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14

The community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries: The role of language in a globalizing world

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ABSTRACT

Building on Joseph Nye's concept of soft power, this paper conducts a case study analysis on the role and relevance of language in the Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP). This organization was built on the shared history and language of its eight member states – Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe and Timor-Leste – and has recently attracted the interest of many states in and out of the Atlantic Basin. In this context, language is one of the assets allowing this organization to increase its international projection and attractiveness. Notwithstanding, it is also true that recent power configurations in the South Atlantic – with energy and security matters at its core – has also contributed to increasing the CPLP's 'magnetism'. Hence, we argue that language has allowed the CPLP to project soft power (through the pivotal role played by the governments of Portugal and Brazil), but that language itself has in turn benefited from the economic attractiveness of the organization. Many states in and out of the Atlantic Basin now perceive the CPLP as a relevant forum through which they can reach the 'Lusophone world'. In as much as entering the CPLP requires compliance with certain political values and the adoption of the Portuguese language (or of policies that promote its diffusion) there is a new opportunity to increase language potential.

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1. Introduction: modernity, globalization, and the relevance of language

Modernization is equated with several contemporary phenomena, ranging from the spread of political and economic institutions (nation-state, democracy, capitalism, military, and industrialism) to the globalization of social relations linking distant localities and events "in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990, 64). Beyond that, modernization is hallmarked by a process of *cultural diffusion*,¹ to which language is crucial (Berger and Huntington 2002). Indeed, the emerging global culture has been underlined by the spread of English "in its American rather than British form" (Berger and Huntington 2002, 3), and by what many have labeled as new form of cultural imperialism through which American or Western cultural goods and practices are diffused throughout the world (for example, Held 2004).

Although it is facing resistance in many corners of the world (Berger and Huntington 2002²; Aysha 2005³), this process of "Americanization," as Aysha (2005) calls it, has led to the emergence of English as the foremost international language, or *lingua franca*, in straight competition with indigenous supranational languages (De Swaan 1993)⁴. Furthermore, the spread of this language is connected with an increase of economic and political power, as the U.S. case clearly illustrates (De Swaan 1993).

In the field of international relations, the concept of soft power proposed by Joseph Nye offers a fruitful ground to analyze how culture and language comes into play in a world characterized by multifaceted relations between the states as well as growing interdependence. According to this researcher:

The soft power of a country rests heavily on three basic resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority). (Nye 2011, 84)

Different from hard power, which expresses the country's ability to coerce out of its military and economic capacity, soft power "arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies" (Nye 2004, x). In fact, in the works of Nye (2004; 2008; 2010), U.S.-abundant soft power is seen as a necessary condition of its long-lasting predominance in international relations. In this literature, the role of language has been considered key to the effectiveness of soft power. For instance, Machete (2006) used this concept to highlight the relevance of the Portuguese language and culture in the country's international projection, while Henriques and Paradelo (2006) use language as one indicator to measure a country's soft power. They argue that because language is associated with the image of a country, its international utilization is a clear indication of soft power; that is, of how well a country has projected itself.

¹ Or *cultural globalization*, to use Held's conceptualization (2004).

² Berger and Huntington (2002, 12-14) distinguished cases of alternative globalizations, that is, "cultural movements with a global outreach originating outside the Western world and indeed impacting on the latter" and subglobalizations, that is, "movements with a regional rather than global reach that nevertheless are instrumental in connecting the societies on which they impinge with the emerging global culture" (one example of this is 'Europeanization').

³ Aysha (2005) shows that after 9/11, Americanization failed to work in the Arab world.

⁴ For example, this happened in the "East African constellations of Kiswahili and English" and in India, where "English and Hindi are rivals" (De Swaan 1993, 222).

For all the above points, the study of language is meaningful on at least three marks. First, it is a quintessential source of symbolic capital, exchangeable into economic and political capital (Bourdieu 1991), and part of the anatomy of power that shapes inter-state relations in the modern world. Second, beyond a mark of national cultures and identities, language is a crucial tool of *cultural diffusion* and it underlines the process of *institutional diffusion* (Giddens 1990, 1991; Berger and Huntington 2002). Thirdly, it is easily seen as an indicator of global presence and it has been said to encompass both a valued and a communicational potential or relevance (Calvet and Calvet 2010, 2012). In the current debates about globalization, despite the fact that English has emerged as the *lingua franca*, there are struggles between nation-states and linguistics communities to develop and disseminate their languages and cultures as means to increase their presence in the world (Casadevall e Requena 2005, 137). It is in the scope of this literature that this paper examines the role of language in the Atlantic Basin and in the Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP).

For the purposes of this paper, the Atlantic Basin includes those countries bordering the Atlantic Ocean, direct coastline countries in the Caribbean, and the EU-27 and Switzerland. The CPLP is a multilateral forum founded in 1996 and initially composed of eight full members – Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, and Timor-Leste – reaching four continents for a total terrestrial area of 11 million km². These eight states share a common language and history as a result of the Portuguese colonization process; nevertheless, they are remarkably different in several other aspects, notably political stability (e.g. Angola was at war until 2002 and Guinea-Bissau recurrently experiences episodes of political instability), economic development (with Brazil as the most vibrant economy in the organization), democratic performance (with Cape Verde as an exemplary case), and linguistic and cultural diversity (with Angola and Mozambique being more heterogeneous than for instance Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe). More recently, the CPLP has experienced an enlargement, which allowed the inclusion of three associate observer states: Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, and Senegal. The former is now under an accession program to acquire full membership.

Our analysis will show that language is both a source and a target of soft power. More clearly put, to the extent that the CPLP raises interest in other matters (energy and security matters, for instance) and more states manifest the will to "join the club", an opportunity exists to increase the potential of the Portuguese language internationally.

2. Dynamics of language in the Atlantic Basin and in the CPLP: relevance and questions

This paper deals with three main questions. Firstly, "What are the dynamics of language within the Atlantic Basin?". This introductory question examines whether there are significant differences across regions within the Atlantic Basin regarding linguistic diversity, political development, and whether language is relevant in structuring countries' preferences in terms of their affiliations to organizations. Even though there is an incredibly rich linguistic panorama, the truth is that four main languages – English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese – are prominent and that the majority of countries in the Atlantic Basin pertain to associations or organizations structured around shared language and history (developed in section 4).

Secondly, "How have the policies of language evolved within the CPLP?" Language is the backbone of the CPLP; however, only recently there have been relevant political

decisions to endow its *Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa/ International Institute of the Portuguese Language (I IPL)*⁵ with statutes and autonomy to develop concrete activities for the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture around the world. Still, given the I IPL's limited role in this matter, the governments of Portugal and Brazil have taken the lead. Within the CPLP, Portuguese is a *de facto* national language in Brazil and Portugal, but in the other member states it "coexists" with many other local and native languages⁶, which are valued by their populations (Teyssier 1993; Cesnova 2007). Outside the CPLP, Portugal and Brazil have contributed to increasing the number of Portuguese students in the four corners of the world (developed in sections 5 and 6).

Thirdly, "What is the potential of the Portuguese language?" As briefly mentioned above, the members of the CPLP are strikingly different (economically, politically, linguistically, and culturally). Moreover (and as we shall see later), they belong to other organizations forged upon shared language and history, notably The Commonwealth⁷ and the *Organization Internationale de La Francophonie (OIF)*⁸. Each of these organizations is interested in promoting its language as a source of power. Being both the smallest and the youngest, the CPLP has recently (2005) enacted reforms to allow the integration of associate observer states (to increase international projection) and consultative observers (a status given to civil society organizations or institutions). Since 2006, many states have shown interest in becoming part of the CPLP and their queries are currently under evaluation. At the same time, the CPLP has sought to implement one of its most important policies – the common orthography of the Portuguese language – as means to affirm it as a cohesive language. As we shall see, language projection is not only a cause but also an outcome of the CPLP's increase in attractiveness, with economic resources also carrying effects on its projection (See section 7).

For this analysis, it is relevant to also consider that while the CPLP is not an Atlantic organization *stricto sensus*, five of its member states are part of the Atlantic Basin and that makes Portuguese one of the most spoken languages within this geographic area. Moreover, Lusophone countries are playing an important role in the South Atlantic⁹, which has experienced rising relevance in recent years in terms of energy and security matters (Seabra 2013; Seabra 2014). Angola, Brazil, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe have large potentials as energy producers (in oil and gas) and Cape Verde's geographic location has attracted interest for security matters (Guedes 2012).

⁵ International Institute of the Portuguese Language. Website: <http://iilp.cplp.org/>.

⁶ In Mozambique, languages of the bantu family: XiTsonga, XiChope, BiTonga, XiSena, XiShona, ciNyungwe, eChuwabo, eMacua, eKoti, eLomwe, ciNyanja, ciYao, XiMaconde e kiMwani. In Angola umbundo is the second most spoken language (26%) and qimundo (20%) is the third most spoken. There are also less diffused dialects such as fiote or ibinda, chocué (or tchokwe) and cuanhama (kwanyama or oxikwanyama), nhaneca (or nyaneca) and mbunda among others. In Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Guinea-Bissau there are variances of criol (or kriolu), a Portuguese-Based dialect (in Cape Verde the adoption of criol as a second language is under discussion). In Timor-Leste, Tetum is also an official language of the State. Then, there about 15 native languages including ataurense, baiqueno, becais, búnaque, cauaimina, fataluco, galóli, habo, idalaca, lovaia, macalero, macassai, mambai, quémaque and t-coded. In Equatorial Guinea, French and English are also official languages (see more here <http://www.fao.org/tc/cplpuncdd/paginas-nacionais/en/>).

⁷ Founded in 1949, The Commonwealth is composed of fifty-three countries. Official website: <http://thecommonwealth.org/>.

⁸ The International Organisation of La Francophonie was created in 1970. It is composed of 77 member states and governments (57 members and 20 observers): <http://www.francophonie.org/>.

⁹ Definition of Atlantic South can be found in Guedes (2012) and Pereira (2013).

Brazil's role in this area has been pivotal. If we also include Equatorial Guinea, which is one of Africa's largest producers of oil, then the attractiveness of the CPLP within the Atlantic Basin is likely to increase in the years to come.

Building on the above context, we make two arguments about the potential of language for the CPLP and of the CPLP for the Atlantic Basin. The first is that as result of the attractiveness of the CPLP, language will have a new opportunity to expand and thus carry the organization to a larger international projection. In fact, as other countries are accepted into the organization – either as associate observers or member states – they will help promote the language as they are required to adopt Portuguese as an official language or adopt policies to increase its diffusion (if they remain associate observers). This has been the case in Equatorial Guinea, which made Portuguese an official language in 2011. Language then becomes a form of soft power on which the CPLP can rely to increase its international projection. The second argument is that the CPLP can become a relevant actor in the Atlantic Basin to the extent that it is perceived by the other states as an organization that can facilitate or open new relations in the 'Lusophone world'.

3. Data

Most of the data used to describe the countries in the Atlantic Basin (a total of 84) is collected in the framework of the *Atlantic Future Project*. Linguistic description is accomplished by using data retrieved from the Ethnologue (statistics for national, indigenous, and immigrant languages¹⁰), available for 2012. Membership figures from the three organizations built on shared language and history within the Atlantic Basin – the CPLP, The Commonwealth, and the OIF – are also used to give another insight into the linguistic dynamics of this space. To provide a general picture of how far democratic performance and peoples' political and civil rights have improved over the years, we rely on The World Bank Governance Indicators (WGBI), the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Empowerment Rights Index, and Women's Political Rights¹¹ index. For the majority of countries, the data is available for the mid-term period (1993-2012)¹², which enables the longitudinal analysis. These indicators matter as they relate to political ideals valued in the Atlantic Basin and are endorsed by the organizations mentioned above.

For the analysis of the CPLP, we rely on official documents such as statutes, cooperation agreements, and reports to provide a contextualization of the organization. Because Portugal and Brazil have a relevant role in promoting the Portuguese within the CPLP and in the world, official numbers from the state agencies responsible for

¹⁰ National' is the language used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level; 'indigenous' counts the native languages; and 'immigrant' counts the languages of immigrant groups.

¹¹ The Empowerment Rights Index is an additive index constructed from the Foreign Movement, Domestic Movement, Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Assembly and Association, Workers' Rights, Electoral Self-Determination, and Freedom of Religion indicators. It ranges from 0 (no government respect for these seven rights) to 14 (full government respect for these seven rights). The Women's Political Rights indicates 1 = women's political rights were guaranteed in law, but severely prohibited in practice; 2 = women's political rights were guaranteed in law, but were still moderately prohibited in practice; and 3 = women's political rights were guaranteed in both law and practice.

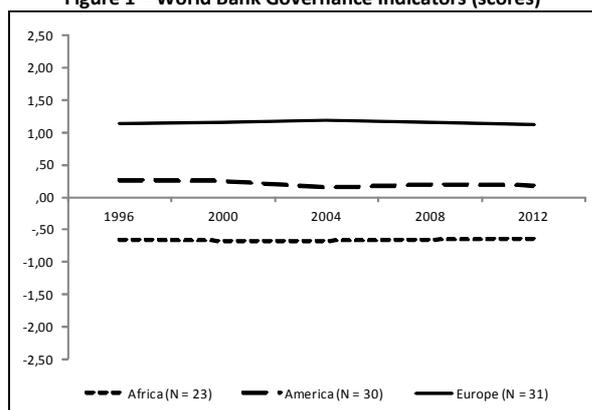
¹² Usually available for European countries, but occasionally missing for small states/islands (e.g. Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent and The Grenadines) and countries of other regions (Africa and Latin America).

those policies are also presented. Finally, we use comparative data (from several official sources at the country level) to illustrate the potential of the Portuguese language.

4. Introducing the Atlantic Basin: main political and linguistic features

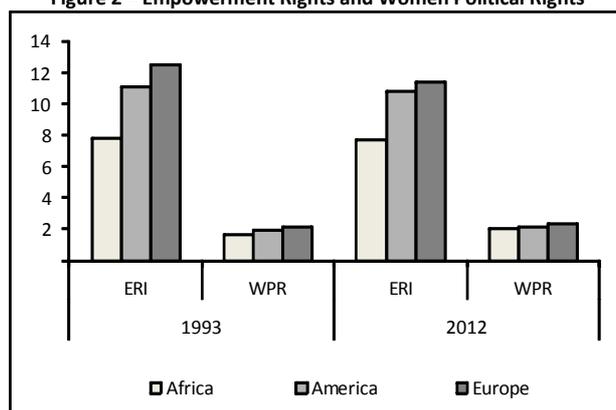
The countries within the Atlantic Basin are profoundly diverse in their political and cultural settings. The WGI and CIRI data shows clear differences between the African, American, and European countries pertaining to the quality of governance and the extent of citizen's rights. African countries, which started the processes of democratization in the early 1990s, display the weakest levels of governance performance; moreover, they grant fewer empowerment rights to citizens and fewer political rights to women (see Figures 1 and 2). In contrast, European countries, where the older and the more stable democracies are at work, score high in the indicators considered. However, from the longitudinal perspective, there have been no striking improvements, at least at the aggregate level.

Figure 1 – World Bank Governance Indicators (scores)



Source: World Bank - <http://www.worldbank.org/>.
 Note: Composite index of the six governance indicators. Values are estimates of governance, ranging from approximately -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong) governance performance.

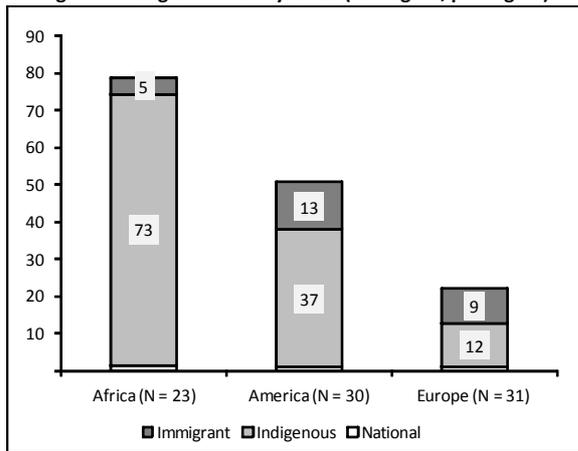
Figure 2 – Empowerment Rights and Women Political Rights



Source: Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset - <http://www.humanrightsdata.org/>.
 Note: ERI = Empowerment Rights Index; WPR = Women's Political Rights.

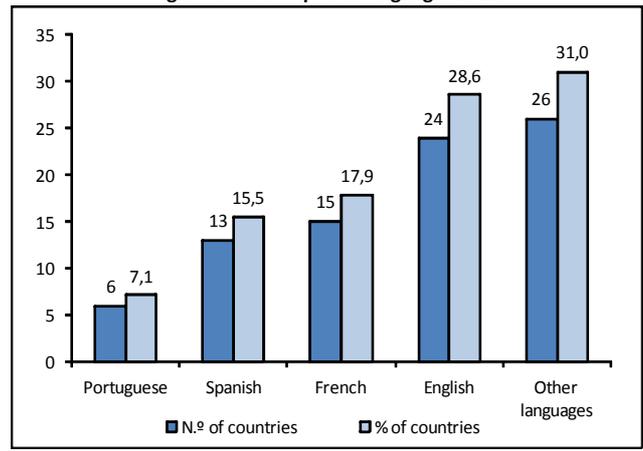
Beyond that, there are also significant differences in the cultural landscapes within which the political systems operate. Ethnologue's statistical data on world languages gives support to this. Figure 3 shows that the average number of indigenous languages reaches 73 in African countries, 37 in America, and 12 in Europe. Immigrant languages, in turn, are more frequent in American (13) and European (9) countries as a consequence of migration patterns (Figure 3). Despite this, a variety in the number of national or official languages is small (usually one or two are recognized by the state) and four main languages are predominant within the Atlantic Basin: these are (in ascendant order) Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English (Figure 4).

Figure 3 – Linguistic Variety: 2012 (average N, per region)



Source: Ethnologue - <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.

Figure 4 – Most spoken languages 2012



Source: Ethnologue - <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.

These indicators reveal clear differences within the Atlantic Basin, but there is still one factor that blurs these differences; more precisely, the ‘artificial’ groupings that bring together countries with a shared history and language. Some examples are the CPLP, The Commonwealth, and the OIF, whose member (or observer) states mainly belonged to the previous Portuguese, British, and French Empires, respectively. Besides shared history and language, each of these organizations (alternatively labelled as forums, associations, or communities), require compliance with peace, democratic rule of law, and human rights from their member states.

As Table 1 shows, the overwhelming majority of states in the Atlantic Basin (70%) belong to one of these three organizations. Some even belong to more than one organization; for instance, Ghana, Saint Lucia, and Dominica are members of the OIF and The Commonwealth. Others may only have loose linguistic or historical linkages (to say the least) to the organization to which they belong; for instance, Hungary, Latvia, and Romania, are members of the OIF¹³ (see also Figure 5).

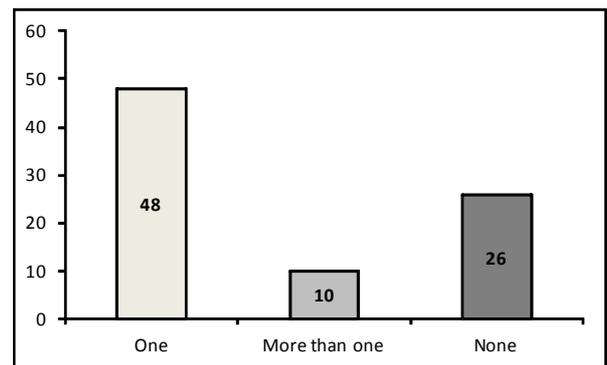
Table 1 – Organizations based on history and language within the Atlantic Basin

	Share of Countries		WBI 2012
	N	%	Mean
Full members or observers			
CPLP	3	3,8	-0,02
CPLP/OIF	4	4,6	-0,53
OIF	28	32,2	0,15
OIF/The Commonwealth	6	6,9	0,59
The Commonwealth	17	19,5	0,42
Total	58	70	
Without membership			
EU countries	10	11,9	1,53
Latin American countries	11	13,1	-0,24
Other countries	5	6,0	0,23
Total	26	30	
Total	84	100	

Source: Authors’ own elaboration

Note: total number of members (including observer states)
OIF: 77; The Commonwealth: 53 and CPLP: 11.

Figure 5 – Membership in organizations based on shared history and language within the Atlantic Basin



Source: Authors’ own elaboration

congregation of states with historical and linguistic ties. For example, The Commonwealth's membership criteria has evolved to giving larger weight to shared political principles such as democracy, rule of law, and respect for human rights. Historical and linguistic criteria have been relaxed in several documents. Mozambique's accession in 1995 represented the first entry of a country that was never part of the British Empire and others have followed since then¹⁴. The suspension of Fiji, Pakistan, and Nigeria under the Harare Principle¹⁵ are also illustrative of the greater weight given to matters of democratic governance, rule of law, and political stability.

In the OIF, French is not a predominant native language in the majority of member states. This happens because candidate countries are not required to have French as an official language. In fact, a prevalent presence of French culture and language are enough to support the candidacy. This, of course, is questionable in some of the examples mentioned above. Countries like Mauritania (2005), Mali (2012), Guinea-Bissau (2012), and Central African Republic (2012) have been suspended due to episodes of coups d'état and unconstitutional transfers of power. The most controversial accession has so far been the one of Qatar in 2012.

In the CPLP, there have also been changes in the statutes (2005) to expand the number of observer states. Like its counterparts, it now faces the challenge of balancing the criteria of shared language and history with other criteria, as it experienced with the admission of Equatorial Guinea in 2006. We will return to this point in section 7.

Regarding WBGI, this matters here due to democratic rule of law and human rights which are valued elements within these organizations. The data shows that countries in The Commonwealth (0.42) have higher scores of democratic performance than those in the OIF (0.15) and the CPLP (-0.02). However, these differences are not statistically significant, as all of these organizations propagate the same overall political values (e.g. democracy, human rights, and rule of law) even if some countries are performing better than others in practice.

The data above reveals that the linguistic landscape within the Atlantic Basin is diverse, as are democratic practices. That said, variety is reduced if we consider that in the end, four main languages are spoken in the Atlantic and that the majority of states belong to at least one of the three main associations based on shared language and history. Beyond language, these organizations also diffuse common political values of democracy, peace, human rights, and rule of law.

5. The CPLP: a community under construction

The CPLP brings together countries that are bound by language due to the history of the colonization process. It includes Portugal, the five Portuguese-speaking African Countries (the PALOP) – Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Sao

¹⁴ Mozambique entered under the Edinburgh criteria, which also allowed Rwanda's admission in 2009.

¹⁵ The Harare Principle requires all members to respect the political principles of The Commonwealth. The Edinburgh criteria have allowed the inclusion of other states that do not have historical ties with the United Kingdom.

Tome and Principe – Brazil, and more recently Timor-Leste¹⁶. The CPLP defines itself as:

A community of sovereign states, a space of belonging in which citizens of eight member countries recognize themselves and discover and construct identity frames. It is the space for the common utilization of the language, for the adoption of common practices, for the identification of values adopted by all, and for the generation of affectivities¹⁷ (CPLP 2008, 11).

According to the CPLP's status of 2007, any state can become a member as long as it has Portuguese as an official language and it adheres to the principles established in the status (article 6). Observer states are not required to have Portuguese as an official language, but needs to share basic principles, namely, promoting democratic practices, good governance, and respect for human rights.

Apart from a strong emphasis on a common linguistic and cultural policy, the CPLP sets wide objectives for greater diplomatic coordination as a means of enhancing its presence around the world and for cooperation in all policy areas including education, health, science and technology, and defense. In 2005, the status of observer state was revised and the categories of associate observer states and consultative observer were established (CPLP 2007). In the Summit held in Guinea Bissau in July 2006, the CPLP accepted the first associate observer states, Equatorial Guinea and Mauritius, and 18 civil society organizations as consultative observers. In 2008, Senegal joined the group of observer states.

At the same time, a series of agreements have been signed to strengthen cooperative practices in several policy fields. Indeed, since its formation, the CPLP has signed a total of 17 agreements with civil society organizations and 29 agreements with international organizations. Internally, 39 agreements have been signed, most of them between 1996 and 2006 (total 26), targeting internal codes, justice and defence, language, migration policy (citizenship and visas), and technical cooperation (administrative, legal, health, and education). In the following section, we give relevance to the actions promoting Portuguese language and culture internationally.

6. The diffusion of the Portuguese language

In this section, we address how the policies of language have evolved within the CPLP. Language is the primary element that brings the CPLP together. In 1989 and before the organization was formally created, the Portuguese-speaking countries held a meeting in Brazil (*São Luís do Maranhão*¹⁸) to create the IIPL, which is meant to be the CPLP's common platform for the international promotion of the Portuguese language (CPLP 2008, 92). Yet, so far, the ILLP has had a very limited role in this matter (Diniz

¹⁶ Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe are members since 1996; Timor-Leste since 2002.

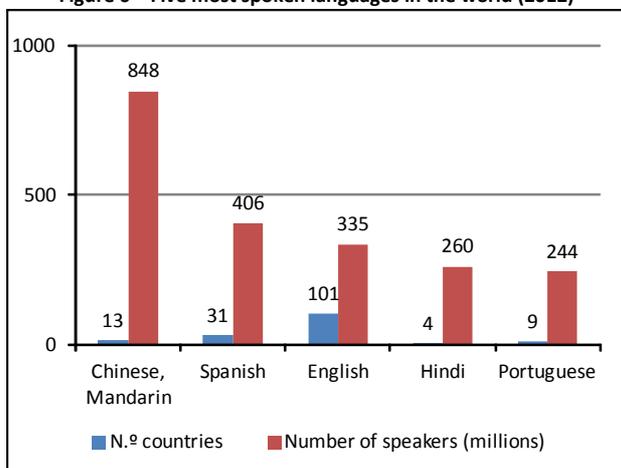
¹⁷ Translated from the original: *Uma comunidade de Estados soberanos como espaço de pertença, em que os cidadãos dos oito países membros se reconhecem e vão descobrindo e construindo blocos de identidade. É o espaço da língua de utilização comum, da adopção de práticas comuns, da identificação de valores adoptados por todos e, mesmo, da geração de afectos.* (CPLP 2008, 11)

¹⁸ This was the first encounter between the Heads of State and the Heads of Government of the Portuguese-speaking countries and it is considered fundamental to the formation of the CPLP.

2012, 437)¹⁹. In fact, it was only in 2002, at the VI Ordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers of the CPLP, that guidelines were set for the IIPL to start its operations in the promotion and the management of the Portuguese language. In this regard, the policies developed by the governments of Portugal and Brazil have been relevant in spreading the Portuguese language and culture throughout the world. However, before addressing these policies, we feature global figures on the Portuguese language.

Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world; nine countries have Portuguese as official language and about 244 million people speak Portuguese worldwide (see Figure 6 and Table 4). In more recent years, it has gained relevance in terms of the number of speakers, Internet penetration (5th most used in 2011), and number of translations (8th place in 2012). As the *Baromètre Calvet des Langues du Monde*²⁰ data indicates, its relevance in the world has increased remarkably in the last couple of years, going from 16th to 9th place between 2010 and 2012 (see table 2).

Figure 6 – Five most spoken languages in the world (2012)



Source: Ethnologue - <http://www.ethnologue.com/>; and *Observatório da Língua Portuguesa* - <http://observatorio-lp.sapo.pt/pt> for Portuguese.

Table 2 – Baromètre Calvet des Langues du Monde (2010-2012)

2010			2012		
Rank	Language	Score	Rank	Language	Score
1	English	7.237	1	English	9.062
2	French	4.586	2	Spanish	7.806
3	Spanish	4.464	3	French	7.733
4	German	4.155	4	German	6.987
5	Dutch	2.996	5	Russian	6.335
6	Japanese	2.775	6	Japanese	6.187
7	Swedish	2.772	7	Dutch	6.138
8	Arab	2.659	8	Italian	6.131
9	Italian	2.634	9	Portuguese	5.97
10	Danish	2.494	10	Mandarin	5.964

Source: WikiLF - <http://wikilf.culture.fr/barometre2012/>

¹⁹ Yet there are recent signs of greater efforts to promote the language: The organization of conferences about the Portuguese Language in the CPLP and in the Diaspora in 2011 and the establishment of partnerships to create the *Portal of Língua Portuguesa* (Diniz 2012, 437).

²⁰ Alain Calvet and Louis-Jean Calvet has put in place a barometer of languages of the world that looks at ten statistical factors, namely the number of speakers, entropy (which measures the degree of dispersion of a language), the index of human development, the birth rate, the rate of internet penetration, the number of articles on Wikipedia, status as an official language, the number of Nobel literature prizes, the number of source language translations, and the number of target language translation.

Table 3 – Top ten target languages

Rank	Language	N.º translations
1	German	301934
2	French	240043
3	Spanish	228557
4	English	164499
5	Japanese	130649
6	Dutch	111270
7	Russian	100806
8	Portuguese	78905
9	Polish	76705
10	Swedish	71209

Source: UNESCO, Index Translationum database - <http://www.unesco.org/>.

Table 4 – Portuguese speakers (2010)

Countries	Portuguese Speakers (thousands)
Angola	13857
Brazil	197946
Cape Verde	987
Guinea-Bissau	1164
Moçambique	14535
Portugal	15476
Macao	22
Sao Tome and Principe	160
Timor-Leste	245
Total	244392

Source: *Observatório da Língua Portuguesa* - <http://observatorio.lp.sapo.pt/>. Note: Despite having Portuguese as official language (together with the Cantonese) Macau is not yet part of the CPLP.

According to Vilela (2010), the fact that Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages results more from the history of the colonization process than from a concrete and well structured institutional plan developed by the CPLP to increase its projection around the world. Given the limited role of the IIPL, the support that the governments of both Portugal and Brazil have provided for the teaching and the diffusion of the Portuguese language emerges as crucial within and beyond the CPLP.

Portugal's *Camões I.P.*²¹, created in 1992 (first under the name of Instituto Camões/Camoes Institute) to replace the *Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa*/Institute of Portuguese Culture and Language²² (ICALP), has been the foremost member-state institution for the promotion of the Portuguese Language. It was subordinated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1994.

As Figure 8 shows, over the years the *Camões I.P.* has either accompanied or supported the development of official lectureships, cultural and language centers in more than 60 countries on four continents, allowing for the diffusion of Portuguese literature, history, and language. It is also relevant to consider that there are eight cultural centers, 11 centers for the Portuguese language, and 15 lectureships at work in the other member states of the CPLP.

A survey conducted by the *Camões I.P.* in 2008 of 1263 students from its schools all over the world, covering Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa, shows that the overwhelming majority of the students already use Portuguese for communication

²¹ Camões I.P. is the short form for *Camões – Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I. P. / Camões Mission – Institute for Cooperation and Language*. Between 1992 and 1994, the then *Instituto Camões* was under the guidance of the Ministry of Education and Science; from 1994 onwards, it shifted to Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

²² Studies about the *Camões I.P.* note that this institution traces back to 1921. It is the institutional heir of the *Junta de Educação Nacional*, founded in 1921. It later transformed into the *Instituto para a Alta Cultura* (1936-1952) and was afterwards renamed *Instituto de Alta Cultura*. After the transition to democracy, this organ was extinguished and substituted by the *Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa* (Guedes 1998).

purposes (63,3%) and intend to use it in the future for work (63,1%) or travel (78,8%). These figures are relevant to the extent that they corroborate the wider potential for the usage of the Portuguese language in the future in distant locations (see table 5). Furthermore, they are indicative of soft power.

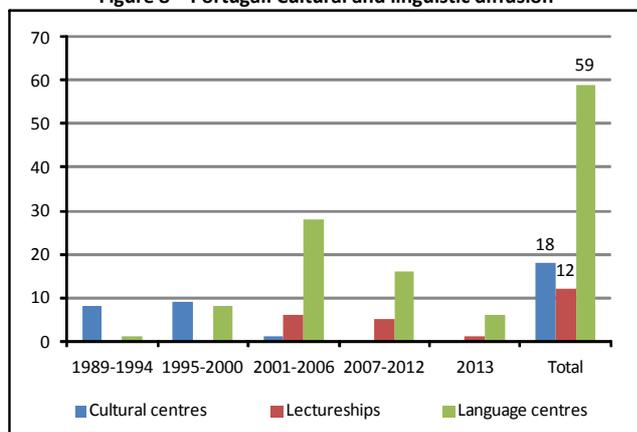
Table 5 - Present usage of the language and future expectations for the use of Portuguese, per region (% of affirmative answers)

	Work		Travel		Communication	
	Present	Future	Present	Future	Present	Future
Western Europe	9,5	62,9	56,9	84,9	42,4	73,1
Eastern Europe	11,5	75,0	46,7	66,1	41,7	71,4
Africa	19,3	63,6	45,2	73,5	45,9	57,6
Asia	17,5	50,0	20,0	53,8	46,3	65,8
North America	42,9	62,2	67,4	83,8	48,8	75,7
South America	20,0	61,3	28,2	77,3	49,4	56,0
CPLP	73,1		52,8		92,4	
Total	37,8	63,1	50,8	78,8	63,3	68,0

Source: Reto (2012, 137).

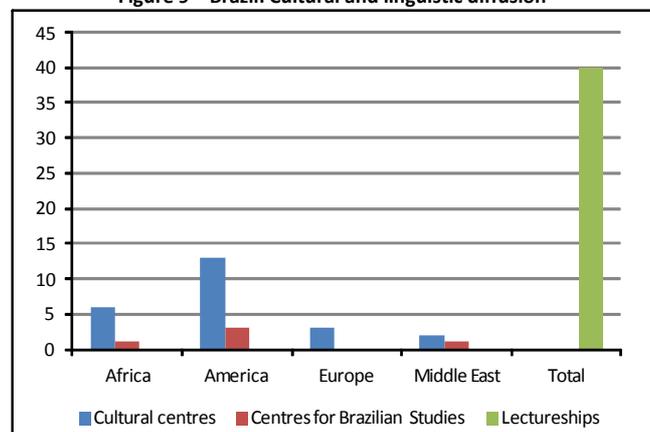
In Brazil, the *Divisão de Promoção da Língua Portuguesa* Division of Portuguese Language Promotion (DPLP), subordinated to the Ministry of External Relations, is the entity responsible for the diffusion of the Portuguese language and culture outside of the country, through the work of the *Rede Brasil Cultural*/Brazil Cultural Network²³. Figure 9 presents data from a cross-regional perspective and shows the number of cultural centers, centers for Brazilian studies, and lectureships around the world (for a more detailed analysis, see Diniz 2008). Latin America and Africa stand out as the most relevant recipients of Brazil's language-promotion policies.

Figure 8 – Portugal: Cultural and linguistic diffusion



Source: Compiled with data from the *Camões I..P* website; <https://www.instituto-camoes.pt/>.

Figure 9 – Brazil: Cultural and linguistic diffusion



Source: Compiled with data from the *Rede Brasil Cultural* website; <http://redebrasilcultural.itamaraty.gov.br/br/>.

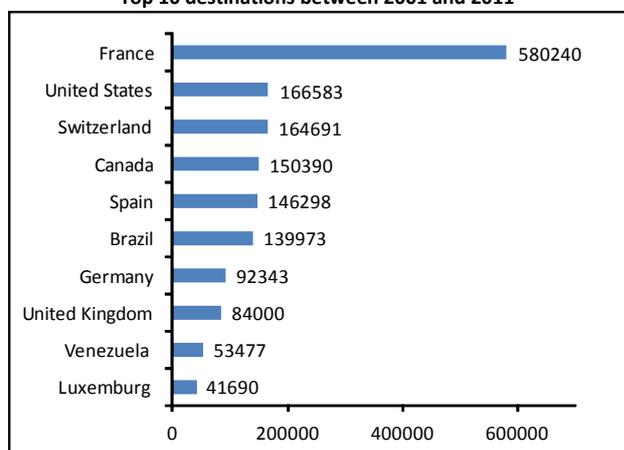
Like Portugal, Brazil has cultural centers in Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe. In terms of language policies, this short descriptive analysis has shown that the IIPL – CPLP's entity for the promotion of Portuguese language –

²³ The promotion of the Portuguese language started in the late 1930s with the creation of the *Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual* in 1938 (Silva 2010).

has had a less visible role (if any) when compared to the governments of Portugal and Brazil. In addition, the other members of the CPLP have been less active in promoting the Portuguese language and have themselves been recipients of the policies and the activities carried out by those two countries. Beyond material capacities, this can be due to the fact that in some of these states there is a competition between Portuguese and other native languages²⁴.

Migration trends also say something about the international projection of the Portuguese language. Figures 10 and 11 show Portuguese and Brazilian nationals' top ten destinations. In both cases, there is a strong preference for countries within the Atlantic Basin (those located in the North Atlantic). The main destinations for Portuguese emigration are France, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, Spain, Brazil, Germany, the United Kingdom, Venezuela, and Luxemburg. With more or less similar targets, Brazilians mainly emigrate to the United States, Portugal, Spain, Japan, Italy, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Australia.

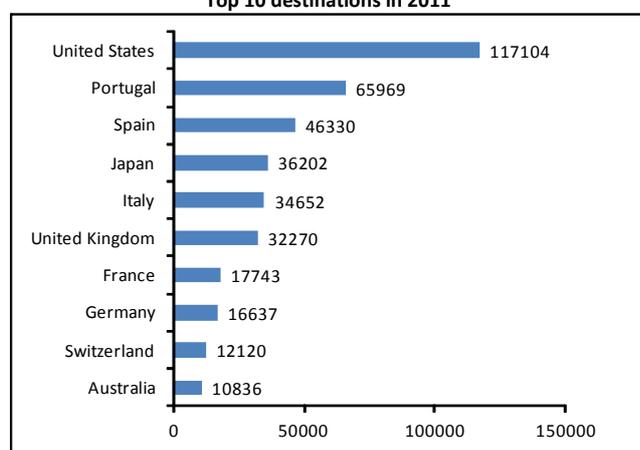
Figure 10 – Portuguese nationals abroad:
Top 10 destinations between 2001 and 2011



Source: Observatório da Emigração -

<http://www.observatorioemigracao.secomunidades.pt/np4/3467.html>

Figure 11 – Brazilian nationals abroad:
Top 10 destinations in 2011



Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística -

<http://g1.globo.com/brasil/noticia/2011/11/eua-sao-principal-destino-de-brasileiros-no-exterior-aponta-ibge.html>

With overlapping trajectories of Portuguese and Brazilian nationals, these countries have a considerable share of Portuguese-speaking communities that go beyond the figures mentioned below²⁵. This naturally creates new opportunities for cooperation, language promotion, and teaching. For example, the Portuguese government is set to increment the teaching network in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Venezuela. In the case of the latter, Portuguese was introduced in the official education

²⁴ Regarding this issue, Vilela (2002, 315) notes that Portuguese language diffusion in the African countries has faced resistances. It maintains “its position as a language of administration, educational and wider communication since the end of the colonial period” but that it still “has to contend with the African realities of diversity and plurilingualism and its place in education in particular has to reconcile the first languages of the African population with the official status of Portuguese”.

²⁵ There are over 500 000 Portuguese in Venezuela and Canada and nearly a million in France, Brazil, and the United States. There over 3 million Brazilians outside of the country, most of them in the United States and in Europe (see figures for 2008 here: <http://www.brasileirosnomundo.itamaraty.gov.br/file/Brasileiros%20no%20Mundo%20-%20Estimativas.pdf>; accessed 11-06-2014).

system as an option in 2010. In Brazil, particularly since Lula's first term in 2003, the government has strongly invested in countries where there is a sizeable share of Brazilians.

In the following section, we focus on what the CPLP has done to promote language and on how language has become not only a source but also a target of soft power.

7. The CPLP and the potential of language

In this section, we explore the potential of the Portuguese language, firstly examining recent formal developments the CPLP underwent to increase its international projection (the new statutes of observer and the common orthography) and then using quantitative analysis that show the weight of the Portuguese community around the world. Towards the end of this section, we argue that the role of the Lusophone countries (with Brazil on the lead) is perceived as fundamental in the new dynamics of power in the South Atlantic, the attractiveness of the CPLP has increased, given that the majority of its member states pertain to this area. As a counterweight to this analysis, we also evoke a series of studies that have sounded cautionary notes about the still-limited position of the CPLP in the international order.

We have already seen that the majority of countries within the Atlantic Basin are either full members or observers in The Commonwealth, the OIF, and the CPLP. Our very brief analysis also indicated that shared language and history are not the sole criteria for countries to take part in these organizations, as they seem to rate attractiveness on other sources. Within the CPLP, only Angola, Brazil, Portugal, and Timor-Leste have exclusive membership to the organization, while Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe also belong to the OIF and Mozambique to all three organizations (see table below).

Table 6 – Membership in the CPLP and similar organizations

Country	Linguistic organization
 Angola	CPLP
 Brazil	CPLP
 Cape Verde	CPLP/OIF (member since 1996)
 Guinea-Bissau	CPLP/OIF (member since 1979)
 Mozambique	CPLP/OIF (observer since 2006) /The Commonwealth (member since 1995)
 Portugal	CPLP
 Sao Tome And Principe	CPLP/OIF (member since 1999)
 Timor-Leste	CPLP

Source: Author's own elaboration

Note: Despite being associate observers, Mauritius and Senegal are not included in this table because they do not yet have Portuguese as an official language. Suffice it to say that the first also belongs to The Commonwealth and the latter to the OIF.

This also raises attention to how the CPLP has adjusted itself to enhance its projection *vis-à-vis* its counterparts and how language may have contributed to that. As previously mentioned, the CPLP revised the observer status in 2005 by creating the category of associate observer state as a means to increase its international projection, which allowed the acceptance of Mauritius, Equatorial Guinea, and more recently Senegal (CPLP 2008, 12-13). This enlargement is valued, as it allows the organization to

expand the influence of the Portuguese language as well as to promote the cultures of the member states (CPLP 2008, 13).

This matter is gaining traction, as a handful of non-Portuguese-speaking countries have showed interest in becoming members of the CPLP, namely, India, Indonesia, Australia, the Philippines, Morocco, Ukraine, Venezuela, Romania, Luxemburg, and Swaziland²⁶. It is known that Namibia, Turkey, and Georgia are in the process of becoming associate observer states and that Japan, Peru, and Morocco are preparing their candidacies.

While more and more countries show interest in being part of the CPLP, Equatorial Guinea is applying to upgrade its status. After having been accepted as an observer state in 2006, this country submitted its application to full membership in 2010. However, on July 20, 2012, the Maputo Declaration²⁷ put Equatorial Guinea's request on hold. To become full member of the CPLP, it needed to commit to an Accession Programme which required the implementation of a series of actions converging with the principles and the statutes of the CPLP. It is worth noting that this debate was also marked by strong antagonism from civil society organizations, academics, and prominent public figures within the CPLP, which launched a petition against Equatorial Guinea integration²⁸. This petition claimed that the country did not meet any of the basic principles at the core of the CPLP, namely shared history and language, respect for human rights, and compliance with democratic rule of law and peace.

Equatorial Guinea is a former Spanish colony and until very recently, French and Spanish were its sole official languages. Portuguese was adopted in 2011 by presidential decree and this was not because there was a sizeable part of the population actually using Portuguese in their daily life; in fact, Portuguese started to be taught in schools from August 2011 onward. Furthermore, President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo's regime had become notorious for persistent violations of human rights, repression of opposition political parties, and disrespect for several political and civil rights²⁹. As of April 2014, there is still no final verdict about Equatorial Guinea's request; however, the odds are more favourable now than in the past, as several rounds of meetings are taking place to observe how far the country has gone in the terms of its Accession Programme.

Another important matter for the CPLP is the *Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa*/Orthographic Accord of the Portuguese Language (OAPL), which was first signed in 1990 to standardize the Portuguese orthography (hence overcoming the Portuguese and Brazilian duality). This is perceived as relevant to the extent that it facilitates the sharing of contents within the CPLP and the affirmation of the Portuguese as a unique language in the group of the most spoken languages in the world. Moreover, in this information age, a standardized language reduces the costs inherent to the transferring of technology and knowledge (Marchueta 2003, 151). So, at least officially, the extension of the OAPL is valued and seen as a necessary ingredient

²⁶ See the following news links: <http://www.portugues.rfi.fr/africa/20100713-mais-cinco-paises-interessados-em-aderir-cplp>; <http://www.asemana.publ.cv/spip.php?article100000> (accessed on 27-05-2014).

²⁷ The Declaration of Maputo was signed on July 20, 2012 in the IX Conference of Heads of States and Heads of Governments in the CPLP. The declaration is available here: <http://www.cplp.org/Default.aspx?ID=316&Action=1&NewsId=2193&M=NewsV2&PID=304>.

²⁸ The petition's name is *Guiné Equatorial na CPLP? Não, obrigada!* (Equatorial Guinea in the CPLP? No thanks!) It can be visited online here: <http://www.movimentocplp.org/>.

²⁹ Human Rights Watch 2013 report: <http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/equatorial-guinea> (10-04-2014).

of the CPLP's cohesiveness and as a key policy to promote the language, especially as more and more countries adhere to the organization.

Yet, despite being officially valued, the OAPL's ratification and implementation has been slow.³⁰ After being signed in 1990, it was stipulated that it would enter into force in 1994 after being ratified by all member states. However, this proved ineffective, as only Portugal, Brazil, and Cape Verde ratified it. Two additional protocols (*Protocolo Modificativo*) signed by all member states established that the OAPL would not need to be unanimously adopted and that it could enter into force after having been ratified by three member states. These protocols (the last dates of 2004) and the OAPL have now been ratified by Brazil (2004), Cape Verde (2005), Sao Tome and Principe (2008), Portugal (2008), Timor-Leste, Guinea-Bissau (both in 2009), and Mozambique (2012). Angola is now the only country that has not ratified the OAPL. Nevertheless, it should be noted that although the OAPL has been ratified, it is still far from being fully applied in practice. For instance, in Portugal and Brazil, the two orthographies can be used side by side until the full adoption of the OAPL in 2015. The other member states do not foresee the full implementation anytime soon.

Despite the different stages the countries are at, the fact that the OAPL has entered into force matters not only for the cohesiveness of the CPLP but also to the new states that are entering the organization. Furthermore, the last decade has witnessed the CPLP deepening its role as far as promoting the language internationally. Very briefly, the IILP was headquartered in Cape Verde (1999) and endowed with a new structure (2005). Doc-TV (2008-2009), a fund to support the making of documentaries in Lusophone countries, was launched, and new statutes and operational means for the IILP were approved in 2010 (Silva 2010).

But other elements have added to the potential of the language. As Table 6 indicates, today, Portuguese-speaking countries represent a significant demographic community with a potential for growth both economically and demographically (they represent 4% of the global population and wealth). Brazil takes the lead in both of these indicators, as it is about to become the 5th most important economy in the world and has a relevant demographic weight of nearly 200 million people.

Table 7 - Economic and Demographic Profile of the Portuguese-Speaking Countries (2012)

	Population (millions)	Pop. world rank	GDP (current US\$, millions)	GDP world rank	IEPG rank		Economic presence		Military presence		Soft presence		Crude oil production world rank
					1990	2012	1990	2012	1990	2012	1990	2012	
Angola	20.820.525	57	114.147	55									16
Brazil	198.656.019	5	2.252.664	6	15.1	94.2	18.3	172.4	21.9	20.7	10.2	54.7	11
Cape Verde	494.401	173	1.827	159									
Guinea-Bissau	1.663.558	153	822	168									207
Mozambique	25.203.395	49	14.243	112									127
Portugal	10.526.703	81	212.273	41	9.7	32.2	7.3	35.8	4	3.5	13.8	39.3	98
S. Tome and Principe	188.098	185	263	178									138
Timor-Leste	1.210.233	150	1.293	162									54
Total (for CPLP)	258.762.932		2.597.534										
Total (world)	7.046.368.813		72.440.448										
CPLP (% in the world)	4%		4%										

³⁰ See Zúquete 2008.

Sources: Population and GDP retrieved from The World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org/>); Elcano Global Presence Index (IEPG); Soft, Military, and Economic presence retrieved from Elcano Royal Institute (<http://www.iepg.es/results/results.php>); Crude oil production world rank is retrieved from CIA The World FACTBOOK <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2241rank.html>.

Notes: Economic presence comprises the export of primary goods, energy, manufactures, and services, as well as outward foreign direct investment.

Military presence is measured by the number of troops currently deployed abroad and by the equipment necessary to enable overseas deployment. Soft presence includes immigrant population, tourist arrivals, results in major sporting competitions, exports of audiovisual activities, international dissemination of information through the Internet, volume of foreign-oriented patents, international activity of its academic-university system (in terms of research, academic publications, and teaching, as measured by the number of foreign students), and development assistance.

If we consider The Elcano Global Presence Index (IEPG), which is measured for 60 countries (the world's top 49 economies, OECD member countries, and EU member states), Portugal and Brazil are well ranked, particularly in regards to soft and economic presence³¹. From a longitudinal perspective, IEPG scores reveal great improvements between 1990 and 2012. Indeed, Brazil now has increased by six in global presence, ten in economic power, and five in soft presence. Although it has less impressive figures, Portugal has also improved, particularly as far as economic (up from 7.3 to 35.8) and soft presence (up from 13.8 to 39.3) are concerned.

Adding to this, the South Atlantic, where many of the CPLP member states are located, are gaining importance within the Atlantic Basin due to the massive oil reserves concentrated in that area. Angola and Brazil have substantial reserves and are among the top twenty of the world's producers (ranking 16 and 11, respectively) and Equatorial Guinea, whose figures are not provided in the table above, is in 34th place. The fact that there is also oil potential in Sao Tome and Principe and Guinea-Bissau increases the attraction of other states (inside and outside the Atlantic Basin) towards the Lusophone countries.

Thus, the CPLP can be relevant in the extent to which it can help establish bridges with other countries located in the South Atlantic, as well as with countries that also have strong interests in this geopolitical area. Suffice it to say that China is one of the largest investors in the African countries along the Atlantic. In fact, it is amongst the main trade partners of Angola, Brazil, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, and Timor-Leste.

At the same time, these states have interests of their own, which bypass those of the CPLP. Brazilian interests in the South Atlantic, particularly in the African countries, have framed the foreign policy of the country since Lula da Silva was elected President in 2003. According to Seabra (2013), during Lula da Silva's presidencies, eight defence cooperation agreements were signed with partners such as Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe, and South Africa, whereas projects of cooperation covering more than 23 African countries along the South Atlantic expanded greatly. In a more recent article, this same author examines how Brazil's focus on defense matters in the Atlantic South is related not only to the country's strategic interests of protecting its maritime neighborhood but also of reinforcing security in this area.

We mentioned Brazil due to its pivotal role in the South Atlantic, yet other indicators show that CPLP member states have their own preferred partners of trade and are

³¹ In another measurement of *soft power* proposed by Henriques and Paradelo (2006), Portugal also appears in the highest positions (5th out of 12 countries). This measure includes 17 distinctive items: language education, I&D, citizenship, justice, environment, health, heritage, tourism, competitiveness, population, participation in international organizations, historical prestige of a country, migration balance, and multiculturalism (Henriques and Paradelo 2008, 120-124).

inserted in geographic areas (Europe, Africa, and Asia) in which they have strategic goals to pursue. Many studies (Redondo 2008; Torres and Ferreira 2008) suggest that one of the many challenges facing the CPLP is the poor multilateralization of its economic exchanges. Torres and Ferreira (2008) go further in considering that although the organization is formally framed by common interests, in practice, members have tended to be more strategic and to pursue their own goals as far as foreign trade and policy of investment. Thus, even though the CPLP has recently attracted a lot of attention, one thing that may hamper its potential is its lack of internal cohesiveness beyond language.

8. Conclusion

Organizations based upon shared language and history are relevant and have potential to create soft power through language and beyond. In the linguistically-diverse Atlantic Basin, the existence of these organizations has provided a new opportunity not only for the management of the most spoken languages in the world – English, French, and Portuguese – but also to propagate political ideals that are valued in this area, namely democracy, peace, and human rights.

Portuguese is one of the most widely spoken languages in the Atlantic Basin and that makes the CPLP attractive to the other states. Recent developments (approval of the OAPL and the emerging operations of the I IPL) indicate that the organization is willing to go further as far as promoting the Portuguese language and culture in the world. However, more needs to be done to endow the CPLP with more operational capacities in this field, given that Portugal and Brazil have been the main agents of language promotion within the organization thus far.

The need to set up concrete plans and activities with the CPLP's I IPL at the lead is even more relevant as, since 2006, more than a dozen of countries have shown interest in joining the CPLP. This interest, in turn, provides an excellent opportunity for language promotion, as members or observer states are required to adopt Portuguese or to endorse its utilization in their countries.

At the same time, the attractiveness of the CPLP is likely to increase in the years to come, as many of its member states are located in the South Atlantic, an area that is gaining relevance on energy and security matters. The CPLP can be an actor to consider to the extent that it is perceived as a forum that can facilitate relations between states in and outside of the Atlantic Basin and the 'Lusophone world'. To that end, the CPLP needs to go further as far as framing its policies (in several strategic areas) along common goals.

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CPLP – <http://www.cplp.org/>

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Other sources per country

ANGOLA – African Economic Outlook: <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/>

BRAZIL – Ministério do Desenvolvimento, Indústria e Comércio Exterior: <http://www.mdic.gov.br/sitio/>

CABO VERDE – *Instituto Nacional de Estatística*: <http://www.ine.cv/>

EQUATORIAL GUINEA – *CIA The World FactBook*: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pu.html>

GUINEA-BISSAU – *CIA The World FactBook*: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pu.html>

MOÇAMBIQUE – *African Economic Outlook*: <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/>

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TIMOR-LESTE – *CIA The World FactBook*: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pt.html>