

Representation of Mozambicans in the work domain in the colonial period (1970-1975) in the Portuguese newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo*: A multimodal approach

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Abstract

This article attempts to report how Mozambicans were discursively constructed in the work domain by the Portuguese newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo* during the colonial period, most particularly between 1970 and 1975. The overall findings show that the indigenous Mozambicans were assigned menial jobs thus portrayed as providers of unskilled labour. By assigning these jobs to indigenous Mozambicans, the newspaper reinforces the point that indigenous Mozambicans lack knowledge, competence or skills to deal with jobs that required intellectual capabilities. The discourse implies that the Portuguese (morally superior) decided what kind of jobs were reserved for blacks and under what conditions they should be carried out. Ideologically, this shows white moral and intellectual superiority over blacks.

Keywords: representation, colonialism, Mozambicans, newspaper

Este artigo aborda como o povo moçambicano foi representado no ramo de trabalho no Jornal português 'O Século de Joanesburgo' no tempo colonial de 1970 a 1975. Os resultados do estudo apontam, em geral, que se davam trabalhos de baixo estatuto ao povo indígena de Moçambique, representando-os assim como trabalhadores sem habilidades ou capacidades intelectuais. Isto reforça o ponto de que o indígena moçambicano carecia de conhecimento, competência para realizar trabalhos que exigia capacidades intelectuais. O discurso, em si, implica que o Português (provido de moral superior) decidia que tipo de trabalho era reservado para os indígenas e sob que condições tais eram efectuadas. Ideologicamente, tal prática mostra a superioridade moral e intelectual do branco em comparação ao indígena.

Palavras-chave: representação, colonialismo, moçambicanos, jornal

1. Introduction

The Portuguese colonial history is marked by intolerance, manipulation and power abuse of its colonial territories. And while incontestably true that all colonial masters brought nothing more than painful memories and suffering to the colonised people, it is believed that the Portuguese colonial style and their treatment of indigenous people was far ruthless compared to other

colonial powers. As a matter of fact, a vast amount of literature shows that the Portuguese regime was distinguished when it came to introduction of labour policies to institute a clear separate social structure between whites and blacks, while at the same time they preached the discourse of colour blindness. The notorious labour policy: *Regulamento para os contratos de serviços e colonos nas províncias da África* (a type of regulatory labour policy), which became law in 1878 and later considered as the most complete labour law for the natives up to 1928 is one example of brutality. The policy was introduced under the Salazar dictatorship of Portugal (Duffy 1963: 131) and it contradicts the so-called civilisation mission shaped by the falsity of multiculturalism: blacks and whites are equal, which perhaps has never had any element of truth whatsoever.

The policy assisted in nurturing a strong belief among governing officials that “Portugal had to develop, and this development rested on the Mozambicans *and other Africans*’ shoulders” (Duffy 1963: 131) at any cost (*My emphasis in italic*). According to Duffy (1963: 132), 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. Thus, the committee responsible for such *Regulamento*, according to this author, 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 arguments instituted by the *Regulamento* policy are clear evidence that the Portuguese regime keenly applied all available tactics to stop indigenous Mozambicans from advancement; this was accomplished by ideological means established to determine what was good for black men as opposed to what white men were capable of doing. In short, doubts always clouded the black men when it came to judge the intellectual capabilities whether he/she was fit for the job or not whereas whites were naturally talented as most findings point.

To conclude this section, it is worthy to underscore Zamparoni’s (1999) view that the 1928 Lourenço Marques Census showed among the local people employed in domestic affairs, Africans (blacks) both men and women made up 95% of the workforce making it clear that a subordinate character was attributed in the minds of the employers to the kind of jobs 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 that 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 (1999) 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* thus creating clear divisions in

terms of work assigned to each group. On this note, this study explores representation of Mozambicans in the work domain taking into consideration the hierarchical division established above.

O Século de Joanesburgo newspaper was founded by Portuguese migrants in 1963 in South Africa. It (had) offices throughout South Africa, as well as in Portugal (mainly Lisbon) and autonomous regions like Madeira and the Azores, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia. In addition, Glaser (2013) deems this is the most important newspaper read by literate immigrants in South Africa and elsewhere to keep them in touch with the news at home. Thus, readership for *O Século de Joanesburgo* grew substantially throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, 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).¹

2. The Portuguese policy of indigenous people

It is of utmost importance to discuss the policy of *Indigenato* (Policy on the Indigenous People) if one wants to have a better understanding of discursive representations of Mozambicans in the workplace. The policy helped to shape various labour policies including *Regulamento*. Under the policy of *Indigenato*, for instance, Africans and *mulatos* (the coloured descendants of indigenous and colonial people) were divided into two groups. On the one hand the tiny minority classified as *assimilados* who could read and write Portuguese, rejected tribal customs and were gainfully employed in the capitalist economy. In principle, they enjoyed all the rights and responsibilities of Portuguese citizens. Africans and *mulatos*, on the other hand, who did not satisfy these requirements had to carry identity cards, fulfil stringent labour requirements and live outside European areas. These persons, known as *indígenas*, were not considered citizens, and they remained subject to customary law (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983: 39).

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 (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983: 39), which proves then that this system had more disadvantages than advantages as Newitt (1981: 139) lucidly explains: 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).

With this policy, the colonial authority had not only advanced in nurturing their segregation policy to divide groups onto various social and racial layers, but also created various hierarchical structures at the work domain as noted in this newspaper, which as noted earlier

¹ For further reading on the importance of the newspaper consult Glaser (2013).

included *funcionários*, *trabalhadores* and *operários*. This is despite 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.

As a matter of fact, these policies were mere documents that served as reading for enjoyment not its purpose as advocated by them (documents) given that 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, Denny and Ray 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 “[are] 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 (1967: 16) 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 per cent of the African population. 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). Therefore, Chilcote (1967: 30) concludes that the various principles enforced by the Portuguese regime resulted from the fear that the educated Africans 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.

These arguments are sufficient evidence that the negative discourse prosody used to represent indigenous Mozambicans by assigning them unskilled jobs is deliberate perhaps with intention to show how blacks were morally and educationally inferior compared with their white counterparts and they were also inept of handling their country’s affairs. The only way to change such status quo is by complying with various social structures in place leading to civilisation including the law of assimilation.

3. Theoretical framework

The analytical framework of this study is threefold. (i) It is informed by Corpus Linguistics (CL); (ii) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); and (iii) Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). In combining these approaches the study attempts to establish the role this newspaper played in disseminating ideologies at workplace and it also labours to uncover the relationship between verbal and visual language. In short, the study attempts to ascertain the dynamics of the existing discourses in the newspaper’s columns given that both verbal and visual are equally important in propagating ideologies. It is imperative to realise that 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 propagate 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.

CL has harvested enough reputation lately as one of the leading theoretical and methodological frameworks in the field of discourse analysis. Its approach, drawing from both quantitative and qualitative, has captivated researchers to employ it in combination with CDA, in most cases. CL is unanimously described as a bulk of text that is computer-readable and comprises different genres (cf. Baker 2009; Stubbs 2001; to mention but a few). These texts represent real-life, linguistic, communicative events (cf. McEnery and Wilson 1996; Sinclair 1991). Judging by dimension of this study, using a sizeable sum of data, it was imperative we employed CL given that it is almost unattainable to analyse such a large quantity manually. In this regard, Baker (2009) deems that CL uses large electronic databases of language to examine hypotheses about language use that can be tested scientifically with computerised tools, without the researcher's preconceptions influencing their conclusions. Furthermore, the use of this framework results in findings that have "much greater generalisability and validity" (Biber 2010: 159) and it is also inductive.

Within CL two approaches are used namely Corpus-based and Corpus-driven. The choice for the latter was stirred by its applicability. For Biber (2010: 163) this approach exploits "the potential of corpus linguistic categories and units [...] using the standard methods of linguistic analysis". This approach takes an inductive path thus relevant since, as Tognini-Bonelli (2001) puts it, this procedure is strictly committed to the integrity of the data, in other words, it provides evidence from the real data opposed to the Corpus-based, which uses a corpus as "source of examples, to check researcher intuition or to examine the frequency and/or plausibility" (Baker 2006: 16). In few words this approach tends to employ an intuitive approach to exploring data.

Moving now to CDA, its use 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. Van Dijk (1996: 84) explains that "CDA 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". In a more elaborated approach Weiss and Wodak (2003: 15) contend that CDA aims to investigate critically the social inequalities as they are expressed, constituted, legitimised, and so on, by language use (or in discourse). This entails that this framework's agenda is to critically examine the existing power abuse in any society. It also "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 2013: 18).

The point raised by Fairclough (2013) is interesting in many ways. It suggests that the objectives of CDA are not confined to simply identifying socio-political and economic ills by discursive means, but also to suggest mechanisms to address or remedy such problems and thus lead to a more equal and inclusive society. Therefore, this objective suits the agenda of this study with its focus on the type of representation given to indigenous Mozambicans compared to their former colonial masters.

One advantage of CL analysis and CDA particularly for this kind of study employing a large selection of data 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) something that would not have been done using CDA alone.

As noted the analysis of this study is multimodal, consider both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects, thus giving an equal analytical weight to texts and pictures. The argument on the value of MDA is 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.” 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 that 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). MDA thus is 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 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”. After all, as Harley (1992: 28) puts, “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 (1992: 28) takes us to another dimension on emphasising the importance of MDA for this study 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 (1992) 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 1996/2006: 154). Overall, the rationale behind this argument is that no mode should be exploited at the expense of the other considering 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, the 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 choices 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.” Accordingly, the system of perspective that realises ‘attitude’ was developed in the Renaissance period. Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) 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: 29). Harley’s (1992) 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 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. 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 highlighted 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 on the one hand 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); and 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); and Real (the element on the bottom in a polarised composition). Each term suggests an interpretative framework as will be seen in the sections devoted to the findings.

4. Methodology

The data for this study comprise a corpus of 30 934 tokens (words) taken from 50 articles from the *O Século de Joanesburgo* newspaper. It is made up of five yearly clusters ranging from 1970 to 1975 and it covers a colonial period. These articles – systematically selected from political, letter to the reader, social and editorial domains – were sourced from the newspaper archives in Johannesburg and the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town. They were retyped to turn them into an electronic format. The articles were carefully selected taking into account how Mozambicans (indigenous people) were constructed by the newspapers in the working domain. The data in electronic files (separated into five subcorpora) were imported into AntConc software to look for wordlist, collocates of words and concordance. AntConc is a free computer concordance based text analysis developed by Laurence Anthony. AntConc started out as a relatively simple concordance programme, but has slowly been progressing to become a rather useful text analysis tool using a computer.

The analysis, besides using the above corpora, also employed three articles and three photographs (found in these articles). The analysis started with CL by searching the following terms: *funcionários*, *trabalhadores* and *operários* (see Appendices for the frequency of these words and further information associated with these terms). In the search, apart from investigating frequency of these words, we also explored collocates and concordance lines. These collocate and concordance lines were analysed using CDA followed by an analysis of the articles and pictures (MDA analysis). It is imperative to point out that the analysis carried out by MDA was conducted using the techniques identified by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) as discussed in the previous section.

5. Findings and discussion

The lexicons '*funcionário*', '*trabalhadores*' and '*operário(s)*', altogether add up to 34 frequencies in the corpus, in the work domain, thus ranking between 164 and 171 in the most frequent words. 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* (see Appendix 1 and 2), two cases are explicitly and four implicitly related to Portuguese people with regard to the collocate *bancários* (*bankers*, see concordance lines 3, 11 for explicit examples and 2, 8, 9, 10 for implicit, in Appendix 3). However, 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"). 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 that collocate with *públicos* ("public") (see concordance lines 12, 13, Appendix 3) 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, Davies and Jupp 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 whatsoever reason other than competence.

With regard to the search term *trabalhadores*, which, as noted in the table found in the Appendix 4 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 4) are in reference to the former collocate and two cases (see lines 11 and 12 of Appendix 4) are related to the latter. As evident in the table, the collocate *mineiros* ("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. However, two other cases are related to collocates *Portugueses* ("Portuguese [people]") as in concordance lines 4 and 14 (see Appendix 4). 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 the case is, 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. 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:

1. *inha de valorização. Moçambique precisa de muitos operários a todos os níveis. 15 de Fevereiro de 1972 SE M*
[... Mozambique needs lots of labourers at all levels ...]
2. *sito, deveria ter industrializado seguidamente os operários da fábrica de queijos sobre a forma de “bem governar”*
[... should have thereafter industrialised the workers of the cheese factory as a means of “good governance” ...]
3. *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 2). 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 from which this statement was extracted reports on a group of provincial major’s visit to the Chocué factory in Mozambique. 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) the word *operário* is 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 a Mozambican worker who seemed to have had acquired some skills in the 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 realised that I was *operário*”), he implies that the category *operário* in the work industry may not be the lowest rank of classification. It was perhaps the second, or 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 that 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: 1, 2 and 3.

Interestingly, research conducted by Stubbs (1996) using collocates of a large corpus to investigate the use of the terms ‘work’ and ‘employ’ seems 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 that is described to be a “more productive kind such as well paid employment” (Stubbs 1996: 178). This includes bank workers, public servants, 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 illustrated in the findings of this study and it 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*.

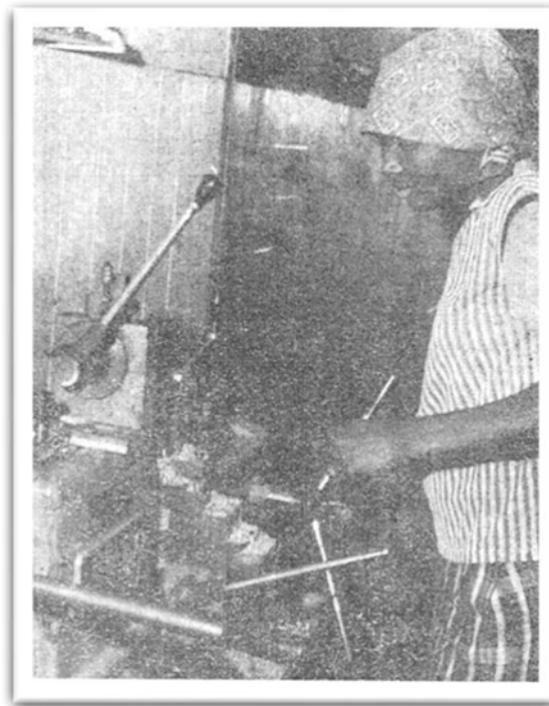


Figure 1: Lady Machine Operator (4 August 1970)

In this respect, the various labour categories stressed with regard to indigenous Mozambicans are justified by Ferreira (1974), quoting 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 2: Shoemaker Boy (16 May 1972)

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 also extend to visual communication.

In Figures 1 and 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 Figure 2. Starting with his gaze and posture, he is captured seated, smiling broadly and looking downwards, engrossed in his activity. The smile may suggest a 'demand image', which means that "the participant or actor demands something from the viewer" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996/2006: 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). 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 mainly on his actions as a shoemaker (i.e. on his labour), rather than on the boy himself.

What is also notable in the picture is the fact that the depicted boy's face is turned away from the viewers in what Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 154) describe as an 'offer' image, which contradicts the smile. Nevertheless, according to these scholars, 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, the above image suggests 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 results 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 attention (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 187). 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: 187) and the ‘new’ in this case provides us with a different explanation (something unknown or 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. 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 that 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”), reproduced as from the original. 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 that 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. This 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 5 for other collocates and MI score of each). These include: *mocidade* (“youth”), *soberania* (“sovereignty”), *administração* (“administration”), *comunidade* (“community”), and *bandeira* (“flag”). As can be noted, the use of *Portuguesa(s)* seems to occur more in its sense of Portuguese properties, perhaps excluding its overseas provinces. If so, a discourse of exclusionary is propagated here, thus establishing evident boundaries in respect of citizenship, possessions, etc. – coloniser versus colonised. These collocates appear to have a clear and strong collocational relationship with search terms 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 6 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 provincial *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.

Coversely, 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. These examples, according to Neocosmos (2008), are discourses of exceptionalism that 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. Perhaps more than 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 their 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 6 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 a 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; and (c) this improvement (which the author fails to pinpoint), will result in more schools opening in each Mozambican district for indigenous people. The author uses the phrase *pelo menos* (“at least”), which implies that they expect to

open more schools (two, three, four, a hundred? – nobody knows). Interestingly, 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* (“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 laborer. Its most primary meaning is regarded as a person engaged in work that requires bodily strength though here it may also suggest someone who needs some sort of skills or training of a kind thus a reason vocational schools are needed. 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 this kind of capability.

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, mean both workers/employees or even *profissões/competências* (“professions/skills”), which encompasses all kinds of skills; hence the choice of the 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 is at home [dealing with family matters]”). Her competence for this job is compromised by her domestic skills. 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 3: A Mozambican herdsman

The picture Figure 3 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 1 and 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 [There are also herdsmen in Mozambique 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, we suppose the author would have perhaps started the sentence with Ribatejo rather than Mozambique as suggested: *Tal como em Ribatejo, em Moçambique também existem campinos*. ("Just like in Ribatejo there are also herdsmen in Mozambique") or *Em Ribatejo e Moçambique existem campinos* ("Both 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 that characterises the country in terms of skills/labour. Besides, despite 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"². 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 regard 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 to which everything else is compared.

6. Conclusion

Overall, the study, using linguistic and non-linguistic approach, has shown that blacks are portrayed as providers of unskilled labour in this newspaper during the period in question, which was argued that it was ideologically motivated to suggest white moral and intellectual superiority over blacks. This is opposed to whites that are explicitly, being represented as in most cases, through implication that jobs that required intellectual capabilities were assigned to

² <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/677.pdf>. Accessed 13/08/2012

them. The move, of course, reinforces the point that black Mozambicans lacked knowledge, competence or skills to deal with jobs that required intellectual capabilities. Such negative representation of black Mozambicans at work place is strategically, as Machin and Mayr (2012) put, proclaimed by the newspaper in using 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.

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Appendices

Appendix 1, Frequency and Collocates for Workers

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</i>
<i>Operários</i>	3		–

Appendix 2, collocates of *Funcionários*

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 3, concordance lines of Funcionarios

FUNCIONARIOS

1	ão de Samora à população foi feita na presença de	funcionários	altos da Frelimo e do comandante Rosa Coutinho, o
2	a obrigatoriedade de fato e gravata para todos os	funcionários	bancários: a introdução de "guias de marcha" para
3	xigir determinada quantia em dólares, para que os	funcionários	bancários portugueses fossem autorizados a sair d
4	jornais sul-africanos "In Court" o nome de alguns	funcionários	da Frelimo por transferências ilegais ou apanhado
5	stou-se um grande desvio de fundos praticado por	funcionários	da APIE, na cidade da Beira, cujos dinheiros esta
6	os da Zâmbia, outros elementos do Governo e altos	funcionários	da Presidência da República da Zâmbia. Primeiras
7	icana. A Frelimo desconhece o paradeiro de alguns	funcionários	daquela secção da chamada " Administração do Parq
8	Cabora Bassa. 23 de Abril de 1979 Frelimo expulsa	funcionários	do Banco de Fomento Nacional Regressaram na seman
9	na semana passada quarta-feira a Lisboa todos os	funcionários	do Banco de Fomento Nacional colocados no departa
10	ções provenientes da capital moçambicana, aqueles	funcionários	do BFN foram expulsos pela Frelimo, estando a sua
11	esperava por discussões « mais frutuosas» com os	funcionários	portugueses , no próximo mês sobre os meios de p
12	exploração ou utilização através de um quadro de	funcionários	públicos e de algumas empresas capitalistas. Reti
13	gar enxada largos sectores da população incluindo	funcionários	públicos, estudantes e muitos outros milhares de
14	indicam que o conteúdo tem de ser analisado pelos	funcionários	que, de caminho, aproveitam para ler as missivas.
15	de algumas empresas capitalistas. Retiraram-se os	funcionários	vieram-se embora os raros colonos ou deixaram-se

Appendix 4, concordance lines of Trabalhadores

TRABALHADORES

1	Moçambique à Frelimo nada se promoveu a favor dos	trabalhadores.	Antes, pelo contrário, somos mais roubados". M
2	eologia burguesa dominante que influenciou ALGUNS	trabalhadores	"... Entre os produtos alimentares que escasseiam
3	er o que o governo português estava a fazer pelos	trabalhadores	". Mineiros há, que sempre se sentiram portugueses
4	CONTRO GOVERNANTES DE PAÍSES ONDE SE EMPREGAM	TRABALHADORES	PORTUGUESES OIÇO ESPONTÂNEOS LOUVOURES À NOSSA
5	cente-se que com a decisão de Samora os primeiros	trabalhadores	a sentirem o desemprego serão os do porto da Beir
6	o suborno dos guardas fronteiriços da Frelimo. Os	trabalhadores	acidentados que regressam a suas casas para conva
7	organizações afiliadas de obra especializada dos	trabalhadores	de Moçambique, a Frelimo pretende que aos salário
8	l". Trata-se de uma dupla tributação aplicada aos	trabalhadores	mineiros, em moeda estrangeira, a que determinada
9	TE DA FRELIMO CORRIDO À PEDRADA PELOS MINEIROS Os	trabalhadores	mineiros foram estacionados nas instalações minei
10	er cobrado obrigatoriamente aos mineiros e outros	trabalhadores	moçambicanos na África do Sul o chamado imposto d
11	boa, a Frelimo é um partido de vigaristas. Mas os	trabalhadores	moçambicanos sabem-no. 24 de Abril de 1978 REPRES
12	o contrário, somos mais roubados". Muitos são os	trabalhadores	nascidos em Moçambique que às minas sul-africanas
13	vidade reduzida e que, como resultado, muitos dos	trabalhadores	poderiam perder seus empregos temporariamente. Ac
14	encontro governantes de países onde se empregam	trabalhadores	portugueses, oiço espontâneos louvores à nossa ge
15	deslocou foi corrido à pedrada e à paulada pelos	trabalhadores,	prova mais do que insofismável de que estes nada
16	ara apagar o fogo e disse que "foi a actuação dos	trabalhadores	que se engajaram de imediato no combate ao incênd

Appendix 5, collocates of Portuguesa

Total No. of Collocate Types: 47

Total No. of Collocate Tokens: 336

1	3	3	0	958.189	mocidade
2	3	2	1	958.189	embaixada
3	5	4	1	909.646	soberania
4	2	0	2	899.693	chefiada
5	2	2	0	858.189	servem
6	2	2	0	858.189	multirracial
7	2	2	0	799.693	administração
8	2	2	0	777.453	expressão
9	5	5	0	765.589	sociedade
10	6	6	0	758.189	delegação
11	3	3	0	725.996	comunidade
12	2	0	2	699.693	chegou
13	3	3	0	691.892	província
14	4	4	0	688.145	nação
15	4	1	3	662.769	joanesburgo
16	2	2	0	658.189	companhia
17	2	2	0	633.396	acção
18	3	1	2	543.893	hoje
19	78	2	2	537.243	portuguesa
20	2	0	2	533.396	tinha
21	2	1	1	529.649	elementos
22	6	5	1	524.799	áfrica
23	3	1	2	510.076	ministro
24	3	0	3	495.740	era
25	2	0	2	485.397	esta
26	2	1	1	443.214	porque
27	2	1	1	441.196	ter
28	3	0	3	411.157	já
29	22	21	1	405.833	da
30	7	0	7	405.385	moçambique

Appendix 6, concordance lines of Portuguesa

1 itório da costa Oriental de África sob soberania	portuguesa	A embaixada portuguesa chegou	
2 e da cidade da Beira. Segundo a agência noticiosa	portuguesa		ANOP, que refere notícias de fonte particular, os
3 O COM UMA CRUZ NO BRAÇO, COM UM GRUPO DA MOCIDADE	PORTUGUESA		ATRAVESSANDO O RIO LIMPOMPO EM VILA JOÃO BELO. CO
4 de Manica, de 30 anos de idade e de nacionalidade	portuguesa.		Acusados pelos comunistas da Frelimo, de "alta t
5 O Presidente da República	Portuguesa,		Almirante Américo de Deus Rodrigues Tomás, dirij
6 andes Costa e esposa. 14 de Junho de 1972 A NAÇÃO	PORTUGUESA		COMEMOROU O SEU DIA NACIONAL O SANGUE LUSÍADA DER
7 S, PROFERIDAS NO JANTAR OFERECIDO PELA COMUNIDADE	PORTUGUESA		DE JOANESBURGO. JOANESBURGO – A comunidade portu
8 amanhã. AS FORÇAS MILITARES QUE SERVEM NA ÁFRICA	PORTUGUESA,		E QUE HOJE TEM CERCA DE METADE DOS SEUS EFFECTIVO
9 pelos horizontes acanhados da tauromaquia apeada	portuguesa.		E foi pena. Entretanto, quando sai à praça, José
10 um qualquer cidadão pode requerer a naturalização	portuguesa.		Em Moçambique e a filhos de portugueses, uma lei
11 em seguida sido saudado por filiados da Mocidade	Portuguesa		Feminina, que prestavam a guarda-de-honra ao ilus
12 Date???? A MULHER	PORTUGUESA	NA INDÚSTRIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE	
13 NVERGOU COM ENTUSIASMO A CAMISA VERDE DA MOCIDADE	PORTUGUESA.		NA GRAVURA QUE HOJE PUBLICAMOS PODE VER-SE O DR.
14 tanto proféticas dos ideais que fizeram a Nação	Portuguesa.		Não pensava Salazar que servisse a Humanidade a
15 ção de uma festa tão enroncada na melhor tradição	portuguesa.		O cartaz já foi anunciado. Na primeira corrida
16 ninguém neles contesta a sua integração na Nação	Portuguesa.		Percorre-se a Guiné, anda-se pela vastidão da te
17 elos caminhos pouco honrosos de uma política anti-	Portuguesa.		Por intermédio de uma "informação aos missionári
18 erdade e necessidade da estrutura cristã da Nação	Portuguesa.		Se, pois, com seriedade e boa fé, foi possível e
19 moral, aos princípios e às leis da administração	portuguesa.		Talvez que o homem primitivo, vivendo no seio da
20 nais, visto que só a bandeira e Portugal a língua	portuguesa,		a soberania portuguesa lhes dá personalidade e u
21 olongue para além do prematuro termo de soberania	portuguesa		a fim de que possa perdurar, naquela terra, pelos
22 resolver: a de extensão dos direitos da cidadania	portuguesa		aos brasileiros, em correspondência por reciproc
23 is dias, terminado nesta capital, com a delegação	portuguesa,		chefiada pelo ministro dos negócios estrangeiros
24 equipa composta por três elementos da delegação	portuguesa		chefiada pelo Dr. Mário Soares. O preside
25 erania portuguesa A embaixada	portuguesa		chegou a esta cidade 6:45 horas, tendo sido receb
26 dez contos por dia. " O Olhanense da II Divisão	portuguesa		chegou a oferecer-me 35 contos por mês e quase qu
27 que pode ser mostrada ao mundo como uma afirmação	portuguesa		com sentido universal»- declarou, ao chegar a Lis
28 viagem, o Dr. Mário Soares que chefia a delegação	portuguesa		concedeu momentos depois, uma conferência de imp
29 GUESA DE JOANESBURGO. JOANESBURGO – A comunidade	portuguesa		de joanesburgo, ofereceu na passada quinta-feira,
30 hia de Cimentos de Moçambique, de que a Companhia	Portuguesa		de Cimentos era a principal accionista. Está por
31 ricana encontrou, no que ainda é hoje a província	portuguesa		de Moçambique, um país verdejante e uma população
32 stas que foram implantadas na África de expressão	portuguesa?		22 de Maio de 1978 Frelimo tenta operação de sab
33 ra homenagear o mais alto magistrado da Província	portuguesa		de Moçambique, nesta sua visita oficial à África
34 todos aqueles milhares de portugueses entoaram a	Portuguesa.		31 de Julho de 1973 TEMOS DE ESTAR ATENTOS
35 do antigo preço da onça, ao governo da Província	portuguesa		de Moçambique que, por sua vez, creditava ao trab
36 al accionista. Está por isso, a primeiro ministro	portuguesa		de parabéns pelo belo " presente" que ofereceu a
37 clubes para saber das possibilidades de um dia a	Portuguesa		de Desportos ter Eusébio no seu ataque, nem que f
38 ma conferência de imprensa. O chefe da diplomacia	portuguesa		declarou que Lisboa aceitava o princípio da auto
39 para a África do Sul e aqui representar a equipa	portuguesa		do Lusitano. A informação foi-nos dada por Gabrie
40 da Companhia Industrial da Matola, de propriedade	portuguesa		e que era a maior indústria de produtos alimentar
41 uma comissão mista do COPCON, a famosa " Gestapo"	portuguesa,		da Frelimo que se encontra revelando fotografi
42 , a grande Nação que sempre foi. Essa é a vocação	portuguesa		Portugal deixará de ser Portugal se não for ist
43 rou uma fotografia, género postal, com a bandeira	portuguesa		e a foto de Salazar, o qual rasgou em virtude de
44 overnos. As forças militares que servem na África	portuguesa,		e que hoje têm cerca de metade dos seus efectivo
45 que. Mas como começou o caso? Durante a soberania	portuguesa,		porque o Governo chegou à conclusão que a verd
46 sim fosse – uma campanha de denegrimento da acção	portuguesa		em Moçambique, sobretudo no que respeita à acção
47 vizinhos. Quando quiser fazer o balanço da acção	portuguesa		em Moçambique deve partir-se da miséria e da nude
48 ta aos leitores uma panorâmica da posição militar	portuguesa		em Moçambique. Os leitores de
49 que se pretendem alcançar. Para destruir a África	Portuguesa		era necessário, na opinião dos países "nossos ini
50 , e acho que até o Mundial da Alemanha a selecção	portuguesa		estará novamente apta a brilhar. Como em 1966, na
51 por certo, modificar muito do que a administração	portuguesa		fez de bom em Moçambique. Mas não os aldeamentos
52 iça. Como primeiro servidor da nova sociedade	portuguesa,		já legitimada pela inequívoca adesão do povo à l
53 nte de confiança mútua. « A delegação	portuguesa		levou consigo elementos que constituirão a base p
54 deira e Portugal a língua portuguesa, a soberania	portuguesa		lhes dá personalidade e unidade; não existindo es
55 posição de único órgão de imprensa de expressão	portuguesa		na África do Sul e Rodésia. N
56 escalar Kartum e Nairobi. Aguardavam a Embaixada	portuguesa		o Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros da Zâmbia, o
57 nção de raças ou de cor. Queremos que a sociedade	portuguesa,		onde quer que esteja na Europa, na África, na Á
58 a para a capital suazi num táxi aéreo. Na capital	portuguesa		onde já tinha a família, Pereira Leite viria a pe
59 rapidamente construirmos a sociedade multirracia	portuguesa,		para erguermos neste mundo divisões e de ódios,
60 de Portugal no ano de 1971. Tem a opinião pública	portuguesa		podido acompanhar, através dos diferentes órgãos
61 da no Songo. Em Lisboa, um porta-voz da companhia	portuguesa		proprietária de Cabo Bassa confirmou que os forne
62 o território. « Achamos que a delegação	portuguesa		pôde apreciar concretamente a nossa capacidade de
63 o rio fronteiras como que um alerta numa presença	portuguesa		que jamais será retirada porque jamais Portugal d
64 mportantes assuntos relacionados com a comunidade	Portuguesa		residente no território do Indico. Profundamente
65 Momentos ápos a chegada em Lusaka da delegação	portuguesa,		seguiu-se uma conferência de empresa durante a
66 ão não demasiado brusca, queremos que a sociedade	portuguesa		seja uma só, uma sociedade em que homens de qualq
67 cujos antigos hangares, deixados pela Força Aérea	portuguesa,		serviam de armazém para equipamento e munições.
68 ornalista. Resposta de Mário Soares : « Da parte	portuguesa		significa a vitória do bom senso e da paz. Rel
69 s no departamento que aquela instituição bancária	portuguesa		tinha em Lourenço Marques. Segundo informações pr
70 rior para receber os representantes da autoridade	portuguesa		à porta do veículo que os transportava, hoje não
71 imento, com as quais podem provar ter ascendência	portuguesa		àqueles que duvidem que estes jovens não tenham a
72 , clara e vivamente, ao prof. Silva Cunha, quanto	portuguesa		é toda esta mole de gente que no seu calor de aco
73 . A construção pacífica de sociedade multirracia	portuguesa		é a única via que leva a resultados constructivos
74 mos unidos em comunhão de serviço porque a Pátria	Portuguesa		é obra de Mortos e de Vivos, por ser feita de tem