These words were then examined and discussed in relation to their frequency, concordance and collocations in the corpus. Subsequently, though I did not follow a particular order throughout, I proceeded with CDA analysis on the selected articles (and their accompanying pictures where relevant). This was an important task given that it helped to centralise the discussions in their specific ‘themes’ after the corpus analysis had provided a more generalised data analysis. Lastly, the data was discussed using MDA (of selected pictures), in most cases, employing Kress and Van Leeuwen’s theories and techniques, and to a lesser extent, those of Machin.

In some cases, where the actions of individuals or a collective group was concerned, I paid special attention to the issue of actorhood and victimhood in order to better understand the nature of representation (negative or positive), whether Mozambicans played these roles, and to what degree.

3.5 Translation of the Portuguese text

A substantial amount of time was spent in the translation of the Portuguese text into English. The translation work was carried out only after CL analysis was conducted to avoid being trapped in translation of all corpus results, meaning that translation was only provided for the selected texts that were used in the analysis. The translation was first conducted using an online English-Portuguese dictionary and translator ‘Reverso’ and then by me. Thereafter I sent it two sworn Portuguese-English translators to moderate the accuracy of the translation. One is a Portuguese citizen based in Cape Town and the other is a Mozambican citizen. The idea of using these two translators was to reduce, as much as possible, misinterpretations of the original text as well as to avoid any mistakes which would hinder the clarity of the texts, especially when taking into consideration the contextuality of the news production: text producers (mostly Portuguese citizens), the country of reference for the news (Mozambique) and the linguistic aspects, such as dialectal differences.

As translator, I hold a BA in Portuguese and Linguistics from the University of South Africa, which exposed me to various translation activities and processes. I also drew on my experience of translating my own poems and short stories like ‘Kiwela’ (published in the African Compass Anthology of 2005), as well as working as a freelance Portuguese-English translator from 2003-2010. All of this assisted me with translating the articles from the newspaper.

While the texts in general were not too complex for me to translate, some challenges however, were noted. These were:

- a) Most monolingual (Portuguese-Portuguese) and bilingual (English-Portuguese) dictionaries available were in Brazilian Portuguese, which made it difficult sometimes to find certain typical Mozambican words that were used by the journalists.
- b) In some cases, in the headlines as well as in the body texts, words which were not proper nouns were written in upper case, which made me take them for names of the cities like ‘Cidade de Caniço’, which I initially translated as ‘City of Caniço’ when in actual fact the

reference of this was in relation to the kind of building material used to build houses in that specific place.

3.6 Methodological Limitations

One problem worth mentioning is concerned with the sports domain. The search terms in this domain showed lower frequency results compared to all the other themes discussed, except the labour domain. This was by no means caused by a scarcity of articles in this domain; in fact, there were more available articles in this domain than any other. The problem was simply caused by major challenges faced when collecting data. Questions such as how many players I had to select and in turn how many articles as per player I had to include in the corpus were some of the main concerns that were dealt with. Even after deciding to include four players who received most coverage in the newspaper during the periods that covers this study, I still feel that more articles should have been included. That is because some articles were short in size compared to others. The idea was to create a balance in the number of articles per domain. Perhaps one way to remedy this problem was to add more articles or build a separate corpus for the sport domain and to conduct a separate analysis; after all, this domain can be studied separately; but then this would compromise 'representativeness' and 'balance' of the 'specialised corpora' which scholars (Sinclair, 2005; Reppen, 2010; Nelson, 2010) advise avoiding as this could lead to skewed corpora. Further discussions on these methodological challenges are found in Chapter 7. Another problem perhaps can be accounted to the fact that few articles were accompanied with their respective pictures so it was difficult to include more pictures. For instance, in the domain of work, I did not find articles related to the postcolonial period.

Also, the fact that I found it virtually impossible to find studies that merged CL, CDA and MDA limited the scope of this study given that he had to rely on the literature that either merged CL with CDA or CDA with MDA analysis. Also given that the study only covers a five year period after decolonisation; it fails to provide a discursive account of at least ten years of post-independence which perhaps could have given us a different set of findings.

As indicated, this study consisted of 100 articles with a corpus of 58, 070 tokens. Thus the data set could have been larger. Furthermore, the articles should have been equally distributed (with regards to the number of articles collected) in order to achieve more balanced findings. Lastly, it would have been noteworthy to see the methodological approaches used here being combined with

interviews involving journalists and editorial team(s) of the same newspaper. This would not only have broadened the scope of this study, but also would perhaps have provided more insight into representation of Mozambicans in both colonial and postcolonial periods.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the methodologies used for this research study, namely CL, CDA and MDA were discussed. The chapter started with an introductory overview and then presented corpora composition (building). It was shown that the corpus was built by retyping 100 articles selected from various domains. Next, was the corpus design and data processing, which was primarily done (for CL analysis) using the software tool AntConc, which comprises wordlist, frequency, concordance and collocational analytical tools. Thereafter, the chapter proceeded with a discussion on methodological limitations. The following three chapters provide the major findings and analysis under three different themes.



CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and Analysis I: Generic Representations of the Mozambican People

4.0 Introduction

This chapter and the following two deal with data findings and their analyses, with the colonial and postcolonial data being discussed concurrently. Each chapter covers a separate theme. These are ‘Generic Representation of Mozambican People’ (this chapter), ‘Representation of Frelimo Members’ (Chapter 5) and ‘Representation of Mozambicans in Sports’ (Chapter 6). These themes were developed from domains that constitute the corpus, on the one hand, and from an exploration of issues involved in theorising or exemplifying representation on the other.

The analysis of the findings is conducted using CL, CDA and MDA. Notably, MDA is mainly dominated by the Western-oriented work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006). The researcher tried, wherever possible, to interpret the findings from an African perspective. The work of Shi-xu (2007); Banda (1996; 2005); Banda and Oketch (2009); Oketch and Banda (2008) and Bhabha (1994) among others on culture, discourse analysis and representation, caution us against West-centric outlooks and in turn encourage us to explore other orientations. By drawing on these scholars’ critiques, I decided to approach the discourse analysis of this study from a culturally distinctive rather than universalistic perspective.

This chapter starts with an analysis and discussion of the findings and it concludes with a comparison of the quantitative and qualitative data, followed by a summary of the main arguments –contextualised in both proposed periods. It is vital to stress once more that this is *not* a comparative study of both colonial and postcolonial periods. Instead, both periods are looked at simultaneously in order to establish the dynamics or longevity of the existing discourses in the newspapers. Through this, I hope to show that these discourses have not really changed from one period to the next.

The principal aim of this chapter is therefore to provide answers to the three questions that follow:

- How were the indigenous Mozambican people represented in general in both the colonial and postcolonial periods in the newspaper, *O Século de Joanesburgo*?
- What are the ideologies embedded in the discourses of ‘*O Século de Joanesburgo*’ during colonial and postcolonial periods?

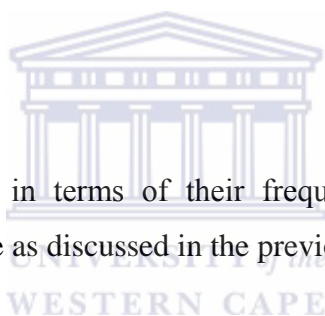
- What role did this newspaper play in the distribution of voice through its columns during these two periods?

In this regard, I agree fully with Pan (2002: 51) who contends that it is “widely accepted that the choice of words in news reports is by no means arbitrary. It is not the journalist’s own creation, but has something to do with his/her society”.

It is also important to repeat the terms searched for in this study (once again see Appendix III: A), based on a systematic selection of themes. These words include:

- *funcionários* [workers]
- *trabalhadores* [workers]
- *operários* [workers]
- *africanos* [Africans]
- *portuguesa(s)* [Portuguese people]
- *negros* [negroes]
- *nós* [we]
- *nossos* [our(s)]
- *eles* [they]
- *pretos* [blacks]

These ‘search terms’ are analysed in terms of their frequency in the corpus, collocates and concordance using AntConc software as discussed in the previous chapter.



4.1 The Generic Representation of the Mozambican People

The following three subthemes are explored in this chapter taking into account the most salient representational aspects of the Mozambican people pertinent in the newspaper:

- Stereotyping in the labour domain;
- Stereotyping in coverage of criminal events; and
- Stereotyping in coverage of social issues.

4.1.1. Stereotyping in the Labour Domain

According to Zamparoni (1999: 150-1), the 1928 Lourenço Marques Census showed that among the local people employed in domestic affairs, Africans (blacks) both men and women, made up 95 percent of the workforce, making it crystal clear that a subordinate character was attributed, in the minds of the employers, to the kind of jobs that were reserved for the racial segment known as

inferior. Their duties were famously known to be shameful and demeaning. Among the professions, the scholar points to jobs which included gardeners, cooks, and general domestic workers (unskilled labour such as washermen and women, etc.). In the same line, Thomaz (2005) states that medium and high positions in the public bureaucracy were reserved for whites, including some professional jobs such as in the railway industry.

Zamparoni's statistics, to a certain extent, seem to be corroborating with this newspaper's discourse in spite of this domain being structured hierarchically into three categories, namely, *funcionários*, *trabalhadores* and *operários*.

It is imperative to point that the analysis in this study is guided by the corpus processes of collocations and concordancing as discussed in the methodology chapter. These processes are used to the search terms also identified in the methodology section. Table 4.1 summarises the frequency and collocates of three search terms:

Search term	Frequency	Collocate as per MI score	Translation
<i>funcionários</i>	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bancários</i> (11.88445) • <i>altos</i> (11.88445) • <i>públicos</i> (11.29949) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bankers</i> • <i>high profile</i> • <i>public</i>
<i>trabalhadores</i>	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>mineiros</i> (9.20638) • <i>Moçambicanos</i> (7.54341) • <i>Portugueses</i> (6.23675) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>miners</i> • <i>Mozambicans</i> • <i>Portuguese people</i>
<i>operários</i>	3	-	-

Table 4.1 Frequency and Collocates for Workers

As can be seen from the table, the lexicons '*funcionário*', '*trabalhadores*' and '*operário(s)*', altogether add up to 34 frequencies respectively in the corpus, in the work domain, thus ranking between 164-171. The word *funcionários* seems to enjoy higher prestige in the hierarchical scale. Interestingly enough, this word's collocates are, from the highest MI score to the lowest, *bankers*, *high profile* and *public*. From the 15 hits of the word *funcionários*, two cases are explicitly and four implicitly related to Portuguese people with regards to the collocate *bankers* (see concordance lines 3, 11 for explicit examples and 2, 8, 9, 10 for implicit, in Appendix IV-A). On the other hand, only two cases are linked to Mozambicans, most particularly Frelimo members who presumably are *assimilados*, in which this search term collocates with *altos* [high profile] (see concordance line 1

and 4, Appendix IV-A). A concordance analysis of both examples points to clear references to elite members of this organisation (Frelimo). The other case has no specific reference.

The other two examples which collocate with *públicos* [public] (see concordance lines 12, 13, Appendix IV-A) are implicit. They fail to provide adequate contextual clues necessary to understand whether they refer to indigenous Mozambicans or Portuguese people (whites) as the latter cultural group was also afforded Mozambican citizenship. These collocates in relation to the search term *funcionário* express a strong discourse or semantic prosody. According to Zethsen (2006: 279), semantic prosody refers to word forms which have a tendency to be (or in some cases which are always) followed by words with certain connotations, basically positive or negative”.

The fact that all three collocates *bancários*, *altos* and *públicos* are contained in category *funcionários* rather than *trabalhadores* or *operários* (both to be discussed next) or vice-versa, reveal a clear hierarchical structure on how jobs were distributed among different cultural groups in Mozambique. In this respect, the interpretation one can draw from the lexicon *funcionários* is straightforward. Its use in this discourse presupposes “employment that requires an educational or vocational/professional qualification” (Roberts, *et al.*, 1992: 12).

While this may be the case, it is still difficult to provide evidence on whether all people referred to as *funcionários* really had these skills or were employed despite this, possibly because of race or *camaradagem* [comradeship] in the postcolonial era.

With regards to the search term *trabalhadores*, which as noted in the table above collocates with *miners*, *Mozambicans* and *Portuguese people*, six cases refer to indigenous Mozambicans with an unambiguous link, in terms of collocates, to the former *mineiros* [miners] and *Moçambicanos* [Mozambicans]. From these, four cases (see concordance lines 3, 8,9,10, Appendix IV-B) is in reference to the former collocate and two cases (see lines 11 and 12 of this same Appendix) is related to the latter. As evident in the table, the collocate *miners* has greater or stronger ‘lexical acceptability’ (cf. Gabrovšek, 2007: 10) with search term, having 9.20638 MI score whereas the collocate *Mozambicans*, shows the second highest MI score of 7.54341. On the other hand, two other cases are related to the collocate *Portugueses* [Portuguese people] as in concordance lines 4 and 14 (see Appendix IV-B). On the whole, these examples implicitly reveal what the jobs entail and in terms of citizenship whether *Moçambicanos* is only used in reference to indigenous people

Portugueses or also encompasses the settlers, given that Portuguese citizenship was automatically conferred on all citizens in Portugal's overseas provinces.

Whatever is the case, the use of this word, *trabalhadores*, in reference to Portuguese people, probably refers to skilled labour given that they are *louvores* [praiseworthy] in the countries where Portuguese people were employed (see concordance line 4 and 14, Appendix IV-B and discussion in section 4.3). The remaining examples once again also have no clear picture of the kinds of jobs, whether skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled and of the nature of citizenship, whether the workers were Portuguese people or indigenous Mozambicans.

Lastly, the word *operário(s)* in all three hits refers to Mozambican labour only. Its use seems to be in relation to unskilled labourer as the following three concordance lines analysis reveal:

- (i) *inha de valorização. Moçambique precisa de muitos operários a todos os níveis. 15 de Fevereiro de 1972 SEM*

[...Mozambique needs lots of labourers at all levels...]

- (ii) *sito, deveria ter industrializado seguidamente os operários da fábrica de queijos sobre a forma de "bem gover*

[... should have thereafter industrialised the workers of the cheese factory as a means of good governance...]

- (iii) *corpo. Como o director do campo soube que eu era operário propôs-me ir trabalhar para a oficina, continuand*

[... Since the director of the concentration camp knew that I had some skills, he suggested that I should go work at workshop...]

The first example (i) is used in shoemaker boy's article (see Figure 4.2, and Appendix VI-A of full article). This statement 'Mozambique needs lots of labourers at all levels' is made in relation to the profession of shoemaking. The statement suggests that these are the kinds of jobs reserved for blacks (see further discussion in the shoemaker boy section). The second example (ii) is also used in reference to Mozambicans. The article in which this statement was extracted from, reports on a group of provincial major's visit to the Chocué factory in Mozambique and it was published in 1976, a year after independence. Their visit was to ascertain whether local Mozambicans were on the right track in terms of workforce (skills to be able to run the factory). If we look critically at the last example (iii) then it becomes clear that the word *operário* seems to be used in distinct ways: as unskilled labour (for the first two examples) and as semi-skilled (for the last example). For the latter example, it seems to be understandable given that it is a direct quote from the actual Mozambican

worker who seemed to have had acquired some skills at workplace (in a workshop industry). This influences the choice of the man in charge, in a concentration camp, to consider him to work in a workshop rather than in farming (a job he carried out before he was transferred to this concentration camp). By arguing that *o director do campo soube que eu era operário* [the director of the concentration camp knew I was operário], he implies that the category *operário* in the work industry was not the lowest rank of classification. It was perhaps the second, third, etc. higher. In short, he implies that there were other levels of jobs below *operário* including the farming job.

Nevertheless, when examining the word *operários* in relation to *funcionários* and *trabalhadores*, though perhaps more evidence is needed to arrive to such a conclusion, discursively this term seems to be used in the newspaper in relation to what Roberts *et al.*, (1992: 12) brand as ‘low –status’ professional jobs, which as suggested, is the type which black Mozambicans in general, were employed to do. These are “either jobs that were semi-automated and routine or *jobs* in the lower levels of service industries” (Roberts *et al.*, 1992:12). In short, they were jobs that required very little or even no skills as shown in the following three Figures: 4.1, 4. 2 and 4.3.

Interestingly, research conducted by Stubbs (1996) using collocates of a large corpus to investigate the use of terms ‘work’ and ‘employ’ points to be related to this domain of study in many ways. He found the use of these terms to be contained principally in three terms: WORK, JOB and LABOUR. The former is the highest accolade which is described to be a “more productive kind such as well paid employment” (Stubbs, 1996: 178). This includes bank workers, government, etc, and it is equivalent to *funcionários* here as the examples demonstrated. JOB on the other hand according to this scholar applies to limited and occasional pieces of work and this is related to *trabalhadores* (as in cases of mining workers). Lastly, the term LABOUR which is “a low mean lucrative” (Stubbs, 1996: 177) is characterised by laborious activities. This is what in the findings of this study satisfies the category of *operários* as we shall see further. While this is the case, some slight differences are verified mainly in terms of the word *trabalhadores* which in the newspaper can loosely also be interpreted to an extent of fitting some description of *funcionários*.

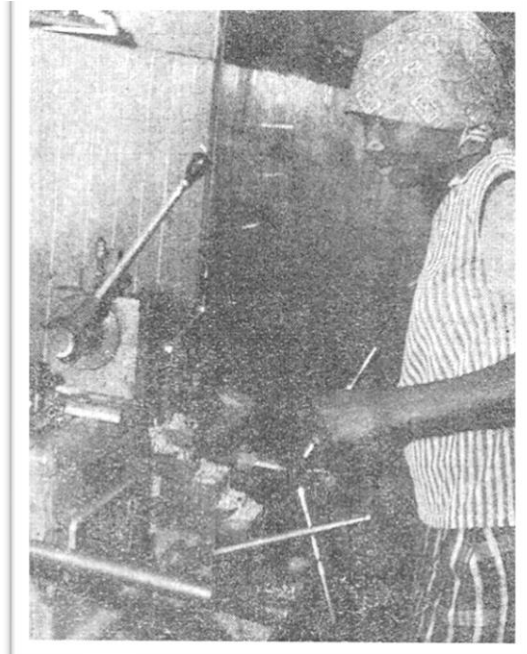


Figure 4.1: Lady Machine Operator (04 August 1970)

In this respect, the various labour categories stressed with regards to indigenous Mozambicans are justified by Ferreira (1974) quoting from Cardinal Cerejeira's 1960 speech. Cerejeira, it must be pointed out, was one of the most respected and authoritative pillars of the Portuguese regime. In his speech, he said:

"We need schools in Africa, but schools in which we show the native the way to the dignity of man and the glory of the Nation that protects him. We want to teach the natives to write, to read and to count, but not make them doctors."

This speech of course goes in line with the practicalities of Article 68 of the Missionary Statute of the Colonial Act of 1930 which states that education for the natives, besides curing them of laziness, should mainly prepare future rural workers and craftsmen to produce what they need to satisfy their own requirements and their social obligations (cf. Ferreira, 1974: 67). It presupposes that Mozambicans should confine themselves to rudimentary work which in turn denies self-opportunity for personal growth. The position of institutionalised social structures such as the church and the constitutional laws governing the colony, explain the existing hierarchies in the labour domain.



Figure 4.2: Shoemaker Boy (16 May 1972)

Up to this point, it should be clear that the corpus analysis points to a more unequal representation of Mozambicans who in most cases, as already emphasised, were assigned work that does not require intellect or skills compared to Portuguese people (primarily whites) who were given different, more superior roles. The descriptions extend to visual communication as well.

In Figures 4.1 and 4.2, for example, we see depictions of a machine operator and a shoemaker's apprentice respectively. We start with the depiction of the boy in 4.2. Starting with his gaze and posture, he is captured seated, smiling broadly and looking downwards, engrossed in his activity. The smile can express solidarity which in this context may suggest a 'demand image', meaning that "the participant or actor demands something from the viewer" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 122) or that "the viewer is asked to enter into a relationship of social affinity with the actor" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 122-3). However, the overall image is an 'offer': the depicted boy's face is turned away from the viewers thus creating a "visual form of indirect address" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:117). This contradicts the smile. On the other hand, the image can also be interpreted as evoking self-confidence and interest, obviously, in the activity he is carrying out. Yet the possibility also exists that perhaps he was forced to act for the camera for propaganda reasons, for example. In addition, it is not clear whether the boy's workplace is an open or closed space, since he seems to be sitting in a sunny spot in a very basic working environment. The focus also appears to be very much on his actions as a shoemaker (i.e. on his labour), rather than on the boy himself.

Nevertheless, going back to the issue of ‘offer’ image, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen, a barrier or a sense of disengagement (real or imaginary) is erected between the represented actor and the viewers (when an ‘offer’ image is in question). It can be inferred that in this context, the barrier or disengagement applies to whites or other Mozambicans (readers of the paper) who do not share the socio-cultural values or the lowly employment depicted in this picture. As Machin and Mayr (2012: 103) would argue, “this image serves not to depict a particular boy working, but actually symbolises a generic career of poor black people, suitable only for the most menial of jobs”. Furthermore, to reduce the boy’s image and in turn his labour’s worth, the picture appears to be taken from some ‘social distance’ and slightly at a ‘high angle’. This results, according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s interpretation (1996: 132-146), in the *boy* being shown impersonally, as a stranger with whom we do not need to become acquainted; by making the subject look small, strangeness is inferred and power given to the viewer over the represented little shoemaker.

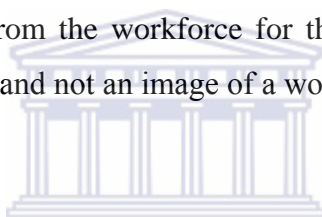
In the same vein, the shot is taken from a slightly oblique angle rather than a full frontal, which suggests that “what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with [...] *or simply* the one who does not belong to our society” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 143-4). This increases a sense of detachment rather than connection between the actor and viewer, on the one hand, and as stressed “makes the subject (the *boy*) look insignificant” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 146), on the other. While the boy may look like a stranger to those who do not share the boy’s identity (in this case, primarily whites), it may invoke a different sentiment (of involvement) in those who share his identity (poor, working class blacks) who may develop “a relationship, perhaps admiration for, and identification with, a national hero” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 122).

Ironically, the boy is a shoemaker but he himself is barefooted. Since the advent of the colonial empire, walking barefoot in some African societies connotes primitivism or being uncivilised. On the whole, these images suggest that poverty is associated with this profession and those who pursue it. As Machin and Mayr (2012) contend, it is important in such cases that images can be used to say things that we cannot say in language. In short the text is almost superfluous, “but the images can be used to foreground this kind of idea” (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 9).

In the accompanying article, the boy is only introduced as *aprendiz de sapateiro* [shoemaker’s apprentice]. Nothing is known about his name, age, place of origin, who introduced him to this

profession, who his parents are, etc. While this can suggest positive representation if interpreted as being treated as a 'private matter', the situation points more to a negative representation. As van Leeuwen (2008: 40) comments, in the press, stories about nameless characters fulfil only passing, functional roles and do not become points of identification for the reader or listener. One can thus assume there is a situation of suppression of information and facts which also result in a reductionist strategy of portraying the boy, like his female counterpart, as an object. The nameless character, knits well with the very basic setting which in turn indexes typical negative attributes associated with this career as an *operário*.

Like the boy, the black woman is also an 'offer' image. She also detaches herself from the viewer by looking slightly downwards, but in contrast with the smiling boy, her facial expression is tired and somewhat passive, her lips curved in the slightest of smiles. The picture suggests dual or even multiple, complex interpretations. Perhaps she is not comfortable in this environment; perhaps she has been forced to be photographed in this working environment (and ordered to smile); or perhaps she is proud to have been picked from the workforce for this photo. This picture leaves one to wonder whether it is a "posed image and not an image of a woman in a naturalistic setting" (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 201).



Furthermore, she is depicted in a very oblique angle, in this case at nearly 90° from the left side, thus cutting out almost half of the image. The move presupposes that she is "shown as an 'other'" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 157). In addition, the focus on the setting here seems to be on the machine, symbolising labour (as with the boy's picture), rather than on her, the labourer. The machine in this depiction seems to be presented as 'given' information, i.e., "it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 187). The woman is presented as something 'new'; something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay special attention (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: *ibid.*). This ends up scaling the issue of disengagement and attachment between the depicted or represented and the viewer as the 'given' becomes "commonsensical and self-evident" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: *ibid.*) and the 'new' in this case provides us with a different explanation (something unknown, mysterious to the viewer).

Nonetheless, caution should be exercised when using Kress and van Leeuwen's framework for 'offer' and 'demand' images, as this framework is primarily designed to interpret images in a 'Western' context. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 3) note: "we have confined our examples to

visual objects from ‘Western’ cultures – elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form”. In interpreting images from an African context, we should refrain from generalisations. For instance in some African cultures, including that of some Mozambican ethnic groups, eye-contact with men or older persons by women and children is generally avoided as a symbol of respect. This respect was probably even stronger when interacting with white men, given that during colonialism they were all treated as the *patrão* [boss], whether or not there was any employer-employee relationship. Thus an ‘offer’ image depicted in an African context does not necessarily imply that the actor does not “want direct contact or that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relationship with him or her” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 123) while in turn a ‘demand’ image may suggest a different explanation.

Notably, the author of the article accompanied by the picture of the woman seems to provide quite a lot of information on this machine operator. Her full name (Georgina Evaristo Macambo), age (24) and place of origin (Lourenço Marques) are provided. Even so, she is not given the same honorific respect rendered to the boss of the firm where training is. He is referred to as *Sócio Gerente* [Manager Partner] and *Sr.* (acronym for ‘Mr’ in the English language). By providing us with her full name, we can say that she is given a semi-honorific treatment and in turn a positive representation of some degree; throughout the article she is referred to simply by her first name.

The use of the name Georgina, on the one hand could signal that intimacy is being established between her and the reader and on the other hand that she is being reduced to a person of little importance in society. The conduct contradicts the semi-honorific treatment which reinforces her detachment or exclusion from Portuguese society, making her the *other*. Yet at the same time, the headline seems to carry ambiguity and even irony. The only thing that suggests that this article is referring to a black woman is perhaps her surname ‘Macambo’ and the picture itself, nothing else. If we remove both elements from the article, we would have thought it refers to a white woman given that the article clearly suggests that ‘the Portuguese woman’ is making inroads in the ‘Mozambican industry’.

The headline accompanying the article is capitalised *A MULHER PORTUGUESA NA INDÚSTRIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE* [THE PORTUGUESE WOMAN IN MOZAMBIKAN INDUSTRY] (see Appendix VI-B for original article). This capitalisation invests the verbal text with high modality: “truth value or credibility” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 164). By providing this information an identity is established which will create an emphasis on her profile, giving the “reader a very realistic impression of the object” (Stockl, 2004: 24) seeing that the intention here is “aimed at the

complete transformation of minds, judgements, values, and actions” (Ellul, 1973: 61) of the local and international community about the Portuguese style of ruling its overseas provinces.

With reference to the headline accompanying the woman’s photograph, we would like to focus now on the feminine and singular adjective *Portuguesa* and its respective plural form *Portuguesas*. Both are translated as [Portuguese (women)]. This term occurs 74 times (for the former) occupying a prominent place 69th in the corpus’ ranking. The latter shows 16 occurrences. Combined they add up to 90 tokens. While not all cases in reference to this word are related to the Portuguese affairs, nothing much can also be said about its link to this Mozambican woman - referred to as Portuguese in the headline. My argument perhaps can be confirmed by looking at collocates of *Portuguesa* that are arranged from the highest MI 9. 58189 to the lowest MI 7.41196, relevant to this interpretation, (see Appendix V: D for other collocates and MI score of each). These include: *mocidade* [youth], *soberania* [sovereignty], *administração* [administration], *comunidade* [community], *bandeira* [flag]. As can be noted, the use of *Portuguesa(s)* seems to occur more in its sense of Portuguese properties, excluding its overseas provinces. A discourse of exclusionary is propagated here, thus establishing evident boundaries (see discussion on personal pronouns *nós* [we] and *nosso* [our]) in respect of citizenship, possessions, etc – coloniser versus colonised. These collocates appear to have a clear and strong collocational relationship with search term given that most of them materialise next to it and in turn influence discourse in respect to *us* (Portuguese people) and *them* (Mozambicans).

From the 90 occurrences of this term, 35 cases are neutral or have no explicit reference to their addressee and 26 are used to refer to Portuguese or Mozambican people, while the remaining cases are decontextualised from this discussion.

Starting with neutral examples, one wonders whether the reference to ‘Portuguese *youth*’, ‘Portuguese *sovereignty*’, ‘Portuguese *community*, etc., (see Appendix IV-D on concordance analysis for the function or use of these collocates) refers solely to Portugal within European parameters or includes its overseas provinces. The context of use in this newspaper could encompass both Mozambique and Portugal’s affairs, most particularly when one acknowledges that the former was a *provincia ultramarina* [an overseas province] meaning that just as all Portuguese people born in either Mozambique or Portugal were considered Portuguese citizens, then Mozambicans born in Mozambique should also bear similar characterisation.

On the other hand, the 26 specific examples showed a clearer cut use. *Tropas Portuguesas* [Portuguese troops] (lines 1, 6, 7, 12) - used in reference to the troops who were about to leave for

Portugal; *províncias Portuguesas* [overseas provinces] (lines 3, 31, 33, 35) - used in reference to the Portuguese colonial territory; *vocação Portuguesa* [Portuguese vocation] (line 3) - also used strictly in reference to Portuguese professionalism / skills (see Appendix IV-D for these examples). These examples, according to Neocosmos (2008), are discourses of exceptionalism which portray Portuguese people (excluding people from its colonies), as more advanced as in:

moral, aos princípios e às leis da administração portuguesa. Talvez que o homem primitivo, vivendo no seio da

[... to the laws and principles of the Portuguese administration. Maybe the primitive man living among...]

This example is linked to ‘Portuguese vocation’. Its focus is to highlight the superiority of the Portuguese people educationally, behaviourally and perhaps technically, etc.

To return to the article on the machine operator, we learn from the adjective, *Portuguesa(s)* that its applicability has nothing to do with Mozambican women as claimed in the headline. Secondly, it is relatively illusive and misleading ideologically since in most cases it sounds inclusive (*us* all, coloniser and colonised) creating a sort of solidarity or sentiment of citizenship and belonging (reflect on the issue of ‘overseas provinces’), when in fact this is not the case. Thirdly, in some examples, the contexts have a strict function hence its use is exclusive to *us* Portuguese people only which, of course, is a clear de-identification with Mozambicans and citizens of other overseas provinces.

Nevertheless, as already pointed out above, the event of having a black woman as a machine operator advocates rarity in this prestigious industry. By taking such a stand, the author is able to create this utopian idea of equal economic opportunity and multicultural and multiracial (MI 8.58, ranking 6, see again Appendix V:D collocates of *Portuguesa* discussed above) therefore inculcating the ideology of egalitarianism in the labour industry at large and in terms of citizenship, even though as pointed out, these professions (particularly the boy’s profession), tend to be highly stigmatised or undervalued in some *lusófonos* societies including Mozambique, if not across Africa. It ranks at the bottom of the social status, particularly the way it is portrayed in the picture.

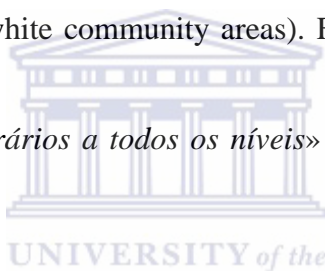
Furthermore, just as they have chosen a photograph of a woman (given the central role of women in society), they also use a boy’s photo here. This could be tied to the strong belief that children are the future of any country thus society should strive to equip them with better education or skills.

This photo thus suggests, particularly in the profession he is exercising, that the boy has been given the best education/skills, which is reinforced in the article by the author:

«O esforço está sendo desenvolvido no sentido de melhorar as escolas de arte e ofícios já existentes e de caminhar abertamente de modo a dar cada distrito de Moçambique pelo menos uma dessas escolas»[All efforts are being put in place in order to improve the existing vocational and arts schools [...] to give each district of Mozambique at least one of these schools].

In analysing this utterance one, can conclude that: (a) the setting in which this boy is photographed is being compared to a normal educational or vocational school and as such (b) the existing schools are in the condition in which this boy is working, though they require urgent attention in order to improve them; (c) this improvement (which the author fails to pinpoint), will result in more schools opening in each Mozambican district. The author uses the phrase ‘*pelo menos* [at least] which implies that they expect to open more schools (two, three, four, hundred? - nobody knows). Interestingly, the districts in which these schools are going to be build are hidden to the knowledge of the public (whether in black or white community areas). Furthermore, the article concludes by articulating that:

Moçambique precisa de muitos operários a todos os níveis» [Mozambique needs labourers of all kinds].



Nevertheless, a more balanced statement would be worded as *Moçambique precisa de muitos trabalhadores* [Mozambique needs many workers] rather than *operários*. The word *operário* has its origin from the Latin word *operari*¹ ‘to work’ and the nouns ‘*operarius* or ‘*operarium*’, which apply to those who work for hire, or as a labourer, a salaried worker. The immediate synonym for the noun *operário* is laborer². The most primary meaning of labourer is ‘a person engaged in work that requires bodily strength rather than skill or training of a kind’. As stated earlier, these are jobs mostly reserved for blacks since they require not so much intellectual knowledge – which, as suggested, only whites are gifted with.

¹ see Online Etymology Dictionary

(www.Etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=operarium&searchmode=none). Accessed on 10/05/13.

² see Dictionary.com (dictionary.Reference.com/browse/labourer?s=t). Accessed on 10/05/13.

On these grounds, the dream to open more schools of this nature is to draw more black Mozambicans to the profession and thus create more black *operários* like this boy. Thus the word *operário* in this context carries a negative prosodic weight. A neutral word, instead of *operário*,

which should create a more balanced or fairer representation of all workers would be *funcionários* or at least *trabalhador*, which as seen, both mean workers/employees or even *profissões/competências* [professions/skills], which encompasses all kinds of skills; hence the choice of word *operário* is no doubt a deliberate attempt.

This example does not limit itself to the boy's interpretation but also to the machine operator and her position in the factory or workshop. This is noted on the emphasis on what she was doing: *A trabalhar numa oficina com torno mecânico* [working in a factory / workshop with a mechanic lathe], *embora...a posição ideal é no Lar* [although...her ideal place of work is at home]. Her competency for this job is being scaled / compared with her domestic skill which does not require any training.

The use of a conjunction *embora* [although] in this context suggests that she is better equipped as a house woman or domestic worker rather than as a machine operator. To demonstrate this point we can word the statement this way: 'although she is a machine operator, she has mediocre abilities'. Being the case she would have rather been of best use at *Lar* [home]. According to the '*Dicionário Universal de Língua Portuguesa*', the word *lar* has its origin from the word Latin *lare*, that has the primary meaning of something that is 'part of the kitchen where the fire is made'. Furthermore, under normal conditions, this lexicon should be written in lower case which is not the case here. With these examples, therefore, the author endeavours to underline the point that her place is not in the factory, but rather at home (dealing with family matters).



Figure 4.3: A Mozambican Herdsman

This picture is complex. In contrast to both pictures discussed previously, this one seems to be a ‘long shot’ (for the depicted herdsman) but a ‘medium shot’ for at least some of the animals he is caring for. The distance could be indicative of the impersonal relationship between the herdsman and the viewer while the closeness of the cattle indicates that there is some social relationship between them and the viewer. In this case, the herding, which embodies or represents the kind of labour attributed to this man, is foregrounded. It is the centre of attention here, not the herdsman himself who has “a much less significant role to play” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 114). In the same vein, while both Figures 4.1 and 4.2 are shot obliquely, this is taken from a frontal angle suggesting different information. Here the herdsman is clearly depicted as one of ‘them’ or the ‘other’. Even if he is photographed frontally and is looking “directly at the viewer [...] he does so from a long distance, which greatly diminishes the impact of his look” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 126). Thus he is depicted as an object of contemplation, not as a subject with which the Portuguese people can have a social relationship. These are all negative portrayals as they express prejudice about this farm worker in terms of his insignificant job and low social status in society. In addition, the distance (long shot) seems to be hiding a lot of information: whether he is smiling or not, whether his eyes are open or closed, etc.

Like the lady machine operator, he is also provided with honorific treatment. He is called by his given first and surname, Feliciano António, and provided with *Moçambicana* [Mozambican] citizenship which indicates positive representation. This positive presentation is extended to the ‘eye-level angle’ from which the picture is shot, and which implies equality or solidarity between the depicted and overall viewers. The photographer took this picture from an angle that captures the animal in the foreground which seems to share common features in terms of colour and shape with the herdsman: white shirt and boots, grey coat and cap and black trousers which are also the colours of the animal.

The text’s caption reads:

Em Moçambique também existem campinos como no Ribatejo. A gravura documenta, um campino da ganadaria moçambicana de Feliciano António [In Mozambique there are also herdsmen just like in the Ribatejo. The picture shows a Mozambican herdsman, Feliciano Antonio, working with the livestock.]

By stating that in both Mozambique and Ribatejo (in Portugal), there are herdsmen, the author makes a clear comparison between both physical spaces in terms of existing herdsmen. But the first clause: ‘In Mozambique there are also herdsmen just like in the Ribatejo’, suggests that Ribatejo had herdsmen before Mozambique. This is implied by the adverb *também* [also] which means ‘in addition’. If this is the case, the researcher supposes the author would have perhaps started the sentence with Ribatejo rather than Mozambique as I suggested: *Ambos em Ribatejo e Moçambique existem campinos* [Both in Ribatejo and Mozambique there are herdsmen] or *Em Ribatejo e Moçambique existem campinos* [In Ribatejo and Mozambique there are herdsmen]. Looking at these possible alternatives of sentence construction leaves one to wonder why the author decides to start the above sentence with Mozambique and not Ribatejo. In this respect, the hierarchical structure of placing the word Mozambique before Ribatejo is an ideological and deliberate attempt to emphasise the kind of people which characterises the country in terms of skills/labour. Besides, in spite of the verbal text making a comparison, as discussed, between both Mozambique and Ribatejo, only a picture that depicts a Mozambican herdsman is shown to corroborate the verbal assertions, hence providing a strong credibility as to the nature of menial jobs of Mozambicans and, even though implicitly stated, the low level of their education. After all “a picture is worth a thousand words” (<http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/677.pdf>. Accessed 13/08/2012). But in contrast, very little information, except the verbal, is provided about the Ribatejo’s herdsmen.

Nevertheless, the absence of any reference to a white cultural group with regards to *operário*, as we witness in the captions of the shoemaker boy, a woman in the factory and herdsman, is ideologically motivated in the researcher's opinion. It may suggest that whites, both young and old, are open to perhaps more dignified careers, with the status of *funcionários*, for example becoming medical doctors, teachers, scientists, politicians and so forth while blacks are confined to the kinds of work as depicted in the photos.

On this note, Dyer (2002: 4) clearly states that the groupings that have not been addressed in 'images' of work, are those with the most access to power and the problem of not addressing them as such is that they function as simply the human norm. In short, what Dyer is trying to say is that when one group is stereotyped at the expense of the other group (which is left out), the latter group (non-represented) becomes the norm or standard from which everything else is compared to.

Overall, in both articles blacks are portrayed as providers of unskilled labour. Ideologically, this shows white moral and intellectual superiority over blacks. In these examples, the discourse implies that the Portuguese (morally superior) decided what kind of jobs are reserved for blacks and under what conditions they should be carried out. By assigning these jobs to black people, the author reinforces the point that black Mozambicans lack knowledge, competence or skills to deal with jobs that required intellectual capabilities. Strategically, as Machin and Mayr (2012) proclaim, the author(s) make use of both linguistics and a visual approach that appear normal or neutral on the surface, but which in fact are ideological and seek to shape the representation of these events and these persons' inferiority compared to their white counterparts and thus dominate them.

4. 1. 2 Stereotyping in Coverage of Criminal Events

Similar to what we witnessed in section 4.1.1, the author(s) appear to be using the same strategies in reporting criminal events. Indigenous Mozambicans are categorised differently compared to their Portuguese counterparts in terms of social behaviour. And like in the preceding section, the classification is also organised hierarchically. Blacks are divided into three groups: *Africano(s)* [Africans], *preto(s)* [blacks] and *negro(s)* [negroes] as we shall see further.

In terms of frequency, as shown in the Appendix III: A table the word *Africanos* and its singular form *Africano* occur 33 times and 19 respectively in the corpus (only 33 result is on the table though). All occurrences combined make up 52 tokens placing this lexicon 102th in the ranking. The *Africano(s)* collocates as from higher to lower MI score are *tranquilos* [calm], *guerrilheiros*

[guerrillas], *detidos* [detained], *brancos* [whites], *soldados* [soldiers], *Portugueses* [Portuguese] (see Appendix V: E for MI score).

The collocates *calm*, *Portuguese* and *soldiers* show a strong indication of use in reference to those Africans who were affiliated to the Portuguese regime's plan(s). In some examples, collocate is implicitly implied.

- (i) *rca de metade dos seus efectivos constituídos por africanos, não fazem a guerra: asseguram a paz. Não dominam*
[About half of its soldiers made up of Africans are not fighting, they are safeguarding peace] (to describe those Africans who affiliated themselves to the Portuguese army to fight against political movements such as Frelimo)
- (ii) *tir. Que protecção terão os portugueses brancos, africanos e asiáticos que fiquem em Moçambique depois do re*
[...What sort of protection will have white Portuguese, Africans and Asians who will be left behind in Mozambique?] (in reference to those Africans and Asians who are loyal to the Portuguese regime)
- (iii) *reito de optar. Poderão estar tranquilos os africanos que se nos confiaram e ao nosso lado combatera*
[...Those Africans who trusted us and fought on our side should not worry; they should be calm/relaxed] (to describe those Africans who were devoted to the Portuguese regime's cause, as a result, they even fought against liberation movements such as Frelimo. This statement is an assurance that nothing will happen to them after soldiers (whites) are gone back home)
- (iv) *vava “ The Times “, era factual: dos quatrocentos africanos que dizia terem sido massacrados, indicava metade*
[...it was a fact that from the four hundred Africans who were massacred, half indicated...] (in reference to those Africans who supported the Portuguese regime and who as a result were killed by other Africans labelled here as *negro*)

The collocate *Portuguese* in the following contexts have a strong tendency to refer to assimilated individuals, though the second example of the collocate is implicit:

- (i) *ebatem pela conquista do mundo. Se os portugueses africanos cultos que estão no estrangeiro compreendessem qu*

[...If those African Portuguese intellectuals who are living abroad could understand that] (This example has reference to a small elite group of highly educated Africans, *assimilados*. It is very interesting to note here that this group was given Portuguese citizenship); and

- (ii) *s tarde Miguel Artur Marupa – um dos mais válidos Africanos do nosso tempo – que “The Times”, Outrora jornal*

[... Miguel Artur Marupa, one of the most renowned Africans of our times] (in reference to Miguel Marupa, a then prominent Frelimo member, educated in the United States, who later joined the Portuguese regime).

The examples discussed so far construct Africans in a positive light; more as one of *us* (Portuguese people). Thus *Africanos* are portrayed as in-group members rather than outsiders or enemies. The explanation for such treatment is a clear-cut one. They are fighting against their own people to protect white interests. They are victim (being killed by one of their own due to their association with whites) example (iv). They are intellectuals therefore who acquired all necessary requisites of *assimilados* laws to become like one of *us* (Portuguese people).

The collocates *guerrillas* and *detained* in relation to Africans offer a negative portrayal of this group mostly as victim and actor as the following example demonstrates:

- (i) *o Sul *Possível troca de 16 guerrilheiros por sul-africanos detidos em LM Dezasseis soldados do grupo terror*

[A possible exchange of 16 guerrilla soldiers by South Africans detained in Lourenço Marques - 16 soldiers of the terror group] (This example is in reference to Frelimo guerrilla soldiers who were detained by South-Africans. So, African (*guerrillas*) are portrayed as victims).

Nevertheless the following example discussing *guerrillas* is positive.

- (ii) *eram início entre os dirigentes dos guerrilheiros Africanos e os membros do novo governo português.*

[Started between the leaders of the guerrilla soldiers and members of the new Portuguese government] (This extract was published in an article in 1974. It refers to the negotiations between liberation movements and members of the New Portuguese government).

The collocate *white* has a strong collocational relation with Africans mostly due to the hierarchical order in which all racial groups in the discourse were organised as noted in the two examples below:

- (i) *as deixarem Moçambique abandonando os **brancos**, os **Africanos** fieis á nossa bandeira e os asiáticos á mercê das*
[...leave Mozambique abandoning whites, and those Africans and Asians who are faithful to our flag at the mercy...]
- (ii) *tir. Que protecção terão os portugueses **brancos**, **Africanos** e asiáticos que fiquem em Moçambique depois do re*
[..What sort of protection will have white Portuguese, Africans and Asians who will be left behind in Mozambique?]

Most of these examples presented above (collocates) describe Africans in a positive light. The same can be said to other examples which do not necessarily reflect on the collocate list but in concordancing analysis (see Appendix IV-E). Discursively these examples are grouped into *selves* and *others*.

On the other hand, the word *preto(s)* [black] occurs 11 times. *Branco(s)* [white] has a stronger collocational relation, having MI 10.91687 and *Portugueses* [Portuguese] with 7.82171 (see Appendix V: F). From these seven cases, both *preto* and *branco*, are juxtaposed in a such a way that whatever positive description is given to whites is automatically reflected on blacks as the following concordance examples demonstrate:

- (i) *construídas fraternamente, pelos **brancos** e pelos **pretos**, fornecendo uns a sua experiência e a sua*
[It was built by whites and blacks, each one providing its own experience and its own...];
- (ii) *né são províncias de Portugal. Os seus habitantes **pretos** ou **branco** são portugueses. As perturbações das*
[..they are Portuguese overseas provinces. Its inhabitants, both black and white, have Portuguese citizenship];
- (iii) *om tanta crueldade, contra os **brancos** e contra os **pretos**. Mas hoje difícil de deixar reconhecer que essa c*
[...a lot of cruelty against whites and against black people but today it is difficult to...], etc.

The collocate *Portuguese* has a strong tendency to describe citizenship. Blacks are awarded Portuguese citizenship; as in blacks and whites are *Portuguese*; all *Portuguese* people – whites, blacks and coloured; *Portuguese* soldiers did not say whether whites or blacks (see concordance lines 6, 4 and 7, in Appendix IV-F). Furthermore, in these examples, *preto(s)* are classified equally as *brancos* in spite of the occurrence of the word *branco*, except in example (ii) in which *preto(s)* leads in the hierarchical ranking, always being the starting point of systematising races: *branco*, *preto*, *mestiços* or *Indianos* [Indians]. Interestingly, in all examples, although some messages seem to be implicit, *pretos* are awarded Portuguese citizenship and, as stressed, other positive attributes rendered to whites.

Lastly, the lexicon *negros*, including its singular form *negro* appear 16 times in the corpus. Its collocates are *brancos* [whites] and *Moçambicanos* [Mozambicans]. Although the hit seem to be meagre compared to the lexicon *Africanos*, for example, the findings carry interesting results. They provide us with more information on how Mozambicans were described in criminal coverage events. The collocate *whites* which is the strongest of *negros* has 9. 21643 MI score (see Appendix V:G). It occurs in the concordance lines (3, 5, 8, 12) whereas *Mozambicans* the second strongest has 7.84297 MI score and it occurs (7 and 11). The use of the former collocate is associated to various discourse prosodies. For instance, example 3 shows whites as victim and blacks as actors (of bad action):

massacre de brancos levado a cabo pelos negros [massacre of whites carried out by negroes]; examples 5 and 8 advocate the message of multiculturalism and multiracialism; whereas example 12 is a positive discourse prosody. It portrays a discourse of sameness. Negroes are described as being capable academically and intellectually as their white counterparts. In these examples, except in 3, the discourse prosody which describes negroes equally as whites forms a small portion of positive representation from the overall negative discourse linked with this term.

The *Mozambicans* (negroes) on the other hand (in respect to example 11) are portrayed as violent and unruly. They are accused of *assaltar as instalações de Montepio de Moçambique* [trying to invade the Montepio of Mozambique property]. This example, of course, also constructs negroes as doers of bad actions making them become the *other* who do not resemble the actual Portuguese people who behave otherwise. The following examples extracted from *negros* and its female counterpart *negra* confirm that *negros* fall under the lowest rank of Mozambicans in terms of behaviour, morality and intellectuality:

- (i) *os acima descritos. Nesse mesmo dia são presos 11 negros porque querem ir procurar trabalho na Rodésia, in*

[...On this same day 11 negroes are imprisoned because they wanted to look for job in Rodesia];

- (ii) *désia, indocumentados, segundo me disseram. estes **negros** deram entrada na cadeia conforme foram **presos**, eu*

[...undocumented as I was told, these negroes got in jail as they were imprisoned];

- (iii) *e os portugueses lhe levaram. É fácil aos chefes **negros**, herdeiros espirituais dos pequenos **tiranos** que n*

[...the Portuguese people took him. It is easy for bosses of negroes, spiritual heirs of small tyrants];

- (iv) *racterizaram-se por uma **selvajaria** das populações **negras**, que deve-se fazer reflectir. Que protecção terão*

[They were characterised by a savagery of the negro populations that....]; and so forth.

From these concordance lines, we learn that *negros* are imprisoned (examples I and II) and are thus, described as victims. And since people are only imprisoned for a reason, such punishment seems to be justified: they wanted go Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to look for jobs; and they were undocumented. In the last two examples, *negros* are described as *tiranos* [tyrants] and *selvajaria* [savages] which portrays a high negative prosodic discourse of *negros* as close to animalistic beings.

In addition, the word *negro* itself is a highly derogatory term with multiple negative connotations such as evil, impurity, sinfulness, to mention but a few. Nevertheless, if we briefly compare the examples of *Africanos*, *pretos* and *negros* we will agree that the former and the second one seem to carry more positive attachments than the latter in spite of all of them to a certain degree not possessing all the necessary requirements to satisfy or to be equated to a normal white Portuguese and hence become ‘one of us’. In short, while *Africano(s)* and *preto(s)* are seen as those who possess some human traits, *negro(s)* are viewed differently, as those who do not even resemble human beings or as those, as pointed above, with an animalistic personality, thus as someone who the Portuguese do not want to be associated with.

To substantiate the points drawn from the corpus data let us turn to the article, “*Chissanojá Quis Demitir-se*” [Chissano wanted to resign]. Like the article, the machine operator lady (see Appendix VI-B and VI-C, respectively) headline has also been printed on a font size which is thrice as large as the rest of the text thus creating an emphasis on the communicative event. But in contrast, this one uses linguistic devices which carry a high negative semantic weight to describe Mozambican people such as: *selvajaria* [savagery], *massacre* [massacre], etc. In this article, the author astutely

proposes that the barbaric actions were carried out not by *Africanos* but rather by *negros* which creates a division within the black race. In this article, the words *Africanos* and *negros* are repeated twice and in both cases they end up literally meaning the same thing, a ‘black’ person. The word *Africanos*, which in both contexts are adjectives, is attributed to a sort of Portuguese citizenship which is positive depiction on the one hand but in turn divides the black race, being referred here as *Africanos*, into two groups: the faithful ones - those who are aligned or supportive of the Portuguese cause and the unfaithful - those who do not support them on the other hand as the following examples demonstrate:

- (i) *Portugueses Africanos* [*African Portuguese*]
- (ii) *Africanos fieis* [faithful Africans] (African people further being credited with positive values).

As already pointed out, strangely enough none of these *Africanos* are Portuguese enough in spite of being regarded as ‘faithful’ to the Portuguese people. The use of the possessive *nossa* [our] establishes unambiguous boundaries of *we* (the Portuguese people) and *them* (those Africans and Asians who support our cause). In this case, the enemies are exclusively the *negros* who are carrying out all the barbaric acts. Conversely, that does not make those who are the faithful ones ‘our friends’ enough to the point of being endowed with absolute Portuguese citizenship.

Most actions are mainly represented by material processes – describing the processes of doing - to highlight the magnitude of the event and draw clear lines between both groups, in this case the victims and the offenders. The actor, described here as the *negro* population from the city of Caniço, is accused of savagely having, ‘*levado a cabo*’ [carried out] an action of slaughtering *brancos* [whites] whose identity has been undisclosed – whether or not they are Portuguese, British or Spanish citizens, we do not know. The nouns *selvajaria*, *massacre* and *brancos* are foregrounded as they are placed before the actors (perpetrators): *negros da cidade de caniço* [negroes from the ‘shanty town’]. By doing so, the perpetrators’ actions further attributed negative features whereas the victims are given positive ones. Here the focus seems to be on the victims’ welfare rather than on the perpetrators. To put it in Machin and Mayr’s (2012: 120) words, “this is all evidence of the way that the identities of the *victims* are foregrounded over and above those of the doer.” The above clause could have been written as: *os negros da cidade de caniço levaram a cabo a selvajaria do massacre de brancos*’ [the black people of the shanty town carried out a savage action of massacring whites] rather than, ‘*a selvajaria do massacre de brancos levado a cabo pelos negros da cidade de Caniço*’ [savagery of whites carried out by negroes of Caniço Town].

The term ‘carried out’ implies that the action was planned. In doing so, the author seeks sympathy from the white community worldwide by exposing how the black race’s behaviour is close to animalistic behaviour which in turn will justify the unequal treatment given to blacks by the Portuguese, compared to other races within societal structures. When we analyse the hierarchical structure in terms of socio-economic and even political status and power: *branco*, *mulato* and *negro* – we see the blacks in most cases dwell on the bottom line while whites are in the forefront socio-economically and politically.

By the same token, in this article, the actors are dehumanised by the lexical choices such as *selvajaria* and *massacre* which insinuate that the action was irrational. As Danesi (2002) puts, this implies that black people tend to behave like animals. What is interesting in this and the other previous two articles are the aggregations used: *centenas* [hundreds] for this article, *outras raparigas* [other girls] for the female machine operator article and *muitos operários* [many workers] for the boy shoemaker article. This leaves one to speculate whether ‘hundreds’, ‘other girls’ and ‘many workers’ is 900, 5000 and 10, respectively, for instance. For this article, neither the number of actors (*negros*) responsible for the barbaric action nor the victims (*brancos*) are disclosed. According to Van Dijk (1991), this kind of statistic can be utilised to give the impression of objective research and scientific credibility, when in fact we are not given specific figures.

In the same way, scanty background information on the socio-political and economic issues that motivated the killing is provided. However, it can be assumed that the killings resulted perhaps as a way of defying further oppression, a cry for freedom. Interestingly, not a single loss (death, injury) about the opponent (black people) is reported here, which is unusual in these kinds of confrontations. The deliberate move of leaving out the casualties (if they were any) from the black side presupposes that whites never attached back. This implies they are non-violent, non-barbaric and that they are educated, civilised people, etc.

Furthermore, to convince the reader, the author provides factual information on the specificity of the setting of the bloodshed event starting with the day, ‘*21 de Outubro* [21st of October] and the place which is Lourenço Marques, more specifically, in Caniço District. The article also points out that:

Se as forças militares portuguesas deixar Moçambique abandonando os brancos, os Africanos fêis á nossa bandeira e os asiáticos á mercê das centenas de ‘cidade do caniço’...”[More whites, Africans and Asians who are faithful to the Portuguese flag/regime might fall prey to hundreds from the city of Caniço if the Portuguese troops decide to leave Mozambique].

In these examples, by providing such concrete information on the setting and the pleading that the troops stay, the author reinforces the point that the Portuguese people are the victim and are defenceless against a powerful and violent indigenous people. As explained, the number ‘hundreds’ is generic and vague in portraying the perpetrators, making it appear as if the entire Caniço district is doing the killings; implying that the *‘populações negras’* [black population] were from various and different black populations (perhaps from a different ethnicity such as Shangaans, Rongas and even Zulus, as long they were blacks and as long as they lived in Caniço where the barbaric acts occurred). Interestingly, whites, Asians and Africans (faithful ones) on the other hand, who are the victims and prospective victims, are represented more like specific types.

Furthermore, the inclusion of Asians and most particularly Africans in these groups of victims creates an emphasis on the nature of the inhumane behaviour and on the irrationality of the *negros*, hence leading the reader to wonder, what kind of people are these that kill their own people? This is an attempt to discredit the black race while investing whites with human attributes. Similarly, this makes the reader feel strong compassion with the latter groups and dissatisfaction or anger against the former. Conversely, the move highlights the cultural ‘otherness’, causing the event to become more of a racial issue than anything else and thus widening the gap between white and black. This contradicts the mythology of ‘color-blind’ (multiculturalism), which was highly advocated in official Portuguese discourse.

One can clearly argue that this is an ideological *modus operandi* to question and undermine the ability of Mozambican people to rule their own country without being under Portuguese tutelage. This argument is corroborated by these two rhetoric sentences, in the interrogative mood:

- (i) *Que protecção terão os Portugueses brancos, africanos e asiáticos que fiquem em Moçambique depois do regresso das nossas tropas?* (ii) *Que pode-se esperar de Frelimo?* [What kind of protection will the whites, Africans and Asians who will be left behind (suggesting after independence) have after our troops have gone back home (to Portugal)? And “what can be expected from Frelimo?]

The author ends the article with a very strong and imperative statement:

- (ii) *[...]...não será a Frelimo que os pode proteger, ainda que queira, o que, alias, não está provado* [It will surely not be Frelimo that will protect these people even if they want to, which as it is, could not be proven].

The denial of the Frelimo (the *other*) as the appropriate movement to lead the country covertly places the Portuguese (*us*) as the only candidate to lead or rule the Mozambican people.

To bring the message across, the author uses alliteration in *protecção* [protection] and *Portugueses* [Portuguese people] in example (i) and *pode* [is able / can], *proteger* [to protect] and *provado* [proven] in example (ii) in conjunction with anaphora in which the interrogative pronoun *que* [what] is used in both examples (i) and (ii). The employment of these rhetoric and grammatical devices emphatically help to build on already existing doubts that the Portuguese people will not be protected, neither those faithful Africans or Asians on the one hand, while on the other establishes a “cohesion of discourse in maintaining meanings” (Peters, 2004: 37), thus making ideas sound plausible when *de facto* it might not be the case.

Apart from these devices, the author also uses the modal verb ‘to be’ in the future tense: ‘terão [(they) ‘will have’] and será [(it) ‘will be’]. These stress the idea that the events are likely to happen. Será is preceded by an adverb of negation *não* [not] which reinforces both *terão* and the interrogative pronoun *que* (what?). The move to a certain degree asserts that the protection of Portuguese people, Asians and some Africans is unlikely to happen. Furthermore, the modal verb *pode-se* and *pode* both translated as [can] are followed by an auxiliary verb *está* [is] (from verb ‘to be’ in the present tense) and the main verb *provado* [proven] in the past participle. This seems to re-emphasise that these people will not be protected. Like its counterpart *será*, the form *está* is also preceded by an adverb of negation *não*, with the same rationale of reinforcing the point that there will be no protection which once again adds more emphasis on the previous ideas. The move makes these views sound more like strong opinions or beliefs rather than commonsensical statements.

Perhaps by suggesting a different wording for these two statements tagged as in example (i) and (ii) we might have a clear idea of what the author(s) wanted to accomplish:

[‘Whites, Africans and Asians will have no protection whatsoever after the troops are gone’ and ‘everything proves that Frelimo will not protect these people, even if they wanted to (but they will never agree to) seeing that their actions have shown otherwise, therefore nothing can be expected from them’].

In conclusion, the thoughtful use of modal verbs and other syntactical and rhetoric devices including negative adverbs, interrogative pronouns, and alliteration, reinforces the possibility or the argument that certainly Mozambican people are incapable of protecting the whites and Asians, but also their own people (Africans) against those *negros* ‘barbarians’, who of course happen to be Mozambicans too.

4. 1. 3 Stereotyping in Coverage of Social Events

With regards to reporting social events, the newspaper used almost a parallel approach in reporting criminal events for example, although the lexicons selected in this context seem to carry a less negative weight. For example, in the article entitled, ‘7 DE SETEMBRO’[7 of September] which reports on how a collective anti-communist group (made up of Portuguese people, indigenous Mozambicans and Asians) stood up against the system, the Portuguese people are praised above the other two groups, even though this was a collective action. The insinuation here is that the Portuguese people are the sole leading actors or the catalyst of this triumph.

As stressed, the most exclusionary discourse was achieved by the choice of the lexicon which in this case was noticeably both explicit and implicit, for example in the use of pronouns such as *eles* [they] and *nós* [we].

The following Table 4.2 presents the corpus data pertaining to the personal pronoun *eles* and *nós* as well as the possessive pronoun *nosso(a)s*:

Search term	Translation	Frequency
<i>eles</i>	they	45
<i>nosso(a)s</i>	our(s)	166
<i>nós</i>	we	62

Table 4.2: Summary of Search Terms

Table 4.2 shows that the pronoun *eles* occurs 45 times. Intriguingly, 37 cases are directly linked to Mozambicans in general including Frelimo and its members, three related to the Portuguese and four unrelated to either the Portuguese or the Mozambican people. From the 37, 21 cases are directly associated with negative discourse prosody. In most cases the discourse is characterised by terms such as *ataque* [attack]; *luta* [struggle]; *sintoma* [symptom]; *corrupção* [corruption]; *prisioneiros* [prisoners]; *condenação* [condemnation]; *cadeias* [jails]; *falso* [false]; *injusto* [unjust] etc., (see concordance data on Appendix IV-J).

However in the following examples, concordance lines 24, 29 and 39 respectively, we provide other descriptions of *eles* rendered to Mozambicans. See Appendix IV-J for full length of these lines:

- (i) *as vocações são entre eles muito mais raras*
[...vocations are very rare among them, meaning the Mozambicans];

- (ii) *perguntei-lhes quem eram eles para me pedirem a identificação*
[...I asked them who were they to ask me for my identification documents];
- (iii) *por eles soubemos “há muitos cubanos na cidade*
[...through them we knew that there were many Cubans in the city].

Drawing from these three examples, it is clear that in example (i) Mozambicans are portrayed as those people who have an inherent setback, vocationally, hence making it difficult for them to attain intellectual abilities whites, under normal circumstances, achieve. In the second case (ii) Mozambicans (more specifically the Frelimo), are depicted as intimidators of their own people and the third (iii) as traitors (seeing that they divulge to the Portuguese authorities certain confidential military secrets). The overall prosodic discourse from these examples appears to be amply associated with negativity.

Likewise they (Mozambicans) were also largely portrayed as perpetrators as the following examples illustrate organised ascendingly by their respective concordance lines 2, 3, 5 and 31. Once again see Appendix IV-J for full length of these lines:

- (iv) *fuzilados...Foram eles Gonçalves Carimo...*
[...among the executed are Gonçalves Carimo...];
- (v) *encontravam nas cadeias da Frelimo. São eles Luis Barroja...*
[..those who were in Frelimo’s jails are Luis Barroja...];
- (vi) *os outros 150 contos ficaram com eles*
[They kept the other 150 thousand];
- (vii) *todos eles presos ou...assassinados pela Frelimo*
[...all of them were jailed or assassinated by Frelimo].

In these examples, Mozambicans, although directly linked to Frelimo, are largely labelled as criminals, see examples (iv), (v) and (vii) (since they kill and jail their own people) and thieves (stole 150 thousand) as in example (vi). These examples discussed so far in respect to *eles* (Mozambicans) provide us with needed information to suggest that the criterion used to identify or describe Mozambicans is that of ‘bad’ prosodies.

In addition, the following examples imply that Mozambicans are inferior opposed to Portuguese who are presented as superior in many ways: technologically, intellectually, morally, etc. as the following concordance lines (see Appendix IV-J for full length) 13, 30, 34 and 23 suggest:

- (i) *há dez anos que eles combatem as forças da subversão*
[for ten years they have been fighting against the subversion forces];

- (ii) *estamos mais avançados do que eles*
[We are more advanced than them];
- (iii) *...dizem eles no tempo dos “colonialistas” havia julgamento*
[They say that during the colonial regime there was justice];
- (iv) *Mas todos eles foram prontamente detectados ...serviços secretos*
[All of them were promptly detected by secret services].

In the above examples, Portuguese people (particularly soldiers) are constructed as heroes who have been fighting bravely for more than ten years against black rebellion, as in example (i); and whose secret service promptly dismantled a criminal organisation that was planning to sabotage the regime’s political status quo, as in example (iv). They are depicted as intellectually superior and advanced in comparison to their Mozambicans counterparts, as in example (ii) seeing that their justice system during colonial era was far better than the current one under the Frelimo leadership, as in example (iii).

These few examples, both for the Mozambicans and the Portuguese people, demonstrate that there is no balance in the representation of both groups which is confirmed in the rest of the article ‘7 de Setembro’ which was introduced above.

Cleverly, the first paragraph concentrates on foregrounding the celebration which is:

...levantamento anti-comunista que ficou conhecido por “7 de Setembro” [...].anti-communist sentiment’ that became well-known as “7 of September”].

Here the date, *7 de Setembro*, is remarkably significant in that in spite of being printed in bold font, it is also placed between inverted commas so as to separate it from the rest of the text, to mark it as noteworthy content. The date which indexes bravery is symbolically linked to the fight conducted by, ‘*alma lusíada em terras Africanas*’ [lusíada souls in the African lands].

The author uses a remarkable word, *lusíada*², to describe the noun *alma* [soul], the spirit being the immaterial part of a person, thus investing Portuguese people with supernatural power or divine grace which is capable of redemption. Undoubtedly, this creates a sense of viewing Portuguese people as the saviour of the African people but having the primary agenda of saving the Mozambican people. This in turn establishes an apparent demarcation of *us* - supernatural heroes, and *them* – ordinary beings. In addition, the author clearly sidelines black Mozambicans from sharing in this great achievement because besides using the expression such as ‘*lusíadas* - souls’ as seen above’ he also uses the possessive pronoun *nossos* [our/s]. By explicitly stating *nossos avós*

[our grandparents] for example, the author implies that it is not ‘their’ grandparents, those of the Mozambicans.

The possessive pronoun *nosso(a)s* [our/ ours], masculine, feminine and and plural, as shown in the Table above, on the whole make up 166 hits hence ranking 32, a noteworthy place in the corpus. Overall, from these frequencies, 116 deal with Portuguese affairs excluding any other cultural group. On this note to provide some examples we only need to examine the collocates left and /or right hand of *nossos*, *nosso* and *nossas* of concordance data to see the strongest immediate links: (i) *nossos amigos* [our friends], (ii) *nossos avós* [our grandparents], (iii) *nossos irmãos* [our brothers], (iv) *compatriotas nossos* [our compatriots], (v) *nossos dias* [our days] (in lines 2, 4, 27/28 and 38 respectively, Appendix IV-I); (vi) *nossas leis and nossos costumes* [our laws and our customs], (vii) *nossas victórias* [our victories] (in lines 16, 4, Appendix IV-I); (viii) *nosso futuro* [our future], (ix) *nosso lado* [our side] (in lines 5, 25, Appendix IV-I).

The first example refers to countries which in the past condemned the Portuguese colonial style but now have turned out to be their ally; the second one has a clear focus on Portuguese people who participated in the *7 de Setembro* event. Both the third and fourth, and both ‘our brothers’ and ‘our compatriots’ refer to the Portuguese people who were left in Mozambique during decolonisation and whose safety was a concern. Furthermore, the fifth case centers on the political colonial landscape of the Portuguese people whereas the sixth categorically deals with institutionalised laws and customs of the Portuguese people.

² The *Lusíadas* refers to the epic poem written by Camões in homeric fashion. The poem has a clear focus on the phenomenal interpretation of the Portuguese voyages of discovery during 15th and 16th centuries. The heroes of the epic are the Lusíadas, the sons of Lusus (Luso), or in other words the Portuguese; See *Dicionário Universal de Língua Portuguesa*.

Similarly the seventh and eighth cases discuss the Portuguese victories including fighting the local liberation movements, and suppressing the international condemnations, their conquests, etc. and its future. Lastly, example nine refers to a miniature number of Africans (those who were fighting against their own people to preserve the Portuguese regime). In these examples, the use of these pronouns is restricted. Focus is mainly on Portuguese issues that do not even include matters related to overseas provinces, except example (ix). These concordancing examples illustrate that these possessive pronouns have “an overwhelmingly ‘good’ prosody” (Louw, 1993: 160).

In contrast, the remaining 50 times that the word appears is an allusion to both Mozambicans and Portuguese people or other Portuguese affairs as the following examples show:

(x) *ja abertura, que haja amizade que existe entre os **nossos povos**. E que essa amizade era sempre bloqueada pe*

[that the existing friendship between our people continue] (in line 36, Appendix IV-I)

(xi) *s nossas famílias, tirar-nos o emprego, mandar os nossos homens para a cadeia e para os campos de concetra*

[...our families, take away our jobs, send our men to jail and to concentration camps] (in line 18, Appendix IV-I)

(xii) *coisa que roubar as nossas casas, envergonhar as nossas famílias, tirar-nos o emprego, mandar os nossos h*

[...steal our homes, bring shame to our families, take away our jobs, send our...] (in line 13, Appendix IV-I)

Example (x) stresses the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser. This extract is from Machel's speech in Lusaka during the discussion of power handover to Frelimo. On the other hand, examples (xi) and (xii) are part of the propaganda from FUMO, a Mozambican liberation movement that was fighting against Frelimo. Although it seems that these examples refer only to black Mozambicans, it is not the case, given that it may also include other cultural groups such as the Portuguese who supported Frelimo or FUMO.

Conversely, the examples below have clear exclusionary identity markers: *our* country, example (xiii) and *our* desire, example (xiv). In both examples, the words *country* and *desire* are in reference to Mozambicans and Frelimo. They do not include even FUMO despite the fact that this organisation is Mozambican. Allegedly the organisation promoted the Portuguese agenda and in turn it was supported by the Portuguese regime.

(xiii) *FRELIMO, combatentes da liberdade, não lutamos no nosso país contra o povo Português, nos lutamos em Moça*

[...freedom fighters, we did not fight in our country against the Portuguese people, we fought...]

(xiv) *Mogadíscio. «Ao pegarmos em armas, afirmámos a nossa vontade de Independência. Quando o povo exprime*

[...when we decided to fight we affirmed our desire for independence. When people express...] –these examples only include indigenous Mozambican people.

The other cases in which this pronoun is used are more neutral or have no reference to either Mozambicans or Portuguese people. It addresses a generic audience of the newspaper as: *nossos jornais* [in our newspapers]; *os nossos leitores* [our readers] (in lines 29, 30/31, Appendix IV-I); *na nossa última edição* [in our last edition] (in line 49, Appendix IV-I); and so forth.

All examples are used in reference to the newspaper in question, its readership and the previous publication.

What we learn from the use of this pronoun is that in spite of it being used to discuss both Mozambican and Portuguese issues, its use in reference to Portuguese affairs was specific and its frequency outnumbers examples used in reference to indigenous Mozambicans, which is more generic and less specific. This to a certain point explains the role assigned to both Mozambican indigenous people and Portuguese people in which the former's contribution is undermined in the report of the event - *7 de Setembro*.

In short, the signifier, the battle won against communists on the *7 de Setembro*, has many positive significances for the Portuguese people: 'bravery', 'heroism' and so forth, but is negative for the Mozambicans 'cowardice', given that the article suggests they are not courageous enough to solve problems in their own country. However, what makes things even worse or shameful for the Mozambican people is that the event was won by the *avós* [grandparents] which undermines not only the black grandparents and the youth, but also the entire population who have not taken part in the event. The event is of such a historical calibre that

...hoje transparece como o único que colocaria Moçambique no caminho de uma sociedade justa e livre, vivendo em progresso[...today it seems to be the only one that puts Mozambique on the map of a free and just society in which people are living in progress].

The use of the adverb of time *hoje* [today] locates the material process of *colocaria* [would put / places] Mozambique among the injustice-free societies in a temporal context. This is reinforced by a high modality adjectival quantifier *único* [sole], which creates a sense of rarity and in turn dismissing the importance of any other similar event, be it conducted by Portuguese or Mozambicans. In addition, the verb *vivendo* [living] from *viver* [to live] in the continuous tense underpins the adverb *hoje* in terms of the contemporaneity, thus placing the event and the Portuguese people historically among the revered ones. And of course, the opposite feeling is created among indigenous Mozambicans.

As I have pointed out earlier, the information showing that indigenous Mozambicans have taken part in this honourable event is kept secret, only to be introduced in the third paragraph as an embedded text:

...que levaram a população de Lourenço Marques – branca, negra, mestiça e asiática – a libertar os presos... [...that compelled the Lourenço Marques population – white, black, coloured and Asian – to free the prisoners...].

To say that if we look at the above example, the positive contribution of the ‘blacks’ is not only “reduced in effect by placing it later in the article” (Van Dijk, 1991: 216), but it also appears on the second hierarchical ranking in terms of importance after the white race, showing that they are not the main protagonists / agents of the event. This insinuates that they were led by their white counterparts and probably without their initiative blacks would have never dared to act on their own. To confirm this, the rest of the article seems to focus on the Portuguese:

(i) *Essa é a vocação Portuguesa* [This is the Portuguese vocation]; and the Portuguese Deputy José Augusto da Gama is directly quoted as saying:

(ii) ... *vamos* [we are going];

(iii) *regressar a África* [to return to Africa];

(iv) *não vamos* [we are not going];

(v)... *não fomos* [we did not];

(vi) *nós...*[we];

(vii) *nós vamos regressar* [we are going to return];

(viii) *porque há cinco séculos que choram e pedem que para lá regressemos* [because for five centuries that they (Mozambicans) cry and ask that we return there];

(ix) *Podem mudar o nome a Lourenço Marques*[they can change the name of Lourenço Marques];

(x) *Podem mudar tudo*[they can change everything];

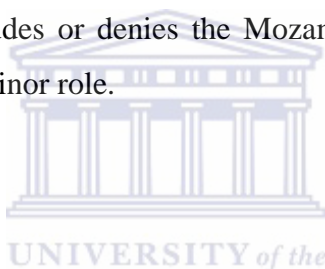
(xi) *Uma coisa que nenhum machado consegue arrancar, que são as raízes que ali deixámos com cinco séculos* [one thing that no axe is able to pull out are the roots that we left there for five centuries].

Starting with the first example (i) ‘this is a Portuguese vocation’ to the last one ‘they can change everything but one thing that no axe is able to pull out are the roots that we left there for five centuries’, the focus is on *we* the Portuguese people and their capabilities as well as their aspirations to return to Mozambique and continue their unfinished civilising mission. In fact, the Mozambicans are represented as desperate by the verb *chorar* [to cry] and *pedir* [to ask for] in *choram* and *pedem*

[they cry and they ask] in the present tense, once again to keep the discourse contemporary in showing how Mozambicans cannot live without *us*, the Portuguese people.

As seen in those examples, to separate both cultural groups, Mozambicans and Portuguese, in terms of their accomplishment, the author uses the personal pronoun *nós* [we] six times. Four times in which it is omitted³ (the omitted pronouns have been bracketed) as in, (*nós*) *vamos* [we are going] example (ii); (*nós*) *não vamos* [we are not going] example (iv); (*nós*) *não fomos* [we did not] example (v) and (*nós*) *regressemos* [we return] and twice in *nós* [we] and *nós vamos* [we are going], which are not omitted.

Being the case, *we* (the Portuguese people), is being foregrounded. On the whole, the use of this specific pronoun instead of the generic one, for example, ‘everyone’ (as mentioned above, in this case whites, blacks, coloureds and Asians), establishes unambiguous margins between *us*, who were the main catalyst of the ‘7 de Setembro’ event and *them*, who seconded, and were probably pushed by the former. This indirectly excludes or denies the Mozambicans participation in the event or provides them with a secondary or minor role.



³The Portuguese grammar rules for pronouns such as *nós* [we] as well the other two, eu [I] and tu [you], are often omitted because the ending of the verb will be sufficient to point out who is carrying out the action.

What we observed so far in terms of representation of Mozambicans is also evidently emphasised by the three following articles - whose headlines are here reproduced as their original. **“SEMPRE QUE ENCONTRO GOVERNANTES DE PAÍSES ONDE SE EMPREGAM TRABALHADORES PORTUGUESES OIÇO ESPONTÂNEOS LOUVORES À NOSSA GENTE”** [“EVERY TIME I MEET MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYED I HEAR PRAISES OF OUR PEOPLE”] dated June 12, 1974 (see Appendix VI-D for original article). This is an extract from the speech proffered by Marcello Caetano, the then Prime minister of the Portuguese regime from 1968 to 1974. From the headline, one can unhesitantly conclude that the Portuguese people Marcello Caetano is referring to here certainly do not include nationals from *Terras Ultramarinas* [Overseas provinces] such as Georgina, the black woman discussed in section 4.1.1 above or those Africans in section 4.1.2 who were labelled as ‘faithful’ to the Portuguese people. The boundary is clearly drawn by the use of a discourse of exclusion realised through the possessive pronoun *nossa* [our] in *nossa gente* [our people], which evidently indicates they are not *theirs*, the Mozambican people.

Having seen how the pronouns discussed have demonstrated “relationship of power *rather than* solidarity” (Fairclough, 1989: 127) and in how Portuguese people (represented mostly in a positive light) and their Mozambicans counterparts (generally represented in a negative light), the researcher wants to bring to light another relevant pronoun which as stressed by Fairclough (*ibid.*), is also tied in with relationships of power and solidarity in the discourse.

The pronoun *nós* [we], which has been introduced briefly in the previous discussion, has a frequency of 62 hits. Out of these, 36 cases have a clear reference to the Portuguese people. Below we provide some of these examples:

- (i) *como muito bem foi dito por um veterano oficial: «NÓS NÃO CONTAMOS AS NOSSAS VICTÓRIAS PELO NÚMERO DE*
[As it was well said by a veteran official, we do not count our victories by the numbers of...]
- (ii) *s, herdeiros espirituais dos pequenos tiranos que nós ali fomos encontrar quando chegámos a África, elo*
[...spiritual heirs of small tyrants that we found when we arrived in Africa];
- (iii) *ES SOCIAIS A obra de civilização penosamente por nós construída seria devastada. Sem embargo de a noss*
[...the civilisation that we built with hardwork];

- (iv) *alcançar resultados positivos para o inimigo (e nós não podemos esquecer que o inimigo já tem conseguido*
 [...to attain positive results for the enemy and we cannot forget the enemy has already...];
- (v) *sincerismo das culturas europeia e africana, que nós queremos construir no Ultramar português. Para c*
 [...we want to build sincerity in both the African and Europeans cultures in the overseas province];
- (vi) *ctivo deve procurar fazer tudo em português. Como nós temos uma cultura que é feito de todas, pois em*
 [Everything must be done in a Portuguese style seeing that we have a culture that influences all others...];
- (vii) *IGRANTES Os nossos camaradas imigrantes sabem que nós portugueses temos bastante tendência para ser inf*
 [...our immigrants' comrades know that we Portuguese people have a strong tendency to become]. (For these examples see concordance lines 7, 11, 16, 35, 45, 54 and 41 in Appendix IV-H).

These examples exclude any possibility of solidarity or inclusion of any other cultural group, by not counting the Mozambicans when using this pronoun. Similarly, with regards to 12 cases related to Mozambicans, the pronoun is also used analogously. In other words, without any relational attachment to Portuguese people as the subsequent examples illustrate:

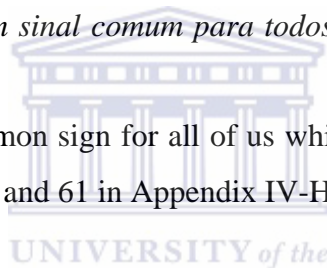
- (viii) *dizer aqui à delegação do Governo Português que, nós moçambicanos, nós da FRELIMO, combatentes da libe*
 [...to say right here to the Portuguese delegation that we Mozambicans, we Frelimo, freedom fighters...];
- (ix) *os em moçambique contra o branco e tanto que tal, nós consideramos o povo português como aliados do pov*
 [...in Mozambique against the white regime and we consider the Portuguese people as an ally of our people]
- (x) *alismo no nosso país ainda existe. É por isto que nós estamos aqui. Viemos para resolver e nos estender*
 [...that is why we are here. We came in order to solve our problems and understand each other]. (For these examples see lines 32, 21 and 15 in Appendix IV-H)

A study of these examples removes any possibility of inclusion of any other nationality except Mozambican, especially example (viii). Example (ix) also excludes Portuguese people seeing that

this extract is by Machel on behalf of Mozambicans. Lastly in example (x) which, similar to example (ix), is an extract from Machel on behalf of the people, we learn that this pronoun was used strictly by each cultural group to speak on behalf of their own although the examples referring to Portuguese people seem to dominate the discourse.

The remaining cases have reference to the newspaper, either talking on behalf of the Portuguese people or to its editorial team or an institution as the following examples illustrate:

- (xi) *alamos das nossas coisas e do nosso Jornal. O que nós queremos é que o Jornal sirva de traço de união e*
[...what we want is that the newspaper becomes the vehicle of unity];
- (xii) *IGRANTES Os nossos camaradas imigrantes sabem que nós Portugueses temos bastante tendência para ser inf*
[...our immigrants' compatriots know that we Portuguese people have a strong tendency to be influenced...]
- (xiii) *Há, por cima de tudo, um sinal comum para todos nós: é que somos portugueses. Esta afirmação é cheia*
[After all, there is a common sign for all of us which is: we are Portuguese]. (For these examples see lines 46, 41 and 61 in Appendix IV-H)



Once again, if we look at these examples discussed we realise that its use rules out any chance of counting Mozambicans. These examples overall reinforce *us* (Portuguese people) as intelligent and powerful (examples (i), (iii) and (vi)), professionals, trustworthy and thus commendable versus *them* (Mozambicans) as unintelligent, uneducated and inferior (example (ii)), etc. since they are never mentioned by other governments which Caetano happened to meet, as opposed to whites, who are mentioned. What is worthy to consider here is also the fact that these are words uttered by prominent and trustworthy political figures, probably presidents and ministers to another powerful political figure, (Caetano), who is now recounting or passing on the message to his fellow compatriots. Through this official discourse, the idea that the Portuguese colonial discourse “had a reputation for integrative and intimate relations with the indigenous groups that were colonised *is nullified since it does not reflect the truth*” (Mata, 2007: 3).

The second article dated 15 February 1972 is also inclined towards the same agenda of stereotyping Mozambicans as inferior. Its headline pronounces, “**SE MUITOS AFRICANOS NÃO MORREM HOJE DE FOME DEVEM-NO AOS PORTUGUESES QUE INTRODUZIRAM A MANDIOCA – BASE DA SUA ALIMENTAÇÃO**” [“**IF MANY AFRICAN PEOPLE DON’T STARVE TO**

DEATH THEY OWE IT TO THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT MANIOC (CASSAVA) – THE MAIN MEAL OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE”](see Appendix VI-E for original article).

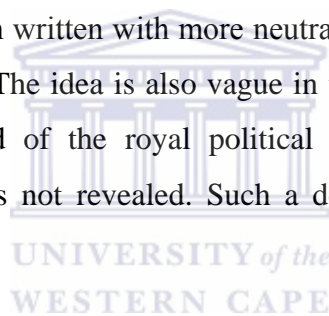
Like the example discussed above, this statement is also a clear ‘praise’ of the Portuguese people for their greatest deed, whether it is true or not, of introducing this sustenance indispensable to the entire African nation, not only to Mozambican people - able to save them from starvation. The Portuguese are represented as specific –only they are the focal point, no other cultural group. This article constitutes a discursive emblematic array of both exclusion and reduction of the indigenous people in terms of belonging (nationhood) and human advancement, and being able to provide for themselves. Similar to the previous article, this one also institutes a clear division between *us*, the Portuguese people, who are skilled, advanced versus *them*, the Mozambicans who are inept. In few words, both articles are designed to implicitly identify *we* (whites), against *other* (Africans, blacks Mozambicans) as an “object, but with a ‘we’ constantly reconstituted through specific practices and discourses of superiority” (Hitchcock, 1993: xvii). As Hitchcock (*ibid.*) explains, the nature of *the discourse* and context *is enough to create a range of subalternity roles among both groups* which always define the position from which the political *power emanates*.

In both cases, the author exaggerates the circumstances. Starting with this article, the use of conditional marker *se* [if] clause and the verb *morrem* [they starve/perish] in the present tense suggest dependency; in other words, it shows how people’s lives are conditioned to cassava, up to the current time. As emphasised, there is a great dependency between what the Portuguese did and what the outcome for the Mozambicans turned out to be: ‘feed’ as a result - alive as opposed to ‘starved to death’. Thus the Mozambicans and the entire African offspring *devem* [owe] their lives to the Portuguese people. Interestingly, the author, does not use more euphemistic words such as ‘deprive’ to reduce the seriousness of their action with regards to what is alleged, the lack of this staple crop on the menu, since this food is just one of the main meals from a vast range. Instead, s/he uses the verb ‘starve’ to demonstrate how black people relied heavily on the product brought by the Portuguese.

This piece of text prompts one to wonder whether all African people were dead when the Portuguese arrived in Africa since by that time, according to this text, cassava had not yet been introduced onto the continent. This also begs the question: Why is it that one product out of a wide and similar range such as ‘sweet potato staple’, and ‘mealy staple’ which are widely consumed by Africans, was so important? Another significant point worth revealing is that the way the text is

presented shows that the product itself is a Portuguese one which in fact might not be the case since vast literature alleges it having its origin in South America.

Turning back to the previous article “*SEMPRE QUE ENCONTRO GOVERNANTES DE PAÍSES ONDE SE EMPREGAM TRABALHADORES PORTUGUESES OIÇO ESPONTÂNEOS LOUVORES À NOSSA GENTE*”, we will see that it deliberately commences with an adverb of quantification, *sempre* [always], to inculcate the idea of how the discourse, telling how good the Portuguese people were, was sustained throughout, thus keeping all communicative events with other political figures he met in a contemporary line. The word ‘always’ is spacially well located, in terms of reinforcing the message of the indispensability of Portuguese people in terms of their work. It advocates that there is no single occasion, unless no Portuguese people were living in that country, in which the governments as emphasised, probably politicians of a high calibre, including prime-ministers, ministers, etc. of other countries which he visited or who visited him, failed to mention how good the Portuguese people were. Nevertheless, the lexis *sempre* is rather exaggerated in this context. This could have been written with more neutral words such as ‘very often’ or ‘most of the time’, to mention but a few. The idea is also vague in terms of informational direction. The identity of countries / nations and of the royal political figures that happen to ‘praise’ the Portuguese people for their work is not revealed. Such a deliberate act has ideological reasons behind it.



The article clearly emphasises that the aptitude of the Portuguese in doing their job cannot be contested here, merely because it places these governments in a state that they are unable to contain themselves. The emotion becomes natural, and tells him and most likely other people of his status, how gifted they, the Portuguese people, are. And yet apart from spontaneously confessing how good the Portuguese people were, they also *louvam* [praise] them. Equal to what we witnessed in the previous article, the author chooses the verb ‘to praise’, which is a word one can mostly say is reserved for ‘worship’ or a ‘tributary event, to indicate how capable or skilful the Portuguese people were and hence worthy of a prominent place in the hierarchical social rank. An alternative phrase or term such as ‘speak well’, ‘admire’, etc., instead of ‘to praise’, should rather be used to counterbalance the exaggeration.

Furthermore, in both cases, the manifestos are a direct quotation from the speech of the Portuguese government’s personnel which makes the text less biased and more truthful in value both in terms of political and ideological expressionism. Making it a clear, possibly, an “example of a productive interaction between the news media, the public, and official agencies, mainly the government, in the

formation and application of stereotypes” (Fowler, 1991: 19), on the one hand, “it breeds divisive and alienating attitudes, a dichotomous vision of *us* (Portuguese people) and *them* (Mozambicans nationals) on the other. Thus all Mozambican people become stigmatised groups and are then somehow all lumped together and cast beyond the pale” (Fowler, 1991: 16). Altogether, what is clear here is the fact that “the image of others that is being less-developed (therefore lazy, indolent, poor), less able to develop (therefore incompetent, lacking culture, self-indulgent), dependent on white Western European leadership (therefore non-progressive, unfit for self rule (Ani, 1994: 291). These two examples reveal how official public discourses reinforce other ordinary discourse in accomplishing ideological plans.

Table 4.3 below adapted from Danesi (2002) evaluates representations of all corpora discussed in this chapter with a symbolic portrait of unequal representation of Mozambicans compared to the Portuguese people.

Mozambicans (information explicitly and implicitly stated):	Portuguese people (information explicitly and implicitly stated):
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are unskilled (uneducated) but also skilled and educated (some groups) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are skilled (educated)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are non-assertive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are assertive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are non-ambitious 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are ambitious
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are irrational 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are rational
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are savage (but some display human traits) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are civilised
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are inhumane (show animalistic behaviour) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are humane
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are perpetrators and victims (few occasions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are victims (mostly) / perpetrators (in self-defence)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are uncontrollable (but some have self-control) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are controllable
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are cowards (but also brave, though second degree bravery) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are brave
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are unintelligent / but also intellectuals (assimilated group) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are intelligent
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • embody evil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • embody goodness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are self-serving (inconsiderate to some blacks) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are selfless and considerate (to other races including blacks)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are malicious 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are benign
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are cunning, insincere (even to their own people) and deceitful 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are honest, frank and even open to all races including blacks

Table 4.3: Summary of Generic representation (from CL, CDA and MDA Findings)

The evidence in the above table leaves no doubt that the discussed articles are largely and remarkably pro-Portuguese discourse, while conferring on the whole, negative stereotypes on the indigenous Mozambicans. For the writers of these articles, the superiority of the Portuguese over the indigenous Mozambicans is without question. For Hitchcock (1993: 277) the negative representations of the indigenous Mozambicans bear strong symbolic and ideological constructs that carry considerable social, political and even ideological weight.

In analysing the discursive practices of these writers, the researcher drew on the following strategies identified by Otkar (2001: 319):

- i) Express/emphasise information that is ‘positive’ about *us* (Portuguese people).
- ii) Express / emphasise information that is ‘negative’ about *them* (Mozambican people).
- iii) Suppress / de-emphasise information that is ‘positive’ about *them*.
- iv) Suppress / de-emphasise information that is ‘negative’ about *us*.

Otkar (*ibid.*: 319) argues that these four moves constitute the well-known ‘ideological square’ which performs a specific role in the contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and its out-group counterpart, negative other presentation. This may take place not only explicitly by propositional means (topics, meanings, etc.), but also by many other discursive moves that emphasise or de-emphasise Our/Their Good/Bad Things, such as headlines and position, sound structures and visuals, lexicalisation, syntactic structure, semantic moves such as disclaimers, and a host of rhetorical figures and argumentation moves (Van Dijk, 2006: 139).

Thus the Portuguese people “are *the* figure imbued with mythic connotations” (Danesi, 2002: 37). In short, through stereotypical representation, the Portuguese become the imaginary adored, and idealised or essentialised superhero while the Mozambican, who does not on a single occasion play a prominent heroic figure, is portrayed as a villain, the one who needs to be rescued in all life’s spheres by this super hero. Presumably the author uses the expression ‘figure’ with ‘mythical connotations’ purely because the claimed discursive attributes, be they positive or negative, are not based on authentic judgment.

4.2. Brief Comparison of Colonial and postcolonial Periods

Based on the CL, CDA and MDA findings, incontestably the newspaper discourse in both the colonial and postcolonial data in the theme selected for the ‘Generic Representation of Mozambican people’, reveals that negative representations of indigenous Mozambicans significantly outnumber the more positive ones. (See table in Appendix VII that summarises both periods).

Commencing with the subtheme ‘stereotyping in the labour domain’, it became crystal clear that for instance with the word *funcionários*, out of seven cases related to the Portuguese, two are linked to the colonial period and five to the postcolonial as opposed to the Mozambicans where the only mention is in the postcolonial period. With regards to the lexicon *trabalhadores*, two are mentioned in the colonial period and one in the postcolonial in relation the Portuguese people whereas for Mozambicans all cases are connected to the postcolonial period. For the word *operários* which as seen all cases are related to Mozambicans, two cases are related to the postcolonial and one in the colonial period. These findings indicate that Portuguese people have already been highly regarded as *funcionários*, which is the higher accolade in the labour domain from the colonial period and such nobility extended to the post-colonial period. Mozambicans, in contrast, were only acknowledged as such in the post-colonial period and it was only to designate those few from the assimilated group; compared to the Portuguese this word use extended to some ordinary workers. Interestingly, while Mozambicans were already regarded as the lowest status, the *operários*, from the colonial period, and such characterisation continued into the postcolonial period in contrast to the Portuguese people, none of its people bore this low status job.

Moving to the second subtheme ‘Stereotyping in Coverage of Criminal events’, it also becomes evident that in the subdivision of Mozambicans into *Africanos*, *pretos* and *negros* (organised from the least to the most negative in terms of the meaning attached to each lexicon), the depiction of the most former (*Africano(s)*) and the second (*preto(s)*,) is predominantly in the colonial period with only a few cases, four for *Africanos* and one for *pretos*, registered in the postcolonial period. The word *negros* in contrast shows a different picture. The use of this word was less predominant during the colonial period and more dominant in the postcolonial period. These statistics imply that whereas Mozambicans were given more positive representation in the colonial period, the picture changed during the postcolonial time in which negative portrayal was more prominent. Lastly, with regards to ‘stereotyping in coverage of social events’, the findings show that there was less solidarity among both cultural groups (the Portuguese and the Mozambicans) during the colonial

period, thus making it clear that there was the *we* (Portuguese) versus *they* (Mozambicans) scenario. But looking at another pertinent pronoun *eles* [they], we are faced with a reverse scenario in which this pronoun is more frequent in the postcolonial than in the colonial period. An interpretation that can be drawn from this finding is that the newspaper used this pronoun to create more divides among both cultural groups in terms of their superiority and thus reinforce the ideology of the incapacity of blacks to run their own country.

Altogether, the ideological representation of Mozambican people is organised “in a way, OUR people tend to appear primarily as actor when the acts are good, and THEIR people when the acts are bad and vice versa: THEIR people will appear least as actor of good action than do OUR people” (Van Dijk, 1998: 33). In addition, Van Dijk explains that these functional moves in the overall strategy of ideological self, which appear in most social conflict and actions (e.g. in racist, sexist etc. discourse), may be expressed in the choice of lexical items that imply positive or negative evaluations, as well as in the structure of whole propositions and their categories. In this respect, Mozambicans, on the whole, were depicted as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled (in the labour domain) criminal, less criminal or immoral, primitive, barbaric (in the coverage of criminal events) and as intellectual and less intellectual, cowards, brave, etc. (for coverage of ordinary social events). Nevertheless, though we see some positive representations, the negative prevailed. These stereotypes paved the way for discursive social structures, a lack of solidarity, superiority versus inferiority among both cultural groups, which in turn channelled all sorts of oppression, domination, inequalities, etc.

Such representations also account for the various imbalances in the discourse which is regarded as the main cause for establishing a range of socio-cultural, economic and political hierarchies in favour of the dominant group against the dominated or oppressed. This left unchallenged, over a given time, leads to certain discriminatory structures within society. It becomes evident, as previously indicated, that the Portuguese were provided with greater discursive space to speak in the columns of this newspaper compared to their Mozambican counterparts.

In sum, as the findings have shown, one may conclude that these representations were mainly constructed on the configurations of various false perceptions such as socio-economic issues, skin colour (race), social behaviour and education, to mention the most salient issues. As Dyer (2002: 2) explains, these representations always and necessarily entailed the use of codes and conventions of

these available cultural forms of presentation that restricted and shaped what could have been said by and / or about any aspect of reality in a given place in a given society at a given time. Furthermore, the discourse largely instituted grounds for the exclusion of Mozambican people from Portuguese citizenship, and from socio-economic opportunities, and also created all sort of discriminatory and oppressive situations by providing false evidence about the inability of self-governability and self-sustainability without being under its Portuguese colonial master, as seen mainly in the post-independence data.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter discussed ‘Generic Representation of Mozambican People’ in both the colonial and postcolonial periods. This chapter was guided by the following subthemes: ‘Stereotyping in the Labour Domain’, ‘Stereotyping in Coverage of Criminal Events’ and ‘Stereotyping in Coverage of Social Issues’. The chapter, through analysis of findings using CL, CDA and MDA methodological approaches, established that although traces of positive depiction were present, indigenous Mozambicans in general were represented in a negative light. The negative representation, explicitly and implicitly encoded in discourses, in most cases, credited the Mozambican people with a reductionist description while suggesting a different representation of their Portuguese counterpart. The representation in general produced marked socio-cultural divides between these two groups: *us*- Portuguese (superior/greater) intellectually, economically and politically and *them*-Mozambicans representing the opposite description. In this context, the chapter has revealed that, in most cases, ideologies embedded in discourses focused on trying to falsely induce the reader/viewer into believing that Mozambican people were incapable or lacked intellectual, professional and even moral capabilities. These were much needed to conduct socio-economic and political activities for the survival of humankind in that territory, thus justifying the stay (during the colonial period) of the Portuguese people and their desire to return (in post-independence) to Mozambique. Such representations were permitted by control of voices and marginalisation of cultural agencies which “disable the rationalisation of such inequalities” (Hitchcock, 1993: vii). Finally, the chapter established that overall the Portuguese group were awarded a greater opportunity to disseminate its voice while the Mozambican group was denied such a privilege. The next chapter focuses on the analysis of how Frelimo members were represented.

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings and Analysis II: Representation of Frelimo and its Members

5.0 Introduction

The current chapter looks at the ‘Representation of ‘Frelimo and its Members’. Like Chapter 4, it also deals with data findings and analysis drawn from the newspaper in both colonial and postcolonial periods. Like the preceding chapter, it is also guided by subthemes, and the most relevant and significant ones to emerge from the data were:

- Stereotyping in representations of Frelimo Members in general; and
- Stereotyping in representations of Frelimo leader Samora Machel.

Despite the long list of distinguished Frelimo public figures, none has captured public imagination as much as the late Samora Machel has, hence the focus on him and his representations in the newspaper. His name appears as two separate entities in the corpus entries, namely ‘Samora’ and ‘Machel’. These proper nouns (both Samora and Machel) are commonly used, and altogether form part of the list of the ten most frequent content words. The lexicon ‘Machel’ (which is the surname) as shown in the Appendix III: A table, occurs 72 times and the first name ‘Samora’ materialises in 66 instances. The first name surfaces at the 82nd spot in the list of most prominent nouns and the surname at the 70th spot. Jointly they add up to 138 words, and thus, taken together, they take 3rd place in the list of most prominent nouns, which explains the selection of this name.

This chapter discusses the results of a search for the following keywords or terms in the total corpus:

- *Frelimo*
- *terrorista*
- *Samora*
- *Machel*¹

¹ Machel (surname) and Samora (first name) as president of Frelimo appears as separate entities in the corpus data.

The chapter primarily answers the following research questions: ‘*How were Frelimo members represented during colonial and postcolonial era?*; *what were the ideologies embedded in the discourses of ‘O Século de Joanesburgo’ during the colonial and postcolonial periods in Mozambique.* It also explores the question: *In terms of representation, how did the newspaper change in the postcolonial period?*’ The chapter commences by discussing the representation of Frelimo members in general, and moves on to explore the representation of Samora Machel. It then briefly discusses similarities and differences emerging from both periods and ends by providing a summary of the main points discussed.

5.1 Representation of Frelimo Members in General

Table 3.3 in Chapter 3 provides the general quantitative data in terms of word frequency. It will be noted that the lexicon ‘Frelimo’ is in a prominent position - 19th in the overall corpus. It is the first content word in the corpus. It has an estimated word frequency of 377 excluding a related lexicon *frelimos* which appears written in lower case in the corpus and ranks 442th with 15 hits. Altogether both add up to 392 tokens. In addition, the 377 instances alone rank first among content words making it interesting discursively and ideologically. It is also remarkable in terms of the results it generates as can be seen in the table below. The data in this chapter is mainly analysed by taking into consideration *actorship*, *victimhood* and *connotations* attached to texts:

Search Term	Frequency	Descriptions / Types	Times as per occurrences
Frelimo	392	actor	43
		Victim	34
		negative connotations	97
		positive connotations	57

Table 5.1: Frelimo in the Corpus

The strongest collocates (see Appendix V: K) of the term *Frelimo* calculated by use of MI score starting with verbs are: *desencadeada* [unleashed]; *viola* [violates/breaks]; *temer* [to fear]; *expulsou* [expelled/chased away] (in fact this verb appears three times as strong collocates in different tenses); *ameaçada* [threatened]; *obrigar* [to force]; *destróem* [destroy] and *controlar* [to controle] and *detidos* [detained]. On the other hand, the nouns / adjectives are: *reaccionários* [reactionaries]; *fricções* [frictions]; *mercenarismo* [mercenary]; *marginais* [marginals/delinquents]; *fuzilamento* [execution]; *oportunismo* [opportunism]; *incapacidade* [incapacity]; *prisioneiros* [prisoners]; *missões* [missions]; *ditadura* [ditactorship]; *propaganda*; *minoritário* [minority]; *cadeia*

[jail/prison]; *crimes; assassinos* [murderers/assassins]; *terrorista* [terrorist]; *sabotagem* [sabotage]; *massacres; opressão* [oppression]. Whereas the list of verbs, nouns and adjectives in terms of collocates is not confined to these examples presented here we focus on those cases relevant to the study. In this respect, Baker (2006) strongly asserts that any MI score higher than three is deemed to be indication of a strong collocation. In this and other coming sections our lowest strongest collocate is in the house of 5.23 MI score. By this move, the researcher does not imply that cases with lower than the standard are irrelevant.

However, a study of these collocates indicates that the descriptions of this organisation is characterised by negative discourse prosody including collocates which describe the organisation both as victim and perpetrator as evidenced by the following: *fear, threatened, destroyed* and *detained*. And while these examples may invoke several discourse prosodies, they appear to express a single message which portrays this organisation as *terrorist* and therefore not worth to lead the country.

In addition, as illustrated in the table above, in a frequency of 392 words, 43 cases represent Frelimo as actors/perpetrators and 34 cases as victims. In the same vein, 97 cases bear negative descriptions without necessarily linking either to an actor or victim. On the other hand, 59 cases are related to positive connotations. See Appendix IV-K for reference of these statistics. The concordance lines 4, 9, 10, 12, 15, 113, 47, 77 and 299 (in Appendix IV-K and Figure 5.1 below) presented in ascending order of occurrence, as in the example below, represent Frelimo as actor:

- (i) *um dos **frelimos** lançou ao ar uma das crianças raptadas*
[one of frelimos threw up one of the kidnapped child];
- (ii) *pânico entre **Frelimos** levou-os a abater seus aviões*
[panic among Frelimos members forced them to shoot down their own aeroplanes];
- (iii) *...Silva foi alvejado e capturado pelos **frelimos***
[...Silva was shot and detained by frelimos];
- (iv) *Os **frelimos** levaram toda a mercadoria do armazém*
[Frelimo members took all merchandise from the warehouse];
- (v) *...**frelimos** que cometeram estas barbaridades*
[frelimos who carried out these barbaric acts];
- (vi) *...ter sofrido torturas nas prisões da **Frelimo***
[he was tortured in Frelimo's prisons];
- (vii) *A **Frelimo** expulsou do seu "comité central" o "ministro"*
[Frelimo chased away the minister from his central committee...];

- (viii) *Mais portugueses expulsos pela **Frelimo***
[more Portuguese people chased away (from the country) by Frelimo];
- (ix) *Em Trigo de Morais, a **Frelimo** prende indiscriminadamente e sem qualquer motivo*
[In Trigo de Morais district Frelimo arrests indiscriminately without any reason], etc.

The above examples emanating from concordance data, contain some implicitly stated ideas, but generally are associated with negative discourse prosody. Their actions are connected to maliciousness. The organisation, Frelimo, is portrayed as a ‘criminal’, ‘barbarous’, irrational, self-serving (examples (i), (iii), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii) and (ix). Its members are also represented as thieves given that they stole goods from a warehouse as example (iv) shows. Nevertheless, example (ii) offers dual role action, that of victim as *pânico entre Frelimos* [panic among frelimos] which results in *a abater seus aviões* [shooting down their own planes] (role of an actor).

In contrast to the above examples, Frelimo are depicted as victims in the following examples (see Appendix IV-K):

- (i) *...este estado de pânico dos **frelimos...***
[...this panic state of frelimos..] ;
- (ii) *causou a morte de 20 **frelimos***
[...caused the death of 20 frelimos..];
- (iii) *...na posse destes 16 “**frelimos...***
[keeping in detention these 16 frelimos];
- (iv) *...as Forças da Resistência mataram 12 **frelimos...***
[the Resistência Forces killed 12 frelimos] ;
- (v) *a Resistência efectou um ataque ...matou 40 **frelimos**. Os que não morreram fugiram*
[The Resistência Forces carried out an attack...killed 40 frelimos. Those who did not die ran away];
- (vi) *...causou a morte de 20 **frelimos...***
[...caused the death of 20 frelimos...];
- (vii) *...acções de grande envergadura contra a **Frelimo...***
[...though actions against Frelimo...];
- (viii) *...grupo que atacou um campo de concentração da **Frelimo...***
[...a group that attacked a Frelimo concentration camp...];
- (ix) *...minas destroem camiões da **FRELIMO...***
[...mines destroy Frelimo’s trucks...];
- (x) *OS PORTUGUESES destroem a **FRELIMO** e libertam as populações*

[the Portuguese people kill Frelimo members and set people free...], etc.

In these examples which portray the organisation as victim, Frelimo is portrayed as a ‘terrorised’ organisation whose members are ‘attacked’, ‘detained’ ‘punished’, ‘killed’, while others are on the run given that they are ‘forced to live in fear’, etc. In any case, the terror imposed on the organisation and its members is justified given that the newspaper’s discourse in most cases suggests that this is an armed and criminal organisation that ‘imprison’, ‘exploit’, ‘torture’ and even ‘kill’ vulnerable people, including their own, example (x).

While the above examples are visibly connoted by negative attributes due to Frelimo’s actions, the following cases (see Appendix IV-K) are negative by the connotations implied:

- (i) *MOÇAMBIQUE – inferno para os portugueses *FRELIMO viola fronteira com África do Sul*
[Moçambique a hell for Portuguese people * Frelimo contravenes the border agreement with South Africa];
- (ii) *População local...dominada pela Frelimo*
[...local population dominated by Frelimo...];
- (iii) *80 mil prisioneiros concentrados nos campos da Frelimo*
[80 thousand prisoners incarcerated in Frelimo’s camps];
- (iv) *nos famosos”campos de concentração da FRELIMO – classificados de “campos de reeducação*
[in the famous concentration camps of Frelimo the so- called re-education camps];
- (v) *...aqui está...multirracial... Frelimo vêm apregoando pelos cantos do mundo*
[here is the multiracial idea that Frelimo has been preaching around the world];
- (vi) *Tal como o PS, em Lisboa, a Frelimo é um partido de vigaristas*
[Such as the PS party in Lisbon, Frelimo is also a party of swindlers];
- (vii) *uma dívida de 480 mil randes FRELIMO LEVADA A TRIBUNAL POR UMA FIRMA SUL-AFRICANA*
[Frelimo is taken to court by a South African company for owing 480 thousand rands];
- (viii) *... ao governo minoritário e ilegal da Frelimo*
[...to the minority and illegal government which is Frelimo];
- (ix) *TORTURAS QUE OS TERRORISTAS DA FRELIMO FORAM APRENDER AO VIETNAME*
[tortures that Frelimo’s terrorists went to learn in Vietnam];
- (x) *...pressão, da fome e da incapacidade governativa da Frelimo*

[... pressure due to hunger and incapacity of Frelimo to rule the country].

As stressed, though these examples do not bear the same characterisation as those in which Frelimo is represented as an actor and victim; they all portray the organisation in a negative light. Example (i) for instance suggests that Mozambique is only an *inferno* (a hell) because it is under Frelimo's rule. On the other hand, example (ii) bears a very negative connotation seeing that Frelimo is portrayed as an oppressor and exploiter of its own people. Such characterisation earns the organisation the nickname *vigarista* [swindler], as in example (vi). In the same vein, the expressions 'concentration camps' and 'famous concentration camps' in examples (iii) and (iv) bear enough context on how this organisation is conducted by terror in most cases against their own people. The organisation incarcerates 80 thousand people (whose race, gender and age is undisclosed to perhaps suggest a 'generic' description: all races, ages, genders). In terms of citizenship, it may primarily include Mozambicans and Portuguese people.

Yet in example (iv) the camps are labelled "re-education camps". This leaves one to wonder under what circumstances Frelimo educates these people whether by use of peaceful means or by torture as example (ix) implies. What is more, example (v) is quite paradoxical (see Figure 5.1 below) given that it suggests the organisation is in fact racist. Furthermore, both examples (vii) and (viii) seem to discredit the organisation since it is taken to court for an unsettled dispute involving a substantial amount of money, on the one hand, and for being called 'illegal' and 'representative of the 'minority' (people) on the other hand. Altogether this implies that the organisation is made up of swindlers who are always reluctant to pay what they owe. Besides being described as representative of a small fraction of people, they are also being accused of having ascended to power unlawfully hence in both cases suggesting that this is a criminal and worthless organisation. Frelimo representatives signed the ceasefire agreement with Portuguese regime in Lusaka in 1994 which paved a way to independence.

Example (ix) apart from labelling Frelimo as a terrorist organisation implies that their style of handling prisoners is parallel to the way the Vietcong tortured American prisoners during the Vietnam War. This entire comparison is captured in capital letters, as if to emphasise the criminal nature of both the (communist) Vietcong as well as Frelimo. Lastly, in example (x) Frelimo is described as a party in power that is incapable not only of eradicating hunger but also of governing Mozambicans. Various interpretations can materialise from this. First, it may suggest that the members of this organisation lack the intellectual capabilities and necessary stamina to run the country. And secondly, it may suggest that these people are in power for their own self-interest.

Overall, these descriptions, according to Ani (1994: 266), “portray [...] these African nationalists as irresponsible elements who seek to bring suffering, violence, and disorder to their people for their own personal gain or, at best, for misdirected political reasons and the Portuguese people, on the other hand, represent the interest of the natives and bring rationality, peace, and above all, stability with their rule.”

In contrast to the above examples (see Appendix IV-K) some discursive practices were inclined to positive connotations and even producing an obvious voice in support of Frelimo:

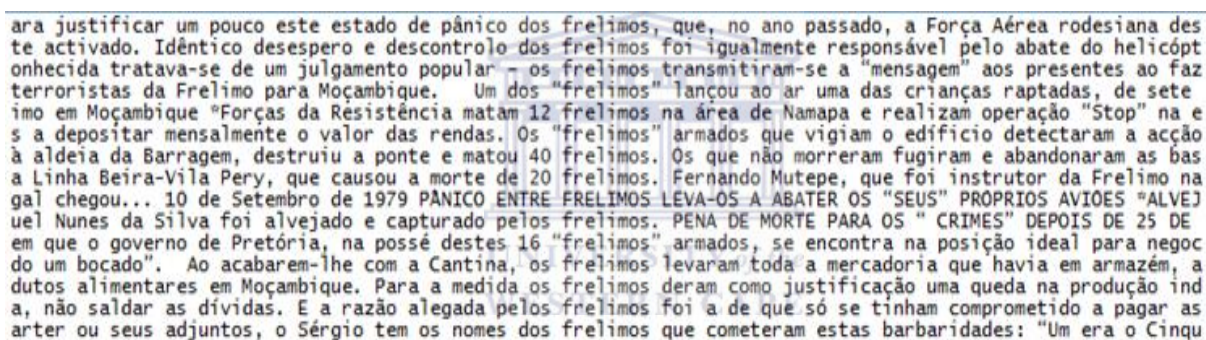
- (i) *representativo do povo moçambicano e esse partido era a **Frelimo** que, embora não represente todo o povo*
[...this party that represented the people was Frelimo though it does not represent all Mozambican people];
- (ii) *Viva a luta Popular **FRELIMO**. »*
[Long live the struggle of Frelimo for its People];
- (iii) *A delegação da **FRELIMO** é composta por onze membros*
[Frelimo’s delegation is made up of eleven members];
- (iv) *para seu administrador a **Frelimo** nomeou o dr. Almeida Matos*
[...Frelimo appointed Dr. Almeida Matos as its administrator];
- (v) *...está a fazer a luta pela libertação é a **FRELIMO***
[the movement that is fighting for liberation struggle is Frelimo];
- (vi) (vi) *o nosso interlocutor válido era a **Frelimo**, não só pela sua grande representatividade*
[...our truthful interlocutor was Frelimo not only for its great representativeness...];
- (vii) *os líderes da Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (**FRELIMO**)*
[...the leaders of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo)];
- (viii) *só a **Frelimo** pode ser o garante da democracia*
[...only Frelimo is able to guarantee democracy];
- (ix) *...a independência total e aceitar **Frelimo** como único representante legítimo*
[...the total independence and accept Frelimo as the sole legitimate representative of the people]

Starting with case (i), Frelimo is considered to be the right organisation to represent Mozambicans though in the same example it is explicitly stated that the organisation itself does not represent all Mozambicans. This statement is contradicted by example (vi) that speaks of great representativeness of this organisation in terms of its popularity, which explains why it became the interlocutor of the Portuguese people - which shows the popularity of this organisation and the love

of Mozambicans for it. In example (ii), the organisation is saluted and given a voice in the columns of the newspaper.

In terms of voice, the same interpretation can be rendered to most of the remaining cases. Example (v), bearing the message that Frelimo is fighting for the liberation struggle, shows the bravery of the organisation and the love for its people seeing that it presupposes that some members are risking their lives. Frelimo's appointment of Dr. Almeida Matos as its administrator implies that the organisation appointed educated people to run crucial portfolios. Overall, these statements explicitly or otherwise render some sort of positive representation compared to the examples discussed so far, for instance as actors and victims most particularly when the organisation is recognised as the sole drivers of 'democracy', as in example (viii) and the sole legitimate representative of the people, as in example (ix).

The following figure shows the concordance of 16 examples of the lexicon 'Frelimo' in the data.



ara justificar um pouco este estado de pânico dos frelimos, que, no ano passado, a Força Aérea rodesiana des- te activado. Idêntico desespero e descontrolo dos frelimos foi igualmente responsável pelo abate do helicópt onhecida tratava-se de um julgamento popular - os frelimos transmitiram-se a "mensagem" aos presentes ao faz terroristas da Frelimo para Moçambique. Um dos "frelimos" lançou ao ar uma das crianças raptadas, de sete imo em Moçambique "Forças da Resistência matam 12 frelimos na área de Namapa e realizam operação "Stop" na e s a depositar mensalmente o valor das rendas. Os "frelimos" armados que vigiam o edifício detectaram a acção à aldeia da Barragem, destruiu a ponte e matou 40 frelimos. Os que não morreram fugiram e abandonaram as bas a Linha Beira-Vila Pery, que causou a morte de 20 frelimos. Fernando Mutepe, que foi instrutor da Frelimo na gal chegou... 10 de Setembro de 1979 PANICO ENTRE FRELIMOS LEVA-OS A ABATER OS "SEUS" PROPRIOS AVIOES "ALVEJ uel Nunes da Silva foi alvejado e capturado pelos frelimos. PENA DE MORTE PARA OS " CRIMES" DEPOIS DE 25 DE em que o governo de Pretória, na posse destes 16 "frelimos" armados, se encontra na posição ideal para negoc do um bocado". Ao acabarem-lhe com a Cantina, os frelimos levaram toda a mercadoria que havia em armazém, a dutos alimentares em Moçambique. Para a medida os frelimos deram como justificação uma queda na produção ind a, não saldar as dívidas. E a razão alegada pelos frelimos foi a de que só se tinham comprometido a pagar as arter ou seus adjuntos, o Sérgio tem os nomes dos frelimos que cometeram estas barbaridades: "Um era o Cinqu

Figure 5.1: Concordance of Frelimo

What is notable from the data above is that although the lexicon 'Frelimo' is a proper noun and as such one would have expected it to be written with a capital letter, most examples are written in lower case, apart from one example where the entire word is capitalized. It is also notable that the plural form is used in all cases, which is unusual since the use of the singular form, as it appears most of the times in the discourse, would already have indexed membership of the entire organisation. The lack of capitalisation is undoubtedly a deliberate attempt to diminish the status of the organisation. The plural marker on the other hand may further indicate that the description includes every single individual member of the organisation, from a prominent member to an ordinary one. This group may perhaps include those who simply share political views but officially have not signed any membership agreement with the organisation. The stylistic mode (pluralising the word) invests the organisation with a further negative description which expands to the expression 'regime frelimista' [frelimist regime] as the following examples show:

- (i) *todos os presos com o regime frelimista. Dizem eles que no tempo dos “colonialistas” havia*
[all those people who are detained by Frelimist regime say that during colonialism there was....]
- (ii) *Moçambique, a pena de morte. A lei frelimista, atentória dos Direitos do Homem*
[death penalty in Mozambique. The frelimist law contravenes human rights]

The overall interpretation that surfaces from these two extracts characterised by negative lexicons such as *presos* [detainees], *pena de morte* [death penalty], *atentória dos direitos humanos* [contravenes humans rights] is that the organisation is ruled by a regime institutionalised by terror and human rights violations.

A brief comparison of the examples discussed up to this point will indicate that even though Frelimo is positively represented on some occasions, the negative stereotyping far outweighs more positive connotations. These findings are corroborated by visual discourse in Figures 5.2 and 5.3 below depicting the elite membership of Frelimo.

According to the newspapers, the pictures were taken *algures no Norte de Moçambique, numa das bases terroristas, dias depois do 25 de Abril e antes de formado o Governo de Transição de Moçambique* [somewhere in the North of Mozambique in one of the terrorists' headquarters days before the 25th April and before the formation of the Transitional Government of Mozambique].

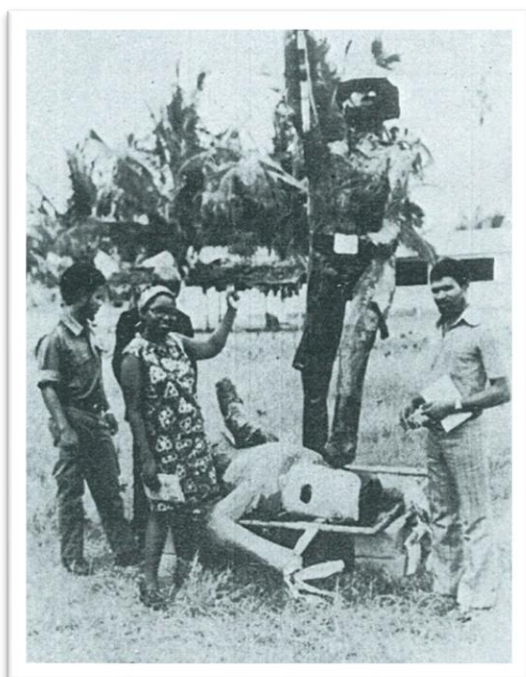


Figure 5.2: Frelimo Members (14 August 1975)

In the same way as the CL discussion, the visual data seem to play a complementary role in many ways as far as negative representation is concerned. For instance, the picture above (Figure 5.2) and below (Figure 5.3, see Appendix VI-F for an original composition) are also (besides Figure 4.3 in Chapter 4) taken from ‘a social distance’, which in this context conveys a message of dis-identification between actor and viewer. Nevertheless, in Figure 5.3 below Frelimo members are depicted as united which portrays a positive depiction, in spite of what seems to be palm trees visually creating a sort of framing, “realised by elements which create dividing lines *amongst them*” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 183) to stress individuality rather than group identity.



Figure 5.3: Collective Picture of Frelimo Members (14 August 1975)

Whilst this image advocates a constructive representation of unity, the shot from a social distance may contradict such construction. For Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 134) such depiction establishes an invisible barrier between the viewer and the object which according to them suggests that the object is there to be contemplated as we normally contemplate displays in a shop window or museum exhibit, rather than engaging with them.

Furthermore, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) assert that any business and social interaction conducted at this distance has a more formal and impersonal character than shots taken much closer. Like the depiction of the shoemaker boy and the machine operator lady in Chapter 4, Frelimo members are also unambivalently depicted as impostors and strangers to the viewers. In this context, the object (Frelimo members) can be framed strongly as *them*. For Hartman and Husband

(1974), this sort of representation frames *Frelimo* or *them* as not belonging, as not being integral to the nation, as not being stakeholders in the common good. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 134) point out that in cases like this, the representation will include the space surrounding it (p.134).

On the above note with regards to the significance of the physical setting, the picture seems to be taken somewhere perhaps near a beach and as observed, the picture cuts out the top branches of the palm-trees, which deliberately prevents one from seeing where these trees end and where a clear visibility of the sky begins. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) point out that such depiction suggests multiple interpretative approaches. It might imply a demarcation line in terms of contact between Frelimo members and divine intervention (God). This perhaps knits well with descriptions of racist, killers and so forth given to the organisation which contravenes biblical teachings.

Furthermore, the organisation conducted various massacres. The two most notorious ones in which Frelimo was referred to as catalyst were The *Setembro* and *Outubro* [October] attacks, both conducted in Lourenço Marques in which *foram vítimas milhares de europeus* [thousands of Europeans were victims]. These events earned Frelimo members a nickname: *cabecilhas* [ringleaders] on top of 'killers', 'racists'. This conveys a message that Frelimo is an unlawful organisation. It was fighting for a non-racist and tolerant Mozambique but now, a few months away from independence, they were already demonstrating how they would mistreat whites and perhaps other races too (see Figure 5.2).

The overall message derived from these representations is that perhaps Frelimo is not the right movement to lead the nation; somehow implying that the colonizer should carry on such a commendable duty. Oddly enough, though the picture (Figure 5.3) is taken from afar, suggesting social distance, it captures the frontal angle which as explained in the previous chapter is "the angle of maximum involvement" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 149) between the actor(s) and viewer(s). In principle, according to these scholars, such portrayal points to an engagement or connection between the depicted object (the Frelimo members in this case) and the viewers, which is a more positive representation.

Nevertheless, the few constructive portrayals are far outnumbered by negative ones. For instance, Figure 5.2 portrays negative image. In it a male dummy, symbolising a Frelimo member, is shown stepping on top of another dummy that symbolises a Portuguese person while some Frelimo members are portrayed as enjoying this scene.

The two pictures (see Appendix VI-F for the original composition) are separated from each other from the verbal text by a weak frame (a discontinuity of the shape and a white space) which to a certain degree means that the two spatial compositions (the visual and verbal discourse) “are presented as one unit of information, as belonging together” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 215). These units can be accessed or examined from left to right and from top to bottom or also from left bottom to top or alternatively from right to left and then to bottom. Despite this apparent unity, the possibility of interpreting them as stand-alone images cannot be ruled out, as a later discussion in this chapter reveals.

The article illustrated by both pictures, is highlighted by a metaphoric and ironic headline. Apart from each letter in the headline being in bold font and capitalised, it also finishes with an ellipsis. This may suggest that there is more to be said about the so-called: **A ESCOLA DA FRELIMO... [FRELIMO’S SCHOOL...]**. Since the article’s coverage is centred on the picture on the right side (Picture 5.2), the headline suggests that what is depicted in this picture is in fact what is taught by Frelimo. If this interpretation is accepted, the headline could possibly end as follows: “**A ESCOLA DA FRELIMO ENSINA COMO TORTURAR BRANCOS [FRELIMO’S SCHOOL TEACHES ITS STUDENTS HOW TO TORTURE WHITE PEOPLE].**”

Thus Frelimo is largely described as a highly ‘criminal’ and ‘terrorist’ organisation. As a matter of fact, these descriptions were dominant in the corpus search on ‘frelimo’ most particularly through the lexicon *terrorista* which as discussed is a strong collocate with 5.554 MI score (see Appendix V: L). The quantitative data (see Appendix IV-L on concordance) of this word shows that it is used mainly to directly describe, in the first place, the entire organisation as the following examples show:

- (i) *soldados do grupo **terrorista** da Frelimo*
[soldiers of the terrorist group of Frelimo];
- (ii) *organização marxista e **terrorista** que é a Frelimo*
[Marxist-terrorist organisation which is Frelimo];
- (iii) ***terrorista** da FRELIMO, em Lourenço Marques afirmaram*
[terrorists of Frelimo in Lourenço Marques declared];
- (iv) *foram massacradas à catana pelos **terroristas** da Frelimo que*
[..they were massacred by terrorists of Frelimo who used cutlass];
- (v) *as torturas...praticadas pelos **terroristas** da Frelimo*
[the tortures carried out by terrorists of Frelimo];

- (vi) *...portuguesas são obrigadas a manter contra os **terroristas** da FRELIMO...armados pelos comunistas*
 [...the Portuguese people are forced to keep against Frelimo’s terrorists armed by communists].

In the second place, it is used to refer to its president, Samora Machel. (Samora Machel is fully discussed in section 5.1.2):

- (i) *a “voz grossa” do **terrorista** Samora*
 [the deep voice of the terrorist Samora];
- (ii) ***terrorista** Samora brinca com o fogo e ameaça “invadir” a Rodésia*
 [Samora the terrorist plays with fire and threatens to invade Rodesia];
- (iii) *no “paraiso” do **terrorista** Samora e seus pares*
 [in the paradise of one of those headquarters of Samora and his accomplices];
- (iv) *...do **terrorista**-chefe*
 [boss of the terrorists];
- (v) *O regime **terrorista** de Machel*
 [the terrorist Regime of Machel];
- (vi) *...pelo **terrorista** nr.1 da Frelimo*
 [...by Frelimo’s number one terrorist]



In these examples, any reference to its generic terrorist organisation, Frelimo, or the specific individual, Samora Machel, ends up articulating the same signifieds: barbaric, criminals and so forth. Machel is also described as the chief or leader of ‘institutionalised terrorism’. Both verbal and visual discourse are welded together to jointly construct a solid image of Frelimo members as racists and barbarous, in spite of Picture 5.3 revealing organisational unity.

In the short article (see Appendix VI-F) referred to here, the word ‘Frelimo’ is mentioned four times and all letters are written in upper cases which proposes this unusual salience, “a hierarchy of importance among the elements, selecting some as more important, more worthy of attention than others” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 213). Nevertheless, Frelimo’s actions and behaviours are given negative attributes: ‘negro’ instead of ‘Africans’, ‘terrorist headquarters’ instead of ‘Frelimo’s headquarters’, ‘ringleaders’ instead of ‘Frelimo’s leaders’, ‘massacres’ instead of ‘killings’ and so forth which would to a certain degree lessen or counter-balance negativity.

As in the headline, the article also deliberately ends with an ellipsis and rhetorical question: *Quem é racista, afinal?* [So who is racist then?]. These two syntactical devices - the omission of a chunk of text at the end of a sentence and the use of a rhetorical question - can be used as effective tools to influence the response of the reader. To try understanding more or less the idea behind this ellipsis, the researcher suggests the following wording in bold: *Quem é racista, afinal **nós ou a Frelimo?*** [So who is racist then, we or Frelimo and its members?]. Seeing that the picture depicts only black actors (simulating the action) and the white dummy is depicted as victim, it is obvious that the author implies that Frelimo members are the racist ones. The author implicitly implies ‘do you see any of *us* Portuguese people carrying out such an awful action?’ and points at *eles* [they], or in other words, the members of Frelimo.

As discussed in the previous chapter (see Table 4.2), the pronoun *eles* occurs 45 times. While it was stressed that 35 cases are linked to Mozambicans, 26 have direct links to Frelimo. And whereas only 3 examples portray the organisation in a positive light, the remaining 23 cases bear negative connotations as the following examples (see Appendix IV-J) reveal:

- (i) *a **eles** é atribuído o ataque lançado...*
[the attack that was launched is attributed to them’];
- (ii) *mas todos **eles** foram prontamente detectados pelos Serviços Secretos*
[but all of them were promptly apprehended by the Secret Service];
- (iii) *fugi pelas sete horas da manhã, mas **eles** vieram a apanhar-me*
[I ran away around seven o’clock but they came after me];
- (iv) *a minha esposa chorava e **eles** diziam; “chora...*
[my wife was crying but they kept saying, cry...];
- (v) *todos **eles** são membros destacados da FRELIMO*
[They are all prominent members of Frelimo];
- (vi) *Os gerentes da Minas [...] atender Delegação [...] ainda que **eles** sejam brancos*
[the Mine directors no longer escort Frelimo’s delegation who are responsible for the Work Affairs even if they are whites], etc.

The above examples can be translated into two attributes which Ani (1994) labels as brutal acts, negatively sanctioned and projects the organisation as destructive. Its members are ruthless, barbarous, etc. who are not even concerned with the well-being of their own people as both examples (iii) and (iv) imply.

Nevertheless, the more ambiguous examples (see Appendix IV-J for full sentences) below offer neither positive nor negative connotations:

(vii) *colaboramos com eles*

[we collaborated with them]

(viii) *reconheçam a integrar-se na sociedade aberta que queremos construir com eles*

[that they acknowledge with regard to integrating themselves in the open society we want to build with them].

Looking at these two utterances, one wonders under what conditions both collaboration and integration took place. Probably Frelimo had to abide by certain rules, values, etc., established by the Portuguese rulers and the European values they espoused.

Going back to the visual discussion (Figures 5.2 and 5.3), the verbal text on the left side (see Appendix VI-F for full picture structure) is the *given* information - the information already known by the reader. The reader/viewer's focus should not be so much on this given information but rather on the information on the right side (Figure 5.2) which contains the key or *new* information. This information seems to spread a negative message: a dummy representing white people being tortured by one representing black Frelimo members. It may imply that this is the information both whites and blacks should not identify with given that the represented are not role models. Most people depicted in this photograph are elite members of Frelimo. Samora Machel is stands next to the lady, who seems to be a prominent member of this organisation, of the symbolic torture scene.

For Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 187), the structure itself of a picture is ideological and the important point is that the information is presented as though it has a particular status or value for the reader, and the readers have to read it within that structure. Moving to a composition of 'Real' and 'Ideal', in terms of the 'information value on top and bottom', Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 193) argue that the text (see Appendix VI-F) on the upper part is the 'Ideal' information which is presented as idealised or generalised essence, the most salient part that contrasts the 'Real' which presents more specific information (e.g details). So if we critically analyse the compositional message conveyed by these scholars, it becomes evident that the 'Ideal' information seems to make general statements (real or false) about Frelimo members by labelling them as *racistas*, *terroristas*, *cabecilhas*, and so forth and whilst making an emotive appeal as to show us 'what might be'. On the other hand, the 'Real' (the photograph in Figure 5.3 that appears at the bottom section) tends to be

more informative and practical by showing us ‘what is’ (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 193) or who they are. The layout thus creates this negative image of Frelimo that makes it to look factual thus forcing the readers/viewers to make the final judgment about this organisation.

The fact that only black Frelimo members and *mestiços* are depicted, it may imply that this organisation was made up of black and *mestiços* membership alone. Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that usually newspapers have access to a collection of stock images for social actors, which they can use depending on whether they wish to present them as confident, defeated, *racist*, etc. This argument clearly suggests that photographers have choices on how they wish to portray social actors, positively or otherwise. The message it might convey to the reader/viewers here is obvious. Firstly, it may suggest that this political party is racially driven. They are there to defend the rights of blacks only. Secondly, it may mean that although some whites belong to this organisation, they are far too rational and humane to be associated with this kind of behaviour and do not carry on such barbaric actions of massacring or mistreating other people irrespective of their skin colour.



Figure 5.4: Frelimo Members in Johannesburg

If we were to compare the pictures discussed so far (Figure 5.2 and 5.3) against Figure 5.4, it will become clear that they celebrate more commonalities than differences. Figures 5.4, 5.3 and 5.2 were all shot from the same ‘social distance’ which as explained is a distance in which formal and impersonal business is conducted. The distance conveys a message of strangeness between the

depicted *militantes da Frelimo* [Frelimo militants]. In short, this symbolic distance indirectly indicates that there is absolutely no social relation between *them* and *us*.

Nevertheless, in Figure 5.4, the sentiment of detachment or otherness is reinforced by the selection of an atypical angle: the three are photographed from a highly oblique side to a point where one can see their backs. To re-emphasise the interpretative hypothesis associated with this kind of depiction, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) elucidate that this angle suggests that what you see here is *not* part of our world; it is something we are not involved with. This institutes unambiguous positionings of *selves* and *other*. On the other hand, this picture can be described as an ‘offer image’ unlike Figures 5.2 and 5.3 which are branded as ‘demand’ image.

In the same vein, all three pictures depict Frelimo members, and in Figure 5.4 they appear to shy away from the camera hence offering us a similar explanation of disengagement between the participants and viewer. As was noted above, figure 5.4 is an ‘offer image’ which as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 124) explain, addresses us indirectly. Thus the viewer does not become the object, but the subject, and the represented participant is the object of the viewer’s dispassionate scrutiny. Altogether this image simply proposes that the participants do not desire to bond with the viewer thus providing us with an ‘offer image’. As seen, these depictions in turn contradict both Figures 5.2 and 5.3 in which the participants in most cases are photographed frontally and looking at the viewers.

On the above note, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that the choice which must be made whenever people are depicted, can be a multi-purpose one, but largely suggests different relations with different ‘others’, to make viewers engage with some yet remain detached from others. In these three pictures, ‘offer’ images predominate, thus endorsing the issue of distance between Frelimo and the Portuguese people as well as other Mozambicans who did not associate with the organisation.

In image 5.4, the ‘offer’ image invests negative attributes to the depicted participants since viewers are invited to a negative identification of Frelimo members who should behave as leaders but are not doing so. They are photographed as unsmiling and with their backs turned to the viewer, implying that they are uncivil. On the other hand, when they are depicted as smiling and from a frontal angle, they are found to be simulating criminal activities like in Figure 5.2. The information conveyed so far by both visual and verbal language are not only logically structured, but also

complemented by the headline of Figure 5.4 that reads *FRELIMO tenta operação de sabotagem económica na África do Sul* [Frelimo attempts an economic sabotage in South Africa].

The information in Figure 5.4 is foregrounded in bold font (see Appendix VI-H). In addition, the word ‘Frelimo’ is entirely capitalised while the rest of the headline is in lower case. Interestingly enough, while Figure 5.4 seems to focus on the country’s economy (as the title suggests), Figure 5.2 is directed at physical harm. Both activities are criminally charged and directly or indirectly affect human well-being physically and socially. This reinforces the criminal nature of this organisation.

Much of the visual findings is dominated by negative “constructions of otherness” (Hallam and Street, 2000: 8) with a clear exclusionary agenda towards Frelimo members. In these images there is an ordering of representations which privileges the Portuguese people who are not explicitly represented here, and when represented are shown as victims, which marginalizes or discredits Frelimo, which in most cases appears to be the villain. Such constructions are visibly arranged “through subtle manipulations of signs and images” (Hallam and Street, 2000: 9), such as the absence of a white person in a collective Frelimo photograph (when in fact the organisation had white membership in the elite), and the simulated torture of a white dummy by a black one.

What we have been witnessing so far is that both visual and verbal languages are expressed constructively and holistically to what seems a principle to conceptualise ‘otherness’. This finds support in another article, reproduced as its original, bearing the following headline:

Moçambique – onde os “representantes do povo” tomam secadores por pistolas e levam 3.500\$00 para não revistar os caixotes [Mozambique, the country where “people’s representatives” confuse hairdryers for guns and take a bribe of 3.500\$00 in order not to search the boxes] (14 October 1975).

The above headline unquestionably is a mockery of Mozambicans at large, but most particularly of Frelimo. It presupposes that this organisation and its members (who here are given a sort of honorific courtesy by being referred to as ‘representantes do povo’ [representatives of the people]), are ‘stupid’ and ‘corrupt’. The mockery is emphasised by placing the honorific expression in inverted commas. In this context, the implication is that no good representatives of the people should behave in this way. Given that this article was published on 14 October 1975, nearly 4 months after Mozambique became an independent state; it may imply that in spite of this movement

having attained a new status - from a terrorist organisation or guerrilla movement to a leading political party in power - they have not changed their old ways.

This text, in contrast to others discussed so far, is a letter addressed to the readership. The letter does not give clear information on the citizenship of the writer of the letter, although the name 'Neves Veloso' is given. The letter is preceded by the following statement:

Do nosso leitor Neves Veloso, que sofreu imenso com a perda da sua terra – recebemos a seguinte carta [We received the following letter from our reader Neves Veloso who suffered a lot when he lost his motherland].

To add to this already existing ambiguity, the article also, as seen in the above sentence, states that 'he suffered a lot when he lost his motherland' which implies he is a Mozambican national most probably a Portuguese national born in Mozambique. But he also addresses the letter to *todos os Portugueses...*[all Portuguese people..] which conveys the idea that he is a Portuguese citizen or otherwise he is referring to all Portuguese people at large, of course, including its 'overseas provinces'.

Furthermore in his letter, before he relates what he saw *da última vez que veio* [the last time he came] to Lourenço Marques, he states that

Sim, a Frelimo é um bando de assassinos [Yes, Frelimo is a bunch of assassins]

The employment of the noun *bando* which already has negative connotations as it is synonymous to 'group of mobsters', 'gangsters' or 'criminals', used in conjunction with *assassinos* [assassins], underpins the negative attributes already established in the headline: *Mozambique, the country where "people's representatives" confuse hairdryers for guns and take a bribe of 3.500\$00 in order not to search the boxes*. Furthermore, the use of a modal verb 'to be' as in *é* [is] which has a strong modality in establishing assurance or factuality instead of a modal verb or expression which has lower modality such as 'seems to be', establishes the idea that Frelimo is really as bad as described here.

Here the story is resemiotised (re-told). The narrator who is recounting what happened reproduces either what he or *um amigo* [a friend of his] saw. This in contrast lowers the credibility of the event in terms of its occurrence. Apart from providing us with information on the setting 'Lourenço Marques', we know nothing else, for example, whether the incident occurred at an airport or port or at any other entry point to the country. We also are not provided with information about his friend, which leaves one to question the credibility of the event. Thus the story might be true or fabricated.

Nevertheless, the letter states that Frelimo members *mandaram-no parar para o revistarem* [asked him (his friend) to stop in order to search him] and that he was surprised to find *um secador de mão de senhora e perguntaram-lhe se aquilo era uma pistola* [a ladies' hairdryer but even so he was asked whether that was a gun or something else].

This suggests that Frelimo members cannot distinguish a gun from a hairdryer thus in some way, as stressed earlier, they are stupid. To corroborate this assumption, a rhetorical question follows the above statements:

Serão estes os tais legítimos representantes do povo Moçambicano? Ou ainda aqueles que lhes dando 3.500\$00 não abrem os caixotes? [Will these be the so called legitimate representatives of the Mozambican people? Or yet those who once given 3.500\$00 don't open the boxes (in order to be searched)?]

By using a rhetorical question, the author reinforces the doubts over governance under Frelimo leadership. This is also corroborated by the use of modal verb 'to be' in future tense *serão* [will] and a demonstrative pronoun *estes* [these]. Van Dijk (1987: 108) argues that rhetorical operations have "both an interactional and cognitive function [...] to express and convey in-group and out-group membership". He further contends that persuasion as well as strategies of self-presentation, may be made more effective by rhetorical operations. With regards to the demonstrative pronoun *estes*, Van Dijk (1987: 104) remarks that is used as a form of social distance.

In sum, in this context the rhetorical question and demonstrative pronoun jointly arouse doubt in the reader. It is as if the writer asks whether Frelimo (*they*) should lead *you* (the people) instead of *us* (white people) who are not corrupt or stupid? The ideological plan behind this move is to self-present *us* as the only suitable candidates to lead the country.

Similar devices are present in an article headlined *"TRINTA E NOVE PESSOAS CONSEGUIRAM LIBERTAR-SE DA "FRELIMO" E REGRESSARAM ÀS SUAS TERRAS* [THIRTY NINE PEOPLE MANAGED TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM FRELIMO AND RETURNED TO THEIR LANDS] (09 March 1971). See Appendix VI-G for original article.

Almost all the articles' headlines including the ones discussed in Chapter 4 appear to be interacting with one another. They are in bold font, and mainly printed in upper case, although the above

headline is almost three times bigger than the other headlines. While this is acceptable given that the headlines in their majority “abstract the main event of the story and / or are not just a summary of the *event being reported*” (Bell, 1991: 189) they are also “part of news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader”. In some articles, including this one, certain texts are singled out mostly by inverted commas which clearly emphasise that the actions are not incidental, but rather deliberate with the intention either to lower or increase, within a small or large spatial context, their modal salience and/or their hierarchical position.

Frelimo, as the main actor in these texts, is the epicenter of the discussion. Furthermore, in terms of facts, the headline quoted above seems to sketch some relevant notes by providing an important point on the setting which is *trinta e nove pessoas* [thirty-nine people]. Such an attempt at presenting factual information in the headline which can be verified, I presume, is to rule out any possible idea that the news is a fabrication. The purpose may be to create a rapport in the headline that will be confirmed by further text.

In this respect, the headline represents Frelimo in a negative light which is further validated by a combination of the material process verb *conseguiram* [were able /managed] in the past tense which plays the role of an auxiliary verb and the verb *libertar* [to free] in the infinitive form. The main verb is accompanied by a reflexive pronoun *se* [themselves] which in Portuguese is realised by a hyphen. This strongly suggests that these people (the 39 prisoners) were not freed willingly by Frelimo. They had perhaps gone through some sort of struggle to set themselves free. This is confirmed by the use of the noun *garras* [claws] in plural instead of *mãos* [hands] to express the circumstances in which those people were held captive.

Under normal circumstances the noun *garras* is used to describe how an eagle, for instance, grips its prey with its claws. On this note, the use of the word instead of *mãos* is a deliberate attempt to perhaps construct the idea that the people were closely guarded, perhaps in inhumane conditions. They possibly freed themselves when there were no Frelimo members present otherwise they would probably have been killed. In this context, the *trinta e nove pessoas* [thirty nine people] are being portrayed as the protagonists of the action of escaping from incarceration imposed on them by Frelimo, making them (before their action) the ‘affected’ or the victims of Frelimo’s actions. At the same time they are also the ‘beneficiaries’ of their own action. The depiction turns them into some sort of local heroes and casts Frelimo as the villains or rather the architects of terror

Furthermore, these innocent people Frelimo is accused of keeping as prisoners included not only *homems* [men] but also vulnerable *mulheres e crianças* [women and children] who apart from being *raptado dos seus aldeamentos* [kidnapped from their own villages] which implies against their will, were also *obrigado a trabalharem nas machambas* [forced to work in the farm] probably under hard labour. Under these circumstances, Frelimo is implicitly attributed less humane qualities compared to their escapees and in turn this may fuel antagonism towards Frelimo while arousing sympathy towards their captives.

In fact their actions had serious repercussions given that some escapees arrived in their lands *quase nus, cheios de fome e doentes* [almost naked, extremely hungry and sick]. To make things more complicated, the article articulates that while some of these people survived the hardship others *morreram devido à doença e à fome* [died of starvation and sickness].

This article compared to many others seems to offer more concrete evidence to back the other texts, thus making it more realistic and believable. Nonetheless, with the exception of Selemene Raimo, who happens to be *chefe da povoação* [a community leader], none of the identities of the victims are revealed. Raimo seems to be a native Mozambican most probably a black person judging by the name which contributes to the story that Frelimo is prosecuting its own people. Seibert (2003) provides an interesting point in this respect. He argues that while it cannot be denied that Renamo forces used terror and excessive force against civilians, government forces also employed equally violent tactics in zones of the population that supported Renamo. This of course implies that, in fact, Frelimo also tortured innocent civilians as inferred by the article. Furthermore, the author of this article also includes the district these people were kidnapped from and to which they returned namely ‘Ancuabe’, ‘district of Cabo Delgado’. The first place these people sought help from after being released is mentioned as

Posto administrativo de Nangade [the Administrative sector of Nangade].

By providing these facts, the readers or viewers’ feelings are played on – firstly as an invitation to experience what these people have gone through and secondly to try to convince them to condemn Frelimo’s actions and not continuing to associate with it.

The appeal has no boundaries racially although it seems that is primarily directed at whites. The kidnapping and torture of 39 people who seemingly were all blacks, implicitly implies that if they (Frelimo) did not hesitate to torture their own people, they would certainly do the same to white people. This article overall, like many others discussed here presupposes “unreasonable or

unacceptable acts of the out-group members, namely, negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation” (Van Dijk, 1987: 67).

The article’s ending is interesting as it corroborates Van Dijk’s argument in terms of the Portuguese presenting themselves positively given that the lands to which the escapees returned is referred to as *terras portuguesas* [Portuguese lands] and

Onde os aguardava tratamento bem diferente daquele infligido pelos inimigos do povo [where a very different treatment compared to that given to them by enemies of the people was awaiting them].

This shows that within Mozambique itself, the territory is divided between those ruled or under control of Frelimo which is dominated by insecurity, terror, anger, total anarchy, etc. and those ruled by the Portuguese which is dominated by security, abundance, civility and so forth. Thus Frelimo as seen in the above text are *inimigos do povo* [enemies of the people] and Portuguese people are friends. On this note, Dyer (2000: 3) points out that negative representation of a group have negative consequences for the lives of members of that grouping and those identifying with it.

In sum, these selected lexicons and phrases (*kidnapped, men, women, children, forced labour, naked, hunger, sickness* etc.) are constructed as negative, with some more negative than others, e.g. denying these people the basic needs such as ‘clothing’, ‘food’ and ‘health’ and so forth. This makes Frelimo look more like a terrorist organisation than the rulers of a country, and it is dehumanised particularly through its abuse of power and in turn its incapacity to rule its people.

One can conclude by arguing that the negative representation of Frelimo is ideologically motivated with the intention of weakening this ‘freedom movement’ and instead aspiring to maintain the political *status quo* of colonial power, domination and exploitation of the Mozambican people.

5.1.2. Representations of Samora Machel

The terms *Samora* and *Machel* which as stated appear in the frequency list as separate entities (see Table 5.2, below) have strong collocational (see Appendix V- M for both Samora and Machel respectively) links with: *ditador* [dictator]; Machel (his surname); *invadir* [to invade]; *castigar* [to punish]; *terror*; *terrorista* [terrorist] and interestingly *contra* [against] for the former, and *ditador* [dictator]; *ditadura* [dictatorship]; *presidente* [president]; *regime* [regime]; *chefe* [chief

/commander] for the latter. A point worthy to make is that the collocate *contra* when used in reference to Samora is mostly in reference to counter-offensive action to dismantle his regime, here much referred to as ‘dictatorship’. So the term offers less positive discourse prosody compared to the collocate *chefe* which in general is used in a very negative light to refer to him as the catalyst of the regime’s ‘malicious’ actions.

Nevertheless, the immediate collocates of both Samora and Machel as noted above, except for *president* to a certain degree, are informed by negativity. The verbs *to invade as Samora Machel ameaçou invadir a Rodésia com dez milhões de homens* [Samora Machel threatened to invade Rhodesia with ten million men] and *castigar as* *..todos querem ajudar a castigar Samora e outros ladrões do seu governo* [everybody want to help to punish Samora and other thieves of his government] (see both examples in concordancing lines 7 and 55 Appendix IV-M, Samora) bear enough witness on the nature of this organisation and its conduct. These collocates’ descriptions point to a discourse of terrorism, anarchy, and human rights violation including that of international convention of countries’ sovereignty; a reason why, as the second sentence suggest, him and the rest of Frelimos must be punished.

The following table provides a description of the lexicon ‘Samora Machel’ in the corpus.

Search term	Frequency	Descriptions /Types	Times as per occurrences
Samora	66	actor	9
		victim	11
Machel	72	negative connotations	39
		positive connotations	25
Total→	137		

Table 5. 2: Samora Machel’s Lexicon in the Corpus

‘Samora’ and ‘Machel’ combined have 137 occurrences in the corpus. Of these, only 9 cases are linked to Samora Machel (see Appendix IV-M for full lines) as an actor such as:

- (i) *Samora Machel ameaçou invadir a Rodésia*

- [Samora Machel threatened to invade Rodeasia];
- (ii) ***Samora Machel ordena Mais oito condenações à morte***
[Samora orders eight more executions/death penalties];
- (iii) ***Samora transfere dinheiro para a Suíça***
[Samora transfers money to Switzerland];
- (iv) ***que Machel ditou o encerramento das fronteiras***
[Machel ordered the closure of the borders];
- (v) ***Comunistas de Machel massacraram dez Homens***
[communists of Machel massacred ten men];
- (vi) ***Machel nacionaliza a Companhia de Cimentos***
[Machel nationalises the Cement Company];
- (vii) ***de 25 mil contos feito por Machel numa conta pessoal bancária em Genebra***
[Machel made a deposit of 25 thousand in a personal account in Geneva].

These examples evidently portray Samora Machel as a terrorist, inhumane and irrational (seeing that his lack of foreseeing the consequences of his action does not only endanger the life of his people, but that of innocent Rhodesians). In addition, he is the catalyst behind the killing of numerous Mozambicans as suggested by examples (i), (ii) and (v). On the other hand, he is also a thief who uses his power to steal money from the country's treasury for self-enrichment, examples (iii) and (vii), implying that his plan to nationalise the *Cimento* Company might be motivated by personal interest. Example (iv) which suggests that he ordered the closure of the border may further propose his cruelty towards his own people who depend on cross-border trading for a living.

As was stated, 9 cases depict Samora Machel as a victim. Some of these examples (see Appendix IV-M for full concordance lines) we reproduce as follows:

- (i) ***Desespero apodera-se de Samora***
[despair engulfs Samora];
- (ii) ***Samora vaiado na Suécia***
[Samora booed in Sweden];
- (iii) ***protesto contra a opressão de Samora***
[protest against the oppression Regime of Samora];
- (iv) ***nova tentativa para liquidar Machel***
[new attempt to eliminate Machel];
- (v) ***testemunhas oculares afirmam que Machel foi apanhado de terror***
[Eye witness affirmed that Machel was found in terror actions];

- (vi) *Machel foi insultado e vaiado*
[Machel was booed and insulted].

Like the examples that expose Samora Machel as an actor, these ones also cast him in a negative light. Example (i) for instance insinuates that Samora Machel is in total despair, and that this despair is shared by his entire organisation. Examples (ii) and (vi) which state that Samora was booed and insulted index a lack of respect for him. He is derided in Sweden probably by whites, conveying a message of substandard leadership. He also embodies the oppression of his own people by committing acts of terror against them, which explains why there were attempts to kill him (iv).

In the same vein, it is remarkable how clauses or even phrases in the corpus which point to negative connotations outnumber the positive counterparts. In total, 39 cases (see Appendix IV-M for these concordance lines) of negativity are identified though some with implicit meanings:

- (i) *Opuseram ao reconhecimento de **Samora Machel** como sucessor do primeiro presidente da Frelimo*
[they opposed in recognising Samora Machel as the successor of the first president of Frelimo];
- (ii) *os crimes cometidos pelos sequazes de **Samora Machel***
[the crimes perpetrated by followers of Samora Machel];
- (iii) *identificação de ‘parasitas’ e ‘traidores’ atribuída por **Machel** a professores, médicos e advogados*
[the nickname of ‘parasites’ and ‘traitors’ that Machel gave to the teachers, medical doctors and lawyers];
- (iv) ***Samora Machel** – “ que nunca foi guerrilheiro, nem combateu*
[Samora Machel who was never a guerrilla soldier, did not fight any war];
- (v) *os campos de concentração de **Samora Machel***
[the concentration camps of Samora Machel];
- (vi) *as mentiras de **Machel***
[lies of Machel];
- (vii) *O regime terrorista de **Machel** obtem ouro à custa do trabalho dos mineiros*
[the terrorist regime of Machel gets gold at expense of mineworkers];
- (viii) *Em Estocolmo, num luxuoso hotel, **Machel** recebeu os jornalistas*
[Machel received journalists in a luxurious hotel];
- (ix) *agora se lamenta o ditador **Samora Machel***
[the dictator Samora Machel laments now]

In the first and second examples Samora Machel materialises as a suboptimal candidate to replace Eduardo Mondlane (the first president of Frelimo) and as a criminal even though the latter case does not directly implicate him considering that these crimes were not committed by him but rather by his followers. Nevertheless, the fact that he owns a concentration camp, example (v) and he is the president of this organisation automatically make him responsible for all crimes even those committed by other Frelimo members. He is also introduced as a disrespectful man since he calls some prominent members of the society ‘parasites’ and ‘traitors’, including teachers, medical doctors and so forth. In addition, he is described as a coward and a liar since he was never a guerrilla soldier and was never in the battlefield (vi). Lastly, he is also termed as an exploiter of his own people given that he gets gold at the expense of the poor mineworkers and probably he uses this money to live a lavish lifestyle in luxurious hotels in Stockholm – as suggested in example (viii). In addition, he is also constructed as someone who imposes his dictatorship in ruling his fellow compatriots as the last example implies. Each example, at least, carries a sort of negative construct of Machel, and none suggests otherwise.

Notwithstanding all the negative descriptions there were 25 cases (see Appendix IV-M) with more positive traits:

- (i) *Presidente da Frelimo Samora Machel*
[Samora Machel president of Frelimo];
- (ii) *SR. Samora Machel*
[Mr. Samora Machel];
- (iii) *cumprimento e saúdo camarada Samora Machel*
[I greet and salute comrade Samora Machel];
- (iv) *O líder nacionalista de Moçambique Samora Machel*
[Samora Machel the nationalist leader of Mozambique], etc.

These examples articulate one symbolic message which is of honouring Samora Machel. This is done through the use of lexical items such as *President*, *Mr.*, *nationalist leader* and *comrade*. The discourse transmits a message of respect and even solidarity. Machel is also rendered semi-honorific respect seeing that both given name (Samora) and surname (Machel) are used concurrently. These positive representations place Machel, in relation to other negative discursive practices, in a virtually unquestionable position as a hero, thus disarticulating “a wide range of societal strategies” (Carpentier, 2008: 37) used to construct him as an evil man, enemy or other

negative representation. Conversely, the visual image that follows contradicts some of these positive interpretations.



Figure 5.5: Samora Machel (29-08-1979)

Similar to what we observed in the verbalised discourse, in the visual above, Machel is shot from an unusual angle. The picture is quite complex in terms of interpretation. His right hand is on his forehead while his mouth, like his eyes, is wide open. The hand on the forehead is complex on its own when it comes to interpretation: is it part of his body language since he seems to be standing and making a speech. On the other hand, such depiction can indicate terror - the open eye itself-causing a disturbing or uncomfortable feeling in the viewer. Thus while it seems that he wants to connect to the people since the left eye seems to addressing the viewer, we can still account for such depiction as an 'offer' image; a complete disengagement with viewer. This leaves no doubt that it is a negative depiction. Furthermore, he is depicted, like in many other cases, from an oblique angle which reinforces the negativity of other aspects of depiction.

In the same token, although the picture is 'a close-up' which should show the head and shoulders of the subject" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 130) in its entirety, here part of the head and hands are cut off, which seems to be a deliberate attempt. Whereas the close-up shot may suggest closeness or attachment with the viewer the barrier caused by the raised arm which closes part of his face as well as the incompleteness of the head and hand may prompt a different interpretation: he is a subject to be contemplated only but not to engage with. It may also imply that he is someone who is not

worthy of respect; mostly particularly if we acknowledge that the photographer (professional or unprofessional) had in his/her disposition influence to choose another (positive) angle to represent Machel but instead chose this one and the editorial staff accepted its inclusion in the article, when perhaps there were other pictures taken in the event, one may conclude that the action is intentionally carried out to portray Machel in a negative light.

Both the visual and linguistic descriptions seem to connect exceptionally well. The headline is separated into two sections, the first part stating '*Samora Machel ordena*' [Samora Machel orders / commands] is written in font size smaller than the rest of the headline although it is underlined. The second part reads '*Mais oito condenações à morte de cidadãos moçambicanos*' [deaths of eight more Mozambicans citizens]. Altogether it reads that 'Samora Machel orders the death of eight Mozambicans citizens' (see Figure 5.5, above).

As noted, both fractions of the headline are given salience - the first part by underlining and the other by exaggeration of the font size, making them look like two separate entities (each one being noteworthy) and yet as a single unit. In fact, each fragment of text cannot be read separately since both are conjoined by a transitive verb which under normal circumstances requires either a direct or indirect object. To best illustrate my point, we can turn the first part into a question: 'What did Samora Machel order/command?' which is then answered by the second fraction: the killing of eight more Mozambicans citizens.

While the composition of most of the articles used so far (with the exception of the shoemaker's boy) has been dominated first by the headline, then the text and finally the picture, here we encounter a different hierarchical structure: picture, headline and further text. So the central focus seems to be on the visual material rather than on the linguistic aspects of it.

To reinforce the headline's message the lead, with the exception of a small chunk of added text, is not different from the headline which I reproduce here:

Samora Machel ordena mais oito condenações à morte de cidadãos [Samora orders eight more executions /death penalties of Mozambican citizens] (headline) and

Mais oito cidadãos moçambicanos foram condenados à morte pelo tribunal revolucionário da Frelimo [Eight more Mozambican citizens were condemned to death by Frelimo's revolutionary tribunal].

The negativity in the sentence is expressed by the words *condenações* [condemnations] and

Morte [death]. These two words appear to imply that various negative values govern this organisation: human rights violations, inhumane treatment of other humans who happen to be Mozambicans too, barbaric behaviour, irrationality, etc.

Like the previous article, this one also uses some crucial information about the numbers of the victims –*oito* [eight]- and further down in the text we are also informed, though vaguely, about the victims' origin as *cidadãos moçambicanos* [Mozambican citizens]. The article is not specific about whether these are indigenous Mozambicans or settlers who are at times referred to as white Mozambicans or Asian-Mozambicans, which might have made things unequivocal. The implication is therefore that these people are black Mozambicans, which is likely to attract negative publicity for both the organisation and its president.

The text also gives what seems to be factual information about the number of people so far executed by Frelimo on the orders of Samora Machel in the *últimos cinco anos* [in the last five years] which add up to *trinta e uma* [thirty one]. Names and ages of the 8 people executed are also provided: Tuana Runduma, José Francisco Barbosa Ribeiro (27), Zefanias Francisco (43), Albino Alique, Paulo Soene Manla (23), Joaquim Garepe Tomo (28), Rafael Robão Mondlane (21) and João Ezequiel. While the author is quick to point that these people were executed, no motive is provided for their killing. The omission of this information conveys the idea that these people were killed for no reason which makes the organisation once again look as if it is ruled by inhumane people, most particularly its president Samora Machel. The ages supplied also convey the message that it is largely young people who are being killed instead of being nurtured to take ownership of the country's future. In addition, the killing of a 43 year old person who might be a father, a bread winner, a husband, an uncle and so forth, may also arouse sympathy for the deceased but strong negativity towards Samora Machel and his organisation. Lastly, a critical analysis of the names of the executed people establishes that perhaps apart from 'José Francisco Barbosa Ribeiro' whose name does not allow the reader to decide whether he is Portuguese or Mozambican, the names of the others appear to show that it is indigenous Mozambicans who are being killed by Machel and Frelimo.

Overall, Machel's character is marginalised ideologically by stereotypical judgments in terms of 'proper' versus 'unseemly' behaviour, lifestyle, intellectuality, morality, rationality which are vital characteristics to establish whether he and his organisation are worthy or not of replacing the Portuguese regime.

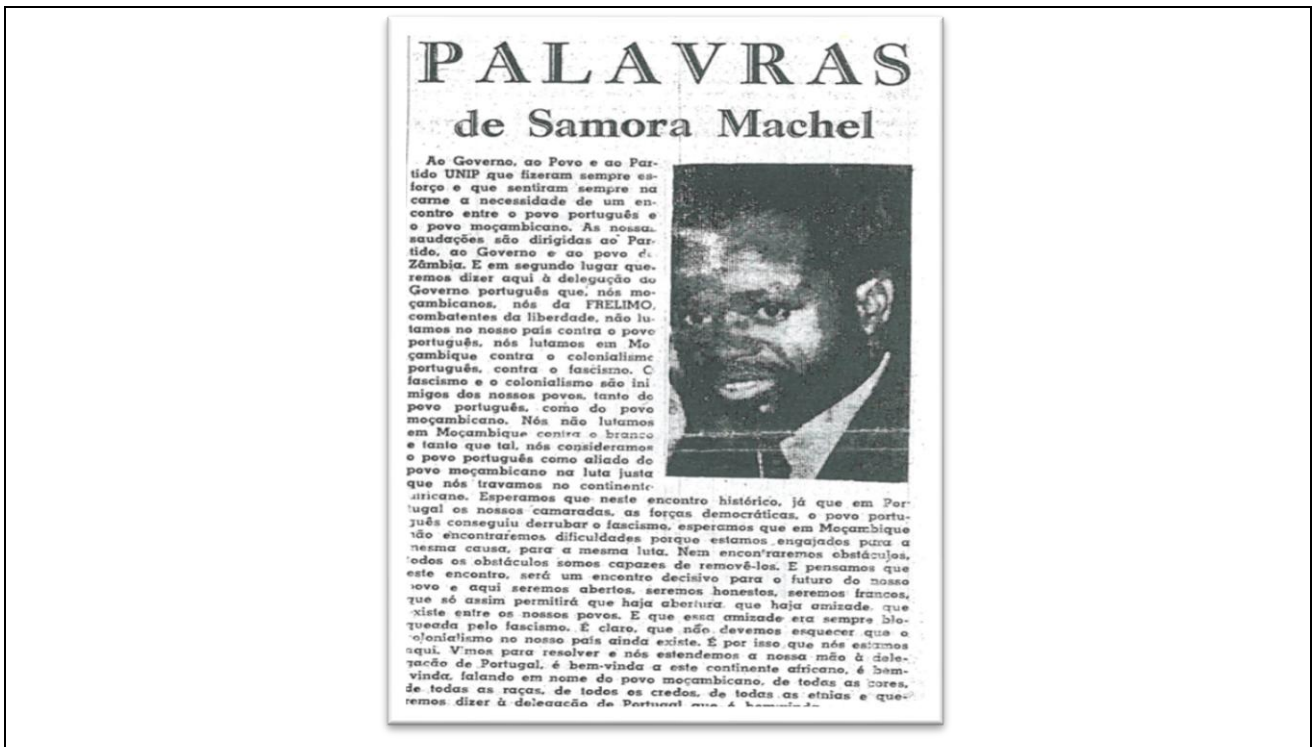


Figure 5.6: Samora Machel 2

This picture in Figure 5.6 seems to complement the depiction of Machel in Figure 5.5 in some ways. Both pictures presuppose a ‘demand image’ of trying to connect with the viewer. Both are taken in close proximity to the subject, suggesting a sort of intimacy. To a certain extent, such depictions can be construed as positive. Nevertheless, with regards to the angle at which these pictures are taken, Picture 5.6 seems to show less obliqueness, since it displays more of a frontal angle than Picture 5.5.

Furthermore, while Machel seems to be making eye contact with the viewer in these pictures, a careful analysis may convince us that such depiction entails multiple rationalisations. In other words, one has to think first of the position of other pictures with regards to the theoretical frameworks of ‘demand’ and ‘offer’ image when comparing these two pictures with others, e.g. Picture 5.3. The facial expression is also of importance. In both pictures (Figure 5.5 and 5.6) Machel is depicted with his eyes wide open (which makes him appear intimidating), an open mouth and an anxious facial expression – more pronounced in 5.5 than 5.6, where he seems more at ease.

In addition, these two images, in spite of showing almost unique compositional structure in terms of information value, have almost a similar structure. For example, both have the verbal text as the Given information and the photograph as the New information. It is vital to reiterate the explanation

provided by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) for these two concepts, who argue that for something to be Given it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be considered New it is presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something that is worthy of careful or extra attention.

The explanation provided above with regards to Given and New implies that the essential information of these articles are the pictures and it is here where the reader/viewer should spend a great deal of time and socio-cultural knowledge to decipher the message behind it and the verbal text should be used purely to expand or solidify the knowledge one acquires from the visual interpretation.

While Figure 5.5 has a thick framing line around the picture, which seems to be constructing a very clear boundary between the visual image and verbal text, Figure 5.6 seems rather to be presented with much thinner framing which makes it far more integrated with the text. Nevertheless, the article's headline published on the 22nd April 1975 seems to be one of the most exclusive texts so far in terms of representation:

*ONDE SE FALA DA "PILHAGEM COLONIAL" EM MOÇAMBIQUE
DESCONHECIMENTO OU MÁ FÉ DO SR. SAMORA MACHEL? [WHERE IS
IT SPOKEN ABOUT THE "COLONIAL THEFT" IN MOZAMBIQUE, THE
IGNORANCE OR THE CONSPIRACY OF MR. SAMORA MACHEL?]*

The article seems to be summarising almost all those discussed so far including those of Chapter 4. It is used as a battleground for both coloniser and the colonised to settle their dispute in terms of their performance. The main argument seems to evolve around two main issues, the theft (according to Machel) of the resources of Mozambique by the Portuguese, which left the Mozambican people in a difficult socio-economic and political situation. The opposing view is of course presented by the Portuguese. Machel speaks on behalf of the Mozambican people and on the other the newspaper/ journalist speaks on behalf of the Portuguese people. Since the article is quite long, it has been summarised in the table below.

Samora Machel's views of the negative effects of Portuguese colonisation on Mozambicans	The newspaper/journalist's views on the alleged positive effects of Portuguese colonisation
<p>The Portuguese colonisers left:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bancarrotta económica</i> [economic bankruptcy]; • <i>fome</i> [hunger]; • <i>herança vergonhosa</i> [shameful inheritance]; • <i>sombria herança</i> [gloomy/dark inheritance]; • <i>situação social caótica</i> [chaotic social situation]; • <i>...não há praticamnte moçambicanos[...] formados</i>” [a miniature number of qualified Mozambican personnels]; <p>Loss of human lives translated into:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>viúvas</i> [widows] and • <i>órfãos</i> [orphans]; • <i>vícios</i> [bad habits]such as: • <i>alcoolismo</i> [alcoholism]; • <i>drogas</i> [drugs]; • <i>prostituição</i> [prostitution] 	<p>In the <i>Pre-colonial</i> era the Portuguese people found the following in Mozambique:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>homem primitivo</i> [primitive men]; • <i>violência</i> [violence]; • <i>miséria</i> [misery]; • <i>habitações de colmo</i> [thatched huts]; • <i>agricultura itinerante muito pobre de dois ou três géneros alimentícios</i> [traditional and poor agricultural structure characterised by two or three types of food]; • <i>tiranos</i> [tyrants]. <p>The <i>Colonial</i> era, on the other hand, was marked by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>A extraordinária obra civilizadora</i> [An extraordinary civilisation]; <p>Huge infrastructure including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>...a quinta maior barragem hidroelétrica do mundo</i> [...the fifth biggest hydroelectric dam in the world]; • <i>Felicidade</i> [happiness]; - • <i>protecção</i> [protection]. <p>The <i>Post-Independence</i> era (with the departure of the Portuguese people) is marked by a return to primitivism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>violência</i> [violence]; • <i>isolamento</i> [isolation]; • <i>miséria</i> [misery]

Table 5.3: Summary of Representations

Starting with the headline, Frelimo's president is depicted as ignorant or uninformed and untrustworthy since he cannot tell the truth about the advantages the Portuguese brought to Mozambique and its people. What is interesting here is the fact that apart from the headline written in bold font and which is three times bigger than the rest of the text, the entire headline, letter by letter is also written in capital letters which creates an emphasis on the issue while at the same time directly solidifying the insult to Machel as 'uninformed' and a 'conspirator'. Furthermore, the

headline is a rhetorical question seeing that no answer is expected. Instead, the attempt is to keep Machel in the spotlight at the mercy of the readership's judgment.

To make things even more interesting the mockery moves from an individual who is now a prominent member of Frelimo to a generic, encompassing all citizens: 'primitive people' who are 'tyrants', live a violent life, 'oppress themselves', live in 'misery' and in 'huts'. Words are carefully engineered here which creates a realistic image of Mozambican people's lifestyle before the arrival and again after the departure of the Portuguese people.

This discourse proposes a number of signifieds to characterise Mozambican people: 'backward', uncivilised', uneducated, animals, which explains why they are living in 'huts' and why they are 'violent' and 'miserable', prone to killing one another. The way ideas are presented presupposes that thanks to the 'civilised', 'educated' and 'humane' Portuguese and their *extraordinária obra civilizadora* [their extraordinary civilisation work], Mozambican people now live in

- *felicidade* [happiness];
- *protecção* [protection];
- *grandes centros urbanos* [in great urban centres]
- *casas modernas* [modern houses]

The journalist therefore dismisses Machel's claims that the Portuguese left a

- *bancarrota económica* [economic bankruptcy];
- *herança vergonhosa* [shameful inheritance];
- *sombria herança* [gloomy/dark inheritance] and
- *vícios* [bad habits] such as drugs, prostitution and alcoholism.

Machel uses an 'anastrophe' (a syntactic rhetoric figure of speech which consists on the inversion of the normal words' order) *sombria herança* [gloomy/dark inheritance], which contradicts the typical syntactic structure of the Portuguese language. The normal structure should be, '*herança sombria*. In this case, *herança* [inheritance] being the noun and then *sombria* [gloomy/dark] the adjective. By placing the word *sombria* in a prominent (first) syntactic position the author reinforces, on the one hand, the *vergonhosa* [shameful] inheritance and on the other the highlights the atypical 'inheritance' left by the Portuguese. The typical collocates for the noun 'inheritance' would perhaps be 'good', 'great' and so forth. Machel's claim contradicts the so-called 'extraordinary civilisation' brought by the Portuguese.

Nevertheless, while the journalist admits that

É certo que são poucos os moçambicanos médicos, sociólogos, engenheiros e juristas [it is true that there are few qualified Mozambican personnel as medical doctors, sociologists, engineers and jurists]

he argues that it is not true in regards to

... que deixaram[what they left].

This simply means that their departure brought the country and its people back to backwardness or simply back to the primitive lifestyle they used to be characterised by:

- *violência* [violence];
- *isolamento* [isolation]; and
- *miséria* [misery].

These examples also imply that Machel and his people are all ‘primitives’. Ellul (1973) argues that the attempt here is to spread an ideology through the mass media of communication in order to lead the public to accept some political or economic structure or to participate in some action. Overall, this is what in reality is happening. Both parties are ideologically debating, trying to convince the local and international community about their capabilities. Here however, it becomes clear that the Portuguese people seem to be in a better position in providing inaccurate accounts of Mozambican people, since they select good deeds for themselves, to the detriment of their opponents who are ‘primitive’, ‘uneducated’, ‘uncivilised’, ‘tyrants’, etc. This raises the issue of voice and power such as “who has access to which discourses, and who has the power to impose and enforce constraints on access” (Fairclough, 1989: 62). In this case, Machel who is speaking on behalf of the Mozambican people is given less of a platform to disseminate his voice as opposed to the Portuguese people who are provided with uncontested coverage in the newspaper’s columns.

5.2. A Brief Comparison of the Colonial and Postcolonial Periods

As in Chapter 4, the findings in this chapter were derived by using CL, CDA and MDA to arrive at its two key themes, namely ‘Stereotyping in Representation of Frelimo Members’ and ‘Stereotyping in Representation of Samora Machel’. The analysis revealed that, in both the colonial and postcolonial periods respectively, the construction of both Frelimo members in general and of Samora Machel overall was negative. Interesting enough, most of these negative representations occurred in the postcolonial period while the more positive representations,

although a minority, could be found mostly in the colonial period.

An examination of table (see Appendix VIII) makes it evident that, starting with the first topic ‘Stereotyping in Representation of Frelimo Members’, the word Frelimo, occurs as an actor 43 times only 13 cases in the colonial period. The remaining 30 cases are found in the postcolonial era. The same also applies to the representation in the category ‘victim’ which occurs 22 times from 34 cases in the postcolonial period and only 12 in the colonial period. This indicates that in the postcolonial period there were more negative representations of Frelimo than in the colonial period, suggesting that Frelimo, in this period, becomes the main doer of actions (mostly bad) than in the colonial period. With regards to ‘victim’ (which is linked to actorhood) it may also suggest that the organisation and its membership were more prone to being victimised or oppressed in the postcolonial period than in the colonial period. This can be explained by the lexicon *terrorista* in the table. From the 57 occurrences of this word only 18 cases are used in the colonial period in contrast to 39 cases in the postcolonial era which is two times more. This means that the organisation might have conducted more terror activities or whatsoever malicious actions in the postcolonial phase that prompted the organisation to be labelled as such. In short, the explanation can be interpreted more or less this way: ‘more wrongdoing’ conducted by the actor equals ‘more victimisation’ of the same actor. This further suggests that whatever was imposed on them to make them victims was caused by their own initial actions.

In the sentences with positive connotations, it can be observed that out of 57 cases, 39 were written in the colonial period and only 18 in the postcolonial era which once again indicates that the organisation was somehow more highly regarded when they were under colonial tutelage than as rulers. This of course is justified by various ideas implied in the discourse. For instance in the post-independence period, Frelimo members are accused of kidnapping, torturing or ordering the killing of mainly indigenous Mozambicans who presumably opposed their style of rule on the one hand, and their (the Portuguese people’s) desire to return to Mozambique as seen in the Article ‘7 *de Setembro*’ in the previous chapter:

- *nós vamos regressar* [we are going to return]
- *porque há cinco séculos que choram e pedem que para lá regressemos* [because for five centuries that they (Mozambicans) cry and ask that we return there].

With regards to more negative connotations, during the colonial period there are only 21 negative connotations out of 97 cases, as opposed to 76 in the postcolonial period. The interpretation for this is not different from other cases discussed so far. It indicates that the organisation was more negatively portrayed during the postcolonial period than in the colonial era. Overall, during the colonial period the organisation bore more positive representations than in the post-independence era, which implied that under Frelimo leadership Mozambique turned into a total anarchy, socio-politically and economically.

In the 'representations of Samora Machel', it is noteworthy to see how Frelimo's representation as an organisation is tightly linked to its president. In terms of the category actor, for example, we note that barely 1 case occurs in the colonial period, while the remaining 8 cases are related to Samora Machel's representation in the postcolonial period. As a victim, all 11 cases are dealt with in the postcolonial phase. Applying the same explanation provided in discussing Frelimo's representation, it is evident that Samora Machel was highly regarded in terms of good behaviour during the colonial period which resulted in him being victimised less as compared to the postcolonial period. Once again to draw examples from the table above, it becomes clear that the use of the word *terroristas* to describe Samora Machel mostly occurs in the postcolonial period:

- *terrorista Samora brinca com o fogo e ameaça "invadir" a Rodésia*
[Samora the terrorist plays with fire as he threatens to invade Rhodesia] ;
- *...pelo terrorista nr.1 da Frelimo*
[by Frelimo's number 1 terrorist] ;
- *O regime terrorista de Machel obtem ouro à custa do trabalho dos mineiros*
[The terrorist regime of Machel gets gold on expense of the mineworkers].

As was noted in the discussion of both subthemes, the negative representation was articulated by what can be described wicked enemy. Representations of violence, especially in this chapter, have figured strongly in the newspaper's discourse in its construction of 'otherness' (Hallam and Street, 2000: 8) - in this case, Samora Machel and Frelimo. For Carpentier (2008), the construction of 'the enemy' is accompanied by the construction of the identity of the self as clearly antagonistic to the enemy's identity. What Carpentier (*ibid.*: 31) basically means is that in this process, not only the radical otherness of the enemy is emphasised, but the enemy is also presented as a threat to 'our own' identity. Overall, Carpentier (2008) contends that the discourse on the self and the enemy (other) are based on a series of elementary dichotomies: good-evil, just-unjust, innocent-guilty, rational-irrational, civilised-barbaric, heroic-cowardly, etc. as was seen in the discussion regarding Frelimo as an organisation and its members including Samora Machel.

For Ani (1994), the European, or in this context the Portuguese, could not survive without this negative image of an opposite upon whom they can “act out” all those things that help to maintain their “positive” self-image. This is clearly what can be noted in the findings where the enemy group Frelimo and Samora Machel are characterised by all sorts of negative attributes – they are terrorists, thieves, racists, irrational, etc. as opposed to the positive representations of the Portuguese people as law-abiding citizens, honest, rational, caring, etc.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter explored the generic representation of Frelimo and its members, by using CL, CDA and MDA analysis. The chapter commenced by discussing ‘Stereotyping in Representations of Frelimo Members in General’ and thereafter moved on to look at ‘Stereotyping in Representations of Samora Machel’.

In both topics, the chapter established that Frelimo as an organisation and its members most particularly Samora Machel were characterised ideologically as a regime and individuals characterised by violence, oppression and the exploitation of their own people. In this way, the paper was articulating their incapacity both in terms of rationality and humanity to rule the country. In short, the newspaper’s tendency was to “construe the ‘other’, as negative: the ‘savage’ without morals” (Hallam and Street, 2000: 2).

The chapter further established that discursively such message of ‘otherness’ made Frelimo and Machel the ‘enemy’ who was not only a threat to ourselves (the Portuguese people), but also to the secondary ‘other’ in this case all Mozambicans at large - *o inimigo do povo* [the enemy of the people (Mozambicans)]. The negative depiction according to Hallam and Street, (2000) was built on valuing self-representation and the construction of otherness in ways in which ‘others’ are translated and subverted. For Scollon *et al.* (2012: 273) the focus overall is on artificial and ideological differences as a problem for creating an equal society.

In the final analysis chapter, we discuss ‘Representation of Mozambicans in the domain of Sport’.

CHAPTER SIX

Findings and Analysis III: Representation of Mozambicans in Sport

6.0 Introduction

Sport has always drawn together massive crowds from all walks of life and its power no doubt transcends socio-cultural and political ills. As a result, sport has always been explored and used by politicians to nurture and settle their political agendas. In this regard, Hoberman (1984: 1) notes, “sport functions as an undifferentiated vehicle of self-assertion by the state, given that the specific form it takes as a culture is inconsequential; that it should serve the greater glory of the state – any state – is the sole criterion for its appropriation and use”.

In addition, Hoberman (1984: 21) argues that “sport is one of the few bits of glue that hold our society together, incorporating standard nationalist and internationalist themes”. He further deems that sport is relevant to the crisis of culture as a potential vehicle for social cohesion, given that it is used in “the construction of national identity and pride” (Garland and Rowe, 2001: 16). In contrast, Kureishi (1989) asserts that football can also be a divisive force fostering regional, ethnic and religious and various other rivalries. Whereas these are all valid points, the researcher prefers Jarvie’s view of sport (Jarvie, 1991:1) “as an arena through which various groups actively re-work their relationships and respond to changing social conditions as a whole [...] or yet the potential for bridge-building”. That is because sport which is part of civil society has power to transcend racial, political and even economical division and thus contribute to nation building. To provide an example one needs to look at 1966 World Cup which in spite of all political issues, the Portuguese team comprised mixed races (whites and blacks) the latter group all coming from ex-colonies.

This chapter focuses on ‘Representation of Mozambicans in Sport’. The researcher initially wanted to draw from various sports fields prominent in the newspaper, but soon realised that, while the newspaper did not confine itself to the two sports codes discussed here, Mozambicans were mainly depicted in the domains of football and bullfighting. However, the researcher was discouraged from using articles on bullfighting by the fact that this sport was only covered in the first years of the colonial phase, mostly up until 1974, with no coverage in the postcolonial period. While other factors may be behind this lack of coverage, Hoberman (1984) offers other reasons, one being that this sport suffered criticism in Portugal in the wake of the Leftist revolution of April 1974 to the point that by 1975, some Communist-controlled television and radio networks refused to broadcast

live bullfights. The major explanation among others was world sentimentalism over animal cruelty, thus this and other sports such as hunting, boxing (in some communist nations) and so forth became labelled as ‘blood sport’.

For this reason, focus in this chapter is on only one sport, football, which seems to enjoy more popularity than any other. Indigenous Mozambicans were therefore celebrated in the newspaper for their success in this sport. The researcher will nevertheless draw on one or two examples from bullfighting articles to substantiate or clarify certain points whenever necessary.

The chapter is chiefly guided by the following research question: ‘How were the indigenous Mozambican people represented in the newspaper in the domain of sport during both the colonial and postcolonial periods?’ The chapter starts by analysing and discussing the findings drawn from CL, CDA and MDA corpus. It moves on to examine the differences and similarities emerging from the discussion and ends with a brief summary. The search terms in this chapter include:

- Eusébio
- Sheu
- Hilário
- Manaca



Nevertheless, apart from the methodological decisions discussed in Chapter 3 which as explained somehow might have exerted some influence on the data, the researcher also took another decision to focus on these players. The main reason was because these sportmen were given greater coverage compared to others.

6.1 Representation of Mozambicans in Football

In providing us with a brief historical introduction to football, Armstrong and Giulianotti (2004) explain that the introduction of this sport and its inculcation within Africa is a story both of cultural colonisation by Europeans and of cultural adaptation or ‘creolisation’ by the African people. They point out that this sport was popularised in Mozambique and indeed the continent of Africa by teachers and missionaries, soldiers and colonial settlers.

Murray (1994) contends that though football was the most popular sport in Africa by the Second World War, it was only after 1960, when most countries in Africa had gained their freedom that the game flourished on this continent. For Murray (*ibid.*: 240) the French were the dominant influence

on football in Africa. Even before the Second World War, France had encouraged its colonial subjects to run, box and play for the motherland.

On this note, the recruitment of African players by professional European clubs extends back to the colonial era. In this period, African colonies were recognised by Europeans as being rich in natural resources, raw materials and cheap labour, not just in the economic sense, but also in relation to football (Darby, 2007: 497). Darby goes on to argue that it should come as no surprise that the football clubs of those countries that had a significant imperial presence in Africa were the main beneficiaries of the export of African talent (*ibid.*) and Portugal, of course, was no exception.

In the same respect, Darby explains that it is no surprise that the majority of players that represented Portugal in the international arena in the final phase of colonialism were from overseas provinces including Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (2006: 422). He concludes that by the beginning of the new millennium, Portugal was the third main importer of African footballers, with 65% coming from ex-colonial overseas provinces. Thus, while the Portuguese colonial mission had been characterised by extreme brutality, Portugal was happy to use its colonial subjects for greater glory on the sportsfields. Well-known stars include Coluna and Eusébio, to mention but a few Mozambicans, who have played both in local clubs such as Benfica, Sporting and the national team, while the domestic game back in Mozambique has gone into a state of stagnation.

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The plan of the Portuguese dictator, Salazar, was to divide the Mozambicans into two separate entities reinforced by the 'Indigenous People's Rule' and the status of *assimilados*, i.e. those who were fit to be Europeanised culturally and linguistically. This permitted quite a number of excellent players in Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa to escape poverty and rise to fame by representing their adoptive countries rather than their homelands.

Throughout colonial times football in Mozambique was the main sporting pastime for men and boys and whilst the precise origins of the game are not known, the Catholic Church, via its schools, was instrumental in the game's development (Armstrong, 2004: 249). Armstrong (2004) further argues that football in colonial times in Mozambique mirrored the political jurisdiction, with the country being divided into ten administrative areas, each having a regional capital and a football team in the national football league. Interestingly, the scholar argues that some Mozambican clubs were named after the most prominent clubs in Portugal, the mother country, such as Benfica and Sporting (p. 249). Today in Mozambique, as in other former Portuguese colonies in Africa,

Portuguese football is a major element of the local urban popular culture. Mozambicans continue to reproduce bonds that were originally created in colonial times (Domingos, 2011: 2159).

We start the analysis of this chapter by looking at Eusébio, who seems to receive more coverage in this newspaper than any other Mozambican footballer of his time, given his remarkable contribution to the development of Portuguese and European football which earned him the nicknames ‘the Black Panther’ and ‘the Black Pearl’. Eusebio was instrumental in Benfica winning the European Cup in 1962. He was awarded the European Footballer of the Year award in 1965. He played for the Portuguese national team that finished third in the 1966 World Cup held in England in which he won the Golden Boot for being the top scorer (Armstrong, 2004: 252). In addition, he “was also the top scorer for the Portuguese League every year from 1964 to 1973, leading Benfica to ten league championships and five cup victories”.

(<http://www.infoplease.com/biography/var/eusebio.html>. Accessed on 2013/10/31). When he died on the 5th of January 2014, he was denominated as ‘*Símbolo do Futebol Português*’ [symbol of the Portuguese football]; *Astro do futebol português* [Star of the Portuguese football] and *O King* [the King]. In addition, the Portuguese government decreed three days of national mourning (<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao-desporto/futebol/morr>. Accessed on 2014/01/06).

The analysis starts with a very brief article on Mozambican footballers. The article is reproduced below exactly as its original:

MAIS DOIS MOÇAMBICANOS

partem para a Metrópole

- **Joaquim João para o Benfica**
- **Alfredo para o Belenenses**

Moçambique sempre foi um manancial de futebolistas de excelente gabarito. Estamo-nos a recordar de Matateu, Vicente, Costa Pereira, Coluna, Zeca, Abel, Eusébio, Rui Rodrigues, Nené, Calado, etc.

Pois o «viveiro» continua a dar «trutas».

(24 de Julho de 1973)

The headline *MAIS DOIS MOÇAMBICANOS partem para a Metrópole* [Two more Mozambicans leave for the Metropolis] is a clear indication that the business of Mozambican footballers departing for Portugal has been happening for some time and that these are not the first Mozambicans to leave the country. Specific mention is made of the teams they are joining in Portugal, Benfica and Belenenses, two of the most revered teams in the Portuguese football league. In other words, these

two Mozambican players must have the requisite sporting skills or athleticism required to play at this level. “Remember that playing for Benfica in the early 1960’s was the modern day equivalent of playing for Manchester United, Real Madrid, or Barcelona”

(<http://sites.duke.edu/wcwp/research-projects/africa/africa-on-the-field>. Accessed on 2014/01/06).

In the same token, the headline is effectively divided into two separate entities by a deliberate use of different font sizes, using bold font and capitalisation for all letters (for the first idea or phrase) and the use of normal letters in bold font and a smaller size (for the second idea or clause). At the same time, these ideas are presented as a single unity. Thus, one is forced to read both sections in order to get the gist of what is going on. The first part reads: *MAIS DOIS MOÇAMBICANOS* [Two more Mozambicans]. This phrase leaves us wondering what is happening to these two Mozambicans, and this is answered in the second part, *partem para a Metrópole* [leave for the Metropolis]. The interdependence of these two ideas cannot be questioned even though it seems that the first part happens to be more salient.

The use of different stylistic modes to bring across this message emphasises the nature of the skills these players have, on the one hand, and their African origin, on the other, which the article further confirms:

Moçambique sempre foi um manancial de futebolistas de excelente gabarito [Mozambique has always been a source for excellent high calibre footballers].

Here the author cleverly selects the lexicon *manancial* which denotes ‘source’ or ‘spring, indicating a continual existence and abundance of players; and *gabarito*, translated into ‘high calibre’ on top of *excelente*, to suggest that no mediocrity is tolerated in this place. Overall, this reinforces how this overseas province (Mozambique) has been the source of professional athletes, some of whom have already achieved “global icon status” (Wilson, 2005: 100) in Portugal such as Matateu, Vicente, Costa Pereira, Coluna, Zeca, Abel, Eusébio, Rui Rodrigues, Nené, and Calado. The article selects the most renowned Mozambican footballers of all time to indicate that these players too are no exception in terms of professional skills. The article ends with:

Pois o «viveiro» continua a dar «trutas» [Of course «the breeding ground» continues providing «excellent players».

In this sentence the author uses the noun *viveiro* which is translated as a ‘breeding ground’ instead of using ‘Mozambique’, ‘country’ or even ‘place’, to indicate where these players come from. The author also employs the word *trutas* which figuratively implies an ‘important or intelligent person’

instead of *bons* [good]. Hence in both examples the place (Mozambique) where the footballers originate from and the exceptional skills of the players produced by the country are foregrounded.

Overall, these are positive descriptions of the players in individual and generic terms, with the ultimate goal of recognising these footballers' professionalism. In fact, in terms of honorific, these are perhaps the highest statuses of acknowledgement in the sports arena. These players are described as footballers of 'excellence' and 'high calibre'. Most importantly, they are not reduced to European citizenship. They are attributed their African (Mozambican) citizenships, apart from being called by their first names which does not impact negatively on their representation, as this is the normal way in which great footballers are addressed. Thus these are positive representations, in stark contrast to the previous two chapters in which Mozambicans are mostly depicted negatively.

However, the researcher admits that due to the low word frequency of the search terms, the collocates overall have produced less interesting results compared to other domains. In fact, this seems to be the main limitation of this study – the inability to include sufficient articles on the domain of sport, which seems to have received less attention than the other domains. Therefore, in respect to CL analysis, the researcher relies mostly on the concordance data. The following table summarises the word search and the type of sentences the concordance data offers:

Search terms	Frequency	Types with positive connotations	Types with negative connotations
<i>Eusébio</i>	22	22	-
<i>Sheu</i>	11	11	-
<i>Hilário</i>	7	7	-
<i>Manaca</i>	8	8	-

Table 6.1: Footballers' Search Terms

Commencing with Eusébio, the researcher noted that this football player is the most represented among other players. His name has a frequency of 22 words in the corpus and he is positively portrayed, generally. (See Appendix IV-N for all concordancing lines).

- (i) *Aos 34 anos, o moçambicano, **Eusébio**, um dos jogadores mais influentes no futebol português*

[At 34 years of age Eusébio, the Mozambican, is one of the most influential players in the Portuguese football arena.]

- (ii) *Ganha 10 contos por dia EUSEBIO: aos 34 anos um “rei” no México*
[Eusebio earns 10 thousand per day: at 34 years of age “a king” in Mexico]
- (iii) *“O meu nome é Eusebio. Nasci para jogar futebol de um modo como ninguém*
[My name is Eusebio. I was born to play football like nobody else]
- (iv) *tendo Portugal vencido também por 2-1 e tendo Eusébio apontado os dois tentos, frente à Irlanda*
[Portugal also won 2-1 against Ireland in which Eusébio scored both goals]
- (v) *«Eusebio é sempre uma atracção...*
[Eusebio is always an attraction...]

In the examples above, Eusébio’s positive connotations can be summarised by the following signifieds: Professional skills, local and global athletic recognition, professionalism, personal honour, respect, achievements showcased. In short, these utterances represent Eusebio’s phenomenal capabilities as a sportsman. As a matter of fact, Armstrong (2004) acknowledges that without Eusebio’s participation in the Portuguese national team for the 1966 World Cup in which he was the best scorer, it would probably have been impossible for the team to attain third place. On the whole, these descriptions harmonise with the article’s portrayal of this player as one of the *futebolistas de excelente gabarito* [footballers of an excellent high calibre].

In the same vein the article below seems to carry similar positive descriptions:

PARABÉNS A VOCÊ – Eusébio fez trinta anos. E, na festa do mais famoso futebolista português de todos os tempos, nem sequer faltou o tradicional bolo com as velas, que o moçambicano apagou, rodeado por Flora, sua mulher, e Hilário, um adversário e amigo de todas as horas.
(1972)

As seen above the article starts with the expression

PARABÉNS A VOCÊ [congratulations to you]

which is the headline, attached to an embedded sentence:

Eusebio fez trinta anos [Eusébio is thirty years old].

In the headline, Eusébio is directly congratulated by means of the personal pronoun *você* [you], which is an informal form of rendering respect to someone. In fact, such a way of address narrows down any kind of hierarchical system of power on the one hand, whereas on the other emphasises solidarity or intimacy. The move establishes a close bond between the reader and Eusebio himself,

hence becoming part of *us, the Portuguese people*, seeing that in terms of the hierarchical order of information, the phrase *futebolista português* [Portuguese footballer] precedes *o moçambicano* [the Mozambican]. This establishes the view that he is more European than African (especially as he changed his citizenship from Mozambican to Portuguese).

Nevertheless, it is possible that by *futebolista português* the author meant to include footballers from the overseas provinces. If this is the case then the idea that the primary object of identification is with the Portuguese people should be re-evaluated to include not only Mozambicans but also other ex-colonial Luso-African nations. However, the article strongly indicates that Eusébio, who, according to Darby (2006:421-2) acquired Portuguese citizenship just after signing his contract with *Benfica*, became the sensational pillar of the Portuguese football national team. This argument confirms that Eusébio is not an ordinary footballer. He is *o mais famoso futebolista português de todos os tempos* [the most famous Portuguese footballer of all times].

Remarkably, in spite of this player being *moçambicano* [Mozambican] and black nothing stopped him from becoming, as noted, a legendary national Portuguese hero, belonging far more to Portugal than Mozambique. In an interview with Armstrong (2004) Eusebio is quoted as saying that when he tried to sign for another team (the Italian team), Juventus, "...the Portuguese government, (a dictatorship) of that time under the regime of Dr António Salazar told me I could not leave the country - I was state property. I had my Portuguese identity card, indicating I was born in Mozambique, and my passport; both were exactly the same as issued here to Portuguese nationals" (p.261). This text shows that the dictator Salazar was not keen to lose such a national asset (Armstrong, 2004: 253).

Furthermore, the article further explains that Eusébio is *Rodeado por Flora, sua mulher, e Hilário, um adversário e amigo de todas as horas* [surrounded by his wife Flora and Hilário who is his opponent and an old friend]

This information shows that despite Eusébio being an icon of an excellent footballer, he also symbolises a human being who is part of society. He is a husband or family man and he has friends. This reduces any artificiality or fictionalisation of events. So, in this newspaper, Eusébio "represents the embodiment of all the heroic virtues human beings aspire to possess" (Danesi, 2002: 41). The characterisation offered in the above article is well sustained by the visual language in the figure below.



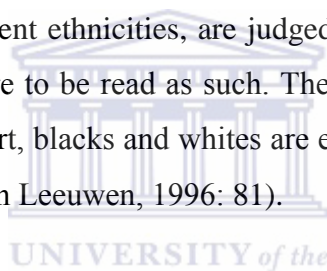
Figure 6.1: Eusébio (1-5-1978)

Starting with the individual picture, Eusébio is illustrated as being in a relaxed mood, directly gazing into the reader's eyes. This is a demand image. The image “invites us to be like *him*, after all *he* is making the effort to acknowledge our existence” (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 73). Gaze, according to these scholars (*ibid.*) is one semiotic resource that can be used to communicate interest and engagement with public needs. The player is also photographed ‘close-up’. This communicates an intimate or personal message; implying that a relation of engagement between the depicted and its viewers is established. The picture itself is taken frontally which is interpreted as an involvement image. In terms of interpretation, as emphasised in the previous chapters it implies that what is shown here is part of our world, something we are involved with. The image, mostly the one inserted on the right, objectifies Eusébio as a confident and professional footballer with whom it is worth establishing a personal relationship.

The compositional structure is dynamic: Eusébio is first depicted alone and then interacting with a group of white individuals. The individual picture, in relation to the collective one, seems to be foregrounded in terms of information value: left and right (Given and New) and top and bottom (Ideal and Real). With regards to Given and New information, the picture inserted on the right, as already stressed, is the New information, that is not known yet to the viewer, thus making it information that requires special attention. And in respect to top and bottom (Ideal and Real) the

same picture also seems to get more consideration. It is the Ideal information “ostensibly, the most salient part” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 194). What we witnessed with the verbal description in which Eusebio’s exceptional skills were the centre of attention, does not differ much to the visual. Here he is also the subject of admiration which is established by the structural composition of information in terms of hierarchy or salience: first as New and then as Ideal information.

Eusébio seems to deserve some kind of attention in this non-transactional structure. The action in non-transactional structure is not done to or aimed at anyone or anything (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Two participants are connected to him by a vector (indication of directionality) formed by “an eye line, by the direction of the glance” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 64). Nevertheless, given that they are depicted in interaction, the conversational structure is bi-directional: at one point each participant plays an actor’s role whereas others play the role of Goal and vice-versa. The scenery according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), in which participants are put together despite their different attributes such as skin and hair colour, clothing taste, etc., which create visual concepts of their different ethnicities, are judged to be members of the same class or ‘species’ of the same ‘genus’ and are to be read as such. The move may racially advocate colour-blindness or multiculturalism: in short, blacks and whites are equal and as such belong “to the same overarching category” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 81).



Moving back to the verbal text, the article is dominated throughout, almost in its entirety, by direct quotations from Eusébio as in the examples below:

- “*socialmente falando, [...] - são palavras de Eusébio, o mais famoso futebolista português[...]*” “[Socially speaking]- [These are Eusebio’s words, the most famous Portuguese footballer]; *paragraph 1*
- “*Se soubesse que a África do Sul [...] - refere-nos [...] acrescentando: [If I knew that South Africa [...]] - [He says adding]; paragraph 2, and so forth.*

Such a verbal language composition, having most of the text as a direct quotation from the footballer himself, does not only emphasise high modality in terms of truth and credibility of the news but also indicates power in terms of accessibility in the dissemination of voice.

The second Mozambican footballer to be discussed is Sheu, who is depicted in the article below:



Figure 6.2: Sheu (28-12-1972)

In the corpus, the word Sheu appears 11 times. From these, none seems to portray this footballer in a negative light. Here are some examples:

- (i) *joga a meio-campo e é conhecido pelo nome de Sheu, a quem recomendo a vossa atenção num futuro próximo*
 [he plays in the middle-field and he is known as Sheu whom I recommend that you consider in your team in the near future]
- (ii) *sempre executa as coisas da forma mais perfeita” Sheu Han – grande esperança do Benfica*
 [he is always doing his work in a professional way – Sheu Han – a great hope for Benfica]
- (iii) *os elogios de «mister» Hagan. Para ele (o Sheu) tudo continua como dantes.*
 [the praises of Mr. Hagan. For him, Sheu still plays as he played in the past (good)]
- (iv) *só há poucos meses completou dezanove anos. Sheu-Han, o futebolista (é homem) muito capaz de vir a voar alto*
 [It’s just a few months ago that he (Sheu) turned nineteen years old, this footballer is a man very capable of flying high]

In the example (i), the Benfica coach, Jimmy Hagan, is quoted as advising that Sheu, a mid-fielder should be included in the team. This recommendation coming from the coach of Benfica is an indication that this player is an exemplary footballer, an asset for any team. Example (ii) adds

information to the first one and the attributes place him on a professional scale – he is showered with praise. Thus this is a reason why he is described as *grande esperança do Benfica* [great hope for Benfica].

In the third example, the player appears not be surprised about the praises heaped on him by the coach due to his exceptional skills, implying that he is never a disappointment, as seen in the last example (iv). On the other hand, the player is once again praised: *o futebolista (é homem) muito capaz de vir a voar alto* [the footballer is a very capable man, able to fly high]. The caption presupposes that the chances are there that this player is likely to become one of the best, perhaps even attaining the same status as that of reputable footballers such as Eusébio and Hilário.

As noted from these examples none represent this player negatively. And what is more, the article (see Appendix VI-I for the complete one), is mainly made up of direct quotations from this player. In respect of visual discourse, this player, just like his counterpart Eusébio, is similarly taken ‘close-up’ and frontally. Nevertheless, his gaze is a demand image, though he is captured looking at the viewer “which creates a form of address – the viewer is acknowledged” (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 71). However, “mentally it is seen withdrawn from its immediate environment, leaving the viewer to imagine what *he is* thinking about or looking at, and this can create a powerful sense of empathy or identification with the represented participant” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 66). On the whole, the message deriving from these depictions is that he is demanding to enter into an interaction or friendly relation with the viewer because he is one of ‘*us*’ (Portuguese people) not the ‘*other*’. On this note, the Portuguese people are implicitly encouraged to make a response or take positive action according to the invitation. To facilitate such an interaction or relationship, the player is shot from an eye-level angle, which is the angle that stresses equality or solidarity.

The picture displaying this footballer is so far the only photograph with the compositional structure of ‘Centre’ and ‘margin’ in terms of information value. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:194) argue that “central composition is relatively uncommon in the contemporary Western visualisation”. What is important to note here is the fact that although this newspaper was founded in an African country (South Africa), it was institutionalised by Western values. Thus the ‘centrality’ composition absent in any article discussed so far might have a special message in the representation.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 196) explain that for something to be presented as Centre (here the visual image of the player) means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information to which all other elements (verbal discourse) are in some way subservient. In short, the attention here seems to

be on the exposition of the actual physical being of the player which is of prime importance in establishing that relationship between him and the viewers. Those connections in most cases are only possible and credible once the actual object is exhibited, hence reducing strangeness. Let us make an analogy to real life events: people are very hesitant to establish an intimate relationship with those people that they have just heard or read about since these are not convincing signs of the existence of the person in question. Therefore, a real sign, a photograph, helps to connect people with those with whom they wish to establish a relationship.

In this case, the visual language has been selected and treated as “more worthy of attention than others” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 201), the verbal discourse (margin) surrounding the visual are the “ancillary, dependent elements” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 201) and are thus of less importance. Altogether the Centre (visual image) is presented as an element that is directly able to establish that relation with ‘one of us’, this is subsequently reinforced by verbal language providing more positive attributes of the player. Furthermore, throughout the article his voice is quoted thus the article’s reporting is mostly made up of direct rather than indirect voice. This increases the modality markers of the text in terms of the reality of the event.

Remarkably, this player is referred to by coach Hagan as *um rapaz de cor* [a boy of colour; literally translated]. Under normal circumstances one would translate it as [a boy of different colour]. This is a clear representation of the ‘other’, racially instituted, and is thus negative, contradicting the almost entirely positive visual and textual message. In fact, he is not the only sportsman to be described in terms of his race. Ricardo Chibanga, one of the most remarkable sportsman of the ‘bull fight’ in the 70s was also addressed as *o português de cor* [the Portuguese of colour; directly translated] or [the Portuguese person of different colour]. Nevertheless, further on in the article the footballer is once again represented in a positive light:

- (i) *...nos impressionou muito favòravelmente.*
[he impressed us a lot]
- (ii) *...com jogadores nascidos em território português (como é o caso de Sheu-Han).*
[..with players born in the Portuguese territory (which is the case of Sheu-Han)]
- (iii) *...a fazer lembrar nome de guerreiro lá da milenária China o jovem com uma filosofia muito especial, que acredita muito em si, sem deixar de acreditar nos outros.*
[which reminds me of the name of a soldier from China, a young man with a special philosophy of believing a lot in himself without stopping in believing in others...]

In these cases, Sheu is described as an incredible footballer whose skills impress football lovers and fans (i). Equally in (ii) he is attributed Portuguese citizenship which is a step closer towards him becoming ‘one of us’ (white Portuguese people). In the last example his self-esteem and respect for others is compared to that of a remarkable youthful Chinese soldier whose philosophy is commendable.

Thus, with the exception of the reference to Sheu as a person of different colour, the examples point more to a positive representation rather than a negative one. This insinuates that this footballer has earned Portuguese in-group membership, thus becoming one of ‘us’.

The next footballer whose representation will be discussed is Hilário (Figure 6.3, below), a player with the same athletic prowess as Eusebio. The proper noun Hilário occurs seven times in the corpus and like its Eusébio and Sheu counterparts, not one example describes him in a negative light. The researcher provides some examples (see Appendix IV-P for these and other concordancing lines) below:



Figure 6.3: Hilario (17-10-1972)

- (i)*HILÁRIO ENTRE OS “MAIORES” DO FUTEBOL EUROPEU*....
[Hilário among the “greatest” of European football]
- (ii) ... *Hilário da Conceição o português que finalmente, virou «europeu»*
[Hilário da Conceição the Portuguese player who has finally turned «European»]
- (iii)*nem a sua magnífica exibição conseguiu evitar*....

[... that not even his magnificent exhibition was able to avoid a defeat].

- (iv) *o português honrou bem o futebol lusitano. Não é Hilário a dizer mas sim todos os críticos que estiveram*

[...the Portuguese man honoured Lusitano football. It is not Hilário himself saying so but all critical people who were there]

In the first example which also happens to be a headline, this player is singled out as one of the greatest footballers in European football, who was first awarded Portuguese and then European citizenship (ii). His European citizenship is re-emphasised by being placed in inverted commas. Furthermore in (iii), Hilário's magnificent performance is praised in the game between the European team and the South American team. Additionally, in (iv) the player is praised and honoured with Portuguese citizenship -*o português honrou bem o futebol lusitano* [...the Portuguese man honoured *lusitano* football]. These examples are a reflection of the positive construction of this player. Interestingly, as with the previous two players discussed in this section, the article is also made up of direct quotations from the player himself, giving him power in terms of discourse access and voice dissemination in the column of this newspaper. This is shown in the following examples:

- *Não, nunca me passou pela cabeça que iria ser defesa-direito da seleção da Europa. Estava lá para jogar o que já era uma grande honra....*

[It never came to my mind the idea that I would play as a defender on the right side for the European national team. I was there to play which was already a great honour...]

- *Os «outros sul-americanos» acabaram por ganhar com mérito já que exibiram maior e melhor conjunto, o que é natural. Isto porque a base da Selecção era a Argentina onde todos os seus jogadores regressavam da competição enquanto que os peruanos estavam igualmente muito jogados...*

[- the «other South Americans» ended up winning the game with merit because they exhibited the best skills and they showed themselves to be the greatest team which of course is natural. This is because the team was mainly made up of Argentineans whose players have mostly come from competition games, meanwhile the Peruvian players were also in good shape...]. (See more examples in the Appendix VI-J for the composition of the whole article).

With regards to the findings of the corpus, the article is also dominated by positive representation of the player, as can be seen by the three examples presented below:

- (i) *...os seus feitos como um dos melhores futebolistas portugueses dos últimos anos*
[... his deeds place him as one of the best Portuguese footballers over the last few years].
- (ii) - *Herrera parece ter pelo Hilário uma simpatia bem especial...*
[Herrera seems to have a special consideration for Hilário]

(iii) *DE SUPLENTE NO SPORTING A UMA EXIBIÇÃO DE BOM NÍVEL NA SELECÇÃO EUROPEIA*

[from being a substitute in the sporting football club to a brilliant exhibition for the European national team].

In the first example, Hilário's special athletic skills are in the spotlight thus earning him the reputation of being one of the best Portuguese footballers. This might be the reason why he was chosen to take part in intercontinental competitions, playing on the European side, and also explains why Herrera, the coach of the European team, had a soft spot or high consideration for him (ii). Furthermore, in the last example which is part of the headline, the statement provides more or less a chronological order of his rise by explaining that in his club, Sporting of Portugal, he is mostly as a reserve player (which implies that his skills are not valued highly), but here he has demonstrated that he is an exceptionally skilled player who *...defrontou uma equipa constituída pelos melhores jogadores sul-americanos* [...played against a team made up of the best South-American footballers]. This makes him a hero seeing that *apesar da derrota* [in spite of the defeat] he gave a *magnífica exibição* [magnificent exhibition].

In terms of the visual depiction, he is also photographed looking directly at the viewers in a demand image. This implies that he is inviting his viewers "into a relationship" (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 71). He is also depicted from a frontal angle which realises an 'involvement' relationship. This means that we associate with what is depicted here. Nevertheless, this picture is taken from a 'social' distance, and slightly different from the more intimate ones taken of the other two players. This is the distance, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) of impersonality, a distance whereby business occurs. The social distance in this context suggests a more impersonal kind of relation between the viewer and depicted.

This of course contradicts both the frontal angle, the angle of maximum involvement, and the gaze realisation. In addition, adding to this contradiction, not one of the footballers discussed so far is portrayed smiling at the viewer. Yet their eye-level positioning dismisses any notion of a hierarchical structure, and reinforces the idea of "equality and that there is no power difference involved" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 146). This move in turn narrows down any indication of 'otherness' while promoting the notion of in-group membership, of belonging ('us' all) including black footballers. In other words, they (Mozambican footballers) belong to the same society as 'we' do. Nevertheless, Hilario is depicted with the shirt bearing his name that he wore in the game against the South American football team. Behind him, there is another picture of him in action

while wearing a Sporting Football team shirt. These configurations realise a very strong message of idealisation of this player in terms of his professionalism as a football player with the ultimate goal of making him ‘one of us’. With regards to modality judgements, this picture seems to display a strong modality when classifying it in terms of realness, and seems to have a similar structure (Given and New, top and bottom) to that of Eusébio’s in terms of information value.

Starting with Given and New, the picture on the right appears to be the most crucial information. This information is worthy of attention. As such the reader is invited to explore it critically thus somehow forcing the reader identifying or connecting with this player. The picture reinforces the message that this player is not only good enough to play for Portugal, but also for Europe in intercontinental competitions. This is the New information. On the other hand, the verbal text on the left seems to be the Given information. As already discussed, this information is presented as already known by the reader. In short, this information does not necessarily require more attention than the actual visual image which depicts this player. Regarding the top and bottom information, the photograph also seems to enjoy a great deal of attention. As argued by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 193), this information is presented as “the idealised or generalised essence of the information”, hence also ostensibly, its most salient part. The actual picture is closer to the existential nature of the object than simply a verbal message describing the picture, making it easier and more convincing to establish a relationship with the viewer.

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The last player to be discussed is Manaca (shown in Figure 6.4, below), who also is represented positively though perhaps not receiving the same recognition as his counterparts Eusébio, Sheu and Hilário. This player appears eight times in the corpus. Beneath the researcher presents some of these examples (see Appendix IV-Q):



Figure 6.4: Manaca (15/ 01/ 1979)

- (i) *MANACA pretende jogar no Lusitano *O futebolista moçambino*
[Manaca intends to play for the *Lusitano* team]
- (ii) ... *Manaca, o moçambicano que, há anos, deixou a cidade da Beira*
[...Manaca, the Mozambican who left the city of Beira]
- (iii) ... *esteve recentemente em Guimarães, onde Manaca é actualmente titular, na posição de quarto-defesa*
[...was recently at Guimarães where Manaca is presently an effective player, playing as a defender]

As noted in these examples and the remaining five, Manaca is portrayed in a positive light. In examples (i) and (ii) for instance his Mozambican citizenship is asserted which is an honour compared to the previous two chapters where in most cases Mozambicans were denied such a privilege. At the same time this player's name is given salience – every letter is capitalised as can be seen in (i). Finally, in example (iii) his permanent position and in turn his dynamic and indispensable athletic role in the team as a defender is stressed.

These descriptions sustain a message of in-group membership for this player. Overall, they are preaching a message of equality in terms of the characterisation of both white and black players though the former is implicitly stated (also functioning more as a set standard from which other objects derive judgments).

In addition, the player is fairly positively described in the following examples:

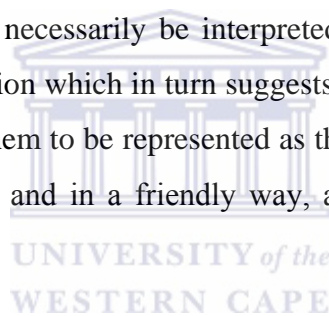
- (i) *o jogador moçambicano – um defesa “duro” mas leal –deslocar-se-á no final da temporada à África do Sul*
[the Mozambican player – a ‘tough’ but fair defender – will go to South Africa at the end of the season].
- (ii) *Manaca...mostra-se interessado em vir para a África do Sul e aqui representar a equipa portuguesa do Lusitano*
[Manaca is showing interest in coming to South Africa to represent the Portuguese team, Lusitano]
- (iii) *...encontrando-se, em Maio próximo, em Joanesburgo, com alguns do seus familiares que ainda se encontram a viver em Moçambique*
[In May Manaca will be in Johannesburg with some members of his family who are still living in Mozambique].

The player, in the first example, is described as a ‘tough’ defender, someone who prevents his adversary from advancing his plan of scoring goals. Interestingly, the lexicon ‘tough’ is placed between two inverted commas thus putting emphasis on the nature of his professional skill as a defender. In the same example, his Mozambican citizenship is pointed out. In spite of this, he has become a member of the in-group or rather ‘one of us’ (Portuguese people), and hence comes to South Africa to represent the Portuguese team, *Lusitano* (ii). What is more the footballer’s desire to come and visit his Mozambican family make him an individual who is proud of his Mozambican background. These representations undoubtedly are positive depictions.

In respect of the visual language, it seems that these pictures, overall, share more commonalities than differences. For instance, the picture of this player is also taken from a frontal angle as the rest of the other players. This creates a relationship of involvement between the viewer and the depicted actor clearly suggesting that the player is one of ‘us’. The photograph is also a tight close-up shot, adding to the intimacy with the viewer. The player gazes at the viewer, making this another ‘demand image’. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) contend that this sort of depiction creates a visual form of direct address which is like a form of acknowledging the viewers explicitly. As with the other pictures in this chapter, this one is also depicted from an eye-level angle thus signifying equality: a sign of belonging shared between the depicted person, the photographer and in turn the viewers.

With the exception of Manaca, the players are all depicted unsmiling, but even so there is nothing in their posture to suggest that they are unapproachable. However, with this issue it is worth remembering that the literature on visuality by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) and even Machin and Mayr (2012) is contextualised in Western culture as opposed to the depicted subjects who are all Africans. Furthermore, it is important to add the issue of space as well as the socio – political, cultural and economic situation of these players’ home countries into the interpretation, as these may all influence their posture.

In this regard, there are cultural aspects to be observed when interpreting a posture. For instance silence (which is a way, in some collectivist cultures like African of displaying their wisdom and respect) is observed during interaction as opposed, in most cases, to Western culture that prefer conversation. African indirectness (with less focus asserting individual rather than collective identity) can also be contrasted here with Western directness. These interactional behaviours if transported to visual communication may perhaps explain the unsmiling faces of these players and therefore these postures should not necessarily be interpreted as unfriendliness. On the contrary, they may suggest another interpretation which in turn suggests a positive portrayal. Their star status in the arena of football allows for them to be represented as those whom whites and blacks at large “should engage with more directly, and in a friendly way, as equals” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 126).



In terms of Ideal and Real, and the information value of top and bottom, this picture seems to have a unique composition compared to those of the other footballers. Here the picture (Ideal information) is the most salient one. The rest of the information, including the headline, follows which in this case is the Real information, the specific information (with details). A critical examination of these two elements responsible for determining the hierarchical structure of information in terms of importance makes it clear that both the Ideal and Real (visual and verbal) seem to be united first by a single frame around both elements and secondly by an almost non-existent frame to divide both the visual and verbal language (see Appendix VI-K for full composition).

In this instance the visual image strengthens the verbal one. For example the upper part, Ideal information which is the picture, provides us some information on the physical nature of the player such as his skin and eye colour, hair shape, etc. This information in turn is expanded by verbal language, here the Real, which provides detailed information on the nature of this player as in the examples provided below:

- *Manaca pretende jogar no Lusitano* [Manaca intends to play for Lusitano];
- *O futebolista moçambicano estará em Maio em Joanesburgo* [the Mozambican footballer will be in Johannesburg in May]
- *Encontrado-se... com alguns dos seus familiares* [he will meet some of his family members] and so forth.

In short, the information here is structured in such a way that the “specific and detailed information supports the assertions in the top half” Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 186).

From an examination of these representations one gains insight into how sport seems to have been used as an ideological vehicle to perhaps foster *multiculturalismo* or simply ‘colour-blindness’. A comparison between the representations in both Chapters 4 and 5 and this one makes it evident that the newspaper uses distinct approaches to represent Mozambicans. While ‘otherness’ is a key element in the previous two chapters, this element is considerably diminished in the domain of sport. Here, the ideological representation is centralised on the positive representation of *us* and the positive representation of *them*, thus reducing if not even eliminating the notion of ‘otherness’ while at the same time underpinning the notion of ‘sameness’. The discourse in this domain is what has been classified as the Portuguese ideology of multiculturalism: many races - One Nation: whites, blacks and mulattoes - everyone is Portuguese (Matos, 2006).

Space, both physical and social, seems to be exerting some influence on the representation in this domain. These footballers, though they are born in Mozambique, spend their professional careers not only in Portugal, but also in other European countries. Also, in Portugal these players earned the same or even higher salaries than their white counterparts which made them economically independent and self-sustainable, allowing them to sustain the kind of lifestyle that some whites dream about. In these examples, social space is at once work *and* a product – a materialisation of social being (Lefebvre, 1984: 101-102). Thus the position of a given agent in the social space can be defined by the position s/he occupies in the different fields, that is, the distribution of the powers that are active in each of them. These are, principally, economic capital (in its different forms), cultural capital and social capital. Combined, these different capitals become symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc. which is assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1991: 231). Their high status in the Portuguese and international sporting arena has made these players different socially

and in turn forced society to treat them with such honour and admiration; something that might perhaps not have happened if they were still in their motherland, Mozambique.

It is worth noting that it seems the assimilationist policy appears to play a minor role here. The explanation is simple; in sport rules are straightforward: you are either a good player or not, and it is clear that these players have the requisite skills. Education has also not played much of a role in determining the players' athletic skills given that being highly educated does not presuppose skill on the football field. In short, even though whites are implicitly represented here the description overall implies that both black players and whites can be skilled or unskilled (good or bad).

Furthermore, the positive representation of Mozambican footballers can also, perhaps, be explained by how "sport [...] is a function of the political culture in which it occurs" (Hoberman, 1992: 14). Hence it is used here as a medium to deal with political ills which prompted the Portuguese colonial empire to launch a massive discursive campaign to inculcate the ideology of *multiculturalismo*. Whether its agenda was true or false it is something that up to this point is still a matter of debate. It remains to be seen whether such a radical discursive "paradigm shift, from "difference" to "similarity"," (Frankenberg, 1993: 14) or simply from white superiority vs. black inferiority, as seen in the last two chapters, to a discourse of essential "sameness" or "colour-blindness" (Frankenberg, 1993: 14), was as genuine as documented.

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There is substantial research that can account for why blacks including Mozambican athletes are ideologically portrayed positively in the newspaper. These ideologies include strong beliefs that "black athletes, have greater numbers of 'fast-twitch' muscles fibres than their white counterparts" (Hoberman, 1992: 34) giving them physical superiority in the domain of sport. Yet this leads to the question why blacks, if they are physically superior to whites, are underrepresented in sports such as swimming, golf, ski, tennis and so forth. Such a (very common and fairly enduring) stereotypical representation is little more than an ideological construct used to justify economic and political inequalities (Frankenberg, 1993: 13) and the structural advantage; of white race privilege (Frankenberg, *ibid.*: 1).

In contrast, Child (1999: 29) argues that whereas, on the one hand, black males were seen as possessing superior athletic and sexual capabilities to their white counterparts, they were also perceived as having little or no capacity for moral or intellectual endeavours, on the other hand. This simply means that the representation of these black athletes in a positive light and their success in sport does not necessarily pose a threat to the whites (who are intellectually superior) and who

have domination over their black counterparts. As proof, Child (1999: 35) further points out that “within the sports world there exists a racial hierarchy with whites dominating the managerial, owner, and ‘intelligent’ playing positions such as quarterback”. Skilled black players are as therefore only as good as their coaches and need white tutelage in order to excel. This can be seen especially in the article on Sheu, where his coach, Jimmy Hagan, is portrayed as being behind the player’s fame. Hagan is also given more voice in the article than the player himself. He is empowered to decide whether the player is good enough or not to play for this team, whether he should be accepted or not, etc. This particular hierarchical ideology helps to explain why blacks are under-represented in sport leadership positions and may also be the reason why, in postcolonial Africa, most coaches of the national football teams are whites. In contrast to the powerful positions, enjoyed by these white coaches, Dyson (1993) argues that black athletes/ players are used for pure consumption, profit and entertainment purposes, rather than any other.

Nevertheless, the newspaper seems to be promoting the ideology that sport is the ‘great equaliser’— a meritocratic medium for promoting black social mobility, racial assimilation and integration” (Jarvie, 1991: 120). This point is corroborated by Carvalheiro (2010) who explains that football, and particularly the national team (Portugal), was to be paramount in the 1960s in promoting the ideology of racial equality and loyalty under the Portuguese flag. Carvalheiro goes on to explain that in the 1966 World Cup, for instance, both white and black players were presented as “Angolans”, meaning they were from a Portuguese “province”, while black Mozambicans were leaders (as the team captain Mário Coluna) or presented as international symbols for Portugal. Overall, these representations from the dominance of ‘otherness’ construction (in Chapters 4 and 5) to ‘sameness’ (in Chapter 6), may perhaps send a different message that blacks are gifted and successful in the sport domain, but inferior in other domains.

6.2 A Brief Comparison of the Colonial and Postcolonial Periods

In contrast to the findings in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the researcher’s analysis revealed that, in both the colonial and postcolonial periods (see table Appendix IX) respectively, the representation of Mozambican sportsmen was generally positive, despite having to work with very few examples.

These representations are part of the “general strategy for the expression of shared, group-based attitudes and ideologies through a mental model” (Van Dijk, 1998: 33). By the same token, whilst the representation (in the previous two chapters) is institutionalised through the “strategy of

polarisation - positive in-group description, and negative out-group description” (Van Dijk, 1998: 33), in this chapter the “abstract evaluative structure” (Van Dijk, 1998: 33), which determines in-group by the outsider, was controlled by only two out of the four ideological views identified by Van Dijk (1998: 33), *viz.*:

- Emphasise our as well as their good properties/actions
- Mitigate their as well as our good properties/actions.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter focused on ‘Representation of Mozambicans in Sport’, most particularly football. It used CL, CDA and MDA to analyse its data. The chapter started by providing a historical overview of football, explaining how this sport and its stars were used as a colonial resource to develop the colonial empires athletically. It then looked at the representation of four prominent footballers: Eusébio, Sheu, Hilário and Manaca.

The chapter established that the characterisation of these players was, with some exceptions in the visual analysis, sustained by positive representation. The chapter shows that sport “provided an arena in which the conspicuous success of black players has been heralded by many as a valuable talisman that provides role models” (Garland and Rowe, 2001: 20) which in turn allowed for a discursive structure of ‘sameness’ in which both ‘our’ (whites) and ‘their’ (blacks) good properties/actions are emphasised and mitigated equally.

The next chapter provides the conclusion of the thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

7.0 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to see how successfully the thesis has answered the key research questions through the analysis of the findings presented in the previous three chapters. The chapter therefore starts by revisiting the research questions, taking into account the core findings derived from each analysis chapter. Thereafter, it will discuss the limitations of the study and propose a new research direction for future study in this field.

7.1 Review of Research Questions and Summary of the Findings

The aim of this thesis was to probe how Mozambican people were represented through the columns of the Portuguese newspaper, '*O Século de Joanesburgo*' in both colonial and postcolonial periods. This study examined the following six research questions:

- i) How were the indigenous Mozambicans, particularly members of Frelimo, represented in the newspaper during the colonial and postcolonial eras?
- ii) What were the ideologies embedded in the discourses of '*O Século de Joanesburgo*' during the colonial and postcolonial periods in Mozambique?
- iii) What role did the newspaper play in the distribution of voice to people during these two periods?
- iv) In terms of representation, how did the newspaper change in the postcolonial period?

The findings on each research question will now be summarised.

7.1.1 How were the indigenous Mozambicans, particularly members of Frelimo, represented in the newspaper during the colonial and postcolonial eras?

With the exception of the domain of sport, *O Século de Joanesburgo* tended to resort to negative social representations of Mozambicans in both the colonial and postcolonial periods. Mozambicans were nearly always defined as 'them', and seldom as part of 'us' (Van Dijk, 1994). The findings

have shown that these representations were mainly constructed by means of negative construction. These representations which according to Van Dijk “express underlying prejudices, group norms and goals as well as dominant ideologies” (1994: 26), were sustained by various properties such as racial, cultural, political, economic, educational differences, to mention but few most prominent ones.

The discursive ideologies prevalent in this newspaper was maintained in what Carvalheiro (2010) described as the three Portuguese colonial discourses. The first of these discourses was rooted in ethnocentrism and racism where Africans were portrayed as people who were inferior and whose survival was on the hands of whites; it is from this avenue of thinking the idea of ‘otherness’ originated (cf. Loomba, 1998 and Pennycook, 1998). The second discourse saw Africans as underdeveloped beings who could only advance under European rule or its ‘civilising mission’, thereby allowing for ideologies of assimilation. The third one emphasised the moral superiority of the Portuguese colonial style against other colonial masters – one with a special gift for a humanitarian relationship with the natives. While according to Carvalheiro these discourses were confined to the colonial period, this study has shown that in fact a combination of these three is what characterised the postcolonial discourses of this study. This thesis therefore concludes that the Portuguese colonial discourse has not changed much in the postcolonial period. It also acknowledges Almeida’s (2008) point that some features of *lusotropicalism*, exhibited through ‘exclusion’, remains a challenge in Mozambique and indeed the other former African colonies of Portugal.

In the **domain of labour** the newspaper mainly depicted blacks doing menial/ unskilled jobs, i.e. jobs that required uneducated or less educated people. This is in spite acknowledging the fact that some indigenous (from the assimilated class) people were far more educated than some whites and some whites could barely write their names. By assigning these jobs to blacks the newspaper underpinned the idea that black Mozambicans lacked knowledge, competence or skills to deal with jobs that demanded intellectual capabilities, which, it suggested, only whites and an insignificant number of blacks had. These stereotypical descriptions were captured in both visual and linguistic representations. Hence Portuguese people were generally seen as doing jobs that required intellectual and other superior skills, while the position of Mozambicans in terms of jobs assigned to them was that of “inferior Other” (Richardson, 2004: 6). These representations contributed to the apparent asymmetrical political, socio-economic and even racial structures within the Mozambican society.

Regarding ‘**stereotyping in coverage of social and criminal events**’ (both covered in Chapter 4), Mozambicans overall were also represented in a negative light. They were mostly labelled as incompetent, irrational (in terms of their education or intellectual competence); cowards, savages, animals (in terms of their behaviour and morality); negroes, blacks and Africans (with regards to race). As noted, these characterisations culminated in a single negative prosodic message of black people’s inferiority and incapacity of running their own affairs. In this respect, the Portuguese people became not only the norm from which blacks were judged, but also the imaginary essentialised being much needed by Mozambicans. This message of white superiority was strongly intensified in the postcolonial period. These examples suggest that this newspaper’s discourse was in most cases structured with “dynamics of prejudices, stigmatising stereotypes, discrimination and exclusion” (Pieterse, 1992: 212), with clear objectives of categorising the coloniser and the colonised along the line of ‘us /selves’ and ‘them/other’.

The study also found **stereotyping in the representations of Frelimo members in general and Samora Machel specifically**. What was noted in the findings is that they were “not only represented in terms of their essential characteristics, but they were also reduced to their essence” (Hall, 1997: 245). This group was often characterised by all sort of negative attributes – as terrorists, thieves, racists, irrational, dictators, dishonest, incompetents, uncivilised, etc. in contrast to the positive representations of the Portuguese people as law-abiding citizens, honest, rational, caring, etc., thereby indisputably making them the only hope of both white and black Mozambican people.

Similarly, when a crime or bad action was committed by a black person such an act was reported reflecting the entire life of the black community. Such an ethnocentric outlook suggests that all black people, without restrictions, were the same in terms of behaviour. In Chapter 5 for instance, we saw how Frelimo’s actions in most cases were made to include all black Mozambicans and even those who were anti-Frelimo. Hall (1997: 243) explains that this racialised discourse is structured by a set of binary oppositions which in this case is the powerful opposition between ‘civilisation’ (white) and ‘savagery’ (black). These negative stereotypes, in post-independent Mozambique, were implicitly justified by the colonial idea that the black people “found *peace* and happiness only when under the tutelage of a white master” (Hall, *ibid.*). In this regard, it was noted that fair representation of Frelimo and its members was highly unlikely in this newspaper, where the negative representations of the party by far outnumbered the few ones.

In this thesis, the findings have clearly indicated that it was only in the **domain of sport** that blacks were represented in a fairer (positive) way overall compared to their white counterparts, despite the infrequent use of the label *Português de cor* [‘Portuguese of colour’ or ‘person of colour’] and some visual representations. In fact, the description of black players went as far as to call them ‘king of the ball’, ‘masters of football’, ‘the most famous Portuguese football players’, ‘football global icons’ and so forth. While on the one hand it was argued that these were highly prestigious representations, sometimes were not even given to their white counterparts, the thesis made it clear that such positivity was endorsed by ideological “media stereotypes of black men – as [...] athletes, entertainers” (Gilman, 1997: 287) and the beliefs around the world about their “physical prowess” (Hall, 1997: 226). Hall (1997) stresses that representation of black athletes in the press gain in meaning when they are read in context, against or in connection with one another. The researcher emphasised that positive representations of these players may have an agenda behind it which is to insinuate that black Mozambicans as a whole can only compete with their white counterparts in the domain of sport.

7.1.2 What were the ideologies embedded in the discourses of ‘*O Século de Joanesburgo*’ during the colonial and postcolonial periods in Mozambique?

As noted in chapter 4 indigenous Mozambicans, in spite some being highly educated, were mostly represented holding menial jobs. This representation is deliberate. It may express a general view that Mozambicans were not educated to an extent of holding jobs other than labour driven (unskilled). Similarly, in terms of race, Mozambicans were divided into three categories: *africanos*, *pretos* and *negros*. As the study established such a division not only intended to prevent black Mozambicans from enjoying their citizenship with full participation in the socio-political and economical decisions, but also to create unambiguous boundaries between what seems to be the group in the centre (*us*) and the group in the periphery *them*. What was also clear is the fact that both racial and educational issues seemed to have paved the way for other negative representation of black Mozambicans as *barbarous*, *savage*, *immoral*, etc. making them not only different racially but also educationally, morally and so forth.

The representations in Chapter 5 did not differ much from those in Chapter 4, but in fact seemed to be an extension of it. Samora Machel and his organisation, Frelimo, were also judged based on their incapacity mostly in terms of morality, rationality and humanity to rule their own people. Machel and Frelimo were also represented as the enemy of the Mozambican people. They were described as

a regime and as an institution characterised by violence, oppression and the exploitation of their own people.

Nevertheless, even though these representations are based on a series of elementary dichotomies, holistically they articulate an ideological view of inferiority of black Mozambicans in many ways: racially, educationally, morally /behaviourally, civility, etc. In sum, as seen, this insinuated that the development of Mozambique and the survival of its people depended on the Portuguese people (white). This in turn suggested maintenance of the colonial status quo and the return of Portuguese people to Mozambique (in the post-independence period). While this is the case for both Chapters 4 and 5, Chapter 6's discursive representation as discussed took a different ideological stand, one of equality. This seemed to have been principled around the issue of multiculturalism: blacks were described as being athletically competent, skilful and as capable as their white counterparts.

7.1.3 What role did the newspaper play in the distribution of voice to people during these two periods?

Bauman and Briggs' (2003) stance on voice as a key means of creating new forms of exclusion and sustaining inequality is worth repeating here. This is supported Van Dijk (1994: 34), who sees a direct correlation between social power and the access to various types of public discourse. According to Van Dijk, the powerless only have access to personal conversation, and are passive in other forms of communication whereas the powerful have organised institutional access to important, decisive discourse genres.

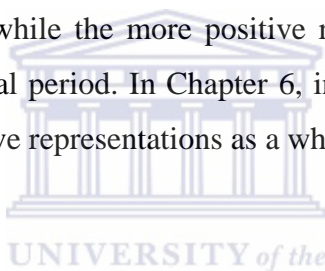
Through the newspaper discourse (overall negative construction of black Mozambicans) one could have concluded that it had an exclusive political agenda of supporting the elite group in order to continue its oppressive plan. As Van Dijk (1994: 34) argues "due to their control and preferential access, the elites also influence their own representation, and hence govern their own ideological legitimation". In other words, through *O Século de Joanesburgo*, it became crystal clear that Mozambican socio-cultural and political networks were stereotypically represented and articulated in ways that were intended to ignore the violence, oppression, domination and other unequal relations imposed on the Mozambican people by ethnocentric and exclusionary approaches such as using dialectic strategies of positive self-representation and negative other-presentation. In short, in both Chapters 4 and 5, the newspaper emphasised all information that portrayed the Portuguese people positively, while minimising information that portrayed them in a negative light. It did just the opposite to represent the Mozambican people. This was only possible because the Portuguese

people had access and full control of public discourses as well as “the means of symbolic production” (Van Dijk, 1994: 23) which the Mozambican people lacked.

In short, judging the way Mozambicans were constructed it is obvious that the Mozambican people were given lesser platform in the columns of the newspaper to propagate their voices. To conclude, it is safe to say that this newspaper “acted as the vehicle of colonial ideology in reproducing and reinforcing Portuguese colonial and postcolonial ideals” (Goldsworthy, 2010: 148) in Mozambique. The only difference, as has already been noted, was in the domain of sport.

7.1.4 In terms of representation, how did the newspaper change in the postcolonial period?

This question is closely related to the first research question although here the question categorically focuses on the developmental aspect of representation in the postcolonial phase. In both chapters 4 and 5, this thesis has demonstrated that most of these negative representations occurred in the postcolonial period while the more positive representations (although a minority) could mostly be found in the colonial period. In Chapter 6, in contrast, soccer players are equally constructed – characterised by positive representations as a whole.



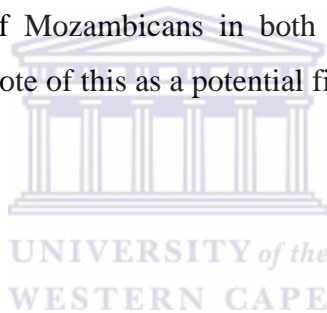
7.2 The Contribution of this thesis to the field of Research

This thesis was conceived in order to probe one of the *modus operandi* of the Portuguese regime in Mozambique. In this respect, the contribution of this study to the broad field of Sociolinguistics is captured in its aims and objectives. In the early section of this thesis, the researcher pointed out that with this research he was hoping to unearth the ideologies embedded in the discourse of the newspaper to see how Mozambicans were constructed or deconstructed in both colonial and post-independence periods. The findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 bear ample witness to the ideologies of the Portuguese regime. Thus this thesis’ contribution to *Luso-África* can be hypothesised from the negative representations of Mozambicans – the overriding discourse – which creates an awareness of the oppressive nature of the regime as well as the characterisation of the relationship between the coloniser and colonised. The constructive manner in which Mozambican sportsmen were portrayed in Chapter 6 can be singled out as a noteworthy contribution in this unexplored (in terms of CDA and MDA analysis) field of sport not only for knowledge enrichment on the history of Mozambique or other Portuguese speaking countries, but also globally. The research also adds valuable insight to the studies attempting a triangulation approach using CL, CDA and MDA simultaneously.

7.3 Suggestions for Future Research

In Chapter 3, I stressed the limitations of this study. The greatest limitation, in my opinion, was the attention given to sport in terms of limited number of sportmen covered and articles in spite of the reason behind his attempt. Both numbers could have been increased. In fact perhaps a study solely focussing on sport domain should be conducted. Thus this is definitely an area for future researchers to explore further.

Also as indicated, this study consisted of 100 articles with a corpus of 58,070 tokens. Thus the data set could have been larger and the articles should have been equally distributed (with regard to the number of articles collected) in order to achieve more balanced findings. In addition, I also indicated that I felt it would have been significant to see the methodological approaches used here being combined with interviews involving journalists and editorial team(s) of the same newspaper. This would not only have broadened the scope of this study, but also would perhaps have provided more insights into representation of Mozambicans in both colonial and postcolonial periods. I suggest that future researchers take note of this as a potential field of study.



7.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the current research using CL, CDA and MDA has demonstrated that Mozambican people overall were represented in a negative light in both colonial and postcolonial discourses in the columns of the Portuguese newspaper ‘*O Século de Joanesburgo*’. Such a complex representation was achieved by polarisation: positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In most cases, both linguistic and visual languages were knitted together in “manufacturing those social representations” (Van Dijk, 1994:36). However, with regard to representation in the domain of sport, Mozambicans were highly regarded and positively characterised, becoming ‘one of us’.

Through its analysis of the representations of Mozambicans in both the colonial and postcolonial eras in the newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo*, this thesis has made a contribution to the field of discourse analysis, exposing the underlying “relationships of dominance” (Van Dijk, 1995: 136) as well as the exercise of social power by the colonial power and a media institution that tended to reflect the social and political inequalities in Mozambique. It has also contributed to this contemporary sociolinguistic field of study merging simultaneously verbal and visual language to

explore how both discourses are used to reveal ideologies of domination. Finally, this thesis has also contributed to the understudied fields of CDA and MDA in the *Luso-África* agenda.



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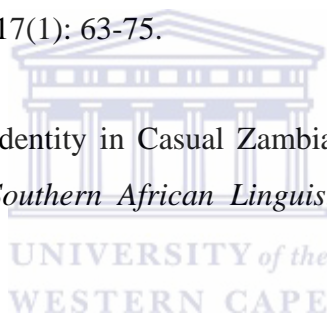
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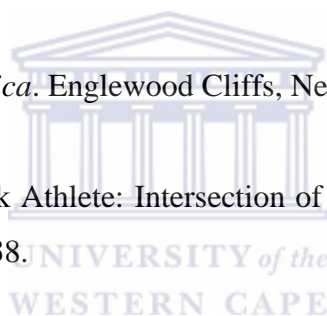
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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I: Mini Corpus Samples (Colonial and Postcolonial Periods)

Discourse country's focus	Period of the newspaper articles (data)	Number of Tokens (words / thousands)
Mozambique	Colonial (C)	
	Newspapers 1970	5, 372
	Newspapers 1971	4, 059
	Newspapers 1972	5, 983
	Newspapers 1973	5, 091
	Newspapers 1974	5, 132
	Newspapers 1975	5, 297
		Total →
Mozambique	Postcolonial (P)	
	Newspapers 1976	5, 263
	Newspapers 1977	5, 941
	Newspapers 1978	6, 112
	Newspapers 1979	4, 704
	Newspapers 1980	5, 116
		Total →
	Total (C & P) →	58, 070

APPENDIX II: Wordlist of Top 10 Functional and Content words

General Corpus word frequency per thousands					
The ten most frequent functional words in the corpus			The ten most frequent content words in the corpus		
Rank	Frequency	Token (word)	Rank	Frequency	Token (word)
1	2902	de o f/from	19	377	Frelimo
2	2177	a the (sing.+(f.))/ to / in order to	23	323	Moçambique / Mozambique
3	1824	que that / which / what	48	104	povo / people
4	1708	e and	54	97	português /Portuguese (sing.)
5	1418	othe (sing.+(m.))	57	94	portugueses /Portuguese people
6	1012	da of/from (of+the (f.))	70	72	Machel
7	915	do of / from (of+ the(m.))	82	66	Samora
8	779	Em in, on, at	121	46	moçambicano / Mozambican
9	722	Se if	137	41	terroristas / terrorists
10	639	Os the (pl.(m.))	159	36	Populações /populations


APPENDIX III: Search Terms

Appendix iii: A

SEARCH TERMS AS PER RANK AND FREQUENCY					
Rank	Frequency	Token (word)	Rank	Frequency	Token (word)
19	377	frelimo*	283	22	Eusebio
69	74	portuguesa(s)* [<i>Portuguese people</i>]	424	16	trabalhadores [<i>workers</i>]
70	72	machel	444	15	funcionários [<i>workers</i>]
82	66	Samora*	527	13	negros [<i>negroes</i>]
85	62	nós[<i>we</i>]	646	11	Sheu
101	53	nosso(a)s *[<i>our/s</i>]	420	8	pretos [<i>blacks</i>]
123	45	eles [<i>they</i>]	892	8	manaca
137	41	terrorista(s)* [<i>terrorist(s)</i>]	1003	7	Hilario
172	33	africano(a)s* [<i>african(s)</i>]	3641	3	operário(s)* [<i>factory workers</i>]

*The words accompanied with this symbol imply that they can still be combined either with their female or male counterparts, singular or plural or with a surname, in case of Samora Machel whose frequency adds up to 148 thus automatically making it the second most frequent content word in the table above. See chapters 5 and 6 on how some words are added up.

Appendix iii: B

Corpus search term as per chapter		
Chapter 5	Chapter 6	Chapter 7
<i>funcionários</i> [workers]	<i>frelimo</i>	<i>eusebio</i>
<i>trabalhadores</i> [workers]	<i>terrorista</i> [terrorist]	<i>Sheu</i>
<i>operários</i> [workers]	<i>samora</i>	<i>hilario</i>
<i>africanos</i> [africans]	<i>machel</i>	<i>manaca</i>
<i>portugues(a)s</i> [portuguese people]		
<i>negro(s)</i> [negroes]		
<i>nós</i> [we]		
<i>nossos</i> [ours]		
<i>eles</i> [they]		
<i>pretos</i> [blacks]		

Appendix IV: Concordance Tables¹

¹ For concordance information see CD disk file 'Concordance data' file.



Appendix V: Collocation tables

THE COLLOCATES ARE OBTAINED BY: SPAN 5L (LEFT) TO 5R (RIGHT); MINIMUM MUTUAL INFORMATION SCORE OF 3; MINIMUM FREQUENCY 2.

THE FOLLOWING ABBREVIATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS INFORM THE COLLOCATION STRUCTURE BELOW:

FREQ= FREQUENCY

LEFT=OCCURRENCE TO THE LEFT OF THE SEARCH WORD

RIGHT= OCCURRENCE TO THE LEFT OF THE SEARCH WORD

MI STAT = MUTUAL INFORMATION SCORE (IT SHOWS STRENGTH OF COLLOCATION)

Appendix V: A



FUNCIONÁRIOS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	0	2	11.88445	bancários
2	2	1	1	11.88445	altos
3	2	0	2	11.29949	públicos
4	2	0	2	8.97756	banco
5	2	2	0	7.67500	alguns
6	2	0	2	6.32986	portugueses
7	2	2	0	5.77593	todos
8	3	1	2	4.91099	frelimo
9	5	5	0	4.88671	os
10	7	1	6	4.70881	da
11	2	1	1	4.31080	por
12	2	1	1	4.06427	na
13	2	2	0	3.73979	para

14	3	0	3	3.63178	do
15	9	5	4	3.55154	de
16	2	1	1	3.38860	se

Appendix V: B

TRABALHADORES

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATES
1	2	2	0	11.79134	empregam
2	3	0	3	9.20638	mineiros
3	2	0	2	7.54341	moçambicanos
4	2	2	0	6.90870	pelos
5	2	0	2	6.23675	portugueses
6	4	4	0	5.30350	dos
7	4	4	0	4.47167	os

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Appendix V: C

OPERÁRIOS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATES
1	2	1	1	6.47167	os
2	2	1	1	4.28851	de

Appendix V: D

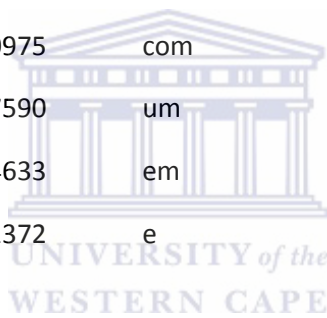
PORTUGUESA

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	3	3	0	9.58189	mocidade
2	3	2	1	9.58189	embaixada

3	6	5	1	9.35950	soberania
4	2	0	2	8.99693	chefiada
5	2	2	0	8.58189	servem
6	2	2	0	8.58189	multirracial
7	2	2	0	8.58189	língua
8	4	0	4	7.99693	chegou
9	2	2	0	7.99693	administração
10	6	5	1	7.91892	sociedade
11	2	2	0	7.77453	expressão
12	2	0	2	7.77453	dá
13	4	3	1	7.67500	comunidade
14	6	6	0	7.58189	delegação
15	2	2	0	7.41196	bandeira
16	2	2	0	6.99693	sob
17	2	0	2	6.99693	negócios
18	5	2	3	6.94962	joanesburgo
19	3	3	0	6.91892	província
20	4	4	0	6.88145	nação
21	2	0	2	6.77453	declarou
22	2	1	1	6.67500	porta
23	2	1	1	6.67500	opinião
24	2	2	0	6.58189	companhia
25	2	2	0	6.58189	capital
26	2	2	0	6.41196	queremos
27	2	0	2	6.41196	informação
28	2	0	2	6.41196	conferência
29	2	0	2	6.41196	cerca
30	2	2	0	6.33396	acção
31	3	2	1	6.30887	soares
32	2	1	1	6.18957	nesta

33	2	0	2	6.18957	bom
34	2	0	2	6.05833	salazar
35	2	1	1	5.99693	cabo
36	2	2	0	5.88145	militares
37	4	1	3	5.85397	hoje
38	2	2	0	5.82700	primeiro
39	2	0	2	5.58189	lhes
40	2	2	0	5.58189	imprensa
41	2	1	1	5.49442	segundo
42	2	1	1	5.49442	mário
43	78	2	2	5.37243	portuguesa
44	2	0	2	5.33396	tinha
45	2	1	1	5.29649	elementos
46	6	5	1	5.24799	áfrica
47	3	1	2	5.10076	ministro
48	2	1	1	5.02730	mundo
49	3	1	2	5.01710	porque
50	3	0	3	4.95740	era
51	2	0	2	4.85397	esta
52	2	1	1	4.80053	dia
53	2	1	1	4.74900	território
54	10	1	9	4.56843	moçambique
55	2	1	1	4.41196	ter
56	12	6	6	4.34667	na
57	56	36	20	4.30112	a
58	26	24	2	4.29933	da
59	2	1	1	4.20685	tem
60	4	1	3	4.18957	foi
61	3	0	3	4.11157	já
62	8	3	5	4.06619	uma

63	3	0	3	4.04791	pelo
64	2	1	1	3.84042	governo
65	3	2	1	3.80930	pela
66	3	1	2	3.77453	sua
67	2	1	1	3.76171	portugal
68	31	11	20	3.70319	que
69	48	21	27	3.66402	de
70	6	3	3	3.59320	por
71	2	0	2	3.58189	onde
72	5	2	3	3.46919	é
73	5	1	4	3.41598	dos
74	4	3	1	3.29649	ao
75	6	4	2	3.20975	com
76	5	4	1	3.17590	um
77	9	1	8	3.14633	em
78	18	5	13	3.01372	e

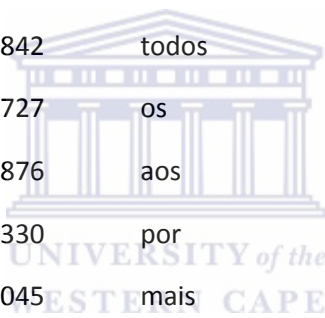


Appendix V: E

AFRICANOS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	2	0	10.74695	constituídos
2	2	0	2	10.74695	asseguram
3	2	2	0	10.16198	efectivos
4	2	2	0	9.42502	tranquilos
5	2	2	0	9.16198	poderão
6	2	2	0	8.74695	guerrilheiros
7	2	0	2	8.74695	detidos
8	2	0	2	8.16198	fazem
9	3	3	0	8.00998	territórios

10	5	5	0	7.98141	povos
11	3	2	1	7.87248	brancos
12	4	3	1	7.74695	países
13	2	1	1	7.49902	soldados
14	2	2	0	7.28752	estar
15	7	6	1	6.69632	sul
16	2	1	1	6.07452	pois
17	2	0	2	6.07452	guerra
18	2	1	1	5.86430	pelos
19	12	11	1	5.84407	dos
20	3	3	0	5.77732	portugueses
21	3	3	0	5.65948	seus
22	4	3	1	5.63842	todos
23	16	14	2	5.42727	os
24	2	2	0	4.97876	aos
25	4	4	0	4.17330	por
26	2	1	1	4.06045	mais
27	6	3	3	3.83605	se
28	4	0	4	3.78116	não
29	2	0	2	3.78116	como
30	3	0	3	3.69528	no
31	2	1	1	3.63320	à
32	13	1	12	3.61450	que
33	11	1	10	3.46829	e
34	3	3	0	3.37481	com
35	5	1	4	3.23125	do
36	15	8	7	3.15101	de
37	4	1	3	3.14147	em
38	2	1	1	3.01903	um



Appendix V: E

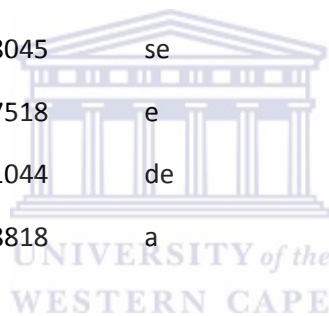
AFRICANO

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	5	5	0	10.72095	continente
2	2	1	1	9.81406	vinda
3	2	1	1	9.81406	portos
4	3	1	2	8.98399	colonialismo
5	2	2	0	7.04147	homem
6	2	0	2	6.93959	tal
7	5	5	0	6.86297	sul
8	2	2	0	6.56613	território
9	2	1	1	6.35463	bem
10	3	1	2	6.00671	ou
11	2	2	0	5.65756	governo
12	4	1	3	4.96440	é
13	3	1	2	4.49615	dos
14	4	2	2	4.44192	com
15	7	6	1	4.36875	do
16	10	7	3	4.25131	o
17	2	1	1	4.11362	ao
18	2	1	1	3.88332	uma
19	2	2	0	3.81782	as
20	2	1	1	3.67110	um
21	2	0	2	3.43324	não
22	3	2	1	3.37851	em

Appendix V: F

PRETOS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	6	5	1	10.91687	brancos
2	2	2	0	7.90870	pelos
3	3	1	2	7.82171	portugueses
4	2	2	0	6.97116	portugal
5	2	2	0	6.87248	áfrica
6	3	1	2	5.94168	é
7	5	5	0	5.79360	os
8	3	2	1	5.41052	não
9	3	2	1	4.88045	se
10	5	2	3	4.37518	e
11	5	4	1	3.61044	de
12	3	1	2	3.28818	a



Appendix V: F

PRETO

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	3	0	3	13.20638	branco
2	3	1	2	7.15472	no
3	2	1	1	5.71052	se
4	2	2	0	4.73674	o
5	2	1	1	4.37349	que

Appendix V: G

NEGROS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	3	2	1	9.21643	brancos
2	2	1	1	7.84297	moçambicanos
3	2	1	1	6.43269	são
4	2	2	0	6.32272	aos
5	2	0	2	5.12512	como
6	3	1	2	4.53121	para
7	2	2	0	4.50970	as
8	3	2	1	4.35619	os
9	6	5	1	3.84297	que



Appendix V: G

NEGRO

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	1	1	5.60090	em
2	3	3	0	5.32170	o
3	2	1	1	3.70355	de

Appendix V: H

NÓS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	3	1	2	10.42211	imigrantes
2	3	1	2	9.42211	fomos

3	5	0	5	8.98915	emigrantes
4	3	1	2	8.61475	camaradas
5	2	2	0	8.25218	virá
6	3	3	0	8.25218	lusíada
7	2	0	2	8.25218	los
8	2	1	1	8.02979	vietname
9	2	0	2	8.02979	combatentes
10	3	0	3	7.96268	podemos
11	2	0	2	7.66722	precisamos
12	8	0	8	7.55174	temos
13	2	2	0	7.51522	faz
14	3	0	3	7.25218	queremos
15	2	0	2	7.25218	jogadores
16	2	2	0	7.25218	comum
17	2	1	1	7.02979	vamos
18	3	0	3	6.96268	somos
19	2	1	1	6.83714	jornal
20	2	1	1	6.83714	gente
21	2	2	0	6.83714	deus
22	3	1	2	6.56413	fumo
23	3	1	2	6.46791	isto
24	2	0	2	6.31358	estamos
25	2	2	0	6.19329	duas
26	3	1	2	6.17418	moçambicanos
27	3	1	2	6.13670	nossos
28	2	1	1	6.08226	primeiro
29	10	7	3	6.05055	todos
30	5	5	0	6.02979	entre
31	3	0	3	5.96268	quem
32	3	2	1	5.96268	estão

33	4	2	2	5.85986	também
34	2	1	1	5.83714	peessoas
35	6	4	2	5.82219	português
36	3	1	2	5.69419	nosso
37	3	1	2	5.51522	tudo
38	2	1	1	5.41088	sempre
39	2	2	0	5.31358	moçambicano
40	4	1	3	5.17893	são
41	2	2	0	5.10922	hoje
42	3	1	2	5.04707	depois
43	64	1	1	4.88295	nós
44	3	0	3	4.86752	portugueses
45	2	1	1	4.68740	porque
46	4	2	2	4.60833	mas
47	2	0	2	4.58922	sem
48	6	4	2	4.45632	como
49	8	3	5	4.40252	é
50	2	1	1	4.36141	contra
51	5	3	2	4.32618	das
52	12	7	5	4.27745	para
53	8	6	2	4.26350	por
54	2	1	1	4.13670	povo
55	2	2	0	4.09568	governo
56	34	22	12	4.09172	que
57	9	3	6	4.04129	não
58	2	2	0	3.88295	ser
59	2	1	1	3.83714	onde
60	5	4	1	3.43115	um
61	9	5	4	3.40159	em
62	7	0	7	3.32483	os

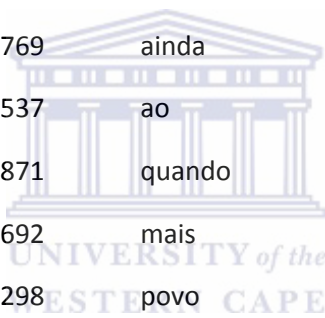
63	4	2	2	3.27872	frelimo
64	18	14	4	3.26898	e
65	4	2	2	3.25594	as
66	30	19	11	3.24120	de
67	22	12	10	3.20845	a

Appendix V: I

NOSSO

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	1	1	10.06342	goze
2	2	2	0	9.06342	carta
3	4	0	4	8.89350	correspondente
4	2	0	2	8.47846	leitor
5	4	0	4	8.06342	jornal
6	3	0	3	8.06342	esforço
7	2	1	1	7.60399	humanidade
8	5	0	5	7.52737	lado
9	9	0	9	7.45199	país
10	7	0	7	7.22692	tempo
11	2	1	1	7.06342	senhor
12	2	2	0	7.06342	passar
13	2	1	1	7.06342	coisas
14	2	0	2	6.89350	queremos
15	2	1	1	6.74149	futuro
16	2	0	2	6.41956	passado
17	2	0	2	6.20544	além
18	2	2	0	6.15653	história
19	3	0	3	6.09379	presidente
20	2	1	1	5.77802	todo

21	3	2	1	5.69419	nós
22	3	1	2	5.67110	lhe
23	2	2	0	5.63716	sempre
24	2	2	0	5.60399	quem
25	2	1	1	5.47846	aqui
26	4	3	1	5.41956	lourenço
27	2	2	0	5.36298	parte
28	4	3	1	5.28206	marques
29	2	0	2	5.20544	dr
30	29	25	4	5.08377	do
31	3	2	1	5.04847	português
32	2	1	1	4.58769	contra
33	2	1	1	4.58769	ainda
34	7	5	2	4.58537	ao
35	2	1	1	4.44871	quando
36	4	3	1	4.37692	mais
37	2	0	2	4.36298	povo
38	27	22	5	4.34867	o
39	6	6	0	4.01176	no
40	2	1	1	3.94448	pelo
41	7	3	4	3.90499	não
42	2	1	1	3.83460	mas
43	7	4	3	3.72612	para
44	2	1	1	3.70587	pela
45	4	1	3	3.48222	as
46	8	6	2	3.45794	em
47	5	2	3	3.42825	com
48	2	1	1	3.42680	nos
49	18	7	11	3.40046	que
50	4	2	2	3.33550	um



51	6	3	3	3.32871	os
52	3	1	2	3.21375	é
53	3	1	2	3.16054	dos
54	2	2	0	3.09764	como
55	3	1	2	3.08996	frelimo

Appendix V: I

NOSSOS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	1	1	10.50594	imigrantes
2	2	2	0	10.50594	enfrentam
3	2	0	2	10.50594	combates
4	3	0	3	10.09090	interlocutores
5	4	0	4	9.69858	camaradas
6	5	1	4	9.65794	emigrantes
7	6	1	5	9.63147	inimigos
8	2	0	2	8.92098	irmãos
9	3	0	3	8.92098	amigos
10	3	1	2	8.63147	vivem
11	2	2	0	8.33601	lusíada
12	2	1	1	8.33601	amizade
13	2	0	2	8.18401	leitores
14	4	4	0	7.50594	países
15	2	2	0	7.50594	colonialismo
16	2	1	1	6.59905	tão
17	2	0	2	6.41848	povos
18	3	2	1	6.36298	hoje
19	3	2	1	6.13670	nós
20	2	1	1	6.04651	estão

21	3	3	0	5.96162	entre
22	4	3	1	5.84773	são
23	2	0	2	5.83351	homens
24	25	25	0	5.83012	os
25	4	3	1	5.73775	aos
26	5	4	1	5.19124	nos
27	2	1	1	4.90603	português
28	7	6	1	4.82545	dos
29	2	1	1	4.45066	já
30	22	9	13	4.13248	que
31	18	8	10	3.93777	e
32	5	3	2	3.86208	não
33	7	3	4	3.70781	em
34	4	1	3	3.68576	na
35	3	1	2	3.57520	uma
36	5	1	4	3.33201	se
37	2	1	1	3.22054	ao

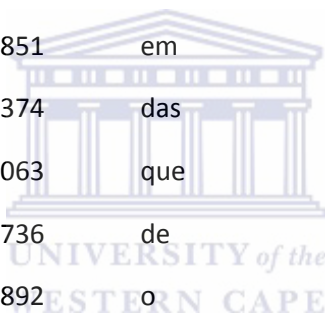
Appendix V: I

NOSSA

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	1	1	11.17663	desorientar
2	2	0	2	10.17663	sóbria
3	2	0	2	10.17663	sã
4	2	2	0	10.17663	oiço
5	2	2	0	10.17663	espontâneos
6	2	0	2	10.17663	disciplinada

7	2	2	0	10.17663	devagar
8	2	2	0	9.17663	rapidamente
9	2	2	0	8.85470	chegarmos
10	2	1	1	8.36928	tentar
11	2	0	2	8.36928	afinal
12	4	0	4	8.17663	gente
13	2	0	2	7.85470	solução
14	2	1	1	7.71720	á
15	2	1	1	7.47619	fé
16	2	0	2	7.36928	vontade
17	2	1	1	7.36928	razão
18	2	0	2	7.26974	presença
19	3	1	2	7.23803	pátria
20	2	2	0	7.17663	europa
21	3	0	3	6.85470	terra
22	2	2	0	6.71720	brancos
23	2	2	0	6.22243	nome
24	3	1	2	6.08917	vida
25	2	0	2	5.89123	temos
26	2	0	2	5.62204	política
27	2	1	1	5.59167	vez
28	2	0	2	5.47619	parte
29	9	8	1	5.23281	à
30	3	2	1	5.17663	muito
31	10	4	6	5.06393	é
32	3	1	2	4.94141	portugal
33	4	3	1	4.81908	pela
34	2	0	2	4.70090	até
35	2	2	0	4.62204	portugueses
36	2	1	1	4.59167	há

37	2	1	1	4.56192	quando
38	2	1	1	4.43516	governo
39	18	15	3	4.36356	da
40	2	2	0	4.22243	ser
41	34	25	9	4.17597	a
42	3	2	1	4.12497	nos
43	2	2	0	4.06811	todos
44	8	6	2	4.03197	para
45	6	4	2	3.94141	na
46	8	4	4	3.85696	os
47	21	6	15	3.83086	e
48	2	0	2	3.78431	foi
49	7	3	4	3.37851	em
50	2	2	0	3.34374	das
51	15	5	10	3.25063	que
52	23	9	14	3.19736	de
53	10	6	4	3.02892	o

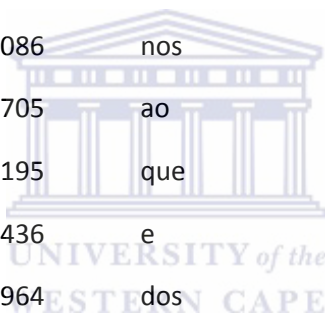


Appendix V: I

NOSSAS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	1	1	12.14748	envergonhar
2	2	1	1	11.14748	ritmo
3	2	0	2	10.14748	famílias
4	2	0	2	10.14748	colónias
5	2	0	2	9.14748	diferentes
6	3	1	2	9.03201	manter
7	5	0	5	9.00998	tropas

8	2	1	1	8.97756	casas
9	2	0	2	8.14748	coisas
10	2	0	2	8.14748	armas
11	27	1	1	7.50363	nossas
12	2	0	2	7.50363	armadas
13	19	16	3	6.81421	as
14	3	3	0	6.60316	nas
15	2	0	2	6.36613	forças
16	3	0	3	6.07424	são
17	2	1	1	5.99774	porque
18	6	6	0	5.89956	das
19	2	1	1	5.02854	pelo
20	2	0	2	4.51086	nos
21	3	1	2	4.44705	ao
22	14	8	6	4.12195	que
23	12	3	9	3.99436	e
24	2	1	1	3.65964	dos
25	2	2	0	3.63178	uma
26	3	3	0	3.58779	para
27	3	1	2	3.23659	se
28	3	2	1	3.12697	em

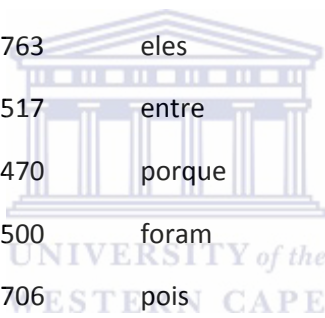


Appendix V: J

ELES

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	0	2	11.29949	procuram
2	2	0	2	10.29949	enfrentam
3	2	0	2	10.29949	chora

4	2	1	1	8.49213	manhã
5	2	0	2	7.71453	fazem
6	2	1	1	7.71453	cubanos
7	2	1	1	7.49213	presos
8	2	2	0	7.49213	dez
9	2	1	1	7.12956	quer
10	2	2	0	6.77593	regime
11	2	1	1	6.77593	minha
12	6	3	3	6.22624	são
13	4	4	0	5.95964	só
14	2	0	2	5.94194	desde
15	3	1	2	5.90717	também
16	47	1	1	5.80763	eles
17	3	3	0	5.75517	entre
18	3	2	1	5.73470	porque
19	3	1	2	5.67500	foram
20	2	2	0	5.62706	pois
21	5	2	3	5.62142	me
22	5	5	0	5.51289	todos
23	2	1	1	5.32221	lhe
24	4	4	0	5.07067	mas
25	5	1	4	4.93492	mais
26	3	2	1	4.90717	ou
27	2	2	0	4.82375	contra
28	2	1	1	4.71453	muito
29	2	1	1	4.71453	há
30	10	3	7	4.65563	não
31	9	8	1	4.51231	com
32	5	3	2	4.18679	é
33	5	3	2	4.06300	frelimo



34	5	2	3	4.04777	por
35	6	5	1	3.73979	para
36	4	1	3	3.71829	as
37	19	9	10	3.71453	que
38	3	3	0	3.54906	moçambique
39	2	0	2	3.33370	como
40	8	4	4	3.31649	da
41	11	3	8	3.28928	o
42	5	3	2	3.12556	se
43	11	7	4	3.02083	e
44	14	7	7	3.01872	a

Appendix V: K



FRELIMO

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	1	1	8.23292	reaccionários
2	2	0	2	8.23292	introduzido
3	2	1	1	8.23292	internos
4	4	3	1	8.23292	fricções
5	2	2	0	8.23292	exteriores
6	2	0	2	8.23292	esperem
7	2	1	1	8.23292	desencadeada
8	2	0	2	7.23292	viola
9	2	0	2	7.23292	temer
10	2	0	2	7.23292	regressam
11	2	0	2	7.23292	posteriores
12	2	0	2	7.23292	mercenarismo
13	2	1	1	7.23292	marginais

14	2	1	1	7.23292	governativa
15	2	1	1	7.23292	fuzilamentos
16	2	2	0	7.23292	fuzilado
17	3	0	3	7.23292	expulsou
18	2	0	2	7.23292	expulsa
19	2	2	0	7.23292	emissora
20	2	2	0	7.23292	concentrados
21	2	0	2	7.23292	audição
22	2	1	1	7.23292	aplicável
23	2	0	2	7.23292	ameaçada
24	2	0	2	7.23292	algures
25	2	0	2	7.23292	adoptou
26	3	1	2	6.81788	sentimento
27	3	3	0	6.81788	expulsar
28	2	1	1	6.64796	sublinhou
29	2	2	0	6.64796	selos
30	2	2	0	6.64796	politicamente
31	2	1	1	6.64796	penas
32	2	2	0	6.64796	oportunismo
33	2	1	1	6.64796	obrigar
34	2	1	1	6.64796	incapacidade
35	2	0	2	6.64796	estrutura
36	2	2	0	6.64796	destroem
37	2	1	1	6.64796	controlar
38	2	0	2	6.64796	considera
39	2	2	0	6.64796	congresso
40	2	2	0	6.64796	circulação
41	2	1	1	6.64796	cantos
42	2	1	1	6.64796	aéreas
43	6	3	3	6.49595	operações

44	6	0	6	6.35845	pretende
45	2	0	2	6.23292	vivo
46	3	0	3	6.23292	transferências
47	3	2	1	6.23292	prisioneiros
48	2	0	2	6.23292	missões
49	2	2	0	6.23292	expulsos
50	2	1	1	6.23292	embaixador
51	2	2	0	6.23292	ditadura
52	6	6	0	6.23292	dirigente
53	2	1	1	6.23292	comecon
54	2	0	2	6.23292	apoderou
55	4	4	0	6.06300	ex
56	4	2	2	6.06300	correspondente
57	4	3	1	6.06300	comité
58	4	3	1	6.06300	apoio
59	3	0	3	6.01053	traição
60	3	0	3	6.01053	tomou
61	3	0	3	6.01053	alta
62	2	0	2	5.91099	último
63	2	1	1	5.91099	propaganda
64	2	2	0	5.91099	principais
65	2	0	2	5.91099	particular
66	2	1	1	5.91099	pagar
67	4	3	1	5.91099	minoritário
68	2	0	2	5.91099	impôr
69	2	2	0	5.91099	ilegal
70	2	2	0	5.91099	constituição
71	2	0	2	5.91099	composta
72	2	1	1	5.91099	cadeia
73	2	1	1	5.91099	acusação

74	5	2	3	5.85441	crimes
75	3	1	2	5.81788	nampula
76	5	2	3	5.64796	tribunal
77	2	0	2	5.64796	tenta
78	2	2	0	5.64796	revolucionário
79	2	2	0	5.64796	representação
80	2	1	1	5.64796	quadros
81	3	3	0	5.64796	oposição
82	3	1	2	5.64796	murupa
83	2	1	1	5.64796	moscovo
84	2	2	0	5.64796	libertar
85	2	0	2	5.64796	inicio
86	2	0	2	5.64796	existência
87	2	0	2	5.64796	diocese
88	2	0	2	5.64796	consideração
89	2	2	0	5.64796	bancária
90	2	2	0	5.64796	atitude
91	2	0	2	5.64796	assassinos
92	2	0	2	5.64796	anunciado
93	2	1	1	5.64796	alberto
94	3	1	2	5.64796	agricultura
95	2	1	1	5.64796	actuação
96	28	23	5	5.56454	contra
97	5	4	1	5.55485	terrorista
98	5	4	1	5.55485	representante
99	3	0	3	5.49595	vista
100	3	0	3	5.49595	jamais
101	8	7	1	5.47803	comunista
102	10	8	2	5.46739	segundo
103	2	2	0	5.42557	sábado

104	2	0	2	5.42557	seguiu
105	2	1	1	5.42557	sabotagem
106	2	0	2	5.42557	residência
107	2	1	1	5.42557	massacres
108	2	1	1	5.42557	magarila
109	2	1	1	5.42557	gonçalves
110	2	2	0	5.42557	entrega
111	2	0	2	5.42557	divisas
112	2	1	1	5.42557	data
113	2	0	2	5.42557	dada
114	2	2	0	5.42557	comunismo
115	2	1	1	5.42557	combatentes
116	2	1	1	5.42557	carácter
117	3	2	1	5.35845	á
118	3	0	3	5.35845	continua
119	3	2	1	5.35845	central
120	4	1	3	5.32603	chegar
121	5	3	2	5.30692	soldados
122	5	4	1	5.30692	membros
123	4	2	2	5.23292	tais
124	3	2	1	5.23292	opressão
125	3	0	3	5.23292	obter
126	2	1	1	5.23292	minas
127	2	2	0	5.23292	guerrilheiros
128	2	0	2	5.23292	favor
129	2	0	2	5.23292	evitar
130	2	1	1	5.23292	detidos
131	4	2	2	5.23292	comunistas
132	2	1	1	5.23292	antigos
133	3	1	2	5.23292	actual

134	40	35	5	5.19730	pela
135	5	3	2	5.16253	lei
136	5	4	1	5.16253	janeiro
137	4	2	2	5.14546	igualmente
138	6	4	2	5.11744	organização
139	3	2	1	5.11744	económica
140	3	3	0	5.11744	chamado
141	7	3	4	5.08608	joanesburgo
142	225	194	31	5.06371	da
143	2	0	2	5.06300	reconhecimento
144	4	2	2	5.06300	mineiros
145	2	0	2	5.06300	irá
146	2	1	1	5.06300	formação
147	2	0	2	5.06300	eduardo
148	2	1	1	5.06300	economia
149	2	1	1	5.06300	dado
150	2	2	0	5.06300	chamada
151	3	0	3	5.01053	conseguiu
152	4	3	1	4.98499	conta
153	12	7	5	4.93524	pelos
154	2	1	1	4.91099	vice
155	2	2	0	4.91099	técnicos
156	2	1	1	4.91099	total
157	3	2	1	4.91099	segurança
158	2	2	0	4.91099	relações
159	2	1	1	4.91099	questão
161	2	1	1	4.91099	medida
162	3	2	1	4.91099	funcionários
163	2	1	1	4.91099	feira
164	3	0	3	4.91099	deu

165	3	1	2	4.91099	armados
166	2	1	1	4.91099	acusações
167	8	8	0	4.87537	terroristas
168	4	3	1	4.84060	campos
169	3	1	2	4.81788	região
170	3	2	1	4.81788	preso
171	6	3	3	4.81788	lusaka
172	3	1	2	4.81788	diz
173	3	3	0	4.81788	algumas
174	3	3	0	4.81788	abril
175	5	5	0	4.79996	anti
176	2	1	1	4.77349	sabem
177	2	0	2	4.77349	miguel
178	2	2	0	4.77349	março
179	2	2	0	4.77349	inimigos
180	2	1	1	4.77349	industrial
181	2	1	1	4.77349	feita
182	2	1	1	4.77349	contos
183	2	2	0	4.77349	chefes
184	3	1	2	4.73042	estes
185	4	2	2	4.70936	regime
186	4	4	0	4.70936	entretanto
187	6	2	4	4.68860	poder
188	2	2	0	4.64796	querem
189	2	1	1	4.64796	partir
190	2	0	2	4.64796	naquela
191	2	2	0	4.64796	marxista
192	12	5	7	4.64796	machel
193	2	1	1	4.64796	dezembro
194	2	1	1	4.64796	contas



195	6	4	2	4.60843	militar
196	3	2	1	4.56996	será
197	5	3	2	4.55485	nada
198	9	5	4	4.54486	resistência
199	2	2	0	4.53248	torturas
200	2	1	1	4.53248	randes
201	2	2	0	4.53248	própria
202	2	0	2	4.53248	político
203	4	1	3	4.53248	partido
204	2	2	0	4.53248	manter
205	2	1	1	4.53248	local
206	6	6	0	4.53248	elementos
207	4	0	4	4.53248	distrito
208	2	2	0	4.53248	artur
209	2	1	1	4.53248	antigo
210	3	2	1	4.49595	sabe
211	3	1	2	4.49595	pelas
212	7	5	2	4.48569	política
213	2	1	1	4.42557	processo
214	2	0	2	4.42557	mulheres
215	2	1	1	4.42557	julho
216	2	0	2	4.42557	grupos
217	2	2	0	4.42557	dirigentes
218	2	1	1	4.42557	declarou
219	4	4	0	4.42557	concentração
220	3	1	2	4.42557	chissano
221	3	2	1	4.35845	tropas
222	9	3	6	4.35845	samora
223	3	3	0	4.35845	libertação
224	3	0	3	4.35845	fez

225	5	3	2	4.34539	pode
226	10	5	5	4.34539	foram
227	8	3	5	4.32603	sobre
228	2	2	0	4.32603	presença
229	2	2	0	4.32603	morais
230	2	0	2	4.32603	manuel
231	2	1	1	4.32603	conforme
232	2	0	2	4.32603	bispo
233	2	0	2	4.32603	banco
234	2	1	1	4.32603	arouca
235	3	2	1	4.29432	junho
236	6	5	1	4.26329	presidente
237	2	1	1	4.23292	trigo
238	2	1	1	4.23292	trabalhadores
239	2	1	1	4.23292	serviços
240	3	0	3	4.23292	movimento
241	2	0	2	4.23292	companhia
242	2	1	1	4.23292	afirmou
243	6	6	0	4.20317	luta
244	3	2	1	4.17403	serviço
245	3	2	1	4.17403	base
246	2	2	0	4.14546	mil
247	37	23	14	4.10698	moçambique
248	2	1	1	4.06300	novo
249	4	3	1	4.06300	morte
250	2	1	1	4.06300	enquanto
251	3	0	3	4.06300	encontra
252	5	2	3	4.06300	eles
253	241	161	80	4.05768	a
254	6	3	3	4.03652	este

255	4	2	2	4.02347	alguns
256	6	5	1	3.98499	território
257	4	1	3	3.98499	tendo
258	4	4	0	3.98499	moçambicanos
259	2	2	0	3.98499	livre
260	2	2	0	3.98499	linha
261	8	2	6	3.98499	está
262	29	20	9	3.97716	à
263	3	2	1	3.95990	independência
264	17	7	10	3.92807	foi
265	2	0	2	3.91099	futuro
266	7	6	1	3.91099	entre
267	4	2	2	3.87537	desde
268	3	2	1	3.86369	nome
269	3	3	0	3.86369	frente
270	5	1	4	3.85441	parte
271	11	5	6	3.82199	seu
272	2	2	0	3.77349	voz
273	10	4	6	3.77349	marques
274	3	0	3	3.77349	isso
275	2	1	1	3.77349	forma
276	3	3	0	3.77349	dizer
277	3	2	1	3.77349	chefe
278	3	3	0	3.77349	campo
279	3	2	1	3.73042	trabalho
280	3	3	0	3.73042	moçambicana
281	7	4	3	3.70043	agora
282	6	0	6	3.68860	assim
283	2	0	2	3.64796	seria
284	2	0	2	3.64796	joão

285	2	2	0	3.64796	delegação
286	2	1	1	3.64796	comandante
287	2	0	2	3.64796	ali
288	9	3	6	3.63466	aos
289	28	11	17	3.60565	é
290	8	2	6	3.58906	lourenço
291	2	0	2	3.58906	fronteira
292	7	1	6	3.56454	ainda
293	4	3	1	3.56049	grande
294	13	4	9	3.54104	sua
295	2	2	0	3.53248	militares
296	2	0	2	3.53248	meses
297	19	2	17	3.51506	como
298	4	1	3	3.50500	esta
299	48	22	26	3.49821	os
300	3	0	3	3.49595	qualquer
301	3	2	1	3.49595	paz
302	54	17	37	3.49195	se
303	8	7	1	3.49145	governo
304	5	3	2	3.48876	ministro
305	7	4	3	3.48569	portugueses
306	2	0	2	3.47803	seja
307	23	8	15	3.47108	ao
308	3	1	2	3.46033	qual
309	6	1	5	3.44284	tem
310	66	30	36	3.43969	do
311	2	1	1	3.42557	sentido
312	7	2	5	3.42557	quando
313	2	0	2	3.42557	quais
314	2	1	1	3.42557	população

315	2	1	1	3.42557	caso
316	27	9	18	3.41416	por
317	2	0	2	3.37494	lado
318	2	1	1	3.37494	fumo
319	7	1	6	3.36785	seus
320	5	3	2	3.34539	era
321	4	1	3	3.30218	mesmo
322	119	57	62	3.29485	que
323	3	2	1	3.29432	moçambicano
324	9	6	3	3.28390	pelo
325	4	2	2	3.27872	nós
326	32	16	16	3.27582	com
327	2	1	1	3.23292	imprensa
328	2	2	0	3.23292	estrangeiros
329	22	11	11	3.20451	dos
330	86	29	57	3.18954	o
331	2	0	2	3.18853	liberdade
332	175	93	82	3.18130	de
333	23	9	14	3.17528	as
334	2	0	2	3.14546	mário
335	3	1	2	3.14546	homens
336	3	1	2	3.14546	guerra
337	26	11	15	3.11318	na
338	3	2	1	3.08996	nosso
339	3	1	2	3.08996	hoje
340	22	6	16	3.05573	no
341	3	2	1	3.03652	forças

Appendix V: L

TERRORISTAS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	0	2	9.11186	robert
2	2	0	2	9.11186	mugabe
3	5	5	0	8.58579	movimentos
4	2	0	2	8.11186	jamais
5	2	2	0	8.11186	haviam
6	2	2	0	8.11186	ataques
7	2	2	0	7.97436	chefes
8	2	2	0	7.43379	bases
9	7	6	1	7.35850	pelos
10	2	2	0	6.97436	tete
11	3	2	1	6.93129	três
12	2	2	0	6.91023	dar
13	2	2	0	6.78993	base
14	2	0	2	5.94194	rodésia
15	3	2	1	5.80930	foram
16	2	2	0	5.70587	esta
17	2	2	0	5.60090	às
18	2	1	1	5.60090	território
19	2	2	0	5.52690	sobre
20	3	3	0	5.25057	aos
21	9	7	2	5.11587	dos
22	2	1	1	4.95806	contra
23	14	14	0	4.92147	os
24	7	1	6	4.90575	moçambique
25	8	0	8	4.87537	frelimo
26	5	1	4	4.47031	ao

27	4	0	4	4.46800	como
28	2	1	1	4.45651	ou
29	6	2	4	4.43755	as
30	2	2	0	4.43379	onde
31	8	4	4	3.93793	se
32	19	9	10	3.84883	que
33	27	15	12	3.68584	de
34	9	1	8	3.62072	da
35	2	1	1	3.60090	das
36	3	2	1	3.50305	uma
37	3	1	2	3.44510	por
38	4	2	2	3.28913	para

Appendix V: L



TERRORISTA

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	4	4	0	9.09090	organização
2	4	1	3	7.74695	samora
3	3	1	2	6.25736	pelo
4	5	1	4	5.55485	frelimo
5	3	2	1	5.26256	à
6	7	7	0	4.76107	do
7	2	1	1	4.45595	moçambique
8	3	1	2	4.41920	com
9	6	2	4	4.39331	da
10	2	1	1	4.15472	no
11	3	1	2	3.77082	em
12	6	3	3	3.63821	e
13	7	4	3	3.51057	a

14	2	1	1	3.29549	se
15	8	5	3	3.28851	de
16	5	1	4	3.28038	que

Appendix V: M

SAMORA

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	0	2	10.74695	discursando
2	2	0	2	9.74695	suiça
3	2	2	0	9.16198	ditador
4	41	1	40	8.93457	machel
5	2	0	2	8.74695	invadir
6	2	1	1	8.74695	evidente
7	2	1	1	8.74695	discurso
8	2	2	0	8.74695	castigar
9	3	1	2	8.74695	admiração
10	2	1	1	8.16198	resultado
11	2	2	0	8.16198	deta
12	2	1	1	7.93959	terror
13	2	1	1	7.93959	decisão
14	4	3	1	7.74695	terrorista
15	2	2	0	7.74695	acrescentou
16	2	0	2	7.28752	marcelino
17	5	2	3	7.06887	lusaka
18	2	2	0	7.04651	fé
19	2	2	0	6.93959	sr
20	3	0	3	6.93959	chissano
21	6	4	2	6.77732	presidente
22	2	1	1	6.74695	momento

23	2	1	1	6.57702	conferência
24	3	2	1	6.52455	disse
25	2	1	1	6.35463	lei
26	3	1	2	6.33191	imprensa
27	3	1	2	6.28752	chefe
28	4	2	2	6.25509	rodésia
29	3	1	2	5.74695	vez
30	5	3	2	5.59314	contra
31	6	3	3	5.59044	governo
32	4	2	2	4.87658	seu
33	10	4	6	4.78347	ao
34	68	1	1	4.70255	samora
35	4	1	3	4.63842	todos
36	9	6	3	4.35845	frelimo
37	4	2	2	4.35463	foi
38	2	1	1	4.27121	ainda
39	2	1	1	4.10309	lourenço
40	2	0	2	4.08874	são
41	7	4	3	3.98065	por
42	2	2	0	3.96559	marques
43	2	2	0	3.92677	portugal
44	24	12	12	3.86227	o
45	15	9	6	3.81621	do
46	47	39	8	3.79870	de
47	3	0	3	3.64541	mais
48	2	1	1	3.62801	pelo
49	6	0	6	3.51173	na
50	13	8	5	3.46439	da
51	23	12	11	3.43762	que
52	4	4	0	3.41156	moçambique

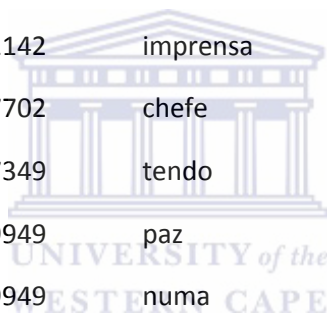
53	2	1	1	3.35463	sua
54	4	2	2	3.31232	é
55	25	14	11	3.30268	a
56	19	8	11	3.25678	e
57	7	1	6	3.23463	os
58	4	2	2	3.23125	uma
59	8	4	4	3.14147	em
60	7	5	2	3.05845	se

Appendix V: M

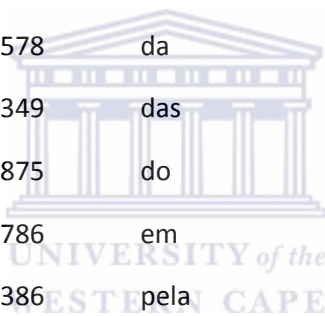
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RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	0	2	10.62142	discursando
2	2	1	1	9.62142	estocolmo
3	5	5	0	9.13599	magarila
4	2	2	0	9.03645	ditador
5	41	40	1	8.93457	samora
6	2	0	2	8.62142	sessão
7	2	2	0	8.62142	ditadura
8	2	1	1	8.03645	resultado
9	2	1	1	8.03645	jornalistas
10	2	1	1	8.03645	admiração
11	2	1	1	7.81406	sábado
12	4	4	0	7.81406	sr
13	2	1	1	7.81406	encerramento
14	2	1	1	7.45149	fronteiras
15	2	1	1	7.45149	elemento
16	2	0	2	7.29949	feira
17	2	2	0	7.16198	contos

18	8	4	4	7.06683	presidente
19	5	2	3	6.94334	lusaka
20	2	1	1	6.45149	conferência
21	3	1	2	6.39902	disse
22	2	0	2	6.22910	chissano
23	2	0	2	6.16198	libertação
24	4	3	1	6.12956	rodésia
25	2	2	0	6.09785	regime
26	2	2	0	5.92098	partido
27	2	1	1	5.81406	visita
28	2	1	1	5.81406	palavras
29	2	0	2	5.66722	frente
30	2	1	1	5.62142	imprensa
31	2	0	2	5.57702	chefe
32	2	0	2	5.37349	tendo
33	2	1	1	5.29949	paz
34	2	1	1	5.29949	numa
35	8	3	5	5.22910	foi
36	2	1	1	5.19515	sido
37	2	0	2	4.94899	homens
38	4	1	3	4.87995	governo
39	2	1	1	4.76343	resistência
40	12	7	5	4.64796	frelimo
41	3	1	2	4.56252	lourenço
42	74	1	1	4.45149	machel
43	10	5	5	4.36970	por
44	2	1	1	4.28157	agora
45	7	4	3	4.14337	ao
46	2	0	2	4.00671	quando
47	2	0	2	3.96320	são



48	2	0	2	3.92098	povo
49	2	1	1	3.84006	marques
50	52	36	16	3.81902	de
51	2	0	2	3.75105	seu
52	2	1	1	3.66722	ser
53	22	12	10	3.61121	o
54	7	1	6	3.60859	na
55	5	5	0	3.60795	moçambique
56	2	0	2	3.51289	todos
57	4	2	2	3.50767	à
58	2	1	1	3.50247	pelo
59	26	13	13	3.48897	que
60	14	8	6	3.44578	da
61	3	1	2	3.37349	das
62	12	7	5	3.36875	do
63	10	3	7	3.33786	em
64	2	1	1	3.26386	pela
65	3	1	2	3.24059	como
66	7	1	6	3.10910	os
67	6	2	4	3.06172	para
68	23	11	12	3.05685	a
69	4	1	3	3.04022	as



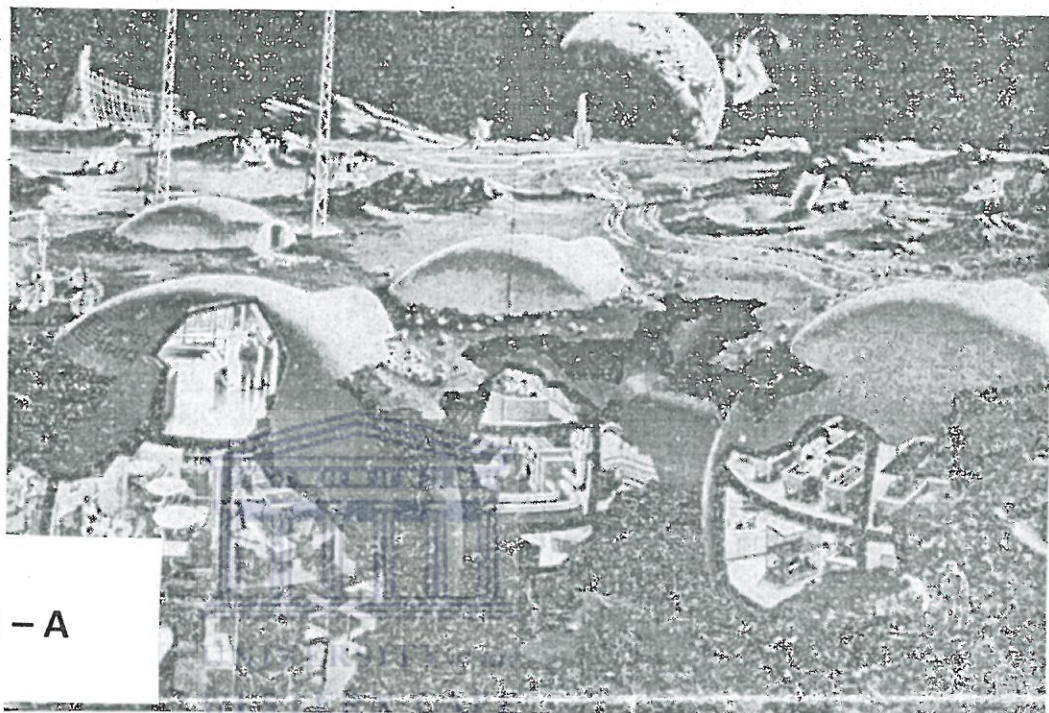
Appendix VI: Sample Articles²

² For concordance information see CD disk 'Articles' file.



A D. E. T. A. COMEMORA O SEU 33.º ANIVERSÁRIO

O dia 26 de Agosto marca o 33.º aniversário da D.E.T.A., um departamento integrado na Direcção dos Serviços dos Portos, Caminhos de Ferro e Transportes de Moçambique, que alcançou elevados níveis e se prepara



Appendix VI - A



Aprenhiz de sapateiro, bastaria como legenda para este magnífico apontamento fotográfico do nosso repórter Cartão. Todavia, para além da imagem em si, a falar de uma aprendizagem que parece deixar bem satisfeito este futuro sapateiro, há que destacar aqui quão valorosas se põem todas as aprendizagens que possam, de modo prático, eficiente e rendoso, colocarem-se ao serviço da promoção social. O esforço que está sendo desenvolvido no sentido de melhorar as escolas de artes e ofícios já existentes e de caminhar abertamente de modo a dar a cada distrito de Moçambique pelo menos uma dessas escolas, está perfeitamente dentro dessa linha de valorização. Moçambique precisa de muitos aprendizes e todos os alunos.

Leia neste número

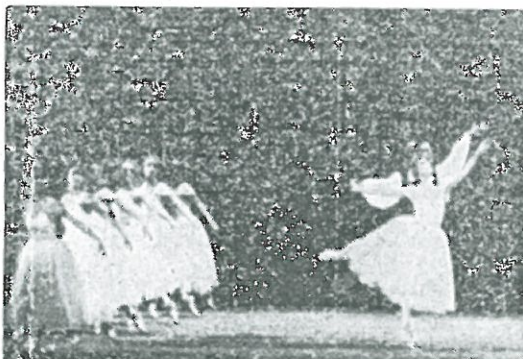
- TENTADERO**
— duas páginas dedicadas a assuntos taurinos
- ELA**
— com orientação de Maria Odete
- POP-DISCOTECA**
— por Bicos e Mané
- BELAS ARTES**
— com orientação de Lopes de Oliveira
- O MIÚDO**
— Página infantil
- VITRAIS**
— Acontecimentos diversos
- DE TODO O MUNDO**
— com aspectos gráficos da actualidade internacional

Orientação geral de
Miguel Clemente

Uma imagem da Lua que poderá tornar-se realidade antes de vinte anos. Será, por assim dizer, a primeira cidade lunar, com base em três grandes esferas, quase totalmente enterradas para ficarem melhor defendidas da acção dos meteoritos. Na primeira (à esquerda) ficará uma habitação com três andares, com os compartimentos normais em qualquer grande e boa habitação. Ao centro, pode ver-se a esfera que servirá como fábrica de água, ar e carburantes, obtidos a partir de matérias existentes na Lua. À direita ficará a terceira esfera com culturas, em especial para regenerar o ar.

Note-se no primeiro plano um grupo de lunautas em pleno trabalho e ao fundo, além da base de foguetões, todo um sistema de comunicações espaciais.

Depois do êxito da missão «Apolo 11» esta antevisão nada tem de estranha em nossos dias sendo muito mais aceitável do que foi, ao tempo, por exemplo, a «incrível» viagem à Lua dos heróis de Júlio Verne.

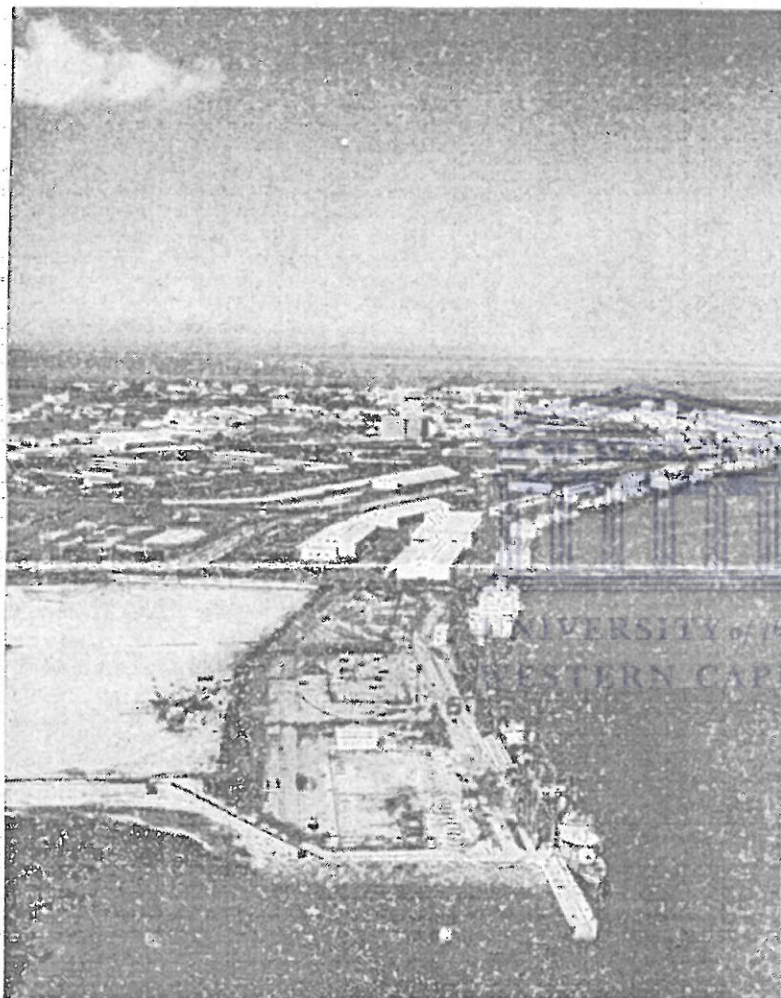


Apresentou-se em Lourenço Marques numa série de espectáculos que alcançaram assinalado êxito o Grupo Gulbenkian de Bailado. Com um conjunto muito equilibrado que se revelou em excelente nível artístico, o Grupo estreou-se com o bailado «Sinfonias» de que a gravura dá uma imagem e que se refere a uma composição poética com música de Chopin. A presença deste belo agrupamento em Moçambique, deve-se ao patrocínio do Governo da Província e ao desejo da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian em colaborar activamente no desenvolvimento cultural de quantos vivem neste Distrito. Pa-

O SÉCULO
de Joanesburgo

Magazine

Appendix VI - B



A MULHER PORTUGUESA

NA INDÚSTRIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE

A imagem que publicamos refere-se a Georgina Evaristo Macambo. De 24 anos de idade, natural de Lourenço Marques é notável, e destacada, justamente porque deve ser a primeira mulher em Moçambique a trabalhar numa oficina com um torno mecânico. Satisfeita com a profissão que escolheu, dentro de pouco tempo estará apta a trabalhar não só com o torno-revólver que acciona agora, mas até com outras máquinas maiores. «Trata-se de uma experiência de promoção social que me está interessando muito», disse-nos o sócio gerente da Firma FERRAÇO (Indústrias de Ferro e Aço) de Lourenço Marques, sr. Custódio Arsénio Estrada e embora reconheça que a posição ideal da mulher é no lar, penso que ela pode também ar um contributo muito válido em muitas outras actividades.» Aliás ao que apuramos, o êxito inicial de Georgina, está entusiasmando outras raparigas que pediram já para serem ensinadas em trabalhos semelhantes. Daí a circunstância de estar já prevista a admissão de uma nova praticante

O porto da Beira, não obstante os gravíssimos prejuízos que as sanções à Rodésia lhe estão inflingindo, sem que a O.N.U. atenda às justas e bem fundamentadas reclamações de Portugal, continua a construção de novos cais e mantém um ritmo de apetrechamento que bem pode classificar-se de notável. A nova ligação com o Maláwi, servindo em óptimas condições este país e até a Zâmbia, que lhe está ligada, mais acentuará o valor deste porto, escoadouro natural dos países sem mar, vizinhos de Moçambique

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No Palácio Nacional de Belém, foi entregue ao Chefe do Estado uma monumental Corografia Infantil de Portugal. Trata-se de um conjunto de 110 volumes contendo uma descrição completa de Portugal metropolitano e insular, incluindo lendas, tradições, monumentos e características das cidades, vilas e aldeias.

Esta obra reúne trabalhos de cerca de 100 mil alunos do ensino primário, que foram reunidos na Direcção-Geral do Ensino Primário e acondicionados num móvel executado por alunos de carpintaria e serralharia da Escola Machado de Castro.

A iniciativa deste trabalho colectivo deve-se ao actual titular da pasta da Educação Nacional.

Leia neste número

- ELA — uma página dedicada à mulher
 - BELAS ARTES — com orientação de Lopes de Oliveira
 - TRIÂNGULO DE ENTENDIMENTO — uma secção de Luís Braga Correia
 - TENTADERO — Assuntos taumomáquicos
 - O MIUDO — Página infantil
 - DE TODO O MUNDO Noticiário Internacional
 - FILATELIA E NUMISMÁTICA — com orientação de Alves da Silva
 - VITRAIS — Apartamentos vários
 - POP - DISCOTECA — por Bicos e Mané
- Orientação geral de



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SEGUNDA	6	13	20	27	
TERÇA	7	14	21	28	
QUARTA	1	8	15	22	29
QUINTA	2	9	16	23	30
SEXTA	3	10	17	24	31
SÁBADO	4	11	18	25	

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TAP	8366804
DETA	223445
Caminhos de Ferro (SA)	231613
Polícia	30
Farmácia de Serviço Permanente	7252222
Ambulância	35-4141
Banco de Lisboa e África do Sul	836-7091
Banco Pinto e Soto Mayor	217534
Banco Borges e Irmão	215981
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Secção Port.	23-6953
"	236954
"	237274
"	7134213
Aeroporto chegadas	9751181

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Anuncie no "Século de Joanesburgo"

FOME EM MOÇAMBIQUE

Marcelino dos Santos, numa das suas constantes viagens ao estrangeiro, com grande incidência aos países ditos socialistas, expôs ao director do Programa mundial Alimentar, L. George Hutton, a difícil situação económica de Moçambique, onde, dizem as agências noticiosas, nas regiões do Centro e Norte, cerca de um milhão de pessoas se encontram sem emprego. Durante esse encontro, que decorreu na sede do P.A.C. em Roma, referiu a Moçambique nomead refere a:

Estranhamente, no mesmo dia, uma outra agência, fazendo eco das palavras proferidas por um director bancário, diz que em Moçambique não há fome, pelo menos "há vinte e cinco anos e os boatos de que algumas partes do país estariam a ser vítimas de tal flagelo não têm o mínimo fundamento. Lendo as duas versões, ficaremos (nós e os leitores, evidentemente), sem saber quem fala verdade. Se o sr. país para o auxílio Moçambique docu- tias publi- undial, se

Appendix VI - C

CHISSANO JÁ QUIS DEMITIR-SE

Do Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças, que se publica em Lisboa, reproduzimos com a devida vénia: "Os acontecimentos de 21 de Outubro em Lourenço Marques caracterizaram-se por uma selvajaria das populações negras, que deve fazer reflectir. Que protecção terão os portugueses brancos, africanos e asiáticos que fiquem em Moçambique depois do regresso das nossas tropas? Que pode esperar-se da Frelimo? Diz-se em Lourenço Marques que, perante a selvajaria do massacre de brancos levado a cabo pelos negros da "cidade do canhão", Chissano teria reconhecido que a Frelimo não tinha a força necessária para dominar a situação de modo a evitar que acontecimentos semelhantes se repetissem, e quis demitir-se. Foi Samora Machel que o dissuadiu desses seus propósitos. Mas, se assim foi, isso apenas significa que a situação é mais alarmante, ainda, do que supomos. Se as forças militares portuguesas deixarem Moçambique abandonando os brancos, os africanos fiéis à nossa bandeira e os asiáticos à mercê das centenas de "cidades do canhão", ou semelhantes, que proliferam por todo o Moçambique, não será a Frelimo que os pode proteger, ainda que queira, o que, aliás, não está provado.

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No Porto ENCOMENDA EXPLOSIVA IA CAUSANDO VITIMAS

PORTO (Via TAP) — Numa casa de pasto pertencente a Alvaro Teixeira Varejão, no lugar das Vendinhas, freguesia de Telões, em Amarante, foi entregue, há cerca de um mês, uma encomenda que seria de sementes, destinada a Joaquim Ferreira Torres, ex-presidente da Câmara de Murça que tem ali próximo uma propriedade.

O correio destinado àquele proprietário costuma ficar naquele lugar depositado. A encomenda, talvez por não parecer coisa de urgência, ali ficou, até que, no dia 24, um menor de 15 anos, de nome Manuel Carlos Torres Varejão, por curiosidade, a abriu. Então, ao cortar o fio, deu-se uma explosão que só por acaso não atingiu o menor. A encomenda era uma caixa de cartão com pólvora e algumas esferas e, em contacto com esta, outra caixa metálica com percutor e cápsula detonante.

Nacionalização das importações? Governo Português compra cereais nos Estados Unidos

washington — o departamento da Agricultura norte-americano confirmou, que Portugal comprou pelo menos 300.000 toneladas de milho e 130.000 toneladas de trigo aos Estados Unidos. Os círculos competentes tinham notado, recentemente, a presença de uma missão comercial portuguesa nos Estados Unidos, dado que o Governo Português optara por uma política de compra directa. Tinham corrido boatos de que o Governo Americano opor-se-ia a eventuais compras portuguesas.

INDIVÍDUOS LIBERTADOS DO FORTE DE CAXIAS

LISBOA — Vários indivíduos que se encontravam detidos em Caxias, às ordens das Forças Armadas, foram libertados há dias. E a seguinte a identidade dos que saíram: Artur Agostinho, jornalista e locutor; Rui António David e Sousa, agente comercial; Alcides da Silva Albino Pereira, motorista; José Pedro Ruas de Brito Fontes, capitão miliciano de Infantaria na disponibilidade; Carlos Henrique da Silva Jourdan, lubrificador de máquinas; Orlando

Silva Canavarro de Almeida, industrial; João Pedro da Fonseca, oficial miliciano; Carlos Alberto dos Santos Neves, gerente hoteleiro; José António de Saldanha Sousa e Meneses, gerente comercial; Fernando Pi na Ferreira Isasca, comerciante e José Filipe Homem Rebelo Pinto, empregado de escritório. Do reduto Norte para a Penitenciária de Lisboa foram transferidos 42 indivíduos acusados de serem informadores da ex-PIDE/D.G.S.

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MAS O CUSTO DE VIDA SOBE

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No princípio do mês, quando entrou em vigor a metificação no comércio, queixavam-se os consumidores da disparidade de preços, ao comparar o preço de certas medidas de capacidade métricas com o preço da equivalente quantia da antiga medida imperial.

Os homens dos bares, embora pagando menos pela nova «medida» de «Whisky» achavam-na pequena demais para o preço, embora pagando menos pelo que costumavam pagar pela «medida» antiga. Mas como só vai ao bar quem quer, embora nem sempre com sede, o aumento do custo de vida manifesta-se flagrante nos artigos de primeira necessidade.

AUMENTO DE PREÇOS NO PÃO — LEITE — GASOLINA — CARNE — ETC.

O assunto é tão grave que vai ser discutido logo na abertura do Parlamento Sul-Africano ainda no mês em curso.

As associações comerciais e industriais protestam e pedem ao Governo para pôr cobro à subida espiral de preços. No entanto a corrida continua e vejamos o que se passa em Joanesburgo:

Num talho dos subúrbios do norte, a semana passada vendia-se 1 kg de filete por R. 2.40 contra R. 1.95 na semana anterior; Bife a R. 2.25 contra R. 1.80.

O pão de forma já se vende a 12 cêntimos; um cêntimo mais do que o preço normal.

O leite também aumentou de 1 cêntimo, e a gasolina a partir de Fevereiro ou Março custará mais 2 cêntimos por galão (4,54 litros).

Temos constatado que de facto na África do Sul os vencimentos são elevados, chegando o público a pensar que a coiza lá para tudo. Não dispensam férias pelo menos uma vez por ano, sem contar com os longos fins de semana a locais turísticos às vezes distantes centenas e centenas de quilómetros.

Com os portugueses aqui residentes, isto nem sempre acontece.

Há, no entanto, toda a conveniência que nos mentalizemos de que o custo de vida aqui é muito mais caro do que em Portugal.



PORTUGAL NA IMPRENSA SUL- AFRICANA

**PORTUGUESES BRANCOS E NEGROS
DESTROEM A FRELIMO
E LIBERTAM AS POPULAÇÕES**

IN «THE STAR»

NOTICIA NA PÁGINA 16

GENERAL KAULZA DE ARRIAGA COMANDANTE-CHEFE
DAS FORÇAS ARMADAS NA PROVINCIA PORTUGUESA
DE MOÇAMBIQUE

HEAT ENFRENTA O "COMONWELTH"

**A GRÃ-BRETANHA
NÃO DESISTIRÁ
DE FORNECER
ARMAMENTO
À AFRICA DO SUL**



SE MUITOS AFRICANOS NÃO MORREM HOJE DE FOME DEVEM-NO AOS PORTUGUESES QUE INTRODUZIRAM EM ÁFRICA A MANDIOCA

= BASE DA SUA ALIMENTAÇÃO

— DECLARA O DR. RUI PATRÍCIO



DR. RUI PATRÍCIO

Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros

LISBOA — O MINISTRO DOS NEGÓCIOS ESTRANGEIROS, DR. RUI PATRÍCIO, CONCEDEU, NO PALÁCIO DAS NECESSIDADES, UMA CONFERÊNCIA DE IMPRENSA AOS ÓRGÃOS DA INFORMAÇÃO NACIONAIS E ESTRANGEIROS.

Entre as várias individualidades que assistiram a esta conferência, contavam-se o Embaixador Calvert de Magalhães, Secretário-Geral do Ministério dos Estrangeiros, dr. Geraldes Cardoso, Director Geral de Informação, e dr. Cunha Leão, Agente-Geral do Ultramar.

No início, o titular da Pasta dos Estrangeiros fez a seguinte declaração:

1. Iniciarei este meu encontro com os representantes dos órgãos de informação profetindo algumas palavras de síntese acerca das relações externas de Portugal no ano de 1971.

Tem a opinião pública portuguesa podido acompanhar, através dos diferentes órgãos de informação, os aspectos mais salientes da nossa vida internacional nos últimos tempos. No ano de 1971, foi aquela marcada por acontecimentos que envolveram prestígio para Portugal, assinalaram as excelentes relações que mantemos com vários países amigos, contribuíram para melhor esclarecimento das posições nacionais e defesa dos interesses portugueses e patentearam o nosso con-

O SÉCULO

DE JOANESBURGO

Informação e actualidade

EM LUSÍADA

ENTRE NÓS EMIGRANTES

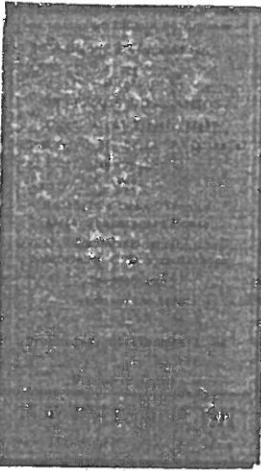
Por serem emigrantes não deixam os portugueses de estar unidos pela cultura e pela História comum que faz de nós portugueses uma família diferente das outras que andam pelo mundo. Não será fácil encontrar um país onde não haja um português, geralmente considerado muito boa pessoa. E geralmente também humilde, mesmo quando é rico.

Aqui na África do Sul há milhares de portugueses de todas as terras de Portugal de todas as terras de Portugal europeu, africano ou ainda asiático. Todos estão integrados numa pátria que é a nossa. Tudo o que um português faz tem repercussão em todos. De modo que há, nos emigrantes, neste sentido, uma responsabilidade maior do que aquela que têm os que vivem dentro das fronteiras.

Para que o emigrante possa ser verdadeiramente um português activo deve procurar fazer tudo em português. Mesmo falando a língua do país onde está, deve falar com pensamento português. Como nos temos uma cultura que é efeito de todas, pois em mais de oitocentos anos de vida temos recebido coisas de toda a parte, podemos enriquecer com o nosso pensamento as culturas dos povos onde trabalhamos. E, deste modo, pagamos com toda a dignidade a hospitalidade que fidalgamente nos concedem e o dinheiro que nos dão a ganhar para manter a nossa família e melhorar as nossas condições de vida.

Da nossa cultura muito temos para dar. Já levamos muitos séculos a dialogar com todas as raças e temos levantado os mais belos monumentos que existem na Ásia e na África. Pouco a pouco continuamos a desenvolver as populações. Talvez oiaças dizer que estamos atra-

CONT. NA PÁG. → 14



PRIMEIRA EXCURSÃO ao Carnaval do Rio

Saíram a semana passada do aeroporto de Jan Smuts no avião da Varig, com destino ao Brasil, os elementos componentes da primeira excursão organizada na África do Sul e pela Lisabank Travel, para o internacionalmente famoso Carnaval do Rio. O grupo era composto por entidades de destaque entre a Comunidade Portuguesa do Transvaal, que foram explorar o grande País irmão, e assistir em pessoa ao maior espectáculo do mundo, como vulgarmente é conhecido o Carnaval Carioca.

NO AEROPORTO, MOMENTOS ANTES DE ENTRAR PARA O AVIÃO PARTIRAM OS COMPONENTES DA PRIMEIRA EXCURSÃO AO CARNAVAL CARIOCA



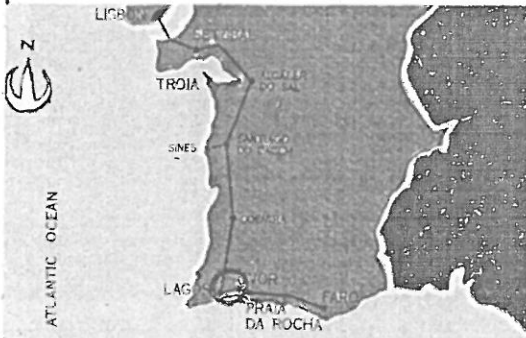
O DR. DURVAL MARQUES, GOSTOSAMENTE, ANUNCIA A ABERTURA DA AGENCIA DE WOODSTOCK NA CIDADE DO CABO

O Banco de Lisboa e África do Sul abre uma Agência em Woodstock (Cidade do Cabo)



INDEPENDÊNCIA DE ANGOLA DISCUTIDA NO ALGARVE

Em consequência da deflagração de dois engenhos explosivos, faleceram no sábado à tarde, na praia da Barra, em Inhambane, Moçambique, uma criança e um adulto, informa um comunicado militar.
Mais tarde, foram descobertas pelo Exército determinado número de lança-granadas.



O Círculo assinala o local onde decorre a cimeira

FARO (Especial para "O Século de Joanesburgo, pelo telefone, via satélite) — O futuro de Angola, portentoso território alvo de cobiça por parte de grandes potências, encontra-se em discussão desde sexta-feira passada na Província mais ao sul deste Portugal a viver um momento histórico da sua existência. Depois da Guiné e Moçambique, é agora a vez de Angola ser entregue. Essa Angola onde milhares de nossos irmãos europeus se sacrificaram, sofreram e morreram nas condições mais grotescas, no sacrificado Norte. Nesta Angola onde nossos antanhos vislumbraram um dia vir a ser implantado o coração do grande País que se adivinhava...

Mas os homens mudaram. E aqui estão reunidos, no coração algarvio, os chefes dos três movimentos que, na mata, venceram o exército português. O F. N. L. A. está representado por Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi representa a UNITA (só autêntico reconhecida pela OUA) e Agostinho Neto está em nome do MPLA. Todos os "leaders" se fazem acompanhar por diversos elementos, cabendo ao F. N. L. A. a maior delegação, que viajou de Kinshasa directamente para Faro num avião posto à disposição por Mobutu. A primeira delegação a chegar ao Algarve foi a da F. N. L. A. Depois, mais à noite, cerca das 23,30 de quinta-feira, pôs-se em Faro, vindo de Lisboa, o avião que transportava as delegações da UNITA e MPLA. As 19 horas chegava o Presidente da República Portuguesa, general Costa Gomes, acompanhado dos Ministros Melo, Antunes, Mário Soares e Almeida Santos. Viajando de automóvel de Lisboa para Faro, chegou ao princípio da noite à capital algarvia o alto comissário do governo português em Angola, almirante Rousa Coutinho.

AS MAIORES MEDIDAS DE SEGURANÇA JAMAIS VISTAS EM PORTUGAL

Esta cimeira do Algarve levou as autoridades portuguesas a montar fortíssimo dispositivo de segurança a fim de evitar qualquer atentado nas pessoas dos visitantes, sempre possível nestas circunstâncias. No Mar do Algarve dois barcos de guerra patrulham todo o limite das águas territoriais portuguesas, enquanto as forças do COPCON desde muito cedo fizeram autêntico cerco ao Hotel da Penina, no Alvor, onde decorrem as conversações. Cá mais longe, em pleno centro algarvio, patrulhas da PSP, GNR, comandos e paraquedistas passam revista a todos os veículos que cruzam as estradas, tirando os nomes dos condutores e os números das matrículas dos veículos. Helicópteros e aviões da FAP fazem o reconhecimento aéreo. A entrada do Hotel,

forças do COPCON estão atentas a todos os movimentos.

A informação não tem acesso sala das conversações, com excepção da TV e Cinema, que puderam filmar as primeiras imagens. A informação escrita e falada "trabalham" a dois quilómetros de distân-



cia, aguardando os comunicados oficiais que diariamente lhes são distribuídos. Por isto mesmo, como os leitores se apercebem facilmente, é prematura, para já qualquer alusão ao êxito desta cimeira. Podemos contudo referir que, pelo que se respira na Penina, existe um profundo contraste, entre o optimismo evidente por parte dos portugueses e o pessimismo dos angolanos. Holden Roberto, Faro, aos 19h, disse: "Os nossos, nas condições em pontos na pag. 13)

O SÉCULO

DE JOANESBURGO
informação e actualidade

Semanário em Língua Portuguesa editado na África do Sul.

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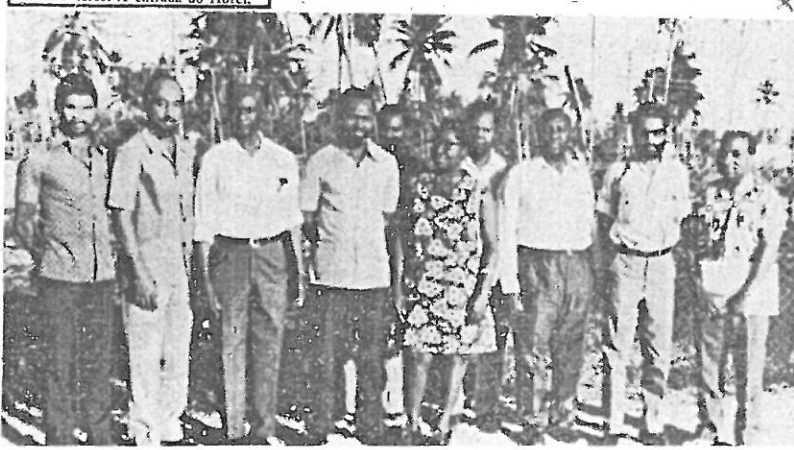
14 de Janeiro de 1975
N. 22 / Ano XI / 3. Série

Appendix VI - F

A ESCOLA DA FRELIMO...

"O Século de Joanesburgo" tem hoje oportunidade de apresentar aos seus leitores dois documentos fotográficos que atestam bem a tão propagada "multiracialidade" da FRELIMO. As fotos foram obtidas algures no Norte de Moçambique, numa das bases terroristas, dias depois do 25 de Abril e antes de formado o Governo de Transição de Moçambique. Em baixo, vemos conhecidas "figuras" posando para a posteridade. Ao lado, podemos verificar o alto significado que representam os "bonecos": o negro ergue-se, orgulhoso, de arma emperrada, pisando o branco... Aqui está o polo "multiracial" que os senhores da FRELIMO vêm apregoando pelos cantos do mundo... Acrescente-se que esta cena foi apresentada, diariamente, a milhares de negros, como arma de "mentalização", para o futuro, perante a presença dos principais cabecilhas da FRELIMO. Não surpreendem, assim, os massacres de Setembro e Outubro, em Lourenço Marques, de que foram vítimas milhares de europeus, sem poderem contar com o apoio nem do Governo nem do próprio exército português. Antes pelo contrário...

E este o caminho da FRELIMO. Fraternidade não será mais possível em Moçambique. A Escola é agora outra... quer eles queiram, quer não... Apenas uma pergunta: Que dirão a estes documentos os senhores ministros de Portugal, ainda recentemente tão preocupados com os alegados massacres dos soldados portugueses? Quem é racista, afinal?...



Spinola desmente Otel e leva o caso para o Tribunal Militar

(TEXTO NA PAG. 11)

Armas russas para a FRELIMO

L. MARQUES — Chegou a semana passada ao porto da Beira, tendo atracado ao cais nº 8, o navio russo "Kadavak", com 100 toneladas de armas...

Ver na pag. 11

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ALUGA-SE

CASA PARA FÉRIAS NA COSTA DO SOL — PARQUE TRIUNFO

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MALOGRARAM-SE AS TENTATIVAS PARA DESENCALHAR O PETROLEIRO 'WAFRA'

CABO DAS AGULHAS, (África do Sul) — Após 24 horas de esforços árduos não foi possível ao rebocador alemão de alto mar «Oceanic» e navio-tanque liberiano, «Wafra», encalhado junto ao Cabo das Agulhas, mas existem 50 por cento de possibilidade de novo a flutuar na maré

O inspector dos Serviços de Navegação Americanos, Harry Millard anunciou quando regressou de bordo do petroleiro que se sente optimista quanto às possibilidades do navio ser desencalhado. Entretanto dois rebocadores da Cidade do Cabo, partiram para o local onde o «Wafra» se encontra encalhado a fim de prestarem auxilio ao rebocador alemão.

Foi igualmente anunciado que o governo poderá enviar três petroleiros mais pequenos para o local onde o «Wafra» está encalhado, a fim de receberem o remanescente do seu carregamento, ainda num dos tanques de bordo. Todavia, os técnicos anunciaram que a operação será muito difícil, em más condições de tempo.

Até agora o tempo tem estado calmo, com mar chão, ao largo do

Cabo do mar

Appendix VI - G

TRINTA E NOVE PESSOAS CONSEGUIRAM LIBERTAR-SE DA "FRELIIMO" E REGRESSARAM ÀS SUAS TERRAS

PORTO AMÉLIA, — Conseguiram libertar-se das garras da «Frelimo» que os havia raptado dos seus aldeamentos e depois obrigado a trabalhar em machambas inimigas 39 pessoas entre homens, mulheres e crianças, que hoje regressaram às suas terras,

na região de Ancuabe, distrito de Cabo Delgado.

Aqueles indivíduos apresentaram-se primeiramente no posto administrativo de Nangade, quase nus, cheios de fome e doentes e ali as respectivas autoridades trataram-nos convenientemente até à recuperação, tendo começado logo por os vestir.

Segundo declarações feitas à nossa reportagem por Selemane Raimo, chefe da povoação e um dos raptados pelos elementos da «Frelimo», estes obrigaram todos a trabalhos forçados, não lhes permitindo qualquer assistência nem alimentação. Alguns dos raptados morreram devido à doença e à fome.

O seu regresso na fuga foi penoso e angustiante, com a duração de muitos dias, mas não hesitaram um momento no regresso às suas terras portuguesas onde os aguardava tratamento bem diferente daquele infligido pelos inimigos do povo.

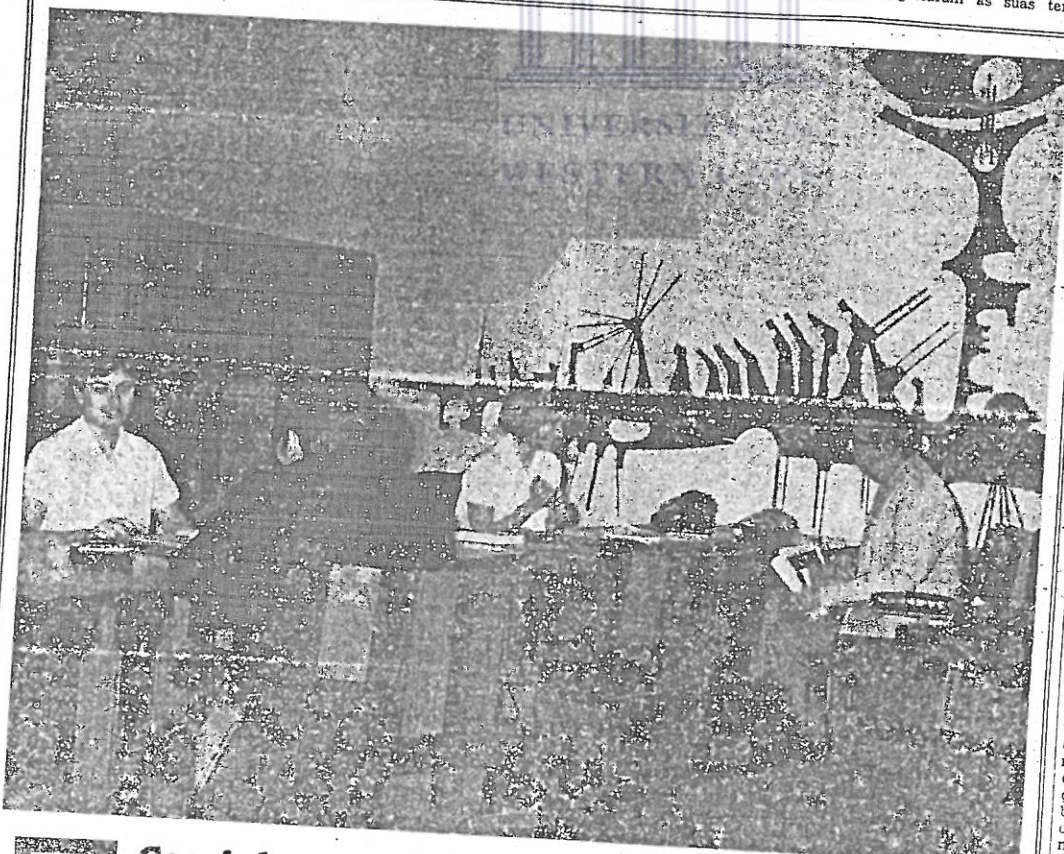
QUE HÁ EM PORTUGAL

CONT. DA ÚLTIMA PÁGINA

O processo civil era complicado e bastante dispendioso, pelo que muitas pessoas, sobretudo das camadas mais humildes e das aldeias, se viam quase impossibilitadas de realizar o casamento civil, e consequentemente de contraírem matrimónio católico, já que, em geral os párocos não se atreviam a autorizá-lo antes da cerimónia civil, para não incorrerem nas graves penalidades da lei. Tanto mais que não faltavam, em geral, elementos anticlericais ou mesmo anticatólicos que os fossem denunciar.

Por outro lado, sabido que era, em boa parte, os funcionários do novo Registo Civil tinham sido quase todos anticlericais ferrenhos. Portanto, não era raro que eles se aproveitassem da obrigação legal de declararem os nubentes casados e lhes explicarem os efeitos do contrato matrimonial, para investirem contra o matrimónio canónico, e o considerarem formalidade inútil uma vez que já estavam casados.

(CONTINUA)



FM Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique

Se deseja viajar, de comboio, de Joanesburgo para Lourenço Marques, dirija-se à Agência dos C.F.M., onde poderá reservar os seus lugares e adquirir os respectivos bilhetes.

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Programa da semana
Domingo, dia 14 — CINEMA
Com o filme cómico
«WISTFUL WIDOW OF WAGONAR»

FRELIMO tenta operação de sabotagem económica na África do Sul

Atraso nas transferências dos chamados cooperantes em Lourenço Marques * Totalitarismo implantado por Sérgio Vieira no sector bancários * Cartas registadas são agora fechadas pelos Correios * Os assassinos Raposo Pereira e Jorge Costa afastados da chefia da PIC *

O actual "ministro" do Trabalho da Frelimo, Alberto Cassimbo, conhecido da precária situação financeira em que se encontra o partido, pelo exercício das anteriores funções de governador do "Banco de Moçambique", enviou recentemente para a delegação da "Direcção do Trabalho", em Joanesburgo, uma "nota oficiosa" na qual dá instruções para ser cobrado obrigatoriamente aos mineiros e outros trabalhadores moçambicanos na África do Sul o chamado imposto de "reconstrução nacional" em randes. Com carácter de urgência, face a ter terminado o acordo que existia com o governo sul-africano.

uma sabotagem económica à África do Sul na medida em que a Frelimo pretende obter uma receita em moeda estrangeira cuja transferência não se poderá processar pelos meios legais. A sustentação desta tese encontra-se o facto de que, se o governo sul-africano pretendesse prosseguir com tal política de divisas e de ouro, teria mantido em vigência

a chamada "Convenção de Moçambique", tratado assinado há dezenas de anos com o governo português e denunciado apenas há poucas semanas pela África do Sul. Com base na referida Convenção a maior parte dos salários dos mineiros - 60% a partir do sétimo mês de trabalho e até ao final do contrato - era paga em

barra de ouro, a razão do antigo preço da onça, ao governo da Província portuguesa de Moçambique que, por sua vez, creditava ao trabalhador, em moeda local, o valor complementar ao já recebido conforme o acordado no contrato de trabalho.

Assim, há esperança de, dentro em breve, se ler na secção dos jornais sul-africanos "In Court" o nome de alguns funcionários da Frelimo por transferências ilegais ou apinhados com milhares de randes a passar a fronteira, nomes esses que figurarão ao lado daqueles que procuraram evitar com randes a mais para um familiar em dificuldades numa parte qualquer da Europa ou América.

Nas últimas três semanas, os "Serviços de Finanças" da Frelimo de Lourenço Marques enviaram a sua delegação em Joanesburgo, fazendo seguir para a capital moçambicana mais de dois milhões de randes depositadas a ordem desta - divisas provenientes ainda da exploração do trabalho dos mineiros, a exploração dos homens pelo partido.

O que encontra-se ligado à falta de divisas no "Banco de Moçambique", onde as transferências dos chamados "cooperantes" se encontram mais atrasadas do que nunca, especialmente as requeridas pelos portugueses.

Sobre a actividade bancária em Moçambique, assinala-se uma recente concentração de todo o pessoal, ordenada pelo "menhe" comunista Sérgio Vieira, agora governador do "Banco de Moçambique", com sanções disciplinares para os ausentes. O totalitarismo impôs nas disposições proclamadas, a partir de 1 de Junho a obrigatoriedade de fato e grã-tia para todos os funcionários bancários; a introdução de "guias de marcha" para todo e qualquer funcionário que saia do recinto bancário durante as horas de serviço, com original

entregue ao elemento em arreigado do contrato do pessoal; graves ameaças - não explicitadas, porque terminaram com "cartas fechadas" - para os empregados que quebrem o que Sérgio Vieira apelidou de "sigilo bancário". O totalitarista abordeou conversas que os informadores da Frelimo escutam às mesas dos cafés sobre a próxima data do lançamento da "moeda" e quanto à transferência de divisas que - disse - "são segredos de Estado". O totalitarismo das suas palavras incluíram a disciplina partidária marxista, exemplificando-a com o método que se utiliza para fazer um jogo em moedas. Já a "manchar cada vez com mais força, até o ponto entrar" a moeda que dobre, e quando deira e sinal de vencido.

A "LIBERDADE" EM MOÇAMBIQUE

Nos balcões dos Correios, em Moçambique, não são agora aceites cartas registadas já fechadas. Avisos ali expostos indicam que o conteúdo tem de ser analisado pelos funcionários que, de camião, aproveitam para ler as missivas.

A justificação dada para tal medida foi a fuga de grandes quantidades de selos para os mercados filatélicos no estrangeiro. Os selos, segundo a Frelimo, estavam a ser enviados para fora do território por comerciantes indianos, em cartas registadas, com a finalidade de transferirem valores.

O mercado filatélico internacional apareceu saturado de selos de Moçambique e a Frelimo não conseguiu obter divisas com a colocação, que ela própria pretendia fazer.

Ainda no capítulo das "liberdades", assinala-se a apreensão de mais de 30 máquinas fotográficas a portugueses e estrangeiros no passado dia 1 de Maio.

na Praça Mouzinho de Albuquerque, onde decorria um acto diversivo à data com a presença do Magarila Machel. As máquinas foram apreendidas por agentes a paraisana e devolvidas três dias depois aos seus proprietários na esquadra da policia, depois de expostos os rolos à luz.

Os "presentes" foram transportados à força para o local, tendo a Praça sido cercada por cordões policiaes que não permitiam a fuga de quem quer que fosse. Para o transporte foram utilizados camiões da Junta de Acção Social no Trabalho - JAST - tendo segundo uma força policial de persuasão em cada um deles.

BICHAS E PRISÕES

As bichas para a aquisição de identificação continha a ser um espectáculo dentro em Lourenço Marques. Entretanto, gatinhas foram lançadas no mercado em grandes quantidades devido à falta de milho, mas já em estado de adiantada deterioração.

Como notícia que alegrará muitos portugueses, tal se nos meios militares da Frelimo de arrombamento dos assassinos Raposo Pereira e Jorge Costa dos lugares chefias da PIC.

Por outro lado, foram detidos, há poucos dias, Santeio Mutelela, que foi director da Rádio Moçambique e da Voz de Moçambique, o pintor Malangatana Valente, o administrador de pessoal do "Banco de Moçambique", de nome Seita, e o administrador do 2.º Bairro, de nome Mandinga. O poeta Cravinhim e procurado pela Frelimo mas, ao que parece, já se encontra em Lisboa.

Estas detenções sucederam-se a uma reunião que Machel teve com ex-prespos políticos.

REUNIÃO DA FRELIMO NO CARLTON DE JOANESBURGO

Conforme oportunamente "O Século de Joanesburgo" noticiou, uma delegação da Frelimo, composta por Cherrita, Esteves, Ventura, e por um indivíduo de origem indiana, esteve em Joanesburgo para conversações com grupos industriais mineiros e com organizações afiliadas de



Funcionários da FRELIMO aguardando a entrada para os elevadores, no "hall" do Carlton Hotel. Em primeiro plano, expulso, apesar de não ter havido "flash", o "vigilante da unidade e trabalho" dos Serviços de Finanças em Joanesburgo, e à esquerda o "menhe" Fernandes, da Delegação do Instituto do Trabalho, que já nos tempos da soberania portuguesa e como funcionário público se correspondia secretamente com a FRELIMO para Dar-es-Salaam



UM GRUPO DE TRÊS MILITANTES DA FRELIMO, COLOCADOS NOS SERVIÇOS DE FINANÇAS EM JHB, DEPOIS DE TEREM PASSADO PELA CÉLULA DO TRABALHO IDEOLÓGICO DO PARTIDO, DIRIGINDO-SE PARA A REUNIÃO NO "PRETORIA ROOM"

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COISAS D' O SÉCULO

Almeida
De acordo com notícias provenientes do arquipélago Almeida Santos ter sugerido a realização de reuniões do Conselho de Ministros nos Açores, a fim de permitir ao governo de Lisboa conhecer mais de perto a situação local.
Das duas uma: ou, à vista da sova que levou, o Almeida pretende es-cotri; ou, por solidariedade governamental, entende que os seus colegas também devem apanhar de vez em quando, uns mercedos açoites.
Num caso é cobardia; no outro, sadismo;

FÁBRICA DE CALÇADO PRECISA

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"O Sr. Hagan gosta de mim, só por que faço tudo a sério Tento sempre executar as coisas da forma mais perfeita" Sheu Han — grande esperança do Benfica

«Mas há um rapaz de cor, com 17 anos, que joga a meio-campo e é conhecido pelo nome de Sheu, a quem recomendo a vossa atenção num futuro próximo. Eu gosto muito dele...» Isto (que surpreende bastante) afirmou-o há poucos dias, Jimmy Hagan, ao «Times Saturday», importante órgão da imprensa britânica, que entrevistou o discutido técnico, «leader» do futebol benfiquista, há duas temporadas.

Como teria reagido Sheu-Han, e jovem de dezasseis anos — não dezasseis, como Hagan afirmou — que é, na realidade, mais uma das esperanças do futebol «encarnado» e uma das revelações dos torneios de juniores que o Benfica, desde há três anos, tenazmente, vem realizando?

Sheu-Han (assim mesmo, dois nomes ligados por um traço de união), a fazer lembrar nome de guerreiro lá da milenária China e um jovem com uma filosofia muito especial, que acredita muito em si, sem deixar de acreditar nos outros...

Olhos muito oblíquos num rosto moreno, onde a vivacidade e desconfiança em cada instante. Sheu-Han não ficou embriagado (nem mais que se lhe assemelhe) com os elogios de «meio» Hagan. Para ele (o Sheu) tudo continua como dantes.

«O senhor Hagan gostará de saber so porque faço tudo a sério. Sou assim desde que me co-



Entrevista de CARLOS ARSENIÓ

meça. Tento sempre executar as coisas da forma mais perfeita.»

Tudo isto dito com serenidade, repouso e tranquilidade por um jovem que só há poucos meses completou dezasseis anos.

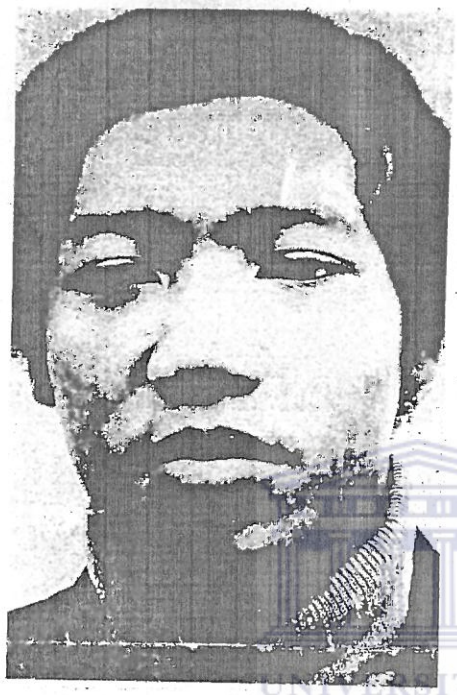
Sheu-Han, o futebolista (e homem) muito capaz de vir a voar alto e que nos impressionou muito favoravelmente. Tal como a tal leitor se continuar a ler os projectos (imediatos e remotos) do novo clube que joga no Benfica, que é uma esperança de Jimmy Hagan e que tem avós na China...

«Meu pai é de Cantão e há uns trinta anos que está em Moçambique. A família lá ficou na China e para mim seria um enorme satisfação vir um dia a conhecê-la. Quem sabe, poderá muito bem acontecer que o Benfica vá jogar a Cantão, lá por aquelas terras mais exóticas, não jogou? Meu pai industrial de pesca, fixou-se em Inhassoro, a uns 400 quilómetros da Beira e foi aí que eu nasci.»

E esta, o Benfica tradicional e louvavelmente arraigado à disposição de contar nas suas fileiras, apenas com jogadores nascidos em território português (como é o caso de Sheu-Han) apresenta um futebolista cujo avô vieram ao mundo na longínqua China dos mandarins.

«O pai descobriu umas técnicas muito especiais e eficientes na pesca e ficou-se lá por Inhassoro, juntamente com minha mãe e mais seis filhos, quatro dos quais rápidos. A mim, que sou o mais velho, foi-me concedido o privilégio de ir estudar para a Beira para casa de um tio. E foi aí que o futebol começou a aparecer na minha vida.»

Pois é o futebol. Atração, fascínio, desespero e frustração. Para Sheu-Han como tem sido? «Tudo começou da pior maneira, pois meu pai nem queria sonhar com a hipótese de eu vir a jogar futebol a sério. Assente em conceitos orientais, para ele o futebol é uma coisa de vadios e que nunca corresponde a uma profissão decente tal como a sua, por exemplo. Depois do convite formal do Benfica para vir para Lisboa meu pai voltou a tentar dissuadir-me dessa ideia. Vim para o Benfica porque gosto muito de futebol e do Benfica, muito embora não deixasse de provocar um grande desgosto a meu pai. E, felizmente, nem foi a questão financeira que me impeliu, pois meus pais vivem



bem e davam-me todo o dinheiro que necessitava.»

IOGAR NA SELECCÃO SEM TER JOGADO NO BENFICA

E depois, o que aconteceu? «Como estudava na Beira e era mesmo do Benfica, passei a jogar pelos «encarnados» de lá. A coisa ia saindo bem, muito embora as dificuldades fossem grandes. Um dia, o senhor capitão Costa viu-me jogar e escreveu ao senhor Francisco Galado, dizendo umas coisas a meu respeito. O senhor Galado respondeu que eu não poderia vir assim sem mais nem menos e que primeiro teria de ser observado.»

— E foi?

«Fizeste lá (na Beira) o senhor José Augusto. Como não havia, na altura, competições oficiais, mas, mesmo sem ninguém me dizer oficialmente que ele estava lá para me observar, tinha um pressentimento de que tal aconteceria. Assim, treinei à tarde com os meus colegas dos juniores e à noite também apareci no campo, para tomar parte nos treinos dos seniores. Depois, foi a ordem do Benfica para viajar para Lisboa, mas a família estava toda contra. Que eu tinha só dezasseis anos, que em Lisboa não voltaria a pagar nos livros, que o dinheiro não me faltaria e que o futebol não valorizava homem nenhum...»

Mesmo assim, ele veio. Mas continuou a pagar nos livros e a tentar valorizar-se como homem (via futebol).

«Poucas referências tinha do futebol de cá. Na Beira havia visto o F. C. Porto, o Belenenses, a Académica e o Barreirense. Ficava com uma enorme admiração por Matateu. Era, ainda, um miúdo quando o vi jogar mas jamais me esquecerei da magnífica impressão que me causou. O Eusebio, só posteriormente o vi e, claro, é mesmo um «fora de série» e a minha eni-

«Quando iniciei os meus estudos prometi a mim próprio que tudo faria para que meu pai se orgulhasse do filho mais velho. Queria vir a ser engenheiro electrotécnico e, mesmo hoje, não deixo de alimentar essa esperança. Não será lá muito fácil, mas isso não impede que me esforce ao máximo para o conseguir. E, sabe, na vida tento fazer sempre tudo a sério. Se um homem a sério, pois não?»

E os estudos da electrotécnica, na vastidão dos seus fenómenos, até que ponto deixarão tempos livres (ou mortos) ao futebolista que pretende singrar? «É evidente que o futebol está primeiro, pois faz parte da minha profissão, e não deixarei de cumprir com todos os requisitos e obrigações que contraí ao assinar um contrato como profissional. No entanto, nas horas que o futebol não me solicita, nada nem ninguém me impedem de prosseguir os meus estudos. Lá longe, meus pais, não deixaram de ficar satisfeitos, pois não...»

— E os estudos, verdadeiramente como vão? «Preparo-me para a admissão ao Instituto Industrial, descejo ir a fazer exame como aluno externo. Presentemente, estudo as disciplinas de Geografia, Ciências, Português e Inglês, enquanto que vou todas as tardes para uma oficina dar uma ajuda em trabalhos de electrotécnica. Tem que ser, sabe?»

— E continuará? Futebol e estudos? «Quando se tem vontade própria não dando ouvidos a outros, tudo se consegue. O que se torna necessário, isso sim, é possuir um auto-domínio que dê para resolver os problemas aparentemente mais delicados. No meu caso pessoal, ainda é a altura de continuar com o futebol e com os estudos...»

— Positiva, portanto, a sua visão da vida para o Benfica? «Exactamente. Mas ainda antes de viajar da Beira para o Benfica já eu conhecia Lisboa. Como disse, lá era aluno do curso de Formação Profissional e fui indicado para vir até Lisboa tomar parte num curso de trabalho. Estive várias semanas na Metrópole, fazendo trabalhos e mal imaginando que um dia estaria a jogar no Benfica.»

AQUELE QUARTO DE HORA CONTRA O BARREIRENSE

Histórias que continuam. A do Mundo, a do futebol e a de Sheu, que por vezes universo fora tantos «Sheus» tem.

No Benfica, depois de junho (há meia dúzia de meses) surgem as opções: ir para outro clube — caso de Enrico, Ramalho e outros — onde aumentam as possibilidades de jogar (e de dar nas vistas) ou ficar em casa e «encarnado», aguardando a sua hora...

Com Sheu-Han aconteceu a segunda opção: «Continuar no Benfica aradovamente bastante é concordo com a ideia dos seus dirigentes. No meu caso, concordo que não tenha lugar na primeira categoria nos tempos mais próximos e julgo que me traz grandes benefícios tirar partido da ambientação a senior que me está a ser proporcionada. Subir muito de repente, poderá ser prejudicial, não pode?»

Sheu-Han, vedeta em embrião nas presenças de Jimmy Hagan e que já subiu alto jogando na primeira categoria do Benfica ao lado de colegas que lhe merecem o tratamento de senhor (Eusebio, Simões, Artur Jorge e outros).

«Sim, houve aquele quarto de hora do jogo contra o Barreirense. O sr. Hagan havia-me dito que eu seria convocado, mas não acreditei lá muito e até escondi o sacco quando ia para o treino. Se não fosse para estágio ninguém se calaria com o sacco do equipamento do Sheu...»

desde que o Benfica não possa utilizar quatro ou cinco dos seus melhores jogadores. De contrário, o Sheu continuará a ser o mesmo, não deixando de se aplicar da mesma forma a sério de que muito tarda ainda, a apertar para ter certas ambições...»

— No jogo do Barreiro, quando «mister» o mandou lá para dentro, o que sentiu? «Sinceramente, quando estava no banco dos suplentes é que me encontrava muito nervoso. Primeiro, porque ao Benfica se lhe deparavam dificuldades e depois porque nos juniores raramente estava no banco a ver o jogo. Assim, quando entrei para o lugar de Toni, lá estava, praticamente tranqüilo e sem os nervos a combaterem-me. O sr. Hagan chamou-me e disse-me: vai entrar para a equipa e fica o melhor que estiver ao seu alcance, jogando com calma.»

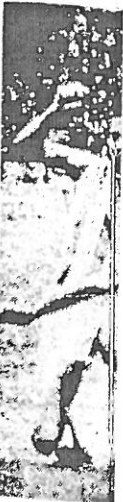
— E foi? Acabou por aguar a Hagan? «Creio que sim. Tal como sempre acontece, levei aqueles quinze minutos muito a sério concentrando-me para render o máximo. Se assim não aconteceu, não foi por minha culpa. Lá tentei-o. Além, li o mandato quando as pessoas pensam que os outros não tendem mais por estarem a fazer economia de esforços.»

— Sheu, e agora? Como irá ser? «Nada mudou na minha vida depois daquele quarto de hora contra o Barreirense, pois continuarei a ser o mesmo Sheu que deseja triunfar no Benfica e ambiciona o tal curso de engenheiro electrotécnico. Mais tarde, ou mais cedo, quero que meu pai venha a ter orgulho no filho mais velho.»

Sheu-Han, descomplexado e com ambições («isto na mão direita») que do resto de uma brincadeira que tinha dezasseis anos. Anátema ao Sheu, que me r'ebentou na mão e me levou alguns dedos. Claro, a princípio nunca viria a ser como os outros, meninos da minha idade e mais tarde quando viesse a ser homem, não poderia ser como os outros homens. Felizmente que modifiquei o meu pensamento e os receios dissiparam-se...»

— Sheu, posso pôr isso do futebol no jornal? «Pois claro que pode. Hoje sou um rapaz que não tem receios de contacto com os outros rapazes...»

Pois, senhor Sheu-Han, tive muito prazer em conhecê-lo e os leitores não deixaram de afirmar o mesmo.



SPORTING SETUBAL Chico perseguia o pé, a afastado a penalidade indicou

POSSO PRESENTAR DO AMÉRICA em MIO

É possível o de futebol do nada pelo nos Otto Gloria, vá gola e, seguiu desloque a M que o empres Costa, segun chegada de recebido uma be brasileiro, interesse em A confirmar o público loun torá oportuni em acção u lhores equip brasileiro.

Contudo, qual referido, qual prováveis participação dos América.



Atlético Clube de Portugal clube prestigioso em que cometeu a proeza de vencer o Sporting para o baixo, Vasco

HILÁRIO ENTRE OS "MAIORES" DO FUTEBOL EUROPEU

DE SUPLENTE NO SPORTING A UMA EXIBIÇÃO DE BOM NÍVEL NA SELECÇÃO EUROPEIA

— Não, nunca me passou pela cabeça que iria ser o defensor direito da selecção da Europa. Estava lá para jogar o que já era um grande honra, mas sempre pensei que iria jogar à esquerda, o meu verdadeiro lugar. Afinal o sr. Helénio Herrera, disse-me: volte-se para a defesa-direito, pois sim...

Hilário da Conceição o português que finalmente, virou europeu, vendo muito justamente congratulado os seus feitos, como um dos melhores futebolistas portugueses dos últimos anos. Agora esteve em Basileia, integrado numa selecção da Europa que defrontou uma equipa constituída pelos melhores jogadores sul-americanos e ficou muito satisfeito apesar da derrota que nem a sua magnífica exibição conseguiu evitar. Hilário suplente no Sporting de Alentejo, camisola azul e de corcova dos europeus, relatou ao diário...

— Contra os sul-americanos não tinha por ganhar com facilidade, mas a exibição foi muito boa e muito conjunta, o que é muito a luto porque a obra do Sporting era a de ganhar com todos os seus jogadores, e não só com a competição, mas com os jogadores, e assim igualmente, eu muito feliz, fui como os outros, e não muito feliz...

Futebol particular

Marítimo, 0 —
— U. de Coimbra, 0

Em jogo de carácter particular disputado no Estádio Municipal de Coimbra, o União de Coimbra venceu o clube Sport Marítimo por 1-0

SEGUNDO JOGO

U. de Coimbra, 0
Marítimo, 0

O União de Coimbra e o Marítimo voltaram a defrontar-se num encontro particular de futebol, no Estádio Municipal de Coimbra, verificando-se no final do tempo regulamentar um empate a zero golos.

lecção dos «americanos», já que a dos «europeus» não conseguiu disfarçar a sua falta de conjunto. Só no próprio dia do jogo, durante uma meia hora, realizámos uma sessão de treino que serviu mais para apresentação de uns aos outros do que de treino propriamente dito. Se temos treinado a sério, os americanos não ganharão tão facilmente. Assim...

— No seu caso, pessoal especialmente como defesa-direito, como se sentiu?

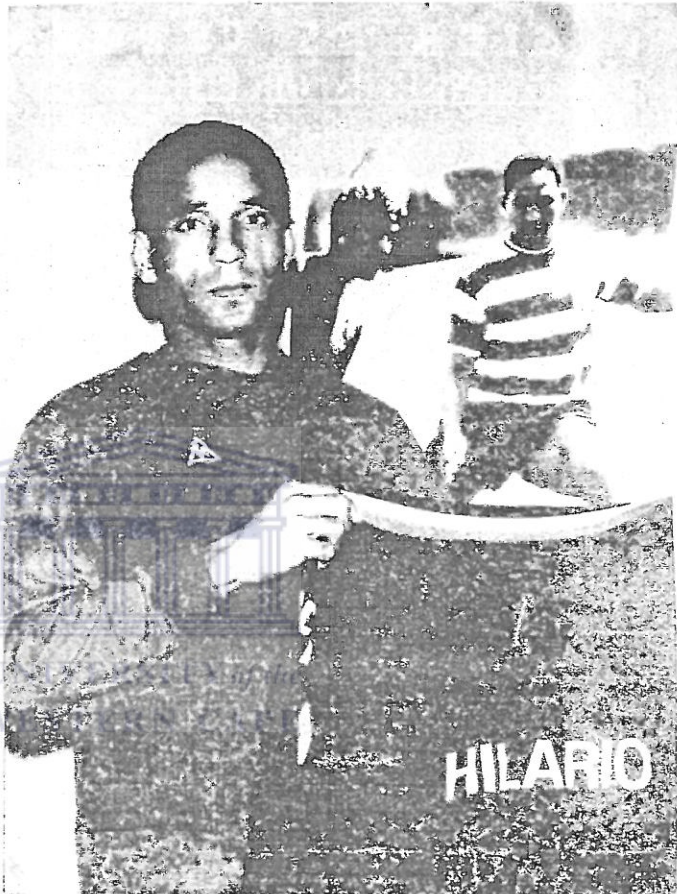
— Foi um defesa direito muito especial e com a principal missão de seguir por todo o campo o pontu-esquerda da selecção adversária. Um número 2 à boa maneira italiana, pois eles até acabam por jogar com dois extremos. O primeiro para que não estivesse a escurar muito bem e entrar outro. Mas a verdade é que acabei por ficar satisfeito com a honra que me foi concedida. Já há muito tempo que aguardava um jogo com estes, especialmente quando eram chamados «os portugueses». Desta vez não contava ser chamado e eles não se esqueceram...

— Herrera, parece ter pelo Hilário uma simpatia bem especial...

— Certo. Eis algumas actualizações: no mundial de Inglaterra e mais tarde num Itália-Portugal. Sempre que me encontra não se esquece de me recordar. Uma simpatia o senhor Helénio Herrera.

— Quanto a recordações? — Ofereceram a cada jogador um magnífico relógio de ouro, além de uma bonita medalha comemorativa. Todos muito simpáticos e muito gratos pela nossa presença num jogo em que ninguém recebeu dinheiro pois o encontro destinava-se a apoiar juntos para auxílio de crianças suíças. Até neste aspecto me senti honrado com o convite. Além disso, ofereceram-nos o equipamento completo com que cada jogou, o que igualmente me desvaneceu. Todos muito gentis...

Hilário, correção e cortesia personificadas num momento alto da sua carreira integrando uma selecção da Europa ao lado de nomes que obrigam a grandes parangonas na Imprensa do «Velho Continente». E em Basileia o português honrou bem o futebol lusitano. Não é Hilário a dizer, mas sim todos os criticos que estiveram na cidade helvética. C. A.



Hilário, o mocambicano que o conceituado Helénio Herrera convocou para a Selecção da Europa, que em Basileia defrontou uma Selecção da América do Sul. Foi com a camisola com que actuou e mostrando o blusão com que entrou em campo

JOSÉ AUGUSTO terá o seu cargo a preparação de todas as selecções do F. P. F.

A Direcção da F. P. F. entregou ao técnico José Augusto, o encargo de único responsável por todas as selecções nacionais tendo já iniciado o seu plano de observações.

Depois do brilharete na «Mini Copas», a selecção portuguesa de futebol voltará a actuar em Paris, no dia 3 de Março,

defrontando, em jogo particular, a selecção gaulesa.

A 28 de Março no «Mundial» o Irlanda do Norte-Portugal, para vir, depois, em 3 de Maio, o Bulgária-Portugal.

A preparação da equipa das quinas, com vista a estes dois jogos, principiará em 6 de Dezembro interrompendo-se na altura da paragem do campeonato (4 e 11 de Fevereiro) para recomençar no dia 21 de Fevereiro.

O nosso país, mais uma vez, vai participar no Torneio Internacional da U. E. F. A., cuja fase final se disputará em Florença, na Itália.

Portugal, para chegar a essa fase terá de disputar um torneio de competência, com as selecções de Espanha e da Bélgica, realizando-se os jogos nas seguintes datas:

10 de Fevereiro: Portugal-Es-

panha; 17 de Fevereiro: Espanha-Portugal; 28 de Março: Bélgica-Portugal; 21 de Abril: Portugal-Bélgica.

Como preparação, os portugueses participam de 12 a 19 de Novembro, no Torneio de Mônaco.

O SELECIONADOR EM SÓFIA

No próximo dia 18, em Sófia, defrontam-se as selecções da Bulgária e da Irlanda do Norte, os dois países que, com Portugal e Chipre constituem o Grupo 6 da fase preliminar do próximo Campeonato Mundial de Futebol.

É encontro, portanto, que se reveste de interesse para os portugueses pelo que José Augusto, realizando-se os jogos nas seguintes datas: 10 de Fevereiro: Portugal-Es-

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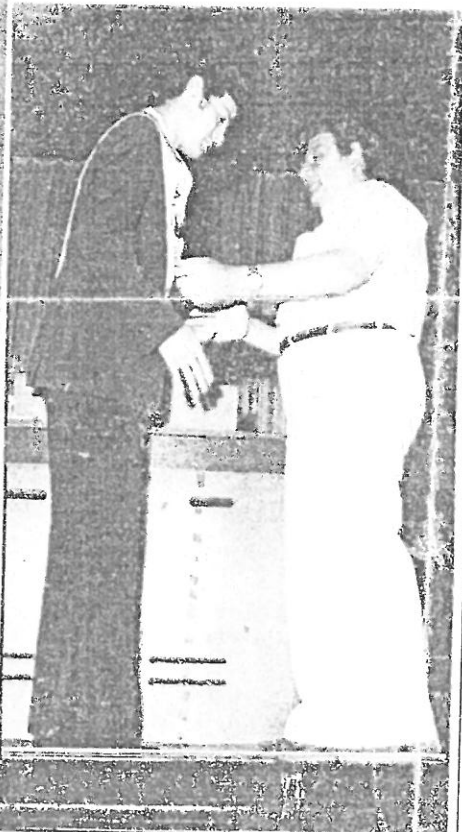


OS CAMPEÕES E AS FAIXAS — EIS OS ATLETAS DE BASQUETEBOL DA ACP J. FOTOGRAFADOS PELO "SÉCULO" NA NOITE DE SÁBADO, NA FOTO, POR MOTIVOS DE FORÇA MAIOR, NÃO SURGEM ANÍBAL MEIRIM (DIRIGENTE) E LUÍS ALVES (JOGADOR)

Basquetebolistas da ACP Joanesburgo receberam faixas de Campeões

Conforme estava previsto (e o "Século" anunciou nas suas colunas), teve lugar na noite do penúltimo sábado, na sala da Associação da Colónia Portuguesa, a homenagem, bem merecida, por parte da Direcção daquela colectividade aos seus atletas de Basquetebol que, com inteiro mérito, conquistaram a Liga Nacional da África do Sul.

Durante o baile realizado, foram impostas aos basquetebolistas da ACP J. as faixas de campeões, notando-se a presença, na cerimónia, de diversos elementos que compõem o elenco directivo da mais antiga colectividade lusa em terras da África do Sul.



A. OLIVEIRA RECEBE A SUA FAIXA, DAS MÃOS DE UM DIRIGENTE DA ACP JOANESBURGO

União Portuguesa vai construir recinto ao ar livre para

Concretizando velha (e legítima) aspiração, a União Cultural, Recreativa e Desportiva Portuguesa vai proceder, muito em breve, à construção de um recinto desportivo ao ar livre, para que ali possam ser praticadas — no caso de impedimento do seu Pavilhão — as modalidades de Basquetebol, Futebol de Salão.

Dadas as reconhecidas dificuldades com que vem lutando aquela colectividade, gerou-se um movimento de solidariedade, entre associados e amigos da União, no sentido de se conseguir, pelo menos, o material necessário para que a obra possa ser levada a efeito.

A primeira grande colaboração, partiu da Firma Portuguesa "Turfontein Produce & Wholesale (Pty) Ltd.", importante Empresa Portuguesa ao serviço da Construção, cuja gerência se dispôs, desde logo, a oferecer vinte e cinco sacos de cimento e duas carradas de areia, uma oferta, portanto, bastante importante para que os anseios dos unionistas possam ser concretizados.

Com o excelente Pavilhão a ser, amudadas vezes, utilizado, quer por portugueses, quer por sul-africanos, — e recorde-se que a União tem naquele recinto a sua principal fonte de receita, já que não conta com o auxílio de ninguém — esta obra prestes a iniciar-se é considerada de extrema necessidade, até porque não abundam recintos desportivos na esmagadora maioria das colectividades portuguesas na África do Sul.

Depois da importante dádiva da Firma "Turfontein Produce", outras se seguirão, encontrando-se determinado número de associados da União, encabeçados por Fernando Rasteiro, actual Coordenador Desportivo da colectividade, disposto a colaborar estreitamente com a sua Direcção.

OBRAS NO PAVILHÃO E CONSTRUÇÃO DA SEDE SOCIAL

Sabemos, por outro lado, que a actual Direcção da União Portuguesa se encontra em contacto com uma importante Empresa estrangeira para que o Pavilhão passe a contar com uma maior lotação. Para tal, irá, a breve prazo, proceder-se à construção de mais bancadas, aproveitando-se o espaço vazio e, também, o palco, que passará a ser instalado noutra localidade recintada.

Entretanto, talvez a longo prazo, projecta-se a instalação, por detrás do pavilhão, de uma sede social, que contará com dois pisos.

Para todas estas iniciativas, a União Portuguesa, sem dúvida das mais representativas colec-

Appendix VI - K

horação
or Pavilhão
Iste na zona



MANACA prefere jogar no Lusitano

O futebolista moçambicano estará em Maio em Joanesburgo

Manaca, o moçambicano que, há anos, deixou a cidade da Beira e voou para Lisboa onde ingressou na equipa do Sporting Clube de Portugal, mostra-se interessado em vir para a África do Sul e aqui representar a equipa portuguesa do Lusitano.

A informação foi-nos dada por Gabriel, elemento que, como temos vindo a noticiar, esteve recentemente em Guimarães, onde Manaca é actualmente titular, na posição de quarto-defesa.

"O Manaca não se encontra lá muito satisfeito em Portugal, não se adaptando convenientemente e, como africano que é, gostaria de voltar a este Continente, mas jogando na África do Sul, país de qual tem recebido as melhores referências" — disse-nos Gabriel.

Manaca, passados dois anos em que emergou a camisola do Sporting, transitou para Setúbal, regressando, depois, de novo, a Ahalade. No final da temporada transacta, o jogador — irmão do atleta Manaca Dias — ingressaria no Vitória de Guimarães.

Gabriel aguarda a possibilidade de um contacto com o Presidente do Lusitano, João Cunha, a fim de lhe dar a conhecer, pessoalmente, os intentos de Manaca.

MAIO EM JOANESBURGO

De qualquer modo, porém, o jogador moçambicano — uma defesa "duro" mal leal — destacar-se-á no final da temporada à África do Sul, encontrando-se, em Maio próximo, em Joanesburgo, com alguns dos seus familiares que ainda se encontram a viver em Moçambique.

Natação

EQUIPA DO ALGÉS GRANDE VENCEDORA DO CAMPEONATO DE PORTUGAL POR CLUBES

LISBOA — (Agora) — O Sport Alges e Dafundo venceu sete das nove provas que compunham a primeira jornada do Campeonato de Portugal de Clubes, em Nataçao, disputada na piscina do Benfica, em Lisboa.

Os restantes dois triunfos pertenceram à nadadora Ana Yokochi, do Benfica.

Resultados das provas: 100 metros livres homens: 1 — José Gomes Pereira, Alges, 55.80 segundos; 2 —

Paulo Azevedo, Alges, 58.22; 3 — Luis Lopo, Benfica, 58.29; 200 metros livres senhoras: 1 — Sa Paulo, Alges, 2.25.43; 2 — Alexandra Cunha, Alges, 2.25.93; 3 — Ana Chalhinho, União Piedad, 2.29.51; 200 metros livres homens: 1 — Jaime Figueira, Alges, 2.41.09; 2 — António Maria, Benfica, 2.42.00; 3 — Carlos Monteiro, Alges, 2.42.76; 200 metros costas senhoras: 1 — Ana Yokochi, Benfica, 2.40.19; 2 — Joana Telor, Alges, 2.44.25; 3 — O Camacho, Alges, 2.48.10; 100 metros livres mariposa — homens: 1 — Paulo Frischknecht, Alges, 1.00.33; 2 — Orlando Santos, Benfica, 1.06.40; 400 metros estilos senhoras: 1 — Ana Yokochi, Benfica, 5.47.30; 2 — Olga Camacho, Alges, 3.51.15; 1.500 metros livres — homens: 1 — Paulo Frischknecht, Alges, 17.02.59; 2 — José Tome, Alges, 17.03.10; 3 — Jaime Beirão, Alges, 17.33.26; 4x100 metros livres — senhoras: 1 — Alges A, 4.33.39; 2 — Benfica A, 4.35.93; 3 — Alges B, 4.41.30; 4x100 metros estilos — HOMENS: 1 — Alges A, 4.24.45; 2 — Benfica B, 4.33.43; 3 — Benfica, 4.26.59.

Futebol

Treinos do Troyeville iniciam-se Domingo

De acordo com uma informação que nos foi dada por elemento ligado à colectividade, F. C. Troyeville inicia os seus treinos de futebol na manhã do próximo Domingo, dia 21, com início pelas 9 horas.

Como tem sucedido nos anos anteriores, continuará a ser utilizado, para treinos das equipas do Troyeville, o "Fuller Park".

Quanto ao técnico responsável pela equipa principal, continua a existir dúvida. Porém, contrariamente ao que inicialmente decidira — e nos havia informado do facto — Jorge Santora reúne agora certas possibilidades de se manter à frente dos "azuis e brancos", muito embora Orliott também possa vir a ser contratado.

BENFICA E F. C. PORTO INTERESSADOS EM BARREIRENSES

LISBOA — Os barreirenses Carlos Manuel, Araújo e Jorge são, segundo declarações publicas do técnico do clube, Manuel de Oliveira, pretendidos pelo F. C. Porto e pelo Benfica que, respectivamente, por intermédio de Oliveira e Bento, teriam anunciado estarem dispostos a cobrir todas as despesas de transferência.

Com Savil Net acco com

Edição primeira referida visita também "económica" interactiva, comercial

Appendix VII: Comparison table of Representation of Mozambicans chapter 5 Findings (colonial vs. Postcolonial)

Topic	Search term & frequency	Colonial period	postcolonial period	Mozambican people	Portuguese people
<i>Stereotyping in the Labour Domain'</i>	<i>funcionários (15)</i>	4	11	2	7
	<i>trabalhadores(16)</i>	2	14	3	6
	<i>operários(3)</i>	1	2	3	-
<i>Stereotyping in Coverage of Criminal Events</i>	<i>africanos(76)</i>	42	34	76	-
	<i>pretos(11)</i>	5	6	11	-
	<i>negros(19)</i>	8	11	19	-
<i>Stereotyping in Coverage of Social Events</i>	<i>nós (62)</i>	48	14	12	36
	<i>nossos (166)</i>	138	28	32	116
	<i>eles (45)</i>	9	36	35	7

Appendix VIII: Comparison table of Representation of Frelimo members, chapter 6 Findings (colonial vs. Postcolonial)

Themes	Search term	Actor /victim		Colonial period		postcolonial period		Positive / negative connotations		Colonial period		Postcolonial period	
<i>Stereotyping in Representation of Frelimo Members</i>	<i>frelimo</i> (392)	43	34	13	12	30	22	57	97	39	21	18	76
	<i>terrorista</i> (57)			18		39							
<i>Stereotyping in Representation of Samora</i>	<i>Samora machel</i> (137)	9	9	1	0	9	8	25	39	19	7	32	6



Appendix IX: Comparison table of Representation of Mozambicans in Sport,
Chapter 7 Findings (colonial vs. Postcolonial)

Search terms	Colonial period	Postcolonial period	Positive connotations	negative connotations
<i>Eusébio (22)</i>	12	9	22	-
<i>Sheu (11)</i>	11	-	11	-
<i>Hilario (7)</i>	7	-	7	-
<i>Manaca (8)</i>	7	1	7	-

