

ARTICLE

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE AND THE INCULCATION OF STEREOTYPES FROM AN EARLY AGE¹

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ABSTRACT: The Portuguese colonial regime used textbooks and other educational means to disseminate its ideologies of white supremacy. This was enacted in order to better subjugate the colonized in their African, so-called 'overseas provinces'. This paper attempts to establish that the majority of the social native extract in the African colonial Lusophone, particularly in Angola and Guinea-Bissau was entrenched in systematic stereotyping during *Estado Novo* [New State] (1933-1974). This was achieved through using textbooks to inculcate values and the culture of subservience in indigenous children from an early school-going age. The study employs the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to analyse data. The results have demonstrated that the Angolan and Guinean indigenous people as humans, in essence, were only fit for manual labour, as patent in the textbooks analyzed, undermining the cultural values of this group represented as inexperienced and therefore undeserving, to a certain extent, to do those so-called 'intellectual jobs', while whites are legitimately shown as superior and had the right to enslave the inferior.

Keywords: *Estado Novo*, Portuguese colonial regime, Textbooks, Stereotypes, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

O IMPÉRIO COLONIAL PORTUGUÊS E A INCULCAÇÃO DE ESTEREÓTIPOS DESDE A TENRA IDADE ESCOLAR

RESUMO: O regime colonial português utilizou livros escolares e outros meios educativos para divulgar as suas ideologias de supremacia branca. Isto foi promulgado para melhor subjugar os colonizados nas suas chamadas “províncias ultramarinas” africanas. Este artigo tenta estabelecer que a maior parte do extrato social nativo dos países lusófonos em África, particularmente Angola e Guiné Bissau, no período colonial, estava enraizado em estereótipos sistemáticos. Isto foi conseguido através da utilização de livros didáticos no Estado Novo para inculcar valores e a cultura de subserviência às crianças indígenas desde a mais tenra idade escolar. O estudo emprega a Abordagem Histórico-Discursiva (DHA, sigla em inglês) para analisar os dados. Os resultados demonstram que os povos indígenas angolanos e guineenses, enquanto humanos, na sua essência, estavam aptos apenas para o trabalho manual, como é patente nos

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manuais escolares analisados, desvalorizando estes grupos culturais representados como inexperientes e, por isso, indignos, em certa medida, de realizar os chamados "trabalhos intelectuais". Os brancos por outro lado, são legitimamente mostrados como superiores e que tinham o direito de escravizar os inferiores.

Palavras-chave: Estado Novo, Regime colonial português, Manuais escolares, Estereótipos, Angola e Guiné Bissau.

EL IMPERIO COLONIAL PORTUGUÉS Y LA INCULCACIÓN DE ESTEREOTIPOS DESDE LA TEMPRANA EDAD

RESUMEN: El régimen colonial portugués utilizó libros de texto y otros medios educativos para difundir sus ideologías de supremacía blanca. Esto se hizo con el fin de subyugar mejor a los colonizados en sus provincias africanas, las llamadas "provincias de ultramar". Este artículo intenta establecer que la mayoría del extracto social nativo en el África colonial lusófona, particularmente en Angola y Guinea Bissau, estaba arraigado en estereotipos sistemáticos durante el Estado Novo [Nuevo Estado] (1933-1974). Esto se logró mediante el uso de libros de texto en el Estado Novo [Nuevo Estado] para inculcar valores y la cultura de la sumisión en los niños indígenas desde una edad escolar temprana. El estudio emplea el Enfoque Discursivo-Histórico (DHA) para analizar los datos. Los resultados demuestran que los pueblos indígenas angolanos y guinenses, como humanos, en su esencia, estaban aptos apenas para el trabajo manual, como es visto en los manuales escolares analizados, desvalorizando estos grupos culturales representados como inexperientes y por eso, indignos, en cierta medida, de realizar los chamados "trabajos intelectuales". Los blancos por demás, son legitimamente mostrados como superiores y tenían el derecho de esclavizar a los inferiores.

Palabras clave: Estado Nuevo, régimen colonial portugués, libros de texto, estereotipos, Angola y Guinea Bissau.

["The conqueror writes history. They came. They conquered and they wrote. Now, you do not expect people who came to invade us to write the truth about us. They will always write negative things about us." Miriam Makeba]

INTRODUCTION

In his book, entitled 'The Destruction of Black Civilization', Williams (1974) poses some noteworthy questions to many black folks; I suppose this poses no challenge for most white fascists. He says: 'The big unanswered question is, 'what happened?' 'How was this highly advanced African civilization completely destroyed that its people in our time, and for some centuries in the past, have found themselves not only behind in development compared to the other peoples of the world, but even the colour of their skin was a sign of inferiority, bad luck and the badge of the slave, whether in bonds or freed?' Let us then start reasoning, though this is only a trivial fraction of the bigger answer, and argue that since the nineteenth century, for example, the "school was transformed into an ideological

instrument to be of service to instituted power, and as such, it was organised to convey the most central and ardent ideas inherent to the political regime” (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021, p.2).

Consequently, contemporary “textbooks continue to deploy a colonial vocabulary, sanitized and depoliticized, that portray slavery as a normal practice of 'those times'” (Araujo & Maeso, 2012, p.153). Consider Angola and most ex-colonies of Portugal on the African continent, vital spheres, including education, are still ruled by Portuguese experts, who, for convenience, tackle colonial historiography with disinterest, in order to avoid defaming the colourful narratives of the so-called 'civilization mission' or rather what Araujo and Maeso (2012) term as 'the golden age of the discoveries'. This goes without saying that most school textbooks and manuals used in public schools in Angola are either exclusively produced through Portuguese expertise or the Angolan Ministry of Education together with Portuguese advisors. Of course, this prompts a similar question, perhaps as important as that of Chancellor Williams'. How is it possible that nearly half a century after independence, we still find textbooks and education policies which have sustained an aura of the celebration of Portuguese Eurocentric idealism?

This question is irrefutably an imperative call for the colonized to take deep reflection on the epitomes of the colonial regime in order to find answers for the current educational system that remains subjected to the legacies of the Western curriculum and its cultural knowledge. As we write these introductory notes, the debate about the decolonization of education (see the work of Achille Mbembe, 'Decolonizing knowledge and the Question of the Archive') is gaining momentum on the African continent and in other nations of the Global South. Whereas this is the case, the success of this prodigious endeavour, which many colonized nations are embarking on, lies largely in “understanding the complexities of educational discourse, policies and practices of colonial contexts in precisely the same way that we need to understand the entanglements of education policy discussion at the present” (Kallaway, 2020, p.32). It is also worth recognizing that the colonial knowledge system and Eurocentrism have not been sufficiently questioned, let alone transformed (Heleta, 2018). Besides, to understand the problems that currently confront the development and provision of a sustainable education for all in Sub-Saharan Africa, and here we particularize the ex-colonies of Portugal, and why a new paradigm is needed, it is helpful to take a brief look at the real root causes of those problems (Kivunja, 2017). This act, we suppose, might help us move away from the mental and epistemological colonization under which we live (Muhongo, 2019).

This paper explores the stereotypical portrayal of blacks in primary school textbooks used in Angola and Guinea-Bissau during the era of the *Estado Novo* [New State] political system (1933 to 1974). We endeavour to show how these textbooks supported colonial ideologies; from an early school-going age, they indoctrinated the indigenous people about the subservient role of blacks as well as their inferiority under white rule. Our interest in exploring stereotypes in textbooks during this specific period lies in the fact that this is the epoch, without subverting other historical episodes, when “state ideology was *grossly* produced and reproduced through school curricula and other means, included textbooks, discourse and iconography” (Cruz, 2007, pp. 396-7). Moreover, national values to citizens through public education were nowhere more pervasive than during the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (Cruz, 2007).

Roberts-Schweitzer et al. (2006) highlight the importance of revising textbooks in the aftermath of an authoritarian *or oppressive* regime, as these scholars claim that issues related to the portrayal of history remain unaddressed. The hope is to start a hillside of academic hares and stimulate a fuller pursuit of enquiry into the relationship between imperialism, culture and curriculum, in the belief that the past is part of the present (Mangan, 1993). In addition, as the official and therefore privileged tools of instruction, appraising *colonial textbooks* provides a reliable way of capturing the ideas and images that political and cultural elites wished to impress upon the nation's youth. An analysis of their content can give us an interesting window through which to observe the worldview of citizens as they were shaped in their early years of education (Cruz, 2007, p.400).

Apart from the aims previously discussed, this work also serves a dual purpose, as a reflection and as a warning sign concerning the general bias found in current school textbooks used in the Angolan education system as a consequence of the colonial legacy.

THE *ESTADO NOVO* (NEW STATE) 1933-1974

On 28 May 1926, a military coup ended the unstable First Portuguese Republic (1910–1926) and established a dictatorship that was to last until 1974 (Gori, 2018; Gomes, 2018); the government was overthrown by a coup d'état known as the 25 April Revolution (also known as the Carnation Revolution). The New State is the designation given to the period between 1933 and 1974. This political period represented change for Portugal (*including for its African overseas Provinces*), in which the *Estado Novo* progressively defined and consolidated itself as follows: political opposition parties were banned, political police and a civilian paramilitary force were created, a corporatist economy was adopted and mass organisations and a system of propaganda were established (Gori, 2018, see also Hamann & Manuel, 1999). This was executed to nurture oppression against the indigenous¹ people in the so-called overseas provinces of Portugal.

¹ The term, *indigenous*, in the context of this work means those of the black race or descent. Therefore, those who cannot be distinguished through enlightenment and customs from the common of that race. Indigenous also means coloured (including black and mulatto individuals), natives of the Provinces (overseas provinces of Portugal) and those who are living therein, who, in their moral and intellectual development, have not distanced themselves from the common of their race (Colonial Act of 1909 and 1917 in Zamparoni 2008, p.24-25).

From 1933 to 1968, Portugal was fiercely ruled by António de Oliveira Salazar, the President of the Ministers' Council (the equivalent of Prime Minister). During his rule, for example, political parties and labour unions were outlawed, the press was ruthlessly censored, and the economy was controlled by a few state-favoured oligarchs. He also repressed all forms of opposition. Furthermore, the secret police, inspired by the Gestapo, sent suspected dissidents to the infamous Tarrafal prison in Cape Verde. It is no surprise that the refusal of Salazar to yield to UN pressure that Portugal negotiate independence for its colonies resulted in a war for independence in most of its African colonial territories after 1960 (Cruz, 2007, p. 399).

The advent of the New State in the 1930s heralded the systematization and perfection of the longstanding purpose of imperial nationalism. One of its main ideologues was the formation of an *imperial mystique*, a strong ideological movement, which led to the widespread inculcation of an imperial mentality in Portuguese society – via propaganda, exhibitions, conferences (for the general public and for the experts), journals and publications, new school curricula, etc. This was mandatory, constituting another distinctive trait of Portuguese imperial existence. Imperialistic narratives were reworked to emphasize Portugal as a major power and a colonial empire spread across the globe, popularizing the saying “from the Minho to Timor.” In school books, Portugal's colonial possessions were superimposed on maps of Europe, from the Mediterranean to Russia, to underline that Portugal was not 'a small country' (Pinto & Jerónimo, 2015, p.11).

During the rule of the *Estado Novo*, argues Minter (1972), there were several policies such as 'non-racial' (multiracial) which opened up the way for 'miscegenation', or a 'unified Portuguese society', to mention but a few; this was meant to foster the notion of a 'Portuguese Nation'. Of course, it was hoped the approach would create equal opportunities for all. Miserably, this proved to be a great delusion for indigenous people. As an example, illiteracy rates in the 1950s in Angola were over 95 per cent, and Africans were still judged by the colour of their skin and not for who they were in terms of capabilities; that is why it was difficult, if not impossible, for blacks to become assimilated (Portuguese citizens). Moreover, Africans have been considered primarily as slaves, naturally inferior and only suited for manual labour (Minter, 1972).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The number of scholars and studies that are devoted to textbook analysis in the context of colonialism has increased worldwide over the last few decades particularly in the Global South hemisphere (i.e., see work of Purwana, 2018; Utami, 2021, Amasia Magnusson, 2023). Whereas each has its own agenda, they are fervently committed to addressing colonial legacies such as Eurocentrism,

racism, and historical unrealities, to mention but a few. These concepts are still institutionalized in the curriculum and school textbooks and thrive in Angola and other Portuguese colonized countries in Africa in the era of post-independence and post-colonialism.

Certainly, it is the case with the work of Mangan (1993), which explored stereotypes in the curriculum and textbooks from the British imperial perspective. These stereotypes, according to Mangan, “existed to manipulate reality to reflect imperial values, ambitions and priorities and to promote them as proper, necessary, and constructive: imperialism required a carefully crafted image of the colonizer and of the colonized” (1993, p.6). As such, the education in imperial schools aimed to shape those who were ruled into patterns of proper subservience and ‘legitimate’ inferiority, and, in turn, to develop in the rulers a conviction about the certain benevolence and ‘legitimate’ superiority of their rule (Mangan, 1993). Lilly's work, 'The black African in Southern Africa: Images in British School Geography books', established that in a typical textbook, the term ‘peoples’, is assumed to be a description that refers to whites, were given scant attention, and when mentioned, they were seen as agents of economic and commercial processes, the producers of commodities (Lilly, 2010). This, of course, is opposed to the employment of adjectives such as 'barbarian' and 'tribes' to methodically describe blacks, which, according to Lilly, “bolstered racial imagery of the time and reinforced European prejudices” (Lilly, 2010, p. 44).

In addition, Coolahan (2010), who analysed textbooks in the context of the Irish people under British rule, described a different kind of behaviour, as gleaned from the British textbooks by stressing that racial prejudices seemed to be avoided, though in some cases were implicitly implied. He argues that the planned omission of material relating to the Irish cultural heritage and environment, which may have been aimed at fostering a *déraciné* outlook among pupils, might just prove that. Coolahan holds that it was notable that the Irish people “were equated with backwardness” (2010, p.58). To stress the stereotypical portrayal imposed on the Irish people by the British Empire, the scholar concludes, saying that “virtually every country in Europe had its equivalent of white negro” (see Curtis cited in Coolahan, 2010, p.57). It is worth stressing here that racial stereotypes of the Irish people appeared mostly in many popular newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, literature, and political cartoons. Whilst this is the case, textbooks closed the bonds which existed between Britain and Ireland as the centre of the mighty British Empire (Coolahan, 2010).

In the case of researchers exploring textbooks related to the Portuguese Empire, it is significant to acknowledge the work of Margarida Felgueiras, 'Repercussions of the Empire in the Portuguese Education (1906-1951). Breaking new ground in a little explored field. What makes this work noteworthy is its temporal configuration; the work draws from both the First Republic and the *Estado Novo* (Dictatorship). The research examines visual images in the Portuguese textbooks and manuals used to teach indigenous Angolan children. The study, which covers a period of 45 years, drew some interesting conclusions based on stereotypes:

- (i) Blacks were depicted as cheap labourers and as not belonging to the same class as their white Portuguese counterparts;
- (ii) White cultural identity was presented as superior to the culture of natives, which in turn fuelled racism;
- (iii) White ancestors were deemed as heroes, wise men, sailors, soldiers, and missionaries, who magnified the Portuguese Nation.

These findings uphold the perspective of Ferreira and Garcia (2021), who maintain that textbooks have been the guardians of the dominant culture of a given historical period and have been subjected to political, as well as religious regulations. In this vein, it is pertinent to bring forth the work of those scholars who explored the discursive content and images in the textbooks used by children in Portuguese and Spanish schools during the dictatorial regimes of Salazar in the former and Franco in the latter. Whereas the focus of their work was not primarily on stereotypes, it demonstrated that “textbooks for the first three years of schooling are profoundly ideological” and that they “promoted ideas dear to the dictatorial regime” (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021, p.5), such as showing Portugal from a geographical, historical and cultural point of view. From a historical and geographical point of view, the textbooks

presented the grandeur triumphs of the Portuguese Empire; it was depicted as conquering huge swathes of land across continents. This was enacted by Portuguese ancient heroes and heroines, among them Vasco da Gama, D. Afonso Henriques, namely the first King of Portugal, and even the dictator, Antonio Salazar, to mention but a few. From the cultural point of view, as far as the colonized groups were concerned, the white culture appeared to be the only and ideal model to follow.

Interestingly, not a single black person is included in the list of heroes, implicitly suggesting that the black population did not have a hero of their own, on the one hand, and further implies that the indigenous peoples are useless, on the other hand. This, of course, reinforces the idea put forward by Ferreira and Garcia (2021), that in primary education textbooks, attention was paid to strengthening the component that was most related to the imagery of Portuguese identity. It is notable that textbooks favoured the values of Catholic doctrine and nationalism. As these scholars clearly articulate, the practice of indoctrination is constant in the educational dynamics of schools in the *Estado Novo* (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021, p.5).

Comparing the two textbooks that are analysed in this study, *O meu primeiro livro de Leitura da 1ª classe*, published by the *Governo da Província da Guiné* in 1972, and *O livro do 3º ano do Ensino Primário Rural*, published by the *Governo Geral de Angola*, to the textbooks examined by Felgueiras (2023) and Ferreira and Garcia (2021), it appears that there were some differences. Nevertheless, it seems that former textbooks (*O meu primeiro livro de Leitura da 1ª classe* and *O livro do 3º ano do Ensino Primário Rural*) were exclusively designed for these overseas provinces and, as such, the “pedagogical concerns tended to be centred” entirely on the comparison (based on stereotyping) between blacks and whites, “fostering values such as subservience” (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021, pp. 14 and 17). Conversely, the latter textbook (examined by Felgueiras and two other scholars) covered more of a general context, without necessarily and exclusively aligning itself to a specific cultural group(s). While this is so, it is clear that all textbooks examined were ideologically driven and one way or the other, they all had the common goal of showing off white supremacy and the power of the Portuguese Empire.

Cruz's (2016) work examined the discourse of political and cultural features of Portuguese national consciousness apparent in elementary school manuals and textbooks on Portuguese and history during the *Estado Novo*. According to Cruz, these discourses, disseminated through textbooks, served the purpose of amassing support for the dictatorial regime, as well as its policies. This work “established how education based on colonial ideology shaped political and social order” (Cruz, 2016, pp. 397-8). One of their important findings pointed to positive discourses (for the Portuguese people) that proclaimed the glories of expansionism and discovery of new lands, thus portraying a common cultural and linguistic heritage with Portugal, which was, of course, placed at the centre stage in this narrative (Cruz, 2016). In addition, according to the scholar, it was patent that the re-invention of the colonial discourse, inculcated by Salazar's educational system, was the replacement of the extended colonial empire through the concept of Lusophony.

METHODOLOGY

As stated elsewhere, this paper explores the stereotypical portrayal of blacks in the primary school textbooks that were published during the *Estado Novo* political system (1933 to 1974). To do so, we sourced and examined two primary school textbooks, *O meu Livro de leitura da 1ª classe: Governo da Província da Guiné* and *O livro do 3º ano do Ensino Primário Rural Portugal: Governo Geral de Angola*. These textbooks (for grades 1 and 3), were published by the Portuguese Government for *Terras Ultramarinas* [Portuguese Overseas Provinces] in Guinea and Angola, in 1972 and 1963, respectively. They were sourced from the Portuguese Digital Library archives. Although it might be an insignificant detail, these textbooks were published at the time the British and the French Empires had decolonized most of their colonies and at the time that the war for the liberation struggle in the Portuguese overseas provinces had already started. Out of curiosity and perhaps for reflection purposes, one could ask the question as to why the Portuguese did not change the way they portrayed blacks, even when the loss of their overseas provinces was imminent.

Data analysis

Since the analysis of a textbook can be a complex venture, we employed the Discourse – Historical Approach (DHA) to help us. The DHA is one of many theoretical and methodological approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); it is multifaceted. This approach focuses on multiple genres, large data corpora and on argumentative, rhetorical and pragmatic interdisciplinary analysis, while integrating multiple layers of socio-political and historical contexts in order to theorize dimensions of social change and identity politics. Like its counterpart CDA, three concepts figure indispensably in the DHA and in all CDA: the concepts of *critique*, of *power*, and of *ideology* (Wodak, 2009). This fact makes it relevant for this work because the DHA adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of Critical Theory, and one of the aims of the DHA (and of all CDA) is to “demystify” discourses by deciphering ideologies (Wodak, 2009). It is worthy to say that discourse in the DHA is defined as being related to a macro-topic and to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity which involves social actors who have different points of view, a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action and socially constituted as well as socially constitutive (Wodak, 2009).

We close this section by stressing that DHA, according to Wodak (2009), was developed for a study that sought to trace in detail the constitution of anti-Semitic stereotyped images, as they emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign and in many other similar studies. Being the case, employing DHA is the right choice (for further reading on DHA please consult Wodak's work, *The Semiotics of Racism: A Critical Discourse-Historical Analysis*). Finally, we want to say that we evaluated the textbooks according to the most prominent discourses from which themes were drawn. Although it was not an easy task, since it was a challenging venture to draw clear lines between some themes, we managed to identify two prominent ones, namely '*Stereotyping through education*' and '*Stereotyping using profession*'.

Limitations of the study

Analyzing textbooks is an intricate task, and there is always a tendency to unintentionally emphasizing certain aspects whilst de-emphasizing others. We suppose, one of the limitations is based on the fact that by drawing two themes from perhaps a vast range of perspectives, we ran the risk of focusing on limited aspects of the textbooks, “which might *have* resulted in a lack of diversity in the analysis” (Magnusson, 2023, p.19).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As noted in Table 1, two primary school textbooks (for grades 1 and 3) are under analysis viz., *O meu Livro de leitura da 1ª classe: Governo da Província da Guiné* and *O livro do 3º ano do Ensino Primário Rural Portugal: Governo Geral de Angola*. The former has 103 pages and 68 images (here we only count pictures that depict human beings), whilst the latter contains 98 pages and 20 images. Also, from the 68 images 34 represent black people, whereas two depict white people, and from the 20 images, 10 portray black people and five whites, as per their profession respectively.

Table 1 – Findings from the examined textbooks

| Textbook title | Number of pictures (depicting professions) validated | FINDINGS | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|
| | | Pictures depicting professions for blacks / per time they appear | Pictures depicting professions for whites / per time they appear | Images depicting black and white on the same page |
| <i>O meu primeiro livro de leitura-1ª classe</i> | 43 | (i) domestic worker x 8; (ii) farmer x 5; (iii) shepard x3; (iv) nurse x 3; (v); informal business people x3 (vi) fisherman x 2 (vii) carpenter x 2; Others: student, taylor, builder, & helper (builder) x 1 | (i) teacher x 2, (ii) student, buyer, builder, medical doctor x 1 | 14 pictures: (shepherd boy and farmer vs. student; student vs. teacher; soldier vs. soldier; informal vendor vs. buyer; nurse vs. teacher; buyer vs. shop owner; nurse vs. doctor; shop owner (low rent) vs. nobody buying; students vs. students) |
| <i>O livro do 3º ano: Ensino Primario Rural Portugal</i> | 6 pictures | (i) nurse, carpenter, shepard, domestic worker x 1 | (i) shepard x 2 | - |

Source: Author based on data from textbooks.

Remarkably, the number of pictures in the textbooks under analysis, exhibiting black people in various professions, outnumber that of their white counterparts. Also, there is an excessive number of pictures portraying black and white people, pictured together, with white people always portrayed as doing the most complex job, while the black people are confined to manual labour. This setup in the textbook perhaps enlightens us about the argument of Zamparoni (2008) that states struggle for social inclusion and, most especially, for employment opportunities, was carried on in conformity with the racial bases set forth by colonialism that established a system in which whites were against blacks and mulattoes, and mulattoes against blacks.

These textbooks explore various themes, predominantly socio-political, educational and historical. In terms of the political-historical theme, the focus is on Portugal as a giant nation, with emphasis on its Overseas territories (and with prominence given to the Luso-African nations), and the rich cultures (exhibiting a disguised multicultural state). It is common to see pictures of white and black soldiers together, engaged in farming activities, helping black ladies or building low-rent houses for black local communities. It is also common to see black people engaging with whites, but in most cases, whites are portrayed as being in a position of power (superiority), i.e., teacher versus student, to mention but a few examples. Texts such as *Nossa Patria* [Our Motherland], displayed below, shows a picture of black and white soldiers, or under a picture of white and black students, singing the national anthem in school yards. In most cases, white students are portrayed as playing a bigger role, holding the Portuguese flag, or leading other students. Overall, these images suggest stereotypical representations, where black cultural groups are downgraded through images, and in most cases, implicitly exhibited.

It is crucial to state that during the *Estado Novo*, a single book was instituted, inspired by the Italian model, typical of a highly centralised education system. Single elementary school books only transmit values defended by the *Estado Novo*: they pay special attention to country life, (to the detriment of city life), to heroes and figures from the history of Portugal, to rulers (to the head of state, Salazar), to national

symbols (flag and anthem), to the family and to the church (Solé, 2014, p.46). These textbooks were also extended to the Overseas Provinces.

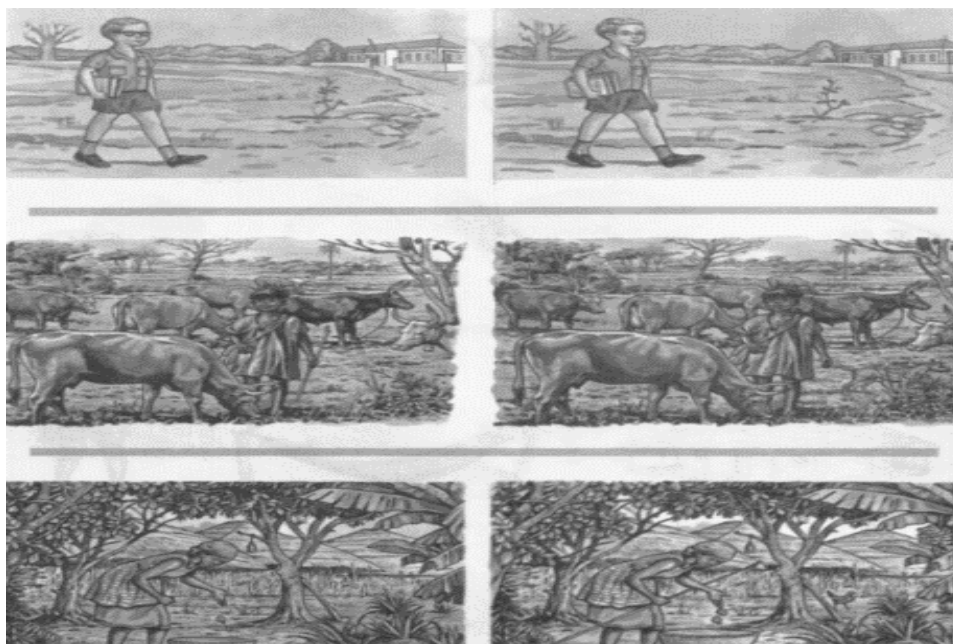
Stereotyping black folk using a narrative of educated and uneducated

The picture in Figure 1, below, shows a very interesting set-up; a white boy image, at the top, is depicted as going to school while the black boy and a lady at the centre and bottom are illustrated as caring for the cattle and doing what appears to be washing, respectively. Similar images, as shown in the subsequent figures, illustrate how blacks are engaged in menial jobs. Throughout the textbook, we can see how the images purposefully show how certain professions are reserved for this group. This is opposed to the case of whites, who are shown as being more inclined to engage in school activities. This brings forth two important themes in the textbooks, 'work' and 'education', suggesting that one group should dedicate itself to education and the other to labour. As mentioned elsewhere, labour laws were instituted by the then government, which reinforced these images as displayed in the textbooks. The position of images presupposes prominence since, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), they have different informational values. Interestingly, and as noted, the three images are part of the same picture, thus set up in a single image, though separated by blank space and thin lines. Besides, the image is purposely duplicated as if to highlight the negative representation of black people and the positive portrayal of white people. Perhaps it is worth to say that “during the Estado Novo (1933-1974), the school was considered a privileged institution for the formation of the submissive man that the new principles demanded” (Solé, 2014,p.46).

Moreover, though ideas are proposed that black people could be students too, i.e., one image in which a verbal text indicates the black teenager is going to school, but strangely without anything that suggests as such, for instance, a school uniform and bag, books, notebook, etc. Also, in situations where black students were exposed, they had a white teacher, not a black as if suggesting that teaching profession was reserved for whites only. As a matter of fact, the disposition only confirms Tanga's argument that “indigenous did not have the same rights as those of whites” (2012, p.14). It is also crucial to recognize that there were two educational policies altogether viz. the Elementary education and the Main Education, the former for blacks and the latter for whites. The objectives of the two teaching streams were truly different, as were the pedagogical processes (Tanga, 2012, p. 28).

Besides, the education system of indigenous people was divided into two: rudimentary and professional education. In the latter, focused on learning manual work, there was special attention given to girls, who should, in addition to learning a trade, receive training so that they could become excellent housewives, or even domestic servants (Ribeiro, 2015). Interestingly, for instance, for as much as a black student wished to become a teacher, it was almost an unattainable dream given the rigid rules imposed to black people. These arguments by Tanga and Ribeiro explain various representations of black and white people.

Figure 1-A picture showing a school-goer boy (white), a shepherd boy(black) and a domestic worker (black)



Source: Livro de leitura da 1ª Classe

What is striking is the fact that the white boy's picture appears right at the top, whereas others are underneath. In terms of prominence, normally, what comes below is less important, and what comes on top is more important. This set of images thus suggests that the white boy's status is far superior to that of his black counterparts.

In Figure 2 (see below), a girl is depicted helping a lady, apparently her mother, with tailoring work. The girl's picture also suggests that she is learning the profession. To emphasise Ribeiro's (2015) viewpoint, the education system of indigenous highlighted that women, in particular, should learn manual work as well as provide them with training in order for them to become traders and exceptional housewives or domestic workers. Probably both the girl and the lady are being prepared to engage in one or even both tasks. Remarkably, both images contrast with the picture of the white boy.

Figure 2 – An image of apparently a mother teaching her daughter to learn the tailoring profession



Source: Livro do 1ª Classe

Out of curiosity, one should wonder 'why the black boy (depicted in Picture 1) and girl (Picture 2) are not illustrated as going to school as does their white boy counterpart?' What message is this

setting trying to convey to the target readership of textbooks, who, in this context, are both young girls and boys, all school-goers? To answer this question, Noré (2003) explicates that the white Portuguese always believed that indigenous people had lots of defects: they were a bunch of drunkards, and they did not incline to study. In addition, Noré argues that for the colonialist, these behaviours should be combated and moulded at specific schools for blacks, by means of moral education, in this case through labour. Mangan (1993), agrees, and deems that the major purpose of this education was to inculcate in the children appropriate attitudes of dominance and deference.

Furthermore, Mikander (2015) and Merry (2005) explain that the selective and effective portrayal of the white boy and black girl and black boy is age-appropriate for moral instruction and indoctrination. Thus, the logical premise has to be that a textbook placed in front of a child for a year or more always has some potential to persuade (Lilly, 2010). Lilly further reckons that if the textbook was biased, then both teacher and child were at its mercy.

Having said this, “historically, textbooks have often played the role of introducing and strengthening stereotypes”, thus we should never downplay the “role school textbooks play in the epistemic construction” (Mikander, 2015, p.50), legitimization of white exceptionalism and superiority and the black subservient role. Cruz (2007) makes an interesting point in this regard. He avers that when Portugal was a colonial power, it never had an educational policy for the colonies, and the policy of non-education was a means to control indigenous populations. On the other hand, this justifies the argument of Matasci et.al. (2020, p. 2), namely that it often promoted a concept of “education through labour,” intermingled with arguments of African purported laziness and idleness, which governed the European perspective of African populations during colonial times (Matasci et.al. 2020, p.2). According to Betts (1985), such rhetoric was reinforced with cultural and racial superiority attitudes which were regularly given expression in descriptions of the African as childlike or ‘non-adult’.

Whatever the case may be, the education for blacks was meant to only teach them how to read, write and count through the Portuguese language. After all, as Zamparoni (2002, p.465) fairly puts it, “native people who do not know how to write and read in the Portuguese language should count him/herself out of the civilization world and therefore should not expect to be treated as a civilized person” (see Zamparoni 2002, p.465). Intriguingly, what Zamparoni means here is that blacks should only be afforded human treatment once they prove to be skilled in those mentioned areas; otherwise, they should rather consider themselves servants, a status far distant from that of the assimilationist approach. Nevertheless, the truth is that not even education was enough to save blacks from being labelled with all types of stereotypes.

From 1930 onwards, *the New State* made race separation official by institutionalizing different levels of education based on the student’s skin colour (Zamparoni, 2002, p.459); this made it almost impossible for blacks to acquire formal education in Lusophone Africa. As a matter of fact, Duffy (1963) contends that Africans were provided with *Ensino de Adaptação* (Rudimentary Schooling); it was exclusively designed for Africans and was a sort of instruction in assimilation, to initiate the process of indoctrination into the Portuguese world. As already mentioned, this schooling system exposed blacks to various professions such as domestic workers, cooks, etc., from a young age (as we note in Figures 1 and 2).

To a certain extent, this confirms Noré’s (2003) argument that the entire colonial education policy, aimed at indigenous natives in Angola, from an early age, sought to subordinate them through the inculcation of themes related to the trilogy, such as God - Homeland – Civilization. Textbooks fostered the necessary ideologies to maintain black servitude. In this regard, Ferreira and Garcia (2021) remark that:

Textbooks for the first years of schooling, which demonstrated clear pedagogical concerns, tended to be centred on a reality that sought to be more appropriate to children’s level of understanding, and thus, were limited to representing figures and text about objects and settings that were supposedly familiar to these young pupils.

It is also accurate to say that the colonial powers ensured that the educational institutions in the territories under their control propagated Eurocentric ideologies and values (Heleta, 2018, p.50). As a matter of fact, textbooks for the first three years of schooling in *the Portuguese Empire* are, above all,

profoundly ideological (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021; see also Araujo & Maeso, 2012). To borrow Mangan's words, "there was an education in imperial schools to shape the ruled into patterns of proper subservience and legitimate inferiority"(1993,p.6). These arguments are clearly corroborated by educational policies, so far discussed, and many others instituted by the colonial empire, including the *Assimilados Policy* purposely created to maintain clear differences between black people and white, politically, socially and economically.

Stereotyping by means of profession

During the era of colonialism, it was a common practice to attribute jobs based on ethnic and cultural identities. This is to say, professions were effective colonial and ideological tools, utilized to downgrade indigenous people. Therefore, it was common for black people to be assigned to menial jobs such as domestic workers, carpenters, and farmers, compared to their white counterparts who were medical doctors, teachers, and nurses, to mention but a few. Textbooks were also used to disseminate these ideologies, as we can note in Figures 3 and 4, in which the black lady is portrayed as performing domestic labour, whereas her white counterpart is a teacher. On the one hand, there is a job (performed by the white person) that requires intellectual capabilities, and on the other, a job that is rationally unchallenging.

By assigning these jobs to the indigenous population, it reinforces the argument that they lacked the knowledge, competence or skills which are required for intellectual capabilities (da Costa, 2016). In essence, the depiction epitomizes the ineptitude of blacks to do jobs other than menial, thus justifying how they are the perfect people suited for manual labour and natural subjugation. Having said this, Pimenta (2015, p.117) argues that "compulsory native labour was one of the pivotal features of the Portuguese colonial system in Africa, given that for the Portuguese State, work was part of the natives' civilizing process".

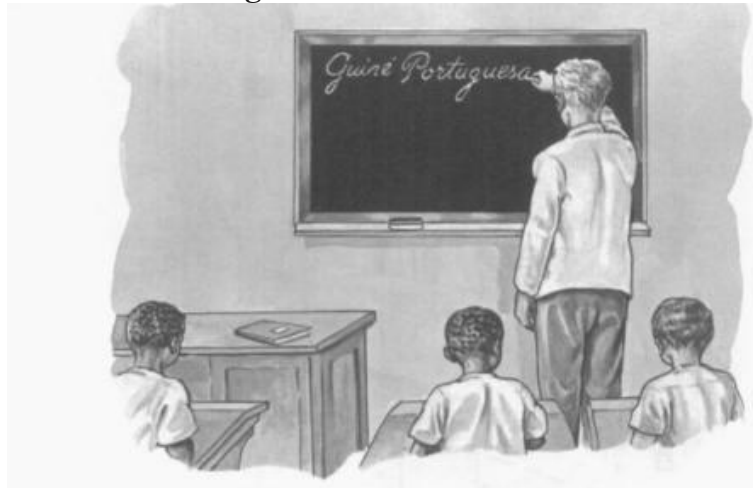
Figure 3 – A black domestic worker



Source: Livro da 1ª Classe

The images, as seen in Figures 3 and 4, although they appear in the textbook, are not designed in the same way as the one displayed in Figure 1 (on the same page). This still does not prevent the reader from doing a comparison of both, perhaps concluding that a black person is stereotyped to the detriment of her white counterpart. Interestingly, although perhaps implicitly, the theme of education versus labour is brought forth perhaps to emphasise white superiority.

Figure 4 – A white teacher



Source: Livro de leitura da 1ª Classe

Nevertheless, picture 6, below, displays an interesting scenario, except for a very common case: a man feeding what seems to be a cow. In both remaining setups, black people are portrayed as entrepreneurs; a man with a stand where a number of manmade items are sold, such as wooden artefacts, paintings, etc. and a lady selling chickens. To undermine the profession of these two black people, portrayed as entrepreneurs, both are depicted as selling chicken in the streets (for the lady) and as selling goods in a very small and appalling spot (for the man).

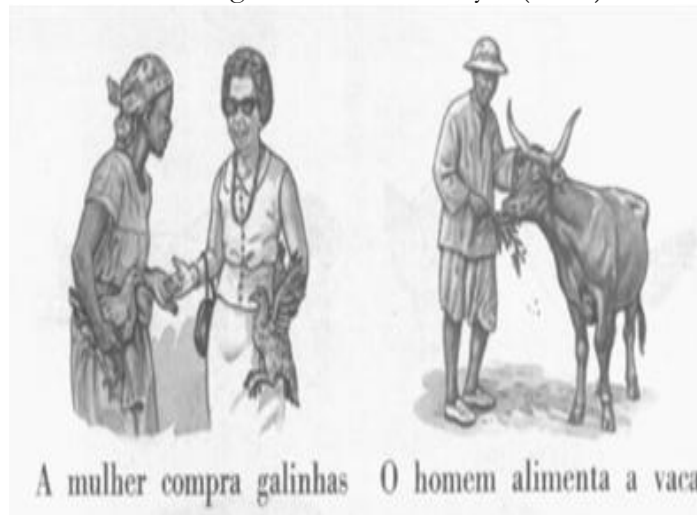
The question is, why are they not shown selling their goods in appropriate places? What is also remarkable is the fact that both buyers (white ladies) appear to be high-class; the same cannot be said about the businessman and woman.

Picture 5 – A black informal businessman and a white woman (buyer)



Source: Livro de leitura da 1ª Classe

Figure 6 – Black woman selling chickens and a buyer (white) and shepherd (black)



Source: Livro de leitura da 1ª Classe

From this perspective, Birmingham (2006) says that despite the window of opportunity for a few *assimilados*, the colonial tradition expected whites to be managers and blacks to supply labour. In the case of a woman working outside the home, such as washer-women, seamstresses, bakers or women engaged in farming, this would entail labour meant for the lower classes (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021). “As a matter of fact, imperial education was very much about establishing the presence and absence of confidence in those controlling and those controlled. Once colonial territories were established, this process began in classrooms, and arguably more effectively on playing fields” (Mangan, 2010, p.308).

Nonetheless, it should be remembered that stereotypes, however inaccurate, are one form of representation. They are an invention, a pretence that one knows when the steps that would make real knowing possible cannot be taken (Hooks, 1992). Hooks pre-empts the danger of stereotypes, of bringing forth the most compelling evidence in making the unreal seem real, in order to assert control and domination. And this is exactly what we note from these pictures in which black is “reduced to the machinery of bodily physical labour and whiteness is the privileged signifier” (Hooks, 1992, p. 339-340). This is to indoctrinate, target readers, primarily children, and lead them to believe that “in fact blacks are inferior beings, and that by the very arrangements of life, whites were superior” (Williams, 1974, p.81).

Henceforth, the descriptions appear to legitimate the discourse that “school manuals became vehicles of nationalistic and patriotic ideology [...] and the state concentrated its attention primarily on “*Livros de Leitura*” [Reading Manuals] and History of Portugal textbooks” (Cruz, 2007, p.403). It is reasonable then to say, that these instruments were a golden relic of the *Estado Novo*, who highly cherished them due to their role of spreading, not only the ideologies of Portuguese exceptionalism, but also the narrative of white Portuguese superiority and black (‘other’) inferiority; altogether the approach aimed to “legitimize imperial rule” (Matasci et.al., 2020, p. 2). In this way, to put it in Mangan's words, stereotypes “were also instruments for creating and destroying cultural confidence and an effective means of maintaining a sense of moral difference and distance” (1993, p.10).

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the discursive stereotypical portrayal of blacks in Portuguese primary school textbooks was remarkably aimed at “creating and consolidating an imperial consciousness on the part of the colonizer, and the colonized” (Mangan, 1993,p.22). This exposed the dominant ideologies of the *Estado Novo* hidden in the “educational system altogether including through policies, particularly in textbooks, which were “the heavy shadow of stereotypic images” (Mangan, 1993, p.22). The depictions in the textbooks somehow revealed the “stereotypes and ideologies that characterise the mentality of *this* epoch” (Ferreira & Garcia, 2021, p.3).

The entire narrative of presenting Angolan and Guinean indigenous people as humans in essence who were only fit for manual labour, as patent in the textbooks analysed, undermines the cultural values of this group represented as inexperienced and therefore undeserving, to a certain extent, to do those so-called 'intellectual jobs'. Besides the humiliating feelings passed onto black people, these negative stereotypes also contribute to the formation of certain perspectives and imaginations that, in fact, blacks are far inferior whilst whites are legitimately superior and have the right to enslave the inferior. To emphasise, allowing the imperialist to demean the native in a variety of ways, the imperialist was thus able to build his stock of moral superiority (Mangan, 1993).

Finally, intriguingly, the Portuguese colonial authority made sure the ideology of domination and submission was “taught in schools”, books and “was reflected in the education given to children” (Felgueiras, p.7-12). It thus explicitly legitimizes their role as a vehicle of exploitation, consequently constituting a reference to a cultural group which is to be subjugated. These representations, as established, were purposefully created; they aimed to indoctrinate Africans and Europeans from an early school-going age about the subservient role of blacks as opposed to the dominating character of whites.

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DECLARATION OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest with this article.