

It's all Portuguese to me

A comparative case of Mozambique and Brazil

Discovering the role of language in the nation-building of Mozambique



Introduction

Portugal has colonized multiple countries including Brazil and Mozambique. Brazil is a country most people know, but a country that is less known is Mozambique. These two countries do not have a lot in common on first sight, but these differences make them fascinating and lead to questions about how these differences have come to exist. Both countries were colonized by Portugal, but whereas Brazil has had a history of relative peacefulness and has created an unmistakable feeling of nationhood, this is not the case in Mozambique. A nation consists of multiple parts and an important part of the national identity is language, but language is also an important part of the culture and identity of an ethnic groups. This leads to wonder what the role of the Portuguese language and the culture is in the creation of the nation in Mozambique and how this differs from Brazil.

There are large differences in the spread of language, the use of language and the multitude of languages within Brazil and Mozambique. Whereas Brazil has a single dominant language, which is Portuguese, Mozambique does not have a single dominant language but has a great number of Bantu languages beside the official language of Portuguese. This is an intriguing situation, since both states have been colonized by the Portuguese empire. The language situation in both states raises questions about the spread of the Portuguese language in her colonies and the effects this spread.

Through a comparison with Brazil, functioning as an indicating case, it is possible to search for the reasons why language is less widespread in Mozambique and what effect this has had on the creation of nationhood. By looking at the historical context of Mozambique and focusing on aspects which stand out as a difference between Brazil and Mozambique it may be possible to reason that language has played a crucial role in creating a national identity. This case can hopefully clarify why this had not succeeded in Mozambique.

Theoretical framework of Language

Language is used in various ways for nation-building and because of this there is no general role of language. This variance of language trickles down to the use of language in nation-building. The need to preserve culture is one possible use of language. Preservation of culture is not a purely rational way of thinking because of the sacrifices that sometimes must be made for preservation, but this shows that language is not always a rational being (Safran, Liu, 2012, p. 270). Legitimatization is another use of language in the context of nationhood, but language also has a less known use, namely the religious use of language. In most countries religious sermons are given in the language of the church (Safran & Liu, 2012, p. 273). For instance, within Roman Catholicism sermons were given in Latin, but over the course of centuries in some countries this changed to the national language. Religion is a strong influence on nationhood and the spread of language trickling down from religion may have large effects on national language.

The use of language can be an individual, an ethnic or religious expression, but also an expression of status. Language used for status-seeking can have multiple facets, since it can be used to

assert dominance over other languages, but also an act of rebellion in the form of cultural recognition (Safran & Liu, 2012, p. 274). Some languages are culturally acknowledged, but this does not mean that they are used in common day life. Sometimes the acceptance and the cultural recognition is enough for the ethnic group from which the language originates, since ethnic identity partly originates from language identity. With the recognition of language, the integral part of the culture is preserved. Ethnic identity can survive without language identity for a time, but the symbolic value of the language is too strong for a language to be forgotten (Safran & Liu, 2012, p. 278).

Language can be used as a mobilizer of ethnic groups or nations, but it is also a way to create a single homogenous community. A single homogenous community needs to be able to communicate in a single language in order to fully mobilize itself or to aspire to build a nation (Wright, 2015, p. 115). Nation-building depends on a single national language, because it can be used to teach, to govern or to be employed in the national space (Wright, 2007, p. 206). The creation of a national community is necessary for the creation of a homogenous group. But for the same reason that a national government uses language to create an overarching nation, subnational groups also use language to bolster their own separate identity.

The identity of a person comes partly from the social groups to which a person belongs. This nationalist feeling is due to the feeling of ‘‘Us and Them’’. The groups to which a person belongs, the overarching and the subnational, can all bolster the feeling of nationalism. A national identity is therefore not a community which a government or ethnic group can simply create (Joseph, 2006, p. 23-24). The existence of multilingualism can threaten the national identity and the culture of the nation, since subnational culture can infringe on the national culture. Language is one of the principal parts of the nation and identity, therefore the existence of multiple languages in a state create a division within the state. This division threatens the relative peace of the overarching nation (Joseph, 2006, p. 33).

Language can also result into nationalist movements if the population feels that their nation or ethnic group is not recognized or is discriminated. Nationalist movements in turn could lead to civil war in a state, but essential is to note that nations are not the same as nationalist movements (Linz, 1993, p. 359). A cultural identity can be originated in descent and language, without giving a judgement to the strength of this identity and the probability of nationalist uprising (Linz, 1993, p. 363). An exclusive identity is not created by this primordial identity; this means that this identity could exist next to a national identity. This would create a system of dual identity. In a dualistic identity people could have a stronger link to one of the two identities, but this would not mean that a multination state could not succeed (Linz, 1993, p. 363). The creation of a singular nation-state may not always have the desired effect of creating a universal nation for the state.

Language diversity and the nation is a different perspective within the view of language and nationalism. Multilingualism can threaten the overarching nation, but in cases of new states there is usually no dominant ethnic language or dominant nation. Therefore, a spontaneous national identity for these states is unlikely to come into existence. Careful planning is sometimes required by the

government or other institutions to create national identity. In general planning is used, but it is not a necessary requirement for national identity. There are cases in which no planning was required for an overarching identity to exist. Elites may impose plans on the state in order to create a national identity, but this will lead to a top-down created culture for the state. The identity for these states can be created by imposing the culture of a dominant ethnic group or by the development of a supra-ethnic identity in which the entire population would be included (Kuo, 1976, p. 32). Nation-building through the development of supra-ethnic identities is not without difficulty and can take a long time to become embedded in the culture of the whole population of the state. This is because of the problems with the existing ethnic cultures and nations to which people have a sentimental attachment (Kuo, 1976, p. 32). Language plays an important part in these states, since language is a way for communication and a way of participation. The availability of the language must therefore be assured in these new states, in order to include all the ethnic groups that exist within the state. If the language that is used in this new state is readily available then a national identity can emerge around this language (Kuo, 1976, p. 33).

Nationalism and language have a connection, but the strength of this connection is not always evident or strong. Safran argues that language alone is not enough to create a nationalist sentiment, because if it were then there would be thousands of states instead of the two hundred existing states (Safran, 1999, p. 78). Nevertheless, the existence of language is of importance in the nationalist process, since it is a preserver of identity within the homogenization of culture. Language does not always have to demarcate ethnic groups, since it can also be used as a demarcation of religion, class and other social cleavages (Safran, 1999, p. 80). Elites can use language in order to further a nationalist goal, but it is key to note that language alone is not a sufficient variable for nationalism. In order to create a nation, it is necessary to have common consciousness of being a nation which is not completely determent by language (Safran, 1999, p. 87). Language is an important part of nationalism, but it is not the only variable which has effect on nationalism. It is prudent to stay wary of giving too much focus to language and not focusing on the rest of the dynamics of nationalism.

Imperialism is also an important facet of research on a former colony, but the case of Portuguese imperialism is one that is different from the rest of the imperial empires, especially in Africa. Portugal had a small but widespread empire with colonies in the Americas, Africa and India. Nevertheless, where the colonies in the Americas flourished, those in Africa did not because of the inhospitableness of the land and the people and the competition with the Muslims and Indians (Udokang, 1976, p. 295). There are scientists that argue that Portuguese imperial policy was primarily focused on economics and not on domination of the land and people, but even from an economic perspective Portugal differs from the rest of the colonial powers. The wealth and percentage of industrialization of Portugal was low in comparison with the other colonial powers (Udokang, 1976, p. 300). Portuguese imperialism was therefore focused on boosting the economy but also on boosting Portugal's international status (Udokang, 1976, p. 302). Others argue that Portuguese imperialism was focused on the spread of Catholicism and civilizing the natives of the land (De Andrade, 1954, p. 7). Embedded in this civilizing

mission was a non-discriminatory principle through which every native that was willing could learn the Portuguese language and the Christian doctrine (De Andrade, 1954, p. 12). The natives were not equal in the right to governance, but were treated equal in civilizing and through civilizing the native could become assimilated and gain entrance to governance (De Andrade, 1954, p. 18). Explaining Portuguese imperial policy is ambiguous, because of the different views on the focus of the Portuguese.

In Africa history is also an important dynamic of nationalism, since most African states have moved on from colonial history and have focused on the future of their state and the nation (Reid, 2015, p. 267). History was used by the governments in the nation-building process in order to legitimize the nationhood. It was about the 'useable' past in the nation-building process (Reid, 2015, p. 249). The useable past means that parts of history are selected for use. This selection is made because there are parts in the history of a country that are harmful or are better forgotten. The selective choosing of which parts of history are forgotten and which are remembered is a key part in creating the character of the new nation (Seleti, 1997, p. 49).

First and second languages are an important part of language identity. In Brazil Portuguese is spoken by nearly 99 percent of the population (Massini-Cagliari, 2003, p. 4). Second languages of Brazil are large in number in Brazil. The largest of which is German with around 200.000 speakers. The second languages compromise a total of 1 percent of the population in Brazil and the largest part of is comprised of immigrant languages (De Brito Fabri Demartini, 2006, p. 72). In Mozambique the official language Portuguese is spoken by 10 percent of the population as a first language and as a second language by 50 percent of the population. Emakhuwa is the biggest of the first languages spoken by 25,3 percentage of the population. Other languages within Mozambique are Xichangana spoken by 10,3 percent of the population. Sena (Cisena) spoken by only 7,5 percent of the population and many others (CIA, 2016). Bilingualism is an important part of Mozambican society. At the start of independence 23,2 percent of the population was bilingual (speakers of Portuguese minus native speakers) and following this reasoning it is possible to assume that around 40 percent of Mozambique is bilingual (Katupha, 1994, p. 93).

The question remains how the Portuguese language influenced the process of decolonization and the forming of the Mozambican nation both during the colonial period and after. Also the question remains why the Portuguese language was not as widespread in Mozambique as in Brazil and how this changed the dynamics in Mozambique. To discover what processes happened in Mozambique that created this language situation and how they differ from the language situation of Brazil, historical research of Mozambique and Brazil is needed. This research is needed to discover the effects of language on the nation.

Comparing Brazil and Mozambique

Overview of Brazilian Case

The role of Portuguese in the forming of the Brazilian nation is one of great significance, but the case of Brazil is one that is different from the Mozambican case. In Mozambique there is a large multitude of languages which all have a relatively large groups of native speakers. This is not the case in Brazil. In Brazil there are a number of indigenous languages, but the majority of the country speaks Portuguese. Around 98% of the population is a native speaker of Portuguese, but another difference is the acceptance and acknowledgement of indigenous languages. For example, parts of Brazil recognize indigenous languages as official languages but these languages are not widely spoken even in these areas.

The reason why the Portuguese language is so deeply embedded in the culture of Brazil is one of multiple facets. Next to a cultural reason there is a systematic reason why the language is dominant in Brazil. The educative and administrative language of colonial Brazil was the same as in Mozambique, namely metropolitan (European) Portuguese. This helped the spread of language and of a common cultural heritage. The administrative layer in Brazil thought of itself as Portuguese even though the majority of this layer was Brazilian-born (Levine, 1999, p. 52). In the colonial era the only way to obtain a position of influence and standing was to be fluent in Portuguese, but it was also necessary to be of Portuguese decent (Barman, 1988, p. 26). The position of Portuguese therefore was of great importance in the colonies, but there was also a large immigration to Brazil which increased the number of Portuguese speakers in Brazil. The situation in Brazil was consolidated by the giving of land to Portuguese immigrants which could be used to create new businesses and plantations (Levine, 1999, p. 52). The other systemic reason why the Portuguese language is dominant in Brazil is the decimation of the indigenous tribes and ethnic groups of Brazil. The decimation happened by the violence that the Portuguese used to assert their dominance of Brazil, but disease had a larger part in this decimation. An estimate of 50% of the indigenous population was killed by the spread of European diseases (Levine, 1999, p. 42). The result of the decimation was that the culture of these indigenous groups was partly annihilated. This is of great importance to the process of the forming of the Brazilian nation, because the loss of a large native influence on this nation-building process ensured that Portuguese influence on this nation would be far greater (Levine, 1999, p. 32).

The Brazilian culture is deeply embedded in the nation of Brazil and this culture is a mixture of different influences. There is an indigenous influence on the culture of Brazil, but this is not a strong influence. The strongest influences on Brazilian culture are Portuguese and a mixture of African cultures. These cultural influence have had an effect on the building of a Brazilian nation, but they even had a stronger effect on the use of language (Levine, 1999, p. 25). Brazilian Portuguese has absorbed phrases and words of different cultures. This absorption of different cultural aspects created a language which was completely Brazilian in appearance with a basis of Metropolitan Portuguese. This helped in

creating a Brazilian national identity. Portuguese in Brazil is mostly the same as in Portugal as a written language, but the language was named different in order to create another identity.

Language helped in creating a unitary identity for Brazil. The effect of language on the creation of a national identity can be seen in how Brazil has kept such a vast territory without too much turmoil (Levine, 1999, p. 28). Although the history of Brazil is quite unique, since it did not have to fight for her independence, language has had a unifying effect on the people of Brazil, because there were a lot of immigrants. These can be divided in slaves and economic immigrants, which both were united by the common language of Brazil. Language has played a major role in the creation of a Brazilian nation. This was partly due to the dominance of Portuguese in Brazil which helped in creating a Brazilian Portuguese identity. This identity was fully spread across Brazil and the immigrants of Brazil influenced this identity culturally and linguistically without posing a threat to it. This helped in creating a common identity for Brazil. This common identity helped in preventing uprisings across ethnic cleavages, but also partly social cleavages.

The fact that the Portuguese colony of Brazil has had a relative peaceful history after independence is partly due to the common language of Brazil. There were a few military conflicts, but these happened mostly across economic cleavages. This could partly explain why the history of Mozambique is one filled with so much turmoil, since in Mozambique there is a large multitude of languages. This is not the only reason why Mozambique is less peaceful than Brazil, since there are other issues that may have had an impact on Mozambique. The differences between Brazil and Mozambique are explanatory for the dominance of Portuguese in Brazil and why this is not present in Mozambique. Education, independence, immigration are all examples of explanatory views that might explain this difference.

Mozambican early colonial rule

To understand Mozambique and her culture it is necessary to gain knowledge of the history of the colonization of Mozambique. The Portuguese discovered Mozambique in 1498, although Arabians and Indians have discovered it before 1498, when Vasco da Gama came across Mozambique island during a journey to India, but the partial occupation of Mozambique started in 1505 (Newitt, 1995, p. 15-17). In 1505 a Portuguese fleet was dispatched to build a fort in Sofala and subjugate the entire city (Roskam, 1974, p. 11). Even though the Portuguese are most famous for their occupation of Mozambique, they were not the first ones to create outposts and to colonize parts of Mozambique. Arabians, Persians, Indians and Africans from other parts of Africa were already settled in cities all over Mozambique. The cities of Angoche, Quelimane, Sena and Tete were examples of these foreign city-states that were settled by traders from the Muslim world. This led to the spread of Islam as a religion across the coast area (Newitt, 1995, p. 12). Over the course of the next decades there was a period of violence across the northern coast of Mozambique caused by the Portuguese. The Portuguese sacked many cities and villages in this period, because of the international trade carried out by the Muslims. To assert

dominance, they sacked cities and this led to a disruption of the international trade (Newitt, 1955, p. 22).

The further development of Mozambique under Portuguese rule was not without problems. The hinterlands of Mozambique were hard to conquer and not as resourceful as the Portuguese thought (Roskam, 1974, p. 12). The pursuit for these resources led them to the kingdom of Monomotapa (also known as Mwene Mutapa). Initially around 1560 there was an attempt to establish relations with the court of Monomotapa, but when a Jesuit missionary was murdered by Muslim traders an expedition was launched to conquer the gold mines (Newitt, 1995, p. 54-59). This expedition failed because of diseases and the rough terrain of the highlands of Mozambique. It wasn't until 1623 that the Portuguese finally got hold of the gold mines of Monomotapa (Roskam, 1974, p. 12), but dominance over the region was not achieved until 1632 when the rebellions within Karangaland were quelled (Newitt, 1995, p. 92).

The settling of Mozambique by Portuguese was not as widespread as in Brazil. The permanent settlers of Mozambique obtained pieces of land through the *prazos* system. *Prazos* were grants of land, which in the African context was more like a chieftaincy (Newitt, 1995, p. 218). Chieftaincies were a complex system within Mozambique which ensured economic and social cohesion. At first these *Prazos* were gifts of land, later pieces of land were obtained by the use of armies (Newitt, 1995, p. 219). These *Prazos* were formally a part of the Portuguese empire, but because of the warlike and lawless situations these *Prazos* were a major problem for the Crown. The owners of *Prazos*, known as *Prazeiros*, were the only rulers of these areas, since the Portuguese authorities did not have control over the *Prazeiros* (Roskam, 1974, p. 12-13; Newitt, 1995, 220-221). There were formal rules imposed on the holding of a *prazo* which were meant to ensure that nobody could obtain more than one *prazo*, but the *Prazeiros* were intermarrying to create large pieces of land which they could hold (Roskam, 1974, p. 13). This is how an aristocratic layer was created in Mozambique (Newitt, 1995, p. 227). The government of Portugal tried to disband these *Prazos*, but did not succeed to do this until the late 19th century.

In Brazil the phenomena of *Prazos* was also present. In Brazil the *Prazos* were called *Fazendas* and acted like plantations (Levine, 1999, p. 18). Were in Mozambique the plantation model did not succeed, it did succeed in Brazil and became the basis of the surging economy of Brazil. The power of the plantation owners was strong on a local level, but not strong on an imperial level just like in Mozambique. The difference between the *Fazendas* and *Prazos* was the economic strength and the strength of the colonial government. The plantations in Brazil were economically strong and did not have issues with natives like in Mozambique. The prosperity of the plantations and the taxation ability of the colonial government ensured that the colony was wealthy (Naritomi, Soares, Assunção, 2012, p. 399). Another difference is the place the *Fazendas* held in Brazilian society. Whereas the *Prazos* were unofficial rulers of Mozambique, the plantations owners did not hold the same status in Brazil. They were also not in control of the education on their lands and were only after the economic profit instead of the power of the colony (Dean, 1971, p. 607-608). The only political power they held was over land

reform, since this was crucial for their large landholdings. The government therefore used the plantations in order to stay wealthy and were not as unruly as the *Prazos* in Mozambique.

Mozambican late colonial rule

Colonialism in Mozambique was weaker than in Brazil and the hardships that the settlers had to endure pre-1900 ensured that only the coastal area was partly colonized. The colonists in Mozambique were largely independent from the Portuguese government. The small scale immigration of Portuguese to Mozambique has left a completely different heritage to Mozambique, then the heritage created by the large scale immigration to Brazil. The number of Portuguese immigrants to Mozambique was around 18.000 in 1928 (Newitt, 1995, p. 442), but in Brazil the number of Portuguese settlers was around the 1.1 million at it's independence in 1824 (IBGE, 2000). The lands of Mozambique were rougher than in Brazil and diseases were a large problem for European settlers which led to the deaths of a large number of the settlers. This has had an effect on the spread of Portuguese in Mozambique, because a larger settler community would have led to a larger use of Portuguese in the country. The number of settlers started to rise after the conference in Berlin of 1885. This was the moment that the Portuguese started to have more interest in their African holdings and started to gain dominance over the hinterlands of Mozambique (Roskam, 1974, p. 14). This interest was sparked by the prerequisite made during the Berlin conference that any claim on land in Africa had to be based on actual control over the land. During this conference Portugal tried to gain the land from Angola to Mozambique and in 1891 the borders of Mozambique were drawn, but it was not until 1917 that the borders of Mozambique had been finally defined and secured. In 1917 all external and internal disputes were settled in Mozambique.

During this period there still was no strong colonial government. The land was divided in concession companies and only a part of Mozambique was administered by the Portuguese government (Newitt, 1995, p. 367-388). The concession companies gained rights over the land, because the Portuguese government did not have the means to effectively administer, pacify and develop Mozambique (Newitt, 1955, p. 364). Another policy that created the concession companies was *Prazo*-policy. In 1890 the Portuguese government created new lease laws for *Prazos*. Unpacified *Prazos* could be leased for ten years and the lessee was obligated to pacify the land, and pacified *Prazos* could be leased for 25 years. The idea behind this policy was that individuals would obtain the land, but in reality the concession companies gained the majority of the leases (Newitt, 1995, p. 365). The colonial rule during these years was executed by the concession companies, even though the official colonial rule was present. The rule by the concession companies was focused on the same thing as the Portuguese colonial rule. The focus was on profit and this created a system of exploitation of the native people of Mozambique.

In Brazil the *Fazendas* were also leaseholds up until 1850. In 1850 it became a system of purchasing the ground from the state. The whole entirety of the system was based on economics and

after slave trade was abolished in 1888 the system changed because it was dependent on slavery. Nevertheless the power of the *Fazendas* never grew to the strength of the concession companies.

This system completely changed when a military coup took over in Portugal in 1926. Salazar became leader of the regime in 1932 and he wanted to change the administrative chaos in Mozambique and wanted to free Mozambique from the concession holders. The control over the colonies was a way to finance the development of Portugal (Newitt, 1995, p. 445). After a long period of weak Portuguese authority there finally was a strong unitary administration. This administration was possibly the most effective government colonial Mozambique has had.

Portuguese culture was most influential in Mozambique during Salazar's rule. This is because the Salazar regime was practically the first regime that tried to increase the influence of Portugal in Mozambique. The number of Portuguese settlers in Mozambique was not a significant number up to 1926 (18.000). When Salazar in 1928 became the minister of finance of the military regime he was the first to correct the financial troubles of Angola and Mozambique (Smith, 1974, p. 663). When in 1930 the Colonial Act became the leading constitution of Portuguese colonial policy, it became the beginning of a new colonial empire. The decision-making in Mozambique used to be in the hands of the local colonial government, but Salazar, in his quest for centralization, brought this back to the Lisbon Government. This act also ensured that Portuguese became the only administrative and educational language in the colonies (Smith, 1974, p. 665-666).

In Brazil the colonial pact was enacted, at the time Brazil was colonized, in which the laws which were applied to the colony were defined. In this pact the dependence of Brazil to Portugal was stated and also the supremacy of the Portuguese government was stated in this document. The document itself was mostly focused on mercantilism and was not focused on education like the colonial act of 1930. The centralisation of power is a commonality between the two documents, but it is the only strong connection between the two documents (Cardoso, Cunha, 2012, p. 637).

The suppression of the population of the colonies was also ensured by the changes executed by Salazar, since the focus within the policy was still one of exploitation and profit and not one of sophistication. This act was the leading policy over thirty years of Portuguese colonialism and is a possible origin of Portuguese cultural influence in Mozambique.

The difference between the concession company rule and the direct rule is huge and the difference of impact on the population of Mozambique was enormous. The concession company rule was distant and unfocused on the development of Mozambique, but did not completely ignore Mozambican development. They tried to promote agriculture under the population by distributing seeds (Newitt, 1995, p. 403). The development of the Mozambican population was not a main focus of the concession companies or the Portuguese government. The undereducated population and the small percentage of settlers during this period created a system in which Portuguese was the only used language but was relatively unknown in the country. But there was an improvement of the situation before the beginning of the modern Mozambican colonial state, since education became more

institutionalized. Education was provided by the church before 1907 and after this period the first government schools were created, but these were few in number. The education provided was of an elementary level (Newitt, 1995, p. 438-440; Katupha, 1994, p. 92). Direct rule changed how Mozambique was ruled and the Portuguese government became the central authority of the provinces instead of the concession companies. Education became more available, through policy created by the regime. The Catholic church became the official educator of Mozambique and her influence was enlarged. Still it was not until the first secondary education when possibilities were created that education was put into a higher gear (Newitt, 1995, p. 480). Education was more available for Portuguese and *assimilados*, but for the general African population education was still focused on literacy in Portuguese and became more focused on Catholic propaganda.

This difference in rule was not present in Brazil. Whereas Mozambique has experienced two totally different kinds governing, this was not the case in Brazil. Brazil has not experienced different kinds of governing during the colonial era. After the colonial era there were different kinds of government, but non so extremely different as the ones in Mozambique.

Rise of FRELIMO

During the last ten years of Portuguese rule in Mozambique a guerrilla war was fought between the Portuguese and The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Portugal was not prepared for a war of any kind, but they managed to hold on to power in Mozambique. The Portuguese were the strongest along the coastline, since in this area most of the Portuguese settlers lived and in which the colonial government was the strongest. The areas, in which FRELIMO was most present, were in the northern part of Mozambique close to the border of Tanzania, in which their military bases were positioned (Gann, 1975, p. 7). The regions of Delgado, Niassa and Tete were most beset by guerrilla warfare, but initially even in these areas FRELIMO was not successful in gaining foothold in Mozambique. The political and psychological effect of guerrilla warfare nonetheless was immense from the start. It was not till later on that FRELIMO gained a foothold in Mozambique. The strength of the colonial regime nonetheless was stronger than the forces of FRELIMO.

The reason that FRELIMO was weaker than the Portuguese was partly due to the fact that FRELIMO was suffering of elite conflicts (Opello jr, 1975, p. 71). These conflicts focused on the distribution of power in the organization and the high positions in the party. Elite conflicts usually have a large impact on the support that the organization enjoys, but in the case of Mozambique and FRELIMO the multitude of elite conflicts did not take away the support FRELIMO enjoyed within the rural communities and the northern ethnic groups (Opello jr, 1975, p. 81). Usually independence wars are settled through the victory of one of the two fighting parties. The independence of Mozambique is a unique case, since FRELIMO was not even close to winning the independence war and was not prepared for an independent Mozambique (Opello jr, 1975, p. 81). The independence of Mozambique was issued by a military coup in Portugal. The new government was not interested in the colonies and wanted to

create an independent Mozambique, but this sudden independence was not anticipated by FRELIMO so this created a whole new dynamic in Mozambique. The reign of FRELIMO in the newly independent state was not fully supported, since the sudden independence created a situation in which FRELIMO did not have support in all the regions of Mozambique. FRELIMO was strong in the northern regions from which the organization originated and in the far south in which the Mozambican government was situated (Hall, 1990, p. 51).

By analysing the historical context a few aspects have surfaced and must be looked at more closely, namely education, independence and immigration.

Education

In Mozambique a lot of languages are spoken and these languages are divided in multiple language groups, but the only official language of Mozambique is a foreign language, namely Portuguese. Nowadays Portuguese is spoken by a large section of the population as a second language, but as a first language it is only spoken by a smaller section of the population. This number of Portuguese speakers has grown extensively since the independence of Mozambique. This is also seen in the illiteracy data which has shrunk from an estimate of 90% before independence to around 60% in 1998 (Lopez, 1998, p. 466-467). In present day Mozambique the adult literacy rate is guessed to be around 50%, but in younger age groups this number increase to 80% for males and 56% for females (Unicef, 2013). This is partly due to the education that young people are enrolled in, which the older percentiles did not experience.

Education plays an important role in the spread of literacy, language and knowledge. The education for the non-Portuguese Mozambicans was, during the colonial period, of a basic level. The education in general was of a low standard in colonial Mozambique for all societal groups. An example of this situation was the possibility to gain a higher education in Mozambique, since it was not possible to gain a higher education. There were no universities in Mozambique until 1962 and the result of this was that there were few higher educated people in Mozambique which were indigenous. The literacy rate and the knowledge of Portuguese were also low in Mozambique during the colonial period, only the Portuguese and those from Portuguese decent were naturally fluent in Portuguese. There also was a small group of Mozambicans who were ‘‘assimilated’’. To become assimilated a native Mozambican needed to, amongst other requirements, become fluent in Portuguese. This created a situation in which the majority of the country could only speak indigenous languages and only the elites could speak Portuguese (Ngunga, 2011, p. 183). The administration of Mozambique was done in Portuguese. This lead to a situation in which the opportunities for social mobility were reserved for the Portuguese and the *assimilados*. Because Portuguese played such an important role within colonial government, the identity one would have to assume was Portuguese and had to forget the identity of their ethnic group (Seleti, 1997, 51-52).

During most wars for independence the liberation movement fighting for freedom would use indigenous languages. FRELIMO did not make use of indigenous languages to communicate, but it used Portuguese as an official language. They did this in order to create unity, since it would create an impossible situation for communication if they would recognize multiple indigenous languages. It would create internal turmoil if only a few languages were acknowledged. It was also seen as a weapon against the oppressor and by using the Portuguese language and turning it into a language of liberation it could act as a unifier (Spectator, 1982, p. 38). Neutrality of language was one of the most important arguments to adopt Portuguese as an official language (Ngunga, 2011, p. 184; Safran & Liu, 2012, p. 282).

The education of Portuguese in Mozambique was important for the creation of a Mozambican nation. The Portuguese language was not dominant in Mozambique in contrast with Brazil, but nevertheless it has had a large influence on Mozambique. Portuguese was an elite language in Mozambique and this has been the case from the colonial period up until the current era. Elites can use language to promote a national identity or adopt a language in which a national identity could be promoted. Instilling pride into the community can be done through language (Safran, 1999, p. 82). This is what happened in Mozambique. The elites spoke Portuguese, but only a fraction of the population spoke Portuguese. 1.2 percent spoke Portuguese as mother tongue and only 24 percent could speak Portuguese (Katupha, 1994, p. 92). During the period of the independence war Mozambican Portuguese was seen as a foreign language in liberated zones (Ngunga, 2011, p. 185). The creation of a national identity through language took place after independence. Portuguese was used as the national language to ensure neutrality between ethnic groups, but it was also transformed in order to cultivate a Mozambican identity (Katupha, 1994, p. 91). Mozambican Portuguese was better in every aspect and was a language of the revolution according to the FRELIMO government (Stroud, 1999, p. 350). Mozambican Portuguese was a unifying language for everyone in Mozambique according to the FRELIMO government. Literacy rose during this period of FRELIMO rule, but the effectiveness of creating a new Mozambican language was not high. This is partly due to the disruptive nature of the civil war with The Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) and the internal protests against traditionalism (Stroud, 1999, p. 353). An important factor for this ineffectiveness is the difficulty of learning Portuguese when it is not someone's first language. It takes a long time for a young person to learn enough Portuguese so he could start with school (Ngunga, 2011, p. 186-187).

From an educative view it is possible to conclude that during colonial rule Portuguese was used as an elite language. The general population was lowly educated or not educated during the colonial period. FRELIMO also adopted Portuguese as official language, but it was only used by the party elites and the administration of FRELIMO. The ground forces of FRELIMO did not speak Portuguese good enough to use it in the war (Katupha, 1994, p. 94). After independence Mozambique endured a lot of issues in promoting language through education and this can explain why Brazil had less issues with the creation of the nation than Mozambique.

Independence

Mozambique was one of the last countries in Africa that became independent of their colonial ruler. In 1974 Mozambique suddenly became independent. There was no fully supported party that could govern the state, but there are other issues that resulted from this late independence. Brazil became independent in 1825, but a large part of the country did not notice the difference between before independence and after. This was partly due to the monarch system of the new state, but was also due to the shortage of news, national consciousness and awareness (Nevine, 1999, p. 55). Education played an important part in this non-awareness of the situation in Brazil. There were few schools for the general population during the period of independence. This low education ensured that the general population was not informed about the rest of the world and everything that happened in the country (Nevine, 1999, p. 56). Elites were the only persons who were well informed and they led the fight for independence in Brazil (Nevine, 1999, p. 57).

In Mozambique the colonial rule lasted for a century and a half longer than in Brazil and this ensured that the availability of news was higher for the general population. This was because of radio and television, but also due to newspapers. Education in Mozambique was of a low quality up until independence, but it was of a higher degree than the education in Brazil. This helped to create a general awareness of the situation in Mozambique next to the information given by newspapers, radio and television. A general awareness of what was happening in the country during the war for independence and the civil war made it harder for the state to create national unity. Another issue that was difficult for the creation of unity in the state was the fact that education was present, but illiteracy was also high (Hall & Young, 1997, p. 56). Illiteracy made the creation of a single unitary nation partly more difficult because they could not read propaganda, but it gave educative possibilities through history teaching. This created a new educative system in which Portuguese played a crucial role as an educative language.

Language played a crucial role during independence, since FRELIMO had adopted the Portuguese language but it was also the language of the oppressor. In Brazil Portuguese was also the language of both the independence fighters and the oppressors, but in the case of Brazil there were a lot more speakers of Portuguese than in Mozambique. The effect of a late independence was significant on the use of language in Mozambique, but a larger impact was caused by the adoption of Portuguese as a revolutionary language (Spectator, 1982, p. 38). The biggest challenge in Mozambique was not caused by the lateness of independence, but by the suddenness of independence. FRELIMO had issues with the legitimization of their government and this had an effect on how the nation could be stably formed (Hall & Young, 1997, p. 82-83; Seleti, 1997, p. 55). Language and education played a great role in this nation-building process and this shortage of legitimacy and the damage caused by Renamo showed that the state was weak (Stroud, 1999, p. 361).

Nation-building during the time after independence was important to the FRELIMO government, but became harder to accomplish because of the declining legitimacy (Hall & Young, 1997, p. 56). Independence has played an important role in the nation-building process in both Brazil and in

Mozambique, but the outcome was completely different. Language was both an important part of nation-building in Mozambique and a hindrance since general literacy and knowledge of the Portuguese language were at a low level at independence (Hall & Young, 1997, p. 57). In Brazil there was a strong elite consensus and a low political awareness in combination with a fairly strong understanding of Portuguese. This could have helped in the peaceful transition from colony to independent state and may explain why in Mozambique there was no peaceful transition.

Immigration

Most people think of Brazil as a single unitary nation, but this is not completely correct. There was a lot of Portuguese immigration to Brazil during the colonial period in the form of settlers. In the early period of colonization there was a large immigration of peasants and middle-class civilian to Brazil and this was supported by the officials in Portugal (Levine, 1999, p. 42). This created a plantation culture in Brazil, but this culture of plantations needed labor forces. The indigenous population of Brazil was not sufficient in number to fulfill this need and therefore Africans were imported into Brazil along with their culture and languages (Nevine, 1999, p. 46). These Africans did not come from a single ethnic group and brought with them a mixture of languages, but they took over the language of the colonizers whilst influencing the grammar and vocabulary of Portuguese with their own languages.

In Mozambique the case was different, since the land of Mozambique was inhospitable it was not appealing for Portuguese settlers to come. The number of settlers was smaller than in Brazil and the spread of Portuguese as a consequence was smaller than in Brazil. Another contrast with Brazil in respect to immigration and language is the fact that Mozambique was a trading outpost for the Arabians and the Indians and that their languages were also present in Mozambique because of this, whilst Brazil was cut off from traders from other nations. The settling of Mozambique by the Portuguese was relatively late, but it was not until Salazar that settling became more common and the numbers began to rise immensely. (Newitt, 1995, p. 333; p. 364; p. 467). The late immigration has resulted in a smaller number of Portuguese settlers in comparison to Brazil and the culture that they spread during this time must have been smaller than would have been the case if they were larger in number.

Immigration has played a part in the spread of Portuguese and her dominance over the colonies. In Brazil the spread of language was large and the dominance was large over the population because of Portuguese immigrants, even the immigrants from Africa adopted Portuguese, but in Mozambique the spread was smaller and there is no dominance of Portuguese because of the small immigration. The immigration of other groups, like Arabians, have further diminished the effect of Portuguese has had on the population. This may have ensured that the building of the Mozambican nation was far harder and was filled with more challenges.

Conclusion

There are a lot of factors in determining the effect of the Portuguese language on the creation of a Mozambican nation and the comparison with Brazil has revealed a number of differences which may explain why there is a relatively strong Brazilian nation, but not a strong Mozambican nation.

There has been a different approach by the Portuguese in the colonization of Brazil than of Mozambique. The Brazilian case is used to amplify the points of interest within the Mozambican case, namely the difference in historical context, education, independence and immigration in respect to their effects on language dominance and the effect on the creation of a Mozambican identity. The historical context shows that Mozambique was a colony of trading outposts and was not totally colonized. It also shows that the Portuguese government had little control over the population in Mozambique and that the colony was primarily used for economic reasons. The conference of Berlin led to a change in governance of the colonies, but it was not until Salazar that the colony was directly ruled. This was relatively late and this created a unique dynamic with respect to education and immigration, this increase in educative possibilities and rise in immigration were linked with the rule of Salazar.

Language has played a large role in these facets, since the low interest led to a weak dominance of Portuguese speakers and a stronger ethnic identity. Education was something that was used by the Portuguese to assimilate the indigenous population, but was not successful. Nevertheless, Portuguese became an elite language of the colonizer, but also one of independence. Portuguese was adopted by FRELIMO. Independence changed this dynamic in which only a small part of the population could speak Portuguese, because FRELIMO began to promote the use of Portuguese in order to create a new Mozambican Portuguese from which a new Mozambican identity could be drawn.

Within the nation-building process enacted by FRELIMO language played a pivotal role as a neutralizer of conflict and as an overarching identity which was larger than the ethnic identities. But there were a lot of challenges to this nation-building process which have resulted in relative failure of the creation of the nation state. The issues with legitimization, the suddenness of independence, the rise of protests against the government and the rise of Renamo have ensured that the FRELIMO government could not focus on the building of the nation and the spread of Portuguese. The nation-building process in Mozambique was not the success it aspired to be in the period after independence, but the timing of independence is an influence in this process and is an explanation for the difference between Mozambique and Brazil. The period of independence in Brazil was one that was pre-industrial and this difference with the era of Mozambican independence in which information was more available might have created more national awareness. Portuguese language is becoming more widespread and is a source of national identity, since history is less used for national identity because of the ethnic ties that groups have with the indigenous history and the more recent history is one of colonization. Language has played an important role in the education of a new identity. The relative unsuccessfulness of the nation-building with language is not due to a lack of trying of the government, but is due to the

challenges faced by the government in general. These challenges took a long time to overcome and as a result the forming of a Mozambican nation took longer than hoped for by the government.

The period of civil war and after is only slightly touched in this paper, but the relevance of Portuguese on the nation-building was the largest in the period shortly after independence. Language still plays a large role in the Mozambican identity and even though the nation-building project within Mozambique was not completely successful it has become stronger over the years. Perhaps further research may uncover if the process of nation-building has succeeded in the present and may uncover if language has had a stronger effect over the years after the end of the civil war. It may also uncover if it is possible to speak of a strong Mozambican nation or a weak one.

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