Cyberspace and Cultural Memory: Case Studies in Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal
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Abstract
The wide geographic dispersion of “Lusophone” space has hindered systematic studies on how this “imagined community” is defined, taking as a starting point the different national communities that comprise it. The “Identity Narratives and Social Memory” research project aimed at analysing the (re)making of “Lusophone” identity in cyberspace and how blogs contribute to a transnational cultural memory. This research program was structured according to four methodological axes: the analysis of virtual narratives in the cyberspace (mapping of the cyberspace in eight Portuguese-speaking countries and doing in-depth analysis of fifteen case studies); the analysis of oral narratives of people with experiences of migration in more than one Lusophone country, using auto-biographical semi-structured interviews; the review of the negotiations of identity in cross-cultural contexts using focus groups; and finally the analysis of social representations of history through a transnational survey. In this paper we will focus on the results of empirical case studies about the discussion of ‘Lusophone identity’ in Brazilian, Mozambican and Portuguese cyberspace.

Introduction

The recent explosion of the social media, the intensification and diversification of migration flows, and the increasing interconnectivity of the world entail countless challenges for the research on human and social sciences, in general, and communication sciences, in particular. In order to deal with the increasing complexities of these fields of research, we need to be able to triangulate methodologies to reach more nuanced descriptions and interpretations of these realities. The intensification of the globalization process goes along with the maintenance of old divides and gaps, which keep on shaping our lives, sometimes in subtle but very powerful ways. Making sense of the complex and changing environment around us is a very demanding task that requires problematization of ‘old’ and ‘new’ dichotomies that are frequently convened, both in social thought and in scientific models (Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013).

Over the last decade, there has been a huge development in the research about the mediated social networks and the interplay between media, migration, identity, and memory has become a fertile domain of interdisciplinary studies. Yet, an integrative and broadest approach about these issues is still missing. With this research project, we intend to develop an integrative model on the meanings of transnational identities, having the Lusophone identity as a case study. This is a multi-disciplinary, multi-method and cross-cultural project. The team includes researchers from different disciplinary fields (communication sciences, social psychology, cultural anthropology, sociology and political science).

The project aims at analysing the (re)construction of Lusophone identities through online and offline social interactions among Portuguese language speakers. How do globalization and the advancements in the information and communication technologies reconfigure the ‘Lusophone’ narratives? And how do they reconfigure migratory experiences? What are the various meanings of lusophony and how are they constructed? How do such meanings contribute to shaping present relationships among individuals from the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP)? How are

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1 The Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP) is the intergovernmental organization for cooperation among nations where Portuguese is an official language. At the time of data collection it included eight countries: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Today it also includes Equatorial Guinea.
the meanings of Lusophony shaped by one’s social position (in terms of nationality, ethnicity, generation, gender) and Diaspora experiences?

As Lusophone geography comprehends four continents, it makes the production of systematic studies particularly difficult on how this ‘imagined community’ defines itself and on how others define it. Recent developments in Internet dissemination, especially within some CPLP countries (though rates are still low by Western standards) set the conditions for conducting this research.

To study the meanings of Lusophony is therefore an opportunity to give ‘voice’ to traditionally silenced groups, and to learn about the multiple ‘versions’ on the history linking those countries. In light of this, the project envisages to understand and discuss the social representations (Moscovici, 1988) that frame both the daily life of those who live and interact in the ‘Lusophone space’, and the narratives that give sense to this ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983).

We also intend to study the on-going identity narratives, looking for that matter at the individual’s multilayered identities (national, ethnic, linguistic, etc.). Social identities are always dynamic and contingent of variable intensity. This means they are never consensual but instead necessarily contested and deconstructed. We see social identities as procedural, since they gather or disperse senses of belonging shaped by asymmetrical social positions, with profound impacts on how people perceive themselves and the ‘Others’ (e.g., Cabecinhas & Amâncio, 1999; Deschamps et al., 2005). Those complex processes are sustained by various narratives and symbols that groups and individuals invoke, contest and reconfigure permanently.

Narratives are privileged instruments for the symbolic confrontations that give sense both to social relations and to the world itself. They are also characters of signification that individuals and groups mobilize in the process of social (re)reproduction. Unequal in their mobilizing power, narratives are structured by and structuring of social reality. Our purpose is to emphasise both the fluidity and dissent present in the narratives that structure the identity experience. Thus, we will focus attention on the processes of everyday talk and in computer mediated communication, against more formal and institutionalized forms, such as newspapers, magazines or schoolbooks. ‘Flows’ and ‘intersections’ are key-ideas in the project. Although

http://www.cplp.org/
migratory, financial and cultural flows, among others, depend very much on political
decisions and institutional understandings, our analysis will instead focus on the
narratives that informal social networks produce.

The project comprises four methodological axes: analyses of ‘virtual’ narratives in
the Lusophone cyberspace; analyses of oral narratives of people with migration
experiences using auto-biographic semi-structured interviews; analyses of identity
negotiations in cross-cultural contexts using focus groups; analyses of the interplay
among identity patterns, mediated social networks and social memory, through a
cross-cultural survey. This is a research on social memory, understood here as
fragmented memory, consolidated by bonds of belonging, and a battlefield (Cunha,
2006). This memory, as social representation, produces and is produced by
interpersonal communication and social practices. It is in this space resulting from the
intersection of these dimensions that this project is located.

In this paper we focus only on the first axis of this program of research: the
analyses of ‘virtual’ identity narratives in the Lusophone cyberspace. Before
presenting and discussing some of the empirical results, we will briefly present the
theoretical background and the context of the research.

**Cyberspace, migration, identity and cultural memory**

Appadurai (1997) argues that the tension between cultural homogeneity and
heterogeneity lies at the centre of global interactions today. Electronic mediation
has substantially altered the public spheres of Diaspora (Cunningham et al., 2000).
Internet flexibility and openness offer infinite opportunities to the individual in terms
of freedom of expression, providing emancipation opportunities (Lévy, 2003). Still,
Internet is also a space where conflicts among ‘communities’ can be exacerbated.
According to Castells (1997: 470), identity is becoming the main ‘source of meaning
in a historical period characterized by widespread de-structuring of organizations, de-
legitimation of institutions, fading away of major social movements, and ephemeral
cultural expressions’. At the same time, Internet can help immigrants to nurture their
Diaspora and preserve their cultural heritage. Mediated social networks can provide a
sense of home and tools for collective action (e.g. Tynes, 2007; Cerqueira, Ribeiro &
Cabecinhas, 2009).
Traditional conceptualizations of identity tend to be primarily related to notions such as sameness, stability, and continuity, rather than to the idea of in-progress project in a continuous and complex process of change. Recent theoretical approaches recognize how contemporary national and transnational identity narratives require hybrid multilayered configurations (Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013; Straubhaar, 2009).

Clary-Lemon (2010) states that research on identity carried out by some authors (e.g. Ricoeur, 1992; Martin, 1995; Hall, 1994) can be summarized in three dimensions. Identity is a discursive construction often revealed in the stories people tells about themselves or others, as well as recounted memories of the past. Identities are always temporary; they are constantly changing, and must be understood in relation with the other. Cultural and national identities are fragmented internally and externally, resulting from the process of negotiation of different perspectives about the similarity and difference.

The stories we tell, and those we listen to, define who we are and who are the ‘others’. They also shape interpersonal, intergroup, and intercultural relationships. In a world undergoing accelerated mutation and shifting power relations, representational fields are increasingly heterogeneous (Cabecinhas & Cunha, 2008). In that sense, multiple voices and cultural logics take part in the process of knowledge and worldview constructions. Therefore, our lives are composed of many overlapping and often conflicting stories. These stories are shared in everyday conversations, and disseminated through cultural products (e.g., social media, cinema, television, advertising, music, festivals, museums, books, legislation, and monuments). They simultaneously influence and are influenced by the interplay between historical legacies, economic demands, and national and international politics.

In the scope of this research program, we analysed identity narratives in the so-called ‘Lusophone space’ - a highly heterogeneous and disperse geo-linguist community across Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas (Davis, Straubhaar, & Ferin, Martins, 2015).

How national groups represent their own history is of paramount importance in the definition of their identity. The rebuilding of history in each nation is always a comparative process, since the history of every national group embraces relationships with other groups. Each group’s interpretation of the past determines its positioning in the present and its strategies for the future. These strategies define relationships within and among groups in a dynamic process that may balance between stability or change,
resilience or adjustment, the definition of new borders or their weakening (Cabecinhas, Lima & Chaves, 2006).

Memory is not an individual phenomenon but a social one (Candau, 1998; Halbwachs, [1950] 1997; Laurens, 2002). People can only remember things that are mediated by communication in their respective social groups, i.e., what they can accommodate in their existing social schemes or frames of reference. Collective memory nurtures group identity, presents justifications for groups’ actions and enables collective mobilization (Licata, Klein & Gely, 2007).

Cultural memory (Assmann, 2008) is a continuous process of remembrance and forgetfulness, in which individuals and groups reconfigure their relationship with the past and position themselves in relation to the emergent and established places of memory. The dynamics of cultural memory in the Lusophone public sphere can only be fully understood if we take into account not only social factors, but also economic and power asymmetries, as well as cultural and media frames of memory.

Culture objectifies memories that have proven to be important to the group; it encodes these memories into stories, preserves them in this way, and makes it possible for new members to share group history (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Some authors suggest that social representations are organized through narrative templates (Laszlo, 2003, 2008). Their schematic nature is produced by repeated use of standard narrative forms produced by, for instance, history curricula in schools, monuments, and the mass media. It also guides people’s perceptions of their group identity (Wertsch, 2002).

The ‘Lusophone world’: an imagined community?

As mentioned before, the so-called ‘Lusophone world’ is a highly heterogeneous and dispersed geo-linguist community. At the time of data collection (2010-2012) it included eight countries, one in Europe (Portugal), one in South America (Brazil), one in Asia (East Timor), and five in Africa (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe).

During the second half of the twentieth century, the relationships among the Portuguese-speaking countries were marked by numerous conflicts, tensions and reconfigurations. The colonial/liberation war (1961-1974) evokes painful memories, which were for a long time erased from the Portuguese public sphere. The Carnation
Revolution of 1974\(^2\) lead to a decolonization process, which was the latest one undertaken by an European country.

After gaining their independence, the so-called Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) have undergone profound political and social changes. Angola and Mozambique faced long civil wars and Guinea-Bissau has undergone several internal conflicts and coup d’états. The extremely low level of education and living conditions during colonial period strongly conditioned their social and political development after independence. Nowadays these countries, with exception of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, are still characterized by very low levels of human development, despite the progress registered on the last decade (Human Development Reports, 2016).

Nowadays, four decades after the Carnation Revolution and the end of the colonial/liberation war, the Lusophone rhetoric in Portugal assumes frequently the form of ‘imperial nostalgia’ (Martins, 2006; Carvalho & Cabecinhas, 2013), giving room to conflicts and misunderstandings. These conflicts unleash tense debates on everyday discourse, including in cyberspace (Cabecinhas, 2010; Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010).

The Lusophone bonds now follow new guidelines. The colonial relationship has been allegedly replaced by a post-colonial relationship, set on ‘cooperation’ and ‘solidarity’ values, aiming at ‘expanding and enhancing the Portuguese language’ and preserving ‘a historical link and a shared patrimony resulting from centuries of common experiences’ as proposed in the Constitutive Declaration of the Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP) 3 of 17th July 1996.

Based on the assumption that identity is formed and, at the same time, expressed through relations of power (Dolby, 2006), it is important to consider the present-day transformations in the so-called ‘Lusophone world’ and its consequences in interpersonal and international relations. For example, the asymmetric relationship

\(^2\) The Carnation Revolution was a peaceful revolution that ended 48 years of dictatorial regime in Portugal and triggered the decolonization process, which culminated with the independence of the Guinea-Bissau (1973, recognized by Portugal in 1974), Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, and East Timor in 1975. However East Timor was almost immediately occupied by Indonesia and only re-gained the independence in 2002.
developed between Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African countries was fed, for a long time, by the migratory flows that led Angolans, Cape-Verdeans, Guineans, Mozambicans and people from São Tomé and Príncipe. Vala et al. (2008: 298) argued that the “relations between receiving societies and immigrants is influenced by the representations that receiving societies build regarding their own history, namely their colonial past”. In Portugal, for instance, ‘black’ people are still considered ‘foreigners’, regardless of their nationality and their efforts to be perceived as citizens on equal terms (Cabecinhas, 2002, 2010; Carvalhais, 2007).

More recently, we witness a ‘reverse’ migration flow, with many Portuguese searching for a job opportunity on former Portuguese colonies, due to the huge financial crisis in Portugal. These new dynamics and changes in power relations deserve further research.

Most of the Portuguese speaking countries, cultures and citizens are located in the South hemisphere, traditionally represented as economic and politically ‘less developed’ than the North (Macedo et al., 2013). One of the most remarkable gaps in the contemporaneous world is the digital divide. According to Dahlberg:

There are also inequalities in cyberspace interaction […] These inequalities can be linked to, and in turn reinforce, exclusions from the web. Access restrictions mean that net interaction is dominated by those in any society with the resources to connect: generally white, middle-class, men. (1998: 77)

Furthermore, millions of Lusophone citizens do not have access to the Internet not only because of poor technological infrastructures in their countries, but also because of their social condition that led them to digital illiteracy (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010).

In this research we focus the attention on Internet research methods, departing from the cyberspace narratives shared by a linguistic community. With an estimated total of two hundred and fifty four million speakers in 2011, Portuguese is the official language in eight countries, on four continents, and the spoken language in many minority communities in other nations worldwide.

According to the Internet World Stats/Usage and Population Statistics (n.d.), Portuguese is the sixth most spoken language in the world, and the fifth most
represented in the Internet in number of user. Portugal is the best-positioned Lusophone country in terms of number of Internet users, with 50.7% of the population accessing this communication technology. However, in terms of the total number of users, Brazil is better represented with almost 80 million of citizens communicating in the Portuguese language in the Internet, despite its lower Internet penetration (38.9%).

Among the Lusophone countries, East Timor has the lowest percentage of Internet penetration (0.2%). Guinea-Bissau (2.3%), Mozambique (4.2%), and Angola (5.6%), present also very low percentages of Internet penetration. Comparatively, the percentage of Internet penetration in Cape Verde (28.8%) and São Tomé and Príncipe (17.3%) is higher than expected. As observed by Macedo et al. (2013), the insularity of these two countries, both with huge diasporas in Europe and North America, contribute to increasing the Internet number of users. For these insular citizens the Internet is not only for a window to observe the world, but also a cheaper way to communicate with their relatives and friends living abroad. Therefore, it is important not to forget the relevant contributions of the Portuguese speaking diasporas to the Lusophone communication on the Internet, as well as their role in the (re)making of hybrid identity narratives (Macedo et al., 2013).

Taken into account that language is one of the main elements of culture (Warnier, 2003) and one of the main codes of communication (Watzlawick, Beavin & Cabral, 2010), it is relevant to study how a geographically disperse community of cultures, united by a common language, (re)create identity narratives in cyberspace.

**Lusophone cyberspace cartography and case studies: methodological options**

As noted by Barlow (2008), blogs are a cultural phenomenon as they represent much more than a technological possibility. The author observes that blogs allow citizens to express their own ideas with no previous editorial selection. In this communication ecosystem emerges a great citizen power that escapes to media elites’ authority. For instance, Cross (2011) recognizes that creative and talented people, who have never had an opportunity to be heard, gain a place in mass culture while their ideas and their dreams were broadcasted in the blogosphere.

Another advantage of blogosphere is its interaction possibility as observed by Coady (2011). In fact, blogosphere’s dynamics encourages information consumers to become also information producers. Rosenberg (2009) argues that all these reasons
quickly made the blogosphere to win sympathy of more people than the expected for the blogs’ first enthusiasts. According to Dahlberg:

cyberspace enables all citizens to be heard and treated equally. Social hierarchies and power relations are said to be under cut by the ‘blindness’ of cyberspace to identity, allowing people to interact as if they were equals. (1998: 72)

This enthusiastic idea sometimes leads to an underestimation of the pervasive effects of the divide digital, which prevent significant parcels of the world population to have an active voice in the cyberspace.

As remarked by Macedo et al. (2013: 119), “cyberspace as a study object entails remarkable challenges to researchers, especially because it is an immaterial and highly changeable environment”.

The questions addressed in the first axis of the program of research where the following: How is ‘Lusophony’ constructed in the cyberspace? How are virtual sociability networks established among Portuguese language speakers? How are national narratives constructed in the virtual sphere? How important are virtual networks for the Portuguese language Diaspora?

Our empirical approach to study the Lusophone cyberspace included two main steps. The first one was to chart the map of non-institutional Lusophone political and social websites and weblogs from all Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP). The following step relates to the selection and development of a series of case studies on the ‘virtual’ Lusophone networks.

The first step covered all eight countries. Due to the vastness of the questions to be analysed and to the huge geographic dispersion, we have decided to reduce costs inherent to the following step, by selecting three countries for the comparative analyses: Portugal (Europe), Brazil (South America) and Mozambique (Africa). These countries were selected because they represent the former colonizer and two ex-colonies, with very different socio-economic and regional contexts and human development indexes. Brazil is rising as a global economic power (member of G20) while Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world.

In the scope of the first step – Lusophone cyberspace cartography – we searched
for all non-institutional Lusophone political and social websites and weblogs in all CPLP space. In order to identify this sites and blogs, was included in search engines (eg. Google, Sapo) a set of keywords related to the themes of the project: Lusophony, memory, historical and cultural relations, colonialism, diaspora, migration, social networks, the Portuguese language, identity and cultural diversity. These keywords were introduced simultaneously with the names of the countries that constitute the CPLP.

To complete the cartography, it was necessary to create categories according to the websites and weblogs origins, themes and styles. At a further stage the identified websites and weblogs were allocated into those categories, describing each one and analysing their contents. The most important websites and weblogs on ‘Lusophone’ issues were analysed, resulting in a cartography with 350 identified sites and blogs (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010).

After making a general cartography of the Lusophone cyberpace (step 1), it was done a selection of fifteen sites and blogs on Lusophone issues for case studies (step 2): five from Brazil, five from Mozambique and five from Portugal (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2011).

To prepare this work, a specific ‘case study’ guide was created to help the analysis of the selected sites and blogs in regard to their authors, readers and discussants’ profiles, their thematic approaches and their constituted sociability networks.

Authors’ profiles: by analysing the selected sites and blogs broadsheet, were collected important data such as the starting year and the author’s demographic profile (age, gender, occupation, interests and others…). It was also important to make semi-structured interviews with these authors. Our goal was to improve our knowledge on the authors’ profiles, to collect their opinion about who interacts in the site/blog, as well as their own Lusophony representations.

Readers and discussants’ profiles: Through the various traffic quantifying systems – installed in most of them –, was possible to analyse all statistical information related to the popularity of the selected sites and blogs (quantification of the number of visits or consulted pages) or the readers’ profile in terms of their location (by country).

Thematic approaches: Using the content analysis method, the focused themes were studied as well as the way in which these themes (objectivity, depth, critical view)
and the main information sources (through other blogs or online newspapers hyperlinks) were discussed.

Sociability networks: United around common interests, many website and weblog authors put hyperlinks to their preferred sites and blogs, trying to shift the reader’s attention towards other opinions and comments. In this virtual communicating context of Portuguese language, it was important to study, how sociability networks are structured, specifically between Brazilian, Mozambican and Portuguese authors.

As mentioned before, the first step of the research process was to establish the Lusophone cyberspace cartography. One of the enduring problems of Internet research is how map out the universe of blogs, web pages, etc. in one’s area of interest. It became a great methodological challenge because of the Internet’s unpredictable dynamics. Everyday there are new blogs and sites online, and some blogs and sites disappear. As Robinson (2001: 713) notes “Internet data can be ephemeral. A site may be present one day and gone the next. Sites are sometimes closed down or consolidated into other sites”. Schneider and Kirsten (2004: 115) also remind that, “The nature of the web […] is a unique mixture of the ephemeral and the permanent”.

In order to deal with the ephemeral nature of the Internet blogs and sites, it was defined a period of time for the cartography to be prepared: from July to September 2010. First, all non-institutional blogs and sites that had a theme directly or indirectly linked to Lusophone issues were identified in cyberspace in order to build and to circumscribe the research corpus. Second, the identified blogs and sites’ activity was monitored within these months. Third, these blogs and sites links were ordered into categorized tables by countries and by specific sub-issues. Finally, this information was organized with the help of a graph-visualization software called Ucinet in order to find the networks among the corpus of blogs and sites. These networks are represented in graphics as cartography’s ‘constellations’. The cartography obtained with these research tools only represents a fragment, a kind of snapshot at a particular period of time. It is interesting to verify that Diminescu (2012) methodological steps of mapping e-diasporas confirm this approach to cyberspace cartographies.
The research team recognized that this cartography could become quickly outdated. For example, two of the blogs of the cartography, selected for in-depth case studies, became sites and two other blogs were closed down.

The second step of this research about Lusophone narratives in cyberspace was to do in-depth case studies of fifteen selected blogs and sites from Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal. For this work, an approach including texts and images’ content analyses, statistical analyses of the visits and an interview with the author, or the main author, of each blog or site, was proposed. This approach seemed a good way of doing the case studies because this formula was tested in an exploratory study (Macedo, 2009), and it had worked quite well. To do this, a cyberspace narrative analysis protocol was developed in order to select the posts and the images in each blog or site to be analysed, within the period of time initially defined.

However, another methodological challenge was immediately found: the blogs and sites contents have a huge diversity of forms (text, images, videos, comments, etc.) and ways and time to be fed. Each blog or site is quite distinctive and there are no rules to perform content production. This experience seems to confirm the assertion of Stanton and Rogelberg (2001: 214) when they observed: “A great deal of methodological research is needed to truly understand how to design and interpret data collected from the Internet and intranets”. Schneider and Kirsten (2004: 116) also note that “Web-based media require new methods of analyzing form and content, along with processes and patterns of production, distribution, usage and interpretation”. Consequently, we realized that is impossible to establish a universal protocol to do content analyses in Internet and the previous cyberspace narrative analysis protocol was discarded.

The solution was to do specific content analyses for each blog or site. The selection of posts and images within a period of time was also rejected, because it was found that sometimes the most interesting posts and images were not within this interval. In order to answer this challenge, diachronic and synchronic content analyses were done, with the examination of all the contents in general and of the most commented posts and images in particular.

The case studies of the fifteen blogs and sites also supposed, as it was anticipated, statistical analysis to study the quantity, the origin and the duration of the

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4 For an in-depth discussion of the methodological challenges faced during the research see Macedo et al., 2013.
visits to each blog or site selected in this research. Fortunately, the researchers understood very early that including frequent and long visits to the selected blogs and sites to study their contents, inflated some statistics in each one of them: the number of visitors, the visitors’ origin and the visit average time, e.g.. It was important to remember that this observation probably would have changed the object behaviour, namely in those blogs and sites less visited. The Heisenberg’s uncertainty principle, which demonstrated us that the observation act is enough to modify the observed object’s behaviour, especially if the object is small (Barrow, 2005), was present in this research. Consequently, the researchers took it as a valid methodological concern.

To reduce the subjectivity imposed by the researchers’ observations in the statistic analysis, all the blogs and sites contents were recorded. This solution brought two benefits to the research: on one hand, it avoided the frequent visits to the blogs and sites; and, on the other hand, it gave the reassurance that researchers will always have the contents even if the blog was shut down. This procedure was suggested by Robinson (2001: 713): “All narrative data obtained from the Internet should be retained either in a file or as a printed copy. This will ensure that the data are available for further analysis or audit”. In fact, this option allowed the researchers to analyse unreservedly the blogs and sites’ contents with no apprehension of increasing the effects of the Heisenberg uncertainty principle or of losing web access to the research data (Macedo et al., 2013).

According to the case study guidelines, it was necessary to interview authors of the selected blogs and sites to better understand some characteristics of these study objects. However, the exploratory studies (Macedo, 2009) demonstrated the influence of the interview on the way contents were produced in blogs and sites after the contact. Actually, it is impossible to do an interview without influencing the interviewee’s way of thinking. The research relationship is, firstly, a ‘social relationship’ and therefore exerts effects on the results obtained and on the social actors involved. In this sense, the researcher cannot forget that, when s/he observes a given reality, s/he is also influenced by it. As the ‘lens’ that we use for this observation is permeated by our previous experiences and our own representations, also the ‘lens’ of who is observed is loaded with the meanings of her/his culture. This is an old and a well-know methodological issue. However, what is significant in this research experience is to observe the reproducibility of this influence effect in the cyberspace environment. In fact, some contents posted by the bloggers, after the
interview, were clearly influenced by the researcher interview or, which is more remarkable, were about the interview as itself. It would be possible to accept this as a benefit as the Anglo-Saxon ethnographers did since the late 1960’s (Mattelart & Mattelart, 2002). The reflexivity, proposed by Garfinkel (1967), conceptualises the dialectical relationship between the action and the context. In other words, the reflexivity is to understand that the context influences the action content and the action also contributes to the progressively developed sense of the context. So, the result of the researcher action gives meaning to her/his research practices. By examining relationships in cyberspace among people, places, practices and things, the Internet researcher is producing a part of the research context as noted by Sterne (1999). Following this line of thought, Jones observed:

Scholars studying the Internet must be reflexive, for (at least) two reasons. First, we have all, scholar and citizen alike, become savvy media consumers […] The second reason […] is that the Internet is both embedded in academic life and owes much of its existence and conceptualisation to academia […] The research process is no less part of the ongoing construction of individual and collective reality than is the Internet – and discourse within it and external to it. Framed that way, it is possible to consider the nature of research as a meaning-making process, as a version of reality […]. (1999: 8-11)

The interviews with the bloggers were done taking into account the reflexivity of this action, knowing that the interview would probably influence the future contents of the blogs.

**Results**

In this section we will present briefly the results concerning the Lusophone cyberspace cartography analysis; the content analysis of interviews with the authors of blogs selected for case studies and to the blogs contents - five blogs from Brazil, five from Mozambique, and five from Portugal. Special attention will be given to the bloggers’ representations of the concept of Lusophony. Furthermore, preliminary results will be presented regarding the social networks established within the three
studied blogospheres.

1. **Lusophone Cyberspace Cartography**

As proposed in the first axis of this program of research, a Lusophone cyberspace cartography with 350 identified sites and blogs was developed (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010). This sites/blogs were created between 1998 and 2010, with the majority being updated in 2010, the year we collected the data concerning the cartography.

With regard to thematic analysis of blogs, most of them discuss political and social issues, with reflections that allow analyzing the social representations and individual opinions about the present situation of their country. There are a wide variety of themes when analyzing the contents of blogs/sites. However, most of these themes are related with social, political and cultural issues. The theme Society/News is the one that incorporates a greater number of sites/blogs (46.8%). This means that a large majority of sites/blogs analyzed discuss current issues (clashes, social problems, political dynamics, etc.). A large segment of the examined blogs/sites have more generalist posts. These blogs were also integrated in the thematic category Society/News. In Lusophone cyberspace a variety of social networks and forums allow contact and sharing opinions and experiences on the social, economic and political reality lived in some CPLP countries. In this sense, the themes in most blogs/websites are those related to Society/News (163 blogs), Politics (62 blogs), Lusophony (29 blogs) and Culture (24 blogs).

With regard to the authors of blogs/sites, no information was gathered about the profession, since this data rarely appears in the author's profile. Nevertheless, most of the authors that refer their professional activities are working in the fields of journalism, literature, economics and education. There are also spaces created by students, particularly college students. Many of the authors of the websites/blogs do not provide their contacts in profile, thus to obtain these data it was essential to thorough research.

Most of the examined blogs/websites were written exclusively in Portuguese language (88,7%). However, 5,2% used other language(s) in addition to the Portuguese. Cape Verde is the country that presents the largest number of blogs/websites written in other languages besides the Portuguese (Creole, English,
Italian). In East Timor, there was a variety of blogs/websites developed in Tetum and Portuguese, 2%.

2. **Representations of Lusophony: interviews and blogs content analysis**

As mentioned before, the second step was to conducted in-depth case studies of fifteen selected blogs and sites from the selected country: five in Brazil, five in Mozambique, and five in Portugal. In each country we conducted an in-depth interview with the blogger responsible for the edition of each selected blog, and we proceed to an analysis of the blog content.

The subsample of Brazilian blogs presents diverse representations concerning Lusophony. The explicit expression of an understanding of what Lusophony should be appears only in one of the blogs: *Lusofonia Horizontal* (Horizontal Lusophony)\(^5\). Regarding this blog, the author's texts convey the idea of a postcolonial Lusophony, as a shared, equal or horizontal construction, among citizens who express themselves in Portuguese language. The author presents the Lusophony as a desirable and possible project, corresponding to a kind of brotherhood of Portuguese speaking peoples, transcending national borders.

In the remaining four blogs, the issue of Lusophony is addressed indirectly, i.e., published posts do not refer specifically to issues related to the understanding of the authors on this ‘imagined’ community, but rather questions associated to history and cultural heritage, as well as current international relations among Portuguese speaking peoples. For example, there were several posts on the life and work of Father António Vieira (considered the first Luso-Brazilian intellectual); on the alleged Portuguese roots of Christopher Columbus; on international aid of Brazil to Portuguese-speaking African countries; and on aspects of Brazilian culture inherited from the Portuguese culture (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2011).

During the interviews, three of the Brazilian bloggers mentioned they do not believe in Lusophony as a cultural project, resulting from the desire to share a common identity among people of Portuguese language. The other two bloggers considered Lusophony to be a legitimate idea, nevertheless with the necessity to be reworked.

\(^5\) [http://lusofoniahorizontal.blogspot.com](http://lusofoniahorizontal.blogspot.com).
According to the author of *Lusofonia Horizontal*, interviewed for this research⁶, this is because there still remains a strong ideological charge associated with the idea of Lusophony: in large part, this seems to be an extension of the idea of Portugueseness, which cannot be accepted by those looking for an open and horizontal cultural system, interconnected with other systems, where Portugal do not plays the central role. The author of the site *Cultura Brasil - Portugal* (Brazil – Portugal Culture), interviewed for the current project⁷, conceives Lusophony as a result of multiple cultural exchanges between the citizens of the Portuguese-speaking countries. It is interesting to note that recently the author have changed the name of the site to *Cultura Brasil-Europa* (Culture Brazil-Europe), possibly to attract more Brazilians readers, since the site is still written in Portuguese.

All Brazilian bloggers admit there is a ‘mutual ignorance’ among the different Lusophone countries. For this reason, they seek, through their publications, to create ‘tools for a better understanding’ among Lusophone peoples. For one of the bloggers, the notion of Lusophony is a false question because he thinks the issue of Brazilian identity in terms of South America and not in terms of its links with the Portuguese colonial heritage. For him, identity is constructed through proximity and affinity, especially with regard to geography and culture.

Two authors consider that writing their blogs or websites in Portuguese language brings advantages, such as cultural sharing with other Portuguese-speaking citizens and many followers around the world. However, the other three consider that there are limits. The same authors admit that if their blogs were written in English or Spanish they could have many more followers. One of these interlocutors admitted that the ideal would be to publish a bilingual blog. However, all note that the Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world, although it is a language without international recognition.

In general, the authors report that Brazil's blogosphere is uneven and in many countries of Portuguese language internet has a weak coverage and few people have access to it. Nevertheless, all admit that Lusophone blogosphere have many quality

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⁶ Interview with Daniel Cunha, author of *Lusofonia Horizontal*, done in São Paulo (Brazil), on January 11th, 2011.

⁷ Interview with Edna Quadros, author of Cultura Brasil – Portugal, done in Lisbon (Portugal), on January 19th, 2011.
blogs, including those from the countries where the technological infrastructure restricts the creation of the authors (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2011).

Lusophony and Lusophone identity are concepts that make little sense to the authors of Mozambican blogs. This positioning was evident in both, the analysis of these blogs content and in the interviews with the authors.

Among the five Mozambican blogs studied, four of them - dedicated to the country and/or mozambicanity - refer to Lusophony in an indirect way. A post with reference to a Mozambican citizen infected with H1N1, in Lisbon, during the ‘Lusophone Games’ (Jogos da Lusofonia); a text which reflects on the 122 years of existence of the city of Maputo, with references to the architecture of the colonial period, or a publication on the meeting of CPLP economists in Maputo are examples of how the issue of Lusophony is treated indirectly by Mozambican bloggers.

In the Ma-Schamba blog, written by a Portuguese citizen resident in Mozambique, Lusophony is a concept to avoid. Having written a great succession of posts in which he stands radically opposed to this concept, the author of the blog is playfully critical when in an interview said ‘the construction of Lusophony is bullshit’, ‘is intellectual garbage’\(^8\). His speech (whether written or oral) underlies the understanding of the Lusophone project associated with a Lusocentric misconception, therefore to him it is an unnecessary and even dangerous term.

The author of B’andhla refers in an interview\(^9\):

the reaction I got with Lusophony […] all relationships are actually power relations, but the symbology that I particularly would assign to this relationship, Lusophony still contains elements of coloniality [...].

The author continues his reflection saying\(^10\):

\(^8\) Interview with José Pimentel Teixeira, author of Ma-Schamba, done in Maputo (Mozambique), on January 24\(^{th}\), 2011.

\(^9\) Interview with Patrício Langa, author of B’andhla, done in Maputo (Mozambique), on January 25\(^{th}\), 2011.

\(^10\) Idem.
is not something I would say that I am identify with, I may identify with the denial, the denial of this abstract entity that is politically constructed, obviously with a political purpose, to maintain a completely extemporaneous legacy [...] [Still on Lusophony, the author concludes] There is a political project, a neocolonial project, that conveys the cover of multiculturalism and whose discursive anchor, whose description language is the Lusophony

In his speech the blogger denounces the Lusocentric misconception of Lusophony, a perspective that sees the Portuguese language as an instrument of power and domination.

The other Mozambican bloggers admit that they do not reflect much on the topic of Lusophone issues because, as one of them mentioned, "in practice they translate into nothing". This observation is reinforced by another author which emphasizes that Lusophony does not exist and the other Portuguese-speaking countries are not interested in Mozambique. Economic interests make them to focus their attention on Angola.

About the fact that their blogs are written in Portuguese, one of the authors argues that it does not bring more readers and followers, because it readers are exclusively Mozambicans, especially those in the Diaspora. Further the blogger refer that the Mozambican blogosphere does not matter to other Portuguese-speaking citizens, since they are unaware of the country reality.

With a different opinion, three of the bloggers consider that by their blogs being written in Portuguese allows them to interact with other Portuguese-speaking citizens, including Brazilian and Portuguese with interest in Africa. One author refers that when accessing a Cape Verdean blog he could not read it because it was written in Creole. On the one hand, it seemed interesting for the preservation of the local language, on the other hand, the author realized the scope of the Portuguese language

11 Interview with Egidio Vaz, author of Contrapeso 3.0, done in Maputo (Mozambique), on January 20th, 2011.
and how it can bring its speakers to cyberspace. Indeed, one of these authors admits that his blog would have more impact if it were written in English or French.

Interestingly, none of the Mozambicans bloggers considers the possibility of writing in the various local languages, even those who have chosen a name inspired by African languages to their blog.

Finally, the case studies conducted with Portuguese blogs revealed speeches, experiences and opinions with a more favourable positioning concerning Lusophony, although the approaches are very diverse among the five blogs studied.

The blog *Etnias – O bisturí da Sociedade* (Ethnicities - The scalpel of Society)\(^ {12}\), presents two distinct series related with Lusophony: (i) information published on the Lusophone countries (geography, demography, economy, etc...); (ii) ‘The Death of the Portuguese Language’, connected with the effects of Orthographic Agreement among the Portuguese Speaking Countries. In an interview carried out on 20th April 2011, in Lisbon, the author of this blog says that these are the most visited series by her followers, possibly due to the mutual lack of knowledge that exists among Lusophone countries.

The blog *Alto Hama*\(^ {13}\) dedicated several posts to current political and economic situation in Angola, relating it often with Portugal and the other Portuguese-speaking countries.

Reflections on the possibilities of a different Portugal - a Portugal able to build bridges with other people and other cultures -, is the dominant theme of the blog *Outro Portugal* (Another Portugal)\(^ {14}\).

In the case studies, it was integrated a blog whose main theme is the memory of the colonial war in Africa, *Luís Graça e Camaradas da Guiné* (Luís Graça and Guinea Comrades)\(^ {15}\). In this blog, dedicated to this conflict in Guinea-Bissau, the author and his collaborators offer a variety of informations on Guinea's colonial

\(^{12}\) [http://max-etnias.blogspot.com/]

\(^{13}\) [http://altohama.blogspot.com/]

\(^{14}\) [http://umoutroportugal.blogspot.com/]

\(^{15}\) [http://blogueforanadaevaotres.blogspot.com/]
period (memories of war, military charts, maps, etc...); on current Guinea (especially about the reality of the country); and on the meetings of former combatants.

In *Buala*¹⁶ site there are several texts that problematize the concept of Lusophony and various other aspects of the Lusophone culture(s), particularly in Africa.

The meanings of the Lusophony conveyed by the discourse of the Portuguese bloggers are clearly more favourable than those revealed by Brazilian and Mozambican bloggers. For one of the Portuguese bloggers, Paulo Borges, author of *Outro Portugal*, Lusophony corresponds to an ‘armillary vision’ of the world, a vision in which Portugal and the other Portuguese-speaking countries can form bridges or links, connecting different peoples and cultures¹⁷.

Another interviewee, Marta Lança, author of *Buala*, conceives Lusophony as the knowledge of the singularities of each Portuguese-speaking country and not as a homogeneous culture. According to her, it is on the differences that make sense to find the Lusophone identity and build the Lusophone community¹⁸.

The author of one of the blogs studied, Max Coutinho from *Etnias*, states that "one should not be ashamed or hide colonialism because the bad side of this period of history has passed [What remains, she said] […] is good: the multiculture”¹⁹. Hence, the same author, admits that one of her goals is to foster, in her readers, the proud to be Lusophone. This understanding is near to the myth of Lusotropicalism and the belief in an allegedly especial Portuguese aptitude for the multiculturalism.

All interviewees assume that they seek, through their communication devices on the web, to raise awareness regarding the Lusophone identity. However, one of the bloggers warns that Lusophony mean little to the new generations, stating that, in the Portuguese case, young people are increasingly oriented to Europe.

Portuguese authors admit that social memory is one of the central themes when they are editing web content. According to one of the bloggers, Luís Graça from *Luís

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¹⁷ Interview with Paulo Borges, author of *Outro Portugal*, done in Lisbon (Portugal), on April 19th, 2011.

¹⁸ Interview with Marta Lança, author of *Buala*, done in Lisbon (Portugal), on April 18th, 2011.

¹⁹ Interview with Max Coutinho, author of *Etnias*, done in Lisbon (Portugal), on April 20th, 2011.
Graça & Camaradas da Guiné blog, this approach is important “especially for African countries, since they have a very fragmented memory of their past”\textsuperscript{20}. Another author, Marta Lança, states that it is crucial to appeal to the memory of contemporary African history if we intend to understand the Portuguese-speaking African countries. Preserve and disseminate Lusophone cultural heritage is one of the goals of the other bloggers, Paulo Borges, who believes in the importance of ‘render this memory present and project it into the future’.

These authors consider that the Portuguese language is important in the dissemination of their ideas, justifying their opinion with the high number of Portuguese speakers around the world. However, two of the interviewees, Marta Lança and Luís Graça, reported that the demographics of the Portuguese language are overestimated, since most of the citizens of African countries whose official language is Portuguese do not master it. Still, they consider that the Portuguese language has a large global and far-reaching audience.

Luís Graça admits, however, that it would be interesting to publish also texts in English and French on their blogs in order to reach more people. Another blogger, Max Coutinho, who began to have a blog in English, refers to having created a blog in Portuguese in respect for her followers, resulting in an increase in the number of Portuguese-speaking readers. Meanwhile, another interviewee, Marta Lança, believes that producers of web content in Portuguese still did not realize the extent that this may have “because they do not remember that their texts may be read outside their country”\textsuperscript{21}. In general, these authors consider the Portuguese language as a language of cohesion, culture and globalization.

All interlocutors mentioned also that they have followers and/or collaborators on other Portuguese-speaking countries, allowing them to strengthen ties with these people through the blogosphere. Incidentally, one of the bloggers, Orlando Castro, says his goal is to make a ‘meeting point’ available to Lusophone citizens\textsuperscript{22}. One of the bloggers interviewed, Marta Lança, notes that this type of relationship enhances job opportunities in the Portuguese-speaking world, including invitations to

\textsuperscript{20} Interview with Luís Graça, author of Luís Graça & Camaradas da Guiné, done in Lisbon (Portugal), at April 19th, 2011.

\textsuperscript{21} Interview with Marta Lança, author of Buala, done in Lisbon (Portugal), on April 18th, 2011.

\textsuperscript{22} Interview with Orlando Castro, author of Alto Hama, done in Matosinhos (Portugal), on March 22th, 2011.
participate in conferences and exhibitions. Another blogger, Paulo Borges, goes even further, opining that cyberspace is a sort of realization of the myth of the ‘Fifth Empire’, where a cultural community with Lusophone roots extends to a planetary level. In a statement this author said: “In addition to being Portuguese, Brazilians, Angolans, and Mozambicans, we are also Lusophone peoples and live the Lusophony in this virtual space”\(^{23}\). In the view of this blogger, the fragmented geographic Lusophone space becomes a unified space in the cyberspace.

Portuguese bloggers, in general, revealed a positive opinion on the quality of content that is accessible on Lusophone blogosphere. One of the authors, Orlando Castro, even consider that this is ‘active, dynamic and critical’, taking the place left open by traditional media regarding the discussion of issues of interest to citizens\(^{24}\). Of course, these authors consider there is also lower quality material, including nationalist, nostalgic, and prejudiced contents.

One of the authors, Max Coutinho, state that this is more common in Portugal since the access to the blogosphere is more democratized. In other countries, with stronger digital divide, only elites publish on blogs, so that the material placed there turns out to be more selected (for a more detailed discussion of this issue see Macedo \textit{et al.}, 2011).

3. **Social Networks**

With the aim to examine the established networks among bloggers of the established cartography, the following stage was the study of social relations among bloggers in the context of the Brazilian, Mozambican and Portuguese blogospheres (see Macedo, Macedo & Cabecinhas, 2014).

The goal of social network analysis is to detect effects of networks on individuals and groups, realizing the impact of a given network structure on actors and groups and explain their behaviour through the networks in which they move.

\(^{23}\) Interview with Paulo Borges, author of \textit{Outro Portugal}, done in Lisbon (Portugal), on April 19th, 2011.

\(^{24}\) Interview with Orlando Castro, author of \textit{Alto Hama}, done in Matosinhos (Portugal), on March 22th, 2011.
Indeed, through the choices they make on how to interact with others arise different types of networks.

Starting from these premises, we first develop a database for each blogosphere, of the three selected countries. Each blog in this blogospheres was encoded (eg. A1, A2, A3). Then, on each blog was collected the list of links that the author selected to be displayed, usually on the right side bar of the blog. From this information, we list the various blogs (eg. A1 connects to A2 and A3; A2 connects to A1, etc…). After analyzing the list of links, using the program UCINET (Software Package for Social Network Analysis), such information was inserted in the program (0 - no relation, 1 - relation). This software includes a tool for network visualization, NetDraw, which we used to present the established networks within each blogosphere. In addition, were signalized in the graphs the blogs selected for case studies, in order to illustrate its position within the blogosphere.

The analysis of the three blogospheres must be based on the real context to which we refer. For example, the Brazilian blogosphere is quite dispersed, organizing itself into small groups, reflecting the size of the country and of the blogosphere. Indeed, although our database included more than sixty Brazilian blogs, only half of them actually maintain relationships in the cyberspace. The immensity of the Brazilian blogosphere explains, for example, the fact that this network comprises only one of the blogs selected for case study - the blog Trezentos (Three Hundred)\(^25\).

Regarding the Mozambican blogosphere, bloggers consider it a cohesive virtual space, accessed by an elite. In fact, the more recent development of the blogosphere, and the internet limitations access (except in some urban areas), determines that most accesses are performed during the work period. In this case the analysis of the interviews allows complementing this discussion, since they indicates that some bloggers have personal meetings, and know each other. These findings are even clearer when we look at who comments on blogs, the same elite who have their own blogs. In this case, all the blogs selected for the case study are part of this network and three of these blogs are still in the core of this network, revealing places of power and influence: Ximbitane\(^{26}\), Rabiscando Moçambique (Scribbling Mozambique)\(^{27}\) and Contrapeso 3.0 (Counterbalance 3.0).

\(^{25}\) http://www.trezentos.blog.br/

\(^{26}\) http://ximbitane.blogspot.com/
The social networks in the case of Portuguese blogosphere have some similarities with the Mozambican blogosphere, however with more dense interconnections. The blogs selected for case study are not integrated in this network, which is related to the fact that we have undertaken a pre-selection according to the themes of the research project, which are not the most debated subjects in the Portuguese blogosphere. As discussed earlier, the most debated topics in the Portuguese blogosphere are those related to Society/News and Politics. With regard to the more central and powered blogs in this network, blogs with access to information and consequently with more distribution ability, are those who are also spaces of political intervention, often connected with political parties. This research on sociability networks was presented in a more in-depth way by Macedo et al. (2014), illustrating graphically the digital networks established among Portuguese-speaking bloggers, deepening and complementing the ongoing research.

Closing remarks

Despite the extreme importance of the Internet as a communication technology in the global world, there is a long way to go on the research of cyberspace narratives. As a consequence, the literature on this subject research methodology is not enough to allow an indisputable research design. As argued by Schneider and Kirsten (2004: 119), “The emergence of the Internet, and especially the web, has challenged scholars conducting research to both adapt familiar methods and develop innovative approaches that account for the unique aspects of the web”.

The dynamics of Internet are very unpredictable; consequently, the Internet is an environment that easily generates methodological traps. Surely, Internet has much more methodological difficulties than those described in this research experience. What researchers have to do is to transform these methodological difficulties into methodological challenges. Although, it is important to recognize that the methodological approach reported in this paper is only one of the many different ways to face the described challenges.

In this paper we reported the methodological approach and some results concerning our program of research on the Lusophone cyberspace, including: (i)

27 http://basiliomuhate.blogspot.com/
contributions to the Lusophone cyberspace cartography, (ii) the case studies in three Lusophone countries, with in-depth analyses of five blogs in each country and interviews with the respective bloggers, and (iii) preliminary results on the cyberspace social networks in the Lusophone cyberspace.

Concerning the contributions to a cyberspace cartography, this analysis revealed that the ‘virtual’ space reflects many of the characteristics of the ‘real’ space: this virtual space appears as a place for sharing anxieties among bloggers and between these and other voices that reveal similar concerns, creating a virtual identity, product of their relationship in cyberspace (Mitra, 2008).

The results of the case studies conducted in Brazil, Mozambique, and Portugal, show that the meanings attributed to Lusophony are very different in the blogs of these three countries. In Mozambican blogs the Lusophony concept is actively contested. Brazilian blogs have the most diverse and diffuse positioning regarding this issue. In general, the Brazilian respondents identify themselves with a South American identity while conceiving the Lusophony as an open system interconnected with other linguistic and cultural systems.

Mozambicans and Brazilians bloggers interviewed are sceptical about the size and scope of the Portuguese language in the world, revealing that its use has limits in the cyberspace. In the perspective of these bloggers, writing in English, Spanish or French, it would allow them to get a greater number of collaborators and followers, giving greater projection to their texts.

Unsurprisingly, the Portuguese blogs are does that feature more favourable representations of the Lusophony. Portuguese bloggers discourses convey conceptions ranging from a ‘multicultural community’ in line with the myth of a ‘Fifth Empire’, in which a cultural community with Lusophone roots is seen as promoting mutual understanding between people across the globe (Macedo et al., 2010).

It is important to go further with this research, doing an in-depth analysis on the representations of Lusophony disseminated in cyberspace, looking to understand how these different representations affect the cultural memory and the current lives of the citizens who express themselves in Portuguese language. Moreover, an in-depth study of digital social networks will enable a more comprehensive, critical and integrated analysis of the Lusophone Cyberspace.
References


### Blogs and sites

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