International Journal of **Human Sciences Research**

MOZAMBIQUE'S MIXED AND ASSIMILATED POPULATION: RESISTANCE AND RESIGNATION

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Abstract: Colonization of the east coast of the African continent by the Portuguese began between 1497 and 1499, on Vasco da Gama's first trip to India. The Portuguese colonizers who were part of the bourgeois class never had much interest in Mozambique, the reluctance of European colonizers to settle in the interior of the continent, and the high mortality rates, contributed to the inevitable miscegenation with the local inhabitants. High officials of the Portuguese Crown and Portuguese settlers despised interracial relations and miscegenation. Effective Portuguese colonization was summarized in the coastal city of Quelimane, with the effective occupation of Portuguese possessions on the continent, after the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), and, in the 20th century, three hierarchical groups were consolidated: whites, indigenous people (blacks natives) and the assimilated (mixed and black people who fulfilled the requirements of the colonizers). The assimilation policy became a central point within the ideological apparatus of Portuguese colonization, but it served as a barrier to the social ascension of blacks and mestizos. The fact that mestizos had access to studies contributed to their becoming the main exponents of the formation of a discourse focused on Mozambican national uniqueness, but they were viewed with distrust by blacks, beyond the border established by the colonizers. The mixed-race population, despite accusations of collaboration with the Portuguese colonizers, also suffered from the racism of that period and approaching them was a form of resistance, given the scenario that was presented to this population.

Keywords: Miscegenation; Mozambique; Resistance; Resignation.

BEGINNING OF THE COLONIZATION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND THE FIRST MESTIZOS IN THE COLONY

The colonization of the east coast of the African continent, by the Portuguese, began between the years 1497 and 1499, on the first voyage of Vasco da Gama to India, which began the first regular maritime connection between the West and the East. On this trip, the Portuguese navigator passed through Quelimane and Sofala, and came into contact with the local inhabitants. The locations were strategic, as they became stopping points on the way between the metropolis and the Portuguese colonies in India, and became landmarks in the process of "gnawing" the East African coast, which began in 1505, from the founding of a fortress trading post in Sofala. The Portuguese dominions in the Zambézia Valley ceased, from 1626, to be hereditary possessions and became the so-called "prazos da Coroa", in which lands in the interior of the continent were distributed to the "prazeiros" for administration for three generations, with the possibility of renewing this concession. The occupation of these lands on the east coast of the African continent was not carried out without resistance, such as what happened in 1693, when the Butua people promoted the destruction of fairs and burned churches and deadlines (HERNANDEZ, 2005, p. 583- 586).

The Portuguese colonizers who were part of the bourgeois class never had much interest in Mozambique, the reluctance of European colonizers to settle in the interior of the continent, and the high mortality rates, contributed to the inevitable miscegenation with the local inhabitants. These mestizos, pejoratively called "sons of the country", at the end of the 18th century became the dominant social group within the group of settlers in the Zambezi Valley region (ISAACMAN, 1976, p. 303). Only on April 19, 1752, the Portuguese

territories on the east coast of Africa began to have the status of direct administrative entity of the Portuguese Crown. Until then, these territories were under the administration of the Viceroy of Portuguese India, based in Goa. Trade carried out locally, wholesale and retail, was conducted predominantly by Indians, and, until the end of the 18th century, the interest of Portuguese nobles in Portuguese East Africa was in the collection of the few taxes collected and in the slave trade (CAPELA, 2010, p. 165). The Indians did not bring their wives to these territories, and, despite the caste rules to which the population of Indian origin was subjected, they did not fail to have relationships with the so-called "households", who were generally enslaved and became slaves. lovers, and, with them, they had a generation of mestizo children, who were not recognized by their parents. When they died, or returned to India, they left their inheritances to their families of origin. For the children born in these relationships with African women, negligible amounts were left and the mestizo children were never recognized, and rarely was any of them awarded any value. According to Zamparoni, this mestizo population, marginalized and prevented by their parents from integrating into their way of life, ended up within the social context of their black mothers. The Indo-Portuguese, from Goa, also included within the caste system, and even acquired some of the "Crown terms" used to come with their wives and rarely interacted with local women (ZAMPARONI, 2000, p. 212 to 213). The position of the Muslim Indians and the African Muslims of Arab origin, established in a secular way in the north of Mozambique, were outside the caste system and were allowed polygamy, this way, they lived in a less isolated way and had a greater integration with the local population, either by marrying black and/or mestizo women, which generated

thousands of adherents to the Islamic religion among the mestizo and black population that constituted Swahili society. There was greater integration between mestizos of Islamic origin with their parents' social cycle, and this can be exemplified by receiving Muslim names and their presence in the community's schools (ZAMPARONI, 2000, p. 213). The high officials of the Portuguese Crown and the Portuguese settlers despised interracial relations and miscegenation, which was seen as a "reversion of civilized man to savagery", and this discrimination was present in relation to the local black population, but also between and among population of Goan origin that settled in the region from 1750 onwards. The miscegenation of Portuguese with Goan women was considered "more acceptable" than with black women, and interracial marriages between groups of Portuguese colonizers, African population of Goan origin and blacks, the proportion of mestizos in Portuguese East Africa increased (ISAACMAN, 1976, p. 304).

INTENSIFICATION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN MOZAMBIQUE AND THE FIRST CENSUSES

From the 19th century, the slave trade in Mozambique underwent a greater intensification, since England, the greatest maritime power at the time, began to prohibit the international slave trade and seize the ships that carried out this clandestine transport in the waters of the Atlantic Ocean. British inspection was not carried out in the Indian Ocean, and this loophole was used by traffickers to continue this activity, with transport to be carried out to Brazil, through the Cape of Good Hope, south of the English blockade, and to other islands of the Indian Ocean (CABAÇO, 2011, p. 88 and 90). Between 1804 and 1820, the Island of Mozambique went through a period of great economic progress, influenced by the slave

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trade, which prospered during this period. In the year 1820, Friar Bartolomeu dos Mártires attributed a population between 8500 and 9000 people on the Island of Mozambique and its immediate dependencies of Mossuril and Cabaceiras, within that number, 120 white Portuguese, 650 mulattoes or mestizos were distributed; 200 Goanese (Indians from Goa); 180 baneanes (Indian merchants); 500 Arabs and Moors; 800 freed blacks; and an estimated number between 5 and 6 thousand enslaved, of both sexes, which reveals a sudden increase in relation to the number that was registered in 1804, which indicated the existence of 3668 captives on the Island of Mozambique (RAU, 1963 apud CAPELA, 2010, p. 62). The end of the slave trade, at the end of the 19th century, promoted a displacement of the economic axis from the north of Mozambique to the south, and the consequent transfer of the capital from the Island of Mozambique to Lourenço Marques, close to the border with South Africa. The main economic activity of the Portuguese government during this period was the export of Mozambican labor to international companies operating in South Africa (HERNANDEZ, 2005, p. 592).

The first census carried out in Lourenço Marques, in 1894, classified the inhabitants into the racial categories "white", "indian", "yellow" and "black". In the second census, in 1912, black people started to be classified as "black" and the Indian category gave way to the term "brown", similar to what started to be used in Brazil in the 1872 census, the first one made by the Brazilian state. In Brazil, the term "brown" was used to define the descendants of manumitted slaves or those born free, regardless of their skin color, and for those who had African and European ancestry. Despite also being brown people, inhabitants with indigenous and European ancestors were called "caboclos", in the same way as indigenous people, as there was no "indigenous" category

in that census. The 1912 census in Lourenço Marques did not specify the criteria for racial categories, and it was difficult to know who could be referred to as "brown", but in data collection, Indo-Portuguese, Indo-British and mestizos with European and African ancestry were considered brown by the census takers (REIS, 1973 and AZEVEDO, 1913 apud ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 158 and SENRA, 2006, p. 260). The 1928 census changed the racial classification criteria, with the term "black" being dropped, replaced by "African", to refer to black people, and the term "yellow" continuing to describe the Chinese. In addition, the category "brown" disappears to make way for the categories "Indo-Portuguese" and "Indo-British", and the category "whites" is now called "Europeans", even if they were born in Mozambican territory. The category close to the term used in Brazil for brown people is "mixed", which could involve inhabitants of multiple ancestries, but was used for those who had African and European ancestry (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 159).

INDIGENOUS STATUTES IN MOZAMBIQUE AND INDIGENOUS AND MIXED ASSIMILATION POLICIES

Despite the long period of colonization in the region, effective Portuguese colonization was resumed in the coastal city of Quelimane, where it was safer, after the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), in which rules for colonial occupation on the African continent were established, through various bilateral treaties, the Portuguese promoted the effective occupation of their possessions on the African continent and imposed their hegemony, in the face of competition with other European powers (ISAACMAN, 1976, p. 305). Some peoples who inhabited the Zambezi Valley region collaborated with the colonizers, within conflicts with other enemy

peoples, and others resisted colonization and Portuguese oppression.

The forms of resistance were varied, but were predominantly related to the desire for independence, the repair of specific injustices and individual issues (ISAACMAN, 1976, p. 308). At this new level of Portuguese colonization, racial legislation was implemented in Mozambique, within the tendency of racial structuring, which sought to deepen this restructuring. The dictatorial nationalist government of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, and the implementation of the fascist regime in Portugal, there was a paradigm shift and the contracts between the Portuguese State and foreign companies that operated in Mozambique were extinguished, and the Salazar government itself began to direct the Portuguese economic projects in the colonies, with the role assigned to Mozambique for the local production of cotton for the textile industries of the metropolis (HERNANDEZ, 2005, p. 593). The changes that took place at the beginning of the 20th century, from the implementation, in 1926, of the Political, Social and Criminal Statute of the Indigenous People of Angola and Mozambique, and the Statute of the Portuguese Indigenous People of the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, of 1954, which consolidated three hierarchical groups: Whites, who represented power; the indigenous, a term used for blacks and their descendants who were not considered "civilized" and who needed to "undress their animality" through assimilation; and the assimilated, who were the indigenous people who, through compliance with a set of requirements, could be considered citizens, but were not yet considered full citizens, and never seen by the colonizers as "equals" (CABAÇO, 2009, p. 118). and 231). Within this legislation, an indigenous woman married to an assimilated still remained an indigenous person, but their children, whether legitimate or not, could acquire the status of assimilated, provided that they were under 18 years of age at the time the father became an assimilated and that the parent has the moral and financial capacity (MALOA, 2016, p. 99). The children of non-indigenous fathers and indigenous mothers could receive the license without fulfilling all the requirements if they lived with their father or if they were interned in educational institutes, as the colonizers assumed that, this way, these children would be within the customs " civilized" and outside what they understood as "savage customs" (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 156). Within that legislation, the colonizer had the power to define whether a person who was not European or Asian, which included blacks and mestizos, could be considered assimilated or not, and also, so that this assimilated person would return to the category of "indigenous", if he performs an act that is considered transgressive by the colonizers, that is, the assimilated person had to show throughout his life that he was no longer a "savage".

The conditions imposed to obtain the condition of "assimilated" were difficult, since the black person or his descendant (mixed/mestizo/brown) must have completely abandoned what they defined as "the customs of the black race", adopted monogamy and exercised a profession, art or craft that was compatible with the colonizers' concept of "European civilization", or who had "obtained by lawful means" sufficient income to support himself and his family. These difficulties meant that few blacks or mestizos achieved assimilated status, and if it were not for the exception given to white inhabitants, most settlers would not achieve assimilated status, due to illiteracy and polygamous customs, in addition to these people being unemployed due to the economic crisis caused by the First World War (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 156).

This assimilation policy becomes a central

point within the ideological apparatus created and implemented by Portuguese colonization, and colonization and the idea of civilization became aligned. However, the concept that all Africans would gradually become civilized was a mere political statement and never thought of an identity policy for the colonized, and was conducted in the sense of controlling the African elites, which served and did not compete with the colonizers. The distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous, through the creation of the category of "assimilated", was not created by the colonizer to extend citizenship rights, but, however, to limit them to the maximum. This mixed and/or assimilated black population was placed as an intermediary between the colonizer and the other indigenous colonized (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 157 and CABAÇO, 2009, p. 126 and 129).

Despite the current idea among the indigenous population that the assimilated "passed over to the side of the colonizers", most of the assimilated did not see themselves that way, and the search for the assimilated condition was a form of resistance, in the face of the colonialist context of that period. With the status of assimilated, despite the humiliations, there were advantages over the indigenous population, since the assimilated could enroll their children in schools and had more job opportunities. Few assimilated Mozambicans internally adopted the colonizer's discourse, and the regulons, who functioned as intermediaries between the Portuguese authority and the local indigenous population, and contributed to colonialism, were not considered assimilated (HONWANA, 1989, p. 82 apud HERNANDEZ, 2005, pp. 599-600). The legislation that regulated the situation of assimilated was not created to exclude indigenous people from citizenship, as they were already excluded from citizenship and had little contact with the colonial administration.

The laws focused on the mixed population, starting with the establishment of new barriers to make it more difficult for this population group to obtain the status of citizen. The formal and informal barriers that existed before the tightening of laws were no longer seen as "efficient" for the colonizers, due to the growing use of European-style clothing by the population, due to the expansion of the market economy. and the urbanization that took place during this period. Thus, in the eyes of the Portuguese colonial authorities, the number of indigenous and mixed people who could be considered citizens would increase excessively (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 157).

THE CLAIMS OF THE NON-WHITE POPULATION IN LOURENÇO MARQUES

Within this colonial racial hierarchy, there were the mixed ones, fruits of interracial relationships within the colony, who were seen as "an uncomfortable group", and, within this new colonial system, the mestizo families who were faithful to Portuguese colonization and the assimilation of indigenous peoples, were excluded from the power structures of this new phase of the colonial system. The assimilated, black or mixed, had to deny the African past and adhere to a "whitened culture", and they argued in the idea of a "civilizing vision" for the "good of the indigenous people", but this argument was put in check by the practices of the colonizers, and this adherence by the assimilated to the colonizer's ideas was seen as "going over to the side of the whites" (HERNANDEZ, 2005, p. 599). In this structure, which disregarded any form of miscegenation, traditional families such as the Albasini, the Potts or the Fornazini, who were identified with the Portuguese language and culture, were marginalized by those who represented the culture they admired. The

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violent treatment meted out to the indigenous population, who were subjected to forced labor, and the local power structure, in which the colonizer was at the top of the hierarchy, had a counterpart in the frequent humiliation meted out to mixed and assimilated people. Mixed people, or assimilated, were considered Portuguese from a legal point of view, but it was difficult for them to rise within this colonial society, as high and medium positions within the state bureaucratic structure were reserved for whites, in the same way as in other professional categories, such as railway workers (THOMAZ, 2005, p. 259). Racist practices were present in the daily life of urban areas in Mozambique, where the distribution of functions and the salaries paid were linked within a racial criterion. The white members of the labor movement made socialist speeches, but adopted racist practices against blacks, mestizos and Asians.

Mestizos and blacks were excluded from their wage claims, preached reservation of vacancies for whites and asked for the expulsion of Asian traders, the latter accused of causing high prices among the local population (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 168). The mestizos, depending on a particular claim, united like the Indians against the whites, or made speeches against the Asian population. Personal interests were also a source of conflict, as the mestizo and Indian population in Mozambique was small, as well as in its capital, Lourenço Marques, and cronyism and racial solidarity were complicating factors in this scenario. The newspaper "O Africano", created in 1908, was considered the voice of mestizos and educated blacks, had a hostile discourse towards the Indians, accusing them of not adhering to the Catholic religion and of sending all their wealth and savings to India. India (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 169). The position of the mestizos seemed to have changed with the creation of the newspaper "O

Brado Africano", considered the successor of "O Africano", with its end in 1919, but this new discourse in relation to the Indians lasted until 1921, when, in a election to the Portuguese Parliament, a candidate born in Mozambique, and supported by the newspaper, did not obtain the Indo-Portuguese votes for his election. This attitude led "O Brado Africano" to promote attacks against Goans, with the discourse that they were "parasites who lived off the work of others" and who occupied positions that must be occupied by "natural", that is, mestizos and assimilated blacks, who were an emerging social class in the period, but their interests were being limited by the Indo-Portuguese. In this search for space, mestizos and blacks attacked whites and Indo-Portuguese, but believed that speeches against the side considered weaker would have more effect (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 169-170).

Over the years, the mixed-race and black communities once again allied themselves with the Indian community in the fight against the racist practices of the state and white settlers. One of these moments was in 1926, when the local bishop, together with the authorities of Lourenço Marques, supported the creation of a European College, maintained with public funds, where non-white students could not enroll. As a form of protest and resistance, mestizos, blacks and Indian Christians stopped contributing money to masses and placed notes criticizing this measure in the donation boxes. At another time, in 1930, non-white communities united against the attempt by the Municipality of Lourenço Marques to legally create a market reserve for white inhabitants. The newspaper "O Brado Africano" strongly criticized this measure, and requested the support of white workers, but, as previously mentioned, they did not consider the mestizo, black and Indian population in their socialist ideals (ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 171). The position of the colonizers in relation

to the mestizo, black and Asian population was that their presence was tolerated, but not desired and preferable, when possible, that it be kept at a distance, with institutions, public and private organizations separated between whites and non-whites (COMAROFF, 1992, p. 64 apud ZAMPARONI, 2012, p. 172).

THE ASSIMILATED AND MIXED ISSUES IN THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESS OF MOZAMBIQUE

From the middle of the 20th century, after the Second World War, the European colonies in Africa were gradually going through processes of independence in relation to their colonizing countries. Demonstrations against the Portuguese colonial government intensified, and, in 1960, the repression against one of them, which sought to end the imposition of cooperatives by the colonial government, gave rise to the Mueda Massacre, and generated a strong negative repercussion. To reverse the repercussions of this massacre, which increased the already existing hostilities towards the colonial administration, the colonial government revoked the Statute of the Portuguese Indigenous People of the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, the following year, but the Mozambican population still did not have the right to vote (HERNANDEZ, 2005, p. 603). The revocation of that statute, and the consequent expansion of citizenship for the Mozambican population, did not prevent political movements, which were already well advanced, in relation to the independence of Mozambique, and three groups, formed by the urbanized elites and by workers who emigrated to countries neighbors, which had existed since 1960, came together to create the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and in 1964, from its bases in Tanzania, the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonizers began (HERNANDEZ, 2005, p . 604). The dictatorial government of

Antonio de Oliveira Salazar refused to accept the independence of the Portuguese colonies and sought inspiration from Gilberto Freyre's luso-tropicalism to argue that Portuguese colonialism was different from others, including the change in status of Portuguese colonies from Africa to Portuguese overseas provinces. This concept of racial egalitarianism, within the theory of luso-tropicalism, was not propagated by the colonizers who lived in Mozambique, and shows the historical and logical inconsistency in Mozambique, due to the small number of mixed and the differences between the colonization process between the colonies. The other European countries did not consider Salazarist arguments, and they were only accepted among members of the government elite at the time (ISAACMAN, 1976, p. 302 and CABAÇO, 2009 apud FRY, p. 208). Luso-tropicalism, which began to praise miscegenation, was officially incorporated late and never effectively reached colonial structures, and mixed people, who were far from representing a dynamic group and subjects of social ascension, arrived, to the maximum, in middle and intermediate positions in this limited colonial and urban society in Mozambique. The fact that these mixed people had access to studies contributed to their becoming the main exponents of the formation of a discourse focused on Mozambican national uniqueness, but they were viewed with distrust by blacks, beyond the border established by white colonizers in relation to this population (THOMAZ, 2005, p. 259). They were part of the Mozambican microelite, and despite suffering the oppression of the Portuguese colonizers, they did not have an alternative model of nation, as they were inserted within the current model and wanted a Portuguese nation that was also theirs (CAHEN, 2005, p. 50).

From the beginning of the fights for independence, the issue of creating a

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Mozambican identity came to be considered important, and discussions on how to deal with ethnic and racial differences in Mozambique were frequent. The Portuguese population itself, who no longer wanted to send their children to a fight that was already lost, with the support of the armed forces, carried out the Carnation Revolution, which removed the Salazarist government on April 25, 1974. metropolis, enabled the opening of negotiations for the independence of African colonies that were still under colonial administration. However, in addition to FRELIMO, there were other groups that fought for Mozambique's independence, but did not want FRELIMO's exclusivity in this struggle, which caused a climate of tension in the Mozambican interior while negotiations between the Portuguese government and FRELIMO were in progress. Despite the initial proposal of an independence process with the progressive transfer of powers by the Portuguese State to the new Mozambican leaders, the refusal of the latter caused the process to be accelerated and concluded on June 25, 1975 (HERNANDEZ, 2005, page: 607). After independence, from the new socialist Mozambican government, led by FRELIMO, the discussion about Mozambican national identity takes on another level. Eduardo Mondlane's speech, the first president of Mozambique, aimed at eliminating all causes of division between the different Mozambican groups, with the construction of the Mozambican Nation, through equality of all and respect for regional particularities (MUIUANE, 2009, p. 114). After the beginning of the government of Samora Machel, his successor, ethnic diversity would become a "problem", and the construction of the "new man", which would overcome the structures of the colonial and traditional past, since the "new man" did not It has race and no ethnicity. The new president

said that the tribe would need to give way to the Nation (VIEIRA, 2011, p. 285). The socialist line proposed by FRELIMO was close to the vision of the Portuguese state that the mixed and assimilated population imagined, due to the concepts of a homogeneous nation, a single party, union and associative collaboration, a single language and the central role of the State, but most of mestizos and assimilated had a conservative bias and was not aligned with socialist ideals (CAHEN, 2005, p. 50). A minority of the mestizo, Indian and assimilated population was part of the great flow of "returnees", estimated at a total of 500,000 people, to Portugal, then with 9 million inhabitants, a country they had never known. In addition to those who "returned" to the metropolis, other groups re-emigrated to South Africa, Brazil, Australia and Canada. The policy established in the first post-independence years had the sense of authoritarian modernization in search of nationalization (CAHEN, 2005, p. 50-51).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In all, the population of Mozambique is made up of 32 million inhabitants, including 400,000 people of mixed race, which is equivalent to 0.8% of the country's total population. Although the mestizo population is present throughout Mozambican territory, most of them are concentrated in the urban areas of its largest cities: Maputo, Beira and Nampula. In Maputo, the national capital, for example, the mestizo population, according to 2019 data, is made up of 3% of the population, that is, 32,000 of the approximately 1 million inhabitants living in the city (CIA, 2023 and INE, 2019, p. 13). The mestizo population has always been an ethnic minority in Mozambique and racial discrimination is still present against this population, through other ethnic-racial communities in the country, due to the colonial past, which is still present in

the memory of older people. In the period after independence, in the midst of a Civil War, and the death of Samora Machel, the idea of the "new man", without race or ethnicity, became less present until its disappearance, when FRELIMO began the process negotiation with the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), the main opponent in the Mozambican Civil War. The conflicts ended in 1992, with the signing of the Peace Agreement between the parties, with the first multiparty elections to be held two years later, in 1994. The mixed-race population, despite accusations of collaborationism with the Portuguese colonizers, also suffered from the racism of that period and the approximation with them was a form of resistance, in the face of the scenario that was presented to this population.

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