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41

HISTORICAL REPARATIONS: DESTABILISING CONSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COLONIAL PAST

REPARAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS: DESESTABILIZANDO CONSTRUÇÕES DO PASSADO COLONIAL

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The Triumph of Drive: Horizons of a Visionary Director

O Triunfo do Alento: Horizontes de um Diretor Visionário

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The issue of volume 41 of *Comunicação e Sociedade* would not be a reason for a special note. We do not introduce graphic changes in this issue or celebrate any particular date. However, the history of such editorial projects is not shaped only by the passage of time or by positions in bibliometric rankings. It is also celebrated by the people who made them possible, dreamed of them, believed in them and invested in them with the persistence that makes the construction of solid buildings of knowledge sharing possible.

Like all collective works, the journal *Comunicação e Sociedade* is indebted to the work of many actors. Among them are the authors who choose this publication to share their achievements' results, the reviewers who ensure the quality assessment and parameters, the thematic editors who organise calls for scientific debate in specialised areas, and the editorial production team that ensure a long and demanding management process and technical review of manuscripts. Finally, the Editorial Board members assist the directors in defining the publication strategies. We thank everyone for their trust, collaboration and solidarity in this scientific venture.

Comunicação e Sociedade is also in debt, which explains this special note, to Moisés de Lemos Martins, a full professor at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Minho. He designed the journal, created, consolidated and directed it until January 2022. Over 23 years, the trajectory of this periodic publication has been built in progressive response to the most demanding standards of the international knowledge dissemination system. At every stage, its main author's persistence, conviction and driving spirit have inspired changes and improved procedures in line with the requirements of indexing agencies and databases.

Moisés de Lemos Martins, a director, to the fullest extent of this activity, has endeavoured to make *Comunicação e Sociedade* a reference in communication sciences. In the diversity of thematic approaches and the promotion of collaboration networks based on the articulation between editors integrated into the Communication and Society Research Centre and guest editors, he has always sought to make the journal a forum of broad and interconnected dialogue with the academic community of this field.

Launched in 1999, *Comunicação e Sociedade* started publishing only once a year. Since 2004, it has been published every semester. It also began as a paper journal, like all its counterparts, in a partnership between the Communication and Society Research Centre and Campo das Letras, first, and then the Editora Húmus. In 2013, it became exclusively edited by the research unit that supports it, and from 2019 onwards, it integrated the hosting service for scientific journals of UMinho Editora. Currently, it focuses exclusively on electronic format.

Attuned to science policies and the challenges of technological circumnavigation (Martins, 2017), Moisés de Lemos Martins tried to ensure that, from early on, *Comunicação e Sociedade* would observe the conditions for open access. In his introduction to a chapter on "O Acesso Aberto e a Economia Política da Publicação Cientifica" (The Open Access and Political Economy of Scientific Publishing), Paulo Serra (2021) argues that "open access, in its various forms, should be the rule in scientific publishing, gradually rooting out closed access" (p. 161). As an advocate of dissemination without borders of knowledge, the founding director of *Comunicação e Sociedade* had no different approach. As Moisés de Lemos Martins understands the "technological crossing" as a matter of "access to technologies and technological tools" (Martins, 2017, p. 27), he also recognises the challenges of the digital environment also relate to the communication of contents. Therefore, he has always sought to ensure that the journal does not fail to make its issues available in reference repositories, thus favouring unrestricted access to researchers from all geographies.

The first volumes were published mainly in Portuguese, admitting manuscripts in English, French, Spanish and Galician. In 2013, a completely bilingual option was taken, that is, the journal became a Portuguese and English publication, a strategy to reconcile two interests: on the one hand, not to be left out of a system that tends to consider English as an internationalisation language; on the other hand, to promote the communication of science in the Portuguese language, that, being in a kind of semi-periphery (Martins & Macedo, 2019), is the manifestation of cultural and scientific identity of a vast community of researchers.

Moisés de Lemos Martins has adapted *Comunicação e Sociedade* to what he considers "the demands inherent to the political field or market of global exchanges" (Martins, 2017, p. 28). He knows that "researchers are expected to publish mainly in English, and citations tend to derive from articles and books published in English" (Martins, 2017, p. 32). He also recognises that

> a language that does not strive to express the advances of its time and also its contradictions and restlessness, a language that does not strive to convey the blockages and impasses of its time, a language that has no thought, is a language that does not create knowledge. (Martins, 2021, p. 72)

Although it amounts to a doubling of editorial responsibility, the option for a bilingual edition expresses the idea that science should also be a space for language engagement. Aware of the hegemony of English imposed by global scientific policies, Moisés

de Lemos Martins insists on the duty of Portuguese speakers. Hence, he considers that "against the impoverishment and anemization of the Portuguese language, it is now a function of primary importance in the editorial, cultural and scientific policy, of the countries that speak it, the writing in this language" (Martins, 2016, p. 42).

Comunicação e Sociedade is an international journal with downloads from about 150 countries. This outreach may fulfil, at least in part, a double desire: on the one hand, to make this publication a space in which the Portuguese language becomes "accessible to the largest number of speakers, native and non-native" (Martins, 2016, p. 42); on the other hand, to ensure that science only truly pays off when it is shared.

Volume 41[1] of *Comunicação e Sociedade* is the first edited after Moisés de Lemos Martins' ceased functions. Although no editorial team can match the intellectual bravery with which he conceived this project, the team that is now beginning its activity has, in the untiring spirit of this professor, the main inspiration to continue this journal's mission. Recognising him as a kind of mystagogue who initiated many into the "mysteries" of science and knowledge, the new board of *Comunicação e Sociedade* will try not to lose sight of the horizons of this visionary director. He made the journal a project committed to analysing communication phenomena and reading social reality.

Translation: Anabela Delgado

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[1] Although this June 2022 issue is volume 41 of the numbered series, *Comunicação e Sociedade* has published 43 issues, including three special volumes. In 2012, a volume on "Mediatização Jornalística do Campo da Saúde" (Journalistic Mediatization of the Health Field), edited by Felisbela Lopes and Teresa Ruão in 2019, a volume on "Intercultural Communication and Mediation in Contemporary Societies", edited by Ana Maria Silva, Rosa Cabecinhas and Rob Evans); and, in 2020, a volume on "Studies in Advanced Public Relations", edited by Teresa Ruão and Ana Belén Fernández-Souto.

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Cultural Restitution As a Duty of Memory

A Restituição Cultural Como Dever de Memória

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The Duty of Memory, the title that Primo Levi (2011) gave to one of his books, embodies the whole logic that underlies cultural restitution in a process that is underway, aimed at promoting the repair of the damage caused by colonialism. Although reparation will never be completely achieved, the attitude underlying it may reduce resentment in a sign based on diversity and not, as has almost always been the case, on a unilateral logic stemming from a western gaze. Through the use of memory, Levi focused on the holocaust — from which he coined the expression "duty of memory" — he gave his testimony as a Jew who was a prisoner of the Nazis so that nothing similar would ever happen again. An urgent duty of memory is to repair atrocities committed in colonial times through the use of violence by those who colonised. Therefore, the "duty of memory" represents the ethical responsibility never to forget.

Because it encapsulates a whole logic of cultural reparation very well and, thus, it can have a very broad scope, the duty of memory quickly expanded beyond the holocaust. It extended to other social, historical and human problems. It underlined an attitude towards the commitment to preserving and recognising cultural diversity held hostage by a grammar that silenced, marginalised and did not allow the existence of voices and positions foreign to those that the logic of western coloniality imposed for many centuries in several geopolitical contexts (Khan et al., 2021).

The colonial past persists through political discourse, which has repercussions in the public space and society, and through academia itself, despite the effort to change this state of affairs. That does not make the process an easy task. Quite the opposite, since it relates to mentalities, remaining beyond the administrative decolonisation, which is already almost half a century old (Sousa, 2019, 2021). Only nowadays are processes tending to cultural decolonisation developing. By the end of the 20th century, in the scope

of cultural studies, Stuart Hall (1992) predicted that the categories providing stability to the social world would collapse. He was echoed by Homi Bhabha (1994/1998), who questioned the essentialism of these same identity organising categories. Nonetheless, only very recently have we seen arguments leading to cultural decolonisation. Which necessarily entails processes of contestation about history, adding to new forms of cultural recognition in the public space: "not only is the sovereignty over these assets at stake but the entire international system of cultural heritage" (Jerónimo & Rossa, 2021, p. 8). Furthermore, fracturing topics like systemic racism, the persistence of the old colonial logic of racialisation and racial surveillance, and the struggles for gender equality will add up against the status quo. That translates into struggling with memory as a backdrop, often confused with history itself. Strictly speaking, the study of the past requires an ethical, civic and epistemic stance to bring the continuance of old logics of coloniality which permeate current social, political, historical and cultural contexts to the level of critical thinking (Meneses, 2021a, 2021b). Through the experiences that globalisation provides us with, we realise that the contemporary world is interdependent and that globalisation, notwithstanding all the criticisms attached, allows other modes of relationship. In this sense, it is relevant to highlight the argument that the world is neither static nor historically homogeneous (Sousa et al., 2020). It is worth remembering that the matrix of western modernity was underpinned by mechanisms embedded in principles such as hegemony, violence, racialisation and racial surveillance. The premise was to flatten the world of human diversity under criteria excluding from the outset all the unfit to the grand narrative and grammar of progress, civilisation and western development. This historical and ontological erasure has condemned thousands and thousands of human beings to backwardness. No latitude in the world has escaped this praxis, with western modernity being tentacular and agile in its mechanisms and devices of domination, appropriation, regulation and exclusion (Khan & Machado, 2021).

Marita Sturken, in an interview with Barreiros (2021), argues that, nowadays, memory is challenged by the volatility of the debates between what nations remember and forget, confirming the inseparability between memory and oblivion, thus making sense of activism as a pivotal setting for producing research on memory. However, when the references incorporate the so-called "histories of the present", it might mean that "the transposition of past categories to identify their present correlates may serve to invoke history as a guide to the present and establish immediate causalities" (Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020, p. 11). However, it does not serve the political and social imagination, and even less is it "grounded in a particularly agile and refined way of thinking about history" (Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020, p. 11). Within this context, in contemporaneity, owing to living for the present and the speed that (further) fragments society, one runs the risk of "presentism", François Hartog (2003) pointed out, in which everything that is history becomes contemporary history. Still, the correlation between history and memory is highly debatable, as Pierre Nora (1989) highlighted, though he stated that, should one

have no memory, one accesses a reconstituted memory to give meaning to identity. That may explain why "presentism and memory-prosthesis are (...) the explanatory keys for understanding the culture of memory of the late 20th century" (Soutelo, 2015, p. 25), which also applies to what we know so far about the 21st century.

Marianne Hirsch (2008) introduced the concept of post-memory to define the relationship of a second-generation to unlived, "often traumatic, milestone experiences that predate their birth but have nevertheless been passed on to them so deeply that they seem to be memories in themselves" (p. 103). It is about a second-hand experience, for example, of a colonial past, problematising the relationship of the following generations with an era that they did not live through but of which they have a very vivid memory and glued to their subjective experiences and lives. This generational perception stems from the failure of the western and global post-colonial projects. Insightfully and around the reflection on post-memory in this current post-coloniality, Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and Fátima Rodrigues (2022) remark: "this territory imagined as heritage — geographical, blood, cultural, political — is what allows us to uncover another history, hidden, silent or silenced, or even actively erased, by trauma, shame, resentment, but which explains us today" (p.21). In this mapping of memories to be recovered and repaired, the subject of post-memory and historical reparation becomes, as in the reflection of António Sousa Ribeiro (2021), "an active protagonist [who] literally puts on stage a set of representations of the past which he did not simply receive, but rather reconstructs and re-elaborates within the scope of a process of intergenerational confrontation and negotiation" (p. 15).

It embodies what António Pinto Ribeiro (2021) established about art in a time of post-memory. The second and third generations from ex-colonised countries, heirs of the colonial issue, reinterpret, rethink and deliver new historical languages about the past through multidisciplinary interpellations and various inspirations, like visual arts, literature, performing arts, cinema and music. They do so to overcome the multiple silences of a larger history, actively or unconsciously promoted by the other heirs to the colonial issue on the former colonial side. Notwithstanding the great complexity of the subject, the new communicational dynamics enhanced by the advent of social networks trivialise — and sometimes contradict — the academically produced and legitimated knowledge. On the one hand, this knowledge is more accessible than ever to the lay public. On the other hand, the possibility of sharing content almost instantaneously does not obey verifiable criteria. Making it possible to observe dynamics based on belligerent logics between the alleged "good guys" and "bad guys" of any given dispute in the public space. We risk simplifying and distorting the scientific process, as Diogo Ramada Curto (2021) notes. He believes that "only the exercise of analytical history, founded on problems, can free us from the weight of partial memories, constructed based on trivialised antagonisms, in which they want to enclose us forcefully" (Curto, 2021, para. 7). However, ultimately, this vision leads to elitist paternalism, as if only the historian were qualified to intervene on these questions in the public sphere.

In fact, it is part of the analytical history process to realise that the debates on historical reparations take place over a long period, confusing their chronology with that of philosophical and political modernity itself. Manichean views of these debates have a more favourable terrain to flourish in societies where, despite their pertinence, these questions have been little worked on, making their historical ballast invisible, as in Portuguese society.

The struggle for historical reparations is multifaceted and has various temporalities. As historian Ana Lúcia Araújo (2017) underlines, since at least the 18th century, enslaved and/or free people have worked to conceptualise the idea of reparations through various strategies and resources such as correspondence, pamphlets, public addresses, narratives of formerly enslaved people and judicial claims. Even in periods and places where slavery was legal, enslaved or formerly enslaved people insisted on publicly expressing an awareness of the injustice of their situation. In settings where their enslavement was manifestly illegal, these people demanded material and/or symbolic compensation, and those were the grassroots of the first historical demands for reparations (Araújo, 2017). Although many of these remain unresolved today, it is worth remembering that several were successful. Curiously and something that should be given further and wider thought, the mill masters and entrepreneurs in the former English and French colonies of the Caribbean were the ones who received huge financial compensation for the loss of "property" upon the abolition of slavery in those societies. Whereas the bills demanding pensions for formerly enslaved people never passed, despite having mobilised many wills and generated debates that last to this day (Araújo, 2017, p. 3). As it introduces a trans-temporal dimension to the debate, an aspect worth considering is the recognition by the United Nations, in 2001, of slavery as a crime against humanity (World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance: Declaration, 2021). The accusations of anachronism thrown from various directions in the public sphere against activism then cease to make sense when we know that part of the definition of this crime is its unremitting character.

In Portugal, the last European empire to recognise their African colonies' independence, these issues have never had great visibility. Not only because the history of slavery is not a widely cultivated field for national research but also due to the false consciousness of liberalism has always been put into perspective by the very late persistence of slavery in the Portuguese territories. Some examples are the caricature that Eça de Queirós makes in *O Primo Basílio* (*Cousin Bazilio*, 1878), with the character of Conselheiro Acácio (Queirós, 1960), and a speech delivered by Alexandre Herculano in the Chamber of Deputies in 1840. In the later Herculano, seeking to establish the historical right of Portugal to what is now Guinea-Bissau, contested the idea of "infamous nations" in what Fernando Catroga (1999) defines as "defensive imperialism" (p 211), ultimately lessening the Portuguese involvement in the traffic of enslaved Africans:

> why are the Portuguese people accused of being slave traffickers when only twenty, thirty, or forty ships are engaged in this detestable traffic of human

> flesh and servitude; when people of various nations man these same twenty, thirty, or forty ships? (many agreed). Portugal has three million inhabitants; perhaps two million have never seen a Black man from the African coast. How, then, dare one spill the ignominy of one hundred or two hundred men on three million individuals? (many more agreed). (Cordeiro, 1886, p. 31)

Upon the adoption of the paradigm of effective occupation following the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), the discourse of the "civilising mission" replaced that of historical precedence, though always linked to the issue of indigenous labour (Jerónimo, 2010, p. 9), in the configuration of colonial projects that would be developed by the First Republic and the *Estado Novo*. Nevertheless, the establishment of a new democratic political regime following the revolution of April 25, 1974, and the African colonies' independence which boosted it remain signs of these discourses' continuity. Such examples are the proliferation of monuments to the "overseas heroes" all over the country or the homage paid by the State to controversial figures of the previous regime, such as Lieutenant-Colonel Marcelino da Mata, which Elsa Peralta (2022) defined as "the non-memory of the Empire's collapse" (p. 64). That brings us to another modality of historical reparations, essentially symbolic, of the struggle for representation in the public space, which had important developments worldwide in the aftermath of the protests over the death of George Floyd in 2020.

In Portugal, in the city of Lisbon, strongly associated with statues and monuments celebrating colonial memory, the installation, by a consortium including the Lisbon City Council and the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, of a statue celebrating the supposed humanist pioneering spirit of the Jesuit António Vieira (1608–1697) in Largo Trindade Coelho triggered heated controversy and protest actions. Those included physical and symbolic interventions of various kinds toward a historical figure who remains consensual in Portugal, possibly to the extent of the enormous ignorance regarding his work, and namely the texts in which his apology for the enslavement of Africans is clearest and most forceful (Pereira, 2018, pp. 166–167).

Although mentalities are changing, the fact remains that ethnographic museums, which helped build some of the knowledge that shaped anthropology (Brito, 2016), have barely changed over time. According to Dan Hicks (2020), it means the museum is a reminder of the many spaces that are not postcolonial yet. They were made to be so from the outset, as certain institutions were built to cement the project of colonialism and thus naturalise and justify it, making it endure.

In *The Brutish Museums. The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*, published in 2020, Hicks (2020) argues that what British museums show harks back to colonial brutality. The bronzes from Benin (Nigeria), stolen during a British naval attack in 1897, can today be seen in the British Museum and are scattered in private and public collections worldwide, including Portugal. Hence, he advocates their return to their origin, as in all those cases under the same premises. It is not about returning everything

and shutting down museums but giving back upon request. The restitution of collections can provide new dynamics in many places. There is nothing new about this. In the 1980s, human remains from the holocaust and objects looted by the Nazi regime were returned. Although controversial at the time, this eventually became a matter of course in all museums in Europe and America.

Of course, restitution can uncover difficult to resolve gaps in museums. Achille Mbembe (2018) has written a text on whether the restitution of African artefacts would allow Europe the opportunity to get a kind of quiet conscience at a low cost. In *Necropolitics*, he highlights that this stems from the extractive colonialism ongoing today, but whose ideology dates back to the 19th century, notwithstanding its resurgence, disguised as capitalism, in contemporary times. Thus, he argues that the starting point for reflection should not be the museum but what he calls the "anti museum" since the museum is a mummified space that needs to be humanised. That entails the much-vaunted decolonisation of knowledge, changing how things are thought or pondered. It is a necessary and urgent action, one of the main lessons to be learned from Sarr and Savoy's (2018) report, which has slowly changed the state of affairs. Proof of this is the news concerning the return of artefacts in a logic of memory rather than of history, since museums are memory institutions, as they exist not only to tell history but to remember and reflect on who we are and how we got here. That entails fluidity and flexibility in connecting with the past and the present. In the interstices of the colonial past, the needs of the present, and the restitution of heritage, on the agendas of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other international organisations, donors, and funding agencies, ratifying the idea that restitution is not subtraction. On the other hand, Bénédicte Savoy (2022) underlines in a recent study how the restitutions of heritage which are now being discussed are far from new. The first demands date from the anti-colonial struggles and independence occurring after the Conference of Bandung (1965) and the most heated debate from the mid-1970s, in what the historian classifies as a "post-colonial defeat" (Savoy, 2022, p. 3).

The memories, narratives, manifestos, social activism and debates around recognition and historical reparation have become fertile ground and a commitment to historical introspection from a cultural and political point of view. Challenging battles are fought to construct a more just, equitable and repairing narrative. The confrontation with the colonial system until post-colonialism was a painful, bruising and tortuous path, requiring a definition of the collective memory's duty. It is pertinent to place at the heart of the academic and civil debate the multiple voices and narratives that contribute to a deeper and more comprehensive mapping of mechanisms of the colonial past still active in our contemporaneity to understand today the legacies of this modern coloniality. The texts that give voice to the historical and civic urgency that this thematic section aimed at addressing meet this challenge and commitment.

The thematic section introduces articles where books are the object of analysis. Sandra Sousa maps out the role of literature as a space for contemporary surveillance of

historical reparations in geopolitical contexts bound by colonialist and colonising western experience. Margarida Rendeiro describes how the narratives of Afro-descendant Portuguese authors destabilise cartographic imaginaries to reflect, on the one hand, the Afro-descendant postcolonial experiences and, on the other, how these narratives are tools for active processes of historical reparations. Susana Pimenta analyses how the postcolonial and *mestiço* condition of the post-memory generation confronts social, cultural and historical inequalities, taking upon itself the responsibility for an ethical choice of critical and intervention dialogue with the legacies of western modernity's past.

Following, Gustavo Freitas and Ana Teresa Peixinho justify, with unparalleled attention, how the analysis of images of a past between Portugal and Angola in 1960, years of Angolan insurgency leading to the Colonial War, remains hostage to an identity grammar linked to the selective processes of collective and national memory of two now emancipated nations, still interconnected in their common history. Patrícia Sequeira argues, in her text, how the post-colonial approach within the visual culture is ambivalent, as it ignores the problem of the legitimacy and the speaking position of the artist and/or intellectual. In this vein, the author reinforces the absence of greater attention to the relationship between knowledge and visibility, between power and visibility.

Diogo Goes offers a singular reflection on the phenomenologies of non-identification with cultural and artistic heritage, namely, the architectural and sculptural installed in the urban public space. In this sense, the author establishes the relationships between iconoclastic phenomena, contemporary mythography and postcolonial and neo-colonial discursive practices, addressing the social and political issues underlying racism, which may be at the origin of iconoclastic practices against heritage. Tatiane Almeida Ferreira discusses the relations between power, memory and the archive surrounding the Malês revolt, a historical event narrated in *Bahia de Todos os Santos: Guia de Ruas e Mistérios*, (Bahia de Todos os Santos: A Guide to the Streets and Mysteries) by the writer Jorge Amado (1977). She shares reflections, tensions and intentions that the contact with post-structuralist and decolonial studies can trigger before history, as a movement of insubmission able to potentiate a critique of official thought and hegemonic. Luca Bussotti and Laura António Nhaueleque argue that the ethnic question has never been an explicit element in the construction of the Mozambican state. According to the researchers, this absence characterised the country's public life with relevant but generally disregarded tensions. In this sense, the study presents evidence of how the long process of ethnic forgetfulness was, in fact, a political program designed and implemented since the liberation struggle that continued, with the necessary adaptations, until today, directly influencing the diffusion of local cultural and artistic production.

The article section concludes with a focus on discrimination issues. Lorenzo Dalvit focuses his analysis on stories related to issues that received extensive media coverage, such as mental health, police brutality and gender-based violence. To this end, he seeks to problematise the Eurocentric human-rights discourse that influences public and

scholarly discussions. His analysis focuses on the link between current understandings of (dis)ability and a violent colonial and apartheid past legacy. Rovênia Amorim Borges presents a thorough analysis within the scope of decolonial studies. It starts by mapping the intersectionality between race and English language proficiency of Brazilian students in Portugal and the United States. It demonstrates that the constraints stemming from intercultural (mis)communications between students from Brazil and Portugal can be explained by the contemporary reverberation of the coloniality of Portuguese language teaching in both countries, experiences and perceptions that leverage the emergence of a "decolonial awakening". Camila Lamartine and Marisa Torres da Silva critically explore the use of cyberspace as a form for denunciation and feminist activism through a case study of the profile @brasileirasnaosecalam, based on content analysis. The project appeared on the digital social network Instagram to anonymously report harassment, discrimination and prejudice that Brazilian immigrant women suffer in Portugal, specifically for carrying their own nationality. Thus, through cyberactivism, which is also feminist activism, the authors show how women have a new cycle of political opportunities driven by the building and consolidation of ties around the globe.

Finally, this thematic section includes a critical book review on the paths of contestation and reflection on cultural and historical heritage by Pedro Costa and a interview on knowledge production, intercultural communication and historical reparation by Rosa Cabecinhas and Miguel Barros.

The "Varia" section welcomes works that contribute to understanding communication phenomena and the reading of social and cultural reality. This volume offers the reader an analysis of the relationship between the internet and social media and the brand engagement level. Focusing on the consumers' group from 55 to 75 years old — portrayed as "digital immigrants" or baby boomers —, María Victoria Carrillo-Durán, Soledad Ruano-López, M-Rosario Fernández-Falero and Javier Trabadela-Robles conducted a study based on focus group sessions in Portugal and Spain. The researchers from the University of Extremadura sought to analyse the use that baby boomers make of social networks, their reasons for joining these platforms and their behaviour regarding these interaction spaces. Identifying socialisation as one of their main motivations to use social networks, the authors also conclude that "brands do not seem to speak the same language they do" (p. 261), nor do they manage to create a strong bond with older people.

Translation: Anabela Delgado

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Repairing History and the Wrongs of Its Agents in *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty*

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Abstract

In this paper, I analyse Teolinda Gersão's most recent book, *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* (Júlia Mann's Return to Paraty, 2021), through the concept of Black psychology developed by Wade W. Nobles. I intend to further elaborate on one of the novel's central questions, posed by Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, whom Gersão (2021) turns into a fictional character-narrator: "can it be that we are unable to evolve in the ethical realm, just as we seem unable to love and feel compassion after all?" (p. 14). At the same time, dissect the wrongs of two of history's most significant agents, both in the scientific and literary fields, the novel highlights. Intellectually influenced and influential, prominent figures in the history of literature, science, and thought in Gersão's book were exposed for the same wrong: not critically questioning a world rooted in White hegemony, which erased the difference and dignity of the "other". Drawing on Catherine Hall's and Corinna McLeod's work, among others, about writing history as a redressing process, I also demonstrate how *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* engages in a critical and redeeming dialogue with the past reflected in the present.

Keywords
Black psychology, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Mann, Júlia Mann, memory

A Reparação da História e os Erros dos Seus Agentes em *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty*

Resumo

É meu objetivo neste espaço analisar o mais recente livro de Teolinda Gersão, *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* (2021), à luz do conceito de psicologia negra desenvolvido por Wade W. Nobles. Pretendo, assim, complexificar uma das questões centrais do romance, proferida por Sigmund Freud, o pai da psicanálise, tornado por Gersão (2021) em personagem-narrador fictícia: "será possível que sejamos incapazes de progredir no plano ético, do mesmo modo que, afinal, parecemos incapazes de amor e compaixão?" (p. 14). Ao mesmo tempo, pretendo também desconstruir o que o romance nos aponta como os erros de dois dos mais significativos agentes da história, tanto no campo científico como no literário. Influenciados e influenciadores intelectualmente, as grandes figuras da história literária, científica e do pensamento presentes no livro de Gersão foram alvo do mesmo lapso: o não questionamento crítico de um mundo apoiado na hegemonia branca, em que a diferença e a dignidade do "outro" foram rasuradas. Basendo-me no trabalho de Catherine Hall e Corinna McLeod, entre outros, sobre o processo da escrita da história como um processo reparatório demonstro ainda como *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* efetua um diálogo crítico e reparador com o passado que se espelha no presente.

Palavras-chave
psicologia negra, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Mann, Júlia Mann, memória

In a provocative article, Corinna McLeod (2009) analyses the museum's role, in this case, the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum, as a site of "contested identity". According to McLeod (2009), the museum is the ideal example where a nation actively negotiates its historicised identity (p. 157). Referring to British society and its postcolonial relationship with the imperial past, the museum emerges as the repository of the empire's fragments (McLeod, 2009, p. 157), where history is preserved, and simultaneously, reconstructed. As such, the museum becomes a "site of memory and memorialising", where "both concepts represent constructivist enterprises and are conducive to the formation of a public national identity" (McLeod, 2009, p. 158). I want to draw on the concept of the museum as a site and its contradictions and ambiguities dealing with the empire's history, where the nation negotiates its historicised identity, using an analogy with another site of memory, despite its different nature, the site of the book. As a museum, the book is also a site of memory and memorialising, preservation, and reconstruction of the past, where identities can be contested, affirmed, or denied, adding to the formation of national identity by removing silenced or erased voices from the rubble. A site of memory that we must not forget is always fragmented, a fragment of that past, which may add but not totalise.

Briefly revisiting McLeod (2009), she poses the pertinent question focusing on the dilemma of the celebration of an empire, the British, whose success depended on the exploitation of bodies and natural resources: "however, a central dilemma remains unresolved. Empire was designed around exclusion; how then can one celebrate the glory of empire while at the same time acknowledging that its success was premised on the successful exploitation of peoples and resources?" (p. 163). She concludes that the museum she analysed will "be a test of Britain's ability to accept a newly configured national identity and embrace alternative historical memories" (McLeod, 2009, p. 164). Hence, we can infer that "grand narratives" are systematically created to "diminish" or silence the voices of "others" and that both museums and books can serve as ideological tools for those in power. However, writing a book and the ideological vision that pervades it is a personal choice less constrained from the tethers of governmental authority.

Following the insights of this preamble, I will analyse Teolinda Gersão's[1] most recent book, *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* (2021), through the concept of Black psychology developed by Wade W. Nobles. I intend to further elaborate on one of the novel's

[1] Teolinda Gersão began her literary career in 1981 with the novel *O Silêncio* (The Silence). Today, the writer is one of the most distinctive voices in Portuguese fiction from the revolution of f April 25. Her writing is permeated by social, economic and mental oppression. *Paisagem Com Mulher e Mar ao Fundo* (Landscape With Woman and Sea,1982), *O Cavalo de Sol* (The Sun Horse, 1989), *A Árvore das Palavras* (The Word Tree, 1997), *Os Teclados* (The Keyboards, 1999) and *A Mulher Que Prendeu a Chuva* (The Woman Who Stole the Rain, 2007) are among her most acclaimed works. She has been honoured with several distinctions, including the Grande Prémio de Conto Camilo Castelo Branco award, Prémio Fernando Namora award, the PEN Club Prize for fiction, Grande Prémio de Romance e Novela da APE (Portuguese Writers Association) award, the Prémio Máxima de Literatura award, and the Prémio da Fundação Inês de Castro award. Her books have been reprinted over the last decades, and some have been adapted to the theatre and staged in Portugal, Germany and Romania.

central questions, posed by Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, whom Gersão (2021) turns into a fictional character-narrator: "can it be that we are unable to evolve in the ethical realm, just as we seem unable to love and feel compassion after all?" (p. 14). At the same time, dissect the wrongs of two of history's most significant agents, both in the scientific and literary fields, the novel highlights. The question is included in the first chapter, "Freud Thinking of Thomas Mann in December 1938", which, by the way, can be read as the first of three separate novels, even though they are related to each other. The philosophical question raised by Freud in an inner monologue near the end of his life in exile in London is posed to Thomas Mann, on whose psychic life the reflection is focused, but also to the reader. In other words, Freud thinks about Mann, and Gersão thinks about the reading audience through Freud. One must also consider that this novel is a psychological game of mirrors that reflect and show the reflection of the three central narrators — Sigmund Freud, Thomas and Júlia Mann — the author and the reader in a circle enclosed by the human condition.

Moreover, as Tercio Redondo (2012) states, "in the field of sciences which emerged in the early twentieth century none established such close ties with literature as Psychoanalysis did" (p. i). The critic refers exclusively to the literature produced in the western world since psychoanalysis' influence is rare in Latin American, Asian or African literature of the same period. Redondo (2012) further states that

> Freudian research has interacted with the arts in general and literature in particular since the first studies on hysteria. According to the Viennese physician, the literary text corroborated the clinic's findings; moreover, it provided the research with models that fitted complex theoretical constructions, as seen in the formulation of the so-called Oedipal conflict. On the other hand, the literary texture itself became the target of the psychoanalytic investigation. There are countless examples of this exegetic activity, ranging from light commentary to the exhaustive discussion of prose fiction texts, such as the one Freud developed around the short story *The Sandman* by E.T.A. Hoffmann. (p. i)

Attempts to perform a "psychoanalysis of the text" have always been criticised by writers and literary critics annoyed by Freud's overly content-driven concern over the analysis of the form, which would not concede to his method. However, this analysis still holds sway (Allen, 2020; Brooks, 1994; Ellmann, 2014; and others). The fascination for the Mann family is such an example, and it seems unaffected by such criticism. According to Richard Miskolci (2003), interest in Júlia Mann and her Brazilian origin has been "a-historically studied as an influence on the work of her descendants through psychoanalytic approaches" (p. 159). These include a biographical-family study by the German sociologist Marianne Krüll, *Na Rede dos Magos* (In the Net of the Magicians, 1997), and a novel inspired by her biography by João Silvério Trevisan, *Ana em Veneza* (Ana in Venice, 1998), among others. Gersão's novel belongs, thus, to a literary tradition around Júlia Mann, the mother of Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann and the no less famous writer Heinrich Mann.

1. The Wrong of Freud

Freud, the narrator-character in Gersão's (2021) book, states, questioning the discipline he created as a form of redemption of the human being:

> I have always tended to be sceptical about our species. The human being is an impure clay. I believed it was possible to perfect and liberate it — but can psychoanalysis, in fact, lead us to the mastery of negative drives and the construction of a civilised society? (p. 14)

Decades earlier, the character states, "I had thought, (...), that Psychoanalysis had all the answers, and would change the world" (Gersão, 2021, p. 11). The disappointment, at the end of his life, is obvious: "I have devoted my life to seeking the truth about being human. I believed that if we know who we are, we will see more clearly and make the right choices" (Gersão, 2021, p. 8).

Throughout the novel, the real events of Freud's life are interwoven with the fictional narrator of the 1938 monologue. The date is not accidentally chosen. 1938 was when the German troops occupied Austria, whose capital was estimated to have 200,000 Jews. The same year that Freud, the son of Jews, was exiled to the United Kingdom to escape Nazi persecution and died the following year. The price paid for being Jewish at the time was mass death, exile, the loss of life as it was known, besides the material and symbolic loss of work, as Freud states:

> like those of so many others, the books I wrote were declared subversive and degenerate, thrown into the fire to the sound of insults and shouts or such a heavy silence that only the crackling of the flames could be heard. Almost all the great works turned to ashes, and the death of the spirit will follow the extermination of thousands, or millions, of lives. (Gersão, 2021, p. 9)

The World War II would affect the life of Freud and millions of Jews, and it added to the equally overwhelming act of the human condition, the exploitation of human bodies and natural resources in Africa. One of its greatest culprits, Portugal had promulgated, 8 years earlier, the Colonial Act that underlined the conception of the empire as a whole and the implicit idea that the physical, psychological, intellectual, economic and military domination over the African peoples was only beginning. As the *Bulletin of International News* states,

> President [Óscar Carmona]'s visits to Angola in 1938 and Mozambique in 1939, proclaiming the "unbreakable and eternal unity of Portugal domestically and abroad" and the military mission to both countries in 1938, further underlined the true importance of the Empire to Portugal and his vital commitment to maintaining the unity of his Commonwealth. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1942, p. 930)

The same form of domination over the "other" — racially, ethnically and religiously different — continued in other European empires until the end of the World War II, which

is today seen as one of the hallmarks of the most deplorable level that human beings can reach. Freud's questions about the human being's incivility, ability to progress ethically, love and compassion, to which I would add solidarity, are not misplaced considering the novel's historical context and the contemporaneity of its writing and publishing. After all, Freud's questions are as valid in 1938 as 2021.

Considering the work of Wade W. Nobles on Black psychology, we can see that Freud's wrong was, from a Eurocentric mindset, not to recognise that the psychoanalysis he developed did not allow all human beings to fit into the same mould. At the end of his monologue about Mann, he even doubts the usefulness of his work: "I try to believe that my work might, nonetheless, be of some use, but I am not sure that it is so" (Gersão, 2021, p. 38). Despite being Jewish, Freud had a place in the European Academy and produced an alienating narrative. In 1978, Nobles (2013) introduced the concept of "conceptual imprisonment", aiming to "caution about uncritically adopting European and American ideas to examine African and African American reality" (p. 233). In other words, placing European American conceptions and formulas as the universal standard can conceptually incarcerate the examination of peoples who are neither European nor American, such as Africans. Thus, Black psychology has exposed Eurocentric hegemony and traditional psychological theories. It has also directly begun to focus on creating new paradigms and methodologies rooted in an organic and authentically African epistemological and ontological basis (Nobles, 2013, p. 233). That does not exclude the notion of permeability through contact to which these peoples have historically been subjected. According to Nobles (2013), Black psychology is

> more than the psychology of the so-called underprivileged peoples, more than the experience of living in ghettoes or having been forced into the dehumanising condition of slavery or colonisation. It is more than the "darker dimension" of general psychology. Its unique status is derived not from the negative aspects of being "Black" people on the continent or anywhere in the diaspora but rather from the positive features of basic African philosophy that dictate the values, customs, attitudes, and behaviors of Africans in Africa and the New World. (p. 233)

Nobles (2013) states that the psychological effect that the ideology of White supremacy and European imperialism, like slavery and colonialism, has had on Africa and her people has never been fully addressed and understood. Probably the attempt to erase and silence a part of history that did not, and does not, favour the great former colonial empires. Black psychology, however, "has forced the overall field of psychology to recognise that there is no universal psychiatric reality and that, in terms of psychological knowledge and practice, the only valid perspective is one that reflects the culture of the people served" (Nobles, 2013, p. 233).

Meanwhile, other fields of study have progressively drawn attention to the question of historical reparation (Hall, 2018). For example, Lisa Lowe (2005a) studies the paradoxes that encapsulate such reparation. She demonstrates that research focused on reparation mobilises the different valences of the term: a sense of the retrieval of archival

evidence and the restoration of historical presence, on the one hand, and the ontological and political sense of reparation, on the other, that is, the possibility of recuperation, or the repossession of a full humanity and freedom, after its ultimate theft or obliteration. (p. 85). Throughout the 17th through the 19th, Lowe (2005a) states, "liberal colonial discourses improvised racial terms for the non-European peoples whom settlers, traders, and colonial personnel encountered" (p. 92). We can thus link the emergence of liberties defined in the abstract terms of citizenship, rights, wage labour, free trade, and sovereignty with the attribution of racial difference to those subjects, regions, and populations that liberal doctrine describes as a unit for liberty or incapable of civilisation, placed at the margins of liberal humanity:

> settlers represented indigenous peoples as violent threats to be eliminated in ways that rationalised white settlement and African slavery; they discounted native people as uncivilised or non-Christians, conflated the inhabitants with land and nature, imagined them as removable or extinguishable, or rendered them as existing only in the past. Colonial administrators and traders cast captive Africans as inhuman chattel, as enslaveable property. (Lowe, 2005a, p. 92)

As she humanises Freud in the novel, who, at the end of life, recognises he was as imperfect as any other, a disillusioned character, but at the same time lucid, about the impracticability of what he had believed in, Gersão (2021) starts to alert us to the complexity of history and its agents:

> like you, I am not, nor have I ever been, a man of action, I was a man of thought, and that seemed to be enough for me. I even believed that I could remain politically neutral and that Psychoanalysis could be practised in any regime or country. (p. 36)

As the character puts it, Freud's wrong was one of action versus passivity. However, the latter can be read as intellectual passivity since political neutrality still implies blindness towards the "other" and its history of slavery, colonisation, and subjugation. In other words, Freud failed to recognise that "there is no universal psychiatric reality" (Nobles, 2013, p. 233), that is, "whether modern (professional) or traditional (folk), every aspect of psychological knowledge and practice is a reflection of the constructed world of a particular people" (p. 234). It also contributed, as Walter D. Mignolo (2007) puts it, to the building of modernity, although not exclusively European, that is, to "the rhetoric of modernity [which] has been predominantly put forward by European men of letters, philosophers, intellectuals, officers of the state" (p. 469). The thought of modernity involved a European claim to benevolence and brotherhood that translated into the dehumanisation, defrauding and exploitation of racialised bodies. The alienation and the inability to see the reality of the other, that is, the inability to empathise[2], justify Freud's words in the novel:

[2] Here we assume David D. Burns' (2000) definition: "empathy is the ability to comprehend with accuracy the precise thoughts and motivations of other people" (p. 185).

> I, too, had, in a way, tried to distance myself from the sick mentality that surrounded us, and I had focused too much on the inner world of the spirit.
>
> Psychoanalysis was enough on its own, I believed, and I clung to my project as if it could, or would, in time mend the world.
>
> He [Thomas Mann] clung just as tightly to his project: he believed that art in itself sufficed, and he was as wrong as I was. We both lived the obsession of transcribing a work that would be worth by itself and would overcome time. (Gersão, 2021, p. 16)

Both Freud and, in the quote above, Mann took part in the history of modernity. They contributed to shaping a modern interdisciplinary knowledge that, according to Lisa Lowe and Kris Manjapra (2019), is "a history of modern European forms monopolising the definition of the human and placing other variations at a distance from the human" (p. 24). That entails assuming the subject as the central agent of history, society and aesthetics. This way, it sediments a historical and continuous "coloniality of knowledge" that accompanies and naturalises settler-colonial and imperial projects in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific (Quijano & Wallerstein, 1992). Not even the fact that he was "received with scandal and repudiation" (Gersão, 2021, p. 16) made him realise that he was writing "for a privileged class, and that did not care about misery because they did not know it, and lived focused on their problems" (p. 37). Such "misery" was experienced on the African continent, subjugated by European imperialism and the American continent, where millions of bodies were forcibly taken as merchandise to fulfil the "civilisational dream" of European greed. Nobles (2013) notes that one constant imperative in Black psychology is the recognition of the damaging impact of colonialism and chattel slavery on the African mind and consciousness. This recognition is coupled with a profound understanding that the meaning of being African, for both continental and diasporic Africans, is prescribed in the visible and invisible realms of reality (Nobles, 2013, p. 234). However, our understanding of what it means to be African "depends only on conceptions of European material reality grounded in Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian thought" (Nobles, 2013, p. 234), such as the conceptions created by Freud and Mann in their books and essays.

Freud's wrong, however, goes further and validates the psychological argument developed by Nobles decades later. Ernst Haeckel was responsible, like others before him, for spreading a theory (or belief) based on a hierarchical order of human races, which is part of the widespread racism supported by 18th and 19th-century scientism and evolutionary theory. Freud developed his own version of the organic memory theory in his psychoanalytic theory, which argued that all organic matter contains memory. According to critic L. Otis (1991), one of the problems with Freud's adopting the physiological theories of the time was his conclusion that all people of both ancient and modern times had the same experiences (p. 193). Like biogenetic law, this premise was never questioned by Freud. Perhaps because without the assumption of a universal phylogenetic legacy, he could never use

psychoanalysis to examine social phenomena (Otis, 1991, p. 193). The wrong was, thus, to extend individual development to cultural development and, for this reason, he too was responsible, though Jewish, for a castrating narrative of the human being. Moreover, even belonging to a group stigmatised as inferior and persecuted and obliterated, he did not understand that the distinct, yet interconnected, colonial racial logics "emerged as part of what in the 19th century was an emerging imperial imaginary of Anglo-American settlers" (Lowe, 2015b, p. 92). The pernicious consequence is that the same kind of logic is still being elaborated today, "casting differentiated peoples around the world against liberal ideas of civilised personality and human freedom" (Lowe, 2015b, p. 92).

2. The Wrong of Thomas Mann

The second part of the novel, "Thomas Mann Thinking of Freud in December 1930", can be analysed as an anachronistic response by Mann to Freud's 1938 monologue. Through the critical study of Mann's work, we know of his contribution to the field of neurology (Caputi et al., 2018) and his relationship with Freud — although encounters were scarce — and his work[3] (Hummel, 2006). From the study of Mann's diary, we learn that Mann visited Freud and that during the visit, he re-read in private the speech *Freud and the Future*, delivered on May 8, 1936, at a festive event to honour the psychoanalyst, two days after his 80th birthday, in the packed hall of the Wiener Konzertverein (Hummel, 2006, p. 76). According to Hummel (2006), this was one of the most delightful encounters of the 20th century. Both men played a key role in the cultural blossoming of the German-speaking region — until they were forced to leave their homeland when their culture sank into the morass of Nazi barbarism. The personal relationship between the two men was possibly more complex and complicated than the diaries suggest, but that afternoon surely has left a deep impression on the audience. A letter that Martha Freud sent to Thomas Mann in 1945 on his 70th birthday bears witness to this (Eigler, 2005, p. 114).

Scholars of Mann and his work speculate that although in his diaries of 1918-1921 psychoanalysis plays no role, he must have known more about it than what was discussed in the literary salons of Munich at the time. However, the address honouring Freud in 1936 is more than indisputable proof of the role of psychoanalysis in the writer's work. In this tribute, Mann (1936) states at the outset, "when I began to engage with the literature of psychoanalysis, I recognised, by arranging the ideas and the language of scientific accuracy, much that had long been familiar to me through my youthful mental experiences" (p. 115). In fact, in this homage address, Mann dwells much more on himself and the analysis of his book *Joseph and His Brethren* — "perhaps my readers will be indulgent if I talk a little about my own work" (p. 118) — than on Freud, an aspect analysed by Gersão (2021) in Freud's thoughts regarding the writer:

> it was one of his contradictions. He emphasised reason, but emotion dragged him along unconsciously. He wanted to speak about my path, but, as he

[3] As an example, Caputi et al. (2018) report that "whatever the source of his inspiration to research and record these conditions, neurology and literature are certainly indebted to Thomas Mann's writing" (p. 83).

> recognised, it was to himself, his personal experience, and his books that he always returned. As he saw it, that was to my advantage. I couldn't help smiling on the inside. Yes, I thought, looking at him, it is the triumph of consciousness over the unconscious, but how can it be reached, to what extent, and in what way? What traps, retreats, relapses drive us (...) forward? (p. 13)

At the end of his speech, Mann (1936) alludes to the analytic revelation as a revolutionary force stating that it brought a joyful scepticism into the world, a distrust that unmasked all the schemes and deceptions of our own souls. Once awake and on alert, they cannot be put to sleep again (pp. 122–123). He concludes his speech envisioning a future where hope reigns — "can we hope that this will be the fundamental temper of that more cheerfully objective and peaceful world which the science of the unconscious may be called upon to introduce?" (Mann, 1936, p. 123) — and Freud, the character, questions: "and what heroic future is this, for which he longs? What world of peace and without hate does he foresee, out of this year's 1936 troubled reality and the years of anguish and debacle that preceded it?" (Gersão, 2021, p. 13).

Gersão (2021) sets Mann's silent dialogue with Freud one year after the first received the Nobel Prize for Literature and 3 years before the latter moved to Switzerland, shortly after the Nazis came to power in 1933. In 1936, Mann was formally expatriated and obtained Czechoslovak citizenship. In 1938, he moved to the United States of America, where, in 1944, he was granted American citizenship. In 1952, he returned to Switzerland. Mann, the character, deconstructs Freud and the limitations of psychoanalysis, also revealing, himself, the wrong of his contemporary psychoanalyst:

> yes, I understand and sympathise with you:
>
> Jewish, poor, an intellectual against the tide, confronting a society that does not want to be unmasked or change and which you reduce to crumbs without illusions or complacency. (...) But what you have to reveal to it, what you have to offer to it, is neither exciting nor even reassuring: A cruel society based on rivalry, incest and parricide, a world shattered by endless war, where civilisation causes unease and the sweeping happiness of fusion is illusory or even forbidden. Every individual is unique and different and will always be alone. (Gersão, 2021, p. 51)

Mann is not equally immune to his time, as his fictional portrait offered by Gersão (2021) unveils. Both monologues — or dialogues with an absent interlocutor — can be read as a power struggle between two of the greatest figures of late 19th and early 20th-century western thought. They try to vindicate themselves and each other by relating their incoherences, failed desires, ambiguities and contradictions, ultimately their human frailty and that of their thought. In fact, in this inescapable human condition that they resemble each other. Mann refers to this closeness between the two in several passages. "We speak the same language, Dr Freud" (Gersão, 2021, p. 52), says the writer,

referring not only to the German language but "to other ones, to the language of the intellect, of the spirit, which lead us to revelations and illuminations that collapse upon us and set us on fire. The language of discoveries, the divine language of epiphanies" (p. 52). Mann and Freud are equally close in the field of political ideas:

> I also share your view: you have argued that psychoanalysis should be neutral and practised in all political regimes because it does not specifically have a 'world view'. But that is not true, dear doctor. You have an undeniable patriarchal and conservative vision of the world. You accept the idea of democracy, but you don't like the French republican model, for example, and you have always opposed communist or socially revolutionary ideas. I, too, am against them. (Gersão, 2021, p. 76)

In his monologue, Mann may reveal a tendency to see his art as superior — "my world of artistic creation is a search for the absolute, beyond words, a kind of loss of identity, where all antagonisms are balanced, and good and evil are confused" (Gersão, 2021, p. 76). However, two aspects contributed to his wrong. The first, like Freud, was his fascination with heredity, or rather, "his fascination with the way the individual contained, represented and transmitted his past" (Otis, 1991, p. 126), which permeates all his artistic creation. In his essay "Freud and the Future", the influences of Haeckel (1914) and Lamarck (1809) are quite evident, as he has no problem in juxtaposing social and individual psychology. Gersão (2021) deconstructs his pulsating racism, in line with the scientific theories that seduced him, in the following passage where the writer talks about his marriage to Katia, daughter of Jews: "besides, the marriage was, in everything else, convenient: The Pringsteins were Jews, therefore ethnically inferior to me. Even if they tried to trick or humiliate me, I was in a stronger position. Marriage added to my social prestige" (Gersão, 2021, p. 59).

The second wrong was not to have valued his Brazilian descent on the part of his mother, Júlia, until a given moment. In the monologue where he thinks about Freud, Mann talks about his complex relationships with his wife, brother, and children, but never about his mother, which discloses an important narrative strategy here. Silencing Júlia in her son's thoughts implies a double exclusion of the figure of the feminine, both in real life and in fiction, which Gersão (2021) will recover in the last part of the book by providing her not only with a voice but also with double the narrative space. According to Sibele Paulino and Paulo Soethe (2009), Thomas Mann displayed in his lifetime an ambivalence towards his South American origin:

> indifference, distancing, and even denial, especially in early public life, would alternate with statements of appreciation of this element of ethnic and cultural diversity in his person and with expressions of interest in the exotic country where his mother had was born and grew up. (p. 33)

The writer was exposed to books produced in Brazil and "also had personal meetings with Brazilian intellectuals such as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Erico Verissimo"

(Paulino & Soethe, 2009, p. 36). However, he never travelled to Brazil, which would have offered him the opportunity to meet with Gilberto Freyre, the only Brazilian intellectual the German writer mentions in a letter (Paulino & Soethe, 2009, p. 36).

Freyre was known to have felt an extreme admiration for Mann, whom he called "the greatest personality of modern German literature". In fact, he urged the Brazilian Academy of Letters to invite him to Brazil, more than once, to honour the greatest "son of a Brazilian woman" (Paulino & Soethe, 2009, p. 45). Although Freyre's efforts succeeded, probably, just as the Brazilian intellectual was aware of the Nobel Prize winner's work, the latter was also familiar with Freyrian theories. Perhaps those have also contributed to Mann's reconciliation with his Brazilian origin in the 1940s. According to Paulino and Soethe (2009), in a letter of 1943 to Lustig-Prean, "one reads Thomas Mann's most striking statement about the significance of his own Brazilian origin in his development as a person and artist" (p. 42). The connection, "the acquaintance of these intellectuals to each other through their works is not, by any means, absurd, if we also consider that in the English language editions of *Casa Grande & Senzala*, Freyre is compared to Picasso and Freud" (Dávila, 2019, p. 51). Like Freud and Mann, Freyre was also part of a racial and cultural thought tradition based on human differences. Intellectually influenced and influential, prominent figures in the history of literature, science, and thought in Gersão's (2011) book were exposed for the same wrong: not critically questioning a world rooted in white hegemony, which erased the difference and dignity of the "other". In fact, both Mann and Freud believed in a concept of worth, perpetuated by science, that distinguished human beings and placed them in organised boxes when we know today through cognitive science that value "is just an abstraction; it doesn't exist. Hence, there is actually no such thing as human worth" (Burns, 2000, p. 341).

3. The Epiphany of Júlia Mann

The third text in Gersão's (2021) book, which gives its title, focuses on Júlia Mann, completing a circle of lives and experiences that intersected in that mental whirlwind of the early 20th century. As Sara Figueiredo Costa (2021) states,

> these three characters are remarkable at many levels. Although Júlia Mann, because she was a woman and did not abide by the behavioural codes of her time, never had the recognition she deserved. They were directly involved, though differently, in all these changes that launched last century, yet it is the intersection of their stories, especially at a deep and unconscious level, that makes a novel that is far from being a mere biographical exercise. (para. 9)

The narrative about Júlia Mann, born in Brazil and at the age of 7 "displaced to the bourgeois life of Lübeck, Germany, meanwhile married to a merchant with whom she would have several children and clearly lost between what she thought and felt and what others expected of her" (Costa, 2021, para. 6), opens with the boat trip back to her

childhood home. That place is a hymn to her freedom: "no house would ever lock her again, and so I laughed at her doors and windows, gardens, stairs, walls and balconies, plaster ceilings and shining floors, which were suddenly no longer there" (Gersão, 2021, p. 80). In this text, oscillating between Júlia Mann's childhood and the end of her life, the wrongs of the thinking in the late 19th and early 20th centuries openly culminate: the racism inherent in hierarchical theories of the human being leading to the demeaning and domination of African peoples and South American indigenous people, equally ranking women on a scale of inferiority and subordination towards men; the Lusotropicalism developed in the tropics by Gilberto Freyre which justified Portuguese colonialism in Brazil and Africa, not to mention the racism naturalised in Brazil; the assumption arising from these supposedly scientific theories that western peoples are endowed with a more advanced level of civilisation and therefore predestined to bring others to the same level of culture and civilisation, thus legitimising acts of barbarism.

Despite having spent 63 years in Germany, Júlia was never seen as German because, as Richard Miskolci (2003)

> at that time, national identity was given at the exclusionary extremes of some nationalities (implied as "race"). Politically, nationality perceived as citizenship remained a male privilege with restrictions of class and property like the right to vote. Being a German citizen — like being a citizen of all countries of the time — presupposed being male and bourgeois. Thus, Júlia shared a subordinate position in her society with the other German women, though her circumstances made her situation even more problematic. (p. 173)

That had to do with her Brazilian origin — the object of inner conflict in Thomas Mann, as mentioned —, setting her apart from the "normal" German women, making her an outsider in the bourgeois environment where she was born: "hence the repeated allusions of her contemporaries to her artistic aptitudes, her festive joy and scandalous laughter" (Miskolci, 2003, p. 173). In Júlia's reflections, this "apparently rational" idea of being more German at the end of her life than Brazilian "did not seem to convince anyone", "everyone regarded her as *exotic* (...). There was thus something aberrant in Júlia for the German society, patriarchal, puritanical and bourgeois, where female sexuality should be hidden" (Gersão, 2021, p. 112).

Júlia, the character, ponders these aspects when she is already aware enough to realise her castration not only as a woman but a woman born in an "exotic" country from a mother with indigenous blood as well: "the language of her mother, Ana's, her country and childhood had been forbidden, erased. Murdered. She could not say loneliness, absence and loss in any language now" (Gersão, 2021, p. 98). In a Europe in crisis, regarded by several German thinkers as a crisis of the centre of Europe, which for them was in Germany and the German people, "only the affirmation of the roots could withstand the power of nihilism and the rootless cosmopolitanism of the French Enlightenment" (Maldonado-Torres, 2008, p. 76). The erasure of the "other" and their culture, the systemic racism, sometimes under the guise of forgetfulness of condemnation

(Maldonado-Torres, 2008, p. 109), was disseminated, as Júlia's voice tells us. In addition to the erasure of language,

> one could not run, jump, speak loudly, make noise, and disturb the adults' tranquillity. Uncle Theodor got angry with the noise of her playing in the garden when she visited her grandmother's home twice a month with her brothers and sisters; he saw them as little savages who needed to be civilised. (Gersão, 2021, p. 99)

Through Júlia and her inner world, Gersão (2021) deconstructs and lays bare the wrongs of this 19th-century thinking, pillars of western modernity, whose remnants are still mirrored in contemporary society in the 21st century. As Maria Paula Meneses (2021) states, "one of the characteristics of northern centric modernity lies in the creation and permanent reinforcement of an intellectual hierarchy, by which the cultural and intellectual traditions of the North are imposed as the canon, self-defined as superior because they are more developed" (p. 1069; see also Khan, 2021a, 2021c; Khan et al., 2021). The character also refers to the medical studies of her time, responsible for the perception of the "other" as a lesser being:

> therefore, she was a danger to social order and families: She could slip into excess, bohemianism or debauchery at any moment. As medical studies pointed out, the natives of the South, especially women, tended towards moral and mental insanity, especially if they were miscegenated, of impure blood. (Gersão, 2021, p. 113)

Besides, "in the tropical countries, miasmas and deadly or incapacitating diseases raged, and the natives' own indolent temperament, averse to work and progress, was a degeneracy typical of biologically and intellectually inferior peoples" (Gersão, 2021, p. 112).

Gersão (2021) also uses Júlia, although anachronistically, to demystify, deconstruct, and subtly repair the wrongs, lapses, and certainties of the Luso-tropicalism tracts[4] and other imperialist narratives of exceptionalism. Júlia recognises that her German father was no more than a coloniser, "trained to exploit quick money, like, in fact, everyone: Portuguese, Italians, Germans, Dutch, French, English were all tarred with the same brush and wanted the biggest profit, and as fast as possible" (p. 123). As Cristiana Bastos (1998) states, this theory developed by Freyre would come to influence,

> above all, the belief in the absence of racism, or in lenient handling of differences by those who express themselves in Portuguese, rooted in a hypothetical capacity of integration of the Portuguese colonisers with the tropical environments and peoples; such a belief garners the most diverse complicities. (p. 415)

[4] In the words of Cristiana Bastos (2019), "the term lusotropicalism was coined in the 1950s by Brazilian anthropologist and cultural historian Gilberto Freyre. In his early works on colonial Brazil, Freyre suggested that Portuguese colonisers had a special ability to adapt to the tropics, easily mixing, intermarrying and exchanging cultural elements with different peoples since they were the result of multiple mixtures themselves. Two decades later, he expanded the idea into a concept suitable for all societies with Portuguese influence, whether colonial plantations, settler societies or conquest territories" (p. 243).

They are still visible today, with repercussions beyond the borders of Brazil, including some African countries (Khan et al., 2020).

With Júlia, we also re-address the problem of slavery — the basis of Freyrian theory in *Casa Grande & Senzala* — during her journey back to Paraty:

> much more painful was being transported on the slave ships, which had carried loads of slaves from Africa to Europe and America for centuries. Slavery was even crueller than she had suspected when she had tried to find out more. There were slaves in Brazil. She had seen them in her childhood, without really understanding a thing, not yet knowing the dark side of the world and life. (Gersão, 2021, pp. 134–135)

Let us go back to Nobles (2013), to his classified concept of "spirit damage" or the "suffering of the spirit". He emphasises that one of the most profound lingering psychological effects of slavery and colonialism for African people has been a sense of human alienation "resulting from being infected with or assaulted by long-standing, ongoing sensorial information structures representing chattel enslavement and colonisation, that is, thing-a-fication and dehumanisation of African people" (Nobles, 2013, pp. 238–239). Hence, it is necessary to implement a new psychology that is able to "reveal or expose the truth of African reality" (Nobles, 2013, p. 239).

O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty (Gersão, 2021) discloses some of the wrongs of the great thinkers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, exploring the life of Sigmund Freud and Thomas Mann, in which the role of memory takes centre stage. I would even dare to consider memory as the novel's main character. Teolinda Gersão exposes one of the great post-World War II truths: that time is not a straight line, nor can memory be only a repository of things left behind in the past. *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* serves as a place of memory, such as a museum, that allows us to look back at the past and reflect on it. This place that encompasses the wrongs of some of the agents of history, and includes Júlia, a fictional character, no less excluded, makes us think and envision a future whose alternative historical memories can also become main stories.

Going back to the question asked by Freud: "can it be that we are unable to evolve in the ethical realm, just as we seem unable to love and feel compassion after all?" (Gersão, 2021, p. 14); the answer will perhaps be melancholic. Although the end of Júlia's narrative and her return to her home town can somehow contain some hope, since there is a reunion with the place of childhood freedom, it seems that the answer lies a few pages from the end. Júlia, also excluded, declares, in an anxious tone dominated by a certain despondency:

> oh, God, how unbearable life could be for the weakest, there should never again be slaves, suffering or ill-treatment, it was urgent to put an end to prejudices of skin colour, customs or culture, of being from the North or the South, to abandon these crazy ideas of impure, mixed and mongrel blood.

> The world was sick. It had to be saved from madness - everything was wrong and distorted, people were monsters, countries were destroying each other in endless wars. It was not possible to live in such a place. Gersão, 2021, p. 136)

Júlia's epiphany is, however, commonplace in the 21st century: the world is still as sick now as in her time. The wrongs of 19th and 20th-century thinking persist in contemporary times. As Lisa Lowe (2015b) states in *The Intimacies of Four Continents,* liberal forms of political economy, culture, government and history propose a narrative of freedom that obliterates slavery. So, "the social inequalities of our time are a legacy of these processes through which 'the human' is 'liberated' by liberal forms while other subjects, practices and geographies are kept at a distance from the 'human'" (Lowe, 2015b, p. 3). Until humans are capable of empathy and solidarity, as long as there is insufficient education about "the other worlds" in schools, until racist and discriminatory views are overcome, this ethical and emotional progression, fictional Freud was referring to, seems doomed to remain a utopian vision. Catherine Hall (2018), on the process of history-writing as reparatory, states that "there remains much reparatory work to be done" (p. 19). Moreover, if "history writing can be one way in" (Hall, 2018, p. 19), art can be another medium, taking a key role in this process. As Sheila Khan (2012b) states,

> the breadth of art's reach opens the door to places that the status of reality does not otherwise do. Among several of its dense and complex dimensions, such as the rhetoric of multiculturalism, which sometimes assumes a mask that tends to hide, manipulate and cloud human realities in constant disquiet, social insecurity, banishment and loneliness. (p. 128)

The words of Margarida Calafate Ribeiro (2020) take us in the same direction

> thus, we are dealing with the transformative power of memory through art, with its capacity to tell us who we are, as people and as a community, with its ability to unsettle us, to question us, but also to make us dream. (p. 18)

That is what *O Regresso de Júlia Mann a Paraty* (2021) shows us, as it engages in a critical and reparatory dialogue with the past mirrored in the present.

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On How Post-Colonial Fiction Can Contribute to a Discussion of Historical Reparation: An Interpretation of *As Telefones* (2020) by Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida

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Abstract

Post-colonial Portuguese literature published since 1974 has obscured the trauma of the colonised. In the context of Portuguese prose fiction published since the beginning of the second decade of the present millennium, authors of African descent follow on from the generation that brought about the African liberations. However, due to the years of political and economic instability that followed in the former colonies, these writers became part of the African-heritage diaspora that has grown up in Portugal. As such, they form the visible face of the post-colonial cultural entanglement that was produced by colonialism. Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, the author of *As Telefones* (The Telephones, 2020), the novel that is the focus of this article, provides an example of African-heritage writing and lived experience that has points of reference in Portuguese and Angolan cultures alike. This article argues that Portuguese prose fiction by authors of African descent destabilises cartographical imaginaries to reflect on the cultural complexity of the lived experience of people of African descent, contributing to a polyphony that has been absent from collective memory in the public space, and consequently creating possibilities for historical reparation. This article maintains that, on the one hand, *As Telefones* decolonises the experience of loss that literature published after 1974 has associated not only with the memory and experience of the coloniser's body, but also and significantly, with the feeling of *saudade* (nostalgia or longing) that is so central to Portuguese culture; on the other, it argues that the narrative focus on the telephone as the sole means of transmission of post-memory introduces a rupture in Portuguese literary convention — in which writing is a privileged witness — by endorsing the orality that feeds into the origins of African literatures.

Keywords
African-descendant, Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, border thinking, the decolonial project, historical reparation

Como a Ficção Pós-Colonial Pode Contribuir Para uma Discussão Sobre Reparação Histórica: Leitura de *As Telefones* (2020) de Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida

Resumo

A literatura pós-colonial portuguesa publicada depois de 1974 deixou na obscuridade o trauma do colonizado. Os autores afrodescendentes das narrativas portuguesas publicadas

desde o início da segunda década deste milénio são herdeiros da geração que fez as libertações africanas, mas que, devido aos anos subsequentes de instabilidades políticas e económicas, fazem parte da diáspora afrodescendente que cresceu em Portugal, constituindo a face visível do emaranhado cultural pós-colonial que o colonialismo produziu. Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, autora de *As Telefones* (2020), que se analisa no presente artigo, é um exemplo de uma autoria e vivência afrodescendente que tanto deve às referências culturais portuguesas como à cultura angolana. Assim, argumenta-se que as narrativas de autoria portuguesa afrodescendente desestabilizam imaginários cartográficos para refletir sobre a complexidade cultural da vivência afrodescendente, contribuindo para uma polifonia ausente sobre a memória coletiva no espaço público e consequente possibilidade de reparação histórica. Sustenta-se, por um lado, que *As Telefones* descoloniza a experiência da perda que a literatura publicada depois de 1974 associou à memória e experiência do corpo do colonizador, mas também, e muito significativamente, ao sentimento de saudade, central na cultura portuguesa; por outro lado, defende que a centralidade narrativa do telefone como único meio de transmissão de pós-memória introduz um corte na convenção literária portuguesa que privilegia a escrita como testemunho, validando a oralidade, muito tributária para a génese das literaturas africanas.

Palavras-chave
afrodescendência, Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, pensamento de fronteira, projeto decolonial, reparação histórica

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> The ruins of you... the ruins of us... the ruins of me... the ruins of time past displayed in the window of the present... the ruins built up in the cities of stolen peoples... the ruins of Atlantic expropriation... the ruins of a tangible imaginary... the ruins of dehumanising pain. (luZGomeS in Carvalho et al., 2017, p. 111)

Thinking about post-coloniality in Portugal, and within the framework of contemporary post-colonial Europe, will only result in a productive effort if recognition of the colonial legacy is discussed broadly in the public space by all those who are implicated in the history of Portuguese colonialism, thus ensuring that collective memory represents the experience of colonisers and colonised alike and as such contributes to historical reparation in the present. Michael Rothberg (2009, p. 3) proposes multidirectional memory as an operative concept to discuss how collective memory can be represented in the public space, distinguishing it from the concept of competitive memory. Competitive memory manifests itself as a battle for the recognition of a particular narrative of collective memory that excludes any and all alternative narratives. Multidirectional memory, by contrast, is a concept that implies cross-referencing and negotiation during the process of the articulation of memory in the public space. This concept allows for a dialogic interaction that guarantees the participation of different demographic groups with diverse experiences. Memory is an act freed from the homogeneous space-time of a nation, for in any case this dimension is never really homogeneous. Homogeneity is the visible expression of the absence of polyphony that must pre-exist in any discussion of this kind because collective memory is a fluid concept. Since 25 April 1974, the representation of post-colonial memory in the Portuguese public space has been regulated by this type of homogeneity that excludes the memory of the colonised from discussion in the public space. The revolution and the

democratic regime that followed did not succeed in causing a rupture in the subordination of the memory of colonialism to that of maritime expansion, which represented the era of prosperity and the pinnacle of Portuguese history consolidated during the *Estado Novo* dictatorship. Only very shortly will the first memorial to the slave trade be installed in Lisbon: the project was proposed by Djass – Associação de Afrodescendentes (Association for People of African Descent), and the funding approved by Lisbon Municipal Council as part of the 2017 participatory budget. Yet the memory of the maritime expansion and of the economic and political power that Portugal garnered from 1400 onwards is consolidated throughout the capital city — as it is, moreover, all over the country — with the representation of the peak and decline of the Portuguese empire being especially concentrated in the Belém district. As a consequence of this disparity, the representation of a particular memory of this historical period and above all, the representation of memory in the public space, exclude the experience of a significant portion of the Portuguese population.

Portuguese literature published after 1974 has contributed primarily to a reflection on the experience of the coloniser, the fall of the Portuguese empire, and the traumatic consequences of that fall as they were felt in the country once it was forced to readjust to its actual geographical size. Scholarly analyses such as "No Longer Alone and Proud" by Ellen Sapega (1997), "Lusotropicalist Entanglements" by Ana Paula Ferreira (2014), and more recently, *Orfãos do Império* (Orphans of the Empire) by Patrícia Martinho Ferreira (2021) reveal how the literature produced since 1974 has compensated for the absence of a broader political discussion of the revolution, decolonisation, and the Portuguese colonial operation. However, the experience of African minorities has scarcely been approached in literary terms and is very rarely represented in Portuguese fiction. It is worth pointing out, for example, that representations of the memory and trauma of combat, and, more recently, of the experience of the *retornado* (returned coloniser) are more present in Portuguese literature than, for example, representations of the deserter or draft evader. On the other hand, the traumatic memory of colonised peoples has been especially neglected throughout these years. It is the memory of an African other from a history that is also Portuguese. The very recent emergence of Black Portuguese literature has contributed to endowing the discussion of post-colonial Portugal in the public space with a polyphony that had otherwise been absent. In the process, hegemonic perspectives on the colonial past and the way in which the present relates to the past have been destabilised. Since the beginning of the new millennium, the number of fictional narratives that approach the post-colonial country and are written by Afro-Portuguese authors such as Kalaf Epalanga, Yara Monteiro and Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, among others, has been slowly but progressively increasing. The fact that Almeida's *Esse Cabelo* (*That Hair*, 2019; originally published in Portuguese in 2015) and, especially, *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso* (Luanda, Lisbon, Paradise, 2018) have received numerous awards is the more visible face of a growing — if still incipient — recognition of the emergence of this literature that is so fundamental to ensuring that other voices may be expressed and heard. As Sheila Khan (2015, p. 18) argues in *Portugal a Lápis de Cor* (Portugal in Crayon), post-colonial times are the times when we must listen to those other voices, with their own narratives and knowledge, that form a legitimate part of the historical jigsaw of post-colonial Portugal. These are the voices of the

former imperial global south that have been silenced, devalued, and forgotten; the voices that "lived the rhetoric of Portuguese coloniality, its imperial vision as a civilising centre and harbinger of progress and development" (Khan, 2015, p. 18).

The multiculturalism of post-colonial times has served above all as a buzzword for promoting tourism and the economy of the country. However, such multiculturalism has been scarcely present in the form of real reflection to rethink the (in)visibility and integration of the new voices that are the heirs to the colonial empire, and puts into perspective, for example and in the case of literature, the effects of a literary corpus that is constructed around an imaginary geography that places Portugal at the centre of the map. To be of African descent implies feelings of belonging that result from a condition that is first and foremost, in the words of Inocência Mata (2014), "a dynamic process conditioned by a multiplicity of (historical, social, collective) factors, but also by life histories" (p. 62). In his long critique of orientalism and imperialism, Edward Said (1993) argues that we need to think about new, post-colonial topographies that challenge the cartographic stability generated in colonial times. He asserts that "just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography" (Said, 1993, p. 6). I would like to use the words of Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida and Yara Monteiro to demonstrate how being of African descent is a condition perceived as other by the Portuguese, White, Eurocentric subject, but inhabited as a complexity that comprises the diversity inside oneself, enriching the experience of the subject of African descent forced to invent the terms of his or her identity. While Almeida declares that, although she was born in Angola and raised in Portugal, "a person like me is always an African girl in Lisbon" (Lucas, 2015, para. 10), Monteiro emphasises that "my roots are African, they are Angolan, but my wings are European, they are Portuguese" (Wieser, 2020, 00:02:43). In this article, I argue that the prose fiction produced by contemporary authors of African descent introduces the possibility of a necessary rupture in the stability of the cartographical imaginary that underlies the concept of a national literature, in order that post-colonial literature by authors of African descent may reflect in those authors' own voices and by their own hand on the complexities produced by colonialism. These new narratives are constructed from the perspective of those who "live on the border, sense on the border, and think on the border", and experience dislocation and (un)belonging (Mignolo, 2017, p. 19). Although they write in Portuguese, "different memories and, above all, different conceptions and a different 'sensibility' of the world" inhabit their bodies (Mignolo, 2017, p. 20).

As Telefones (The Telephones) by Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida (2020) is a first-person prose narrative that explores the affective relationship between a mother and her daughter who live in different cities on different continents: Solange, the daughter, grew up in Lisbon under the care of her maternal aunt, having arrived there in the first years of Angolan independence while her mother, Filomena, remained in Luanda. The underlying argument of this article, which develops around the metaphorical possibilities generated by the image of the telephone, is founded on two complementary statements. On the one hand, as a narrative of two lives deprived of the consistency and physicality of an in-person relationship, *As Telefones* decolonises the experience of loss and interior emptiness that literature published after 1974 has tended to associate with the memory and corporeal experience of

Colonial War veterans and returned colonisers, and also, very significantly, with the feeling of nostalgia or longing (*saudade*) that is so emblematic within Portuguese culture. On the other, the narrative focus on the telephone conversation as the only means of transmitting memory and knowledge from mother to daughter introduces a break with western and Portuguese literary conventions, which tend to take writing as a privileged form of bearing witness. It also introduces the oral tradition that inflects Angolan literature — and indeed, other African literatures that have emerged since independence — as a testimonial basis for Portuguese literature of the post-colonial diaspora (Chaves, 1999). In his article on *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso*, Paulo de Medeiros (2020, p. 147) proposes reading Almeida's prizewinning novel beyond the limits of a national or linguistic literary tradition, and he identifies it as a successor of José Luandino Vieira's *Luuanda*. The experience of post-colonial trauma that is generated by loss, (un)belonging, and dislocation must be heard and dealt with in multiple voices in order to decolonise that experience from competitive memory and introduce ruptures in the limitations of a national literary tradition that is sustained by a hegemonic geographical imaginary. It is precisely this post-colonial literature by authors of African descent — a literature written by those other voices to which Khan refers — that will feed a discussion of historical reparation in post-colonial times, which in turn might sustain a process of counter-hegemonic historicization.

1. Dislocation, *Saudade*, and Her Mother

As Telefones comprises long monologues by Solange and her mother Filomena over the phone, which are presented alternately in the form of separate chapters. A third-person narrator appears five times over the course of the narrative. It interrupts these monologues to record Solange's visit to Luanda to spend time with her mother during the holidays, Filomena's trip to Lisbon to be with her daughter, and the heartache and profound yearning of both for a mother-daughter relationship that unfolds primarily over the phone, over many years, starting from the moment when Solange is sent to her aunt's house in Lisbon.

This is a narrative that develops around the impact of migration on family relations and, more specifically, on how children grow up when they are separated prematurely from their mothers. The absence of statistics clearly identifying the Portuguese population of African descent makes it impossible to determine the number of families that are separated between Portugal and the various African countries where Portuguese is an official language. According to data released by the Observatório das Migrações (n.d.), in 2017 around 17% of the foreign population resident in Portugal was originally from Portuguese-speaking African countries (Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola), making this the second largest group of foreign-born residents, surpassed in numbers only by Brazilians. However, and bearing in mind the absence of statistics, we can only guess at the real reach of the emotional and psychological impact on the family unit of separations imposed by displacement. In the history of African and African-heritage family separations, those which are the consequence of migration prompted by political and economic instability in the process of the African liberations constitute a type of contemporary prolongation of the traumatic separations that resulted from the forced

transatlantic dislocation and enslavement of peoples that lie at the core of Portuguese and European colonial history. In *As Telefones*, and in the words of an omniscient narrator, Filomena and Solange represent "continents separated by the waters that unite them" (Almeida, 2020, p. 41). Their story of forced separation is, after all, the same history that unites the two continents of Europe and Africa, and on a smaller scale, unites Portugal and Angola, which are further reduced in the narrative to the Lisbon-Luanda axis.

The telephone, or rather the phone conversation as the ultimate link between those who stay and those who leave, is not a new literary trope in the work of Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, although it is only in *As Telefones* that it constitutes the narrative focus. In *Esse Cabelo* (Almeida, 2015), the telephone conversation is the only frequent point of contact between the protagonist Mila and her mother. Indeed, this is one of several aspects in common between the experiences of this character and Solange in *As Telefones*. In *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso* (Almeida, 2018), Cartola is unable to return to Luanda for lack of financial resources and thus is obliged to survive with his son, Aquiles, on the outskirts of Lisbon, maintaining contact with his bedridden wife Glória in Luanda only by means of letters and occasional phone calls. These narratives explore different aspects of the Angolan diaspora and its integration in Portugal. In *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso*, the character of Cartola is developed around the promises of citizenship and integration that the Portuguese colonial power offered to assimilated Africans, but which proved to be lamentably misleading once the empire collapsed. By contrast, Mila in *Esse Cabelo*, and Cartola's son Aquiles are — along with Solange — the children of the empire who try primarily and in some way to reconcile within themselves their lived experiences in Lisbon with their Angolan roots. As such, they are the protagonists of narratives that trace a decolonial literary project based on exploring sensibilities related to the border-space that these protagonists must forge between Angola and Portugal. Such sensibilities are expressed in Portuguese and use European Portuguese grammar, but the memories are different, and new forms of expression must thus be created from the starting point of those which already exist.

In *Órfãos do Império*, P. Ferreira (2021) identifies the notion of orphanhood as a recurrent trope in literature — and especially in post-colonial Portuguese literature — that is used to express the traumatic state resulting from the loss of the parent figure, which is associated with a "journey of discovery of one's roots and identity and, in many cases, this path that traverses memories" (p. 31). P. Ferreira (2021) identifies orphanhood in *Esse Cabelo* as a "dimension of loss" and, consequently, as a condition that "is not literal, but metaphorical" (p. 238). This orphanhood is only superficially similar to that experienced by the protagonists of works by António Lobo Antunes and Lídia Jorge, among other authors analysed by this scholar. This concept of orphanhood is particularly productive for an analysis of Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida's prose, because while in *Esse Cabelo* this condition is indeed superficial, in *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso* it is the foundation of the character of Aquiles, who is physically distanced from his mother and whose father becomes progressively senile and isolated. Aquiles is the child of the Angolan diaspora who is not recognised by the post-colonial city as a fully integrated citizen. His life is suspended in an old colonial metropole that is still adrift between what it was and what it desires to be: "there's no hurry to have a house or a father or a mother" (Almeida, 2018, p. 170).

It would be easy to think that this notion of orphanhood has no place in *As Telefones*; yet a similar sensation of loss and abandonment unites Mila, Aquiles, and Solange. In this narrative, the feeling of loss is explored as a limitation imposed by migration on Solange's right to recognise herself physically as belonging to an ancestral family line; in short, her right to a body in which she may recognise the characteristics of her mother with whom she cannot be — the features of an ancestry with which she has little intimacy and the traces of similarity between bodies that are obliged by the circumstances of migration to mature without reference to one another. This circumstance is defined in Solange's words as "our situation" (Almeida, 2020, p. 34): the sense of longing between mother and daughter. The absence of the right to recognise the genealogy of her body is prefigured in the title. It generates a certain strangeness through the gendered marking of the feminine definite article that identifies Solange and Filomena but is in obvious grammatical disagreement with the masculine noun that follows. *As Telefones* suggests that which they both become during the years of physical separation — a mother and daughter whose bond is strengthened and renewed solely during the time that they have available to speak on the phone. The impossibility of their knowing the bodies in which they may recognise one another, and which grow older with time is repeated in the narrative as Solange's continual lament: "I don't know your body, Filomena. I don't know my body" is repeated as "I don't know your body. I don't know my body" and "I don't know my body because I don't know yours". This line is further reformulated in various ways that repeat the image of an existence without a physical body: "with the passing of the years, the phone call stopped being an event and, for one another, we stopped being people", or "they were no longer Solange and Filomena, but two ghosts". There is even a variation on the mutilated body to which the telephone is linked as "an extension of the skin", a diasporic cyborg body: "and us, with it, handsets of flesh, telephonic humanity, machines with our hearts in our mouths, names in a soon-to-be-antique directory" (Almeida, 2020, pp. 9, 14, 19, 49, 78, 24, 25).

In Portuguese literature and the arts, the human body has constituted the visual centre of the experience of the trauma of war, loss, and even nostalgia for the end of the colonial empire. From *Jaz Morto e Arrefece o Menino de Sua Mãe* (Mother's Little Boy Lies Dead and Cold), a sculpture by Clara Menéres (1973), to various novels by António Lobo Antunes and Lídia Jorge, to the more recent *O Retorno* (*The Return*; 2012) by Dulce Maria Cardoso, the dead, mutilated, or traumatised bodies of soldiers, the bodies that grieve for them, and the bodies of the returned colonisers who arrive with no protection, "only the clothes they are wearing", unite to give form to the individual and collective trauma of loss. However, the generation of young people of African descent who grew up during independence, away from the countries where they were born, does not belong to the same time as the generation of those grieving bodies. That is the time of their parents, although it continues to echo in the memories that endure for the next generation and emerge in the form of post-memory — a concept which this article uses in the sense given to it by Marianne Hirsch (2012) in *The Generation of Postmemory*. In other words, post-memory denotes the relationship that the inheriting generation establishes, through

the stories, images, and behaviours with which they have grown up, with the trauma of the generation that experienced it in fact (p. 5). The suffering caused by displacement prolongs the suffering caused by colonialism and the war, because it is another battle and another trauma that is reconfigured as the physical absence of contact between bodies. Post-memory of the war for liberation emerges through the voice of Solange in the form of subtle metaphors that invoke the memory of nostalgia for the body that is absent in war, of bodily combat, and of the mutilated body, in order to explore from a historically (dis)continuous perspective a certain continuity in the experience of violence towards African bodies. In this case, it means the violent absence of the displaced body, and the violence of the battle that must be undergone to deal with the sense of longing and suffering caused by that non-presence: "you are my friend and I am your war penpal, anxious to see you again, to smell you, to touch you, to feel your hair" and "the still-intact booths look like futurist armadillos or, going back in time, like the army on the verge of a massacre, shield against shield, helmet against helmet, belligerently tense, but as harmless as if it were encased in glass" (Almeida, 2020, pp. 13, 9). The post-memory of a historically contextualised fact is manifested as a different sensibility that, although it has the reference point of the historically marked trauma of violence against the Black African body, expresses continuity in the violence against the Black body of African descent. To return to Mignolo's (2017) words, cited above, the grammar is the same, but the memory and sensibility of the world for the new generation are different.

In *As Telefones*, the visual centrality of the traumatised body gains new significance through the visual centrality of the absence of the longing body — a body in which the subject recognises their historical-genealogical reference points; this absence runs in parallel with both the historical evolution of the telephone from the fixed line to the mobile phone, and a story of longing caused by separation in which the disappearance of the fixed line also does away with "the notion that there existed a link between those talking" (Almeida, 2020, p. 31). Rooted in the absence of a visualisation of the physical body is the importance of sensing as a way of experiencing the world that gains decolonial literary and artistic form in the face of the hegemonic perspective of the literary and artistic forms generated by the colonial experience. By addressing the diaspora through the lens of the experience of longing for the absent body, the narrative of *As Telefones* redeems the representation of this experience, exploring it in the light of the experience of the African diaspora and Portuguese-African heritage, which is also an experience of trauma. It also creates connections with literary representations of emigration and the Portuguese diaspora, of longing by and for absent bodies, of the smells and sounds that mark the nostalgia of that absence, and which are very present in Portuguese literature published after 25 April 1974, such as *A Floresta em Bremerhaven* (The Forest in Bremerhaven, 1975) by Olga Gonçalves, or *Gente Feliz Com Lágrimas* (*Happy People in Tears*, 1988) by João de Melo. In other words, it reconfigures the experience of psychological and emotional orphanhood for the person of African descent, starting from terms that are explored within the scope of themes that are particularly dear to Portuguese literature and culture: the themes of *saudade* and emigration, within which lies the question of hyphenated

identities, an expression that I employ here in the same sense as P. Ferreira (2021, p. 230). In *As Telefones*, while the word *saudade* is never explicitly spoken, the sentiment of nostalgia for the absent body is nevertheless explored in depth.

By focusing the experience of longing on the absence of the character of the mother who remained in Angola, Almeida's narrative is equally a post-colonial successor of the sacralisation of the mother-figure that shaped early Angolan literature, starting in particular with the Vamos Descobrir Angola (Let's Discover Angola) cultural movement in 1948, and which is present in the poetry of Agostinho Neto, Viriato da Cruz, and Alda Lara through the evocation of mother-Africa. Having grown up in Lisbon, Solange combines European and African characteristics; she is that figure that Almeida calls the "African girl in Lisbon". Although her Portuguese accent is "completely Lisbon", her facial features are unequivocally Angolan, as Filomena observes: "you don't have my nose at all, you look like a little Agostinho Neto" (Almeida, 2020, pp. 30, 65). Although Solange is a married woman with children, lives on the periphery struggling financially, and works in an office (the narrative never identifies her job), the story of this Black woman is articulated only through brief, sporadic references that are clearly devalued in relation to the central situation of the physically absent mother. This is a story of longing that places Solange on a par with the experience of the white Portuguese emigrant. In *Esse Cabelo* (Almeida, 2015), Mila's post-colonial reflection on her identity unravels synecdochically from the starting point of a part of her body — her curly hair. In contrast, in *As Telefones*, Solange feels the impossibility of recognising various parts of her body based on the similarities that she might observe with her mother's body, exacerbated through her feelings of longing for her mother, a story resembling so many other bodies of African descent. This impossibility is a truth that is compared to "a story with no beginning", which is a (dis)continuous story of the various forms of violence perpetrated on Black bodies (Almeida, 2020, p. 19). The maternal relationship and the umbilical cord that unite mother and daughter are not explored in terms of a desire to return to Angola and a return that might place on parallel planes of meaning the return to mother-Africa with the return to the biological mother: Solange does not feel at home in Luanda, regardless of the affective ties that bind her with Filomena. Just like Mila and Aquiles, Solange belongs to the "generations of lunatics" (Almeida, 2015, p. 16) who are forced to reconcile their hyphenated identity[1]. This identity is literarily explored through the experience of estrangement when the sporadic return to her place of origin shows her what it means to be "crushed by life" and reveals to her that "it seems less like coming home" (Almeida, 2020, p. 56)[2]. This is what being Portuguese of African descent means: it is the consciousness that the desire to return to the figure of the mother will always be merely the formulation of a desire for a spiritual return to that which is ancestral. In *As Telefones*, that desire is encapsulated in the line from a Black spiritual chant written in Lingala and Portuguese — "Bobele Yo, Bobele Yo,

[1] "I come from generations of lunatics, which is perhaps a sign that what takes place inside the heads of my ancestors is more important than what goes on around them" (Almeida, 2015, p. 16).

[2] *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (This Woman Kicks Ass!), by Yara Monteiro (2018) bears the same feeling of estrangement when the protagonist Vitória — who is also a woman of African descent who has been raised in Lisbon — arrives in Luanda for the first time: "it is my first time there. I lack the spontaneity of someone returning to their homeland" (p. 28).

only you, only you" — that is repeated over the course of the narrative and signals its end. It is also the formulation of the knowledge that summarises what it means to belong to both Portugal and Angola, and which defines Solange's existence: "meanwhile, in another time zone, I go into the office feeling grateful and blessed for having her in my life, and for us being similar after all: fat, perfect Black women" (Almeida, 2020, p. 90).

It is worth highlighting that *As Telefones* also makes incompleteness visible by leaving several page numbers unprinted, although this is, in fact, a paginated narration[3]. The reader observes that the leaves are paginated in sequence from nine to 90, but, on several pages the number is not visible; as such, the reader is obliged to undertake an exercise similar to that undertaken by Solange in relation to her own story — those "breadcrumbs on the table, crumbled by the hand of memory: our history" (Almeida, 2020, p. 43) — to make visible, corporeal even, the sequence of a narrative that has suffered cuts that figure only spectrally. The reconstruction of the sequence of pages becomes a metaphor for the reconstruction of links absent and lost in the process of identity-related (un)belonging within a decolonial project that is based in the affective experience of the diasporic body.

The figure of Filomena develops from the figure of the assimilated person of the Portuguese colonial empire, although it is rather less well explored in this respect than the character of Cartola in *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso* (Almeida, 2018). In childhood, she is the assimilated Black girl who grows up emulating the tastes of the colonisers:

> our white neighbours at that time only used to eat fruit cake. Fruit cake and iced coffee with lemon. So much so that your mother, small as I was, thought of nothing but eating fruit cake with iced lemon coffee. I played on my own with my dolls all day long, fruit cake here, lemon coffee there, a sip here, a sip there. (Almeida, 2020, p. 44)

After Angolan independence and as an adult, Filomena continues to admire that which exists in Portugal: "I could fancy a latte, it is latte, isn't it? There's nothing like a Portuguese coffee, and this one eh?" (Almeida, 2020, p. 74). She is proud of her own mother for being "a really beautiful, light-skinned Black woman" (Almeida, 2020, p. 85) and considers that the best she can desire for her daughter is that she does not privilege her African roots; as such, Filomena reveals a devaluing of those roots that was cultivated during the Portuguese colonial period, and persists to some extent in the post-colonial Angolan present:

> go to bed now, kid, but mark my words, no son-in-law of mine is going to be Black, I won't be having any of those dummies out there who don't even know what a motorway is, isn't it a motorway that you call it over there?, it's not escalator, it's motorway, that would be the last straw. (Almeida, 2020, p. 39)

Filomena is not Cartola because she does not live on the outskirts of Lisbon and she remained living in Luanda. Nor is she even close to Glória, Cartola's wife, who falls asleep

[3] In an email from Relógio d'Água dated 4 August 2021, the publishers confirmed to me that the decision not to number several pages of the narrative was agreed with the author of the novel. (A. Carvalho, personal communication, August 4, 2021).

with her "nose glued to the perfumed letter" from her husband (Almeida, 2018, p. 211) but is impeded from leaving Luanda and thus is imprisoned by her memories of the past and yearning for a future in Lisbon with her husband that never true. Unlike Glória, Filomena takes a trip to see the Niagara Falls, and she follows the news about Barack and Michelle Obama. She is a character who has inherited the cultural effects of Portuguese colonialism. Although she is proud of the independence of her country ("we will never forget the heroes of 4th February"; Almeida, 2020, p. 65) and has achieved a certain level of economic stability, she continued to see Portugal and the West as models of development. She bitterly regrets that Solange's life and home are a far cry from the level of comfort that she desired for her daughter when she sent her to Lisbon decades earlier. Deeply devoted to her faith, Filomena is a loyal member of the evangelical churches that expanded in Angola, in particular after transitioning to a multi-party political system and a market economy, especially among evangelical movements influenced by ancestral African religious rites. Filomena attends the services at Mamã Claudette's place, and goes into a trance in a shack during an evangelical service that combines religious chants with the clapping of hands and the sound of drums. In Lisbon, on the few occasions she visits Solange, Filomena does not recognise in the capital city the colonial White metropole that in fact it never was, and she sees it as a city on the map of Angolans in transit who prosper at the expense of the Angola's capitalist economy that is configured as a neo-colonial project focused on profit from the extraction markets that perpetuate the social inequalities generated in colonial times:

> Lisbon is looking good, yes sir, congratulations. I mean, it has developed, it is no longer that really beautiful, old city, you know: (...) the Tower of Belém, the Rossio, you haven't taken me for a steak sandwich yet... Oh, that's right, child, I'm not going to forget my steak sandwich. These Angolans who come to Lisbon, all they want are steak sandwiches, they're fancy, steak sandwiches and that, what is that thing...? Kebabs! Today I am going to drink a nice little red wine, oh yes I am... I'm kidding, your mother doesn't drink. (...) So many Black people in the street, there are loads of Africans here, gosh, but this has changed... No, sir, I really don't know Lisbon at all (Almeida, 2020, p. 83)[4]

It is this "stubborn mother, gannet of a mother" who helps her daughter during the few times that she comes to Lisbon, leaving for Angola with "a light suitcase, because she gave me her clothes" (Almeida, 2020, p. 90) in a protective gesture that metaphorically constructs a safe harbour of maternity and ancestry.

2. Post-Memory and the Aural Legacy in Post-Colonial Portuguese Fiction

The representation of writing in its various forms (such as diaries and letters, among others) has been a privileged narrative device in Portuguese — and western — literature,

[4] There is a significant contrast between the image of Lisbon from the perspective of Filomena and that of Justina, the eldest daughter of Cartola, when she visits her father and brother several years later, in the 1990s. For Justina, during a stroll around the Baixa, the "fountains, statues, pavements, they seemed spent, old, uninteresting, dirty" (Almeida, 2018, p. 125); this is the image of the washed-up, ex-imperial capital in the post-colonial era.

functioning as a means of bearing witness to memory. While other forms of memory transmission are not excluded, Hirsch's (2012) concept of post-memory highlights the tangible component of transmission when she talks about the "material 'living connection' [that] is powerfully mediated by technologies like literature, photography, and testimony" (p. 33). Franz Kafka's *Letter to His Father* (1919) is a prime example within western literature, and there is no shortage of notable examples in Portuguese literature, either, such as *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (*New Portuguese Letters*, 1972) by Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa, *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* (*Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 2009) by Isabel Figueiredo, and in cinema, Ivo M. Ferreira's *Cartas de Guerra* (Letters from War, 2016).

With regard to post-colonial Portuguese literature, writing is the means by which the children of the empire deal with the legacy of their progenitors' memories of the colonial period and — very specifically — with the legacy of the memories of their fathers, the former soldiers. Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and António Pinto Ribeiro (2018) establish that this is a common feature underlying the fiction produced by the heirs to the Colonial Wars: a dialogue with the father figure about loss often becomes a dialogue about the figure of the fatherland (p. 294). In *As Telefones*, the father figure is completely absent; rather, this is a narrative that constructs the figure of a motherland drawing from the mother figure, Filomena. However, because it is a search for ancestral references that make of Solange's body a history of complex lived experiences, this journey is followed in dialogue with her living mother, a woman of her own time. Filomena knows that "Aretha died"; she is interested in her daughter's daily life, her friendships, sorrows, and joys ("and Rita, that friend of yours, is she still bothering you, she's very envious of you, darling, are you friends again now?"); and she recounts episodes from her own daily life and little stories about her circle of friends in Luanda: "Catila? Oh, kiddo, my poor friend Catila, love. Would you believe that Zé, that same Zé who used to carry you about when you were little, well, Zé got Catila pregnant (...) that prole disappeared, he skedaddled, sis" (Almeida, 2020, pp. 38, 13, 39). Filomena is a storyteller who transmits her own religiousness and hopes for a brighter future that is a redesign of the colonial framework: "one day we will go on a cruise, darling, you'll see. (...) Drinking champagne, the whole lot, us, two fancy Black women with servants in ties filling our glasses. Your Mama believes, love. God is faithful" (Almeida, 2020, p. 26). Solange asks her mother to "teach me to pray, Filomena"; and her mother teaches her the recipe for *shebujen*: "fry the fish, bream, just chopped into steaks and seasoned with salt or garlic if you have it, and then put it in a pot in which you've already made a tomato base that's well cooked, with the tomato properly broken down, well mashed up, and add water" (Almeida, 2020, pp. 82, 85).

The importance of the orality, the heart of tradition in African societies, rests on the figure of the griot. In the traditional societies of West Africa, the griot preserves and transmits the music, myths, and history of his people; he educates, informs, and entertains; and he is the guardian of ancestral African references. The representation of the character of Filomena in many ways is a representation of the African griot in terms of the role that she has in Solange's life. On the one hand, we can identify in Filomena the representation of the mother who transmits her memories and knowledge to her daughter.

On the other hand, we can see in this transmission the way in which she guarantees the preservation of a memory of Angolan life, which cannot, in any other way, be recovered for Solange's life and knowledge of her roots as a fundamental part of her existence, as a person of African descent growing up and being raised in Lisbon. Filomena's memories and teachings are the connection with Angolan culture that Solange needs to have within her in order to bridge, or soften, her feelings of longing and (un)belonging. Furthermore, the transmission of testimony between those who leave and those who remain runs alongside the global history of the telephone and the phone conversation, which follows the complexity of contemporary lived experience of which the diasporas also form a part:

> language of farewells and omissions, of longing, of distractions, of disastrous news and fleeting joys, that of the possibility of taking the other by their ear and, nowadays, of that conversation being overheard by the great ear that overhears all conversations, the involuntary prayer, and the gnashing of teeth, these are the voices of all of us, listening, chatting, agreeing meetings, postponing lunches, changing the subject, talking about health, death, life, crimes, births, cures, hospitalisations, accidents, sadness, trivialities, looking for consolation in one another's ears (Almeida, 2020, p. 25)

In 2017, *Djidiu: A Herança do Ouvido* (Djidiu: The Aural Legacy) was published in Portugal. It is an anthology of authors and poets of African descent that was created as part of the project *Djidiu* by the cultural association, Afrolis. *Djidiu* is a project that brought together several writers of African descent, who met monthly in Lisbon to share their experiences of being "Black in the world and, in particular, in Portugal" (Carvalho et al., 2017, p. 13). As the sociologist Cristina Roldão underlines in her preface to this anthology, it "is inscribed within a legacy of Black cultural and political resistance through collective literary production" (Carvalho et al., 2017, p. 11). "Djidiu" is the Manding word for griot. The narrative of *As Telefones* sits within this broad literary movement of recovery in post-colonial Portugal of the experience of being Black and of African descent, which was in fact always present in the literature produced in Portugal during colonial times — as is the case of the *Claridade* (Clarity) magazine in the 1930s, and the *Antologia de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* (Anthology of Black Poetry in Portuguese, 1958). However, this movement was made invisible by the mechanisms of canon formation of Portuguese literature. As a resistance movement that redeems Black experience, this literary discourse has been established from the margins; it is given visibility by the publication of the *Djidiu* anthology, which follows in the wake of this movement and provides a literary and poetic representation of the experience of being of African descent, with a focus on recording lived experiences. The narrative of *As Telefones* takes this discourse of resistance a little further by working it and integrating it within the framework of themes that are widely recognised as belonging to the canonical Portuguese literary tradition and the white Portuguese experience. It places Black and African-heritage experience at the centre of this discussion by deploying the theme of longing for the absent body. To conclude the argument that has driven this section of the article, the writing that canonises Eurocentric experience places what was seen and witnessed at the visual centre, while the representation of Filomena aligned with the figure of

the African griot decentralises that visual focal point in favour of the memory of lived experience. *As Telefones* thus decolonises that experience from the principles of legitimacy and authority that are constructed by means of the grammar supplied by so-called western and European epistemology at the same time as it makes more complex the density of Solange as a border-world body. As a subject gifted with "world-sensing", the character of Solange is based on a set of discursive tools that relate to a central theme in Portuguese literature, but which cannot be defined in the same terms as those used by the grammar that sustains the theme (Mignolo, 2017, p. 20). This is another reason why I have observed that, although the trope of *saudade* (nostalgia or longing) is explored in *As Telefones*, it is not articulated using this specific term, because *saudade* refers specifically to its own epistemology, which belongs to a world that predates the creation of a new, border-space sensibility.

3. Final Considerations: Post-Colonial Fiction and Historical Reparation

In the article mentioned above, Paulo de Medeiros (2020) argues that in novels such as *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso* the return to Portugal should be read in the light of both sides of the colonial experience:

> therefore, and in order to read these novels properly, it is necessary to bear in mind that the notion of return, even when it is a false or impossible return, cuts across the experience of many people on both sides of the line of colonial division. (...) And, as such, they also participate fully in another tradition, which, although it demands a much more critical approach, is not new; it is related to the work of Afro-Europeans and to the vision of the historical, cultural, political, and personal entangled relations that are emblematic of that condition (p. 147)

Post-colonial Portuguese fiction by authors of African descent brings to the centre of the discussion the cultural entanglement produced by colonialism and which constitutes the nucleus of African-heritage experience for the successors of the generation that lived through the colonial empire and the decolonisation processes, and which, in terms of its collective memory, has been absent from discussion in the public space[5]. On the other hand, and from the historical-literary point of view, Black writing has been present in the Portuguese public space since colonial times, functioning as a resistance movement from the margins of the Portuguese literary canon and directed towards the experience of alterity that was at the heart of Portuguese colonial society. Such literature developed a narrative of African origins (Angolan, Cabo-Verdean, etc.), and became a fundamental tool for the formation of the Portuguese-speaking African nations. In post-colonial times, Afro-Portuguese writing has sought to destabilise this parting of the waters, reflecting new literary topographies on which the Portuguese post-colonial imaginary is based to mirror

[5] Of particular note in this context is the project *Memoirs: Filhos do Império e Pós-Memórias Europeias* (Memories: Sons of the Empire and European Post-Memories), based at the Centro de Estudos Sociais (Coimbra), co-ordinated by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and funded by the European Research Council. The project explores the European dimension of the experience of the descendants of the generation that was involved in the decolonisation processes and studies the Afro-Portuguese experience alongside and in comparison with French and Belgian experience to show how the Portuguese post-colonial processes are framed within a European post-colonial dynamic.

the complexity of the experience of the population of African descent; and incorporating Portuguese literary heritage as much as it does the literary heritage of African origins. In narrative terms, it is noteworthy that the story of *As Telefones* is organised around a more or less equal division between the monologues of Solange and Filomena, thus reflecting the lived experience of the daughter in the diaspora and the mother in Angola. In an interview with Isabel Lucas (2018) given for the launch of *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso*, Almeida argues that "we may all participate in a conversation, which is a very old conversation, and which is called Portuguese literature" (para. 6). She highlights that her literary influences are those of an author whose reading was shaped in Portugal, including Sá de Miranda, Raul Brandão, and Herberto Helder among these influences. Almeida's various narratives — and in particular *As Telefones*, the focal point for the foregoing discussion — reflect the Portuguese literary legacy, just as they reflect ancestral African heritage and the legacy of key authors from the Angolan literary tradition, such as José Luandino Vieira. This complexity does not begin with Almeida; it is present in the work of other Portuguese-speaking African authors, such as José Eduardo Agualusa (1997) — another Luso-Angolan — whose *Nação Crioula: Correspondência Secreta de Fradique Mendes* (*Creole*) takes the work of Eça de Queiroz as a starting point from which to explore narrative processes.

In his review of Portuguese literature published since 1974, Eduardo Lourenço (1984) asserts that the literary generations of the 1950s and 1960s who produced their work after 1974 always saw the revolution with the "eyes of the past" because in fact, and unlike authors such as Lídia Jorge or Eduarda Dionísio, they were not the "literary generation of the revolution" (pp. 13–14). In the same way, we can assert that the literary generation of the African and African-heritage diaspora comprises those who were born after independence in the various countries and were raised in a world of multiple literary confluences. In contrast, the generation born before independence will always look at the lived experiences of the diaspora with similar "eyes of the [colonial] past". The recognition of post-colonial writing by authors of African descent makes use of the Portuguese literary legacy as much as it draws on African literature in Portuguese (Angolan, Cabo-Verdean, etc.), reflecting the complexity of the diasporic experience of people of African descent. It may thus contribute to a decolonial literary project that takes responsibility, above all, for producing historical reparation. This reparation must involve the destabilisation of literary cartographies and their reinvention. It creates transit spaces to express border-world sensibilities — which represent, in practice, the feelings of bodies that belong to the broad space of the diaspora — and contributes to the discussion of a truly polyphonic collective memory in the Portuguese public space.

Translation: Rhian Atkin

Translator's Notes

Throughout this article, I use the terms "sensibility" and "sensing" with the meaning that Mignolo gives them. The Portuguese title *As Telefones* uses the feminine definite article with the masculine noun, creating a grammatical strangeness that denotes both that the conversations of the narrative take place between women, and that they

effectively come to embody the material objects (telephones) that substitute for being in one another's presence.

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The *Mestiço* in the "Urgency of Existence". *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (2018), by Yara Monteiro

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Abstract

In today's Lusophone cultural panorama (2010–2020), several artists of the generation of postmemory (Hirsch, 2016), heirs of the colonial trauma, have been deconstructing or repairing misconceptions, injustices and inequalities stemming from the colonial system. A group of researchers also fight for fairer memory policies to repair how Europe thought, classified and imagined the distant worlds. Drawing on Yara Monteiro's (1979–) debut novel, *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (2018), this article aims to analyse how the postcolonial and *mestiço* condition of the Lusophone "generation of postmemory" is envisioned. Memories allow inquiring about the colonial past and the roots and cultural heritage of the following generations in "between-places" (Bhabha, 1994/1998), such as the mestizo. Yara Monteiro opens the discussion on the trauma, miscegenation, humankind, and even a possible universality or a historical reparation, seeking to normalise the other side of miscegenation in the European discourse. The process of identifying the *mestiço* is still problematic today and therefore requires an "urgency of existence".

Keywords
generation of postmemory, miscegenation, historical reparation, Yara Monteiro

O Mestiço na "Urgência de Existência". *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (2018), de Yara Monteiro

Resumo

No atual panorama cultural lusófono (2010–2020), vários artistas da geração da pós-memória (Hirsch, 2016), herdeiros do trauma colonial, têm vindo a desconstruir ou a reparar equívocos, injustiças e desigualdades consequentes do sistema colonial, assim como há um conjunto de investigadores que lutam por políticas da memória mais justas, de modo a reparar a Europa na forma como pensou, classificou e imaginou os mundos distantes. A partir do romance de estreia de Yara Monteiro (1979–), *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (2018), este artigo pretende analisar a forma como a condição pós-colonial e mestiça da "geração da pós-memória" lusófona é perspetivada. As memórias permitem indagar sobre o passado colonial e sobre as raízes e heranças culturais das gerações seguintes situadas "entre-lugares" (Bhabha, 1994/1998), como é exemplo o mestiço. Yara Monteiro enceta a discussão sobre o trauma, a mestiçagem, a humanidade, e ainda sobre uma possível universalidade ou uma possível reparação histórica, procurando normalizar no discurso europeu o outro lado da mestiçagem. Verifica-se que o processo de identificação do mestiço é ainda hoje problemático, reclamando por isso uma "urgência de existência".

Palavras-chave
geração da pós-memória, mestiçagem, reparação histórica, Yara Monteiro

1. Introduction

Drawing on the reading of *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (This Woman Kicks Ass!) by Yara Monteiro (2018), we intend to explore the discourses of postcolonial contemporaneity that analyse the redefinitions of identities of individuals "between-places" (Bhabha, 1994/1998), who have suffered an individual or collective traumas for being among other identities.

This analysis is based on the European decolonial turning point (Bancel, 2019) as a political and social project and challenging the official cultural memories and the archives or testimonial narratives, based on a reading intertwined in postcolonial, representations and memory studies. The aim is to verify how culture and cultural discourses incorporate, interpret and represent the colonial past in the "time of now" (Bhabha, 1994/1998), to pave the way for a "historical repair" towards a collective awareness of an "urgency of existence" of the depreciated and discriminated identities, in particular the *mestiço*.

In Portugal, the last decade has seen several works produced in different areas of knowledge, focusing on the search for an understanding of the colonial past. One example is *Este País Não Existe*. *Textos Contra Ideias-Feitas* (This Country Does Not Exist. Texts Against Made-Up Ideas) was complied by Bruno Monteiro and Nuno Domingos (2015a). It includes texts that "allow us to think the country differently than the interpretations that insist on forgetting experiences, processes and current dynamics" (B. Monteiro & Domingos, 2015b, p. 7), which perpetuate maladjusted ideas about how Portugal and its history are represented. Thus, this collective work seeks to support "a responsible intervention of citizens" by offering them tools for a reasoned interpretation of the past (B. Monteiro & Domingos, 2015b, p. 20). In the chapter "Defesa da 'Correção Política' em Tempos de Penúria Económica e Intelectual" (Defending' Political Correctness' in Times of Economic and Intellectual Misery), Manuela Ribeiro Sanches (2015) warns of "the eloquent silence about the colonial past, the memory of slavery, of which Portugal was not only a pioneer but one of the longest and most persistent protagonists, with Catholic blessing" (p. 124). She calls for a public debate on Portuguese colonisation and recommends following the public debate in other European countries, such as Germany or France, where the colonial past sparks discussions and critical views around memory and historiography. According to the author, Portugal seems to merely exalt its miscegenation, somehow reviving the "Portugal for the little ones" without questioning what caused it. The "soft narratives" do not allow a permanent questioning, nor an effective awareness of the Portuguese society for the several identification processes coming from, for example, the Portuguese colonisation or the African diaspora. According to Sanches (2015), the risk is that "the descendants of the former 'indigenous' people are even more subordinated and segregated. Therefore, a political correction must be dared" (p. 126). This audacity has yet to arrive because the narratives that form Portuguese national identity are, in the words of Elsa Peralta (2015), "strongly associated with empire,

[and] its end is not remembered in a particularly effusive way" (p. 129). The fast and relatively "successful" decolonisation process and the "return" of over half a million people caused an "alienation towards the fractures left in Portuguese society by this phenomenon in particular and by colonial legacies in general" (Peralta, 2015, p. 131).

In 2017, Elsa Peralta publishes *Lisboa e a Memória do Império. Património, Museus e Espaço Público* (Lisbon and the Memory of Empire. Heritage, Museums and Public Spaces), where she exposes the challenges of the museological integration of memory in public space (the monuments or the statuary) for constructing a national identity: what is remembered or what is forgotten? Peralta (2017) states that the project of the "imperial nation" was thought and "implemented in the imperial centre, never including the subjects of the empire within the nation and excluding them from citizenship rights" (p. 212). The politics of memory marginalised the other side of the history of colonialism that took place "at a great spatial distance" (Peralta, 2017, p. 213). On the other hand, not least important, "colonialism is rarely considered a common European experience and debates about the legacies of the colonial past remain encapsulated within the specificities of each national experience" (Peralta 2017, p. 214).

Currently, and after the paradigmatic studies of memory around the Holocaust, research projects (and social, political and cultural intervention) are proliferating, with multidisciplinary research teams, based on the international study of the memories of the traumatic past. Such as the project *SPEME – Spaces of Memory. Questioning Traumatic Heritage: Spaces of Memory in Europe, Argentina and Colombia* (https://www.speme.eu/) concluded in 2020, *REPAIRS – Réparations, Compensations et Indemnités au Titre de L'Esclavage (Europe-Amérique-Afrique) (XIXe-XXIe)* (Reparations, Compensations and Indemnities for Slavery (Europe-America-Africa) (19th-20th century); in progress https://esclavage-indemnites.fr/) and, also, in Portugal, the project *MEMOIRS – Filhos de Império e Pós-Memórias Europeias (*MEMOIRS – Children of Empires and European Postmemories; in progress; https://memoirs.ces.uc.pt/), led by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro. These projects attempt to repair what Elsa Peralta (2017) calls "hypertrophy of memory", identified in cultural representations of the colonial empire in the city of Lisbon, empty of texts or explanations, as is the case of the Padrão dos Descobrimentos, thus perpetuating the invisibility of the harmful legacies of colonialism (pp. 216, 218).

In France, the historian Pascal Blanchard, also identifying hypertrophy of memory in French society, has stirred the French debate on the colonial past with the collective work *Sexe, Race & Colonies. La Domination des Corps du XVe Siècle à Nos Jours* (Sex, Race and Colonies. The Domination of Bodies From the 15th Century to the Present; Blanchard et al., 2018). One of the contributors, the writer Leïla Slimani, explains the relevance of the publication, even though it may be controversial:

> one should not be able to talk about the veil, Trump, sex tourism in the South, the "great replacement", police violence against Blacks, migrants or New Year's Eve 2015 in Cologne without having read the text [*Sex, Race & Colonies*]. (Slimani, 2018, p. 507)

Knowledge about the "other" is scarce because of the fabricated discourse delivered by Europe about the "other", the "Black", or "African" for centuries. As Achille Mbembe (2013/2014) points out, how is an "imaginary relationship" with the Black man (African or European, it is not important) still possible in the 21st century? Mbembe (2013/2014), in *A Crítica da Razão Negra* (The Critique of Black Reason), emphasises the problem of the "non-place" of the Black and of Africa, as a sign and evidence of an absence, of a "rest", that is, "figure, if it is, of the dissimilar, of the difference and the pure power of the negative", with recourse to processes of fabrication, invention or imagination, in a "primary representation" of the "other" — of the African, the Black or the *mestiço* (pp. 28, 25).

With her life story and work *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* Yara Monteiro opens the discussion on trauma, miscegenation, humankind, and a possible universality or a possible historical reparation of the European discourse in how it thought, classified and imagined the distant worlds.

2. Yara Monteiro: African Roots and European Wings

The plan is to analyse how the generation of postmemory envisions postcolonialism in Yara Monteiro's (1979-) debut novel, *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* (2018), drawing on Marianne Hirsch's (2016) reflections in "Geração da Pós-Memória" (The Generation of Postmemory):

> describe[s] how the generation that came after those who witnessed the cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who lived through them before, experiences that they "remember" only through those stories, images and behaviours they grew up with. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively that they seem to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch, 2016, p. 303)

In the Portuguese scene, this uprooted generation, and "with an urgency for existence", could be called the "*bué* generation", for being contemporary and responsible for the adaptation and introduction of the word "bué"[1], from the quimbundo *mbuwe*, in the informal discourse of the Portuguese language of the youth born from the mid-1970s onwards. The term was first introduced in 2001, in the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Contemporary Portuguese Language Dictionary of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences), coordinated by the linguist João Malaca Casteleiro. However, the term was consolidated as a linguistic mark of identity of Lisbon's suburban culture, by Boss AC, a Portuguese singer with Cape Verdean roots and a pioneer of the hip-hop musical style in Portugal, through the success of the song "Bué de Rimas" (A Lot of Rhymes) :

> Bué de styles [a lot of styles],
> (Eu tenho) [I have]
> bué de flows [a lot of flows],

[1] Synonymous a lot or in great quantity or intensity.

(Eu tenho) [I have]
bué de rimas [a lot of rhymes],
(Eu tenho) [I have]
Bué [a lot] (BossACTV, 2017, 00:00:19)

The title *Essa Dama Bate Bué!*, on the one hand, draws on that generation (now in their 40s) of an urban and multicultural body, the legacy of the long presence of enslaved Africans in Portugal since the 15th century. Above all, the descendants of the postcolonial African diaspora of the 1980s, who grew up in Portugal and gave rise to the miscegenation of various cultural identities on Portuguese territory. The author explains that "it was an attempt at linguistic occupation, because 'bué' is an Angolan word, and I thought it would be interesting to have that title in a book because it holds a part of my identity" (Wieser, 2020, para. 5). On the other hand, it also represents the culture acquired emotionally through family: identity imprints and memories inherited from a distant "lady", Luanda.

Yara Monteiro, writer and plastic artist, was born in Huambo (Angola) in 1979 but has lived in Portugal since she was 2 years old. Like the novel's protagonist, Vitória, the writer's family moved to Lisbon in the 1980s. At the "5ª Festa do Livro Amadora" (5th Amadora Book Festival), the writer talked with José Eduardo Agualusa, moderated by Tito Couto. She explained how her self-definition of "great-great-granddaughter of slavery, great-granddaughter of miscegenation, granddaughter of independence and daughter of the diaspora" (Henriques, 2019, para. 12) does not necessarily carry the weight of the colonial past. She sees it as part and parcel of her identity history (African/Angolan and European/Portuguese) since her African roots have always been with her through her family's memories, expressed essentially through gastronomy, music, and family stories from a distant Angola. In another interview by Doris Wieser (2020), Yara Monteiro states, "my roots are African, and my wings are European. They are Portuguese" (para. 9). But only during her stay in Brazil she became aware of her blackness and African identity: interestingly, this had not happened in Portugal or Angola.

> I don't think it happened in Portugal, especially because of the education I had: the school in Portugal addresses precisely the achievements of navigation, of what you can call "the discoveries", but it doesn't tell the other side of the story. (Wieser, 2020, para. 3)

Yara Monteiro left Angola as a child. The personal memory of her African past lies in the private and family sphere. This memory materialises, as an adult, through the discovery of her traditional Angolan name, an identity element that, due to the consequences of a long-lasting colonial situation, was hidden and was not registered because it caused family and social conflicts:

> I also found out that my traditional name is Navitangue, where "vita" means "war". But my grandfather did not want me to be registered with the traditional name. My parents were very young. So when I was born, I caused

> some social and conventional problems in my own family. And it was only in this quest for memory that I understood and accepted part of that history of mine. (Wieser, 2020, para. 30)

To rebuild the memory of her cultural roots, she also made use of her grandfather's archive, some "old papers" marked by "silences, gaps and uncertainties", for which she feels emotionally "guardian" (Y. Monteiro, 2020, paras. 3, 6). This testimony inspired the attempt to "deconstruct traumas, reconcile and articulate, through the use of imagination, my place of belonging, this life of mine divided between two continents, trying to give meaning to the nostalgia and suffering felt by the grandfather" (Y. Monteiro, 2020, para. 9). In the postcolonial context, Yara Monteiro is part of a generation — the generation of postmemory — which, on the one hand, lived the consequences of pain and the memories of relatives — colonisation, wars, exile, search for refuge. On the other hand, it seeks to question the past fill gaps and absences to build a becoming and the place of their existence.

In *Essa Dama Bate Bué!*, the concept of "postmemory" materialises in the words of the protagonist Vitória, who bears the memories of those who came first:

> not that this story and so many other family memories have ever been told to me. Throughout my childhood, I would listen to the conversations between grandmothers and aunts. I pretended to be distracted, so I could pay attention to what I was hearing.
>
> The thing is that family memory does not belong only to those who lived it. Those born after bear the biography of those who arrived first. I exist in that past, and the memory belongs to me. The Angola I know is the evocation of memories that have not been extinguished by time. It is the utopia of happiness. It is that Angola that my family misses. They recurrently return to them to satisfy the hunger for the urgency of existence. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, pp. 81–82)

In *Essa Dama Bate Bué*!, Yara Monteiro (2018) introduces a novel of self-discovery and a reflection on the reminiscences and remnants of the imperial situation across culture and identity, language, nationality, gender, sexuality, social class or religiosity, as part of the spectrum[2] of "narrative[s] of problematic personal cohesion and social and cultural integration in authors and characters of either first or second-generation 'retornados' (repatriates) (...) or African descendants mostly disseminated in the suburban peripheries of Lisbon" (Pereira, 2019, p. 755). As Margarida Calafate Ribeiro (2019) states in "Viagens da Minha Terra de 'Outros' Ocidentais" (Travels of My Homeland of

[2] With no pretension to be an exhaustive list, here are some examples of the Portuguese-speaking "generation of postmemory": *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* (The Negros of Pousaflores; 2011), by Aida Gomes, *O Retorno* (The Return; 2012), by Dulce Maria Cardoso, *Caderno de Memórias Coloniai*s (Journal of Colonial Memories; 2015), by Isabela Figueiredo, *Esse Cabelo* (That Hair; 2015) and *Luanda, Lisboa, Paraíso* (Luanda, Lisbon, Paradise; 2019), by Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, *País Fantasma* (Ghost Country; 2015), Vasco Luís Curado, *Debaixo da Nossa Pele - Uma Viagem* (Under Our Skin - A Journey; 2017), by Joaquim Arena, *Também os Brancos Sabem Dançar* (The Whites Can Dance Too; 2017), by Kalaf Epalanga, among others.

"Other" Wests), these narratives "testify to an essential turning point in the postcolonial awareness of the formerly colonial space and the realities lived there as immanent to our identity as Portuguese, as Europeans, and to our personal identities" (p. 294). They emerge as questioning and reconfiguring the cultural identities of the milieu (Bhabha, 1994/1998), illustrated with an excerpt chosen from Miguel Torga's *Diário* (Diary) that Yara Monteiro begins the narrative with: "fate has overdone it with me. It messed up my condition. It planted me here and pulled me out of here. And never again did the roots hold me tightly in any land" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 7).

In the words of Rosangela Sarteschi (2019), writers of African descent "problematise the Portuguese Black cultural identity, its historical and cultural elements, dialogues with Lusitanian tradition and, simultaneously, its link to African heritages" (pp. 285-286). Writers of African descent are "naturally" given the duty and responsibility to create bridges and dialogues between their original culture, the inherited culture and, ultimately, the culture they adopted and desired. It follows a search for cultural roots and in understanding and interpreting a past, which, in this case, is necessarily linked to family or collective trauma: colonisation, emigration or displacement. Thus, the generation of postmemory embarks on "journeys" to locate (or find) itself within the "cultural diversity". According to Birgit Neumann (2016), the contemporary literature has seen "an increasing number (...) of self-reflexive novels, which evidences a growing awareness of the main problems and limits of the appropriation of the past for identity creation" (p. 272), to which Lusophone writers are no stranger.

In work under analysis, *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* the central aspect is the "journey" (inner and physical) as a leitmotif for acknowledging or understanding the colonial past: the journey of the family Queiroz Fonseca from Huambo to Luanda and from there to Lisbon, the journey of Vitória from Lisbon to Luanda and from there to Huambo. It is mainly in the journey back that much of the history building Vitória's identity is recognised, a postcolonial return marked, in turn, by an urgent restlessness about the feeling of belonging to Angola or Portugal.

3. *Essa Dama Bate Bué!*: Cultural Legacies and the Urgency to Exist

The narrative focuses on Vitória Queiroz da Fonseca's urgent feeling of existing. The protagonist was born in Angola in 1978 but was brought up by her grandparents in Portugal, in a quiet village (Malveira), and according to the "good customs" of Portuguese society, defined by Catholic education and religion. Vitória is affected by the trauma of never meeting her mother, Rosa Chitula, an Angolan revolutionary who broke away from her affective family to join a political and guerrilla family. With her wedding fixed, Vitória flees to Angola, searching for her mother and her own cultural identity. She finds a Luanda of the 21st century, a chaotic city of blatant social contrasts, an antagonistic portrait of the family memories absorbed during her life. She meets Romena Cambissa, Zacarias Vindu and Juliana Tijamba, characters who try to make her find the way to her mother or her own path.

Vitória is mixed race: granddaughter of a white grandmother and an assimilated Black grandfather; daughter of a mixed-race mother (and an unknown father). In the 1980s, abandoned by her mother at the age of 2, she left Luanda with her grandparents to flee the civil war. On a TAAG Angola Airlines plane, the family set off for Portugal, where "people exhausted by the uncertainty of the future" also boarded; blurred spectres of what they had been", because, in the words of grandfather António, "the war swallows our dignity before it even touches our skin" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, pp. 22, 17). Between resignation and resilience, the family carries on with life:

> - Life goes on, António (...)
> - It's the only choice we have.
> - They're rednecks here. Be discreet.
> - I know that I'm not in my country
> - A bit racist, but good people.
> - Aren't they used to seeing darker people?
> - No. But they don't nag. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, pp. 23–24)

Rosa Chitula, Vitória's mother, a free spirit and revolted against colonial oppression, had split with the family for ideological reasons, since her father, an assimilated Black man, prevented her from manifesting any protest against the Portuguese, despite not understanding the reasons for the war:

> grandfather António considered himself assimilated and, above all, Portuguese. He regarded the implosion of nationalism as an insidious twist against colonial serenity. However, he was appalled by Portugal's attitude: they had washed their hands of it. It seemed that they did not know how to solve the great *maka* installed. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 11)

António, as an assimilated Black or *mestiço* (depending on the perspective), for the sake of his family's survival, eventually collaborated with both sides of the war:

> out of the misfortune of life, he made an opportunity (...) the middle colour had placed him in the middle world. For some, he was not Black enough and, for others, he needed to lighten his skin. He revered the Portuguese and tolerated the others. Whites and Blacks greeted him with exaggerated salutations. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 13)

Rosa Chitula participated in the struggles for the liberation of Angola, was raped and got pregnant, returned home to leave her daughter and disappeared: "my mother loved Angola, more than she loved me, and fought for her" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 9).

In 2003, Vitória returns to Luanda hoping to find her mother again, with only a vestige in her luggage, a picture of Rosa Chitula; from the plane window, she observes a city in the aftermath of the civil war:

> down below, houses that look like they've been dropped in carpet bombing cluster together. They fell lined up in groups. (...) covered in dust. Dismantled,

> they have assembled themselves blindly, forming a shambling skeleton of red clay, old wood and zinc. They contract and expand. The walls are adjusted to gain room. The houses exist in all shapes and sizes. They stand with no plaster or paint, permeable to good and evil. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 27)

At the airport of the city she thinks she knows, Romena Cambissa, a Black woman, widow and mother of two twin daughters, Katila and Nadia, awaits her. At Romena's house, she immediately comes across one of the greatest socio-cultural contrasts in Luanda, represented by the twins and the maids Josefa and Mariela: the cosmopolitanism and the misery of the *musseque* (slum). Vitória does not know that urban body, after all, that "lady" deified by her memories.

Luanda is a city that every day, at dawn, "abandons sleepiness, vibrates aggressively and rushes to the struggle for survival": the chaotic traffic, the noise amongst voices and honking, the women and men selling on the street "hoping to conquer the day" (Y. Monteiro, 2019, p. 32). Vitória encounters a place very different from "the idyll of life in Malveira [Portugal]" and one unknown and sad reality, as can be inferred from the dialogue between Romena and Vitória:

> - It hurts, doesn't it! What can we do? Seeing the same thing over and over again gets the eye used to it and closes the heart.
> - It's horrifying.
> - You have to speed up the feeling - [Vitória] warns me.
> - How?
> - Not looking. Not thinking about it. If you go down that road here in Luanda, you'll get depressed.
> - Pretend not to see.
> - That's it. You are not going to solve their problem. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 33)

In the young social circle where Vitória dwells, the differences are felt in lifestyle, being and behaving. From going out at night to the music, the make-up and the clothes... even her accent:

> - That accent of yours, Victoria. Refresh. Refresh.
> I feel the comment like a hand abruptly thrown in my face. A harsh reminder that I don't belong there. I don't have the local accent.
> - Drag the speech a little. You don't say "know", you say "knowinn", get it? (Y. Monteiro, 2018, pp. 70–71)

In the aftermath of the civil war, in the reconstruction of a country "almost at peace", middle-class Luandan youth parade on a "hip-hop music video set" in an Americanisation of lifestyles: "the male bond is in the basketball cap, t-shirt, baggy jeans and *Air Jordan* trainers the boys wear. The height of the heels and the scarcity of fabric in the clothes stifle female competition" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 49). The remnants of the colonial hierarchy are at the door of the nightclub, where segregation is still in use, now on a capitalist basis:

> the rope is the border separating the welcomed from the renegades. Whites go straight in. The Mulattos are selected, and the Blacks wait. Perhaps the doorman's choice is more capitalist based. For the doorman, a White man in Luanda is likely to have more dollars to spend than others. (Y. Monteiro, 2018, pp. 50–51)

Vitória comes across an Angola far from the utopian happiness of the Angola of family memories. Today's city of Luanda is an effervescence of new or renewed cultural practices driven by the effects of globalisation, for example, the exuberance of weddings, funerals, architecture, music, noise and chaos.

After spending some time in Luanda, and with new clues on her mother, Vitória heads to Huambo, where she meets up with Juliana, the woman who handed her over to her grandparents. Mama Ju, now caring for an orphanage, was a guerrilla fighter and still bears the trauma of war; "she believes that in war, death can even be the best fate. She or oblivion. She is alive and has never forgotten" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 154). Juliana knows the truth about Rosa Chitula, "her" truth and her perspective on events, but she expects Vitória to find out for herself and to interpret it.

Victory is not victorious. After a long search, she gets a letter from her mother: "it is a long letter that says little about Vitória, about regrets or a meeting. It falls into clumsy justifications for hatred, resentment and disaffection. A selfish letter. With nothing noble written in" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 203). The mother figure ignored her daughter's urge to feel complete. Still, her daughter manages to forgive her because she realises the suffering caused by war, torture and rape[3]: "she feels sorry for her mother. She wanted to hold her in her arms. To caress her until she fell asleep and no longer remembered the men who raped her" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 204).

Finally, despite her motherly indifference, Juliana puts the future in Vitória's hands: the country Angola belongs to her, and Vitória exists for the country. To Juliana, Vitória belongs "to a people who are still waiting, who are waiting, always" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 206) for reconstruction, for answers. Rosa, a symbol of the war, has not overcome the trauma of the past. Juliana awaits death to forget it, and others await forgiveness (Zacarias Vindu). Vitória (and her generation) symbolise hope, the future, perhaps uncertain and probably with losses, but strong enough to build a new place, a new ground. Vitória may or may not want to stay, "it is not her home either", as Miguel Torga's words illustrate, once again, "fate has overdone it with me. (...) It planted me here and pulled me out of here. And never again did the roots hold me tightly in any land" (Y. Monteiro, 2018, p. 7).

4. Closing Remarks

As pointed out, *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* is a novel of self-discovery, or "memory fiction". These are, by principle, "stories that individuals or cultures tell about their past to answer the question 'who am I?' or, collectively, 'who are we?' (...) [and] often turn

[3] On violence in women, refer to Sandra Sousa (2020).

out to be an imaginative (re)construction of the past as a response to current needs" (Neumann, 2016, p. 268). According to Birgit Neumann (2016), "literature is never a simple reflection of pre-existing cultural discourses; rather, it contributes proactively to the negotiation of cultural memory" (p. 269). Whether through fiction or her biography, Yara Monteiro fits into a European agenda to question the colonial past and to take a sociopolitical stance towards historical reparation, understanding and mutual respect for testimonies and colonial and postcolonial memories in the public space.

This novel is part of the set of narratives of survival or the urgency of the existence of the *mestiço* community in a post-imperial area (Portugal/Europe) and a postcolonial condition (Africa/Angola). It is a process of acceptance for one and reconstruction for the other, with the collateral effects that the colonial system created, incorporated and inherited by the following generations. Yara Monteiro echoes the words of Homi Bhabha (1994/1998): "an international culture [is based] not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but the inscription and articulation of the hybridism of culture" (p. 69); and resonates with the words of Rachel Khan (2021), that is, "in the current context, the issue of creolisation is key to repair. It entails the irruption of a plural, shifting, 'mixed-race' identity" (p. 171)[4].

The writer exposes, through the character Vitória, the issue of miscegenation (creolisation?), to which contemporary societies still have no answer (or place?), the result of a discursive fixity on the figure of the Black and, consequently, on the *mestiço*. To be undefined, in the *mestiço* body, as is the case of Vitória (Yara Monteiro?), is perhaps the colonial heritage which involves the most identity conflicts, operating in pendulum movements or with a boomerang effect, not finding an identity ground to which one belongs completely. Nonetheless, this generation of postmemory, including Yara Monteiro, tries to use memories to build bridges between spaces formerly in a colonial situation or at war, constantly negotiating with cultural memory, to create a new future in peace. Thus, and in line with François Laplantine and Alexis Nouss (2002), "miscegenation is not fusion, cohesion, osmosis, but rather confrontation and dialogue" (p. 9), where the deletion of the specificities and diversities of the common whole is not allowed.

In *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* Vitória did not intend to heal the wounds but to perceive them; she accepted the scars and absorbed them as memories of her wandering and proof of her existence. Yara Monteiro repairs history by shaking off the dust of colonial narratives and determining and exposing the burden of the injustices inherited by the following generations, a past of which they feel, naturally, "guardians" of the memory.

Translation: Anabela Delgado

[4] It is worth mentioning some "words that lead to nowhere", listed by Rachel Khan (2021), "diversity", "miscegenation" and "non-miscegenation" and "collective", empty words "corresponding to inactive acts or just the famous 'advertisements' that let us believe that a morbid discourse is alive", strengthening the "identitarian dogma" (pp. 94, 101). Therefore, the author advocates the word creolisation and rejects the terms "mixed-race" or "miscegenation" since "the *mestiço* is, conceptually speaking, one addition of elements that would give a diminished sum of races. (...) With creolisation, synthesis is impossible. It imposes uncertainty upon us" (Khan, 2021, p. 161).

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The Colonial War in Media Narratives: How Portuguese and Angolan Newspapers Recounted an Event 60 Years Later

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Abstract

March 15, 2021, marked the 60th anniversary of the Angolan insurgency that started the Colonial War. The date rekindled the memory of an intersectional milestone between the histories of Portugal and Angola, and, for having gained space in the mainstream news media, it was opportune to analyse the media narratives that recounted the conflict. The episode, in 1961, was motivated by a series of factors, with the native peoples' dissatisfaction with the exploitation regime standing out. For this research, inscribed in the field of postcolonial narratology, it is important to understand how Portuguese and Angolan newspapers reported this event. To this end, a qualitative methodology — critical discourse analysis — was used, and journalistic texts about the event in question published in the newspapers *Público* and *Jornal de Angola* were analysed in an exploratory way. This paper aims to understand the ideological differences between the approach of each of the media productions, pointing out matches and mismatches, and identify the discursive strategies that shaped such contemporary media narratives about colonial conflicts. One of the conclusions is the perception that the Angolan newspaper sewed its narrative from an internal perspective of colonialism, addressing the events from the accounts of people who experienced them. Meanwhile, the Portuguese newspaper was guided by the already postcolonial relations emerging with the increasing globalisation.

Keywords
representation strategies, postcolonial narratology, discourse-historical approach, media narratives, Colonial War

A Guerra Colonial nas Narrativas Mediáticas: Como os Jornais de Portugal e Angola Recontaram uma Efeméride 60 Anos Depois

Resumo

A 15 de março de 2021 completaram-se 60 anos da insurgência angolana que deu início à Guerra Colonial. A data reavivou a memória de um marco interseccional entre as histórias de Portugal e Angola e, por ter ganhado espaço nos média informativos *mainstream*, fez-se oportuna para que se analisassem as narrativas mediáticas que recontaram o conflito. O episódio, que

se deu em 1961, foi motivado por uma série de fatores, dos quais se destaca a insatisfação dos povos nativos com o regime de exploração. Nesta investigação, inscrita no campo da narratologia pós-colonial, pretendeu-se compreender de que forma os jornais portugueses e angolanos reportaram esta efeméride. Para tal, recorreu-se a uma metodologia de natureza qualitativa — a análise crítica do discurso — e analisaram-se, de modo exploratório, textos jornalísticos sobre a efeméride em questão publicados nos diários *Público* e *Jornal de Angola*. O objetivo era compreender as diferenças ideológicas entre a abordagem de cada uma das produções mediáticas, assinalando encontros e desencontros, e identificar as estratégias discursivas que moldaram tais narrativas mediáticas contemporâneas acerca de conflitos coloniais. Entre as conclusões está a perceção de que o jornal angolano costurou a sua narrativa a partir de uma perspetiva interna do colonialismo, com uma abordagem dos acontecimentos a partir dos relatos de quem os viveu. Por seu turno, o órgão português pautou-se pelas relações já pós-coloniais que se desenhavam à medida em que avançava a globalização.

Palavras-chave
estratégias de representação, narratologia pós-colonial, abordagem histórico-discursiva, narrativas mediáticas, Guerra Colonial

1. Background

1.1. Introduction

March 15, 2021, marked the 60th anniversary of the Angolan insurgency, considered one of the initial landmarks of the Colonial War for paving the way to more incisive struggles for the independence of the territories still under the power of the Portuguese empire in Africa. The date rekindled the memory of an intersectional milestone between the histories of Portugal and Angola. For this reason, and especially because it had space in the mainstream media of both countries — namely the Portuguese daily *Público* and the *Jornal de Angola* — it was appropriate to compare the media narratives that, now in a postcolonial time, recount the event.

The "postcolonial" does not refer to an overcoming of colonialism or the period following the independence processes but to the transformations of relations and the maintenance of dependencies, underdevelopment, and marginalisation, typical of the high colonial period that occurred after the fall of empires and the consequent restructuring of global relations (Hall, 2001). With the end of the colonial regimes, in the middle of the Cold War, and the increased complexity of the globalisation processes, the United States became the main power, cumulatively economic, ideological, and cultural, within these new globally rearranged relations. Even today, with the empowerment of China as a non-western element of major influence in global political-economic dynamics (Jackson, 2012), Stuart Hall's (1994) logic is still valid to help interpret the relations between territories previously intertwined by colonialism.

The decolonisation of the last Portuguese colonies, among other important factors such as the popular demand for independence, took place under United States imperialist pressures (B. Reis, 2020), which confirms the superimposition of the Lusophone hegemonic power by another power that fought for global hegemonic status, as explained above, and that still has undeniable influence today.

From the reflections proposed by postcolonial narratology, established as a kind of decolonisation of narratology itself, as a set of postcolonial lenses for looking at narratives (Herman & Vervaeck, 2019; Kim, 2012; Prince, 2005), and through postcolonial critical discourse analysis, we seek to determine the relations of power to which contemporary representation strategies of colonial conflicts are aligned.

This media analysis assumes the media's role is to provide the means of social understanding to individuals and interpreters of the socio-political conjuncture for common sense (Freitas, 2021). Because of this and the limitations imposed by hegemonic narratives to alternative versions of history and the development of critical stances (Macedo, 2016), the constant re-evaluation of these representations is deemed necessary, especially when past relations of subalternity historically connect them.

1.2. March 15 in Portuguese Colonial History

The uprising that took place on March 15, 1961, by the União dos Povos de Angola (UPA) was motivated by several factors, the most prominent of which were: (a) the independence articulations of neighbouring countries, especially the Congo; (b) international pressures, translated into the United Nations debate about Portuguese colonialism and the United States need to exercise dominance over more territories during the Cold War; and, most importantly, (c) the dissatisfaction of native peoples with the colonial regime, their legal sub-status vis-à-vis the Portuguese, and the working conditions and land exploitation (B. Reis, 2020).

An Angolan nationalism had already begun to emerge as a response to the Luso-tropicalism makeup of Portuguese colonialism. Before the intense episode of March 15, 1961, other uprisings had already occurred, but after this one, the Portuguese regime began to react more intensively, spurring what became known as the Overseas War and, later, the Colonial War (Pinto, 2019). The episode at issue consisted of attacks promoted by Angolan men against Portuguese settlers whose intensity "marked the end of colonial tranquillity" (Wheeler & Pélissier, 2016, p. 249).

The importance of pursuing the analysis of media narratives (journalistic and otherwise) about the colonial past can be seen through the reading of reference works about that war (Pinto, 2019; B. C. Reis, 2020; Wheeler & Pélissier, 2016). Newspaper articles from the "colony" and the "metropolis" are being rescued as objects of analysis. Those articles allow us to understand and apprehend how meanings were invested in the imaginaries by representing actions and people (Pinto, 2019). This perspective reinforces the understanding of the media institution as playing a "strategic role of composition and consequent homogenising cement of collective life" (Rodrigues, 2015, p. 39), whose performance is an important instrument of power in reinforcing hegemonic narratives.

The reports that recounted the colonial past are compared to understand how each media outlet — one Angolan and one Portuguese — tries to intervene and affect politically and socially the public space, as Carlos Reis (2018) points out. The intention of comparing them is justified by the fact that the contrasting narratives contribute "to

the understanding of the contemporary resonance and reconfiguration of colonial pasts, through the examination of the imaginaries, words, and silences that are incorporated in their discursive reconstruction" (Antunes, 2020, p. 3).

This understanding that historical facts are discursively reconstructed puts the analysis's interest on discourse. Within narrative studies, discourse is understood as the instance in which the compositional processes that individualise the narrative mode are articulated, and the interest in this component reinforces the transdisciplinary character of this field (C. Reis, 2018). From the Foucauldian perspective, discourse can be understood as the regulating instance of the senses, both in each narrative where these senses are ordered and in the social interaction itself, as Ruth Wodak (2005) explains. Therefore, it is important to perceive, within the constructed narratives, the forces that structure them.

2. Postcolonial Criticism, Narratives, and Lusophone Relations

Regarding narrative studies, postcolonial narratology is interested in understanding how new and old power relations shape identities. Postcolonial narratology, seen as a strong example of ideological criticism, focuses on the incorporations and resistances of subjects to hegemonic social powers and the unveiling of the unspoken political words, both in the text and in the context in which it was produced. About this problem that arises from texts and their social importance, one of the canonical names of postcolonial studies, Edward W. Said (1978/2021), in *Orientalismo* (Orientalism), discusses how important this problematisation is since certain texts acquire greater authority and use than the very reality they present/describe. The author refers to a "textual attitude", pointing to literary studies, a field that has a much stronger approach to postcolonial studies. However, the author's reflection, which seeks to read literary textuality and its effects on truth, is used because it is consistent with the understanding that there is a claim of the effect of reality by journalism.

Postcolonial narrative studies aim to identify the strategies of othering and how imperial power and knowledge and its influence still impact the positions occupied by subordinated populations within narratives (Herman & Vervaeck, 2019), whether those of former imperial centres or those of formerly colonised territories whose societies may have been colonially reconstructed after decolonisation, as Spivak (1988/2021) provocatively points out. Moreover, postcolonial narratology is itself an attempt to decolonise narrative studies. It transforms this field into an increasingly transdisciplinary space — as Carlos Reis (2018) highlights when addressing the importance of the study of discourses — but, above all, by proposing further development of the movements stemming from (post) classical studies through postcolonial lenses on narratives (Kim, 2012; Prince, 2005).

The constant analysis of the narratives concerning identities constructed under power conflicts is necessary because identity is not something established but a product arising from a never-ending construction process through representations (Hall, 1994; Herman & Vervaeck, 2019). From the influence of the thought of Homi K. Bhabha (1994/1998), another central theorist of postcolonial criticism, there is an important

question in the context of the narrative construction of identities: how historically marginalised peoples self-govern and self-determine themselves, in this case within texts that narrate historical colonial conflicts.

Eventually establishing an intersection between narrative studies and postcolonial studies, Edward W. Said (1984) drew attention to the fact that it was up to hegemonic powers to decide on the legitimacy of subaltern narratives. Concomitantly, the author also alerted to the importance of investigating western discourse's influences on the narratives of the rest of the world, mostly colonised by Europe.

Bringing this discussion to the Lusophone context, according to Macedo (2016), the Portuguese imaginary is guided by the idea of a past of glory, in which discovery, expansion, and colonisation are the main concepts that articulate it: this "emphasis on hegemonic narratives of national history and the colonial past limits individuals' access to alternative versions of history, thus hindering the development of a critical perspective" (p. 271).

When it comes to the postcolonial Lusophone context, one must recognise a Portuguese claim for these relations' central and articulating role (Cunha, 2007), which may imply the continuity of a hegemonic force over historical narratives. Nevertheless, such multicultural grouping, through the common language, according to Martins (2014), should have a heterogeneous virtue instead of an impoverishing discursive — and, consequently, narrative — homogenisation and a single meaning, both fostered by tendencies that still refer to coloniality.

3. Methodology: Narrative Discourses Under Analysis and the (Re)Textualization of a Colonial Conflict, 60 Years Later

In Portugal, on March 15, 2021, among the main newspapers in the country[1], only the daily newspaper *Público* gave attention to the event: the report entitled "'Orgulhosamente Sós' Começámos uma Guerra" ("Proudly Alone" We Started a War; Lopes, 2021) was allocated to a front-page and double-page space. In the daily edition of *Correio da Manhã,* no records were found, and in the *Jornal de Notícias*, in the section "Efemérides" (Ephemera), it was possible to read following the indication of the year "1961" (2021) the text: "UPA, Union of the Peoples of Angola, launches first attacks on farms and towns in the north of the country" (p. 37). This sentence, which only mentions the political organisation of Angolan citizens and puts them as the authors of the attacks on their own country, is the only mention of the fact. If we also consider the weeklies, only the magazine *Sábado*, owned by the same communication group that runs *Correio da Manhã*, has covered the issue in question, giving the colonial conflict the greatest prominence in its March 11-17 edition, with a 14-page report entitled "As Milícias da Vingança Branca" (The Militias of White Revenge; 2021).

[1] The main newspapers in the country are considered to be the generalist dailies that, according to the Portuguese Association for Print Run and Circulation Control (Associação Portuguesa para o Controlo de Tiragem e Circulação, n.d.), are leaders in paid and digital circulation. These are *Correio da Manhã* (Cofina Media), *Jornal de Notícias* (Global Media Group) and *Público* (Público Comunicação Social S.A./Sonae).

Curiously enough, keeping due proportions, the repercussion of this landmark in Angolan newspapers was equivalent to that conferred by Portuguese newspapers. Here one must consider some limitations imposed on this research regarding the access to Angolan productions, being limited in scope to two main newspapers in the country (*Jornal de Angola* and *O País*), which also motivated the restriction of the analysis to the Portuguese dailies only, so that some equivalence could be applied to the corpus. The report " Protagonistas Revivem a Revolta de Kitexi" (Protagonists Revive the Kitexi Uprising; Fortunato & Gomes, 2021) also deserved, in the daily edition of March 15, 2021, of the *Jornal de Angola*, a front-page headline and the same double-page space given by the *Público*. Like the Portuguese daily *Jornal de Notícias*, the second-largest Angolan newspaper, *O País*, only reported the date in the article: "Nacionalista Defende Revisão do Subsídio dos Antigos Combatentes e Veteranos da Pátria" (Nationalist Defends Revision of the Allowance for Former Combatants and Homeland Veterans; Mujoco, 2021). Nevertheless, it did not delve into the colonial conflict or mention colonialism.

That being said, to contemplate similar media narratives between Portugal and Angola about the 60 years after the Colonial War, the reports of the *Público* and the *Jornal de Angola*[2] are adopted as the corpus of this research, as they both covered the theme extensively and thoroughly on the exact date at issue. According to Simões (2016), the *Público*, which is currently one of the brands of the multinational Sonae and has been in uninterrupted activity since its launch in 1990, fits into the tradition of quality journalism, being an exemplary case regarding the modernisation and professionalisation of the Portuguese media industry. The *Jornal de Angola*, on the other hand, is the "unofficial" edition of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola from its foundation in 1975 to the present day (Rocha, 2019).

The journalistic narratives in question will be approached historically and discursively. It is of interest to know what discursive strategies were used in this (re)textualisation of the colonial conflict and the relation of these strategies to the colonial history that connects the two countries. For identifying discourse strategies, as Reisigl (2018) explains, some questions adopted as research questions must be answered: how are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions discursively named and referred to in the narratives under consideration (nomination)? What characteristics or qualities are attributed to the social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions mentioned (predication)? What arguments are employed in these media narratives to recount an episode from the colonial past (argumentation)? From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments expressed (perspectivisation)?

Thus, this is an exploratory analysis, given the limited analysis corpus. However, as said, omissions and silences are also full of meaning. That is, in fact, the first relevant observation: an anniversary of a decisive episode in the recent history of Portugal and Angola was not highlighted or paid attention to by a considerable part of the press in both countries. The proposed analysis will allow us to identify ideological differences

[2] The online version of the reports can be found at https://www.publico.pt/2021/03/15/politica/noticia/orgulhosamente-sos-comecamos-guerra-1954391 and https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/protagonistas-revivem-a-revolta-de-kitexi/

between the approach of each of the journalistic productions — a claim that relates directly to postcolonial narratology —; to identify narrative matches and mismatches between the two productions; to understand the discursive strategies that have shaped contemporary media narratives. From this and the theoretical framework already presented, we hypothesise that narratives are no longer structured by colonial discursive strategies but are formatted in hybrid form by discursive strategies connected to colonialism and postcolonial rearrangements.

This study draws on the method of postcolonial critical discourse analysis as it is interested in both discursive strategies and the historical context and socio-political processes that influenced their formation and reproduction in media narratives. The postcolonial critical discourse analysis consists of "a theoretical and methodological framework that, drawing upon Postcolonial Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis, foregrounds the need to analyse media representations by placing postcolonial power relations at the centre of the enquiry" (Sabido, 2019, p. 19). The choice of this method strengthens the postcolonial movement of extending and deconstructing narratology itself and its possibilities. This methodological strategy is supported by the concepts and tools of discourse analysis pointed out by Richardson (2007) in *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach From Critical Discourse Analysis*, especially regarding the study of journalistic narratives and the indications of Machin and Mayr (2012) for identifying strategies of representation of people and actions.

The analytical focus of this study is the narrative discourse through which narrative content is appropriated and re-signified. Richardson (2007) explains this differentiation, pointing to narrative content as a supposed sequencing of events as they happened in actual history, while narrative form concerns the sequence through which events are presented. However, in line with Ricoeur (1983), the narrative process is believed to be constructed in three distinct moments, which do not conform to the more formal binary logic. The triple mimesis of the French philosopher has been recovered in the scope of narrative media studies, especially by authors such as Marc Lits (2008, 2015), Philippe Marion (1997), Gonzaga Motta (2013), and Fernando Resende (2009, 2011). Drawing from the Aristotelian conception of mimesis, Ricoeur (1983) defines narrativity as the product of the dynamic interaction of three distinct levels, which correspond to the pretextual narrative potential (what Said, 1978/2021, calls "factuality" and corresponds to the real substratum), to textualisation (the *mise en récit*, which goes through the discursive and narrative organisation) and to the act of narrative reception. It is, therefore, a dialectical and dynamic process between a primordial "intelligence" that enables one to read history and the textual and discursive surface on which it manifests itself. In this way, as the various narratives textualise the world, they generate meanings that give it the status of a conceptual way of understanding the past (Babo, 2017). Now, here lies the power of the "narrative machine" (Babo, 2017, p. 74), which, resuming Said (1978/2021), has more force and authority than factuality itself.

The reports under analysis, more than the news and reports of everyday events, are a (new) view on factuality — discursively constructed — from which a critical maturation

is expected, provided by the passage of time and the debates that, in the meantime, took place around the colonial conflicts.

4. The Analysis of Two Narratives about the Same Conflict

While the *Público* provides a narrative almost restricted to the movements of Salazar and his high military and political echelon — verifiable by checking the subjects mentioned, who are mostly military men — the *Jornal de Angola* builds a history based on the accounts of eight Angolans who actively participated in the insurgencies of March 15, 1961.

We will now reflect on the different strategies of representation used by both newspapers to understand which discourses contemporaneously guide these media narratives.

4.1. Strategies of Nomination and Predication

The narrative constructed by the *Jornal de Angola* is based on the witnesses of eight participants in the March 15, 1961, uprisings. The newspaper uses racial and nativist markers[3] as predications to identify the Angolan population. The word "White" appears twice, but only in the testimonies cited. The words "Black" and "Mulatto" are used about 10 times throughout the report by the voice of the reporter (narrator-journalist). They are always identifiers of the subject's origin to which they are linked. In the text's first two paragraphs, it is possible to see examples of both racial and nativist markers:

> at 8 o'clock on March 15, 1961, on a Wednesday, the cipaio [indigenous police or military recruited usually for local or rural policing] Ferraz Fama Panda rang, for the last time, the bell that would change the lives of the *settlers* in the Kitexi village and their relationship with the *natives*. The action also dictated the trajectory of the struggle until the National Independence, which would happen 14 years later.
>
> The *settlers' children* had barely entered the only classroom when they heard shouting. Then panic ensued in every corner of the village. They were *young Black men*, machetes and canhangulos (handmade weapons) in hand, ready to put an end to the injustices and the ill-treatment they had suffered for many years [emphasis added]. (p. 4)

The excerpt demonstrates the division made between "settlers" and "natives" (a word that gives the other the connotation of non-native, alien to the land, or foreigner) and between the "the settlers' sons" and the "young Blacks". In fact, this introduction is built on an antagonism opposing the young Blacks — who, with weapons in hand, were going to put an end to injustices as national heroes — to the settlers' children — who

[3] Racial and nativist markers are predications referring to the racial characteristics — commonly skin colour — and origin of the subjects concerned. In this case, markers are considered forms of differenting subjects used in the analysed narratives as a form of representation.

were at school — while demarcating the privilege of one group being able to study, whereas the other needed to fight for the independence of their country.

Resorting to strategies of personalisation and/or collectivisation (Machin & Mayr, 2012), the *Jornal de Angola* uses names whose meaning in the narrative refers to the legitimacy of the insurgency (such as "protagonists" or "combatants") and/or a connection to the territory concerned — nativist markers (such as "Angolans", "citizens", "compatriots", or "nationalists"). Pinto (2019) explains that, in the colonial propaganda disseminated by the media until mid-1974, when independence took place, Angolans were denied the status of "Angolan citizen" since the then Portuguese government wanted to nurture an imperial homogeneity, treating Africans as "friends" and "loyal" to the Portuguese. That may explain the frequent recourse to nationalist/nativist nomination strategies in Angolan newspaper coverage.

Rarely, as can be observed in the Angolan article's subtitle, the colonial representatives are named, appearing, most of the time, collectivised and/or generalised (Machin & Mayr, 2012):

> 60 years ago, on a day like today, began the Kitexi Uprising. The Jornal de Angola has heard *eight participants of the action that would mark the course of the struggle for National Independence*. On the Day of the Expansion of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation, the protagonists relate the motivations and *talk about the countless Portuguese settlers killed. Among the insurgents, they count five deaths* [emphasis added]. (p. 4)

When they speak of "eight participants" and "five deaths", they are precise in the information, communicating closeness and care. When referring to the "Portuguese settlers", they are imprecise and distant — particularly striking when compared to the precision of the numerical referents ("eight participants" and "five deaths") —, demarcating this group as one to which the same care and importance are not owed.

While the *Jornal de Angola* establishes these differentiations, although it keeps the presence of the colonial representatives, the *Público* focuses on the main figure of the Portuguese dictatorial government, António de Oliveira Salazar, his ministers, and Portuguese international relations at the time. More evident in the Portuguese newspaper's narrative is the strategy of suppression, which consists in attributing the authorship of actions to non-subjects, that is, to agents who have no power to act and whose function in the text is to suppress the real agents (Machin & Mayr, 2012), as is perceived by analysing the excerpt below:

> internationally isolated, the *regime* seemed to be crumbling when, 60 years ago, *Portugal* started the Colonial War (...). On March 15, the massacres of Holden Roberto's UPA in northern Angola took the government and military leaders by surprise. Although on March 4, *the military attaché at the US embassy* warned *Lisbon* that the *US government* had information that the Union of the Peoples of Angola was preparing violent actions "to draw the

> attention of the United Nations, where a debate on the Angolan problem was to be held", no one paid attention. On the same March 15, the *UN Security Council* rejected a motion of censure against Portugal for the situation in Angola – the upheaval had begun on February 4, with the raid on the Luanda prison – but the United States voted for the motion of censure against Portugal [emphasis added]. (p. 6)

In all this emphasised excerpt, only Holden Roberto, spokesperson for the UPA (Wheeler & Pélissier, 2016), is mentioned by name. Representing a hostile act with his name associated with the "massacres". This subject is one of the common elements between the two narratives, as the only figure mentioned in both. All the others, agents, or patients, are represented through suppression strategies, relativising historical responsibilities.

Another aspect to be highlighted in the Portuguese daily report is the way the journalist discursively refers to Portugal, sometimes called the "colonising power", sometimes the "capital of the empire", in a kind of representation of the country as a subject using purely colonial honorifics (Machin & Mayr, 2012) that suggest importance, authority, and even certain authoritarianism.

Also, the interruption of the subaltern relation is treated by the *Jornal de Angola* as "independence", making Angolans "protagonists" of the process. In contrast, the *Público* uses "decolonisation", which, according to Pinto (2019), makes the Portuguese protagonists by creating a sense that it was Portugal who liberated (decolonised) the dominated.

It is possible to compare the forms of nomination and predication of the March 15 event between the two narratives. While the *Jornal de Angola* describes the episode as the "Kitexi uprising" and the actions as an attempt to end "injustices [and] ill-treatment" (p. 4), the *Público* reports the "UPA massacres" and the "violent actions" (p. 6). Thus, the first relates to dissatisfaction and struggle for justice and the second to crime and barbarism. However, associating words that feed negative meanings to the actions of the other is also practised in the narrative of the Angolan newspaper when it uses the term "revenge" to describe the Portuguese response to the independence movements.

It is also worth noting how each newspaper describes the movements of March 15, 1961. In the *Jornal de Angola*, the "Kitexi uprising" is described as an "action that would mark the course of the struggle for National Independence" (p. 4), and in the *Público*, "the massacres of the UPA" are "violent actions 'to draw the attention of the United Nations where a debate on the Angolan problem would be held'" (p. 6). It should be noted that the Portuguese newspaper builds its argument on the speech of Franco Nogueira, identified as a friend and biographer of Salazar and who is regarded as the main source in the report.

4.2. Argumentation and Perspectivization Strategies

Regarding argumentative processes, it is important to highlight that while the central figures in the narrative of the Jornal de Angola are the "eight interlocutors" who

participated in the independence movements 60 years ago, in the *Público*, this role is played by António de Oliveira Salazar. The Angolan perspective is regionalist, justified by the fact that the story unfolds essentially in Angolan territory: villages, regions, commands are mentioned; the nominal reference to Angolans themselves is prioritised, and the other is the colonists who lived with them. In contrast to this regional spatialisation, *Público*'s narrative is globalised. It is as if we could observe a colonial version (*Jornal de Angola*) and a postcolonial version (*Público*) since the Portuguese periodical refers to Portugal, the United Nations, and the United States as the main characters of its recounted history. In the double-page text of the *Público* newspaper, nowhere does one read about a possible and organic Angolan demand for independence. The only passage that refers to independence attributes the triggering of this feeling to the United States: "Salazar had the trump card the Azores to play, and he played it — diminishing the pro-independence pressure from the African colonies triggered by the United States" (p. 7). In this way, these peoples represented as barbarians are denied agency, evidenced in the few times that reference is made to the independence movements as "massacres" and "violent actions".

Público's narrative ascribes the "situation in Angola" to United States interests. It builds its version of history by relativising the responsibility of António de Oliveira Salazar and his regime on the relations held at that time: "would there have been Colonial War if the coup Botelho Moniz, the Minister of Defence allied with the new times and advocate of a political solution for the colonies, had succeeded? Probably not" (p. 6). In the conclusion of the article, the Portuguese newspaper concludes on a note of appreciation. Adjectivising the Salazar regime as a "phenomenon", the reporter emphasises the resilience of an empire that for 500 years had kept those territories subordinate: "if the signs of the regime's disintegration were already evident at the beginning of the war, its ability to last... with battlefronts in several African countries is a phenomenon that will remain a source for historians" (p. 7). At no point is the articulation of the colonised peoples nor the force with which the uprisings that culminated in independence years later were referred to as an equally noteworthy "phenomenon".

5. Conclusions: Discussion of Results

The end of the *Público* article features an interview with a political scientist who is asked two of the three questions, "how did the colonial war and the end of empire mark our collective identity?" and "will it take us as long to recognise the crimes of colonialism as it took the Catholic Church to recognise its own?" (p. 7). By reflecting on these questions in light of the theories that underpin this study, one understands what Macedo (2016) means when she states that Portuguese national narratives are centred on glories, which makes it impossible to take a critical stance towards the events of a not-too-distant past. In fact, the newspaper uses most of the space dedicated to the theme focusing on Salazar's discourse: it resorts to artifices of suppression and denies or relativises the Angolan empowerment, while leaving completely out any critical discourse or alternative source that could counter or deepen the discussion that is proposed. Moreover, one can perceive the

Portuguese daily's admiration for the so-called duration of the colonial regime ("capacity to last"), when, in fact, what should be at issue in such coverage was the duration of a war that lasted more than a decade, in a context where, on the one hand, there was the desire for independence and the end of colonialism and, on the other, the insistence on maintaining exploitative relations. Such remarks can be important tonics for discussing the post-imperial relations between Portugal and its former colonies, especially regarding common history. It is believed that the denaturalisation of hegemonic narratives makes room for critical interventions and the legitimisation of independence struggles — in all their complexity, just as it is done with geopolitical redesigns in the postcolonial period.

Historians, such as those cited throughout this study (Pinto, 2019; B. Reis, 2020; Wheeler & Pélissier, 2016), draw on media productions as discursive markers in their historical narratives, drawing attention to the importance of analysing these productions to understand changes, shifts, and alterations in different views of historical actualities. In these cases, analysed here, it is possible to see that these changes happen through a slow process since imperial and Salazar discourses still have uncritical space in Portuguese narratives that, again resorting to Macedo (2016), are still guided by colonial imaginaries of glorious past, expansion and discovery.

When thinking of postcolonialism as the transposition of colonialism by other relations of power and subalternity, as Hall (2001) suggests, from the conclusions that could be reached with this exploratory study, Portugal is perceived as an imperial power that began to lose its legitimacy under the questioning of colonial relations and whose territories under its domains become the target of the new global power, the United States. Therefore, Portuguese narratives seem to be driven by the concern with the place that the nation will occupy in the new order, almost completely forgetting the necessary critical positioning vis-à-vis a past that imposes itself over the present, both of the former "colonising power" and the former colonies. For this reason, the need to engage in critiques inscribed in postcolonial critical discourse studies is clear since the narratives keep perpetuating and reinforcing visions of favouritism, relativisations, and maintenance of certain relations (Sabido, 2019).

Finally, it is important to insist on the different perspectives perceived in the construction of both narratives. On such an emblematic date, the 60th anniversary of one of the revolts that started the struggles against Portuguese colonialism, it was possible to perceive not a reliable memory of the facts but how both newspapers, within their respective contexts, look at the factuality, reconstruct and re-signify it. Strategically, both the newspapers recount the event and, with a strategic attitude, as Bhabha (1994/1998) warns, the relations of force are manipulated, in this case, from the discursive and narrative attitude.

Translation: Gustavo Freitas

Authors' Contribution

Gustavo Freitas was responsible for the conceptualization and collaborating on the formal analysis of the proposed article. He participated in the writing – original draft. Ana Teresa Peixinho collaborated on the formal analysis and was responsible for the writing – review & editing.

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Colonial Ambivalence in Contemporary Moving Images: The Portuguese Case

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Abstract

This article is an exploratory attempt to address the colonial ambivalence implicit in contemporary moving images in the Portuguese context. The postcolonial turn that emerged in the last decades in Portugal attests to an earnest attempt to problematise the nation's postcolonial condition, which in turn derives from a long-overdue admission that our contemporary societies were built from colonial plunder. Drawing heavily on the critique of Lusophony, I argue that this postcolonial turn is also a consequence of the need to inscribe the Portuguese national narrative within an increasingly global world arising from the subordination of culture to the "laws of the market". In addition, I argue that this post-colonial approach found in Portuguese contemporary visual culture is ambivalent since it tends to ignore the problem of the legitimacy and the speaking position of the artist and/or intellectual. The legitimacy problem — of who speaks of and about others — is often paradoxically disregarded in contemporary audiovisual productions that address the Portuguese colonial past and its postcolonial condition. In the same way, the intrinsic relationship between visual production and knowledge is ignored, and consequently, between visual production and power. In this way, I argue that colonial ambivalence continues to pervade cultural discourses and contemporary artistic practices today, even when such practices and discourses appear to articulate a postcolonial critique.

Keywords
ambivalence, colonialism, post-colonialism, cinema, Portugal

A Ambivalência Colonial nas Imagens em Movimento Contemporâneas: O Caso Português

Resumo

Este artigo é uma tentativa exploratória de abordar a ambivalência colonial implícita nas imagens em movimento contemporâneas no contexto português. O giro pós-colonial que emergiu nas últimas décadas em Portugal corrobora uma tentativa de problematizar a condição pós-colonial portuguesa, que deriva de uma admissão tardia de que a nossa sociedade contemporânea foi construída a partir da pilhagem colonial. Baseando-me na crítica à lusofonia, defendo que este giro pós-colonial é também uma consequência da necessidade de inscrever a narrativa nacional portuguesa num mundo cada vez mais global, necessidade essa que resulta da subordinação da cultura às "leis do mercado". Além disso, essa abordagem pós-colonial presente na cultura visual contemporânea portuguesa é ambivalente, pois tende a ignorar o problema da legitimidade e da posição de fala do artista e/ou intelectual. O problema da legitimidade — de quem fala de e sobre os outros — é muitas vezes, paradoxalmente, ignorado na produção audiovisual contemporânea

que aborda o passado colonial português e a sua condição pós-colonial. Da mesma maneira que a relação intrínseca entre produção visual e conhecimento e, consequentemente, entre produção visual e poder é também ignorada. Dessa forma, defendo que a ambivalência colonial continua a permear os discursos culturais e as práticas artísticas contemporâneas, mesmo quando tais práticas e discursos parecem produzir uma crítica pós-colonial.

Palavras-chave
ambivalência, colonialismo, pós-colonialismo, cinema, Portugal

1. Colonial Ambivalence in Contemporary Moving Images: The Portuguese Case

In recent years, the combination of anti-racist grassroots movements, public policies (despite timid) and a series of events that captured the general public attention have elicited a growing debate regarding the legacy of Portugal's colonial past within contemporary society. Among these events, I would highlight the election, for the first time, of three Black female members of parliament — Joacine Katar Moreira (Livre; a young Europeanist social democratic party), Beatriz Gomes Dias (Bloco de Esquerda; a left wing party) and Romualda Fernandes (Partido Socialista; a centre-left party similar for instance to the New Labour Party in Britain) in the 2019 general elections. It was a remarkable historical moment for Portuguese representative democracy, but it exposed the underrepresentation of minority groups in the parliament. Also, earlier that same year, there was a prescient parliamentary discussion regarding the use of racial and ethnic categories in the then-forthcoming national survey. The verdict of the committee, formed by stakeholders and representatives of racial and ethnic minorities (including Romani and African Portuguese communities), was not unanimous; therefore, these categories remain excluded from the national survey. This disheartening result complements the paradoxical social and political insistence on colour-blindness that postpones any attempts to redress structural racism in Portugal.

No less important were the recent anti-racist demonstrations in 2020, following the killing of George Floyd, triggering proxy protests in Portugal and worldwide. The number of young Afro-Portuguese from the urban peripheries that participated in these demonstrations was unprecedented, thus revealing the urgency of correcting racial violence[1] and redressing the unequal representation in the public arena. Whereas these events were greatly celebrated, a heated public debate was also instigated by less positive events such as the election of the first extreme-right representative in 2019. In response to the proxy anti-racist demonstration, he organised a counter-demonstration absurdly called "Portugal não é um país racista" (Portugal is not a racist country). His bigoted comments and lies have been not only disseminated profusely by mainstream media

[1] Two mediatised cases evidence the existing racial violence in Portuguese society: in 2015, a group of young Afro-Portuguese living in Cova da Moura in the periphery of Lisbon were subjected to violent aggressions and racial slurs by the police; and in 2020, the killer of actor Bruno Candé also voiced racial insults before shooting him.

but also are often uncontested. That has certainly contributed to the election of 12 of the same party representatives in the early legislative elections of 2022[2].

In the last 2 decades, we have witnessed the emergence of a postcolonial turn within Portuguese academic and cultural institutions. The exhibitions curated by António Pinto Ribeiro in Culturgest, *Uma Casa no Mundo* (*A Home in the World*) from 1995 to 2004, and the discursive events organised by Liliana Coutinho at Teatro Maria Matos from 2015 to 2017 are two examples of the cultural programs that, to some extent, have contributed to the correction of the official colonial narrative and the development of a critique of the myth of Lusotropicalism. Conversely, postcolonial studies are "a well-established field in Portuguese universities, with a growing number of scholars adopting a postcolonial prism" (Vieira 2015, p. 275). Despite that, the idea that Portuguese colonialism was exceptionally benevolent still prevails in our contemporary imaginary (Almeida, 2004; Santos, 2002); and some scholars continue to reproduce Lusotropicalist fantasies by persisting misusing the word "discovery" vis-à-vis the history of Portuguese colonial enterprise (Saraiva, 2018).

In his scholarly attempt to uncover the roots and ramifications of the Lusotropicalist discourse, Miguel Vale de Almeida (2004) recognises that the "imperial and expansionist rhetoric" (p. 45) has been continuously employed to reconfigure Portugal's postcolonial identity. The author argues that this rhetoric can be found in the concept of Lusophony, which has gained currency in cultural products and institutionally as a means not only to regain what was lost politically and economically after the independence of the former colonies but also to redefine Portuguese national identity. Although Vale de Almeida (2004) is referring to the 500 years of the "discoveries" commemorated in the World Fair Expo '98 under the theme of "The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future" and to the subsequent celebrations of the "discovery" of Brazil in 2000, his argument can be easily transposed vis-à-vis the controversy about former mayor Fernando Medina's proposal to build a museum of "discoveries" in Lisbon in 2018. Besides Vale de Almeida, others have also amply criticised the concept of Lusophony, such as António Pinto Ribeiro (2018), who has claimed that it "is the last mark of an empire that no longer exists" as well as "the last impediment for a mature effort concerning the multiple identities in Portuguese Speaking countries" (p. 224). On the other hand, Paulo de Medeiros (2018) also stressed that "Lusophony is a neo-colonial concept that only emerges once the Empire is irrevocably dissolved" (p. 227). Despite this long-stating critique, Lusophone studies is a profusely disseminated term within the context of the Anglo-Saxon/British academy. As far as I understand it, this is the outcome of a necessity to recruit students within language departments and respond to the call to decolonise the curriculum. The dissemination of such term accompanies the postcolonial turn experienced within cultural and academic Portuguese institutions and the deployment of a postcolonial critical theory within the visual arts; for that reason, I would argue that this postcolonial turn responds to the need to inscribe the Portuguese national narrative within an increasingly global world resulting from the subordination of culture to the "laws of the market" as much as the marketisation of education.

[2] The author chooses deliberately not to mention the party's name and its representatives.

2. A Possible Anthology

The emergence of this postcolonial turn within Portuguese academic and cultural institutions is accompanied by a growing engagement with postcolonial critical theory within the visual arts, in general, but, in particular, within the production of moving images, which is at the heart of my argument in this article. Filipa César is among the artists who have used colonial and anti-/postcolonial visual archives to address Portugal's colonial past. Accordingly, César uses not only photographic albums of the colonial period (e.g., *A Embaixada* [*The Embassy*]; César, 2011) but also anti-colonial Guinean archival films (e.g., *Conakry*, 2013; and *Spell Reel*, 2017, among others). In *A Embaixada* (César, 2011), for example, Guinean archivist Armando Lona flicks through the pages of a photographic album that compiles colonial imagery of natural landscapes, buildings and infrastructures, and locals from different ethnic communities as well as "assimilated", at times, together with colonisers, as if attempting to validate the so-called multicultural and multiracial nature of Portuguese colonialism, upheld by the myth of Lusotropicalism. In this way, the film seems to reproduce the colonially fabricated taxonomy implicit in these images. By distancing the viewer from what is seen, the image's double framing enhances rather than effaces the perspective of colonial power. The voice-over describes some of these photographs but appears incapable of reading them "against the grain", or rather, against the purpose for which they were produced.

Other artists have deployed instead photographic family albums and home movies produced in a colonial setting. That is the case of Andreia Sobreira in her piece *1971–1974 (Estou em Moçambique)* (*1971–1974 [I am in Mozambique]*; 2011), but also Manuel Santos Maia in *Allheava-filme* (2006–2007), Raquel Schefer in *Avó (Muidumbe)* (*Grandmother [Muidumbe]*; 2009) and *Nshajo (O Jogo)* (*The Game*; 2011), and Daniel Barroca in *Soldier Playing With Dead Lizard* (2008). In *Avó (Muidumbe)*, Schefer repeats her grandmother's gestures, recorded in family films when her grandfather was positioned in a colonial administrative post to serve the Portuguese regime. Her films have been described as "decolonising the present" through critically examining her family's film archive (Oliveira, 2017, p. 21). However, the implication of public and private archives in the looting and expropriation of people from their culture goes often unquestioned in artworks and their critical reading.

The ways in which the production of images was part and parcel of the fabrication and dissemination of the Portuguese colonial imaginary have already been amply discussed in *Azuis Ultramarinos. Propaganda Colonial e Censura no Cinema do Estado Novo* (*Ultramarine Blues. Colonial Propaganda and Censorship in Estado Novo Cinema*; Piçarra, 2015), *Salazar Vai ao Cinema I* and *II* (*Salazar Goes to the Movies*; Piçarra, 2006, 2011), and in *(Re)Imagining African Independence: Film, Visual Arts and the Fall of the Portuguese Empire* (Piçarra & Castro, 2017). Despite the copious scholarly literature on the ways colonial imagery was instrumentalised to validate the colonial occupation during the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime, the purposing and utility of reproducing colonial imagery within contemporary cinema and the visual arts requires an earnest debate that cannot be dismissed with the need to show what Portuguese colonialism *really was*. Artists and filmmakers often neglect how the archive is not dissociated from the imperial project

itself, and as such, the endless reproduction of these images may instead reproduce colonial regimes of representation rather than offer an outwardly counter-discourse.

In the introduction of *O Império da Visão* (*The Empire of Sight*), Filipa Lowndes Vicente (2014) deliberates on the inherent ethical problems when reproducing images depicting colonial violence. She concludes that scholars *have the right* to show images that are not meant to be seen, as long as these are contextualised within a critical and analytical framework exposing their inherent political and ethical problems. This argument stems from her musings on a circumstantial episode that she witnessed whilst attending a guided visit to Vasco Araújo's exhibition *Botânica* (Botany, 2014) in Chiado Museum and wherein fellow visitors made misogynistic and racist comments vis-à-vis the "'sculptured objects' that deliberate on the 'exotic' representation of colonial culture" (Vicente, 2014, p. 23). Despite using photography and installation as an artistic medium, Araújo's work is an interesting case study for my general argument regarding how colonial ambivalence pervades contemporary moving images. The artist was once celebrated for his use of postcolonial critical theory. Until his exhibition *Decolonial Desire* at the Autograph ABP in London in 2016, when artist and curator Efua Bea (2016) wrote an expository piece published in *Media Diversified*, questioning the artist's "right to perform the raced and gendered cultural body" (para. 9). She also questioned his legitimacy to perform an "'historical re-enactment' when that same history belongs to the oppressed peoples that his country has humiliated and enslaved" (para. 9). Bea's argument lies in the following question: in what capacity can a White artist deploy colonial imagery to "speak" for subaltern positions?

Despite the consensual critical perception today regarding Araújo's work, the subject/speaking position of the intellectual and/or artist and their legitimacy for using and reproducing colonial imagery is still overlooked within Portuguese postcolonial scholarly literature. As evidenced in Vicente's (2014) account, her uneasiness is triggered by the way Araújo's photographs were uncritically perceived by "60-year-olds with the 'preppy outlook' of people that usually attend museum guided tours in the afternoon" (p. 23); instead of the inherently unethical rationale behind the artist's reproduction and the museum's exhibition of violent colonial imagery, in the first place. Initially, Vicente (2014) probes if one has the right to reproduce images of people without their consent, swiftly brushing off the question to argue that because they were reproduced *ad infinitum*, such images already convey a variety of mediation layers. Her argument becomes even more indefensible when affirming that in the case of medical photography, these images were only available to the medical community, which, accordingly, are the photographs' legitimate consumers. However, the medical community was not only crucial in the production of the "scientific knowledge" necessary to the validation of western racist assumptions but also has grotesquely scrutinised and objectified, when not brutalised, the racialised body in the name of science. What transpires from Vicente's assertion is the assumption of intellectual transparency that chooses to ignore how academic disciplines have been instrumental and constitutive of colonial power itself.

In her essay "Toward the Abolition of Photography's Imperial Rights", Ariella Aïsha Azoulay (2021) argues, for instance, that "photography was conceptually built from

imperial looting" (p. 78), thus suggesting that the advent of photography is intertwined with the history of colonialism. Accordingly, photography was instrumental in collecting, archiving and preserving colonial pillage. Thus photography not only registered but also replicated the extraction of natural resources and human capital from the colonised territories. Photography emerged from the colonial necessity to document, record and classify what was already there "for imperial eyes" (Azoulay, 2021, p. 78). Photography is then a technology not only inherently imperialistic but one that cannot be decolonised without first abolishing the imperialistic practices that permeate our contemporary societies and culture. Cinema is no different, for from its inception, the moving image has been an instrument of power (Stam, 2000), and the early stages of cinema have coincided with the pinnacle of imperialism (Shohat, 1991).

Because of this, I would like to draft an initial anthology comprised of audiovisual artists and filmmakers that have addressed the Portuguese colonial past and its legacies as the artists mentioned above. In this anthology, I would include Pedro Neves Marques, whose films *Where to Seat at the Dinner Table?* (2012-2013), *Semente Exterminadora* (*Exterminator Seed*; 2017) and *A Mordida* (*The Bite*; 2019) intertwine Amerindian cosmologies with technology and colonialism, and Gabriel Abrantes, in a similar vein, correlates technology and colonialism in his work. This correlation is often laced with irony, such as in *Humores Artificiais* (*Artificial Moods*; 2016) and again in *A History of Mutual Respect* (2010), where Abrantes and Co-Director Daniel Schmidt seem to comment on the intersection between neo-colonialism and colourism. In my view, however, Abrantes's use of irony is a deceptive mannerism that results in the disavowal of a possible critical stance regarding Portugal's colonial past. I would argue, following Fredric Jameson (1998), that in the case of Abrantes, closer to pastiche than to parody, irony is a symptomatic feature of postmodern art in late capitalism that by replicating "the logic of consumer capitalism" (p. 20) becomes vacant of critical value.

Other filmmakers also address Portuguese colonialism in their work. It is the case of Margarida Cardoso, who, in her documentaries, *Natal 71* (*Christmas 71*; 1999) and *Kuxa Kanema* (2003), deploys family memories and photographic archives, in the case of the former, and film archives from Mozambique's decolonisation period, in the case of the latter. Cardoso has also dealt with the same topic in her fictional films, as evidenced by *A Costa dos Murmúrios* (*The Murmuring Coast*; 2004) and *Ivone Kane* (2014). In this regard, Ana Pereira (2021) identifies a political whiteness at the core of Margarida Cardoso's films insofar as the director seems to invert "the terms of reality showing female colonisers more confined than female colonised" (p. 45).

On the other hand, since shooting *Casa de Lava* (*Down to Earth*; 1994) in Cape Verde, Pedro Costa has turned the camera to the slums of Fontaínhas; as such, Portugal's colonial legacy comes into view in most of his films. This is the case of *No Quarto de Vanda* (*In Vanda's Room*; 2000), *Juventude em Marcha* (*Colossal Youth*; 2006), *Tarrafal* (2007), *A Caça ao Coelho* (*The Rabbit Hunt*; 2007) and *O Nosso Homem* (*Our Man*; 2010), *Cavalo Dinheiro* (*Horse Money*; 2014), and *Vitalina Varela* (2019). Following Costa, the depiction of the urban periphery as a colonial remainder and reminder due to its demographic

composition is also found in the films *O Fim do Mundo* (*The End of the World*; Pedro Pinho, 2013), *Altas Cidades de Ossadas* (*High Cities of Bone*; Renée Nader Messora and João Salaviza, 2017) and Basil da Cunha's *Até Ver a Luz* (*After the Night*; 2013) and *O Fim do Mundo* (*The End of the World*; 2019), all from a younger generation of directors. Recent depictions of an earlier colonial period are found in the examples of *Mosquito* (João Nuno Pinto, 2020) and *Posto Avançado do Progresso* (*An Outpost of Progress*; Hugo Vieira da Silva, 2016); whereas, João Salaviza's *Chuva É Cantoria na Aldeia dos Mortos* (*The Dead and the Others*; 2018) and the documentary series *No Trilho dos Naturalistas* (*On the Naturalists' Trail*; 2016) produced for the Portuguese public media service, Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, by film cooperative Terratreme are some of the examples closer to ethnographic cinema. *No Trilho dos Naturalistas* retraces the scientific explorations carried out in Africa by scholars from University of Coimbra during the first Portuguese republic and the *Estado Novo* regime.

In addition, one of the most internationally successful and discussed films that recollect the Portuguese colonial imaginary is *Tabu* (Miguel Gomes, 2012). Carolina Overhoff Ferreira (2014) argues that the film recomposes "the landscape of the visible" by using a multiplicity of references to challenge the "disciplinary thinking put forward in social and human sciences such as luso-tropicalism and lusophony in post-coloniality" (p. 44). Other scholars have argued instead that *Tabu* appears to reinforce stereotypical depictions of the colonised other (Pereira, 2016) as well as claimed that despite disengaging "with traditional views of Portugal's civilisational role", Gomes's film leaves "the past empty except as a playground for nostalgic idealisations of youth and exoticism" (Medeiros, 2016, p. 209).

The upsurge of postcolonial scholarly literature and the growing number of visual and discursive cultural artefacts that address Portuguese colonialism attests to an earnest attempt to problematise and redefine the nation's postcolonial condition. That derives from a long-overdue admission that our postcolonial societies were built from colonial plunder. But, does the proliferation of images provide a more equitable regime of representation and knowledge production vis-à-vis the Portuguese colonial past and its legacies? Rather than reaching an all-encompassing conclusion, I would rather attempt to formulate this exploratory question. As I understand it, the productions of moving images that either revisit or problematise Portugal's colonial past to address our contemporary society's racial and social inequalities also seem to stem from an effort to gain cultural currency. I argue then that even if unwittingly, these artistic practices contribute to the redefinition of the nation's postcolonial peripheral position in an attempt to gain cultural relevance within an increasingly global academic and art market. In this way, this postcolonial turn within Portuguese cultural and academic institutions and the deployment of postcolonial critical theory within the visual arts is, following Vale de Almeida (2004), Medeiros (2016) and others, akin to the concept of Lusophony itself. Despite the need for a closer and individual analysis of each audiovisual object, not permitted due to the length of this article, I would argue that viewed as a group, these moving images appear to disclose a broader tendency within contemporary cinema and the visual arts.

This tendency indicates the need to reflect upon Portuguese colonialism and Portugal's postcolonial condition and how colonial ambivalence pervades our cultural discourses and artistic practices when not asserting the so-called benevolent exceptionality of Portuguese colonialism.

3. Visuality and Colonial Power

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon (2008) describes his experience of being subjected to the gaze and scrutiny of a White child to explain how colonial subjects are dispossessed of authority over their own image and identity. According to Stuart Hall (2003), this is why power should be understood "not only in terms of economic exploitation and physical coercion but also in broader cultural or symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way" (p. 259). That means that regimes of representation reinforce power structures. Assuming that all representation is inherently ambivalent since meaning is never fixed, can we read this growing proliferation of moving images within the Portuguese context against the grain? As I understand it, this proliferation of audiovisual objects tends to reproduce a colonial regime of representation rather than a more equitable regime and knowledge production vis-à-vis the Portuguese colonial past and its legacies. Often disregarded in these artistic practices is not only the problem of legitimacy — of who speaks of and about others — but also the intrinsic relationship between visual production and knowledge, and consequently, between visual production and power.

Hall (2003) stresses this relationship when arguing, for example, that the "circularity of power is especially important in the context of representation" insofar as everyone "is caught up, though not on equal terms, in power's circulation" (p. 261). In a similar vein, Nicholas Mirzoeff (2011) also argues that "the authority of coloniality has consistently required visuality to supplement its deployment of force" because visuality "sutures authority to power" (p. 6). As a result, to claim the right to look presupposes *autonomy* vis-à-vis that authority, which the artist and/or the intellectual can hardly claim. Within the variety of moving images addressing Portugal's colonial past, the subject/speaking position remains as a blind spot, thus suggesting ambivalence. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha (1994) argued that the colonial discourse already contains the seed of its own demise insofar as it "speaks in a tongue that is forked, not false" (p. 85) when exposing its own contradiction by classifying the colonised as the same but not quite. As such, ambivalence is at the heart of the colonial discourse. In this article, I argue instead that colonial ambivalence continues to pervade cultural discourses and contemporary artistic practices today, even when such practices and discourses appear to articulate a postcolonial critique.

Some scholars have already identified a melancholic attachment to the nation's colonial history even when attempting to redress such a past (Vieira, 2015). Accordingly, melancholia corresponds to the incapacity to mourn the loss of the object of our affection, thus leaving the ego to turn narcissistically to him/herself. In discussing the *Transmission From the Liberated Zone* (Filipa César, 2015) and *The Current Situation* (Pedro

Barateiro, 2015), shown in the 20th edition of Videobrasil in 2017, Patrícia Mourão (2018) also identifies a melancholic attachment in these two pieces. Insofar as both artists appear to "share the same feeling of nostalgia vis-à-vis the European 'current situation' and its past", positioning themselves "as agents of a narrative, archivists and researchers" (Mourão, 2018, p. 209). While César uses, akin to most of her artwork, Guinean postcolonial film archives, Barateiro interlaces two different events. He uses the anti-austerity demonstrations outside the São Bento parliament in Lisbon and the cutting of the last palm tree plagued by the red palm weevil (beetle) brought to Portugal with a cluster of "palm trees from the former colonies" (Mourão, 2018, p. 208). The natural plague of beetles that were devastating palm trees in Lisbon is here used as a metaphor for the austerity "plague" as the outcome of the global economic crisis, and whose effects were particularly felt in Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain[3]. Interestingly, in the first film, *O Inquieto* (Volume I; The Restless One) of *Mil e Uma Noites* (Arabian Nights) trilogy (2015), Miguel Gomes opens with a segment that conflates the layoffs at the shipyards of Viana do Castelo with the unusual story of a man who ingeniously invented a way to exterminate the Asian wasps' nests that were plaguing the bee farming in the region. The Portuguese textile industry was severely affected when the textile production was re-allocated to the more competitive South-East Asian market. As I argued elsewhere (Sequeira Brás, 2017, 2020), Gomes alludes to the capital's fluidity and overarching capacity yet offers a superficial critique laden with a nostalgic veneer that fails to recognise that capital extrapolates its own cyclical crises by moving to cheaper labour markets.

A growing number of African-Portuguese artists (e.g., Kiluanji Kia Henda, Grada Kilomba, Mónica de Miranda, Jaime Lauriano, among others), as well as filmmakers (e.g., Welket Bungué, Silas Tiny, and Vanessa Fernandes), have also engaged with the nation's colonial past and its legacies in contemporaneity. In *Havemos de Voltar* (*We Shall Return*), Kiluanji Kia Henda (2017) reflects upon Angola's colonial past and its postcolonial present and future through the voice-over of a stuffed antelope named Amélia Capomba, displayed at the archive centre in Luanda. Amélia wishes to return to her natural environment but appears willing to compromise, hoping to be acquired by Chinese businessman Daniel Jianping and then displayed in his nightclub to escape the museum. Her monologue not only suggests the impossibility of returning to the past but also the danger of becoming hostage to her own nostalgic fantasy when refusing her condition of imperial spoil to become (once again) a commodity displayed in a club. *Havemos de Voltar* (Henda, 2017) offers a cautionary tale, serving as an allegory to Angola's postcolonial present and future and a critical stance vis-à-vis the relation between the archive and the museum and the imperial project and the intersection between colonialism and capitalism.

In *Constelações Equatoriais* (*Equatorial Constellations*), on the other hand, Silas Tiny (2021) uses archival images and testimonies regarding the aerial bridge in São Tomé e Príncipe designed to rescue children from the Biafra conflict. Aware of how images

[3] After Greece, Portugal reached an agreement with the European Union and the International Monetary Fund regarding its own financial bail-out in May 2011, accepting to cut public spending, privatise national energy companies and Portuguese airline TAP, and increase sales taxes, in return for the loan (*Portugal Reaches Deal on EU and IMF Bail-Out*, 2011).

of unnourished children were amply disseminated and displayed, Tiny uses the photographic archive sparingly, choosing as the source, the testimony of the people involved in the conflict to testify for the violence these children experienced.

These artworks and other have already been thoroughly discussed vis-à-vis a decolonial framework in recent scholarly literature, thus pointing out the urgency of bringing these artists and filmmakers to the centre stage of a cultural debate that is still far from diverse (Oliveira, 2016; Sales & Lança, 2019; among others). As argued by Michelle Sales (2021), the decolonisation of art is "not dissociated from the emergence of artists, writers, and intellectuals" (p. 1). However, as Jota Mombaça (2017) has rightly pointed out, the "number of texts that denounce the prevalence of racism (...) is disproportional to the number of Black artists and intellectuals visible" within the Portuguese context, thus evidencing existing "regimes of erasure" that exclude those whose bodies have "been socially and historically implicated in racialisation" and colonialism (para. 1). Brazilian scholars and artists, such as Jota Mombaça, are often the ones calling into question the lack of Black representation and visibility in Portugal (Duarte, 2021). Following a prosperous economy, between 2003 and 2010, President Lula da Silva instituted a series of government social programmes, including an equal opportunities policy that permitted Black students from economically vulnerable communities to enter State universities. That has, in turn, led to a conversation about representation, visibility, and speaking/subject position — "lugar de fala" (place of speech) yet unprecedented in Portugal.

Symptomatic of such "regimes of erasure" is the redemptive motive found in many of the already mentioned films and video art objects and artists and filmmakers' discourses, which I believe is ignored by scholarly literature. For example, this redemptive motive is found in an interview with director João Nuno Pinto. He says that his film *Mosquito* (2020) is "a way to redeem for the fact that [he is] a son of colonisers" (Mourinha, 2020, para. 1). In Daniel Barroca's work, redemption is described as "haunted by 'an obscure feeling of guilt'" (Piçarra & Castro, 2017, p. 233). Again, in *Uma Cabana* (*A Hut*; Suleimane Biai and Filipa César, 2012), César alludes to the fact that her father was a Portuguese soldier who fought in the colonial war against the independent armed struggle movement in Guinea, suggesting an indirect implication within the Portuguese colonial history to justify her legitimacy for co-directing the film. This redemptive gesture is frequently overlooked, despite the overabundance of discourses about Portugal's colonial history and the academic writings published about and around these visual objects. It may be so because of the fear of "throwing out the baby with the water bath"; because the purpose of such a postcolonial turn in academia, cinema and other visual arts derives from a long-overdue admission that our postcolonial societies were built from colonial plunder that is today materialised in social and racial inequalities. However, if this postcolonial turn is to become productive, one needs to navigate these murky waters in which this redemptive gesture brews to bring to the surface the ambivalences at work in these audiovisual objects. Despite the need for a detailed formal analysis of each individual object as a group, these moving images can be understood as "a *collective* fantasy

symptomatic of a *collective* itinerary of sadomasochist repression" (Spivak, 1988, p. 296) that reproduces, rather than effaces, the colonial act itself.

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Contemporary Iconoclasm: Anti-Racism Between the Decolonisation of Art and the (Re)Sacralisation of Public Space

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Abstract

This article aims to contribute to the reflection on the phenomenologies of non-identification with the cultural and artistic heritage, namely the architectural and sculptural, installed in the urban public space. Contemporary iconoclastic practices have made the political and media debate aware of the quality and pertinence of cities' aesthetic and artistic transformations. I aim to establish possible relationships between iconoclastic phenomena, contemporary mythography and postcolonial and neo-colonial discursive ways, addressing the social and political issues underlying racism, which may be at the origin of iconoclastic practices against heritage. I conducted a selected review of the scientific literature published in the last 20 years, namely authored by Araújo and Rodrigues (2018), Kilomba (2019; " 'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' diz Grada Kilomba", 2016), Maeso (2016), Roldão et al. (2016), Ribeiro (2021), Santos (2003), V. Sousa (2020), Vale de Almeida (2000, 2012), Varela and Pereira (2020), and others. On that basis, I tried to demonstrate how the contemporary art and curatorial artivism within museological institutions contributed to challenging institutional historical narratives and the progressive deconstruction of Lusotropicalist discursive practices, which institute colonialism and slavery as acceptable historical inevitabilities. I found that western hegemonic thinking is based on a false ideological construction of identity, supported by an alleged moral and racial superiority, to justify pursuing a model of economic exploitation structured in cultural domination. I concluded that multiculturalism within cultural institutions, safeguarding cultural diversity and heritage interpretation in the public space, could ensure inclusion and social cohesion, develop feelings of belonging, and mitigate inequalities and violence.

Keywords
iconoclasm, coloniality, anti-racism, multiculturalism, artivism

A Iconoclastia Contemporânea: O Antirracismo Entre a Descolonização da Arte e a (Re)Sacralização do Espaço Público

Resumo

Este artigo tem por objetivo contribuir para a reflexão sobre as fenomenologias da não identificação com o património cultural e artístico, nomeadamente, o arquitetónico e o escultórico, instalado no espaço público urbano. As práticas iconoclastas contemporâneas trouxeram para o debate político e mediático o questionamento da qualidade e pertinência das transformações

estéticas e artísticas que aconteceram nas cidades. Pretende-se estabelecer possíveis relações entre os fenómenos iconoclastas, as mitografias contemporâneas e as práticas discursivas pós-coloniais e neocoloniais, abordando as problemáticas sociais e políticas subjacentes ao racismo, que poderão estar na origem das práticas de iconoclastia contra o património. A partir de uma revisão selecionada à literatura científica, publicada no último vinténio, nomeadamente, da autoria de Araújo e Rodrigues (2018), Kilomba (2019; "'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' diz Grada Kilomba", 2016), Maeso (2016), Roldão et al. (2016), Ribeiro (2021), Santos (2003), V. Sousa (2020), Vale de Almeida (2000, 2012), Varela e Pereira (2020), entre outros, procurou-se demonstrar o contributo da arte contemporânea e do artivismo curatorial, no seio das instituições museológicas, para o questionamento das narrativas históricas institucionais e para a progressiva desconstrução das práticas discursivas lusotropicalistas, que instituem o colonialismo e a escravatura como inevitabilidades históricas aceites. Verificou-se que o pensamento hegemónico ocidental está assente numa falsa construção ideológica identitária, suportada numa alegada superioridade moral e racial, tendo em vista justificar a prossecução de um modelo de exploração económica estruturado na dominação cultural. Concluiu-se que o multiculturalismo no seio das instituições culturais, a par da salvaguarda da diversidade cultural e da interpretação patrimonial no espaço público, poderá assegurar a inclusão e coesão social, desenvolvendo sentimentos de pertença, e, por conseguinte, permitindo a mitigação das desigualdades e da violência.

Palavras-chave
iconoclasmo, colonialidade, antirracismo, multiculturalismo, artivismo

1. Introduction

Contemporary iconoclastic practices have brought to the political and media debate the questioning of the quality and pertinence of the aesthetic and artistic transformations (Goes, 2020, 2021) which have taken place in the urban public space (Correia, 2013; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Silva, 1996; Stavrides, 2016/2021). Interpreting artistic and built heritage and questioning its function and place in the city (Mitrache, 2012; Muxi, 2004; Stavrides, 2016/2021) within a globalised contemporary society (V. Sousa, 2020) has become an object of debate. This debate should not seek to establish a false majority consensus but rather encourage the development of new inclusion and cultural identification (Huntington, 1996; Steinmeyer, 2021). Monuments and public statuary have always been ideological affirmation instruments of the political and economic hegemony. Commissioners use it to institute official discourses, aesthetic ideologies and historiographical narratives, targets of mythification (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Duarte, 2019; Goes, 2020).

Understanding heritage refusal processes and iconoclastic practices in contemporary times presupposes the comprehension of urban spaces expansion and the underlying economic and social development models. Those models expose the conflicting nature of public space and cultural non-identification processes with inhabited places (Mitrache, 2012; Muxi, 2004; Stavrides, 2016/2021). Furthermore, we question and delegitimise the historiographical narratives taught within the teaching spaces (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Maeso, 2016; Roldão et al., 2016) and those presented in the museography discourses of museological institutions (Adams & Koke, 2014; Welch, 2006).

Iconoclasm managed to expose the social fragilities and ethical decadence of society. On the other hand, it allowed the confrontation of ideas and conceptions about the art's function in the public space. It also exposed, by virtue, the critical and conflictive nature of the sculpture installed in the public space, addressing issues that have long been repressed as an antithesis to the establishment of false social consensus (Hardt & Negri, 2019; Martin & Pirbhai-Illich, 2015).

This article aims to contribute to the reflection on the reappearance of various phenomenologies of non-identification with heritage, addressing the underlying social and political issues at the origin of these iconoclastic practices. We reviewed the scientific literature published in the last 20 years. We based our research in the contemporary iconoclasm study essentially on articles, theses and monographs authored by several thinkers, namely, Cantarelli (2018), Cordeiro (2012), D'Ottavio et al. (2021), Elsner (2012), Fernandes (2018), Frank and Ristic (2020), Freedberg (2021), Gamboni (2018), Leupin (2019), McClanan and Johnson (2016), Paiva (2018), Renou (2020), Rota and Fureix (2018), Stapleton and Viselli (2019), Taussig (2012), among others from the international context.

The discussion on the phenomenologies of racism and anti-racism in contemporary times draws on revisiting of some authors from the Portuguese context, namely, Araújo and Rodrigues (2018), Kilomba (2019; " 'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' diz Grada Kilomba", 2016), Maeso (2016), Otávio et al. (2009), Ribeiro (2021), Roldão et al. (2016), Santos (2003), Vale de Almeida (2000, 2012), Varela and Pereira (2020), among others.

We aim to demonstrate how contemporary art (Ribeiro, 2021), namely the one installed in urban public spaces and curatorial projects within cultural institutions, can establish critical relations of questioning post-historical narratives and call for reflection on persistently hegemonic western cultural heritage, a past of slavery, colonialism and racism. This investigation thus aims to contribute to the enhancement of cultural heritage by understanding and overcoming contemporary iconoclasm phenomena that jeopardise the integrity of the heritage.

Postcolonial discourses (Ashcroft, 2014; Nebbou, 2013; Olaniyan, 1993), defined by the newly established power relations, based on processes of common cultural identification (Huntington, 1996; Steinmeyer, 2021), seek to maintain the prevailing hegemony or the installation of a development model based on materialism and the economic exploitation of the former colonial space. Unleashing a new sphere of geopolitical relations and reactivating economic ties, like with the former metropolises, sedimented the new identity narratives legitimising the historical mechanisms of oppression. Ironically, the process of globalisation more efficiently concealed and implemented the hegemonic project of western economic domination (Hardt & Negri, 2019; Huntington, 1996; V. Sousa, 2020), transforming the old political colonialism into an apparent new project of cultural neocolonialism (Huntington, 1996; Santos, 2003).

The complexity of the map of post-colonial geopolitical relations, based on the maintenance of colonial heritage cultural links, namely with the definition of linguistic

communities, contributed to the dissemination of consumption in the former colonial space, instituting a new formula of economic colonialism. The supranational and supra-sovereign cultural models sought to sell an idea of transnational free space. Instead, they sold the imaginary view of a non-existent cultural democracy, without this meaning the creation of conditions for the effective social emancipation of the citizens of developing countries, former colonies. The phenomenology of the processes of cultural non-identification with the inhabited place (Stavrides, 2016/2021) may have contributed to the assumption of anti-colonial activism (Hardt & Negri, 2019; Hickel, 2021). The nihilistic logic makes the iconoclastic double condition explicit in these sociological processes. It seeks to restore legitimising meta-narratives of the oppression heritage of these places, making them conducive to new economic exploitation and the implementation of a so-called free market.

The cultural capital (Martin & Pirbhai-Illich, 2015) of the old and new rulers is crucial, in neoliberal globalisation (Santos, 2003), for the metamorphosis of classical imperialism to take place, transforming it into surveillance capitalism (Zuboff, 2019), in a post-globalisation era (Ashcroft, 2014). As an economic, political and cultural model, westernization has culturally uprooted local communities, universalising an aesthetic model and accentuating social exclusion and inequality (Scheidel, 2017). According to Rosembuj (2019), the concept of "surveillance capitalism", exposed by Zuboff (2019) in *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*, can pose a threat to the rule of law, sovereignty, and individual liberties, raising doubts about the role of democratic institutions.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the dismantling of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1991; D'Ottavio et al., 2021), we have noticed an artistic development, for example, in literature, cinema, music, and visual arts. This development aimed at its insertion into the global market and corroborated narratives established by the triumphant model and used the new means and technologies provided.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1997, as cited in Vale de Almeida, 2012) points out the apparent state of permanent crisis confronted with the emancipation projects, thus, alluding to the introduction of human rights in contemporary discursive practice. However, the non-effectiveness of these rights, as a process of political action, leads to the assumption of (new) identity policies (Vale de Almeida, 2012). These identity policies contribute to the legitimation of new sovereignties. On the other hand, they socially fragment a society through racial and ethnic-cultural hierarchy, establishing a majority identity as prevailing. According to Santos (2003), considering the concept of "inter-identity", it is proposed that Portuguese post-colonialism is expressed as anti-colonialism and as counter-hegemonic globalism in the face of Portugal's peripheral insertion and subalternity in the European and Atlantic neoliberal context.

Perhaps market value formation, to the detriment of the narrative critical to history (and memory), has contributed to the forgetting (or whitening) of history itself ("'O

Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' diz Grada Kilomba", 2016; V. Sousa, 2020; Trouillot, 1995/2016; Vale de Almeida, 2000, 2012; Varela & Pereira, 2020). The whiteness of racial identity reflects the power relations (Vale de Almeida, 2000, 2012) and privilege within western societies ("'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' diz Grada Kilomba", 2016; Trouillot, 1995/2016, Varela & Pereira, 2020), namely through the imposition of narratives in cultural and educational institutions (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Roldão et al., 2016; Soares, 2020) and public urban space art (Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Cadela, 2007; Frank & Ristic, 2020; Goes, 2021).

Mythographies deconstruction (Barthes, 1957/2001) of White racial power (Vale de Almeida, 2000, 2012) should be a premise of contemporary art (Ribeiro, 2021) and curatorial practices. It can also be used as a pedagogical tool to effect the inclusion of racial, cultural and ethnic minorities, ensuring that the cultural diversity of society constitutes an added value for human development and social cohesion.

The progressive technological transformation initiated since the industrial revolution contributed to a gradual improvement of living conditions in western societies. On the other hand, it contributed to increased social inequalities (Scheidel, 2017), more pronounced in the outermost regions. This economic model and social framework challenge individual rights and the very sustainability of the model.

The appropriation and use of data to transform into commercial or political products aim to influence or control the individual's behaviour (Rosembuj, 2019; Zuboff, 2019). Post-colonial narratives are justified by denouncing and criticising the previous regime or model. On the other hand, they find new means to institute their neo-colonial programs from a moral and aesthetic point of view in contemporary culture. Today, contemporary neocolonialism is cultural and technological, feeding relationships of direct dependence between individuals and supranational institutions. Art does not dissociate from this debate. Therefore it is crucial to measure the impacts of contemporary artistic practices on public space and curatorial projects in the definition of post-colonial, anti-colonial and anti-racist narratives. We intend to verify the effects of iconoclastic customs associated with activism and transgressive artistic practices and evaluate the success of pedagogical actions in heritage implementation to develop processes of social identification, community participation and appreciation of artistic and built heritage.

The knowledge of phenomenology and motivations surrounding the order, as well as the production and references for public statuary or art in urban public space, are, perhaps, crucial to finding new solutions for the maintenance of heritage and cultural diversity (Meyer-Bisch & Bidault, 2010/2014) and avoiding future iconoclastic, non-institutional actions. These proposals for understanding include heritage education and interpretation (Goes, 2020, 2021).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Historical Introduction to Iconoclasm

It is possible to identify a sequence of iconoclastic cycles throughout human history (Fernandes, 2018; Freedberg, 2021; Gamboni, 2018; McClanan & Johnson, 2016). The process of globalisation has resized iconoclastic phenomenology in contemporary times, making it global (D'Ottavio et al., 2021; V. Pereira, 2013; Stapleton & Viselli, 2019). In his theory of the image-simulacrum (Cordeiro, 2012; Fernandes, 2018), Plato accused artists of creating a game of illusions in which representation is always the projection of a fictionalised existence falsified natural and material reality (Goes, 2020, 2021). This philosophical thought believed that images devoid of a utilitarian function were a source of fascination for fools and children (Fernandes, 2018).

Some traditional African or Afro-Brazilian ethnic religions (Nogueira, 2013; V. Pereira, 2013; Valle, 2020) faced cyclical phenomena of cultural and religious syncretism (Nogueira, 2021), acculturation processes and ethnocide (Davidson, 2012), which exist in contemporary times. Iconoclasm is one of the processes of ethnocide: the totemic objects of the previous culture are destroyed (Davidson, 2012) — "fetishes" according to a western perspective (Pires, 2011; Sansi, 2008) — and replaced by the new icons of the dominant culture (Nogueira, 2013; V. Pereira, 2013; Valle, 2020). Buildings and religious representation are ranked in the urban public space (Nogueira, 2013) to establish the new religious doctrine and dethrone the old identity symbols, considered inferior (Nogueira, 2013; V. Pereira, 2013; Valle, 2020). Therefore, contemporary religious iconoclasm underpins the maintenance of imperialist structures, accentuating the racist tradition instituted by Catholics and Protestants (Valle, 2020), and jeopardises human rights, cultural diversity, and religious freedom.

In the monotheistic religious domain, in the Abrahamic religions, the most orthodox currents of Judaism, Islam and Protestantism (Pires, 2011), based on the sacred books, have considered the cult of images idolatry (Fernandes, 2018). Consequently, they would have exercised and implemented their aesthetic ideology as a visible form of affirmation of a particular religious, political and social hegemony. The expansion of faith translated into cultural growth and, therefore, the refusal or destruction of images was the reason for its implementation (Cross, 1912; Haldon, 1999; Paiva, 2018).

Cantarelli (2018), referring to the images, allows us an intelligible reading of the signs inscribed in a work of art. Because they are identifiable with a collective cultural body, they become significant, symbolic forms, emanating a plurality of meanings and descriptive values of the spirit of their time. Thus, all iconographic representation is always determined by time and place. A hiatus interrupts or connects the iconographic domain to the iconological and the representation to the symbolic (Cantarelli, 2018). Iconoclastic practices are, therefore, determined by the cultural context in which they take place. Opposite to iconology, iconoclasm destroys (Cantarelli, 2018; Fernandes, 2018; Paiva, 2018), assuming in destruction the refusal of the superposition of an idea that prevails over a previous symbolic figure. The iconoclastic act will contribute to the legitimation of the preceding symbolic reality. Giving it a further historical resizing that

accentuates the meaning and symbolic value of the image, removing it from the forum of the past (Cantarelli, 2018; Fernandes, 2018; Freedberg, 2021; Paiva, 2018).

The hypothetical formulation that a symbol survives time, repeating itself cyclically, overcoming periods of long concealment, is necessary for carrying out an "iconological interpretation" (Cantarelli, 2018). However, the multiplicity of meanings or symbolic connotations attributed or gained according to different historical contexts suggests that, despite the cultural transience of times, signs transformed into new symbols (which accumulate meanings from the past) if not rooted in the cultural reality of the society or community, may become the reason for conflicting practices and exclusion factor in contemporary times. The new symbols (Barthes, 1957/2001), once they are not actual totemic objects, become "fetishes" of a society (Pires, 2011; Sansi, 2008), making it impossible for them to develop feelings of belonging necessary for its legitimation and maintenance. Instead, failure to identify with a symbol will lead to processes of refusal, questioning and destruction.

The hierarchical iconographic model, adopted for statuary installation in public space, was repeated from antiquity to modernity (Bina, 2020). This model used a podium or pedestal to top the subject of the representation, placing it above humans (Bina, 2020; Goes, 2020), elevating the sculptural object to the category of idol and the deification of the represented figure (Barthes, 1957/2001), for propagandistic purposes.

Iconoclastic practices within the Byzantine empire (Freedberg, 2021) enabled the leaders of the time to measure widespread adherence to prevailing aesthetic-theological ideologies, intending to ensure the hegemony of political power and perpetuate itself in it. The persecutions and deaths of iconophiles and the destruction of religious icons in the Byzantine era were powerful political instruments for the Byzantine emperors, who did not intend to hinder the domination of the territories subordinated to the sovereignty of Byzantium (Paiva, 2018). This domination could only be achieved by bringing Eastern Christians closer to Jews and Muslims and by developing processes of cultural integration — iconoclasm would be one of these processes. The destruction of Christian icons, namely saints and martyrs (Cross, 1912), and the persecution of iconophiles were intended to facilitate the subjugation of the empire's communities that professed different religions to political power (Cross, 1912; Goes, 2020; Haldon, 1999). Ensuring that, despite being dispersed, they would identify with the empire's capital and develop a feeling of belonging to it (Paiva, 2018).

Paiva (2018), paraphrasing Haldon (2014), demonstrates, from the treaties of the 5th and 6th centuries, that the ideological antagonism between Islam and Christianity reflected an apparent hostility to orthodoxy and imperialism of Byzantium, despite representing opposition to Christian values (Freedberg, 2021). Based on assumptions of cultural and religious differences, the war conflicts substantiated a program of economic expansion of the belligerent empires that would materialise in the following centuries. Byzantine emperors, through the legitimisation of iconoclastic practices, sought to mitigate the differences between orthodoxy and Jewish and Islamic cultures to ensure the

domination of these peoples within the Byzantine empire (Cross, 1912; Freedberg, 2021; Haldon, 1999; McClanan & Johnson, 2016; Paiva, 2018).

The conflict of iconoclasm within Christendom would be exported and accentuated throughout the middle ages and during the modern age, opposing iconoclastic political-religious movements (Orthodox and Protestants) to the dominant Roman Catholicism (McClanan & Johnson, 2016). Traces of this civilizational clash persist in art to the present day (D'Ottavio et al., 2021; Elsner, 2012; Frank & Ristic, 2020; Freedberg, 2021; Gamboni, 2018; McClanan & Johnson, 2005; Rota & Fureix, 2018; Stapleton & Viselli, 2019).

The system of relations between aesthetics and politics (Frank & Ristic, 2020) came, centuries later, to materialise a project of the aesthetic ideology of the papacy: the baroque. The exuberance of its narratives, fear of emptiness and scenic drama of iconographic figuration characterise this style, Catholic by definition (Benjamin, 1928/1984; Gombrich, 1950/2008; Hartt, 1993; P. Pereira, 1995; Prado, 2016; Upjohn et al., 1949/1977). In opposition to the Protestant aesthetic, he debated the issue of the image policy of the Catholic Counter-Reformation (Solís, 2011) around the discussion about the danger of iconographic figurations constituting a phenomenon of idolatry in the votive practice, in opposition to the iconoclastic Protestant aesthetics (McClanan & Johnson, 2016; Solís, 2011).

Also, from the 19th century onwards, the progressive laicisation of state institutions and the secularisation of society (Barrios Rozúa, 2003), namely in France, Spain (Rota & Fureix, 2018) and Portugal, gave rise to the development of a militant anticlericalism (Barrios Rozúa, 2003). It materialised in the iconoclastic destruction of religious statuary and built heritage (Rota & Fureix, 2018). The reforms were initiated, the result of the triumphant new currents of political thought — liberal and republican — to disseminate an aesthetic ideology opposite to that displayed by the old regime.

In the 20th century, the idolatry of images became the best propagandistic and pamphleteering instrument of the new totalitarian ideologies (D'Ottavio et al., 2021). Idolatry — not of a religious or sacred nature, but the profane — the cult of personality, constituted a mechanism for the transfer of value between the represented and objectified subject and the one who sponsored the work of art (Goes, 2020). Modern idolatries, objectified in works of art, devoid of a critical spirit, have become privileged tools for maintaining and perpetuating the hegemony of political, economic, cultural and mediatic powers (Goes, 2020, 2021).

2.2. Iconoclasm in Contemporaneity: The Democratic and Conflicting Nature of Public Space and the Ephemeral and Washable Nature of Public Sculpture

Public, physical and media space, as well as cultural expressions, fulfil the dual function of demonstrating, on the one hand, the inseparability of the concepts of history and memory and, on the other hand, to point out that, despite being related, they are

distinct (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Bina, 2020). Thus, a statue does not portray a historical figure. It is just a particular representation, an apologetic memory (Ávila, 2020; Bina, 2020; Santiago, 2020). Therefore, its overthrow does not imply the historical disappearance of a figure (Bina, 2020) rather the destruction of the legacy of its commissioners, who, dressed in a built dignity, find in the construction of public statuary a form of self-glorification and immortalisation of its inheritance (Bina, 2020; Goes, 2020).

One of the problems with the determinism of artistic interventions in the public space is related to the discursive updating, not only from an aesthetic, technical and conceptual point of view but also from a narrative point of view. Public sculpture stopped questioning, and it became uncritical. Instead of examining the subject, object of representation and interpreting it, the sculpture made it allegorical and legitimised it as a contemporary idol (Barthes, 1957/2001; Pires, 2011; Sansi, 2008). This difficulty in establishing a narrative that relates a non-figurative expression with a non-allegorical interpretation of the subjects of the representation arises from the spectator's impossibility to reach another intelligible reading of the work other than the immediate, institutionalised one. The correspondence of a non-allegorical representation with a contemporary aesthetic and technique will have to be necessary, the result of integration with the architectural buildings, the surrounding territory, and the communities that inhabit it (Bueno Carvajal, 2021). From Krauss (1979), contemporary sculpture expands beyond the purist and functional dimension of academic statuary, decisively contributing to the defunctionalisation of the occupied place (Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Cadela, 2007; Stavrides, 2016/2021; Thörn, 2011).

Bina (2020) considers that there will be no anachronism in condemning a statue that enthrones slavery because the historical existence of the represented figure is not called into question since it is the study and investigation of the same that gives it the timelessness. On the contrary, this sculpture's place in public space does not refer to the past but to the present time (Bina, 2020). It acts ideologically on all those who inhabit or enjoy the public space. Historical anachronism results from the very antagonism of the discussion. Public space is a democratic place but is not a privileged institutional space for debate, as is the academy or the museum (Soares, 2020).

This dystrophy between the democratic and conflictive space and the exercise of historical, aesthetic and artistic questioning is essential when sculptures in public space constitute a reason for litigation between different political groups or activists (Otávio et al., 2009; Varela & Pereira, 2020). The historiographical narratives and mistakes perpetuated within the school spaces accentuate this conflict (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Goes, 2020; Maeso, 2016). Sculpture materialises in the public space, legitimising what is taught.

Araújo and Rodrigues (2018) highlight that the political decision demonstrates resistance regarding the need to adopt a critical questioning about the teaching of history and the respective adaptation of curricular programs. The maintenance of outdated museographic discourses also perpetuates the fetishist hegemony of an oppressive past (Soares, 2020).

The democratic and community nature of public space (Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Stavrides, 2016/2021) also exposes the conflicting nature of this place, where public art, instrumentalised with ideological use, becomes an object of discussion. Therefore, before the debate on iconoclasm in contemporary public space, the debate on the quality of aesthetic transformations that take place in a territory should be underlying (Goes, 2020, 2021). Namely, inferring the quality of sculptural objects installed in cities and their impacts on the landscape they occupy (Goes, 2020, 2021). Therefore, iconoclastic phenomena and behaviours may constitute an opportunity to activate the debate on history and the safeguarding of heritage and contribute to delegitimising hegemonic historiographical narratives taught within school spaces (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018).

2.3. Heritage Interpretation: Between Decolonisation and (Re)Sacralisation of Public Space and Anti-Racist Phenomenology

According to Gambioni (1997, as cited in Frank & Ristic, 2020), the destruction of monuments in urban public space is considered a deliberate protest against authority and the underlying ideology, thus a practice of political iconoclasm. On the one hand, iconoclastic behaviours question the accepted moral and cultural order (Barthes, 1957/2001), demystifying it; on the other hand, they expose a dichotomy, condone their legacy, and activate a collective conscience around the destruction of heritage (Fabre, 2019, as cited in Manzon Lupo, 2021).

The creation of a false collective consensus around the preservation of icons of "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm, 1983, as cited in Frank & Ristic, 2020) sediments the new power relations (Frank & Ristic, 2020; Manzon Lupo, 2021; "'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' diz Grada Kilomba", 2016; Trouillot, 1995/2016; Varela & Pereira, 2020), which seek to base themselves on nostalgic and historicist narratives.

Public space is an ideological, necessarily political, and therefore a place of conflict (Krauss, 1979; Mitrache, 2012; Silva, 1996; Stavrides, 2016/2021). Art takes part in this conflict. Silva (1996) considers that the public space provides continuity and permanence that opposes mono functionality and segregation (Cadela, 2007; Frank & Ristic, 2020) of the private or domestic place. The difficulty in limiting public space, by its definition, in the topological sense, determines the very conception of public art (Correia, 2013).

Frank and Ristic (2020), rereading Stevens and Franck (2016) and Knierbein and Viderman (2018), consider that the urban place is characterised by a discursive heterogeneity, typical of inclusive and more cohesive societies. According to the authors, the vestiges of the past, materialised by architecture and public art, can coexist with social, political and artistic activism, contributing to the questioning of narratives engraved in the buildings and enabling the improvement of conditions for cultural enjoyment and aesthetics transformations in urban territory.

Regarding public art, it is necessary to question to what extent the aesthetic and artistic interventions irreversibly transform a space, which, due to its public character,

is collective and democratic (Cadela, 2007; Correia, 2013; Stavrides, 2016/2021). The problem of acceptance and legitimation of public art, namely contemporary art, is related to the fact that all over the western world, territories have been occupied for decades or centuries by bronze heads, proliferating in squares, gardens and roundabouts as if there was no place for silence (Goes, 2020, 2021). As if public space was necessarily ornamental, allegorical and symbolic, as if art did not fulfil a function other than beautifying public spaces that, through carelessness or inertia, were successively left in ruins and defined as places of abandonment and loss (Augé, 1992; Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Cadela, 2007; Goes, 2020, 2021).

Before discussing iconoclasm, we need to question the need for education and heritage interpretation, therefore, the need to develop feelings of belonging caused by these objects installed in public space. When public art sponsors are not concerned with the community's involvement, acceptance and identification with what is installed, nor with the impacts of art in defining the identity of that community, it gives rise to a non-identification of works of art with the communities and the space in which they operate. The public work of art enthrones the elite that sponsors or commissions it (Ávila, 2020; Goes, 2020, 2021; Santiago, 2020). The destruction of public art challenges the installed power more than the history of the represented subject.

All art performs a social task, promoting inclusion, civic participation, aesthetic education, and criticism development. Therefore, it should encourage tolerance and respect for difference and diversity (Adams & Koke, 2014; Meyer-Bisch & Bidault, 2010/2014; Welch, 2006). For this reason, art that populates the public space, decorating it with allegories of a past that cannot be questioned, is not fulfilling its function (Goes, 2020, 2021). The historical review and heritage interpretation may be an object of study within universities and museums (Primo & Moutinho, 2021). This study will trigger the decolonisation of public and media space, raising awareness of the anti-racist phenomenon (Otávio et al., 2009; Varela & Pereira, 2020) and the non-sacralisation of public space. In most western countries, historical graphic narratives persist due to reference authors affectionate to the ideologies of the 20th-century totalitarianism (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Ávila, 2020; Goes, 2020; C. Pinheiro, 2002). The narratives taught in Portuguese schools (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Roldão et al., 2016) convey ideologies common to nationalism, totalitarianism. It perpetuates myths (Barthes, 1957/2001) about the Portuguese way, a racial nationality and "the myth of the good coloniser" (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Goes, 2020).

The past revolutionary movements destroyed the monuments or statuary of the deposed emperors or dictators (Ávila, 2020; Bina, 2020; Santiago, 2020). Themselves protagonists in the looting, censorship and destruction of the heritage in conquered territories (Goes, 2020). In other words, institutional powers, belligerent powers, revolutionary movements and terrorist groups used iconoclasm as a symbolic act of triumph, demarcation or intimidation over the installed power and for the implantation of a new social, political and governmental order. Iconoclasm is a historical act (Ávila, 2020; Bina, 2020; Santiago, 2020), which does not refer to historical deconstruction, but to

the construction of post-memory (Ribeiro, 2021), constituting an act of enthronement of new triumphant elites.

The same elites have now their legitimacy or moral authority questioned by the unprivileged that historically remain poor, excluded and exploited. The most recent iconoclastic interventions proliferating in the western world are, therefore, a reason for questioning this very system of historical value, a mechanism of legitimation and enthronement of the elites of the colonial and western slave-holding past (C. Pinheiro, 2002; Santiago, 2020; Vale de Almeida, 2000).

An interventional act against a statue is both literal and metaphorical. It constitutes the vandalisation and destruction of the historical or artistic object. It is also a symbolic act of questioning the past corpse, which wants to be covered (Santiago, 2020). The maintenance of a media cult to historical figures, without question, makes them become modern idols, occupying the public space, perpetuating the history of a nation that praises the slaveholders of yore (C. Pinheiro, 2002; Santiago, 2020). These modern sculptures, installed in public space on a podium or pedestal (Bina, 2020), fulfil the ideological function of perpetuating a particular hegemony of power instead of fulfilling the task of the art in enabling critical questioning about the past and quality of social, cultural, economic and political transformations. Removing them from the place where they were, makes it possible to recreate the community space (Santiago, 2020; Stavrides, 2016/2021). Hence, the iconoclast is the one who, looking at a representation, sees it as an idol (Ávila, 2020; Bina, 2020; Santiago, 2020). The sculpture in the square is an ancestral image of the community that occupies the public space, an idea for a society to recognise and identify itself through its founders. Destroying sculptures of these racist founders is a way of relooking these idols (Barthes, 1957/2001), converting them into false ancestors or unwanted founders (Santiago, 2020).

3. Discussion: Iconoclasm as a Critical Questioning of History and Creative Strategy

Contemporary art uses the denial of its condition as art as a practice for its institutional legitimation; an iconoclastic proposal can assume a creative strategy that allows the critical questioning of history. In a palimpsest logic, this strategy sets on the deconstruction of previous imagery through different subtraction and sum processes of traces, where the prior symbolic tradition reopens a new concept. The transformation of a sign, attributing a new, formal value, removes it from a past category, updates it and makes it (again) symbolic (Barthes, 1957/2001). Despite the refusal of figuration, the iconoclastic processes establish new narratives, maintaining an intrinsically non-representative and non-naturalistic character, maintaining or not the previous symbolic tradition (Cantarelli, 2018). Deleuze (1987, as cited in Ávila, 2020) questions the definition of a creative act, proposing that it constitutes an act of resistance to death and a form of humanity's struggle. In this way, a historical narrative underlying a public work of art is always an artificial construction in the service of installed power (Ávila, 2020).

Ávila (2020) states that establishing a stable consensus around alleged universal values that sustain a certain narrative demonstrates how naturalised they are within a society. The tribute paid by installing a sculptural monument in the public space, enthroning some conqueror or slave trader, apart from interfering with the democratic nature of the public space, legitimises the (bad) practices of the person being honoured (Ávila, 2020; Silva, 1996). It is worth noting that architecture so often establishes or legitimises the historical omission (Ávila, 2020) of colonialism and slavery (Kilomba, 2019; "'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' Diz Grada Kilomba", 2016; Santos, 2003; Vale de Almeida, 2000, 2012; Varela & Pereira, 2020).

Western hegemonic thinking, based on moral and racial superiority (Jones & Okun, 2001; Trouillot, 1995/2016; Weber, 1905/2004), uses this false ideological construction of identity to justify pursuing a capitalist model structured on cultural domination, in the oppression and devaluation of human resources, as a guarantee for the maximisation of profits. The cultural domination of other peoples and communities is seen as collateral damage of imperialism (Ávila, 2020), justified by a duty to civilise and evangelise. In the Portuguese case (Varela & Pereira, 2020), it may not be just the historical characters at stake but their representation and the mechanisms of legitimation of these, namely the commissioner's role. The figurative representations of the statuary installed in the public space perpetuate the fetishism (Pires, 2011; Sansi, 2008) of colonial heritage and the myth of the "good" coloniser (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Ávila, 2020; Goes, 2020; Kilomba, 2019; C. Pinheiro, 2002).

If, on the one hand, the iconoclasm of public statuary can bring into debate the deconstruction of established historical narratives, on the other, it can constitute a factor in the elevation of the same and reiteration of nationalist pride sentiment. Therefore, it is vital to identify the protagonists in these acts and their real motivations. If associated with anti-racist (Alvarez, 2009; Bell, 2021; Maeso, 2016; Renou, 2020) and anti-colonialist movements or if provided by nationalist, racist and xenophobic movements, to exacerbate tension and conflict, blaming other ideological factions or currents of opinion. Alternatively, if acts of random vandalism or provided with a mandate of intervention and artistic questioning.

Although questionable from an ethical point of view and criminalised from a legal point of view, they still are essential instruments: for the reactivation of debates around narratives of "whitening" or historical silencing ("'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' Diz Grada Kilomba", 2016; Trouillot, 1995/2016; Vale de Almeida, 2000; Varela & Pereira, 2020), and the quality of artistic interventions in public space. They also allow for the appreciation of the importance of heritage interpretation for the development of feelings of belonging and preservation of heritage, namely the historical and artistic.

When we question history, we redefine and improve the construction of identity. This path is only possible without masks, ghosts or hidden skeletons, with the courage to look critically and shamelessly at the nudity of works of art. Times of confrontation allow us to reflect, question and denounce the quality of aesthetic and infrastructural

transformations we inhabit, which may lead us to a decadent identity (Goes, 2020, 2021). The issue is not, therefore, in the fact that a community does not value heritage but in the fact that they have not been allowed to experience their collective, pre-existing heritage (Goes, 2020, 2021). The disinvestment in people's schooling prevented them from enjoying a heritage education, which exercises criticism and ensures its safeguard (Adamopoulos, 2003).

The culture of vandalism was institutionalised (Cadela, 2007; Pinilla, 2012; Thörn, 2011) and legitimised by the elites that sponsored it, impacting the public space (Goes, 2020, 2021). Ironically, making a vandalism culture aesthetic (Cadela, 2007; Pinilla, 2012; Thörn, 2011) has perhaps contributed to the assumption of new iconoclastic practices (Goes, 2020, 2021). The critical exercise of art may constitute a necessary condition for a heritage interpretation of public space (Cadela, 2007; Thörn, 2011) by decolonising it. It may give objects a new context that acquired a historical distance within the museum space and update discourses within museums (Adams & Koke, 2014; Clarke, 2021; Gregório , 2015; O'Neill, 2020; Pauls & Walby, 2021; Reilly, 2018; Welch, 2006).

4. Conclusion: The Decolonisation of Art and Curatorial Artivism as Anti-Racist Formative Processes

The decolonisation of urban public space (Correia, 2013; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Silva, 1996) and cultural and educational institutions, museums, and universities (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Roldão et al., 2016) are an ideological instrument. Should aim to deconstruct the imposition of a hegemonic, seductive aesthetic and visual model underlying the needs of consumers, which makes use of racism to justify the economic exploitation of human and natural resources (Hardt & Negri, 2019; Martin & Pirbhai-Illich, 2015).

The decolonisation of historical narratives (Nebbou, 2013; Olaniyan, 1993) within museums and other cultural spaces (Soares, 2020), the adaptation of their discourses, the heritage interpretation of public statues and monuments, the decolonisation of public space, the new context of artistic objects from colonialism in museums (Bina, 2020), contemporary artistic practices (Ribeiro, 2021), the installation of urban public art (Duarte, 2019; Gregório, 2015), new curatorial projects (Clarke, 2021; Gregório, 2015; O'Neill, 2020; Pauls & Walby, 2021; Reilly, 2018), can be powerful instruments of criticism and historical reparation by deconstructing fetishisms (Pires, 2011; Sansi, 2008).

Social movements, research groups and artistic collectives of African descent can develop curatorial projects (Duarte, 2019; Gregório, 2015; O'Neill, 2020; Ribeiro, 2021) and didactic initiatives in performative and plastic arts to interpret the built and artistic heritage amplifying the critical view on historic public space, post-memory (Ribeiro, 2021), colonialism and slavery.

In this regard, it is essential to notice the Resolution 69/16 (2014) of November 18, 2014, by the United Nations General Assembly, which proposes a program of activities to implement the International Decade for People of African Descent (Resolution 68/237,

2013). It seeks to develop awareness-raising actions by states and civil society to encourage equality and the realisation of human rights. To promote the remembrance of slavery and colonialism victims and prevent and combat racial discrimination, xenophobia and associated prejudice (Resolution 69/16, 2014). Some of the main goals of this resolution are promoting cultural diversity, civic participation and social inclusion, valuing the contributions of people of African descent for growth (Resolution 69/16, 2014).

Guided visits, awareness-raising actions for the interpretation and appreciation of heritage, artistic expression workshops, debate forums, along with an interdisciplinary program, outside the doors of institutions can support the practices of inclusion and social cohesion, combating racism and xenophobia (Alvarez, 2009; Bell, 2021; Maeso, 2016; Renou, 2020; Resolution 69/16, 2014).

Art as the epistemology of decolonisation (Balona de Oliveira, 2019; Soares, 2020) allows the adoption of a community aesthetic program (Stavrides, 2016/2021), anti-colonial (Hickel, 2021) that triggers a mindful critique of the social and human development state, fulfilling the duty of denunciation, underlying the social function of art. Contemporary thinking and the dialectic exercised by contemporary art, namely through new curatorial projects (Ribeiro, 2021), have made it possible to criticise the mechanisms of imperialist appropriation (Hickel, 2020, 2021) within cultural institutions (Soares, 2020). Colonialism was at the genesis of the great European art collections, used as a propaganda instrument under the pretext of the Christian and civilised will (Goes, 2020) to hide the real motivations of a hegemonic western elite: domination and economic exploitation of lands.

The devaluation of labour costs, which sustains modern capitalist growth, was ensured over centuries by colonial exploitation (Hickel, 2020, 2021; Vale de Almeida, 2000) via slavery and justified by the cultural backwardness of the racial minority of the dominated peoples. Ideologies that use racism were implanted within contemporary societies to justify labour exploitation and the devaluation of human resources (Hickel, 2020, 2021). Ensuring the maintenance of a "race-based class structure" (Vale de Almeida, 2000, p. 4) guarantees the continuation of labour exploitation and profits maximisation. The end of value formation based on labour exploitation will inevitably underlie the process of cultural decolonisation (Hickel, 2020, 2021; Vale de Almeida, 2000).

Therefore, contemporary cities need to adopt new post-capitalist, post-neoliberal urban planning (Stavrides, 2016/2021), which considers art's deployment and expansion in the public space (Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Frank & Ristic, 2020; Thörn, 2011). The success of this exercise is measured by the impacts caused by the development of collaborative artistic projects, the return of public space to citizens (Stavrides, 2016/2021) and the activation of civic participation processes in the redefinition of the architectural and landscape space (Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Frank & Ristic, 2020; Stavrides, 2016/2021; Thörn, 2011).

Contemporary art (Duarte, 2019; Gregório, 2015; Ribeiro, 2021) can call for a critical debate on history and omissions (Pauls & Walby, 2021) within cultural institutions, museums and universities (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018; Soares, 2020; Roldão et al., 2016), as

well as enhancing the debate in the public and media space, namely, with the youngest, deconstructing institutionalised colonial discourses (Roldão et al., 2016). Immigration, historical and identity questioning, interculturality, religious, musical and linguistic diversity, the end of the empire, post-colonialism (Leupin, 2019), racism, social insertion and the archive are some examples of the themes underlying the concept of post-memory (Ribeiro, 2021), addressed in contemporary artistic discourses.

The journey, research, and artistic work of Grada Kilomba (2019; "'O Racismo É uma Problemática Branca' Diz Grada Kilomba", 2016) exemplify the activation of the debate and invite the spectator to participate in it. Some Afro-descendant authors/artists (second and third generations) who, according to Ribeiro (2021), interpret the concept of post-memory through their multiple artistic practices: Aimé Mpane, Amalia Escriva, Ana Mendes, Délio Jasse, Fátima Sissani, Francisco Vidal, John K. Cobra, Louise Narbo, Margarida Cardoso and Nuno Nunes-Ferreira.

Community artistic interventions in urban public space (Stavrides, 2016/2021), namely, developed by Afro-descendants, can contribute to a process of social inclusion (Resolution 69/16, 2014) and overcome institutional omissions of racism and gender, persistent in many collections and exhibitions (Kilomba, 2019; Pauls & Walby, 2021).

Promenades of heritage interpretation and pedagogical activities in public spaces may contribute to realising human and cultural rights (Resolution 69/16, 2014; Vale de Almeida, 2012). By enriching the development of feelings of belonging (Stavrides, 2016/2021), the mitigation of social inequalities (Bueno Carvajal, 2021; Thörn, 2011), the elimination of conflicts and the phenomenology of violence (Otávio et al., 2009), ensuring cultural diversity (Vale de Almeida, 2012) and the deconstruction of the mythographies of the past (Barthes, 1957/2001).

A socially committed museology (Gouveia, 2013; Á. Pinheiro et al., 2016; Soares, 2020), alongside *curatorial artivism* (Clarke, 2021; Gregório, 2015; Leupin, 2019; O'Neill, 2020; Pauls & Walby, 2021; Reilly, 2018), as political acts and pedagogical practices, can simultaneously enhance the establishment of new post-colonial narratives (Nebbou, 2013; Olaniyan, 1993) and deconstruct neocolonial discourses, as well as promote anti-racist dialectics (Alvarez, 2009; Bell, 2021; Maeso, 2016; Renou, 2020).

The development of collaborative and inclusive curatorial projects (Gonçalves et al., 2021; Leupin, 2019) and the use of inclusive speech in museums (Primo & Moutinho, 2021; Soares, 2020) can free cultural institutions from the burden of heritage (Alcântara Conde da Silva, 2021) and involve diverse communities in the process of identity construction. Other proposals include replacing statues in museums or sculpture parks or placing interpretive information next to buildings (Bina, 2020).

Contemporary art (Rendeiro & Lupati, 2019; Ribeiro, 2021) and curatorial artivism (Clarke, 2021; Gregório, 2015; Leupin, 2019; O'Neill, 2020; Pauls & Walby, 2021; Reilly, 2018; Taussig, 2012) can allow the deconstruction of Lusotropicalist discursive practices (Duarte, 2019), which mythologise Portuguese colonialism (Araújo & Rodrigues, 2018),

under an allegorical cover of a civilising and evangelising duty (Goes, 2020). Maintaining these "old" discursive practices masks the actual impacts of violence and racial oppression (Otávio et al., 2009; Roldão et al., 2016; Varela & Pereira, 2020), leading to more discrimination and the dissemination of racist discourses at present.

Although we gained some progress due to the historical distance, the post-colonial narratives (Nebbou, 2013; Olaniyan, 1993) still have the stigmas of war, the struggle for emancipation, exploitation and loss, replaced by the silencing of memory (Ribeiro, 2021; P. Sousa, 2019). This silence led to a false social consensus, neglecting the horror drama and historical tragedy (Steinmeyer, 2021) to the romanticised travel narratives wrapped in nostalgia (Duarte, 2019; Gregório, 2015).

Questioning totalitarian and racist ideologies and activating the debate on the state of civilisation can be exercised within cultural institutions, namely museums and universities. As a political place, the public space is also a propitious space for the reactivation of this debate, where contemporary art can play a fundamental role.

Duarte (2019) verifies how contemporary art (Rendeiro & Lupati, 2019; Ribeiro, 2021) can be an important critical tool for decolonising thought and questioning history. Gregório (2015) also considers the contribution of the visual arts to the construction of post-colonial identities and the deconstruction of prejudices, basing artistic practice on the affirmation of diversity and discursive plurality. In this way, cultural institutions, namely museums, should invest in a plural program open to the community, promoting multiculturalism (Adams & Koke, 2014; Primo & Moutinho, 2021; Welch, 2006) and collaborative projects, inclusion through art.

Following the provisions of the bibliographic review, it is possible to identify a critical interpretation concerning the use of public space and the art installed in it. It understands the contemporary iconoclastic practices as political instruments that activate the debate around the processes of refusal of the hegemony of the current memory and non-identification with heritage. It concludes that the symbolic hierarchy of buildings and public statues constitutes ideological instruments conveying historical narratives common to totalitarian regimes. The persistence of these narratives makes it impossible to change the cultural paradigm and psyches, which can also jeopardise contemporary democratic processes and the realisation of human rights (Resolution 69/16, 2014). The absence of a critical heritage interpretation creates a gap in understanding history based on reciprocal altruism. Consequently, rather than art in the public space and heritage building forming instruments of social inclusion, they have been accentuating the phenomenology of violence as they perpetuate the legacies of oppression, slavery, and racism, legitimising the new forms of colonialism contemporary (Huntington, 1996; Santos, 2003).

The maintenance of discursive practices that enthrone nostalgia for the colonial past (Duarte, 2019; Olaniyan, 1993), corroborated by structures of the formative power of thought — museum and academy — confirm the difficulty of social emancipation by racial and ethnic-cultural minorities. Furthermore, make it challenging to deconstruct

ontological racism, namely, in the Portuguese case, concerning young people of African descent (Roldão et al., 2016). Cultural diversity endurance (Meyer-Bisch & Bidault, 2010/2014) and historical criticism are predominant premises to ensure social cohesion, which only the decolonisation of thought and art will be able to operate (Duarte, 2019).

5. Limitations to the study

Due to their interdisciplinary character, the subjects under study are worthy of further reflection. The recent iconoclastic events on public statuary, which occurred in Portugal and different western countries, may deserve a particular approach, considering the specificity of their representation. The recommendation is that a future study uses a methodology of questionnaires to the general population and interviews with Afro-descendant curators, artists and activists to deepen the following questions: is contemporary iconoclasm a global phenomenon? How can an anti-racist education contribute to changing the cultural paradigm? Who do the statues best serve? How can contemporary art update the interpretation of historical narratives? Can removing the statuary installed in the public space, namely the commission of the *Estado Novo*, contribute to the decolonisation of thought or accentuate contemporary totalitarian discourses? Can the restitution of historical heritage be an asset to the places of origin, contributing to the cultural identity of these territories or, instead, will it contribute to the perpetuation of relations with the former colonial power, removing pedagogical possibility from the historical correction of the oppressor? How can the redefinition of the economic model underlying urban planning contribute to the democratic process, realising human rights and social inclusion of racial minorities?

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Not to Forget: Memory, Power and the Malê Archive in Amado's Narrative

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Abstract

This article discusses the relations between power, memory, and the archive that surround the Malês revolt, a historical event narrated in *Bahia de Todos os Santos: Guia de Ruas e Mistérios* (Bahia de Todos os Santos: A Guide to the Streets and Mysteries) by the writer Jorge Amado (1977). It seeks to share reflections, tensions, and intentions that the contact with post-structuralist and decolonial studies can trigger before history, as a movement of insubmission able to potentiate a critique of official thought and the elected narratives. The Malê resistance and endeavor to protect their identity is a power expressed in Amado's book, which denounces the physical, linguistic, religious, social, and historical violence experienced by the dehumanization of Black bodies and the erasure of the national history of these popular figures who had participation in struggles for freedom and were silenced in the nation's official narratives. The work developed also aims to understand how the Brazilian novelist approaches these structures forged in the relations of power and control of history and memory used as mechanisms to erase the identities of ethnic minorities on Brazilian soil. The development of this study relied on the theoretical concepts of Derrida (1995/2001), Deleuze (1969/2009), Foucault (1969/2008), Mignolo (2003), Grosfoguel (1996), Quijano (2005), and Reis (1986).

Keywords
archive, power, Malê, memory, history

Para Não Esquecer: Memória, Poder e Arquivo Malê em Narrativa Amadiana

Resumo

Neste artigo, se problematiza as relações entre o poder, a memória e o arquivo que circundam a revolta dos malês, acontecimento histórico narrado em *Bahia de Todos os Santos: Guia de Ruas e Mistérios*, do escritor Jorge Amado (1977), buscando compartilhar reflexões, tensionamentos e intenções que o contato com os estudos pós-estruturalistas e decoloniais podem provocar ante a história, significando um movimento de insubmissão capaz de potencializar uma crítica ao pensamento oficial e às narrativas eleitas. A resistência e a busca malê para resguardar sua identidade é uma potência expressa no livro amadiano, que denuncia a violência física, linguística, religiosa, social e histórica vivenciada pela desumanização dos corpos negros e o apagamento da história nacional dessas figuras populares que tiveram uma participação em lutas em prol da liberdade e foram silenciadas nas narrativas oficias da nação. O trabalho desenvolvido tem por intuito ainda compreender como o romancista brasileiro aborda essas estruturas forjadas nas relações de poder e de controle da história e da memória utilizadas como mecanismos para apagar identidades das minorias étnicas em solos brasileiros. Para o desenvolvimento deste

estudo, foram utilizadas as concepções teóricas de Derrida (1995/2001), Deleuze (1969/2009), Foucault (1969/2008), Mignolo (2003), Grosfoguel (1996), Quijano (2005) e Reis (1986).

Palavras-chave
arquivo, poder, malê, memória, história

1. Introduction

We take a transdisciplinary approach given the contemporaneity of the narrative of *Bahia de Todos os Santos: Guia de Ruas e Mistérios* (Bahia de Todos os Santos: A Guide to the Streets and Mysteries), by the writer Jorge Amado (1977), which enables a dialogue with the knowledge that lies within the postcolonial and post-structuralist perspective and the decolonial thinking, to learn how the modern/colonial domination immersed in its cartography of power involves the historical event referring to the Malê revolt in 19th century Bahia. This episode, included in the narrative, largely illustrates how memory problematizes the unwanted other, this group's resistance stance and search for identity, and the denunciation of its erasure from national history. Silence is taken as a motto to rethink matters of power, history, memory, and the archive in official Brazilian historiography and the role of literature as an instrument to combat and denounce physical, linguistic, religious, social, and historical violence experienced by ethnic minorities.

Amado's narrative circumvents temporality to be immersed in the post-colonial, post-modern perspective. It reaches decoloniality by seeking the emancipation of types of domination and oppression, mainly concerning subordinated groups and the destruction of their memory through power relations, the disintegration of peoples and their cultures, their knowledge that disturbs, contests colonialism, the political and social excesses that exterminate and silence communities, peoples, intellectuals, artists, leaders, among others.

The post-colonial project identifies the oppositional relationship between the colonizer and the colonized to denounce the different forms of exploitation, domination, and oppression experienced by certain groups. Grosfoguel (1996) recognizes the importance of postcolonial studies and the South Asian group of Bhabha, Spivak. However, he adds that they focused on just a single epistemological strand of post-structuralist thinking stemming from the philosophies of Foucault, Derrida, and Lacan and thus have a problem in understanding modernity, proposing to decolonize both subaltern and colonial studies. However, here we are "re-reading the paradigm of modern reason" (Mignolo, 2003, p. 167), based on the theoretical conceptions of Derrida (1995/2001) and Deleuze (1969/2009) and the epistemologies of the South Latin for the proposed reflection because decolonial thinking does not deny reason, but expands the imaginary regarding the production of knowledge, stories, production of knowledge about other peoples.

The theoretical reflections of Foucault (1969/2008), Derrida (1995/2001), and Deleuze (1969/2009) are relevant for the discussion of important aspects of the present

study. Furthermore, we seek to align them with the perspective of decolonial thought that allows us to discuss other issues since this is not an approach of the subaltern reflecting its historical condition, but rather a critique of Eurocentrism, of the silencing imposed on the diminished other, from the writer Jorge Amado, a White man. We cannot evoke the category "place of speech" in its proper sense for this discussion but consider different perspectives to perceive reality. The author Walter Mignolo (2003), who produces one of the main theoretical-conceptual bases of decolonial thinking, widens the understanding of the theory concept, rescuing other forms of rationality outside Eurocentric modernity that theorize the legacies of colonization using two approaches. The first is "a strictly disciplinary position, from the viewpoint of someone to whom colonial legacies are a historical issue, but not a persona matter" (Mignolo, 2003, p. 160). It is a perspective of coloniality from the standpoint of no direct experience. On the other hand, the second happens by "someone whose colonial heritages are ingrained in their own history and sensibility" (Mignolo, 2003, p. 161).

Both perspectives align with the perspective adopted by the writer Jorge Amado. Although he saw himself as a mestizo man engaged in issues of ethnic minorities, he was a White man. However, he recalled history and memory of the Afro-Bahian population would not be forgotten in the vaults of history, as it is possible to note in his considerations through the sensitivity in selected excerpts from the work *Bahia de Todos os Santos* (Amado, 1977). The writer tried to highlight the importance of the memory and political significance of some popular figures in the political and social history of the city of Salvador and national history exactly because these voices are discredited and silenced even today.

Therefore, one of the premises of decolonial thinking is "to reinscribe in the history of humanity what was repressed by modern reason, in its version of a civilizing mission or its version of theoretical thinking denied to the uncivilized" (Mignolo, 2003, p. 158), denouncing the limitation and violence generated within modern society and its produced knowledge, disregarding experiences and knowledge in the name of Eurocentrism and its hierarchical supremacy.

> By insisting on the links between the locus of theorization (being from, coming from, and being in) and the locus of enunciation, I imply that the loci of enunciation are not given but enacted. I am not assuming that only people from such a place could do X. Let me insist that I am not pouring the argument in deterministic terms but the open field of logical possibilities, historical circumstances, and individual sensibilities. I am suggesting that those for whom colonial legacies are real (that is, those to whom they harm) are more inclined (logically, historically, and emotionally) than others to theorize the past in terms of coloniality. I also suggest that postcolonial theorization relocates the boundaries between knowledge, the known, and the knowing subject (which is why I have emphasized the complicities of postcolonial theories with "minorities"). (Mignolo, 2003, pp. 165–166)

Mignolo (2003) does not impose barriers to limit knowledge production to a chosen group of subjects who belong to a specific geopolitical space. According to the author, people who have experienced coloniality would be more inclined to address the issue. However, this does not guarantee they will ponder this condition or may experience difficulty discussing coloniality and colonial difference.

In his proposal to decolonize knowledge, the scholar still understands that macro-narratives need to be submitted to the perspective of coloniality and review what is thought about globalization, aiming at changing the standpoint of enunciation, encompassing local and cultural histories, and remapping cultures of academic knowledge.

> Postcoloniality is a critical discourse that foregrounds the colonial side of the modern world system and the coloniality of power embedded in modernity itself. Furthermore, it is a discourse that changes the ratio between geohistorical sites (or local histories) and knowledge production. The rearrangement of the geopolitics of knowledge is expressed in two different but complementary directions: 1. The critique of subordination from the perspective of subaltern studies; 2. The emergence of liminal thinking as a new epistemological modality between western tradition and the diversity of categories suppressed under westernism; orientalism (as objectification of the locus of the utterance as "alterity"), and area studies (as objectification of the "Third World", as a producer of cultures, but not of knowledge). (Mignolo, 2003, pp. 136–137)

This article discusses the relations between power, memory, and the archive surrounding the Malê revolt, a historical event narrated in the Amadiano guide. It seeks to share reflections, tensions, and intentions that the contact with post-structuralist and decolonial studies, anchored in Mignolo's (2003) ideas, can provoke vis-a-vis history as a movement of insubmission which could potentiate a critique of official thought and narratives chosen from coloniality.

Exploring the notion of the archive in the Malês revolt narrative in the book mentioned above is attempting to make some approximations between the power of memory and the archival present in Amado's guide. The theoretical-philosophical conceptions of Jacques Derrida (1995/2001) on "archive fever" and its argumentative universe of deconstruction, as well as Foucault's (1969/2008) on knowledge and power, will be relevant for a reading proposed here.

In this sense, Derrida's notion of archive (1995/2001) will be useful to think that historical memory constantly goes through stages of repression and maintenance in a conscious way. The archival evil would then be related to the erasure of memory and, consequently, would lead to political, social, and identity dominations. Its purpose is to deconstruct philosophical, literary, and political issues, as well as the dominant system, even if it is part of it, promoting the denial of the existence of the "other" through binary pairs inherited from the foundations of western metaphysics, which favor the first element and excludes the second: man/woman, rich/poor, nature/culture, form/meaning, White/Black, among others.

Regarding Latin America, the ethnic-racial hierarchies built throughout the European colonial expansion are one of the bases of the "coloniality of power", as several researchers called it. Projects that claim to be radical today will not succeed without putting down the colonial/racial hierarchies of White/Eurocentric domination over non-European peoples, as Mignolo (2003) reminds us.

Given the context of Latin America, openness to epistemic diversity helps in the dialogue to think about the different historical realities, the experiences of the current moment, and their memories, which point to continuities and ruptures with cultural hegemony.

2. The Malê Revolt and Resistance

Drawing on this perspective, we will address Amado's narrative that recounts an important historical event in the city of Bahia. The city was the stage for mobilizing enslaved Islamic African peoples, which unleashed fierce opposition against three common practices inherited from the Portuguese colonial system: slavery, political excesses, and religious intolerance. In the attempt to build historical coherence through the concept of the archive and the coloniality of power, we realize that the guide's narrative describes an episode from one of the revolts that preceded the fight for the abolition of slavery and the independence of Brazil: the Malês revolt.

Of utmost importance for the country's history but, to this day, unrecognized and excluded from school textbooks, the great uprising, organized by the Black people of Muslim descent living in Bahia, gave rise to fighting that caused divisions within the city. The author-narrator-character sought to demonstrate the importance of memory about some figures who built the city's history but who are discredited voices in Bahian society. The following fragment addresses the historical traces, often silenced and forgotten, about the Malê revolt and its leader:

> of Brazilian historical characters, my favorite. The most forgotten of all, buried in a deep grave by the slave-owners, from where he has not yet been removed to the pages of history, not even the one written with a capital H and generally concerned only with officially consented and consecrated personalities, not even of that other, truer history, made on the sidelines of the ruling classes' approval (...). Who knows the name, the deeds, the knowledge, the gesture, the face of Alufá Licutã? (...) He led the revolt of Black slaves for four days, and the city of Bahia had him as its ruler when the Malê nation ignited the dawn of freedom, breaking the shackles, and took up arms, proclaiming the equality of men. I know of no history of struggle more beautiful than that of the Malê people, nor of revolt repressed with such violence. (...) The cursed Alufá Licutã expects you to come and proclaim in the public square, amidst the people, his strength, his magnitude, his heroic presence. A hero not only of the Malê nation, a hero of the Brazilian people, and a hero of freedom still fighting slavery today. (Amado, 1977, pp. 27–28)

Jorge Amado (1977) suggests another distinctive approach to history, "with a capital H", that of presence, and offers a decentered narrative driven by the intersections of individual and collective histories. The opposition involving the actions developed by the dichotomous pair of White (Portuguese government authorities) and Black (Malê people) is one of our points of analysis, precisely because of the violent relationship between colonist and slave, defining the revolt remembered in the work of the Bahian writer. The ideas defended by Derrida (1995/2001) in *Mal de Arquivo* (Archive Fever) provide insight into the need to invert these metaphysical hierarchies present in the excerpt above because

> doing justice to this need means recognizing that, in classical philosophical opposition, we are not dealing with the peaceful side-by-side coexistence, but with a violent hierarchy. One of the two terms commands (axiologically, logically, etc.) holds the highest position. Deconstructing the opposition means, first of all, inverting the hierarchy at a given moment. (p. 48)

Derrida's (1995/2001) objection to this premise of western thought, with its logocentric roots, refers to the hierarchical structures that the philosopher wants to deconstruct and the process of sealed, closed archiving as a representative of the metaphysics of presence. We understand that the popular Black hero lacks essentialist representative conditions. Therefore he is outside the official history, as he flees from an accepted White model, the excluded element of western metaphysics, "the most forgotten of all, buried in a deep grave by the slave-owners, from where he has not yet been removed to the pages of history, (...) and generally concerned only with officially consented and consecrated personalities" (Amado, 1977, pp. 27–28).

The writer questions a place that is not dominated, oppressed, and discriminated against by western modernity and challenges it by proposing a new look at the Malês as subjects of their history, that is, the experience of subordinated subjects, these others invisible, who were and still are abused in their condition of being as a result of the process of physical and symbolic conquest.

In this guide's 70s edition, Jorge Amado recovers these collective historical memories from a past to the pages of the great history, the one known and recognized by all, the western canon. His purpose is to urge the removal of these events from the walls of silence, from the violence committed not only against the participants of the revolutionary act itself but also the destruction caused by the death throb emerging even before this event becomes an archive, given the absence of documentary records that did not ensure the retelling of this heroic feat, because, to compose an archive someone has to authorize it, validate it, as follows: "who knows the name, the deeds, the knowledge, the gesture, the face of Alufá Licutã?" (Amado, 1977, pp. 27–28). This lack of records on the protest movement and the erasure of the image of the Malê militant suggests the historical violence he and his people suffered.

The perspective of "coloniality of power" by Aníbal Quijano (2005) makes us think about the continuous existence of colonial domination practices that persist after the

end of colonial administrations. They are products of colonial cultures that still permeate societies structured by the modern capitalist system, such as the fact that the Malê revolt is unknown to most Brazilians and does not appear in the great history manuals or textbooks. Hence, the post-coloniality born within the Eurocentric myth is a fallacy in considering the need for the decolonization of metropolitan centers.

Taking the differential in the power of the Deleuzian simulacrum, which establishes its nature regardless of the characteristics of representation, as a parameter, we understand that the popular Black hero lacks essentialist representative conditions, so he is outside the official history because he is a simulacrum, he diverges from an accepted White model.

This Malê simulacrum emerges from the depth where it was repressed to provoke the observer, here the reader, to take them out of their comfort zone, making them think about the impositions and enunciative limits defined by history revitalization of their political power of resistance.

This excerpt from Amado's work expresses the resistance of the Malê people through their commitment to their knowledge, culture, and identity, materialized by disobedience to the White hegemony that ruled the city and imprinted its Eurocentric values on Bahian society. The Malê posture was a decolonial strategy. The militants questioned coloniality, establishing decolonization as an objective since their projects were directly linked to the need to transform dominant relationships, structures, and institutions, even amid racism. According to Quijano (2005), this is the key factor in organizing the economy, politics, and various forms of power, knowledge, and existence.

The writer Jorge Amado politically activates, as we see it, the symbolic force of a Deleuzian simulacrum (Deleuze, 1969/2009) as he questions official history by leaving aside the trajectory of the Malê people in the struggle for their social, religious, and identity freedom. Thus, the narrative proposes rethinking the old sayings about this unwanted group, banned by the center, to reach another power through the literary text since it comes from the in-between place of history.

Deleuze (1969/2009) addresses the thought of Plato, who conceives simulacra as errors, as ill-founded copies of mimesis, here considered as the official history since it is a narrative of the nation, authorized as a translation of reality. The reversal of the simulacrum, idealized by the French philosopher, is useful to think and demand that the traditional history contested in the guide is no longer the chosen model, as it is just one truth among many others. Therefore, the concept of simulacrum will be used to recover the status of difference and highlight the fragmentation of identity.

Accordingly, Derrida (1967/2002) advocates the deconstruction of discourses to show the ambiguities and contradictions that guide western metaphysical thought and its canonical concepts, which tend to repress the second element of the dichotomy. The critical position of the philosopher in *A Escritura e a Diferença* (Writing and Difference; Derrida, 1967/2002) questions the ruling voices of western society by contesting the concept of truth and center that we perceive to be the core of elected history:

> it was not a fixed place but a function, a kind of non-place in which substitutions of signs were made indefinitely. It was then the moment when

> language invaded the universal problematic field; It was then the moment when, in the absence of a center or origin, everything becomes discourse – provided we understand each other on that word – that is, a system in which the central, original or transcendental meaning is never absolutely present outside of a system of differences. (Derrida, 1967/2002, p. 232)

Based on this thought, Derrida (1967/2002) displaces the domains and brings them closer to the scene of the issue since they are the *différance*[1] itself, an operator that designates the distinct, the non-identical, destabilizing the center to the detriment of differences, of minority groups. The popular hero Malê, invisible, not revered by society, much less by official history, appears in the narrative as a reminder of this contestation, this search for freedom and justice, still ongoing because prejudice still reigns. The narrative confronts the oppressive discourse produced by the elite of Eurocentric descent, always believed to be true.

Derrida (1995/2001) elaborates on the notion of "archive fever" to discuss the preservation of memory and history, entangled in power games that choose what remains or not in the archive, as the death throb wants to exterminate them. Derrida (1995/2001) defines it as follows: "it is not a principle. In fact, it threatens every principle, every archonship primacy, urge to archive. This is what we will later call archive fever" (p. 23). If the archive is repressed, it will soon have no space in memory, leading to psychic consequences (individual memory), or social and political consequences (historical memory). Concerning the Malê event, we only have the "wish for an archive" because memory is an instrument of power, of domination, which can paralyze actions, so only the data of someone's interest, a dominant group, is included. In this case, for that period of the historical event, it is about the official history narrators' White hegemony of western descent.

Institutional power holds the archive, as it selects the information and conveniently disposes of it, organizing the narratives based on its interests, which implies political consequences. That occurs in historiography since official policy privileges repression, enabling the "archival fever", the provoked forgetfulness, and, consequently, the erasure of memory. In this sense, the writer demands that those who are submerged in history not only have a place in the archives but that they be a living memory since the Black Malê leader must be remembered, revered, and proclaimed in "public, amidst the people, his strength, his magnitude, his heroic presence. A hero not only of the Malê nation, a hero of the Brazilian people" (Amado, 1977, pp. 27–28). The philosopher's ideas somehow dialogue with this passage from Amado, nonconformist with this past being silenced, this great personality of Brazilian history being ignored. According to Derrida (1995/2001), the archive would relate to the present and the future, the past referring to those times.

Historical narratives emerge through power relations that select, exclude, and refute historical facts and characters beyond the control of the commanding voices that govern a society. Taking Foucault's studies (1969/2008) in *Arqueologia do Saber* (Archeology of

[1] French term coined by Jacques Derrida (1967/2002). *Différance* plays a game with the word *différer* meaning both to differ and to differentiate. Words and signs would never evoke what they mean to the philosopher.

Knowledge) as a reference, power is formed by power games that negotiate at all times through strategies, and memory is one of them since it is built and linked to forms of hierarchy and subordination. These power relations can be approached from two angles: the first concerns selecting the memory of who or what should be spared from oblivion; the second is about the subjects involved in creating this memory. These Foucault's (1969/2008) considerations suggest that electing a certain truth as absolute is a metaphysical mistake since a movement of repression and meaning is undertaken in the construction of memory.

For Pierre Nora (1993), places of memory remain aware of the automatism of memory and its need to create archives: "if what they defend were not threatened, there would be no need to build them. If we truly lived the memories they involve, they would be useless" (p. 13).

Nora (1993) organizes and presents his distinctions between memory and history, arguing that "memory is life, borne by living societies; it remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulations and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived" (p. 8).

History, on the other hand, is the "reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what no longer exists" (Nora, 1993, p. 9). He states, "history is perpetually suspicious of memory, is always suspect to history, whose function and true mission is to suppress and destroy it" (Nora, 1993, p. 9). This thought is revisited by Beatriz Sarlo (2007) when she says that the past always harbors the conflictive, referring to the fact that it participates both in memory and in history: "history is not always able to believe in memory, and it is suspicious of reconstitution that does not have memory at its center" (p. 9).

The certainties arising from the notion of truth of essence, of existence generate the movement of deconstruction that deceives them and the signs of the official discourse of ethnocentric history, prompting the verification of their meanings, proposing a decentering of their power structures. In such a way, the Malês promoted an upheaval of the center for the sake of differences. They represented language, the intellectual and writing domain; they were the force of *différance* and escaped the imposed rules. In addition, they represent one of the dichotomy elements that suffered exclusion precisely because they were the target of the influence of power.

Derrida's (1995/2001) considerations in *Mal de Arquivo* (Archive Fever) interact with Foucault's (1969/2008) ideas because, for him, power dominates the archives and memory and organizes history. Therefore, it establishes the "official history" through which events circulate, serving specific interests, eliminating everything that bothers through the political control of memory. According to Derrida (1995/2001): "effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and interpretation" (p. 16). The access, constitution, and interpretation of the archive are, in other words, the movement of unveiling, deconstructing this official historical construction, making a critical reading of these forms of repression, of ready-made meanings and invented memories, closed in themselves,

reinterpreting them. As for documents that do not even integrate the archive, we can say that clippings, elections, and selections are made because, to become part of it, certain requirements that are directly linked to the power relations that govern a society and that negotiate the production and meanings of things through the manipulation of language and archives must be met.

Thus, literature supplements the archive since it is a document endowed with symbolic value. Amado's work has made room for and retold the history of this minority group, bypassing the exclusionary device of traditionally authoritarian historical narratives and other forms of discourse.

The writer triggers a political stance as he questions the official history by leaving aside the trajectory of the Malê people in the struggle for their social, religious, and identity freedom. Therefore, the narrative proposes reconsidering the old sayings about this unwanted group, banned by the center, by the voice of command, since it comes from the in-between place of history, to reach another power through the text that oscillates between reality and fiction. As an external element to the structure, the center does not participate in the game of difference, and it does not promote dynamism within the structure. In the words of the guide-writer:

> the repression was so great, so excessive, that even today, the word Malê is still somehow cursed; even today, the Malê ancestry is hidden, silenced, when the reasons for fear have already been forgotten. (...) Little is known about the revolt and its leader. Pedro Calmon dealt with the subject in a novel that seems to have become a victim of the slavers' diktat because, as one of master Pedrinho's first books, I have not heard that it has been reprinted. As for the rest, silence. It is worth asking, where are those young Bahian historians, some with such quality and intellectual courage, who do not research the Malê revolt and do not raise the magnificent figure of the chief? (Amado, 1977, p. 29)

The diversity of non-European peoples and their epistemic diversity harbors "other" knowledge, experiences, cosmologies, and worldviews, with their political bodies of diverse spatio-temporal dimensions seen as "inferior" compared to the so-called "superior" knowledge of White and European origin, selected by those who have a western segregational stance rooted in epistemic racism/sexism in the modern/colonial world and their privileges of narrating. The Malês became a constant threat to the urban slavery supremacy, as they managed to dismantle the military domination of the city from January 25 to 27, 1835. The rebels were restrained by accusations that prevented the Malê project from materializing, leading to the imprisonment and, in some cases, the death of the movement's leaders and members. The Malês sought to maintain their culture so persecuted in Bahian society, overcome social and economic subservience, and fight racism, religious intolerance, and intellectual control. They mastered reading and writing and passed on this knowledge, and the Muslim religious practice, to other Blacks. For such merits, they were not well regarded by slave-owners; they were different and unwanted.

The writer from *Bahia de Todos os Santos* (Amado, 1977) recounts this event so that it can be narrated by other forms of knowledge, as it needs to be remembered through the exercise of memory. The Bahian historian João José Reis (1986) recognizes the importance of this episode and introduces it into his enunciative universe. He archives it as it was and still is the target of historical bankruptcy organized by certain sectors of Bahian/Brazilian society, considering that this great historical event is still unknown and absent from national history textbooks — narratives of this other that is so much part of the Brazilian formation and identity. Thus, we see how the discourse is negotiated in society's existing power relations. According to the researcher:

> during interrogation on February 11, 1835, Licutan refused to disclose the name of any of his collaborators or disciples. He even denied that he was a Muslim, despite all contrary evidence. However, he kept his Malê dignity and identity before himself, the other Africans waiting to testify, and the interrogators. He told the judge his name was Bilal, to which the official angrily replied that he knew his African name was Licutan. The slave insolently replied: "It was true that he was called 'Licutan', but he could take any name he liked". The judge, out of ignorance, missed the fact that Bilal is a very common Islamic name and, in the defendant's case, a name carrying a singular symbolic meaning. In Muslim tradition, Bilal is the Islamic name of the Black helper (*muezzin*) of the Prophet Muhammad, and in West Africa, Bilal became the very denomination of the *muezzin* position (literally the assistant who "pulls" the faithful in prayer). The revolt was still alive in the heart of Licutan, or Bilal, despite the failure on the battlefield. (Reis, 1986, p. 161)

The victory against the Africans in 1835 was achieved through the strong White apparatus, the denunciations of insurgents, and a lack of unity, of partnership with African descendants of different religions and ethnicities. This anti-Portuguese revolt caused a permanent feeling of insecurity between enslaver and slave and did not end the resistance of enslaved people in Bahia. The punishment received by Licutan would be no less severe, given the proportion of his contestation, having to experience an indignant torture, with whippings and punishments:

> the victims were stripped naked, tied up, and flogged on the back and buttocks. Two locations were chosen for this: the Campo da Pólvora de Novo and the Água de Meninos barrack, the same place where the last battle of the uprising was fought. There were times when the authorities feared that the whipping would disturb the peace in the city. The Malê master Licutan's sentence of 1,000 lashes would be executed in a "public place as long as it is not on the city streets". (Reis, 1986, p. 270)

From the moment these subjugated people, during a long period of history, react in an incisive, resistant manner so that they do not annul their cultural and religious references, their issue then becomes public. Despite the oppressive coexistence with the

hegemonic values of western history, it gains strength. Thus, a heterogeneous, dissimilar flow is marked by the rupture with certain chosen models of conduct, establishing an identity with the mark of difference.

Hence, *Bahia de Todos os Santos* fits the literary proposal of "recovering subaltern speech, recovering the voice of the silenced, resorting to the reconstitution of History as the basis of a denounced discourse, directed against another, hegemonic and diametrically opposed" (Augel, 2006, p. 9), proposing a rewriting of these past accounts of the country, within the guide, the fiction, the narratives more broadly, by bringing these events and popular heroes marginalized and forgotten in the basement of official history. It thus reconstructs a history that stands on the margins of the ruling classes' approval.

This movement from the margin emerges from the depths where it was repressed to provoke the observer, here as the reader, to take them out of their comfort zone, making them think about the impositions and enunciative limits defined by history. They are traces of the colonized world discursively constructed from the colonizer's perspective that almost destroys the memory of the civilization of the native peoples and the African trafficked to Brazilian lands. The narration of episodes related to the Malê revolt promotes the revitalization of their political power of resistance and freedom.

The writer Ana Maria Gonçalves (2009) is an example of the realization of a text, the symbolic effect of literature through the experience of reading, and the impact and stimulus caused on the receiver to understand reality. *Um Defeito de Cor* (A Color Defect), she wrote in 2009, narrates, in its prologue, that the writer was looking for a new destination for her life when she entered a bookstore in São Paulo looking for travel guides, with illustrated information about Cuba, its culture, history, and people. She headed to their section, and, suddenly, several guides fell off the shelf, but she could only hold one, *Bahia de todos os Santos: Guia de Ruas e Mistérios*, by Jorge Amado. Reading the invitation in Amado's guide, the work's prologue, she found a reason to travel to Bahia in 2001, when her whole affectionate relationship of interest and historical and literary instigation for the city of Bahia began. The writer says:

> it was *Bahia de Todos os Santos — Guia de Ruas e Mistérios*, by Jorge Amado. That's where the first Serendipity[2] took place. At the time, I was tired of living in a big city, tired of my profession. I had just split up and wanted a new life, in a new place, doing different things and, who knows, fulfilling an old dream: writing for a living. From the day Jorge Amado's book fell into my hands, I knew the place to be happy had to be Bahia. (Gonçalves, 2009, p. 10)

After this unusual contact with the narrative, fruit of chance, according to Gonçalves (2009), who seems to fictionalize this encounter, she decides to venture through Amado's mysterious city, to the point of reading the narrated city itself, its streets, and historical characters. She appropriates the work, and that is when the reception takes place, updated during the contact provided by the reading, allowing interaction processes and

[2] "Serendipity then came the term used to describe a situation where we discover or find something while looking for something else, but for which we had to be, let's say, already prepared" (Gonçalves, 2009, p. 9).

experiences between the work and who receives it, leading to an artistic experience. From that moment on, Gonçalves (2009) decided to embrace the reception, coming to the city of Bahia, as she was in search of happiness:

> still in the bookstore, standing in front of the shelf, I opened *Bahia de Todos os Santos* and started reading a prologue titled "Invitation": "And when the guitar moans in the hands of the serenader in the bustling street of the busiest city, don't you have, girl, a minute of indecision. Answer the call and come. Bahia awaits you in its continual celebration". (...) At the time, I had the feeling he had written those words exactly for me, which became a certainty when I kept glancing at the sweet and tempting invitation. Bahia. Bahia was waiting for me, and Jorge Amado was still alive to introduce me to it. In a later passage, he said: "*come, and I will be your cicerone*". (p. 10)

Amado created the tourist guide with literary writing, considering his skills as a novelist. Therefore, he gets to people's emotions in his interference, reaching the goal of making the "reader-traveler", in the words of Netto Simões (2002), roaming through an unknown place, imagining, being touched, in some way, by the text he reads and assuming the condition of tourist-reader, when traveling, moving to meet the real city. At that moment, the writer focuses on the reader and, with his poetic writing, consolidates this reality, an effect of meaning, affectively involving the reader, materializing the purpose of the text. For Iser (1976/1996), the literary work has two poles: the artistic — which designates the text produced by the author — and the aesthetic — which is the materialization produced by the reader, who updates the text:

> the role of the reader unfolds historically and individually, depending on the experiences and the previously constructed understanding the readers introduce in the reading. It is not random but arises from the fact that the roles offered by the text are always performed selectively. The reader's role represents a range of achievements that, when reached, are given a particular update. (p. 78)

As far as Gonçalves (2009), a Black writer who identifies with the narrative, especially the section addressing the Malês' history, the guide made her travel through the universe of words. Then it made her want to come and check what had been told about the power of the past, which is still very present, given the identity and historical heritages of the population, the elected and official narratives that suppress and erase other narratives, and faces.

The epic narrative in the guide about the heroic deeds of the Malês, with their popular revolutions and unknown in the widely distributed history manuals, also seduced the reader Ana Maria Gonçalves to know these stories, spaces, and places. Surprised by the invitation and the information received about the revolutions of this group excluded from the great narratives, the writer accepts the suggestion the writer makes to historians to study it. Furthermore, he even suggested someone tried to write such a saga in a novel,

as it would be a good subject. From this fortuitous reading of the guide, Gonçalves found a reason to write. The writer then decides to come to the city of Bahia to get to explore, experience, and validate everything she had read:

> I think I left the Cuba guidebooks on the floor, delighted with what I had just discovered, because, although I did not belong to the category of "young Bahian historians", it was clear that the provocation about writing a novel was for me. For almost a year, through the internet, phone calls to Bahia, searching in bookstores, libraries, second-hand bookstores, and borrowed material, I researched the brave, intelligent Muslim slaves Malês, who had been banished from history. Until then, I had never heard of them. That was also a desperate year because all I wanted was to be in Bahia, walk the streets the Malês had walked, enter the churches they had entered, and swim in the sea they had swum. For I was sure that the book wouldn't come out if I weren't there. I believed that something in the air of Bahia would make me hear and feel them, much more than just knowing about them. (Gonçalves, 2009, p. 11)

The problem with history, as with literature, is wanting to represent reality, and this is not easy because the truth is ideological. However, Amado (1997) extrapolates the limits of reality. He goes beyond it by providing a lively and insinuating portrait of human experiences, provoking his readers and making them believe these narratives that might not reach people's emotions with so much impact if told by the official history. He uses the enchanting power of writing in a poetic tone that seduces the reader so that it makes them want to confirm what they have read.

When she got to Bahia, more precisely in Salvador, the writer (Gonçalves, 2009) did her research about the Malês but realized that there was already ample material on their trajectory, which made her give up writing a book on this topic, as she had concluded that other people had already accepted Jorge Amado's invitation. However, to this day, all we know is that this heroic and combative history is unknown to the Bahian and Brazilian people. Gonçalves (2009) had yet another unusual experience because when she traveled to one of the Baía de Todos os Santos' islands, Itaparica, she learned that a priest had donated to a family the old documents from an old church on the island. The tourist eventually found these papers unexpectedly — at least, that is how she narrates it — when she met a 6-year-old boy who was using them to draw. She got the child and his family to donate this material. After analyzing it, she realized that it was written in archaic Portuguese and that it was about the life of a slave that no one knew if she really existed, at least until that moment, although the documents provided real data. It is unlikely that these old papers were used by the child to draw. It seems that she wants to prove the unimportance of that slave's life in her book.

Through them, she learned a little about the life of a very special blind slave who traveled from Africa to Brazil looking for her son. On the crossing, she tells her story, marked by rape, violence, and slavery. Kehinde is her name, and she is also the main

character of the novel Gonçalves (2009) wrote. She was captured in Africa and boarded a slave ship to Brazil as a child. Once in Brazil, the girl was bought by a Bahian farmer to be his daughter's attendant. During her lessons, Kehinde also learns to read and write.

After some time, the girl is raped, has a child, and manages to buy her freedom after a fierce existential struggle. She meets Alberto, a White man with whom she gets involved, but they part. Kehinde could be Luísa Mahin or Luísa Gama, the supposed mother of the poet Luís Gama. She would have been involved in organizing the various uprisings of enslaved people in Bahia in the 19th century. Among these protesting movements, she would have participated in the Malê revolt. The accuracy of the story described in the documents found by Ana Gonçalves, which are now recounted in her book *Um Defeito de Cor* (Gonçalves, 2009), is not known. However, the writer takes Amado's proposal and undertakes a movement of historiographical metafiction to rethink and rescue memories silenced over time and oppressed by the official discourses of power that govern nations.

3. Final Considerations

Amado propose is that the Malê event does not become a fixed, crystallized memory, a reference to a past temporality, but, as we understand it, that the Malê discourse is pulled from the past, from its inertia, to rediscover some of its lost vitality, as we can see in the aesthetic effect, of historical repair, produced in the writer Ana Maria Gonçalves (2009).

Therefore, the *Bahia de Todos os Santos* (Amado, 1977) guide is not meant to be a repository of dead words since it has a mission to fulfill, a saying to the readers of the present and the future, who will learn about this historical fact it describes, giving it meaning, regardless of time. Thus, the work becomes the place of *différance*, of difference, of deferral, allowing the memory of literature to problematize historical, political, and cultural issues, as it is characterized by the ability to build the memory of a people, seeking to update it, so it does not become a dead archive.

The group's resistance and search for their identity are exposed, as is the denunciation of their national erasure and silencing, used as a motto to rethink questions about power, history, memory, and archive in Brazilian official historiography and the role of literature as an instrument to combat and denounce physical, linguistic, religious, social and historical violence experienced by ethnic minorities.

Accordingly, it is of utmost importance that cultural differences are represented and the relations of power and knowledge around them to give epistemic answers of subalternity to the Eurocentric project of modernity seeking to overcome the relations of poverty, invisibility, exploitation, and oppression stemming from power relations.

Translation: Tatiane Almeida Ferreira

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Processes of Ethnic and Cultural Marginalisation in Post-Colonial Africa. The Case of the Amakhuwa of Mozambique

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Abstract

Although the ethnic question has never been an explicit element in the construction of the Mozambican State, it has always characterised the country's public life with relevant but generally disregarded tensions. During the liberation struggle, two ethnic groups allied, the "intellectuals" Ronga and the Makonde "guerrillas", excluding the other peoples of Mozambique from this process that would indelibly mark the history of the post-colonial country. In the socialist era, the motto "kill the tribe to make the nation" continued to procrastinate "ethnic disregard", prefiguring an unsuccessful attempt to impose the authoritarian socialist model formulated by the Ronga and Machangana onto the rest of the country. The same situation occurred with the democratic turn of the 1990s. Faced with formal pluralism, the elements of power, as well as prioritised cultural and artistic elements, were, once again, those produced in the south (timbila and marrabenta) and in the north, by the Makonde (mapiko and sculptures), to the detriment of other peoples, including the Amakhuwa, the most populous group in Mozambique. International donors and researchers contributed to this process of ethnic marginalisation by accepting and developing the agenda proposed by the Liberation Front of Mozambique, interpreting traditional practices, such as initiation rites, as violations of human rights. The research presented here explains how this long process of ethnic disregard was, in fact, a political program designed and implemented from the beginning of the liberation struggle and continued, with adaptations, until today, directly influencing the diffusion of local cultural and artistic production. The approach used is historical in nature, intermixed with analyses of Mozambique's political and cultural policies.

Keywords
ethnic disregard, national identity, marginalisation, artistic production

Processos de Marginalização Étnica e Cultural na África Pós-Colonial. O Caso dos Amakhuwa de Moçambique

Resumo

Apesar de a questão étnica nunca ter constituído um elemento explícito na construção do Estado moçambicano, esta sempre caracterizou a vida pública do país, com tensões relevantes,

mas geralmente negligenciadas. Durante a luta de libertação, dois grupos étnicos aliaram-se, os "intelectuais" ronga e os "guerrilheiros" maconde, de facto excluindo os outros povos de Moçambique deste processo que irá marcar indelevelmente a história do país pós-colonial. Na época socialista, o lema "matar a tribo para fazer a nação" continuou a procrastinar o "esquecimento étnico", prefigurando uma tentativa, malsucedida, de impor o modelo socialista autoritário formulado pelos ronga e machangana a todo o resto do país. A mesma situação se deu com a viragem democrática da década de 1990. Neste caso, diante de um pluralismo formal, os elementos de poder, assim como culturais e artísticos privilegiados foram, mais uma vez, os produzidos no sul (timbila e marrabenta) e no norte, pelos maconde (mapiko e esculturas), em detrimento de outros povos, entre os quais os amakhuwa, o grupo numericamente maioritário em Moçambique. Para este processo de marginalização étnica contribuíram doadores e investigadores internacionais, que aceitaram e desenvolveram a pauta proposta pela Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, interpretando práticas tradicionais como os ritos de iniciação sob o ponto de vista da violação dos direitos humanos. A pesquisa aqui apresentada traz evidências de como este longo processo de esquecimento étnico foi, em boa verdade, um programa político pensado e implementado desde a luta de libertação e que continuou, com as necessárias adaptações, até hoje, influindo diretamente na difusão da produção cultural e artística local. A abordagem usada foi de tipo histórico, com contínuos cruzamentos com a análise política e as políticas culturais de Moçambique.

Palavras-chave
esquecimento étnico, identidade nacional, marginalização, produção artística

1. Introduction

The formation of modern States has gone through complex processes, leaning toward bureaucratic-administrative centralisation and the exaltation of common elements among the various peoples that make up the new political entity. In the case of Europe, this process was constructed through the merging of different territories, with different laws, different habits and, sometimes, different languages (Gustafsson, 1998). Therefore, the modern European State was formed from this mosaic, following a long journey that began with the dissolution of the two main medieval institutions — feudalism and the empire(s). War was one of the weapons used to define the European State towards forming a national ideology necessary to unify the young nations ideologically. In a very simplistic way, this is how the modern nation was "invented" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

The process of formation of the African nation-States was at the same time both faster and more diversified. Only after the end of the World War II did most African territories under colonial rule achieve their independence. It was faster because these territories became independent, usually with no need to take up arms, in a short period of time. The main exceptions were the former Portuguese colonies, which underwent bloody liberation struggles to gain independence from Lisbon. Moreover, the process was diversified due to the varied inclinations of the former metropoles. France, for example, forced African nationalists to take up arms to gain independence in a few cases (such as Algeria), while it chose to negotiate in almost all other circumstances.

Soon after independence, nation-building began to be constructed on an invented history based on old traditions used to justify a unity achieved without bloodshed. That

is the case of Ghana: the seminal study by Kimble (1963) reveals that nationalist or proto-nationalist tendencies began to appear as early as 1852, during the first supratribal movements in the territory of the Gold Coast. According to classic studies of this West African nation (Coleman, 1958), that is also the case in Nigeria. Nationalism and its narrative served to unite both linguistically and culturally various populations against both external and internal threats; such is the case of Ethiopia, one of the symbols of African resistance against the Europeans (Gebrewold, 2009).

The African countries colonised by Portugal had to take up arms to gain their political independence. This "naturally" gave these countries as much as they needed to build a feeling of nationalism, something the other African countries were not to have. Even so, their historical-nationalist narratives somehow sought to establish links between the resistance developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Campos, 2016; Gonçalves, 1999; Monteiro, 2011) and the more recent struggles against the Portuguese colonials. The historical narrative of these new independent nations was constructed, according to official historiography, with the building of the liberation movements in these three countries: in 1956 for both the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, respectively, and 1962 for the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). Starting from the "founding act", the construction of a narrative made of epics, heroes, victims of Luso-Fascist colonialism, internal traitors, remarkable moments and dates began. That was a relatively simple exercise, which led to the construction of official historiography that remains, in these countries, unchanged until today, with attempts at criticism hardly acknowledged in the public space of these nations, as demonstrated by the case of Mozambique as discussed here (Bussotti & Jacquinet, 2021; Khan, 2016).

The article presented here is based on an essential assumption: like any process of building a new nation, there was in the Mozambican case also the tendency, as will be described below, to enhance the presuppositions of national unity starting from a symbolic bond that the liberation struggle brought to peoples as diverse as those living in the geographic space of Mozambique (Dambile, 2014). An alliance of two ethnic groups carried this out: the Machangana and Maronga from the south, who dominated the formation of Frelimo, led by Eduardo Mondlane until he died in 1969; then continued under the leadership of Samora Moisés Machel. It was only in the election of the new president that ethnic cleavages stood out clearly (Ncomo, 2003); Makonde guerrillas from Cabo Delgado formed a second group. They took on such an important role that it was impossible not to recognise them as having an important place within Frelimo. The slogan of the "liberators" was that no allusion should be made to the ethnic components that were forming the new Mozambican nation, giving priority to national identity, "Mozambicanity", still to be invented. This operation passed the temporal space of the liberation struggle, permeated the socialist experience of Samora Machel, and continued, with the given differences, to manifest itself until today, even after the democratic opening of the 1990s.

In various circumstances and by different international actors, Mozambique has been used as a model, first of an Afro-socialist experience, then as an example of

pacification and democratisation. In a socialist era, as recorded by Macagno (2009), the ideal of the "new man" corresponded perfectly to what many South American exiles in Mozambique, as well as European researchers, mainly Italians, had in mind as a rescue model for the peoples of the south of the world, disseminating this image in their own countries. These intellectuals looked with extreme suspicion at ethnic issues. The most prestigious magazine of that time, *Estudos Moçambicanos*, produced by the Center for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University, never mentioned ethnic matters, adopting class or historical perspectives instead (Bussotti, 2006). With the democratic opening, starting in the 1990s, the disillusionment of intellectuals and leftist movements was counterbalanced by "new friends", the liberals of the international financial community. They also spread the idea of Mozambique as a successful case for the African continent internationally. One of the many examples of this trend can be found in an important text that compares the Namibian peace and reconciliation process with Mozambique (Paris, 2004). This document attributes the stability and peacefulness of the Mozambique case to the fact that the civil war that ended in 1992 was the fruit of international work that brought it about, ignoring completely the internal reasons that also contributed to that conflict. Liberal policies and later the democratic opening will also have contributed considerably to the country's stabilisation.

The ideologies changed, but the internal scenario remained practically unchanged. Once again, donors (this time western and liberal) financed a "development industry" made up of large private investments associated with the funding of local non-governmental organisations according to agendas generally defined by these same donors (Macamo, 2006), esteeming those cultural manifestations and artistic activities indicated by Frelimo as priorities and very limited to particular geographic areas and ethnic groups. Particularly the regions of Sofala (with the presence of Ndau and Sena), Nampula (with the presence almost exclusively of the Amakhuwa) and Zambézia (with the Amakhuwa and Machuabo), all territories hostile to Frelimo, were penalised in this process of giving importance to local cultures, which received only cosmetic measures, for instance, the declaration of the first capital of Mozambique, the Island of Mozambique, as a world heritage site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

This research, in the perspective of "ethnic disregard", will first focus on the mechanisms that led to the exclusion of the ethnic agenda in Mozambique, then demonstrate how the ethnic groups outside the Machangana–Makonde alliance, especially the numerically majority group, the Amakhuwa (almost 30% of the country's population), were marginalised, even in their artistic productions, thanks also to the support of the international community.

2. The Disregarded Ethnic Question. A Brief Theoretical Framework

In 1975, when Mozambique gained its independence, there was no Mozambican nation, but only a very vast territory, left as a legacy of Portuguese colonialism. The idea of a Mozambican nation had to be completely "invented" not only from a material point

of view but also and above all, from an ideological and spiritual point of view. A very old and well-known debate has caused "a lot of ink to flow" from the pens of distinguished scholars from Mozambique with different ideas. Indeed, where Cahen (1994) argues that Mozambique was (and probably still is) a "State without a nation", Elísio Macamo (1996) challenges some of the supposed indicators used by Cahen to reach this conclusion. Both authors, however, find a (single) point of convergence: Frelimo, in its "fever to unite" (Macamo, 1996, p. 356), neglected the "ethnic question". Lacking a common foundation for the peoples of Mozambique, some authors have argued that Mozambican identity emerged, at least in the first phase, as a result of their opposition to Portuguese colonialism (Landgraf, 2014), with its increasingly worse violence and its segregationist policy (Cabaço, 2007). An identity, therefore, developed out of opposition, as in many similar circumstances it has happened elsewhere.

The construction of a nation consists, in general, of three great moments. The first is based on consolidating a united identity and common heritage. It is the phase that Anderson (1983) called an "imagined community", made of myths, heroes, and symbolic places. Next, the State begins valuing local and ethnic identities, starting from the various languages and cultures present in the national territory and including artistic and musical expressions. Finally, in the third phase, the state begins to disseminate national and local cultural productions, according to a posture of "cultural democracy", to involve the greatest possible number of people and groups belonging to the nation-state (Landgraf, 2014).

These three phases are not particularly linear and depend on the institutions' approach toward their citizens and how citizens identify with their proposals.

However, in the case of the African reality and the Mozambican reality, the three phases mentioned above need a radical revision: the "democratic" culture diffusion phase has never been attained in Mozambique. Today it is a country considered non-democratic, authoritarian, even about opinions and artistic expression (Statista, n.d.). And secondly, ignorance of the ethnic question has crystallised power relations, including cultural manifestations, which continue to this day. Therefore, the country never got beyond the first of those phases, with "incursions" into the second and third due to the 1990s democratic opening. As Macamo (1996) recalls, ever since the socialist era, the State has organised music and dance festivals showing the ethnic, linguistic and cultural richness of the Mozambican mosaic; rather than spontaneous or democratic expression, the regime has placed artistic expression and cultural activities at the service of politics and ideology. Especially in the centre and north, these "policies proved to be extremely insensitive to the rites, values and temporalities that constitute the identities of those peoples" (Landgraf, 2014, p. 15).

3. Disregard in Act: Notes on the Ethnic Question in Mozambican Politics

The act of forgetting the ethnic question by the Mozambican state (to use the benevolent expression of Macamo, 1996) was not just an institutional matter, limited to

government action. On the contrary, it was pervasive and, with few exceptions, crossed the various spheres of political, social and cultural life in the country.

In political terms, the bases of the post-colonial nation-building process are found in the Samorian socialist ideology, based on a key concept: a "new man" free from exploitation either by colonialism or modern capitalism, but solidary, anti-tribal, anti-regionalist and anti-religious (Cabaço, 2007). The crusade against "traditions" began very early, under the slogan "kill the tribe to give birth to the nation", meaning it would be necessary to eliminate any kind of cultural and linguistic difference for a new nation to emerge from the ashes of exploitative colonialism (Macagno, 2009; Nhantumbo, 2020).

A tribe kills itself, above all, by eliminating its most visible manifestation, its language. The choice of Portuguese as the official language would have seemed to be obvious and necessary, despite later criticisms not historically grounded (Mariani, 2011). However, the young Mozambican State went further: in practice, it wanted to "encourage the fight against the use of the mother tongue in the sectors of collective life and work" in diverse environments, ranging from professional activities to schools and sports and cultural activities (Cossa, 2007, p. 71). For example, on the school grounds, it was strictly forbidden for students to communicate in their mother tongue — in this case, emakhuwa. Sometimes, even the parent of a student found to speak their mother tongue was summoned, as happened personally to one of the authors of this article in Nampula. This type of student was labeled as undisciplined and possibly punished. That was the most revealing aspect of the centralising and culturicidal intentions of the Mozambican socialist State, according to an ideological standpoint that would "repeat (...) the same assimilationist and intolerant grammar in the face of cultural particularisms" as the colonial state had done (Macagno, 2009, p. 21). Although with a greater degree of tolerance and the opening of some Bantu linguistics courses in a few public universities in the country, mainly Eduardo Mondlane, this scenario did not undergo major changes even after the democratic turn of the 1990s.

The second dimension of nation-building and tribe elimination is the school. Law 4/1983 (Lei n.º 4/1983, 1983) established the national education system to combat local languages and practices, such as traditional marriage. At the linguistic level, this was done through teaching in Portuguese, conveying the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The "new man" had to take root in this modernising and "enlightenment" project, which the teacher had to transmit to his students with a "prescriptive, previously designed and articulated" teacher training curriculum: in short, an imposition impossible to oppose (Nhantumbo, 2020, p. 611). With the democratic opening, the vision of the first 15 years of independence underwent some changes: the national education system was updated through Law 6/1992 (Lei n.º 6/1992, 1992), but, regarding the acceptance and promotion of teaching in local languages, the achievements have been limited: while it is true that, in Gaza and Tete, pilot experiments were launched for bilingual Portuguese-local language teaching, it should be noted that, until today, these are pilot projects that have remained isolated, without their institutionalisation at the national level (Nhantumbo, 2020). Even in the third law that regulates education in Mozambique, Law 18/2018 (Lei

n.º 18/2018, 2018), the dimension of local cultures and languages did not make great advances, leaving the ethnic issue still omitted. In parallel, the school textbook was shaped according to the historical narratives that the socialist revolution needed, becoming a prime means of building the "new man" (Borges & Mindoso, 2018). Until today, manuals, mainly on national history, have hardly been changed, praising the epic of liberation and the heroes that made Mozambique independent.

The third and final political dimension relevant for this study concerns cultural policy in the strict sense. Here too, the process of centralisation and forgetting of the ethnic question was evident. Cultural study centres and cultural houses were created in 1977, both under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture. Above all, the cultural houses had the objective of spreading the national culture, therefore the ideal of the "new man" and the modern Mozambican nation (Borges, 2001). After 1983, with the approval of laws disrespectful of human rights (Nhaueleque, 2020), the authoritarianism of a State threatened by an increasingly aggressive civil war was translated, in cultural terms, into the extinction of the Ministry of Culture, whose sector became a secretary of state, only to be classified as a ministry again in 1987. Institutional changes in culture have continued until today, a sign of the Mozambican government's uncertainty about how to approach this matter. A change of some importance took place in 1997, with the approval of Resolution 12/97 (Resolução n.º 12/97, 1997), the first to define the country's cultural strategy. Despite recognising religious and ethnic diversity, funding to put these guidelines into practice has been modest. The plan 2006–2010/2011 itself (Bussotti & Gundane, 2019) intended to promote and value Mozambican culture, but still with "culture" in the singular sense and with the intent to promote patriotism. During this period, the then-president Guebuza, in a speech delivered at the "National Festival of Culture", re-emphasised the relevance of culture (singular) as a means of achieving national unity (Bussotti & Gundane, 2019), thus giving it a secondary role. In truth, politicisation and weakening of local cultural manifestations continued, albeit with slightly different modalities, even after the democratic opening. An example of this weakening dates back to 1978. At the time of the first "National Festival of Popular Dance" (2–3 July 1978, Maputo), groups that addressed social issues were penalised compared to those that dealt with political and patriotic issues (Chibanga, 2019). Today, traditional singing and dancing groups are often used to witness official ceremonies without any reference to their epistemologies, values and traditions, becoming objects of mere folklore to satisfy the demands of the political power of the day.

4. Disregard in Act and Overcoming It: The Ethnic Question in Contemporary Social Studies

Should the ethnic question be excluded from the political agenda in the socialist period, including the research of social scientists closest to the government, the scenario would somewhat be different when considering the literature related to the social sciences after the democratic opening. In this case, traditional practices became the object

of scientific study, as demonstrated by investigations around lobolo, initiation rites, religions and traditional medicines.

The work of social scientists concerning the ethnic question in Mozambique and how it has been ignored since independence, however, seems to have followed a clear direction: on the one hand, some scholars focus on traditional practices in the south; on the other hand, attention has been drawn to the traditional rites of the north, in particular of the Makhuwa and, in part, Makonde culture. The space available here does not allow for as deep an analysis as this subject deserves, as it intersects with national and international power dynamics relevant in post-socialist Mozambique, which have helped to legitimise, once again, Frelimo's political monopoly and has been directly connected to the aforementioned "development industry".

This industry has brought Mozambique some central approaches to studying ethnic issues. Issues for which Frelimo does not have much sympathy but which paradoxically have ended up legitimising the Maronga/Machangana–Makonde foundational alliance.

The first perspective used in the study of traditional practices concerns human rights. This perspective — already evident in the new constitution of 1990 — was strengthened in Mozambican civil society after the foundation of the Mozambican Human Rights League in 1995, whose central figure was, for a long time, Alice Mabote.

This general approach to human rights was associated with a more specific approach to women's rights from a gender, feminist and western perspective. It was mainly promoted by the Nordic countries and their organisations (e.g., Oxfam or IBIS), which had already found relatively fertile ground, mainly in Maputo. Indeed, Frelimo had historically attributed importance to the role of women based on figures that were mythologised throughout the armed struggle; above all, Josina Machel, the first wife of Samora Machel, who died during the armed struggle in Dar es Salaam in 1971. The importance of this was reflected in the founding of the Mozambican Women's Organization in 1973, the main operational arm for recruiting and placing women within Frelimo. The Organization of Mozambican Women has always been a typically urban organisation, frequented by many Mozambican intellectuals, some of whom went on to found another organisation with strong ties to Frelimo (especially in the early years) but formally autonomous: the Fórum Mulher, which emerged in 1993 (Nipassa, 2020), and whose founders were renowned individuals in Mozambique, such as Isabel Casimiro, Teresa Cruz e Silva, and Ximena Andrade. Along the same lines as feminism, but with a more investigative approach, is the Women and Law in Southern Africa (WSLA) Mozambique, created in 1989, probably the central reference for studies on gender in Mozambique, mainly in the area of sexual and social rights, reproductive disorders and gender violence.

That was the atmosphere at the beginning of the democratic turn in Mozambique. One of the great advantages was that in the early 1990s, the tradition of socio-anthropological studies on ethnic issues was almost non-existent. As mentioned above, socialist Frelimo did not have this issue on its agenda, so the main references continued to be linked to two schools, which were often intertwined; feminist-inspired researchers in the 1990s intended to fight and overcome two things: on the one hand, the colonial school

and, on the other, the missionary school (Junod, 1898; Martinez, 1989; Nhaueleque, 2020; Thomaz, 2012). The emphasis on human rights and, above all, women's rights, with a feminist, Eurocentric perspective and aiming to create changes that were expected to be desirable, therefore represented a powerful theoretical weapon through which to interpret traditional practices.

The most active research institution in this area was WSLA Mozambique, which has published several books and a newsletter, *Outras Vozes* (Other Voices), in which the organisation's themes are addressed more synthetically, with a journalistic and popular style. It is possible to emphasise that there are three fields of investigative interest on the part of the WSLA: above all, the role of women in the electoral process and elections; second, domestic violence; and, finally, other publications on women's issues within specific contexts, mainly in the north of the country, such as a publication on discrimination and human rights of women in Pemba and the initiation rites (Osório & Cruz e Silva, 2018; Osório & Macuácua, 2013).

The merit of this group of researchers is undeniable in raising awareness of the violence that women tend to suffer daily in the Mozambican reality, as other activist movements mentioned above boosted the approval of laws and public policies in favour of women. The consideration of traditional practices in the north of the country, above all the initiation rites, however, served to support a preconceived thesis rather than an understanding of the meaning of those rites for the women involved and society as a whole.

The preconceived thesis that was put forward was that the rites had a direct relationship with dropping out of school because, once undergoing the ritual, the girls preferred to stop studying to marry, usually older men. That is a thesis that had already been contradicted by previous research, incidentally also carried out by researchers whose adherence to feminism is not the question.

Signe Arnfred (2015), for example, had shown that, during socialism, initiation rites in the north were considered so backward that several campaigns carried the motto "down with initiation rites" (p. 186). Furthermore, the reaction of the Amakhuwa women was clear, according to the interviews that the researcher carried out: frustration due to the impediment imposed by Frelimo and loss of those community relationships that constituted one of the central elements of the rites.

More recent studies have demonstrated that it is not possible to establish a direct relationship between school dropouts, early marriages, unwanted pregnancies and initiation rites. This fact was confirmed through investigations carried out by this article's co-author in Nampula (Nhaueleque, 2020) and in the recent publication by the National Institute of Statistics regarding the reasons for dropping out of school. Assuming that school dropouts tended to be higher in all northern provinces than in the others, the reasons people gave referred to different elements of initiation rites. According to the majority of respondents who stopped studying, school "is useless", "is too expensive", or "is too far away" (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2021). Also, according to this survey, school dropouts that are the most closely related to early pregnancy issues are more frequent in the south, namely in Gaza, than in the north.

Other studies carried out by international organisations have also considered such practices harmful. For example, according to the study carried out by a Dutch non-governmental organisation, Yes I do, the traditional practices would contribute to the high number of child marriages in Nampula, disregarding the fact that there could be economic factors imposed on families, for example, of seeing marriage as the only way out of poverty by reducing the number of mouths to feed (Pires & Baatsen, 2018). Likewise, initiation rites are considered among the principal factors used to explain the high rate of adolescent marriages in the country:

> dangerous customary practices such as initiation rites have negatively affected the sexual and reproductive health and rights of girls in the country. Under the guise of initiation rites, these young girls are thought to be ready to become good wives. (Coligação para a Eliminação dos Casamentos Prematuros, 2020, p. 5)

Such superficial approaches, which make initiation rites an easy way to explain any social and cultural behaviour among the Amakhuwa, have strongly conditioned the representation of this culture both inside and outside Mozambique, avoiding, once again, a search for understanding its specificity and complexity.

Faced with this scenario, which has resulted in the epistemological impoverishment of the culture and language prevailing in Mozambique (emakhuwa), the approach was different in the south. "Situational analysis" is the standpoint generally adopted for studies of traditional southern practices. Both lobolo and syncretic cults, such as those of the Zione Church, received views of authentic gnoseological interest, seeking to extract the knowledge, epistemologies, and practices that such manifestations contained (Bagnol, 2008; Fernandes, 2018; Granjo, 2004; Honwana, 2002). In some circumstances, lobolo was even considered an expression of the resistance of local societies to both colonialism and repression by the Mozambican socialist state (Furquim, 2016).

If these studies have brought new knowledge to a field that was not much researched until the 1990s, there has been little research dedicated to other practices, certainly less peaceful and more violent, in the south of the country. For example, *kutchinga* has not been the subject of as many studies as lobolo. This form of levirate consists of the widow's need to sleep (i.e., have sexual relations) with one of the brothers (preferably, alternatively, some relative) of her recently deceased husband. After this ceremony, according to local healers, necessary in terms of purification, usually, the two will marry, regardless of whether the man is already married or not: polygamy, especially in Gaza, by the way, the province where Frelimo always got the most votes throughout the country is a usual practice, so the issue does not represent any problem in that society. *Kutchinga* was only formally banned in 2012 (but to this day, it continues to be partially practised). Not because of the obvious violations and traumas it caused the subjugated women (Amadeu, 2021) — who, if they did not agree, were expelled from their husband's house, losing all family possessions — but rather for contributing to the spread of immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS; *Ritual que Propaga a*

SIDA Interditado em Moçambique, 2012). In short, the formal ban on *kutchinga* had to do with public health rather than the widow's rights to freedom of choice. The government, social scientists and donors, nationals and foreigners have carefully addressed that. In central Mozambique, *kutchinga*-like practices (such as *pita-kufa*) have also been poorly studied and are generally related to reproductive health issues (fighting HIV/AIDS) rather than the violation of women's rights (Colher, 2017).

5. Disregard and Its Consequences in Makhuwa Culture

Initiation rites represent only the most visible element of how Makhuwa culture has been approached by researchers whose main objective was to demonstrate preconceived theses on gender issues without having a holistic view of that same culture. The same has been verified about cultural and artistic production.

In this case, the interests of Frelimo and the cultural industry found a "natural" confluence, so to speak, without major contradictions. Since the foreign institutions had limited knowledge of the Mozambican cultural mosaic, the local institutions guided the research agenda, leading, once again, to the prioritising of cultural productions from the south of the country.

Some facts seem unimportant and even lack enough background to appear in a text that purports to be scientific. These are curiosities derived from common sense and very present for those who experience the reality of Mozambique daily. On the one hand, there are typical expressions that even some foreigners have already learned: the *xingondo* designate those who live north of the Save River as inferior and who must subordinate themselves to the superior civilisation of the Maronga and Machangana of the south; the *khanimambo*, "thank you" in Changana language, which was made national, without considering that this term in central and northern Mozambique does not even exist; finally, the entire construct created around the Mmakhuwa woman, at the same time beautiful, mysterious and dangerous, using *mussiro* and knowing the ancestral secrets of witchcraft (Araújo, 2019).

Such a folkloric vision of the culture and the Mmakhuwa woman reveals a central aspect of the construction of the Mozambican national identity: the almost complete lack of knowledge of this culture, its traditions and beliefs.

The two major investments that the Mozambican government made to enhance its artistic expressions, even outside the country, were concentrated, in the south, on marrabenta and timbila. The timbila is a percussion instrument from the xylophone family, originally from Zavala, Inhambane province, from the Chope ethnic group, where, until today, there is a significant production of this instrument.

Zavala and, in general, Inhambane did not have a very good reputation among other Mozambicans, as the rumour had always been that the "manhambanes" had collaborated too closely with the colonial regime, precisely because of their history of timbila. In fact, several timbila groups were brought to Lisbon between the 1950s and 1960s, while in Mozambique, orchestras based on this instrument were often used to honour important

institutional figures, such as the governors-general. The characterisation of the Chope ethnic group as *timbileiros* always available to play for the regime did not help them to acquire a different status from the other Blacks ("indigenous"), but "they began to receive a special reputation" (Morais, 2020, p. 270). With the international fame acquired during the colonial period, the Frelimo leadership's knowledge about the timbila was enough for the socialist State to prize it as a national heritage. Thus, at the "First National Festival of Traditional Song and Music" (held in 1980), timbila took the lead. The timbila, purged of its relations with the Portuguese colonial administration, became the first symbol of the cultural unity of the Mozambican people. This instrument acquired such importance that its image was placed on the first meticais note, replacing the Portuguese shield (Morais, 2020). Therefore, it was not difficult to imagine the reasons for the choice of the Mozambican government when, in 2004, it had to launch the candidacy of one of its artistic productions to be evaluated by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The approval of this instrument as an intangible heritage of humanity came in 2005. Until today, the Chope timbila represents one of the cultural symbols of the country's unity: a symbol that comes from the south, however, which is hardly known or acknowledged by the populations of the north.

The other element of the culture of the south of the country that took on national value was the marrabenta. Despite never having acquired the status of the timbila in national politics, more recently, the marrabenta has undergone a revaluation of its rhythms and its two main exponents, Fany Mpfumo and Dilon Djindji. Also, in this case, the transition of this local dance and music (Maputo) onto the national stage was relatively simple. In the socialist period, the greatest obstacle was the mixture that marrabenta made of the traditional rhythms of southern Mozambique with other western rhythms, which aggravated the socialist elite of that time. However, the same elite invested in marrabenta as national music, including investigations carried out by students and teachers of the only higher music course in the country, which opened in the School of Communication and Arts of Eduardo Mondlane University at the end of the 2000s. Marrabenta was considered the rhythm of "periurban" and nationalist intellectuals, such as José Craveirinha, Noémia de Souza, Bertina Lopes and Luís Bernardo Honwana, all from Maputo (Laranjeira, 2010), as Cabaço himself (2007) emphasizes. This relatively late process of nationalisation of marrabenta is effectively represented by the Mozambican, Rui Guerra Laranjeira (2010): who declared it "the main musical rhythm of Mozambique" (para. 7). The testimonies that the Brazilian Conceição (2021) collected in Maputo from artists who experienced the evolution of marrabenta confirm what was said above. Musicians such as Wazimbo, for example, despite recognising the existence of other musical rhythms in various corners of the country, argue that marrabenta was the only music with sufficient strength "to become a Mozambican rhythm with national identity" (Conceição, 2021, p. 17). That is due to a meticulous political choice and the artistic merits of this music.

In the north, the most valued artistic productions were those of Makonde origin, which, it should be remembered, represent a minority even within the only Mozambican province where these people live stably: there are about 250,000 individuals living in

the Cabo Delgado Plateau, a province that has about 1,500,000 inhabitants, the vast majority of whom are Amakhuwa, followed by Kimwane and Swahili. The mapiko dance is probably the most famous manifestation of this ethnic group. It is a dance that follows a particular musical beat in which men in very elaborate masks dance to establish a bond between the living and the dead, material and spiritual, evoking the ancestors and expressing their visions about being in the world. Given its construction of a nationalist narrative in which the Makonde were the protagonists of much of the armed struggle for independence, the mapiko, with the transformations it had undergone since colonial times (Lopes, 2019), was immediately taken over by the socialist regime. On the other hand, the mapiko was "socialistized", with masks that depicted Makonde military heroes or other allegorical characters representing the civic virtues of that time (Lopes, 2019). Makonde women, who also played an important role in the armed struggle, were allowed to participate in this dance. From this point forth, mapiko never ceased being a reference to Mozambican national unity. It became the subject of international research for its remarkable artistic and anthropological value and because the Maputo government politically directed it. The same is true of the Makonde sculpture, valued internationally.

These cultural policy options are one of the main expressions of the indirect marginalisation of the artistic production of ethnic groups other than the Machangana and Maronga, and the Makonde. The Makhuwa ethnic group has always felt excluded from the process of national unification, and the situation did not improve very soon after independence. For example, in the province of Nampula, the appointed administrators came, for the most part, from the south: Francisco Munguambe, of Chope ethnicity, was sent to administer Malema; Alberto Vasco Matavele, Changana, was appointed to coordinate the Provincial Services of Agriculture in Nampula, Vicente Lourenço Matavel, Changana, went to direct the Cotton Company of Nampula. As someone has highlighted, these were not particularly qualified administrators who had completed, at the most, elementary school, but people who were faithful to the socialist regime and, above all, from the Maronga ethnic group (Lavieque, 2020).

In Zambézia, in 1978, the same pattern occurred, with local populations complaining that the appointed administrators were all from the south (Chichava, 2008). The scenario did not change after changes in 1990 when small political parties with an openly federalist inspiration were formed between Zambézia and Nampula, which tried unsuccessfully to cast the ethnic question back into the mould of the new democracy. The political astuteness of Frelimo also contributed to this failure, which included a policy of co-optation. What happened with Rosário Mualeia in Nampula is an example. From secretary-general of the Association for the Development of Nampula, he was appointed governor of that province and then, after having performed the duties of deputy minister of tourism, he became president of the Ports and Railways of Mozambique.

However, the cancellation of troublesome voices through co-option did not resolve the ethnic question. The Makhuwa ethnic group continued to feel a deep sense of exclusion from Mozambican public life, as the electoral results favoured the Mozambican

National Resistance demonstrated and the adherence of many young Amakhuwa to the Cabo Delgado insurgency.

The marginalisation of their cultural production directly reflects the construction of a nation-state based on the alliance between Maronga and Makonde. Studies on Makhuwa's artistic production are very limited. That is a curious fact that cannot be explained from a scientific point of view, as this culture has expressed, over time, songs and dances as relevant as the marrabenta: for example, tufo, of Arab-Swahili influence, n'sope, nakhula, nsiripwiti, rumba, among others, more Bantu-style rhythms, have interested western scholars as little as the Maputo government, except for a publication that aimed to get to know the tufa to make it fit better within the socialist ideology of the time (Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1980). Probably, the cultural expressions cited above were too distant from Makhuwa cultural miscegenation to include its complex epistemology, which had (and continues to have) in these artistic expressions, as well as in the initiation rites, in the practices of traditional medicine and the role of women, an essential reference of an "other" vision of the world.

6. Conclusions

The epistemicide that Boaventura de Sousa Santos often talks about (Santos & Meneses, 2009) in terms of the north-south relationship is an indisputable fact; however, at least in the case of Mozambique, this culturicide took on the semblance of an ethnic conflict never made explicit (except for the current revolt in Cabo Delgado) within the formation of the Mozambican national State. The study presented here is only a first approach to the problem. It seeks to bring political, cultural and artistic evidence of how "ethnic ignoring" has to be read as a conscious construction, on the part of the two dominant regional ethnic groups, Maronga/Machangana and Makonde, to the detriment of all the others, especially those that did not adapt to the political monopoly of Frelimo, in the different historical periods of post-independence. The result was that a large part of these ethnic groups' artistic and cultural production and epistemologies were marginalised due to the crossfire compounded by the generalised ignorance regarding the subject, the preconceived study perspectives and the internal political interests of the party in the power.

The positive element that this study brings is that, in recent years, a literature that is still incipient but at least existing, in part cited here, is starting to see the Mozambican ethnic issue as one of the central aspects in the formation of the national identity of this country, requiring the recovery of forgotten and neglected epistemologies until today. Therefore, long work is awaiting young researchers who want to resurrect the cultural and artistic wealth of a Mozambican mosaic that has been reduced to the expression of dominant ethnicities.

Translation: Davi Barbosa and Sidney Pratt

Authors' Contribution

Luca Bussotti developed the data curation and methodology of the proposed article, and he also collaborated in the investigation. He was responsible for the project administration, supervision and validation and participated in the overall writing process (writing the original draft; review and editing). Laura António Nhaueleque developed the formal analysis and visualization of the proposed article, and she also collaborated in the investigation. She was responsible for the software and participated in the overall writing process (writing the original draft; review and editing).

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A Decolonial Perspective on Online Media Discourses in the Context of Violence Against People With Disabilities in South Africa

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Abstract

As one of the most violent and unequal societies globally, South Africa is still profoundly shaped by a legacy of segregation and oppression. While race, gender and socio-economic status receive much attention, (dis)ability is an important yet often neglected dimension of inequality. In this article, I adopt a decolonial perspective in discussing online media articles about violence against people with disabilities. By focusing on stories related to issues that received extensive media coverage (e.g. mental health, police brutality and gender-based violence), I problematise the Eurocentric human-rights discourse informing public and scholarly discussions. I also explore the link between current understandings of (dis)ability and the legacy of a violent colonial and apartheid past. As a result of the intersectional nature of (dis)ability, many of the stories involve multiple layers of inequality and different forms of oppression. An explicit focus on extreme forms of institutional and physical violence, while restricting the scope of enquiry, brings the brutality of western modernity and its effects on the people affected into sharp focus. Legal recurse appears to lead to incomplete reparation at best while its failures perpetuate a cycle of marginalisation and oppression. Rather than problematising these structural failures as a result of western modernity and neoliberalism, the media inadvertently obfuscates such links by performing its normative, that is, by identifying and exposing individual culprits or by blaming contextual factors.

Keywords
disability, online discourses, violence, decolonial, South Africa

Uma Perspetiva Decolonial Sobre Discursos dos Média Online no Contexto da Violência Contra Pessoas com Deficiência na África do Sul

Resumo

Como uma das sociedades mais violentas e desiguais do mundo, a África do Sul ainda é profundamente moldada por um legado de segregação e opressão. Embora raça, género e status socioeconómico recebam muita atenção, a deficiência é uma dimensão importante, mas muitas vezes negligenciada, da desigualdade. Neste artigo, adoto uma perspetiva decolonial ao discutir artigos dos média online sobre violência contra pessoas com deficiência. Ao concentrar-me em histórias relacionadas com questões que receberam ampla cobertura dos média (por exemplo, saúde mental, brutalidade policial e violência baseada em género), problematizo o discurso eurocêntrico de direitos humanos que informa discussões públicas e académicas. Também exploro a ligação entre os atuais entendimentos da deficiência e o legado de um violento passado

colonial e do apartheid. Como resultado da natureza interseccional da deficiência, muitas das histórias envolvem múltiplas camadas de desigualdade e diferentes formas de opressão. Um foco explícito em formas extremas de violência institucional e física, enquanto restringe o escopo de investigação, traz a brutalidade da modernidade ocidental e os seus efeitos sobre as pessoas afetadas. O recurso jurídico parece levar, na melhor das hipóteses, a uma reparação incompleta, enquanto as suas falhas perpetuam um ciclo de marginalização e opressão. Em vez de problematizar essas falhas estruturais como resultado da modernidade ocidental e do neoliberalismo, os média inadvertidamente ofuscam esses vínculos ao realizar o seu normativo, ou seja, identificando e expondo culpados individuais ou culpando fatores contextuais.

Palavras-chave
deficiência, discursos online, violência, decolonial, África do Sul

1. Introduction

More than 2 decades after the transition from apartheid to democracy, South Africa remains one of the world's most violent and unequal societies. Physical violence was widely employed as an instrument of racial oppression in the past, and the contribution of the armed struggle in bringing apartheid to an end is part of the collective national memory alongside its non-violent component (Hamber, 1998; Stevens, 2021). Such a troubled legacy persists in various forms in current South African society and public discourse, as evidenced by alarmingly high rates of murder, rape, farm raids, xenophobic attacks, police brutality, violent protests, and so forth (Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Moffett, 2006; Pearce, 2016; Tevera, 2013; Zondi & Ukpere, 2014). While race remains a contentious issue, in recent years, incidents of violence against women, farmers and migrants from other African countries captured media attention (Brodie, 2021; Dalvit, 2021; Mgogo & Osunkunle, 2021). (Dis)ability is a relatively under-reported dimension of inequality, deeply intertwined with race, gender, age, socio-economic status, and so forth (Moodley & Graham, 2015). While an estimated 7.5% of the South African population lives with a disability (Statistics South Africa, 2014), media attention is limited to high-profile stories such as that of paralympian Oscar Pistorius' murder case (Ellis & Goggin, 2017; Langa et al., 2020). People with disabilities in South Africa are often represented according to established tropes (e.g., hero, villain or victim), and stories about (dis)ability fall within tried and tested narratives of either tragedy or transformation (Stadler, 2006). With one of the highest internet penetration rates in the Sub-Saharan region (Chinembiri, 2020), digital inclusion has the potential to enable South Africans with disabilities to shape their own narrative and make their voice heard. At the same time, the online space risks reproducing and entrenching old forms of discrimination and covert micro-aggressions and epistemic violence. In this article, I critically analyse the discourse in online news articles about incidents of violence against people with disabilities. By applying a decolonial theoretical lens, I explore how the attempts at reparation for such incidents reflect and reproduce rather than challenge deeply entrenched forms of coloniality concerning people with disabilities.

2. Disability in South Africa: Past and Present

(Dis)ability activism has a long history in South Africa. While acknowledging very different experiences across racial lines, Howell et al. (2006) note that "under apartheid, all disabled people, Black and White, were discriminated against and marginalised because of their disability" (p. 48). Discriminatory policies and practices were informed by a western theoretical understanding of disability as a condition of dependency and disempowerment, limiting one's ability to express concerns and enforce rights. People with disabilities were marginalised in education, health care, and employment. Though radically different in many respects, the system of the Bantu Education Act and special education for people with disabilities share an infamous history of segregation (Nkabinde, 1993; Soudien & Baxen, 2006). For individuals classified as Blacks, disability was compounded by high rates of unemployment, which secured a valuable reservoir of cheap labour for the apartheid economy (Kelly, 2013). In addition, as noted by Dowdall (1991), many Black people were subjected to institutional violence and actually "disabled" by injuries poorly treated within a segregated and inferior health system, followed by the return to the same conditions that caused such injuries in the first place. Organisations such as Disabled People of South Africa were formed in the 1980s to catalyse the common struggle of South Africans of all colours against oppression and marginalisation during the state of emergency. Howell et al. (2006) noted that such a struggle had two components: a fight for equal rights and a fight to change understandings and perspectives around disability, discussed in the next two paragraphs.

The South African constitution (Welfare Laws Amendment Act, 1996), considered among the most progressive in the world, recognises the need to prevent unfair discrimination based on disability and a commitment to redressing inequalities experienced by people with disabilities in the past (Bhabha, 2009). The former aspect, enshrined in Section 9(3), is given effect by the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (2000). As an example of redressing, South Africa provides disability grants to low-income citizens, for many of whom this is their main source of income (Goldblatt, 2009; Macgregor, 2006). As another example, sign language is actively promoted through the Pan South African Language Board and is recognised as an official language for educational purposes (South Africa Schools Act, 1996). Other pieces of legislation enforce provisions in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), to which South Africa is a signatory. For example, the South African National Development Plan, which provides a framework for mid and long term policy formulation and implementation, explicitly acknowledges information and communication technology as an important tool for the social inclusion of people with disabilities. The gap between policy formulation and implementation is recognised as a challenge for South Africa, and the disability domain is no exception (Howell et al., 2006). For example, despite progressive legislation, the educational experience of people with disabilities is still characterised by marginalisation, exclusion and underfunding (Lyner-Cleophas, 2019; Van Niekerk et al., 2019). In the public arena, policy documents (Department of Communication South Africa, 2017) envisage that (self)representation

of people with disabilities requires informed consent and active participation in the media production processes. However, common media representations of disability as a pitiable condition frame interventions as merciful accommodations rather than lawful entitlements (McDougall, 2006).

Media reflects a society's understanding of disability while at the same time contributing to shaping such understanding. Absence, invisibility or under-representation of people with disabilities in public discussions and forums denote the relatively minor role accorded to such people. When disability is portrayed, relegation to specialised programmes outside prime time slots or dedicated publications with a small readership contributes to "ghettoisation" (Davis, 2017). Goggin and Newell (2005) draw on the concept of apartheid to capture the exclusionary and oppressive role played by the media concerning disability. South African media reflects established discourses, that is, how language is employed to construct people with disabilities in particular manners (Stadler, 2006). Such representations often indicate a specific ideological position that points towards possible remedial strategies. The medical and charity models focus on deficits and represent people with disabilities as helpless, dependent and vulnerable beings who need to be assisted and protected. By contrast, the social model (Barnes, 2019) critiques how disability is constructed through social norms and advocates for change by raising awareness of the distinction between disability and impairment. The affirmative model proposed by Swain and French (2000) foregrounds the abilities, contributions and achievements of people with disabilities and seeks to give them a voice by providing media exposure. As further elaborated below, some scholars (e.g., Grech, 2009) warn that such models may inadvertently reproduce forms of oppression if taken out of context. Alongside countering stigma, propagating progressive ideas and enabling alternative voices, digital technology provides opportunities to extend one's social network, work/study remotely and access relevant information, for example, about health (Goggin & Newell, 2005). At the same time, digital inclusion risks replicating or even exacerbating existing inequalities among people with disabilities (e.g., along racial, gender and socio-economic lines) and with abled bodies (Tsatsou, 2021).

3. A Decolonial Approach to Disability

Dominant public and scholarly understandings of disability fail to account for the historical root and emergence of discrimination and oppression and alternative Global South perspectives, thus falling short of providing a clear avenue for remediation. By drawing on decolonial scholarship, I espouse an understanding of people with disabilities as formerly colonised subjects. Within this perspective, reparation is not one ever incomplete emancipation but rather a full-fledged liberation. Mignolo (2007, 2011) noted that liberation entails a moment of delinking from dominant Eurocentric ways of thinking through epistemic disobedience and a subsequent programmatic moment of (re)construction. Decolonial critiques of the concept of human rights (Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Santos, 2007b), which inform interventions at international and local levels, represent

an example of such disobedience. In calling for the decolonisation of disability studies, Grech (2015) argues that the dominance of a neo-liberal individualistic understanding of personhood and the resulting emphasis on human rights is the product of the violent colonialism associated with Euro-American modernity. In a perverse paradox, individual victories (e.g., as a result of legal action) validate a discriminatory legal system by which many in the Global South are betrayed. The heteronormative nature of human rights, formulated around western concerns, does not account for the possibility of alternative priorities (e.g., ability to contribute to a group's well-being rather than pursuing economic independence). Modern juridical and cultural understandings of disability are premised on a distinction between abled and disabled bodies. In his argument favouring southern epistemologies, Santos (2012) identifies such categorisations, for example, along racial or gender lines, as a quintessential instrument of colonial oppression. As with race or gender, the persistence of hierarchically organised categories separated by an "abyssal line" (Santos, 2007a) entrenches perpetual subordination. Owing to a history of representation as victims in tragic narratives, Fanon's (1963) label of "damnes" is readily applicable to persons with disabilities, whose only option is a hopeless attempt at assimilating and "filling the gap".

The concept of coloniality of ability proposed by Dirth and Adams (2019) captures the need to reconceptualise people with disabilities as a historically oppressed minority possessing a potentially disruptive epistemic and analytical viewpoint (Linton, 1998, 2005). The historical perspective is important in two respects. First, a collective identity based on common experiences of oppression is essential to overcome hegemonic constructions of disability as a purely individual condition of suffering and abnormality that characterises western models. Secondly, the link between past and present is central to the definition of coloniality as the persistent legacy of colonial violence. Regarding the colonial matrix of power proposed by Quijano (2007), violence can be exerted through the coloniality of power, knowledge and being. In terms of the former, people with disabilities are required to occupy dedicated spaces (e.g., special schools) and subject themselves to evaluation as a bureaucratic requirement to access benefits (Dirth & Adams, 2019; Soudien & Baxen, 2006). The epistemicide that results from the coloniality of knowledge manifests itself in pathologisation supported by the powerful (western) scientific discourse that so often justified racial and gender discrimination in the past (Belkhir, 1994). The ensuing coloniality of being results in internalised inferiority and the normalisation of Eurocentric and modern abled bodies as a universal ideal to aspire to and be evaluated against.

4. Methodological Choices and Considerations

A decolonial perspective on discourses around disability requires a critical stance at the theoretical and methodological levels. The relationship between the two is widely recognised as complex and potentially problematic (Resende, 2021; Santos, 2012). Seminal work by Smith (2021) cogently argues for the decolonisation of research methodologies that are deeply rooted in western conceptions of the academy and of what constitutes

proper scholarly enquiry. Such decolonisation entails grappling with the "dirty history" of research methodology (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019) and recognising power differentials in research (Katsui & Swartz, 2021). As pointed out by Maniglio and Silva (2021), "the subaltern in order to survive material and epistemic violence, not only have had to accept the western world but also have had to build their own discourses in that fashion" (p. 160). Techniques for researching discourse have their origins in French or British traditions. With specific reference to a Global South context, Resende (2021) notes that "decolonising critical discourse studies (...) implies recognising that our colonial history and the violence imbued in it cannot be ignored" (p. 34). The author proposes it situated collective analyses as an alternative, emphasising the need for simplified and accessible language to programmatically bridge scientific and common knowledge. Language use and choices are brought into sharp critical focus in analysing discourse. From the linguistic point of view, the term "disability" itself poses particular problems. Unlike race or gender, which encompass both dominant and subaltern categories such as Black or White and male or female, reference to people with disabilities almost inevitably marks their difference from "the rest". For this reason, terms like "(dis)ability" or "dis/ability" are often employed (Goodley, 2014; Schalk, 2019). The use of person-first rather than disability-first language (Blaska, 1993; Mkhize, 2015), that is, "people with disabilities" rather than "disabled people", is a way of redressing past linguistic inequalities alongside avoiding othering or derogatory terms in public discussions and journalistic practice (Green & Tanner, 2009). Such linguistic considerations require critical and decolonial scholars to be attentive and constantly reflect on their own biases while writing. Furthermore, terms referring to different disabilities, many of which have commonly used figurative meanings, such as blind or deaf, pose particular challenges when searching for literature and texts using a search engine.

The present work focuses on online news articles about three crises (i.e., mental health, police brutality and gender-based violence) that received extensive media coverage in South Africa. While other types of crises (e.g., state capture, unemployment, access to water, etc.) were considered, the selected ones pertain to intersections between (dis)ability and socio-economic status, race and gender, three recognised and well-understood dimensions of inequality. Within a qualitative multiple case study, such focus provides the most suitable examples of media coverage of violence against people with disabilities and subsequent reparation (or lack thereof). News articles were purposely selected among those published in 2020 and 2021 on major national news portals such as the *Daily Maverick*, News24, *The Sowetan*, among others (see Appendix, Table A1). Individual articles were identified through an exploratory web search (Hoeber et al., 2017) and selected based on their relevance to the topic of violence and (dis)ability in South Africa and/or mental health, police brutality or gender-based violence. There were considered 15 texts in English from different South African publications. It should be borne in mind that online content in English reflects the viewpoints of the relatively small but culturally dominant portion of the population who consumes news online and who is proficient in the language (Bosch, 2020; Salawu, 2018). With specific reference to the

African context, Bosch (2018) challenges the false binary between the empirical and the interpretive components of media studies research and calls for "a political approach, which illuminates imperial or colonial power relations" (p. 420). In a qualitative study such as the present one, data analysis is a "function of (the) researcher's observations, intuitions and impressions" (Kothari, 2004, p. 5). It introduces a measure of subjectivity in the sampling and interpretation processes. Data is analysed deductively through codes based on the theoretical framework outlined in the previous section (Bingham & Witkowsky, 2022). Since the texts under analysis are cultural products of western modernity, an inductive process (e.g., as part of a preliminary thematic analysis) was avoided as it risked reflecting such Eurocentric orientation. The thematic analysis would not have been suitable as it does not allow for making claims about language use (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Interviews were also discarded because the people directly affected are either dead or severely traumatised. In the latter case, requiring interviewees to relive the experience to "extract" data would have been inconsistent with the decolonial orientation of the present study.

5. Life Esidimeni

The psychiatric component of the colonial condition has attracted the attention of decolonial scholars ranging from Fanon (2008) to Dirth and Adams (2019). In South Africa, an estimated 30% of the population suffers from a mental health condition, which was aggravated by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic (Heyns et al., 2021). People whose case is considered severe are often subjected to controversial practices such as institutionalisation (Freeman, 2018; Ornellas & Engelbrecht, 2018). During the second half of 2016, some 1,500 State patients were moved from the Life Esidimeni contracted private facility to over 100 between non-governmental organizations, psychiatric hospitals and community health care facilities (https://www.lifeesidimeni.org.za/). Such a move, allegedly part of a cost-saving and deinstitutionalisation strategy, resulted in the death of 144 people, likely due to starvation, abuse and/or neglect (*Daily Maverick*, November 24, 2021). It later transpired that many of the facilities were ill-equipped and underfunded (News24, November 23, 2021). Legal action by family members of patients and civil society organisations 5 years after the tranfer, led to no convictions (*Daily Maverick*, November 25, 2021). The most negatively affected socio-economic status plays a key role as privately-funded health care is not an option for the poor. The scholarly enquiry highlighted the failures of the legal system to prevent the movement of patients or ensure accountability and justice (Ferlito & Dhai, 2018; Kabagambe, 2019; Thobejane, 2018). Ornellas and Engelbrecht's (2018) observation that "the subsequent public arbitration hearings cast blame upon certain individuals, but left the deinstitutionalisation process untouched" (p. 296) captures the failure of modern neoliberal approaches (i.e., deinstitutionalisation in this instance) to provide closure or bring about meaningful change. Media and academic texts seem to point toward "the prescriptive standard against which they find traditional societies of the majority world to be the epitome of disability oppression"

(Dirth & Adams, 2019, p. 272). At the same time, the disappointing track record of legal enquiries can be understood as evidence of what Maldonado-Torres (2007) terms "incomplete death". Institutional arrangements inherited from the Eurocentric colonial past maintain survivors and their families in a state of perpetual suffering with no possibility of redemption, meaningful reparation, or actually reaching an end.

Media representations reflect western perspectives and concerns. Reference to this story as the "Life Esidimeni tragedy" in both newspaper and academic journal publications taps into an established tradition of framing narratives around disability discussed above. Consistent with such a narrative, the people with disabilities who died are considered helpless and nameless victims. Two dehumanising strategies are at play when naming such people. First of all, they are often referred to as patients or, at times, users rather than people (see News24, November 23, 2021). Maldonado-Torres (2007) notes the controversy about recognising the humanity of colonised subjects as part of the colonial legacy. Avoiding words like "people" or "person" could be seen as, at best, sidestepping the issue and, at worst, deliberately negating such humanity. The use of "handed over" in the article mentioned above further objectifies the people involved and is reminiscent of forced removals and resettlements under apartheid (Evans, 2019). The second strategy, also identified by Maldonado-Torres (2007) as evidence of coloniality, is aggregating deaths as a way of invisibilising individual personal suffering. People whose death is documented in the Life Esidimeni story are often referred to in figures representing the number of deaths, rendering them "unmournable bodies" in Cole's (2015) terms. When named (*Daily Maverick*, November 24, 2021), individual stories are told by "abled bodies" (often family members). Such form of proxy suffering risks foregrounding the pain and grief of caregivers and making the experience of the people most directly affected invisible. Such invisibilisation reflects what Santos (2012) calls "constructive absence", that is, the colonial practice of erasure deriving from ignoring, downplaying or misreading the subaltern's perspective. People with mental disabilities epitomise the construction of the subaltern as someone irrational, dependent and unproductive, whose voice cannot find meaningful representation in the media.

Media discourses contribute to the construction of people with mental illnesses as disabled or abnormal regardless of recognising traditional healing practices in South Africa, offering different understandings (Booi, 2004). The limited horizon of the possible that Santos (2012) captures in the idea of a sociology of emergence makes it difficult to imagine arrangements alternative to institutionalisation, reparation outside the formal legal process and non-pathologising conceptions of psychiatric conditions. In some indigenous South African cultures, conditions medically diagnosed as depression or schizophrenia can be interpreted as a calling to do ancestral work and become a traditional healer (Lambrecht & Taitimu, 2013). Failure to accept such a call and undergo appropriate training may worsen symptoms. However, traditional healers recognise the possibility and danger of confusing genuine ancestral calling with actual pathological conditions which require proper medical care (*Sowetan*, June 4, 2021). At the same time, people with severe mental disorders may be accused of witchcraft and, in extreme cases, killed (TimesLive,

April 12, 2021). In socio-economically marginalised communities, stigmatisation of traditional beliefs in the media often combines with material degradation and underlying tensions, resulting in symbolic and physical violence against people with disabilities.

6. Police Brutality

The police force has a long history of brutality in South Africa, rooted in apartheid violent repression. As is the case in other parts of the world, physical violence is heavily racialised (Bruce, 2002; Hadebe & Gopal, 2021; Zondi & Ukpere, 2014). On August 26, 2020, a 16 year old boy with Down syndrome was shot by a police officer, allegedly for failing to answer questioning (TimesLive, September 3, 2020). The murder sparked violent protests by members of the Coloured community in Johannesburg, to which the boy belonged and which has a history of tensions with police enforcement agents. The term "coloured" inherited from apartheid's racial classification refers to people of mixed ancestry who share a distinctive cultural and linguistic identity due to discrimination and forced relocation. The senseless murder sparked violent protests by community members, followed by a petition with 120,000 signatures to call for the prosecution of the three police officers. Court proceedings revealed that the accused attempted a cover-up by claiming the boy got caught in the crossfire with gang members (Eye Witness News, October 23, 2021), tapping into a common stereotype of coloured youth as gangsters (Adhikari, 2004). More than 2 decades since the end of institutionalised segregation, race remains a contentious issue in South Africa, and an opposition political party attempted to capitalise on the community's grief. The story also gained international resonance when musician Solange Knowles tweeted about it in the context of racially motivated police killings in the United States. Foregrounding the racial dimension (Independent Online, November 20, 2021; Bedasse et al., 2020), though important in its own right, seems oblivious to the historical tensions between individuals classified as coloured and those classified as Blacks which, as a result of apartheid divide-and-rule policies, to some extent still persist today. Furthermore, an emphasis on the racial aspect and its media resonance comes at the expense of a sharp focus on disability. Media reports fail to acknowledge that the boy in question was killed because he could not conform to ableist expectations in a situation where extreme physical violence and mutual distrust are endemic.

In an unrelated story, on November 19, 2020, an older man was deliberately pushed off his wheelchair by two police officers in Cape Town. The man had gone to the police station to enquire about arrested fellow leaders of a peaceful community protest. He was with another activist who captured his mistreatment in a mobile video and later acted as a proxy with the media. In fact, the person directly affected was traumatised and not in a good space to speak, and as an older man within the Xhosa culture, public humiliation was a particularly demeaning and dehumanising experience for him (News24, November 21, 2020). This is his third time being physically assaulted by the police in his activism for better housing, but no action was taken concerning the past incidents (*Daily Maverick*, November 22, 2020). As a result of the public uproar following the latest story, the two

police officers were suspended, but no apologies or any other form of direct reparation were offered. The activist understood this silence to mean that his mistreatment was considered normal, and he felt that his right to protest was being invalidated.

In both stories discussed in this section, reliance on legal processes resulted in frustration and further dehumanisation. Police brutality needs to be understood within the context of a history of violent protest and tense relationships with marginalised communities, which exemplifies what Maldonado-Torres (2007) calls a "permanent state of war". Under such conditions, ethical behaviour is suspended, and subalterns can be treated as enemies against whom unrestricted use of force is acceptable. Duncan (2016) notes how media representations of protest foreground acts of violence as a justification for the police's brutal response. It is important to note that such a focus distracts from the underlying causes of both the protests and the recurse to violence on either side, restricting opportunities for public understanding and deliberation about meaningful solutions and/or reparation.

7. Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence is recognised as a particularly severe problem in South Africa, prompting President Cyril Ramaphosa to label it as "the other pandemic" alongside COVID-19 (AllAfrica, November 25, 2021). South African women played an important yet often forgotten role in the struggle against apartheid (Sideris, 1998). The link between violence against women and coloniality is amply recognised in the literature (Fanon, 2008; Icaza, 2018; Mack et al., 2018). For example, rape is often used as a weapon to defeat and humiliate the enemy (Siddique, 2019). It is important to associate rape with violence and oppression rather than sexual intercourse within the logic of the permanent state of war discussed above. For women with disabilities in South Africa, rape often fits within an intersectional matrix of poverty and violence (Humphrey, 2016; van der Heijden et al., 2019). Women with disabilities must also contend with a patriarchal culture that assumes nonreciprocal and purely sexual relationships are all they can aspire to.

As reported in the news, Independent Online on October 22, 2021, a woman in Bodibe in the North West province accepted the offer of a man she met at a tavern to accompany her home by pushing her wheelchair. The man instead took her to his home and raped her. A police spokesperson advised women to be vigilant and not accept help from strangers, no matter how kind they may appear. Such a statement is problematic at three levels. First of all, as a common example of victim-blaming, it shifts the responsibility from the rapist to the survivor (Orth et al., 2021). Secondly, it fails to recognise that dependency on others is often not a choice for a person with disabilities, but a necessity brought about by living in an ableist world. Thirdly, the reference to strangers taps into current media imageries (Brodie, 2021) but contradicts evidence that most incidents of sexual violence take place between people who know each other. While this story does not specify the level of acquaintance, the two incidents discussed below involved neighbours and family members.

A 23 years old woman with a mental disability resulting from childhood tuberculosis meningitis and living in Riebeek Kasteel in the Western Cape province was raped by an unknown person as a child and then by her uncle as a young woman (Independent Online, November 27, 2021). The uncle offered R10, an insignificant amount even in a poor and marginalised context, as reparation. While traditional practices inspired by the principle of restorative justice (Burns & Sinko, 2021; Greyvenstein, 2017) may contemplate monetary compensation (including in cases of sexual assault), the necessary community involvement, ensuring mutual recognition and negotiation was absent in this case. The young woman's mother remarked that failure to secure a conviction in the first incident of rape led to disillusion and reticence in reporting the second. Only intervention by local authorities convinced the family to lay charges, despite the very low rate of conviction for this type of crime (Greyvenstein, 2017; Vetten, 2011). A counsellor in the ward who supported the family remarked that:

> there are no structures in this community. That is why these incidents happen. We are on a journey to the 16 days of activism, and for me, the 16 days is a myth to what we witness today, a disabled child that was repeatedly raped. "The system failed her because the police did not take the first case seriously". (Independent Online, November 27, 2021)

The 16 days of activism being referred to are an initiative by the South African government to raise awareness around gender-based violence. Consistent with the Eurocentric perspective informing media discourses, the quote advocates for strengthening modern legal processes and accountability mechanisms rather than recognising their failure. The lack of "structures" representing western modernity is thus identified as the problem, hiding the contribution of the very same western modernity to the patriarchal oppression and marginalisation of women in general and Black women with disabilities in particular, which makes them targets of violence in the first place.

In all news articles discussed up to this point, the relative silence of the persons directly affected calls to mind Spivak's (2003) question, "can the subaltern speak?". The people with disabilities themselves are silent, either because they are no longer because they are too ashamed or are considered incapable of doing so. The only voices represented in direct quotes are from family members, caregivers, or the institutions' representatives. The last story provides a counterexample. On February 14, 2020, a woman with visual impairment in Mokopane in the Limpopo province was sexually assaulted by her neighbour, who had sent her children on an errand (*Sowetan*, February 14, 2020). This incident occurred in the survivor's home between people who knew each other well. As a direct result of such closeness, the woman and her children were repeatedly threatened and pressured to withdraw the case by the perpetrator's family. In the only story among those considered in the present study where the person directly concerned spoke to the media, she did it deliberately to ensure that the culprits would be identified if anything happened to her or her family. In contrast with western notions of speaking out for oneself or raising awareness, her action can be best understood as a defensive strategy and

evidence of faith in community justice as revenge is often the only form of reparation for women with disabilities living in marginalised communities (see TimesLive, May 6, 2021). Media representations limit themselves to condemning physical violence and fail to recognise and challenge the patriarchal structures that make Black female bodies undesirable and, therefore, inherently "unrapeable" (Annamma & Handy, 2021).

8. Conclusions

In recent years, three different South African crises (mental health, police brutality and gender-based violence) received extensive media coverage and provided examples of violence against people with disabilities. The analysis of online media texts in this article suggests that dominant approaches to disability, focusing on legal processes, ensuring accountability or promoting awareness, fail to effectively provide closure and reparation in the case of violence against people with disabilities. Enforcement of individual rights is premised on a Eurocentric perspective and only seems to lead to incomplete reparation. None of the perpetrators in the stories considered in this article was sentenced according to their crime. Furthermore, in two instances, it appears that a previous experience of failed reparation led the protagonists to lose hope in obtaining justice. Awareness campaigns and outrage over violent incidents fit within a western emancipatory script but do not fundamentally challenge coloniality of disability. Some of the stories discussed in this article received extensive and prolonged media coverage, but this appeared to satisfy public curiosity and need for catharsis rather than bring about genuine redress or substantial change. A cross-study overview reveals that media discourses (re)construct people with disabilities as subaltern subjects whose experience is almost exclusively conveyed by proxy. Through familiar narratives of victimisation in a quest to expose injustice, the media actually further normalises the condition of suffering for people with disabilities, implying that coverage is an acceptable form of reparation.

Furthermore, by performing the watchdog role assigned to it by western normative frameworks, the media shifts attention to individual acts of physical or structural violence away from its systemic roots in western modernity. Concerning the three crises under consideration, what remains safe from criticism is the neoliberal order making disability an individual economic responsibility, the State monopoly on violence to ensure conformity and the patriarchal ranking of the Black female body with a disability as worthless. The intersectionality of disability makes it difficult to decouple it from other vectors of inequality and oppression such as poverty, race or gender. At the same time, advances in decolonial scholarship focusing on these other dimensions of inequality can, and should, contribute to a better understanding of (dis)ability in the global south. While a specific focus on extreme forms of institutional and physical violence brings the brutality of western modernity sharply into focus, an investigation of other forms of violence (e.g., symbolic violence, micro-aggressions, etc.) may yield interesting results. As a further suggestion for future research, an enquiry into social media, including posts in African languages, may provide insights into different constructions and alternative discourses. These may contribute to more fluid understandings of disability as an integral part of the human condition.

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Appendix

Publication Name	Type	Years	Number of articles
AllAfrica	Online	2021	1
Daily Maverick	Online	2020, 2021	3
Eye Witness News	Online	2021	1
Independent Online	Online	2021	3
News24	Online	2020, 2021	2
Sowetan	Online	2021	2
TimesLive	Online	2021	3

Table A1 *News articles selection*

Biographic Note

Lorenzo Dalvit is an associate professor of digital media and cultural studies at Rhodes University in Makhanda (South Africa). His current areas of academic interest include digital inequalities, online discourses and mobile media from critical and

decolonial perspectives. Dalvit (co)authored approximately 150 publications and supervised more than 30 students across various disciplines (media and cultural studies, education, African languages, computer science, etc.). He developed/coordinated/taught 15 courses at all levels and for diverse groups of students and presented on curriculum development, teaching innovations and synergies between teaching, research and community engagement at local and international conferences. He is the 2017 recipient of the Rhodes University Internationalisation Award and spearheaded five international mobility projects with Italy, Germany, the United States and New Zealand. He is a rated National Research Foundation researcher and has attracted research and bursary funding from the National Research Foundation and the South African Departments of Basic Education and of Communication, International Research & Exchanges Board and the European Commission.

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Linguistic (De)Coloniality and Interculturality in the Two Main Routes of Brazilian Student Mobility

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Abstract

Although attending universities in Portugal and the United States is still a privilege for those from Brazilian families with high economic capital, policies to promote internationalization intensified and diversified this student mobility flows in the last decade. Guided by decolonial studies, we present, in this article, an analysis of the intersectionality of race and mastery of the English language of Brazilian students in Portugal, and the United States. The results refer to two empirical investigations carried out between 2013 and 2020 and point out that Black students participating in the same mobility program with scholarships in these two countries showed lower English proficiency than White scholarship holders. On the other hand, students from a White economic elite did not indicate the insufficiency of English as a decision factor for choosing Portugal. In our view, these asymmetries must be perceived and problematized from the perspective of coloniality in English teaching in Brazil, which has limited choices and (re)produced inequalities in the space of international education. However, in pandemic times that hasten the transition to virtual mobility, the greater ethnic-racial diversity and socioeconomic range of student mobility from Brazil to Portuguese universities raise deeper reflections on the intercultural (face-to-face) interactions arising from these displacements. The experiences of studying in Portugal have been marked by some linguistic mismatches, like the imaginaries of a subordinate Brazilian Portuguese and a superior Portuguese from Portugal. The constraints stemming from these intercultural (mis)communications between students from Brazil and Portugal can be explained by the contemporary reverberation of the coloniality of Portuguese language teaching in both countries. We will argue that these current tensions in the academic spaces of Brazil's former motherland foster what we have called the "decolonial awakening".

Keywords
student mobility, Brazil, Portugal, United States, linguistic coloniality, interculturality

(Des)Colonialidade Linguística e Interculturalidade nas Duas Principais Rotas da Mobilidade Estudantil Brasileira

Resumo

Embora frequentar universidades em Portugal e nos Estados Unidos seja ainda um privilégio para quem vem de famílias brasileiras com elevado capital econômico, políticas para o fomento da internacionalização têm levado, na última década, a uma intensificação e diversificação desses fluxos de mobilidade estudantil. Guiando-nos pelos estudos descoloniais, apresentamos,

neste artigo, uma análise da interseccionalidade de raça e domínio de língua inglesa de estudantes de nacionalidade brasileira em Portugal e nos Estados Unidos. Os resultados referem duas investigações empíricas realizadas entre 2013 e 2020, e apontam que estudantes negras/os, participantes do mesmo programa de mobilidade com bolsas de estudo nestes dois países, apresentaram menor proficiência em inglês em comparação com bolsistas brancas/os. Em contrapartida, estudantes de uma elite econômica branca não indicaram a insuficiência no domínio de inglês como fator de decisão pela escolha de Portugal. A nosso ver, essas assimetrias devem ser percebidas e problematizadas a partir da colonialidade no ensino de inglês no Brasil que, no espaço de educação internacional, tem limitado escolhas e (re)produzido desigualdades. Todavia, nos tempos pandêmicos que apressam a transição para a mobilidade virtual, a maior diversidade étnico-racial e amplitude socioeconômica da mobilidade estudantil do Brasil para universidades portuguesas suscita outras e mais aprofundadas reflexões sobre as interações interculturais (presenciais) que resultam desses deslocamentos. As experiências de estudar em Portugal têm sido marcadas por alguns desencontros linguísticos, a exemplo dos imaginários de um subalterno português brasileiro e de um superior português de Portugal. Os constrangimentos que resultam dessas (in)comunicações interculturais entre estudantes do Brasil e de Portugal podem ser explicados, pelo menos em parte, pela reverberação, na contemporaneidade, da colonialidade do ensino da língua portuguesa nos dois países. Vamos argumentar que essas tensões, presentes em espaços acadêmicos da antiga metrópole do Brasil, potencializam o que temos designado de "despertar descolonial".

Palavras-chave
mobilidade estudantil, Brasil, Portugal, Estados Unidos, colonialidade linguística, interculturalidade

1. Introduction

The desirable advent of the post-pandemic time seems to hasten the trend towards a hybrid model of internationalization (b-learning) with an impulse towards virtual mobility (e-mobility). In the space of higher education increasingly permeated by capitalist logic, this new dynamic has raised multiple questions (De Wit & Altbach, 2021), among which we highlight the subordination of the intercultural dimension in studies on internationalization (Kim, 2009; Knight, 2003). We argue that the experiences of face-to-face mobility, in interactions with students from the host country (and from other nationalities), are often accompanied by disagreements (stereotyped views, racism, and other forms of discrimination). However, these tensions and lack of communication in academic spaces foster what we have called "decolonial awakening": critical thinking (new or expanded) about the manifestations of coloniality of power perceived as latent and intertwined in social dynamics.

Based on this question, this article seeks to contribute to decolonial studies in the sociology of education, with critical reflections on how the coloniality of English language teaching in Brazil has had repercussions on socio-racial inequalities in student mobility in the United States and Portugal. Furthermore, in the specificity of Portuguese higher education, we reflect on the coloniality of the Portuguese language and the silencing of educational policies and practices in Brazil and Portugal that fail to demystify

the imaginary of a hierarchy between the language varieties, leading to intercultural dialogues between students from these two countries[1], strained by linguistic constraints.

The results presented and discussed in this article are the unfolding of an investigative path that began in 2013, focusing on the United States (Borges, 2015), the main route of student flows departing from Brazil, and concluded in 2020 in Portugal (Borges, 2021), another important destination[2] country. We based our research on an intersectional methodology that prioritized the combined analysis of the racial identity informed by the students[3] with the proficiency in the English language acquired during the school trajectory. Our interest (and main objective) was to show a more accurate perception of how the spaces of international education in the United States and Portugal are intersected by (im)possible choices and (re)production of overlapping levels of inequalities that "at first sight, are invisible" (Lutz, 2015, p. 39). Social asymmetries (educational and racial) were more or less accentuated depending on the country of destination (the United States or Portugal) and the condition of participation in internationalization (student with a scholarship or paying the fees charged by the institutions).

The double investigative path also led us to perceive different expressions of linguistic coloniality in the dynamics of internationalization that, in the case of the English language, has produced and reinforced socio-racial selectivities and, in the case of the Portuguese language, "linguistic racisms" (Nascimento, 2019). Thus, this article also seeks to contribute to decolonial reflections by pointing out and addressing constraints that have come to light in recent intercultural experiences of Brazilian students in Portugal.

In methodological terms, we used qualitative-quantitative intersectionality (Borges, 2021) to analyze statistical data and reports collected through four surveys by online questionnaires and 12 face-to-face interviews with mobility students in Portugal. The answers obtained followed the ethical procedures in research in social sciences, totaling the voluntary and anonymous participation of 1,845 students[4]. The SPSS supported the statistical analysis, and the qualitative analysis technique, of an interpretive and comparative nature, was guided by the decolonial theoretical contribution, focusing on the key concept of "coloniality of power" (Grosfoguel, 2008; Mignolo, 2017; Quijano, 2014).

Bearing in mind that inequalities, coloniality, and linguistic racism are interrelated issues in the investigated student mobility routes and modalities, we present a brief discussion about coloniality in teaching English and Portuguese languages in the first part

[1] Although it is beyond the scope of this article, the *decolonial awakening* at the interface with *linguistic coloniality* should also be investigated of students from former Portuguese colonies in Africa and speakers of Portuguese language variants (Roldão, 2019) all legitimate that should not ranked should also be analyzed. In these cases, the Portuguese language coloniality (of teaching) in the constitution of nation-states in Africa must be problematized as a language of power that shifts from a colonial instrument of domination to a mechanism of anti-colonial emancipation considering the plurilingualism in these territories. As Inocência Mata (2019) points out, "Africans who speak a single language represent a minority in Africa, although this 'advantage' is never taken into account because, in most cases, the second or third language is not a European language" (p. 214).

[2] Investigations were carried out on the academic paths of master's and doctoral degrees, respectively.

[3] In this article, we adopt non-sexist/inclusive language. When it was not possible to avoid binarism, we prioritized the feminine.

[4] Statistical analyzes start from samples with different amounts and correspond to different modalities of internationalization carried out by Brazilian students in the United States and Portugal. The samples and the respective studies are detailed in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 to facilitate understanding.

of this article. The following section discusses social/racial inequality at the intersection of English language proficiency among Science Without Borders (SWB) students in the United States. In the third part, we argue that "global coloniality" (Grosfoguel, 2008) in the Lusophone-European geopolitical space has contributed to Portugal becoming a destination increasingly sought after by Brazilian students belonging to historically favored social segments.

2. Under the Coloniality of the English and Portuguese Languages

Higher education institutions in the United States and Portugal have received, in the last decade, a growing flow of international students in mobility. In the United States, the most sought-after[5] destination, Brazilian nationality stood out among the 10 with the greatest presence[6]. In turn, among international students in Portugal, the group coming from Brazil stood out for being numerically the most expressive[7] and which, in the 6 years before the pandemic crisis, more than doubled (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, 2019). Since 2021, the displacement of students from Brazil to Portuguese higher education has been boosted by the reduction of restrictive border measures and the resumption of face-to-face activities (Amorim, 2021).

Bearing in mind that the United States and Portugal are significant poles of attraction for students, we reflected on the influence of knowledge of the English language on these choices and how they are interrelated to different historical processes. On the one hand, it is necessary to consider the construction of the hegemony of the English language based on "the conquests, colonization and commercial impositions of the British Empire, over two centuries" (Forattini, 1997, p. 4) and the military and technological leadership of the United States in the post-World War II (1939–1945). On the other hand, one must consider the strategic neglect of Brazil's English language teaching policy. We refer, in both cases, to the coloniality of power and its effects on (re)producing inequalities in higher education internationalization. However, coloniality is also imbricated in the expansion and differentiation of the Portuguese language, which brings intercultural tensions, as we will see, in student mobility from Brazil to Portugal.

From the outset, the greater Brazilian presence in Portuguese higher education has been explained by the combination of "Brazilian policies to promote international student mobility; the promotion of strategies for attracting foreign students by higher education institutions in Portugal and, above all, sharing the Portuguese language between the two countries" (Iorio & Fonseca, 2018, p. 3). Although the Portuguese language usually has a

[5] For example, of the 3,700,000 students in mobility in 2017, within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries, 985,000 chose the United States in 2017, 26.6% (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2019, p. 234).

[6] In the academic year 2019/2020, 16,671 students from Brazil attended higher education in the United States (Institute of International Education, 2021).

[7] Of the 22,194 internationals in the country in 2017, 35% came from Brazil. Students from Portuguese-speaking African countries, mainly Angola and Cape Verde, also have an important participation in the mobility of entry into Portugal: 31.4% (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, n.d.).

considerable weight in the choice of where to study abroad[8], the decision for Portugal does not necessarily mean a lack of proficiency in the English language. Students mainly from privileged socioeconomic backgrounds claimed to have a good command of the English language and have chosen to attend a higher education course in Portugal, among other aspects, because of the comfort of the Portuguese language (Borges, 2021).

However, this experience of mobility, which, a priori, seems to ensure intercultural tranquillity due to historical-cultural and linguistic approximations, can be surprised by constraints arising from a blurred vision, from common sense, about *different speech* or *speaking wrong* Brazilian. Such existing "Brazilianisms" are considered to some extent in Portugal as adulteration "of a single norm of a vernacular Portuguese" (Venâncio, 2022, p. 29). However, they should be understood as singularities the Portuguese language in Brazil has acquired, compared to a supposed canon since colonialism, from the contact with the linguistic plurality of native peoples and Africans trafficked as enslaved people, until all other sociolinguistic interactions with immigrants from many different countries. It is worth considering that the Portuguese language is dynamic, and its variants, including the Portugal one, are permeable to constant influences. Therefore, these cultural mismatches between Portuguese-speaking students can be interpreted as pulsations of *vivid coloniality* that discriminate and subordinate the variants of those from countries with a colonial legacy.

The considerations presented so far allow us to perceive that the linguistic coloniality that reverberates, in different ways, in the Brazil–United States and Brazil–Portugal student mobility routes demands a critical, broader, and deeper look at the structuring mechanisms of power that (re)produce, in these privileged spaces of education, socioracial inequalities, and discrimination by the language of the other. This section focuses on the intersectionality of race and educational policies in Brazil aimed at acquiring (or not) the English language, which has repercussions on inequalities and limits choices in the Brazil–United States student mobility.

According to Gabriel Nascimento (2019), the Brazilian State has always promoted "excludable language policies when it comes to those who are not White in the country" (p. 15). This abyssal line would have been even more striking in the period of the military dictatorship with the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (Education Law) of 1971, which encouraged the optional offer of teaching foreign languages in public schools when private centers of language expanded across the country. In the author's view, this political action imposed on Black and poor people, who began attending public schools, "precariousness and abandonment" by denying them, due to economic conditions, the learning of English as a foreign language (Nascimento, 2019, p. 16).

Historically in Brazil, from the imperial period, when law and medicine courses were implemented until very recently, the teaching of English was relegated to the level of a secondary subject in the public schools' curricula, used as a mechanism to ensure privileged training paths for young Whites from the country's political-economic elite.

[8] Of the sample of 394 students from Brazil in Portugal, 48.6% indicated the Portuguese language as the main decision factor in choosing to study in the country (Borges, 2021).

Only with the approval of Provisional Measure 746 of 2016[9], which introduced changes to Law 9.394 (Lei n.º 9.394, 1996; the current Education Law), English became a mandatory subject from the sixth grade onwards. Until then, it was mandatory to offer a foreign language, not necessarily English.

In this problematization, it is worth noting that the Brazilian State, at the height of the 1990s neoliberal policies for education, disregarded orality among the skills/competencies that should be acquired in the guiding documents for foreign language teaching. The understanding was that "only a small portion of the population [had or would have] the opportunity to use foreign languages as an instrument of oral communication, inside or outside the country" (Secretaria de Educação Fundamental, 1998, p. 20). Therefore, a vision of elitist coloniality that, throughout the history of educational policies in Brazil, "reinforced discrimination against the popular classes, who only relied on public schools to learn a second language" (Borges & Afonso, 2018, p. 66).

It was only in the 2000s, in the wake of the educational reforms demanded by the processes of economic globalization, that we observed a shift in the policy of teaching English in Brazil. To analyze this change, one needs to understand how the concept of "coloniality" is associated with the modern and hegemonic languages(s) within the scope of this article, which focuses on the mobility of students leaving Brazil to study in the United States or Portugal, problematized regarding the English and the Portuguese languages. For the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano (2014), to whom the term is originally credited (Mignolo, 2017, p. 2), "coloniality of power" designates the socially hierarchical relationship based on the European invention of racial classification of human beings.

Thus, the concept translates into "the idea that there is no comprehensive logic of capitalist accumulation that can instrumentalize ethnic-racial divisions prior to forming a colonial, Eurocentric global culture" (Grosfoguel, 2008, p. 134). In another more recent text, Grosfoguel (2016a) states that it is the relations of racism, and not economic relations, that are the "structuring logic of all social structures and relations of domination in modernity" (p. 158). From this perspective, Nascimento (2019) considers that "language is a position in this structure" (p. 19). Therefore, racism would bring, in definition, the scope of plurality (Grosfoguel, 2016b; Grosfoguel et al., 2015). In other words, depending on the different colonial histories, the superiority/inferiority hierarchy that characterizes the coloniality of power is constructed through different racial markers, such as skin color, ethnicity, *language*, culture, and religion.

Although in Brazil, the Portuguese language, imposed as a *national language* by the Portuguese State in 1757[10], brings with it the legacy of colonial violence regarding the subordination and extermination of indigenous and African languages, *the coloniality* that we mobilize in this text is that of *language racism* towards *Brazilian Portuguese* felt or witnessed by students in Portugal. It must be borne in mind that the Brazilian language, in its idiosyncrasies, has much more than regional accents and its own words, but also

[9] Converted into Law 13.415 (Lei n.º 13.415, 2017). On the mandatory provision of the English language, see Article 35-A, § 4.

[10] The document *Diretório dos Índios* (Directory of Indians; 1758) determines the replacement of the general language (the language of *Tupinambá* origin used by the Portuguese to dialogue with the native peoples of Brazil) with the Portuguese language.

the soul, memory, and linguistic resistance of indigenous and African people. In the classic book *Línguas Brasileiras* (Brazilian Languages), Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1986) draws attention to the incorporation of words of *Tupinambá* origin into the Portuguese language, mainly in the nomenclature of fauna and flora, due to the "prolonged coexistence" in the 2 first centuries of colonization (p. 21).

It is worth remembering here the neologism "pretuguês" created by Lélia Gonzalez (2020), "which is nothing more than a mark of the Africanization of Portuguese spoken in Brazil" (p. 128). With this, the anthropologist and precursor of the Black and feminist movement in Brazil questions the criticism of the "wrong Portuguese" in Brazil, especially that spoken by the poorest people with less education. She explains that

> the tonal and rhythmic character of African languages brought to the New World, and the absence of certain consonants (the L or the R, for example), point to a little-explored aspect of the black influence in the historical-cultural formation of the continent as a whole. (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 128)

According to Gonzalez, "pretuguês" is Brazilian Portuguese, which, as we have seen, is involved in a historical process rooted in colonial power structures.

However, since the early 2000s, this "process of silencing the *pretuguês*" (Melo & Mira, 2021, p. 1401) has been broken with advances in Brazilian educational policy, such as the mandatory teaching of history and culture of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous people in schools (Lei n.º 11.645, 2008). Thus, teachers incipiently and growingly adhere to anti-racist pedagogical practices aligned, above all, with decolonial perspectives. Within this vision, the teaching of Portuguese, as a mother tongue, must be oriented towards overcoming the ideological-political apparatus still "conditioned by a policy of linguistic colonization and, therefore, by process of racialization" (Melo & Mira, 2021, p. 1397). This mechanism of colonial violence, according to the authors, acted both to "crystallize" the "fiction of a linguistic homogeneity" and to "stigmatize" the linguistic variations of racialized people, subordinating or making their identities, cultures, beliefs, and epistemologies invisible (Melo & Mira, 2021, p. 1397).

It is in this sense that Walter Mignolo (2003) states that languages "are also the place where knowledge is inscribed" (pp. 632–633). As discussed, Brazilian indigenous languages are very different from each other and present "a unique system of human expression, in which the effects of a life experience and intelligent analysis of the world accumulated through the countless generations of a people crystallized" (Rodrigues, 1986, p. 27). This reading of Rodrigues (1986), which approaches a critical decolonial perspective, is important because it not only informs us those Brazilian languages are very different from Portuguese but that they also translate "multiple views of the world of Brazilian indigenous peoples [developed] with complete historical independence regarding Asian and European cultural traditions that characterize Western civilization" (p. 27).

In today's Portugal, which, to some extent, has sought to decolonize from the epic of *discoveries and conquests*, it is important to listen to these Brazilian student voices because they denounce, among other, the reverberation of the Brazilian Portuguese

language coloniality, which has been considered a "Portuguese subaltern" (Borges & Afonso, 2018). As we see it, these criticisms emerging during the mobility experience, in cultural (mis)encounters with Portuguese speakers (here we are also thinking of students leaving African countries affected by Portuguese colonialism), flag a decolonial awakening. Such is the case in the following excerpt from the testimony of a Brazilian student who declared herself to be White and who attended the Education course at the University of Minho in the academic year 2019/2020:

> I think there is a lot of historical prejudice. Our Portuguese mixed with many other things, and it has, of course, many differences compared to the Portuguese here. While they have European Portuguese as a nicer, more formal thing. It is the Portuguese of the colonizer, that European figure. (as cited in Borges, 2021, p. 23)

It is necessary to reflect on the origin and reason for this common sense in Portugal that Brazilians speak *Brazilian*. At first glance, this distinction seems to reinforce a linguistic hierarchy of subordination of the language spoken and written by Brazilians, which could be interpreted as *linguistic racism*. As we have discussed, knowing the Brazilian Portuguese language means being aware of the linguistic plurality of Brazil and the *linguistic coloniality* of (European) Portuguese that led to an imperial "linguicide" (Nascimento, 2019, p. 39), that is, to the extermination of native languages[11] and those of African peoples trafficked in the following centuries to colonial Brazil.

In decolonial critical thinking, the Brazilian subaltern is perceived much more than a colonial legacy of the language of Camões because it aggregates the linguistic contributions of different peoples, including other Europeans, Asians, and Arabs. Thus, even though Portuguese in Brazil contains "a European memory", it "has been historicized differently due to the contact with different languages and due to the historical-social formation itself and subsequent political transformation of the colony into an independent nation" (Mariani, 2004, p. 22). Brazilian Portuguese is a plural language impregnated with memories of linguistic resistance. Indeed, to know its history is to walk through the decoloniality of the Portuguese language.

As we know, linguistic coloniality in Brazil did not end with the end of colonialism. In contemporary times, it persists, for example, in the absence of decolonial policies aimed at informing and valuing the linguistic plurality of the country. To a large extent, at the institutional level and interactions of daily life, one can see the spread of an image of Brazil as a nation where only Portuguese[12] is spoken. By producing linguistic hierarchies and erasures, the coloniality of the Portuguese language in Brazil also leads to linguistic racism beyond national borders. Thus, the prejudices that Brazilian students in Portugal sometimes suffer or witness in academic spaces (and not only) "may still be remnants

[11] It is currently estimated that between 150 and 180 indigenous languages are spoken in Brazil. When the Portuguese settlers arrived, 5 centuries ago, there were estimated to be something close to 1,200 indigenous languages (Museu do Índio, n.d.).

[12] The Portuguese language was officially recognized by the Brazilian State in the 1988 Constitution. On that occasion, there was a debate as to whether the official language should comply with the nomenclature of Portuguese or Brazilian language (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, n.d.).

of the past", says anthropologist Patrícia Ferraz de Matos, in a report by Mariana Durães (2021) published in the *Público* newspaper, in the edition of May 5, 2021. According to the researcher, linguistic racism is expressed, for example, in the belief that the influences received by (subaltern) Portuguese in Brazil made it "less pure than European Portuguese, which is sometimes associated with its own identity, associated with the country's antiquity in Europe" (Durães, 2021, para. 20).

The "purity" of the so-called European Portuguese is also a myth, the result of a "primary, irrational anti-Brazilianism" that has been fought by a linguistic approach that "faces" the influence of Brazilian Portuguese "with no moods, as a natural phenomenon" (Venâncio, 2022, pp. 13, 15). Carlos Fino (2019) wrote a thesis on the roots of Portugal–Brazil estrangement and (mis)communication. He argues that the intensification of flows of people and business between the two countries in recent decades may have contributed to a mutual overcoming of intercultural linguistic barriers. However, "the core of the Brazilian imaginary about Portugal and the Portuguese imaginary about Brazil does not seem to have undergone substantial changes". That usually translates into "criticism, contempt, disdain, ignorance, oblivion" (Fino, 2019, p. 50) on both sides of the Atlantic.

These linguistic constraints experienced in contexts of student mobility in Portugal enhance, among other aspects, what we have called "decolonial critical awakening" (Borges, 2021). An awakening, in general, that is partial and gradually growing as the readings and academic experiences, added to life stories and family memories, allow a broader and deeper critical look at "the historical continuities of coloniality in the contemporary education" (Roldão, 2019, p. 163). In general, according to Roldão (2019), this coloniality in Portugal is imbricated in a policy of linguistic assimilation that has prioritized programs to reinforce *European Portuguese* for immigrants and students arriving from former African colonies, thus hindering the "recognition of other Portuguese standards" (p. 175). A critical look to which we can add the importance of decolonial pedagogical projects in Brazil and Portugal, oriented towards the appreciation of the varieties of the Portuguese language and the fight against linguistic racism.

On the other hand, considering the global panorama of knowledge-based economies, linguistic coloniality must be analyzed as establishing a matrix of power that contemplates the capitalist logic. In this light, the process of linguistic coloniality presents hierarchies on the world map of the internationalization of higher education, with the English language acting as a vehicle for the dissemination of excellent scientific production and contributing to strengthening the United States and other countries. English speakers as the "global centers of intellectual influence" (Larson, 2018, p. 521). That is where, as international statistics show, the flows of Brazilian student mobility have followed, which is now seen as a potential and profitable niche market (Spears, 2014).

Nevertheless, how can it be explored if there is a gap in the mastery of the English language in Brazil? The coloniality engendered in the Brazilian educational agenda, which historically postponed, as we have seen, the teaching of English to the poor and Black student population, reveals its side effects and paradoxes in the capitalist dynamics of internationalization (Borges & Garcia-Filice, 2016). In the next section, the analysis of data from participants in the SWB in the United States, a mobility program recognized

as the Brazilian State's largest investment in the policy for higher education internationalization, demonstrates the inequalities in the intersectionality of race and proficiency in the English language.

3. Studying in the United States: The (Im)Possible Choices

The SWB program, launched in 2011, within the political-ideological spectrum of a new economic and social developmentalism of the Brazilian State, translated the euphoria of the ruling elites into the aspiration to see the country inserted, actively and competitively, in the global economy of knowledge panorama. In this context, the English language leaves the position of complementary discipline to join the most prestigious curricula. However, despite the efforts and interests in the sphere of government policies, there was neither time nor breath in the public budget to overcome the historical negligence in the teaching of English in Brazilian public schools.

From the start, the SWB faced the lack and urgency of policies aimed at increasing proficiency, especially in speaking and writing skills, of students applying for internationalization. In order to meet the audacious goal of sending 100,000 scholars abroad in 4 years, the government needed to increase the financial contribution to pay for classes in English (or another foreign language) in the host country for scholars who had insufficient command of the language. From a sample out of the 1,283 this program scholarship holders[13] who completed part of their undergraduate studies in United States institutions between 2012 and 2015, 40.8% declared that they had taken an English course for up to 16 weeks abroad to "improve language proficiency" (Borges, 2018, p. 134).

This study showed that English language proficiency was closely associated with racial self-identification. As detailed in Table 1, the conversation was the least dominant among the language skills analyzed[14], especially among poorer Black students who attended public schools.

English Language Ability	Racial Category Mean	Statistical Significance ($p \leq 0.05$)
Reading	White = 4.58 Black = 4.10	(p = 0.000)
Writing	White = 4.03 Black = 3.48	(p = 0.000)
Conversation	White = 3.67 Black = 3.16	(p = 0.000)

Table 1 *English language skills of Science Without Borders scholarship holders in the United States*

Source. Borges, 2015

[13] The sample stems from the feedback to a virtual research survey (Borges, 2015) sent via email linked to the profile of each fellow, information publicly accessible on the internet through the platform of the Science Without Borders – Scholars Around the World Program.

[14] Responses to an online survey question, using a six-point interval scale, where the student was told to tick between 1 (*lowest mastery*) and 6 (*highest mastery*) for English language skills. The average thus points to the central tendency of the scholarship holders' scores on that scale. Statistical significance from comparing the difference in means (*Student t-test*, with *p*-value less than or equal to 0.05) was calculated with the support of the IBM SPSS Statistics 18 software (Borges, 2015). In Tables 2, 3, and 4, obtained in a later investigation, version 25 was used (Borges, 2021).

In addition to racial identity, students' knowledge of the English language was intersectionally analyzed with other variables, such as income and family education, school trajectory, and ways of acquiring the language (Borges, 2015), revealing that greater or lesser proficiency is linked to other factors that interfere in mobility choices. Therefore, the coloniality that intertwines race and class/income in Brazil must be considered by public policies for granting scholarships abroad, correcting historical injustices, and contributing to disrupt the mechanisms of (re)production of inequalities.

More recent research (Borges, 2021), referring to a sample of 263 SWB scholarship holders who completed mobility in the so-called "world-class universities"[15], indicates a considerably higher level of proficiency in English, as we observed when comparing the data in Table 1 with those in Table 2.

English Language Ability	Racial Category Mean	Statistical Significance ($p \leq 0.05$)
Reading	White = 5.83 Black = 5.75	(p = 0.200)
Writing	White = 5.34 Black = 5.19	(p = 0.189)
Conversation	White = 5.33 Black = 5.16	(p = 0.146)

Table 2 *English language skills of Science Without Borders scholarship holders in world-class universities*

Source. Borges, 2021

As can also be seen from the reading of the two tables, who self-referenced as White indicated greater mastery of the language, denouncing, along with other studies and statistics, how many educational inequalities in Brazilian society are connected to the historical process of coloniality of power, that is, of racial hierarchy and social exclusion of the Black[16] population. This critical look at student mobility from Brazil to the United States within the scope of SWB impelled us to investigate student mobility to Portugal, having an initial interest to understand the interrelation of the absence of the language barrier to a possible greater presence of students coming from disadvantaged social contexts.

4. Studying in Portugal: Linguistic Privilege and Racism

Although internationalization has become "a distinct and exclusive attribute of elite education in Brazil" (Windle & Nogueira, 2015, p. 178), it is necessary to investigate whether the new opportunities for student mobility in Portugal, following the end of the

[15] This sample consisted of fellows who completed mobility in 24 universities in Australia, Canada, South Korea, the United States, Hong Kong, and the United Kingdom. The selection criterion was based on research universities listed among the 30 best ranked in two prestigious international rankings taken as a reference within the scope of the Science without Borders Program in 2011: the QS World University Rankings and THE World University Rankings.

[16] Although *Black* is not a category of color/race classification officially adopted in Brazil, it is usually used in statistics from official bodies and surveys to group people who declared themselves Black and Brown.

SWB program, are not reinforcing the historical[17] trend of race and class privilege in the Lusophone-European space of international education. Considering that Portugal stands out among the main destinations for Brazilian students, we cannot fail to consider to what extent the coloniality in teaching the English language in Brazil is interposed as a linguistic border for English-speaking countries. Consequently, we indirectly ask whether Portugal does not represent the possible choice for a specific profile of students who do not master English or any other foreign language.

Table 3 brings together the averages in English language skills of 205 scholarship holders of the SWB program in Portugal.

English Language Ability	Racial Category Mean	Statistical Significance ($p \leq 0,05$)
Reading	White = 4.73 Black = 4.35	(p = 0.013)
Writing	White = 3.70 Black = 3.14	(p = 0.002)
Conversation	White = 3.75 Black = 3.26	(p = 0.010)

Table 3 *English language skills of of Science Without Borders scholars in Portugal*

Source. Borges, 2021

When comparatively analyzing them with the data in Table 2, related to students who completed mobility in "world-class universities", we noticed they had a lower command of the language. However, it should be noted that the English proficiency of this group of fellows in Portugal was quite like that of program participants who attended universities in the United States (Table 1).

There are political-administrative explanations within the scope of the SWB to understand the reason why students with relatively little knowledge of the English language were selected for mobility to the United States. As the command of English proved to be a problem for the program to reach the goal of funding 100,000 students abroad, the Brazilian government decided to accelerate actions to expand the offer of English language teaching in public universities while setting less stringent selection criteria in terms of English proficiency. Added to these measures is the possibility of attending English classes abroad. In short, all this alignment in the program has opened opportunities for students from historically disadvantaged backgrounds to study in the United States.

It is worth remembering that, given the strong demand for Portugal in the first public calls, placing the country even ahead of the United States among the most chosen destinations, the Brazilian government banned sending scholarship holders to Portuguese universities. In a controversial decision, 10,336 students previously sent to Portugal were

[17] Between 1700 and 1771, the increased mobility flow to the University of Coimbra ranked Brazilian students "in the top positions of the hierarchy of the places that had the most graduates among their natives" (Fonseca, 1999, p. 527). They were sons (men) of the landowning elite, formed by sugar mills and coffee plantations owners.

relocated to eight non-Portuguese-speaking countries, including the United States, which received 27.6% of scholarship recipients from this group (Borges, 2021, p. 190). The following testimonies from students who transferred from Portugal to the United States illustrate our argument about coloniality in English teaching (Borges & Afonso, 2017, p. 82):

> the language course represents a big step towards acquiring the scholarship because, for example, if you are proficient in English, you can apply for the scholarship in several countries. It was not my case because I was not proficient in any language and had applied for Portugal. (White student, public school graduate)

> In my case, I was relocated to the US because I had applied for a scholarship in Portugal. Thus, if it were not for this relocation of students to other countries, I would not be able to get the scholarship to the USA, as I never had the opportunity to take an English course. (Brown student, public school graduate)

In effect, Brazil granted the United States "a position of evident preference within the framework of the then newly created Science without Borders Program" (Santos & Almeida-Filho, 2012, p. 56), giving it the primacy of moving forward with its "expansionist economic and cultural policy" in the field of international education (Borges, 2015, p. 104). From a critical decolonial perspective, we can interpret the political decision to prioritize and reorient mobility flows to English-speaking countries as a passive insertion of Brazil into the (capitalist) knowledge economy. For Grosfoguel (2008), this dynamic goes by the name of "global coloniality" (p. 126). According to this view, the "post"-colonial world is a myth because constitutive elements of the colonial matrix of power were not extinguished with the end of colonial administrations, like the Eurocentric/Euro-American forms of knowledge. Thus, global coloniality implies considering that countries located in the global south, in the case of Brazil, are kept in "colonial situations" of oppression and exploitation "by dominant ethnic-racial groups" (Grosfoguel, 2008, pp. 126–127).

In the competitive global context of internationalization, universities from different countries have sought to achieve and maintain excellence in scientific research production and teaching, attracting international students counts in the main classification rankings. In this way, student displacements from Brazil to the United States are part of the gears of global coloniality. Furthermore, English, the hegemonic academic language, should also be perceived as representative and a voice for the political-economic power of global coloniality in the space of internationalization. Nevertheless, this coloniality of the English language has been, to some extent, contested in the field of applied linguistics by authors who adopt theoretical/decolonial perspectives of English as a translingual practice (Haus & Albuquerque, 2020).

In the Lusophone-European geopolitical space of the internationalization of higher education, global coloniality shows its hidden face in the sequence of policies and

strategies that have resulted, in the last decade, in the intensification of student flows from the former colonies, mainly from Brazil (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, 2019). Recent research results (Borges, 2021), attentive to student flows from Brazil to Portugal since the end of the SWB program in 2016, inform us that those Portuguese institutions are configuring themselves as privileged spaces for White student mobility, composed of students from families with high economic capital. This profile has been characteristic of students who use the national high school exam (ENEM) scores as an entry method. Since 2014, with the regulation of the Estatuto do Estudante Internacional (International Student Statute) by Decree-Law no. 36 (Decreto-Lei n.º 36, 2014), public and private institutions of higher education in Portugal are authorized to create actions to "strengthen the capacity to attract foreign students, through a special competition for access and entry into the undergraduate and integrated master's study cycles" (Preamble, para. 3). The University of Coimbra was the first to sign an agreement with the Ministry of Education (MEC) of Brazil to use ENEM grades. Since then, 51 Portuguese institutions have offered this form of admission (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira, 2021).

The MEC has positively reported these agreements and interpreted them as an international appreciation of ENEM. In 2016, as president of the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira, Maria Inês Fini, identified as the creator of the exam, said that "it is an honor for Brazil that students can circulate with a Brazilian credential recognized by universities abroad" (Borges, 2021, p. 193). However, the Brazilian government has not shown interest in using ENEM to implement a policy to encourage international mobility, which could benefit students from historically subordinated social groups and unable to pay the tuition fees charged by Portuguese universities.

Therefore, unlike SWB and private or institutional mobility programs that offer scholarships, the student who decides to study in Portugal through ENEM will have to pay the tuition fees of the institutions. On a website, the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira, linked to the MEC and responsible for the preparation and application of the ENEM, makes this condition clear by highlighting that "inter-institutional agreements do not involve the transfer of resources and do not provide for student funding by the Brazilian government" (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira, 2016, para. 7). It should be noted that, even in mobility programs that result from bilateral institutional agreements with fee and tuition waivers, students will have to pay expenses such as food and accommodation.

Although affirmative action policies in Brazil have contributed to "the current situation of massification and expansion of educational opportunities to new audiences" (Nogueira, 2017, p. 233), studying abroad is still a privilege of race and social class. Even in the case of Portugal, where language is not a barrier, attending a higher education course in one of its institutions is a financial issue that requires budget planning, as reported by a 26-year-old White student from a low-income rural family in the South of Brazil, who had

to save part of her salary as an English teacher for almost 3 years, to accomplish her goal to study for 5 months in Portugal: "society only works effectively for those who can pay, and it makes no sense. It's totally wrong, it's not fair" (Borges, 2021, p. 224).

Based on a sample of 94 students who enrolled in Portuguese higher education institutions through ENEM, Table 4 below shows that the level of proficiency in English is higher in the group of those who self-identified as White.

English Language Ability	Racial Category Mean	Statistical Significance ($p \leq 0.05$)
Reading	White = 5.28 Black = 4.38	(p = 0.001)
Writing	White = 4.69 Black = 3.81	(p = 0.006)
Conversation	White = 4.86 Black = 3.81	(p = 0.001)

Table 4 *English language skills of national high school exam students in Portugal*

Source. Borges, 2021

However, in a comparative analysis with SWB scholarship holders (see Table 3), students who enroll in Portuguese universities through ENEM tend to be more proficient in English, regardless of racial identity. Therefore, in the context of student mobility to Portugal, 2 centuries after the end of colonialism in Brazil, we see the interface of coloniality of power in reverberations of linguistic racism and educational disparities, unveiled by the intersectionality of race and English proficiency. We are faced, therefore, with a complex question on which we had already reflected before:

> thus, if, on the one hand, the Portuguese language is subordinate in the dynamics of the hegemonic globalization of education, on the other hand, it stands as a counter-hegemonic option for socially disadvantaged groups of students who are visible on international mobility routes. (Borges & Afonso, 2018, p. 69)

5. Final Considerations

... The ellipsis we used to initiate this paragraph should be interpreted less as a sign of disobedience in writing and more as an emphasis for the last reflection. The three-point graphic sequence imprints the sense of movement, strangeness, and critical thinking. With this, we want to emphasize that in the decision/action of moving from Brazil to study in another country, students from different racial identities and socioeconomic contexts see an increased possibility of conquering, from cultural (mis) encounters, a decolonial awakening. Thus, the experience of linguistic racism reported and critically reflected by some students in Portugal who, as we have seen, is part of

the historical process of the coloniality of the Portuguese language potentiates new or deeper ways of thinking. In this sense, student mobility in its intercultural dimension has the power to denounce, transform, and liberate, contributing to the decoloniality of both the minds in intellectual formation and of practices and policies in education that promote and reproduce inequalities and discrimination. Finally, the results we present, based on data collected during two sequential academic investigations (Borges, 2015, 2021), followed the objective of making visible the interrelationships of English language teaching with the coloniality of power and inequalities in the two main internationalization routes taken by students from Brazil: The United States and Portugal.

Translation: Fernanda Moreira Ferreira

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Cyberspace as Denunciation: Harassment and Discrimination Linked to Coloniality in the Project *Brasileiras Não Se Calam*

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Abstract

The stereotype of the Latin woman is commonly associated with sexuality. Brazilians seem to be particularly burdened by this stigma among Latin women worldwide. As immigrants, intersected by other matrices of oppression in addition to those of gender and race, for example, these women bear various marks remaining from Eurocentric coloniality that belittles and silences them (Mignolo, 2000/2003), a circumstance that is aggravated when the country of emigration is their coloniser. This article explores resorting to cyberspace as a forum for denunciation and feminist activism through a case study of the profile @brasileirasnaosecalam based on content analysis. The project appeared on the digital social network Instagram to anonymously report the harassment, discrimination and prejudice that Brazilian immigrant women suffer in Portugal, specifically for carrying their own nationality. Thus, through cyberactivism, which is also feminist activism, women are now experiencing a new cycle of political opportunities driven by the building and consolidation of ties among them around the globe, breaking down binarisms, including those between the first and the third world, in an appeal to cross-border articulation (Timeto, 2019). That shows the relevance of pursuing an ontological vision underpinned by a decolonial and intersectional feminist perspective that uses cyberfeminism as an ally to interconnect the digital and the real space.

Keywords
cyberactivism, immigration, xenophobia; *Brasileiras Não Se Calam*, cyberfeminism

O Ciberespaço Como Denúncia: Assédio e Discriminação Vinculados à Colonialidade no Projeto *Brasileiras Não Se Calam*

Resumo

O estereótipo da mulher latina é comummente associado à sexualidade. Dentre elas, as mulheres brasileiras parecem carregar ainda mais este estigma mundo fora. Enquanto imigrantes, interseccionadas por outras matrizes de opressão além de género e raça, por exemplo, estas

mulheres veem-se sujeitas a diversas marcas ainda remanescentes da colonialidade eurocêntrica que as inferioriza e silencia (Mignolo, 2000/2003), o que é agravado quando o país de emigração é o seu colonizador. Este artigo explora a utilização do ciberespaço como campo de denúncia e ativismo feminista através do estudo de caso do perfil @brasileirasnaosecalam, a partir da análise de conteúdo. O projeto surge na rede social digital Instagram com o intuito de denunciar, de maneira anónima, assédios, discriminações e preconceitos que mulheres imigrantes brasileiras sofrem em Portugal, especificamente por carregarem consigo a sua própria nacionalidade. Assim, através do ciberativismo, também feminista, as mulheres dispõem de um novo ciclo político de oportunidades impulsionadas pela construção e consolidação de laços entre elas ao redor do globo, rompendo binarismos, também entre primeiro e terceiro mundo, num apelo à articulação entre fronteiras (Timeto, 2019). Constata-se a relevância de empreender uma visão ontológica que se apoie numa perspetiva feminista decolonial e interseccional que utiliza o ciberfeminismo como aliado de interconexão entre o espaço digital e o real.

Palavras-chave
ciberativismo, imigração, xenofobia, *Brasileiras Não Se Calam*, ciberfeminismo

1. Introduction

The notion of "Brazilian woman" bears a series of preconceived stereotypes and stigmas that act as barriers to integration, especially in Portugal — the colonising country. The Portuguese cultural imagination and social representations of Brazil and the Brazilians have deep historical roots in the process of colonisation (most acutely expressed by stereotypes that combine desire, fear and phobia), having achieved greater prominence and visibility as the Brazilian immigration into Portugal intensified, particularly from the 2000s onward (Gomes, 2018; Mingas, 2020).

Exoticism and sensuality that are seen as innate have been, in equal measure, a part of the social representations of the Brazilian woman since the start of colonialism. Ester Mingas (2020) argues that those representations were updated by various social processes and dynamics, such as the dissemination of the Lusotropicalist theory in Portugal and the popularity of Brazilian *telenovelas* in the country (starting in the 1970s), which contributed to the circulation and reproduction of a host of stereotypes already deep-seated by the time the first waves of Brazilian immigrants arrived.

According to the report on immigration, borders and asylum (Machado et al., 2020) produced in 2019 by the Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service, Brazilians are the main community of foreigners residing in Portugal, amounting to 25.6% of their total number, which is already the highest since 2012. Among them, women make up the largest share of the population, which is characteristic of the international process of feminisation of migration, in which women are agents of the migratory flow (Jerónimo, 2019).

Bound by various layers of oppression, aggravated by being colonised bodies in the colonising country, these women face countless forms of xenophobic, colonial, ethnic and, above all, sexual prejudice (Piscitelli, 2008), which transform them into and advertise them as available bodies.

The emergence of cyberspace allowed several minorities, such as these women, to create networked communities based on identifying a commonality and creating new opinions and discourses beyond those previously in place (Martino, 2014). Such is the case of the project *Brasileiras Não Se Calam* (Brazilian Women Will Not Be Silent), which was born as an Instagram profile to denounce the prejudice suffered by Brazilian immigrant women in Portugal.

Taking the project *Brasileiras Não Se Calam* as a case study, we aim to explore the use of digital space as a forum for denunciation and disseminating and spreading feminist activism, which can expand social awareness and mobilise the public opinion (Lamartine, 2021). The project is more than a profile for making reports on a digital social network, gaining traction outside cyberspace through a network of support among immigrant women; therefore, it embodies the authority of cyberfeminism and can effectively intervene in the relationships of power and culture, in public and political protests (Castells, 2012/2013).

Through content analysis (Bardin, 1997/2004), we studied the 3 months that followed the 1st year of the project since the organisers launched an annual report and obtained increased visibility in the media after that period. Therefore, posts from 14 July to 14 October 2021 were analysed, and the data were gathered under three broad themes, namely "stereotype", "discredit", and "xenophobia", with the latter including a branch that we have titled "racism".

This study discusses the need for an ontological approach that recognises the racialising logic introduced during the processes of colonisation, which established not only a relationship of inferiority between the colonised and the colonisers but also models and forms of political and social relations that are present to this today (Mendoza, 2016).

2. The Brazilian Woman in Portugal: Stereotypes and Sexism

The search for better living conditions is, in most cases, the great driver of immigration (Jerónimo, 2019), given the view that in the host country, the inconveniences of the country of origin would not exist. Nevertheless, Dias and Ramos (2019) point out that there is also a negative side due to the various vulnerabilities immigrants are subject to simply for being foreigners. Those vulnerabilities tend to be aggravated by the different types of prejudice that constrain, discriminate and exert violence against those individuals, especially in matters of gender.

Where the Brazilian immigrant community in Portugal is specifically concerned, it is possible to identify a combination of various stereotypes that directly interfere with the particulars of their integration and ultimately reduce the chance of finding better opportunities, whether on a personal or a professional level (Dias & Ramos, 2019).

These stereotypes tend to naturalise implicit differences by creating a social consensus about the various divergent categories, such as those based on ethnicity, race, gender and sexual orientation. Thus, through the reinforcement of subjective judgments, the historical inequalities linked to those categories are routinely validated and reproduced.

For Passador (2015), stereotypes act as a tool to segregate individuals, assigning them to certain areas of distinction associated with a lower status, which "enable us to quickly identify and typify categories of individuals and groups and establish their positions in the hierarchical game of inequality" (p. 25).

Brazilians are usually deemed synonymous with people who are always cheerful, festive and friendly and whose main characteristic or role is to entertain others. This role corresponds to a notion largely held and disseminated in Portugal and coexists with the roles of submission, laziness and, specifically for women, sexual availability (Padilla & Gomes, 2016; Queiroz et al., 2020).

Within immigration studies on what concerns Brazilian women, it is possible to observe a consolidation of the sexualised image attributed to them. It is a sensual and eroticised image specifically associated with the market of prostitution (Oliveira & Neto, 2016).

From the 1960s to the 1980s, the Brazilian government sought to launch campaigns to attract tourism, especially in Europe, which implicitly associated the country with an image of sexual tourism destination and Brazilian women with a position of objectification and availability for foreign tourists (Gomes, 2018).

This association became more widely known due to an issue of *Times* magazine titled "Europe's New Red Light District" (Ripley, 2003) — an allusion to the famous street of prostitution in Amsterdam. The cover story related the ire of the Portuguese women of the city of Bragança towards Brazilian sex workers, in a movement that became internationally known as "mothers of Bragança".

The Portuguese women blamed the Brazilian women for leading their husbands "astray" through the practice of prostitution. As Gomes (2018) explains, this incident depicted the Brazilian women as sinners, libertines and homewreckers, as the Portuguese women appeared under the protection of a divine mantle of chastity and, therefore, as exemplary mothers and faithful wives.

The movement emerged in May 2003 to expel the Brazilian sex workers from the city of Bragança to oppose what was seen as the destruction of morality and common decency (Gomes, 2018). The women drafted and signed a manifesto and promptly submitted it to the local authorities.

For many authors, the "mothers of Bragança" movement triggered the whole discussion on the role of the media and their discourse regarding Brazilian women. As João Carlos Correia (2014) explains, the protest became emblematic of the media's stereotypical and xenophobic representations of gender.

The image of the Brazilian immigrant woman disseminated by the media is originally associated with the premiss of being an immigrant from a different national and ethnic group, one that is peripheral, racialised and economically inferior. It is also associated with Carnival culture, worship of physical beauty and sexualisation, resulting from the overlap between social markers of exclusion of a national identity (Pontes, 2004).

The propagation of hypersexuality as a characteristic of the Brazilian woman is echoed, as mentioned above, by the image sold abroad, which establishes the mixed-race woman as the main representation of Brazil. It is, therefore, the image of a colonial body;

one which, as a subjugated body, is discursively constructed as available (Gomes, 2019), a synthesis of the imagination about the inhabitants of the tropics, whose sensuality is their main attribute (Queiroz et al., 2020).

From this perspective, it is important to highlight that the level of prejudice against Brazilian women in Portugal reaches peaks that are discrepant from those found in comparison with other countries of immigration, as the reports of the project *Brasileiras Não Se Calam* will also illustrate. Indeed, Brazilians are the largest community of foreigners residing in Portugal, with one out of every five immigrants living in Portugal originating from Brazil (Silva, 2019). That contributes to much greater visibility of Brazilian women within Portuguese society when compared to other immigrant communities, which reinforces and perpetuates a colonial mentality aligned with the prevailing discourses and with the relations established between the coloniser and the colonised (Queiroz et al., 2020).

Awareness of the feminisation of immigration became more widespread due to the feminist studies in academia. During the first decade of the 21st century, as the second migratory wave unfolded, Portugal experienced a strong growth in Brazilian immigrants, which increased significantly from 2012 onward (Gomes, 2018; Oliveira & Neto, 2016). The report on immigration, borders and asylum (Machado et al., 2020) expressed in numbers this feminine predominance in migration in 2019. There were 25,221 Brazilian women in total, against 23,575 Brazilian men.

The idea of the Brazilian woman as cheerful, sensual and sexually available (Padilla & Gomes, 2016) extends far beyond the view of the Brazilian woman as a sex worker. It means considering every Brazilian woman as a "colonial body", a concept problematised by Fanon (1952/1986) regarding the Black body, which has been a target of oppression, discursively constructed as hypersexualised, racially fetishised and given animalistic and primitive features.

However, for Gomes (2018), what prevails is a Lusotropical discourse that omits several past forms of violence, preaching miscegenation and non-racism. That makes it more difficult to identify and conceive measures to address the issue, which must be urgently adopted so that they do not end up as veils that conceal prejudice by presenting gender equality and equal opportunities in a utopian manner (Carvalho & Fernandes, 2016).

It must also be said that, within the studies on migration between Brazil and Portugal, it is possible to perceive the third stage of migratory flows, which interferes with the profile of the Brazilian immigrant. Indeed, a third migratory wave is now underway, in which the presence of investors, retired persons and students in higher education have become more expressive (França & Padilha, 2018), with the latter being largely females (Machado et al., 2020).

3. Online Feminist Activism

Since technology became a part of the everyday life of individuals, its social role has suffered profound changes in what concerns their various forms of interaction. The internet now occupies a central space of social interaction and organisation, directly

influencing how people communicate with each other, turning them into the very subjects of their own lives (Castells, 2012/2013).

This interference with the way people communicate results from the formation of cyberspace, which supports democratic and more horizontal communication, fostering collective action (Lamartine, 2021). Thus, cyberspace can create a new relationship between space and time, reconfiguring interaction itself, turning information and knowledge into sources of power because the subject reflects on the internet his/her dialogical connotation as he/she continues to seek integration into a digital community.

Digital activism as a phenomenon includes several practices that go beyond the geographical and spatial borders of the web; they create virtual spaces with their own configurations, which are defined by the participants' adherence to a point in common, be it political, ideological or cultural (Martino, 2014), and culminate in social movements that prompt debate and action extending beyond the digital world.

In a reconfigured public sphere, social movements become self-reflective, questioning themselves both as groups and as individuals to move in unison towards the same social goal (Castells, 2012/2013). Specifically, concerning feminisms, this field has broadened the discussion about women and the inequalities they are conditioned by socially and within an electronic culture — women whose activism became known as cyberfeminism (Lamartine, 2021; Martinez, 2019).

Despite its diverse origins, some fragmented characteristics and, naturally, the appropriation of electronic networks, cyberfeminism allows for a reticular organisation since referring to the different feminisms by a single adjective or even insisting on using that name is quite controversial (Lemos, 2009). Nevertheless, the concept is attributed to the philosopher Sadie Plant and the Australian feminist collective VNS Matrix (Lamartine, 2021; Timeto, 2019).

This group published a manifesto in tribute to Donna Haraway, who proposed a new rereading of the feminist movements, though she did not directly use the term "cyberfeminism". Haraway (1991) saw her ideas be adopted as a theoretical basis by different groups when she suggested analysing feminism in the context of new technologies, including the media, proposing network organisation and the appropriation of those technologies as forms of political activism (Lemos, 2009),

Haraway (1991) explains that the original focus of the technological field of activism was to call for women's participation in these spaces to counter the masculinised and stereotypical image of this specific medium; she also recognises that, due to its multiform character, the movement brings together diversity and plurality of subjects who are willing to rebuild reality based on different types of discourses.

As Ferreira and Lima (2020) explain, as information and communication technologies challenged how people interact, cyberfeminism emerged as the answer to this specific issue within the feminist movement. Therefore, it is possible to observe how the feminist debate has moved away from organisations and institutions, giving rise to what many authors consider to be the fourth wave of the feminist movement, whose main

feature is that it emerges from cyberspace, that is, from digital networks and platforms (Cochrane, 2013; Tomazetti, 2015).

The name of the fourth wave of feminism appeared in mid-2013 in the United States. Therefore, it is not a terminology coined by academia but disseminated by journalists and activists, highlighting how mobilisation can penetrate the various dimensions of feminism (Chamberlain, 2017).

Journalist Kira Cochrane (2013) defines four characteristics of this new phase of feminism as belonging to certain broad areas. The first concerns online feminism, the second deals with rape culture, in the third, she addresses humour to further feminist ideas. In the last, she presents inclusion and intersectionality, addressing harsh criticism of the old "universal woman", "being challenged today to break down the symbolic and material borders that separate different strata of society in terms of class, ethnicity and sexuality" (Tomazetti, 2015, p. 497).

Based on the assertion that social movements are linked to confluences of emotions, it is possible to observe how feminism unites various subjects in sharing specific moments in history, which is evidence of what Chamberlain (2017) terms "affective temporality". Affective temporality is framed as one of the constitutional characteristics of fourth-wave feminism, which has turned towards informational solidarity, where responsive activism is motivated by affection and the latter, in turn, catalyses action.

There have been countless digital protests — generated and motivated by feminist pages — with ample dissemination and significance for women's debate on issues of rape, harassment, misogyny and machismo. By using digital social networks and their hashtags, many protests took over the globe in a collective outcry, as was the case of "#niunaamenos" in Argentina, "#meuamigosecreto" in Brazil, "#metoo" in the United States, among several others, some of which, like "slutwalk" and the international feminist strike "8M", even became transnational.

The media saw these initiatives as a "women's spring", a combination of online call to action and taking of the streets by thousands of women, forming a cultural movement whose actions stem from the values and interests of its members, regardless of any institution to which it might belong (Castells, 2012/2013).

The consolidation of the feminist movement in cyberspace ensures a new cycle of political openness fostered by the creation of ties among women throughout the world (Lamartine, 2021), with online activism making it possible for the fourth wave of the feminist movement to be more plural and comprehensive in creating pillars that permanently interconnect mobilisation in the streets and on the web all around the world.

4. The Colonised Body in the Colonising Country: Intersectionality and Decoloniality

When addressing the subject of Brazilian immigrant women in Portugal, we must pay attention to the fact that we are dealing with a colonised body living in the colonising country. This circumstance bears various marks of coloniality itself and other matrices of

oppression that intersect and combine. To this intersection of differences, we call "intersectionality", a concept that should be viewed from a feminist standpoint, in this case, an intersectional standpoint.

The term "intersectionality" is thought to have been created by the American researcher Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 in an attempt to grasp the collision of structures and the simultaneous interaction of various definitions of identity. It was grounded in Black feminism and aimed at being applied in law studies to expose how a single axis of thought could undermine legal reasoning, the production of knowledge, and the fight for social justice (Cho et al., 2013; Collins, 2017; Martinez, 2019).

Hence, the notion of intersectionality emerges from recognising the various aspects that play a role in identity, such as race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and, of course, gender. These particular characteristics are identified as layers of oppression since, through intersectionality, one seeks to conciliate the claims based on gender with those of other minorities who are subjected to interaction with and daily interference of different structures (Martinez, 2019).

Intersectionality refers, therefore, to a form of political activism that must be placed in opposition to the cradles where difference is born, in a constant search for the conciliation of those efforts, being unable to operate under the social, material and intellectual terms fostered by neoliberalism (Collins, 2017; Martinez, 2019). "Intersectionality reveals what we cannot see when categories such as gender and race are conceived as separate from each other" (Lugones, 2008, p. 79).

When we think of the body as a category, narrowing it down even further to focus on the colonised body, the importance of reconfiguring the ideologies framed ontologically in the course of history and society becomes clear. However, as Mignolo (2000/2003) so eloquently puts it, what is at stake, is not to erase or eliminate what is Eurocentric in the various parts of the world but rather to rebuild the original epistemologies that were crushed and erased by the colonial process.

For that to happen, the feminist vision needs to go beyond intersectionality and expand through decolonial feminism, whose predominance and influence are centred in Latin America and the Caribbean. This theory can penetrate and establish a dialogue with feminist, poststructuralist, indigenous, Afro-Latin, African American, mixed-race and intersectionalist women (Mendoza, 2016).

The decolonial perspective challenges the standardisation of epistemic power, especially on a subjective level and emerges from a phallocentric, Eurocentric, patriarchal and capitalistic society grounded in generalised racialisation and categorisation measures. According to Mendoza (2016), this reinforces the power of decolonial studies by uniting crucial differences between coloniality, modernity and capitalism.

The Argentinian author María Lugones (2008) proposed the term after years of studying intersectionality itself, which for her demonstrates the exclusion of non-White women from history. Another key concept for the author is the notion of "coloniality of power" of Aníbal Quijano (as cited in Lugones, 2008), which acknowledges something that seems simple, namely that coloniality relationships did not end with the extinction

of colonialism, especially within the realms of economy and politics (Ballestrin, 2013). As Lugones explains (2008): "crossing those two lines of analysis allows me to arrive at what I am calling, provisionally, a 'modern-colonial system of gender'" (p. 74).

The colonial matrix of power structure is complex and levelled, with the concept of coloniality being broken down into various other domains (Mignolo, 2000/2003). For Ballestrin (2013), that matrix exercises control over the economy, power, nature and natural resources, gender and sexuality and knowledge subjectivity. Therefore, as the author states, the coloniality of power manifests itself in three different dimensions, comprising the coloniality of being, of knowledge and, of course, of power.

> We share the view of Lugones according to which decolonial feminism considers, reviews and dialogues with the thinking and the work that thinkers, intellectuals, activists and fighters, whether feminist or not, who are of African, indigenous, mixed-race or peasant descent, racialised immigrants, as well as White scholars engaged in subaltern studies in Latin America and around the world have developed. (Miñoso, 2020, p. 8)

Thus, the modern/colonial gender system only exists due to the coloniality of power since a classification in terms of race, for example, is a necessary circumstance (Lugones, 2008). For Ballestrin (2013), the aim should be to understand how the colonised world constructs itself based on the discursive impressions of the coloniser and, similarly, how the colonised individual constructs him/herself through the allocution of his/her coloniser.

5. *Brasileiras Não Se Calam*: The Online Denunciation of Everyday Life

The hypersexualisation of Brazilian women's bodies is widely spread in Portuguese society, through the music industry, through advertising and, naturally, through the media themselves. In mid-2020, in the show *Big Brother Portugal*, aired by the television channel TVI, one contestant, following several other racist and sexist remarks, stated that "Brazilian women have their legs spread already", which sparked enormous debate on social network. That was the reason that led five friends, all of them Brazilian immigrants, to create a project aimed at reporting this type of discrimination.

In an interview for the newspaper *Jornal de Notícias* (Costa, 2020), the coordinators of the project, who wish to remain anonymous due to the countless threats they have already received, said that this incident made them realise that the prejudice against Brazilian women was clearly deep-seated in Portugal, to the point of being voiced in a television show.

At the end of July 2020, the project *Brasileiras Não Se Calam* gained a profile on the digital social network Instagram. In less than 1 month, it had reached 15,000 followers. By November 2021, the profile has more than 45,000 followers and maintains a good percentage of engagement, at 5.30%, according to the digital social metrics platform Phlanx (https://phlanx.com).

The profile publishes reports submitted via Instagram direct messages by Brazilian immigrant women. The posts are composed of text in Portuguese and English, and they are always made anonymously to protect the victims and avoid retaliation (Figure 1 and Figure 2).

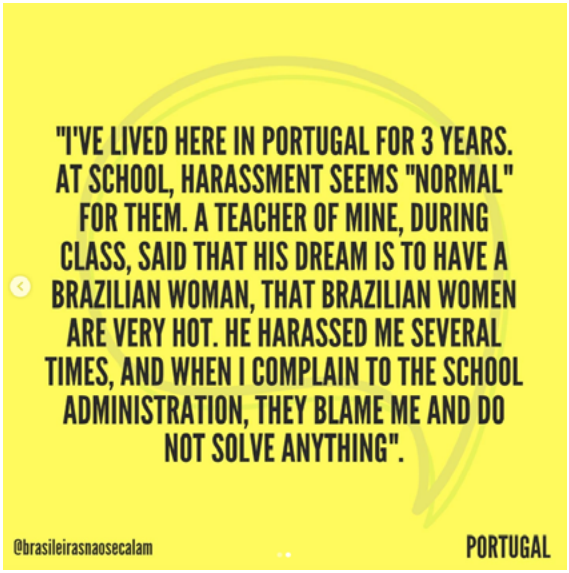

Figure 1 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. Até quando?* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021h, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CWI7UmVDVPf/)

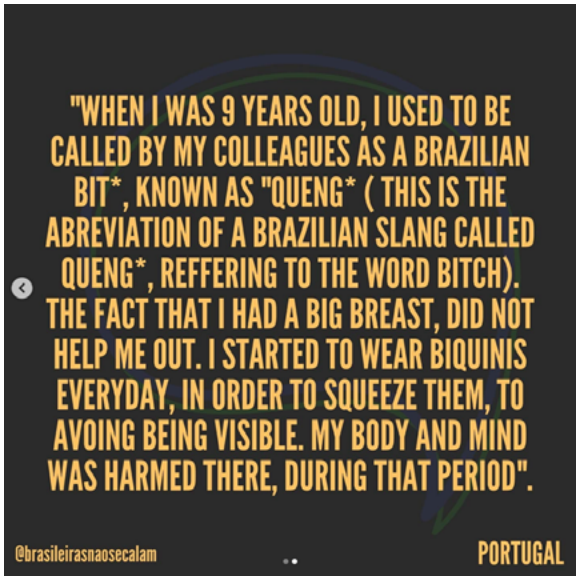

Figure 2 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. 9 anos. Muita força pra nós.* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021d, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CSCGJsFDMgx/)

According to the annual report published by the project, which covers the period from July 2020 to July 2021, 802 reports were registered in 39 countries. Portugal leads

the ranking with 541 reports, followed by the United States with 38 reports, England with 31, Germany and Spain with 29 each and Italy with 26.

Among the reports related to Portugal, 354 did not specify the city. Lisbon, the capital, had 81 reports, followed by Porto with 37 and Coimbra with 13. The project's coordinators also indicated in *Jornal de Notícias* (Costa, 2020) article mentioned above that most of the more violent and offensive reports always originated from Portugal, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. Nojo* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021e, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CSz9YNlDPNf/)

The project provided support to 267 women by creating six areas of activity. The first, "brasileiras são voluntárias" (Brazilian women volunteer), brought together 43 women who coordinated all the other areas of assistance. "Brasileiras procuram" (Brazilian women seek) makes available the curriculums of women who are seeking a job, and 110 women have registered on the project's website. "Brasileiras falam" (Brazilian women talk) is a support group for exchanging and sharing life experiences, in which 20 women participate weekly. "Brasileiras apoiam" (Brazilian women support) aims to provide professional psychological support, and 15 women have received assistance from it. In turn, "Brasileiras se apoiam" (Brazilian women support each other) is concerned with social support, and it has reached 10 women. Lastly, "Brasileiras denunciam" (Brazilian women report) provides legal assistance to victims, and it has served 31 women.

In addition to these areas of activity, the project offers academic and financial counselling, English and French classes, yoga activities and workshops, all of which are provided to immigrant women for free and through professionals who work as volunteers.

6. Case Study and Analysis: And 3 Months Later?

As explained above, the data published by the project in its annual report show that there is a higher level of reporting in Portugal — which accounts for more than half of all the reports made in 39 countries (541 reports, specifically). To check whether these numbers remained the same after the annual report was published and to prove the premiss of a colonised body in the colonising country, we used a 3-month section of the data, starting from the assessment launch date.

Thus, the period under analysis spans from 14 July 2021 to 14 October of the same year. One hundred eighty-six posts were collected, 14 of which were discarded from this analysis because they did not truly correspond to a report[1]. Out of 172 posts analysed, 132 concerned Portugal, therefore characterising the corpus of this study.

As Bardin (1997/2004) states, in content analysis, it is admissible to let the object speak for itself and for categorisations to appear in parallel with the analysis. With this in mind, we use the thematic analysis technique, according to which we divided the data into elements to group them into categories based on correspondence. The categories were thus divided into three thematic areas: "xenophobia", "stereotype", and "discredit".

The first area was also the one that comprised the highest number of posts. There were 59 reports about "xenophobia". This form of prejudice is directly linked to an individual's nationality, which, in this case, was Brazilian. According to Passador (2015), prejudiced statements often go unnoticed since they ultimately become naturalised and widespread, cutting across generations and age brackets.

The reports in those posts displayed a high level of discrimination and repudiation from the Portuguese. Statements like "go back to where you came from" or "you don't belong here/in this country" were widely mentioned and aggravated by prejudice against the "Brazilian" way of speaking.

It is also noticeable that when dealing specifically with colonialism in Portugal, there is, as mentioned above, a Lusotropical view that conceals or omits various forms of prejudice and violence under the idea of supposed Portuguese miscegenation deemed to create a diverse society (Gomes, 2018). Consequently, xenophobia veiledly presents itself in everyday life, in small cases like the one presented in Figure 4.

[1] Excluded posts related to event promotion and advertising.

Figure 4 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. Nojo* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021a, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CRq9TauJh9V/)

Within that category, and based on the Lusotropical premiss, we decided to postulate a branch of that area, for as Lugones (2008) reminds us, "race is neither more mystical nor more fictitious than gender — both are powerful fictions" (p. 93). Racism was described in six of those posts, which corroborates the view of Padilla and Gomes (2016) when they conclude that the principle of Portuguese non-racism cuts across the whole of society.

The latest data from the European Social Survey (n.d.) of 2018/2019 stem from this view, showing Portugal as one of the most racist countries in Europe. The study investigated the presence of biological and cultural racism in the country, and it found that racist inclinations were stronger in older and less educated individuals. 62% of the respondents showed racist behaviour, while only 11% completely disagreed with racism. In other words, according to this research, one in three Portuguese people affirmed racist beliefs, as illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. Muita força pra gente!* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021g, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CVnXhXmpGFm/)

The second category, with 58 reports, is "stereotype". We decided to gather here all the reports that associated Brazilian women with pejorative adjectives like "whore", "prostitute", or "gold digger". This category also includes reports of sexual and moral harassment and gynaecological violence.

The stereotypes attributed to Brazilian women tend to belittle, silence, diminish and racialise women, even if they are not Black. Indeed, in this situation specifically, the question of ethnicity is not only linked to race since, as Pontes (2004) explains, an ideology of *mestiçagem* (miscegenation) is present in the image of the woman who is sensualised and eroticised, irrespective of her colour; the mere fact of being Brazilian is enough to subject her to that process.

Since the "mothers of Bragança" incident, Brazilian women have been stigmatised as "man stealers", a stigma they face every day. That was abundantly clear in all the reports that were analysed, and it also comes across in the comments left by several women who experienced similar situations and carried that erroneous notion with them, as shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. Agora, além dos maridos, também roubamos os filhos* [Fotografia], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021b, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CR4p6PypfdI/)

The image of the Brazilian woman as cheerful, sensual and eroticised was found in all the reports and comments in the posts, such as "she had to be a whore", "they came here to steal other women's husbands", "they're only good to fool around and have fun with" and "they're gold diggers! Always looking for easy money". Figure 7 shows a complaint that is almost a complete reflection of all that was found in this category.

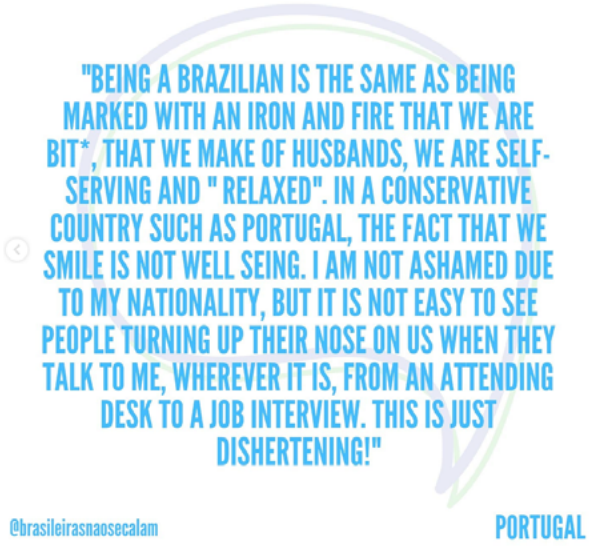

Figure 7 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. Quem mais se sente assim? Comentem aí* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021c, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CR_iQUJDWM3/)

The final category, which had fewer reports, was titled "discredit". This category, comprising 15 reports, concerns cases in which intellectual belittling and questioning the curricular/professional background were reported.

An analogy could also be drawn with some of the comments included in the category "xenophobia", which concerned the fact of speaking Brazilian Portuguese. Many reports and comments alluded to the idea that personal and professional integration would be nearly impossible without a change, especially a change in accent.

Intellectual belittling makes it hard to gain employment, except for care and cleaning, which is common in other European countries, as these areas are considered more feminised (Jerónimo, 2019). Regarding the report in Figure 8, most of the comments were supportive and shared the author's feelings, as is the case of this comment of a follower who said,

> I also see myself reflected in this report! It is extremely frustrating to see the lack of confidence in our work simply because we are Brazilian! Sometimes it is very hard to have to live with these issues daily! And the worst thing is that we begin to question our own potential!

Figure 8 *Instagram post @brasileirasnaosecalam*

Source. From *Bandeira do Brasil. São professores... podem não gostar do fato de você ser brasileira???* [Photograph], by Brasileiras não se calam! [@brasileirasnaosecalam], 2021f, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CTSBf4lDbr3/)

However, what must be highlighted in this category and most catches our attention as researchers, is that most reports were directed at the scientific community. There were reports of questioned curriculums, lower grades and fear of academic persecution, which is likely why there are not many reports of discrimination (or why their number is not expressive) within scientific institutions and activities (Padilla & Gomes, 2016).

From this perspective, Brazilian immigrant women who live in Portugal are riddled with sexual, national, colonial and ethnic differences (Piscitelli, 2008). These marks are noticeable in all the activities of the project *Brasileiras Não Se Calam*, from the texts of the reports to the social, legal and psychological forms of support that seek to counter this dissonance.

7. Conclusions

The legacy of coloniality leaves deep marks that mould the bodies of Brazilian immigrant women into living scars. The premiss of existing as a colonised body in the space of the coloniser contains a real ambivalence between greater closeness and prejudice, which imprint themselves on the various ways in which people interact and seek integration, even implying the negotiation of their own identities (Padilla & Gomes, 2016).

The reports of xenophobia, harassment, misogyny, machismo, racism, sexism and violence described in *Brasileiras Não Se Calam* reflect the marks of that coloniality and how they negatively impact the search for a new life associated with the idea of emigrating. The project uses the digital space as a forum for denunciation through feminist activism by promoting a current, though not new, debate. It denounces the structured relationship between the colonised and the coloniser by unveiling the conceptualisation

of a Lusotropical discourse that omits and conceals several violations under the pretence of a diversified Portuguese society.

Significantly, the analysis performed here shows that the majority of the anonymous reports received by the project occur in Portugal (more than 76% of their total number), which prompts us to reflect on the insufficiency of the processes of historical reparation and the need, indeed the urgent need, to rethink social and epistemic configurations.

It would be desirable, at a later stage, to investigate the space that the project offers for the representation of other identities from the perspective of decolonial and intersectional feminisms, which are, in themselves, great epistemologies of reparation since the problematisation of biological dysmorphism is central to the understanding of the gender system (Lugones, 2008).

Consequently, recognising the immense interference of colonial processes both in terms of the gender divide and radicalisation is crucial for gaining an adequate understanding of past efforts. Therefore, we now advocate the merging of disruptive ontological views that, by being incorporated into feminist cyberactivism, will lend unprecedented support to feminism.

It is vital to envision a feminist movement that is also decolonial and intersectional, political and theoretical projects that challenge imperialist practices and colonial ones. A feminist movement that disregards the geographical limits that separate the forms of knowledge and experience of the north from those of the global south, uniting the various minority populations and their diverse activisms in the search for a feminism that is actually inclusive.

Translation: Adriana Barreiros

Authors' Contribution

Camila Lamartine was responsible for the conceptualization, carried out the literature review, conceived the methodology and did the investigation, data curation and formal analysis. She also did writing – original draft. Marisa Torres da Silva contributed to the literature review and the article's revisions and supervised the final editing (writing – review and editing).

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Contestation and Reflections on Cultural and Historical Heritage

Da Contestação à Reflexão Sobre Patrimónios Culturais e Históricos

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The book *Patrimonios Contestados* (Contested Heritage) compiles 10 texts on heritage as a historically and socially constructed convention. While controversies about the cultural decolonisation processes are still raging, this book provides various contributions for reflecting on the transformations affecting perceptions of those processes and the practices to make it happen. It is a contribution that draws on different viewpoints based on national and international perspectives of this sociological phenomenon.

In their introduction, "O Bem e o Mal do(s) Património(s)" (The Good and the Evil of Heritage(s); pp. 5–9), the curators Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and Walter Rossa first focus on the accuracy of the word heritage, warning about the ambiguities and misunderstandings of this term, especially in times of social tensions. Among the diversity encompassing the concept of heritage, the authors believe that the variants of *cultural heritage* and *historical heritage* are the key to deciphering the focus of this book's objects of study.

To materialise this twofold conceptual variation, Jerónimo and Rossa introduce the reader to three facts: "heritage is something that exists, it is not past; nothing emerges or is produced as cultural or historical heritage, only eventually as a heritage; heritage is synonymous of stable possession of assets, what derives from social and historical conventions" (Jerónimo & Rossas, 2021, p. 6).

The authors underline cultural heritage as the outcome of an understanding and a "pact of collective recognition of distinctive and identity cultural values, naturally observant of specific logics of power, in a given set of assets" (Jerónimo & Rossa, 2021, p. 6). Following the Bourdieusian conceptions of power (Bourdieu, 1978/2001), they admit the need to renegotiate this pact after any significant change in the perception of the values at its origin. They state that the tension generated during this renegotiation is highly complex and conflictual insofar as the previous order is destabilised and that this destabilisation provokes various reactions. Property ownership is perhaps the dimension that generates the most tension and contestation of all issues.

Like the controversy and tensions in renegotiating the dynamics and cultural heritage, the historical heritage dynamics and concept, more aligned with the concept of the monument (like, for example, statues or obelisks), are also conceived as a representation of something thriving and meaningful in the present. That imprints on it a constant restlessness about the meaning of tomorrow. Hence a provocative statement from the authors contrasting culture and history: "the cultural heritage has in the system of cultural values recognised in a set of assets, what the historical heritage has in history" (Jerónimo & Rossas, 2021, p. 8). In other words, might cultural values be more liquid and transitory — an expression dear to Bauman (2003/2006) — than the informational sedimentations of history?

In the chapter "Património Cultural em Conflito: Da Violência à Reparação" (Cultural Heritage in Conflict: On Violence and Reparation; pp. 11–25), Dacia Viejo Rose addresses the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage during armed conflicts in various parts of the world. Spurred on by a surge of media coverage — from the Mostar bridge to the museums of Baghdad and Palmyra — the discourses have grown to extremes of positions, adjectives and linguistic hyperbole. However, this linguistic and communicative extremism, often invoked even by great personalities, hides a weakness: "the motivations, the immediate consequences and the medium and long-term impacts of these dramatic acts are anything but simple" (Viejo-Rose, 2021, p. 11). Insisting on pro-heritage and anti-destruction moralisation makes agreements difficult and creates further conflict.

Dacia Viejo Rose explains that cultural heritage can easily be a vehicle for passing on anger and resentment through generations when narratives are singular and binary (we are like this and the others are not), thus imposing meanings. Relegating various groups in society to the unspeakable, where memories, attitudes and values cannot be heard and read because they do not conform to the dominant narrative, operates a situation of cultural and symbolic violence. The problem is that the physical and objective violence around cultural heritages makes one forget this symbolic and silent violence of the unspeakable "that cultural heritage usually perpetrates" (Viejo-Rose, 2021, p. 12). In other words, this dimension of cultural heritage as a generator of multi-layered and ever-changing meanings entails greater understanding among institutional agents of change.

Lilia Schwarcz, in "Ser ou Não Ser Patrimônio: Bandeirantes e Bandeiras e Outros Conjuntos Escultóricos Contestados" (To Be or Not to Be Heritage: Flag bearers and Flags and Other Contested Sculptural Sets, pp. 27–49), resumes the problem of social and historical conventions introduced by Jerónimo and Rossas. Drawing on Foucault and the world of classifications, she first questions why the cultural products in Europe are authorial art and handicrafts or mere pieces made by anonymous people in the indigenous world. The differences in the politics of recognition according to the place of origin, region, era or trace represent what Viejo-Rose claims: a dangerous silencing of groups, permanent symbolic violence, which fosters galloping extremism. The constant "process of patrimonialization", that is to say, that piece of memory and history that gained recognition and social and collective validity, first created monuments and then made it heritage — often underlining naturalised values and completely disconnected from the need for cultural decolonisation.

These considerations by Schwarcz, specifically about the Monumento às Bandeiras (Monument to the Flags) and the Estátua de Borba Gato (Borba Gato Statue), both in São Paulo, Brazil, are analysed in light of the figures of the *bandeirante* as "great and daring frontier-clearers", who "the most mundane performance of these actual informal militias, as great captors of runaway slaves: both Indigenous and African" (Schwarcz, 2021, p. 32). Thus, the author underlines that consecrating and contesting are binary pairs of the same equation, and this heritage ambivalence has never been as exposed as today.

The classification of the world by separating *westerners* from the rest of it (especially Africa, Asia and Latin America) is also analysed by Marie Huber in "Patrimonialização Internacional, Desenvolvimento e Política Nacional da História: O Legado Institucional dos Programas de Conservação da Unesco na Etiópia" (International Patrimonialization, Development and the National Politics of History: The Institutional Legacy of Unesco's Conservation Programmes in Ethiopia; pp. 51–71). As she glosses on Lalibela in Ethiopia, the author elaborates on the patrimonialization of the city as a world heritage site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). She refers to the decision-making practices about what is or is not "heritage" and what this means from the political, cultural, social and touristic perspectives. How it divides the world into developed and underdeveloped, taking Europe and North America as references. She argues that "international organisations were not only political arenas or diplomatic staging, but also massive bureaucracies, which obtained much of their authority in expert knowledge" (Huber, 2021, p. 55).

According to Marie Huber, heritage as a discourse and practice of disseminating what is dominant is fundamental to understanding and demonstrating why the development paradigm has further politicised heritage and its classifications. All the bureaucratic and institutionalised processes of patrimonialization have reinforced the idea and culture of specialisation and scientificity, with the dominant western elite as its axis. That is nonetheless paradoxical: both in theory and practice, the Unesco concept of universal cultural heritage is, at the same time, the outcome of colonial practices and legacies due, in part, to "its ideological origins and for the scientific principles that guided the practice of conservation" (Huber, 2021, p. 68).

Ariel Sophia Bardi, in "Doma-Cracy Planeada: Memória e Apagamento na Índia e em Israel" (Planned Doma-Cracy: Memory and Cleansing in India and Israel; pp. 73–87), recalls the 1992 popular demolition by 150,000 protesters of the Indian Babri Masjid mosque, and the 1948 destruction of the Hurva synagogue in Jerusalem by the Arab Legion. The author believes that in both India and Israel, "transformations in the built space have been supported by dominant ethnic-nationalist movements, which aim to diminish the presence of the foreign minority while emphasising the unity of the demographic majority" (Bardi, 2021, p. 74). Both architecture and archaeology have, in both countries, been politicised and made warlike, used to visually instigate claims of territorial belonging where one includes and excludes, both in design and in space. That is what is termed "doma-cracy", "a kind of ethnic democracy where the people's power has been eclipsed by the homeland's ethos and the spatial imposition of a homeland for the majority" (Bardi, 2021, p. 74).

Alice Procter, in "Desconforto, Disfunção: Quem Se Sente em Casa no Museu?" (Discomfort and Dysfunction: Who Feels at Home in the Museum?; pp. 89–103), recalls the difficult transition in 2019 from the previous definition of the museum concept by the International Council of Museums to the current one. According to the author, the current definition was (and still is) "so controversial that the vote on adoption was postponed. Some considered it too political and others too vague; others claimed that under the new definition, the Louvre, and most French museums, would no longer be considered museums" (Procter, 2021, p. 90). However, according to the author, the meaning is the same as before the change in 2019: "spaces open to the public, aimed at collecting and exhibiting material culture, producing educational and public programmes" (Procter, 2021, p. 90). The goal of making museums more active and more in line with upcoming political events and not waiting for historical validation has been a challenge. Still, without any practical results, even among the world's most prominent museums, such as the case of Smithsonian or the New York City museum. The criticism of museums and their sponsors (which include oil, weapon and pharmaceutical companies) demonstrates how these institutions allow themselves to be led by financial partners. Ahdaf Soueif, a member of the board of the British Museum, stepped down in 2019 because of the inertia in the restitution and repatriation processes and the fact that this museum accepts the sponsorship of British Petroleum (BP). The example seemed to be the beginning of a turning point — especially when everything pointed to the rise of a wave of resignations in this and other cases. But it was not: there were no more layoffs, nor did BP stop funding the museum. For Procter, despite the change of concept, everything seems to stay the same.

Along with museums, cultural heritage and historical heritage, the great consecrated historical figures have also been the target of the ambivalence of celebration and contestation. Such is the case of Gandhi, where Elizabeth Buettner reminds us that, except for some countries, including Portugal, there is contestation about this human rights activist. In Africa, in the United States of America, in several European countries or even in his homeland, India, it is possible to see that the perfect image of the past has undergone major transformations in recent years. In "Gandhi@150: 'O Mahatma' Como um Ícone Global Celebrado e Contestado" (Gandhi@150: "Mahatma" As a Celebrated and Contested Global Icon; pp. 105–123), Buettner recalls the flurry of actions directed at Gandhi from 2015 onwards. That year, a statue of Gandhi in Johannesburg was reportedly doused in white paint and posters bearing the words "Gandhi must fall" a few weeks after, in Cape Town, the statue of Cecil Rhodes was vandalised with the words "Rhodes must fall". Even though Gandhi was an anti-colonial nationalist (unlike the pro-imperialist Rhodes), the issue of Black disadvantage in South Africa explains much of it, along "with uneasy interethnic relations with a community of Indian descent" (Buettner, 2021, p. 112). Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed's 2015 biographical studies cast an unfavourable eye on Gandhi insofar as they reveal the episode of demanding rights for "Indians as 'Aryans' and 'civilised' explicitly distancing himself from Black Africans, whom he repeatedly referred to as 'Kaffirs'" (Buettner, 2021, p. 114).

In Goa, the issue of heritage and its relation to the colonial past is reflected in the texts by Amita Kanekar (pp. 125–145) and Jason Keith Fernandes (pp. 147–169). Kanekar discusses the conflicting identity of temples, where "the transformation of the Goan Hindu Brahminical temple architecture, or its absence, is not merely an aesthetic issue, but the result of political arrangements and aspirations, both before and after 1961" (Kanekar, 2021, p. 142). Part of the outcome of these political arrangements lies, precisely, in one need to assert the identity independence Jason Keith Fernandes (2021) describes for us, where there is a need to deny and to "acknowledge Goa's Portuguese identity" (p. 148). The 1961's aggression led to the rupture of diplomatic ties between Portugal and India, which only resumed in 1975 after the fall of the dictatorship. It was unable to produce a reflection on heritage beyond the logic of the nation-state, either here or there. The policies of repatriation and concession of nationality to minorities on both sides are more than strategies to affirm the nation-state: they aim at granting historical and family relationships that would otherwise be separated.

Finally, Paulo Peixoto (pp. 171–176), Luís Raposo (pp. 176–184) and Bárbara Reis (pp. 184–189) summarise problems, cases and debates around the topic of contested heritage in Portugal. They propose three axes to which they try to provide answers: (a) the fact that in Portugal, there is great potential for contestation around the Portuguese cultural heritage in its relation to the colonial past; (b) how to resolve actual or potential conflicts in an integrated, lasting and comprehensive way; and (c) the issue of erasure, reformulation or journey, being possible in some cultural heritage assets, but impossible in architectural and urban assets.

In his reply, Paulo Peixoto invokes three major factors to understand this contestation: (a) the colonial past being recent; (b) the very ethnic-racial composition of Portuguese society; and (c) the current focus on cultural diversity and post-colonial heritage. To justify (a) and (b), the author notes the absence of disputes about cultural heritage with Castile due to the long and intense journey already undertaken. To explain (c), he points out that Portugal has neither a Musée Royal de l'Afrique de Tervuren (Belgium) with 180,000 pieces from the Congo nor a Museo América in Madrid with 122 Quimbayan objects. In other words, the lack of any such museum leaves Portugal out of the restitution protests — except with "Angola, still under analysis" (Peixoto, 2021, p. 174).

Meanwhile, Luís Raposo opts for a more Socratic style, questioning the issue of ownership of heritage assets: whom are we discussing? Only the countries with overseas colonial empires? Or all the empires, from all times? Only the museums, and among these the public ones? Or all the museums? What about natural heritage? Is it about the mineral or the fossil? Does it belong to the country because of the territorial "ownership" of the nation-state? Whose is the million-year-old mineral or fossil collected on an expedition?

These and other questions are unsettling and revisit the issue of ownership, which has always been the subject of dispute. As for Portugal, Luís Raposo asks about the ownership of the Indo-Portuguese: Indian or Portuguese? And what about the monument that Diogo Cão commissioned in Namibia? That is, "questions of the legitimacy of the

feelings of belonging in the present relative to the past" should be considered (Raposo, 2021, p. 178). In other words, a restitution plan should adhere to a set of criteria, which Raposo lists: (a) the legality of incorporation; (b) the conditions of the collection; (c) the definition of ownership; (d) the nature of the collections; (e) the identity icons; and (f) the final destination of the restitutions. Such a survey could provide answers to most of the issues associated with the restitutions.

Furthermore, Bárbara Reis discusses the need for a policy for the art of the colonial empire, suggesting a citizens' assembly as representative as possible of the ethnic-racial diversity that forms Portuguese society. She argues that this discussion on cultural heritage, restitution and contestation is "political, legal and philosophical" (Reis, 2021, p. 186) and should be discussed in a citizens' assembly.

The authors have used the term contestation in the title and throughout the book. Bruno Latour (2012), when introducing and synthesising more clearly the actor-network theory, launched an approximate suggestion, simultaneously epistemic and methodological: the social study of controversies. He believed that the social scientist would be exactly on track with the dynamics that would make their way in the present and future by doing so. Because in controversies, both individual or group interests and facts fight until they are synthesised into something that tends towards a certain social stabilisation. In fact, this is exactly where the authors set their thinking and study down, providing clues for the present and future understanding of such heritage disputes. The collection of the various interests and facts that triggered the contestation described here provides a basis for the present and future in this important contemporary debate.

From my perspective, I particularly share Luís Raposo's view: any heritage contestation or review on this topic should return to the Socratic model: whom are we discussing? Only the countries with overseas colonial empires? Or all the empires, from all times? Do we approach the subject from the perspective of public museums only? Or of all types of museums? What about natural heritage? What are we addressing? Is it about the mineral or the fossil? Does it belong to the country because of the territorial "ownership" of the nation-state? Whose is the million-year-old mineral or fossil collected on an expedition? Before the contestation lies, as I see it, the need for a broad debate on the concept of "heritage ownership" and what it all means.

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Knowledge Production, Historical Reparation and Construction of Alternative Futures. Interview With Miguel de Barros

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The COVID-19 pandemic dramatically exacerbated pre-existing social inequalities and added urgency to the awareness of the need for social transformation. Social movements for the decolonisation of knowledge and governance systems have gained new momentum and the demands for historical reparation and climate, health and food justice. Historical reparation has sometimes been equated only to restitution of material goods or financial compensation. Still, it is a much more complex endeavour that necessarily involves making knowledge production a more engaging and participatory process, inside and outside the academy, linking different knowledge to build fairer and more inclusive futures.

This text stems from an interview with Miguel de Barros, Guinean sociologist and activist, recently awarded the Pan-African humanitarian award "Leadership in Research & Social Impact". Miguel de Barros is co-founder of the Centre for Social Studies Amílcar Cabral (CESAC), a member of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa and executive director of the Guinean environmental non-governmental organisation Tiniguena. The interview unfolded on two different occasions. The first part was in October 2019, before the pandemic outbreak, and the second part 2 years later, in November 2021, where we address the challenges in knowledge production, historical reparation and social justice in the current planetary context.

1. Knowledge Production, Cultural Diversity, Sustainability and Social Inclusion

In October 2019, a Permanent Seminar on Communication and Diversity session held at the University of Minho was dedicated to cultural diversity, sustainability, and social inclusion. We debated the existing challenges in public participation in governance and knowledge production processes, the conservation practices of natural spaces and resources, and the dialogue among knowledge systems. The seminar was hosted by Miguel

de Barros, CESAC researcher and executive director of Tiniguena - "This is our Land!", one of the oldest non-governmental organisations in Guinea-Bissau. Tiniguena's activities led to the creation, in that country, of the first community-managed protected area, enhancing different forms of public participation, which also involves the acknowledgement of traditional structures in the governance of their own spaces and resources. In this interview[1] with Miguel Barros, we addressed not only Tiniguena and CESAC's activities but also cultural movements in Guinea-Bissau, namely youth movements through music, theatre and other arts, and also the way art dialogues with urban and rural spaces, cultural memory, social awareness, public intervention and knowledge production.

Rosa Cabecinhas (RC): How would you answer the question "who am I"?

Miguel Barros (MB): I am Miguel de Barros, I come from Guinea Bissau and I am a sociologist. I work in various areas such as scientific research through the Centre for Social Studies Amilcar Cabral. I also collaborate with international research networks, for example, the International Network of the Peripheries. This network brings together activists, researchers, creators around an alter-globalist thought. It fosters dialogue between territories, setting the periphery as a centre of power and generating possibilities for the emancipation of peoples, such as Black people and Quilombolas, by articulating the main current agendas, such as the women's condition, income generation and sexual and reproductive rights. These elements allow us to dream, to build bridges, but my activity is not limited to this. I lead one of the oldest non-governmental organisations in Guinea-Bissau, which, thanks to the conservation of natural spaces and resources, created the country's first community-managed protected area. It has enabled to promote forms of public participation recognising traditional structures in the governance of their own spaces and resources. And along with that, the development of cultural movements, whether through urban youth protest songs or rap music and cultural movements around art, especially in how art dialogues with urban space at the same time the issue of memory, social awareness and public intervention.

RC: It is undoubtedly a diverse and interdisciplinary activity, combining knowledge from various fields, but we can start with your concept of governance.

MB: When it comes to governance, first of all, we reject the idea of democratic minimalism, that democracy works only with electoral democracy and also with representativeness through sovereign bodies. We assume that democracy must be seen in its much broader dimension, which is the effective participation of communities in managing their livelihoods, but at the same time, the ability to represent and legitimise these people through traditional local structures. From this standpoint, the concept of governance breaks away from that institutionalised and formalised dimension. It gains a much more endogenous perspective because it allows for a certain ability to transform the concept

[1] The think tank Communitas (2020) features a short excerpt of this interview, with sound and image and editing by Vanessa Cortez.

vis a vis local needs and the people's aspirations towards the level of involvement and representativeness within these structures. In this sense, we believe that the representative democratic system is not the most important element. For us, the priority element is, above all, how to build spaces, mechanisms and instruments allowing collegiality to intervene in the public space while bringing in all the other dimensions that make up the capacity of a certain people and a certain locality to maintain their ties. Moreover, ensure these ties can generate new economic modalities, monetary and financial ecology wise, the ecology of resource exploitation, and knowledge and how this knowledge brings in the identity elements to reinforce the recognition of these actors in this space. I can give you an example. We are working on supporting the animation of the governance process under a co-management regime in the community protected marine area of the Urok Islands. Here, the State is involved in the entire decentralised and sectoral structure, at the levels of fisheries, agriculture, forestry and territorial administration, but is not the only entity that has decision-making capacity. Traditional structures include, for example, the council of elders, where traditional authorities manage the territory according to customs, and for example, the priests and priestesses who care for the spiritual. The women who collect shells are vital for the entire system of age class transition, a social security mechanism. The youths have a role of watching over the whole space since they are users of the resources for market purposes. Still, they are also structuring elements to guard the entire productive labour force locally, which allows them to benefit from this tie-building system to the extent that they also become part of the so-called council of elders. At the same time, this mechanism engages in dialogue with the users of external resources who come to this space knowing and acknowledging the traditional laws but adapting these traditional laws to more modern instruments, such as regulations, laws or ministerial orders. This college meets to make decisions according to the community's vision, that is, it is not the State coming along and saying, "now we are going to build a tourist resort here". The State decides to alienate a space for a certain purpose, but as soon as the community says that this purpose is something we recognise and will assist in the management of this heritage, which in the first place should allow for the regeneration of resources. From that viewpoint, our concept of governance is not only the institutions' operation. It is feeling the impact of the policies institutions adopt because they must ensure representativeness and that they are effective in people's lives. That is far more holistic at understanding the human condition in its relationship with other dimensions, such as nature, the spiritual and the economic.

RC: Such integrated action has been recognised internationally. Tiniguena was awarded the Ecuador Prize 2019 (UNDP), which recognises outstanding efforts in the fight for nature conservation combined with social inclusion. What are the main challenges for the future?

MB: I believe there are four fundamental challenges. The first challenge, which has been much neglected, is integrating local cultures and traditions within the

decision-making process. When we started creating Guinea-Bissau's protected areas, we found communities within those protected areas. For example, human communities are outside the natural parks in many places in southern Africa. But not in Guinea-Bissau. Why did this happen? One, because those spaces are more productive from a biodiversity perspective, they became more productive because there was a cultural capacity to preserve those spaces and resources. What was the mechanism? The mechanism was by making this space sacred, allowing for biological rest, the availability of resources and educating in the sense that the resources must be available for future generations. The land is holy. The land is not sold. The land is managed sustainably so that our intervention today will provide space for future generations. But the most interesting element was when the zoning of the zones that should be conserved within the traditional model came about: the buffer zone, which is the absolute conservation; the transition zone, which allows some extractive activity; and the exploitation zone. The most interesting thing in Guinea-Bissau is that the most productive spaces for species reproduction coincided exactly with the areas that the ethnic communities sacralised. Both in the coastal marine zone, which in the case of the Bijagós are beaches, sandbanks, and the continental area in the Cantanhez region, which are the last sub-humid tropical rainforests in West Africa. These are 14 sacred forests with the highest concentration of medicinal plants and the greatest food availability. So, this type of knowledge must be included in the governance mechanism of natural spaces and resources, so as far as the sustainability of the governance process is concerned, the cultural and spiritual dimension is fundamental.

The second challenge is to find a balance between exploitation for economic development and nature conservation. We have witnessed globally a disaster with the bias of exploitation, basically a practice of extractivism without the capacity to allow these balances, from a natural point of view, to play their role, and we end up spending more money on investment to preserve what we destroy. As we see it, the exploitation of natural spaces and resources must be conducted according to ecological methods and practices safeguarding the creation of clean employment income through the blue economy. For example, the exploitation of marine and coastal resources within an environmental perspective and the green economy, valuing ecosystem services, especially services stemming from the potential of non-timber forestry in terms of biological transformation. That leads us to consider how to safeguard the productive capacity of peasant family farming within the economic system. In other words, not speculators, multinationals or large companies, but rather those who produce, who live off their work and who generate well-being, should also be able to create services to ensure this well-being. So, in this way, there is a much more sustainable relationship in the conservation of spaces and resources, safeguarding sustainability with the ability to generate income and employment through a much more integrated vision.

The third dimension has to do with generational transition. How will the older generation, which lived in a world with much more traditional ways of life, pass on this legacy to the younger, more urban generation, which lives with new technologies and does not

have a direct relationship with the land? How will we pass on this type of knowledge? Here is where the challenge of environmental education, food education, nutritional education, education for clean employment comes in, to foster in the new generations a stronger commitment to their natural, cultural and living space. The education system must be able to incorporate these values, and teacher training must follow a completely different logic from what teachers have today. The knowledge production space itself should also not think that scientific knowledge is completely different from the knowledge that the communities can bring. It is where we achieve this generational synthesis in terms of knowledge, appreciation, commitment, attitudes and practices that are much more favourable to a dimension of durability while also safeguarding their effective participation in governance.

The last challenge has to do with institutions. How can political institutions get closer to these possibilities we are addressing? It has to do with changing the mechanism of political representation. For example, today, saying that only political parties should be in parliament is a completely obsolete model. Parliaments should be more open, more dynamic and more plural spaces allowing for the integration of social movements and adopting the vision of a relationship with the physical, territorial, cultural, human and natural spaces. That way, public policies may also have a much more naturalised component of the livelihoods. Once we manage to combine these four axes, we will have an intercultural dimension. The challenge is to balance gender issues, equality between people and cultures. But, above all, it is also another rationale within the public imagination of what the intervention of each citizen is and should be like in their own territory, but also on a planetary scale.

RC: Since Guinea-Bissau is a country with so much cultural and language diversity, how does this communication work between the different communities, namely the language communities?

MB: I see this as an opportunity, and I will give you some examples. Guinea-Bissau has more than 33 ethnic groups, each of which has its own language and its own way of managing society and politics. For instance, we have ethnic groups with a hierarchical social structure, ethnic groups with a horizontal social structure, and ethnic groups with a matriarchal structure. The lingua franca, Guinean Creole, does not belong to any of these ethnic groups but has at its base the contribution of all these ethnic languages, plus Portuguese. So, Guinean Creole should be regarded not only as a language or communication tool but as a national intangible cultural heritage that is a symbol of national unity for Bissau-Guineans. As I see it, this is the first challenge and the first dimension. For example, how can we safeguard the coexistence of Guinean Creole and Portuguese with other languages? For more than 20 years, we have been developing very interesting initiatives related to communication for social mobilisation through community radio stations and now community television stations. All regions in Guinea-Bissau have at

least one community radio station. Besides broadcasting the news in the official language, Portuguese, and in the lingua franca, which is Guinean Creole, these community radios have specific programmes for the local communities by members of those communities in local languages. For example, we are currently in the agricultural campaign, at the local level, it is not interesting to produce a programme in Portuguese. Still, it is very interesting to have a programme in Balanta, in Mancanha, in Bijagó, for example, because the producers themselves produce and present their programme, bringing the codes and knowledge of production demonstrating the risks and opportunities of local mobilisation. When we are doing this type of action, we are not only contributing to the vitality of these languages, but we are also seizing the chance to transform these languages not only into communication tools but also into heritage linked to the productive and identity system itself. So, I think that this challenge involves the capacity to systematise our learning. Bringing this learning, once again, into the educational space so that children get to know the stories and origins of the languages developed by the communities and which elements are capable of safeguarding these groups' cohesion, and what kind of uses they have. For example, the codes in the production system, the construction of housing, the management of space, and the memories of these people through stories, songs, gastronomy, and economic production. I see it as an advantage for Guinea-Bissau to be within a context where the Guinean identity is not a singular one but one of multiple constructions interacting with these different matrices. Whether ethnic groups professing an African religion or ethnic groups that were Christianised or Islamised, they share the same space, and from that space, they develop a confluence of interethnic relations allowing a greater multilingual dynamism. That's what we should do and not impose one language as a federating language, killing all the existing capacity and development potential that these languages bring into the cultural, economic, identity domain, and production field where there is extremely important knowledge in space management.

RC: Regarding gender inequalities, what are the current intervention priorities in Guinea-Bissau?

MB: Recently, enormous progress has been made on this topic. For example, from the political point of view, we now[2] have a government where half the ministers are women, and the protagonism of a strong women's social movement, led the parliament to adopt the parity law, setting a quota of 36%. We have, for example, interesting legislative progress such as the criminalisation of female genital mutilation through the strong action of civil society organisations, which demystified the taboo of female genital mutilation, a harmful practice to women's health and dignity. The common law is extremely sexist and excludes women's rights of access, use and possession of land when we talk about a country where more than 65% of the labour force in the entire production chain

[2] The situation changed with the new government in 2020 and the low representation of women in the current government, which took office in 2021, remains.

is ensured by women. Still, women do not have the right to possession. There are even more severe cases where women do not have, for example, the right to make a profit out of their own production, which deprives them of all the protagonism in decision-making, influence and, at the same time, affirmation of their condition in rural areas. We also have a country where the highest illiteracy rate is among women and where more than half of every 100 women cannot give birth alive, and children have a critical survival period up to the age of six with malnutrition problems. We have many inequalities, many disparities. While we can celebrate the achievements I have highlighted, they are not enough. More achievements are needed, and how do we ensure this? Firstly, we must completely change our education system, prioritising investment, especially in women's involvement and participation in the education system. About 30% of school-age children fail to access the system in Guinea-Bissau. More than half of this percentage are women because the biggest obstacle to the girls' permanence in the education system is the lack of incentives and public policies. The patriarchal system does not give any advantages to girls to be available in the classroom because the burden of domestic work is extremely strong. I once did a group dynamic in the south, separating two workgroups, boys and girls. I asked them to draw a clock and describe how they spent their time from midnight to the following day. The boys wake up at 8 am, go to the field to keep watch for 2 or 3 hours and then come back, eat, then go to school and have all the free time to play ball. The girls wake up at 5 am, help their mothers with the household chores, take the food to the field, come back and look after their brothers, even if they are older. They have no time to study and do not achieve the desired school performance. So, the education system does not favour the autonomy of time for girls to have leisure time or learning possibilities. The existing public policies do not give girls the opportunity, for example, to benefit from scholarships and to have programmes that transform the educational space into a more attractive space and not into a depressing one. We are not talking about school drop-outs. We are talking about constraints that jeopardise the real possibilities for girls to be on an equal footing with boys within the education system. What is the outcome? We reach the end of the 12th grade, finding more boys than girls finishing compulsory education. Still, the few girls who manage to complete it have the highest grades. Thus, if the social, educational, family and economic conditions of those who can finish are on an equal footing with the boys, they would manage to produce more interesting effects than the boys themselves. So we are talking about the absence of public policies to empower girls through the education system to address all the constraints. Another example, in 2018, we conducted a study in Guinea-Bissau to understand the levels of nutritional food insecurity at the national level, both in rural and urban areas, and what did we find? In rural areas, those within the reproductive food system are women, but female-led households are the most vulnerable to nutritional food insecurity. In urban areas, the families led by women are less susceptible to nutritional food insecurity because there is a higher level of education, more sustainable jobs, higher income, and they have the autonomy to make decisions. In other words, if we do not change the educational system to empower

girls from the creation of empowering self-esteem and, at the same time, capabilities to make autonomous decisions, make their own choices and from there lead their own agendas, it will be very difficult to achieve the desired political transformation. We should not start from the top down. It has to be a movement from the bottom that influences all sectors so that, both in urban and rural areas, we can have equitable conditions that enable the desired structural transformation.

RC: This work from the grassroots has been recognised internationally, for example, the African Humanitarian Award for excellence in research and social impact, and also the recognition as the most influential personality in the year 2018 by the West African Youth Confederation. You have done a lot of work with youth movements...

MB: In Africa, youth represent over 60% of the population. If we look at the representative structure of the African public, political and economic space, we see people over 65 years old in a continent where the young determine consumption and productivity. The gap between this segment regarding their expectations for the future and the capacity of public actors to make decisions influenced very practical things, such as the rural exodus, since all opportunities were concentrated in urban areas. We are talking, for example, about illegal emigration, a mass exodus of young people from the continent in search of other destinations, but where they hardly have the possibility of effective integration because they do not share the codes of those spaces. That happens because there is a disconnect between the representative system and the capacity to meet expectations. Firstly, it has to do with the idea of the future. The concept of the future, for example, transports young people to this condition that they can only be considered actors of tomorrow, which ends up emptying the potential of young people to be actors of the present, of today. At the same time, it takes away a certain capacity for public intervention. It empties the possibilities of political emancipation of these actors. On the other hand, regarding young people merely as engines and workforce and not as committed brains who can also lead their agendas ultimately weakened democracies in Africa because a very strong cultural imprint of the gerontocracy deprives young people of decision-making spaces. Still, fortunately, I believe that things are changing, especially at the level of cultural movements. For example, youth movements around protest songs have brought to the public agenda an intergenerational debate on the issue of governance, the youth condition, how to face social precariousness and to what extent they are prepared. Because today, they have a greater notion of mobility actions, language and knowledge of spaces, which give them tools to manage their own destiny. That has influenced a greater involvement of young people in the economy, greater involvement of young people in political parties, but above all, rethinking the parties' traditional models, and how these social movements can play a role both in updating their own demands and how these demands challenge the public space in their condition as Africans and, in this case, as Bissau-Guineans. From there, we can also draw some very fruitful dialogues. One of those interesting dialogues

is about entrepreneurship, whether it is not the State's disengagement towards labour precariousness or whether they are possibilities of generating alternatives to create well-being. Today that dialogue is alive and has made it possible to rescue traditional ways of mobilising resources, especially financial resources, through savings and credit systems called the "abota". They are groups of women who work together to generate income by making deposits of certain amounts they receive in rotation. That allows them access to social protection, which funds, for example, childbirth, obsequies, baptism, their children's schooling or enables a family member to start an economic activity. These are interesting elements. But when we do not have, for example, a financial and banking system inserted in the community that does not have initiatives to enable access to credit for local productive activities in favourable conditions, all the potential for growth, the creation of well-being and promotion of new ideas is disempowered. Therefore, we must be able to adjust public policies on forms of representation, the mechanism for access to public funding, and, at the same time, the possibility of reforming the education system. So the school itself is connected to the space of production and the ability to generate income opportunities and allows young people not to have the primary ambition of becoming politicians but the autonomy to develop their potential in the different sectors (agriculture, services, etc.) and turn this into their political action. If we manage to do this, the high competition to hijack the State through political parties will decrease considerably. It is a challenge that we must be able to overcome, but without discussing these three pillars, it will be very difficult: the political, the educational and the economic.

RC: Protest songs and community radio have shaped activism in Guinea-Bissau. Theatre also plays an important role in social transformation...

MB: The movement is very important because it does not emerge from an international foreign aid agenda, nor is it tied to public funding mechanisms, but it is an interaction that stems from the local communities themselves, both in urban and rural areas, from what the new generations understand could be movements to retrieve and update the memory and culture of the peoples who traditionally inhabit these spaces. In Guinea-Bissau we tend to call, for example, regions or territories the land of the ethnic group that arrived there first, for instance, Chão Papel - Biombo, Chão Nalu - Catió, Chão Bijagó - Bubaque, Chão Balanta - Mansôa. That is perfectly normalised because it recognises the most ancient cultures inhabiting those areas that allowed other ethnic groups to settle there. In Guinea-Bissau, popular culture is very important. I must draw attention to another heritage that deserves to be valued and elevated to the status of national cultural and material heritage: the Guinean Carnival, which is completely different from other carnivals because it is artisanal, popular, traditional and ethnic, both in the production of masks, songs, choreographies, musical instruments, and everything that emerges from this traditional space. Popular theatre brings something new to this more recent movement we are talking about, which is not only about recovering the memory

but also about intervening by questioning and, at the same time proposing alternative ways to manage the public space. There is an extremely important cultural group in Guinea-Bissau, the Netos de Badim. It emerges from a peripheral context and brings together children and grandparents to interact through theatre. It is essentially a kind of recreation of a pedagogy of coexistence and proximity relations (family, neighbourhood) and interest in the performing art manifested through popular culture. These elements enable us to share the same codes, which are useful resources within our cultural system and the logic of affective economy because from the moment they are with us and share those codes, they can make decisions and care for what is ours. So this dialogue, provided at the local level, at the community level, for me, is what allows us to overcome extremism, for fear of the unknown, for fear of the adversary and, at the same time, will enable us to overcome any possibility or attempt to diminish other cultures that are not the majority. So I think that today in Guinea-Bissau, this is also becoming something that the public actors recognise. When there are any events, even governmental, regional or international, these actors attend to demonstrate the Guinean spirit, which we share and is indivisible. I think that theatre has helped a lot in this, although unfortunately, we do not have any theatres today. In the neighbourhoods, we have spaces for the production and realisation of popular theatres and the cultural centres of the periphery are now emerging. These have allowed children to feel they have a place for integrating not only with each other but also with other generations, enabling the recreation of a whole connection system that is being lost with technological transformations, the expansion of cities and a sort of personalisation of today's lifestyles and consumption.

RC: Fighting asymmetries has been a priority, namely asymmetries in knowledge production. What are the strategies for action in countering "cultural and racial hierarchies" (Cunha et al., 2018, p. 6) in producing and disseminating knowledge?

MB: Societies have greatly lost with the imposition of single cultures or with language supremacy, for example, which ultimately opens a dialogue around the issue of civilisation and the academies reproducing it drastically by legitimising knowledge through so-called scientific production in a solely academic space, when it should be something with a much broader vision, knowing and recognising popular knowledge, articulating spaces of living, coexistence, teaching and learning, and at the same time a greater elasticity of research methodologies. The imposition of single cultures, single civilisations and single languages, which are compulsory and unique, has led to the loss of an enormous heritage of know-how, knowledge, and what could be today not only a greater cultural diversity but a greater wealth of knowledge about our societies. That has become even more crystallised with English as the communication language in the digital networks within the neoliberal expansion. As I see it, the universities play a role in crystallising this space once the production of knowledge has become a much colder production. It is geared toward books and the academic space and not towards

dialogue with other knowledge spaces, such as the indigenous communities, spaces of production systems and not speculation. The neoliberal logic has also come to rule in the governance models of academic spaces. That is very obvious, in the issue of the production of patents, which prioritises the researcher, for example, to keep the royalties of everything that comes as knowledge produced as of the moment s/he catalogues and registers a certain type of knowledge. When the whole ancestral, indigenous, local community and populations in dynamic community spaces allowed for the existence of this knowledge. The most paradigmatic case is that of natural medicine. There has been much dispute regarding the patenting, for example, of genes, of plants that help fight some diseases. That is speculation, and it is neoliberalism because this is knowledge of the peoples. If these peoples do not patent this, it is because they understand that this is their contribution to humanity. So I advocate that the academy must approach the space of knowledge production in a warmer, more involving way, without supervising the production of knowledge, but with a kind of co-participation, with accountability and the involvement of those who own this space in sharing information. That involves, for example, in publications, including those who provide information as co-authors. When we publish, it means placing the local interpretation centres in the same category as the universities supporting us. The university can fund it, but if these people do not give us the information, do not guide us and do not explain it to us, how will we produce knowledge? Ultimately we say that we have discovered it. No, we are sharing the knowledge available in these spaces, and the ridiculous thing is that this knowledge is not given back to the communities afterwards. In other words, it is necessary to remodel the mechanisms of knowledge production, transform the protagonists, whom we usually call informants, into actors of knowledge, and create ways of creating patents that allow knowledge to be freely accessible. I strongly believe in this vision. So I think that the way academic research is being done today is an interpellation of what dialogue should be in the neoliberal model of knowledge production towards more emancipated models of knowledge generation and sharing. The challenge we face today lies in this much more humanised dialogue.

2. Pandemic Crisis, Climate Emergency, Historical Reparation and Social Justice

During the pandemic, we were confronted with realities that we would have thought unthinkable in the 21st century, like the increase in flagrant forms of social discrimination and new forms of apartheid (TVT Network, 2021). The pandemic has made social inequalities more dramatic and made it even more urgent to raise awareness of the need for social transformation. That gave a new impetus to several movements, namely the movement for open science, to provide conditions for cultural fruition and access to knowledge through digital channels. Scanning documents that were so far confined to museums and libraries has allowed a wide dissemination of works that have long been in the shadows and are now retrieved and read in the light of current concerns, bringing new

issues into public debate. Furthermore, the new communication technologies have provided a platform for creating and disseminating ideas and artistic interventions that have fuelled demands for historical reparation and climate, health and food justice. Historical reparation entails rethinking and rewriting the history of humanity (cf. Chakrabarty, 2021; Macamo, 2021), the history of science and the dialogue between diverse knowledge systems. Knowledge production requires a more involving and participatory process, both inside and outside the academy, more than ever.

In November 2021, 2 years after the interview on which the first part of this text was based, we met again. This time through Zoom, for a conversation during which we addressed the challenges of knowledge production, historical reparation and social justice in the current planetary context.

RC: Some of the issues we addressed in the conversation held before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic have become even more pertinent in the framework we are currently experiencing, namely regarding scientific production. Who produces knowledge. Who is given the conditions for this production. Who is recognised in it, and how the benefits of knowledge are distributed. As you mentioned at the time, the interviewees are often presented as mere informants and not as producers of knowledge, thus making invisible the knowledge passed on from generation to generation and which is often patented by third parties, leading to flagrant injustices and omissions.

MB: These are ways of looking at the world and how scientific production stands before these world views. At how societies are being confronted with transformations that are often the result of human action itself, which has not been carefully managed. On the other hand, societies that have never been predatory become victims of predatory activity. How to create bonds of communication and solidarity and share instruments based on scientific and popular knowledge? There are very challenging elements such as vaccines, the digital passport, the economy, social protection issues, the role of the State...

RC: When we talk about historical reparation, we tend to focus on the past and not so much on building the future[3]. The pandemic has made different forms of reparation more urgent, from material to symbolic dimensions.

MB: We need to bring in the dimension of economic and related concerns, but the symbolic aspect is more productive, and here one can retrieve the historical heritage, the cultural heritage, the related knowledge. For example, how rice farming integrated the culture in the Americas through slavery and how it contributed to the transfer of knowledge about food security. Recognising this leads to a more complex issue, which

[3] On this subject, refer to the study by Licata et al. (2018) on the social representations of colonisation and attitudes towards historical redress among higher education students in various African and European countries.

is the question of food sovereignty. These very people who shared the knowledge are the ones who are now lacking the capacity to produce healthy food and are in a situation of injustice to access food products. Bringing this up relates to the issue of intellectual property... This is a very complex issue that needs to be problematised.

RC: For example, the open science movement has gained new momentum. However, the issue should not be limited only to access as mere consumers of knowledge, but the recognition that one is a producer of scientific knowledge. We also need to question binarisms, for example, between what is considered scientific knowledge and "endogenous" knowledge.

MB: I prefer the term traditional knowledge, which is broader than endogenous. I was just in Alentejo, and I can see clearly how the multinationals are crushing family production. Within the tradition, there is modern, and there are innovation processes in the tradition itself. The traditional is not always the opposite of the modern. What differs are the forms of innovation — the question is to what extent innovation creates or deprives people.

The market economy and the various economic transitions have weakened the structure of traditional knowledge. For example, structural adjustment programmes have created situations of extreme inequality. With COVID-19, we are now dealing with the consequences of this economic model. The political processes that conditioned the financial, the neoliberal model, both in Africa [e.g., Lopes & Kararach, 2020] and South America and Southern Europe... The perverse effects of the economic and labour model that we see in large intensive monoculture farms are very visible... these are processes that translate into the suffering and disruption of societies.

RC: Indeed, the asymmetries in the distribution of material and symbolic resources became quite evident during the pandemic. Social inequalities also translate into the economy of attention, reinforcing social stereotypes. It impacts the way we invest our time when we want to know, to learn about the world... Namely in what we read and whom we read... Furthermore, the scientific referencing systems often reinforce asymmetries, namely the language asymmetries, which prioritise publications in English, thus contributing to focusing attention on the "big scientific centres" and making the knowledge production of the so-called peripheries invisible[4].

[4] Moreover, the contribution of people in more precarious professional situations in the structure of scientific organisations (e.g. fellows and temporary workers) is often not properly recognised in terms of authorship. Nor is the contribution of people who make illustrations and design the scientific works, but whose role is sometimes decisive in scientific creation and dissemination processes. Gender and other inequalities make this issue even more complex (cf., Merton, 1968; Rossiter, 1993; García-Jiménez & Simonson, 2021).

MB: Hence the importance of fighting such hegemonic hierarchies of knowledge. It is necessary to combat historical amnesia and make the process of knowledge production more participatory and involving. Historical reparation entails thinking about how to build the future together and preserve biological and cultural diversity. It means pondering how the historical past interferes in all the dimensions of our every day and creating new knowledge in dialogue.

Translation: Anabela Delgado

Authors' Contribution

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Understanding How Baby Boomers Use the Internet and Social Media to Improve the Engagement with Brands

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Abstract

The emergence of the baby boomers, as a new group of people aged 55 to 75, with unique interests, media exposure and shopping habits, set a before and after in the language that brands must speak. The main objective of social media is to build engagement, and in the digital environment, it means engaging both seniors and companies. For this, learning how they act in the digital environment is key. This paper aims to show how baby boomers behave in this environment, showing the challenges and advantages brands have to reach them effectively. Based on an exploratory and qualitative study with focus groups of senior internet and social network users from Portugal and Spain, the results show that analysing their habits of exposure to these media and the interests, brands do not seem to speak the same language they do, and that is why baby boomers do not feel engaged with them online. This work provides recommendations to get this engagement and improve the digital experience. In this line, to build this engagement, brands need to understand the variables of interest for baby boomers stemming from this study: affiliation and support. On the other hand, they must assume that this level of engagement will depend on establishing an active dialogue, with content targeted at different segments of the population, related to the variables above (affiliation and support), and to a degree enough to reach baby boomers emotionally.

Keywords

ageing, social media, motivations, brand engagement, baby boomers

Compreender Como os *Baby Boomers* Utilizam a Internet e os Média Sociais Para Melhorarem o Seu *Engagement* Com as Marcas

Resumo

O aparecimento dos *baby boomers*, como um novo grupo de pessoas/consumidores entre os 55 e os 75 anos, com interesses, hábitos de exposição aos média e padrões de compra únicos, assinalou um marco importante sobre a linguagem das marcas. O principal objetivo dos média sociais é criar *engagement* com o intuito de gerar ligação e impactar tanto os seniores como as empresas, sendo necessário, para isso, compreender como atuam no meio digital. Este trabalho tem como principal objetivo mostrar como os *baby boomers* se comportam no meio digital, apresentando as vantagens e os desafios que as marcas enfrentam para os envolver de forma efetiva. Partindo de um estudo exploratório e qualitativo operacionalizado através de grupos de foco com internautas seniores, de Portugal e Espanha, que analisou os interesses e os hábitos de exposição deste público a esses meios, os resultados mostram que as marcas parecem não falar a mesma linguagem deste público e, por essa razão, os *baby boomers* não se sentem comprometidos com elas na internet. Este trabalho avança com um conjunto de recomendações passíveis de melhorar o *engagement* e a experiência digital dos mais velhos. Nesse sentido, para criar *engagement*, as marcas devem conseguir entender e descortinar quais são as variáveis e pontos de interesse dos *baby boomers*, como é o caso da afiliação e do apoio. Por outro lado, devem assumir que o nível de *engagement* depende da capacidade de estabelecerem com eles um diálogo ativo, com conteúdo dirigido a diferentes segmentos da população, tendo em consideração as variáveis anteriores (afiliação e apoio), e emocionalmente relevante.

Palavras-chave
envelhecimento, média sociais, motivações, *engagement* com a marca, *baby boomers*

1. Introduction

The ageing population is a fact worldwide and has had a significant social and economic impact this century. In this line, for Aboim (2014), the older population reveals a certain degree of resignation to ageing as a natural process. However, a series of aspects emerge as problematic for them: deterioration of the body and health, sexuality, loss of activity, isolation and social discrimination, as particularly relevant dimensions to consider.

According to the United Nations (2015a, 2015b), in the European Union, people over 65 will be around 30% of the total population by 2060. In this context, the so-called "baby boomers", men and women aged 55 to 75, who are not digital natives, have developed skills typical of natives but with different dynamics (Coolhunting Group, 2017), making them a new target for brands (Boardman, 2019).

According to Miranda et al. (2020), the internet and social media networks have been introduced into the daily lives of these senior people, influencing communication, engagement and participation with their social environment (Fuchs, 2017). That makes older people an attractive market segment due to their high purchasing power and improved life expectancy (Friemet, 2016). In fact, the challenge was already raised by Coleman et al. (2006), when they started talking about the baby boomer generation as

people with active positions in life, interesting from an economic point of view, for the creation and promotion of a wide variety of products and services, specially tailored to their needs, using marketing methods also adapted to this group and using segmentation strategies based on psychographics and to demographics.

More research on the attitudes and behaviours of baby boomers is needed to understand how to engage these customers effectively on social media (Nunan & Di Domenico, 2019). Although studies and reports exist (Coolhunting Group, 2017; "La Generación Senior 4.0: Cómo Seducirlos", 2019), little academic work has been developed on this topic. According to Towner and Lego Muñoz (2016), less academic research has been carried out on the influence of social media on this group, as research has been more focused on millennials. According to Hutto et al. (2014), "very little research has examined how older people use digital platforms" (p. 1755), reinforcing the need to understand how, in this context, they relate to brands and how brands relate to them to generate engagement.

According to Miranda et al. (2020), although the specialised literature provides some theoretical and empirical evidence, above all, it exposes the limitations and weaknesses of research in the area. If, on the one hand, the literature is still scarce and fragmented, on the other hand, some focus is placed on the reasons for the use of social media networks, seeking to understand their effects and benefits in dimensions such as quality of life (Yang et al., 2016), stress reduction (Wright, 2000), depression (Cotten et al., 2013), life satisfaction (Nimrod, 2010), or the promotion of well-being. However, there is a lack of knowledge about this specific new audience so that brands can adapt to it.

Therefore, this article aims to identify how baby boomers relate to social media networks within the current digitalisation, based on the assumption that baby boomers may be potential audiences of interest for brands that want to target them in the future.

The research question arising is: are baby boomers in Spain and Portugal ready to engage with brands? That would drive us to address the question: what can brands do to improve this relationship with them?

Therefore, the particular objectives of this paper are:

- to deepen our understanding of baby boomers' uses of the internet and social media networks to improve affiliation with their peers (in terms of peers' common interest and brands they use as groups),
- to discover the main motivations and barriers that baby boomers face when adopting these new digital technologies to seek support and socialise,
- to provide some keys to improve baby boomers' digital engagement with brands.

To this end, this paper first reviews the literature, then explains the study methodology and provides the main results, concluding with a series of recommendations for brands that want to include baby boomers as target audiences.

2. Theoretical Framework

According to the report of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC; Abellán García et al., 2019), the European Union countries with the highest number of older

people are Germany (17,500,000), Italy (13,500,000), France (12,900,000), the United Kingdom (11,900,000) and Spain (8,800,000). In relative terms, Italy (22.3%) leads the way, followed by Germany (21.2%), Greece (21.5%) and Portugal (21.1%) as the most ageing countries, with their proportion increasing every year. Spain is slightly below the European Union average (19.4%) and very close to Portugal.

Particularly in the case of Portugal (Miranda et al., 2020), this trend occurred late. However, it accelerated from having the least aged population in 1980 to having one of the highest ageing rates in 2012 (Rosa, 2012). Statistics Portugal (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2020) forecasts that in 2080 "the number of older people (65 and over) will increase from 2.2 to 3.0 million" (p. 1). Thus, "the ageing ratio in Portugal will almost double, from 159 to 300 older people for every 100 young people, in 2080" (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2020, p. 1).

According to the data from the Spanish National Statistics Institute for the year 2019 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2021), this deterioration will tend to continue over the next 40 years, from 2,100,000 to 2,800,000 older people, from 147 to 317 older people, for every 100 young people.

In the case of Spain, according to the CSIC (Abellán García et al., 2019), the population pyramid continues its ageing process, measured by the increase in the proportion of people over 65 years. For the Spanish National Statistics Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2021) in 2018, 19.1% of the total population were older people, thus increasing both in number and proportion in 2019. Projections from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2021) indicate that in 2068 there could be more than 14,000,000 older people, 29.4% of the total Spanish population. In the case of Portugal, as mentioned above, in 2080, there could be around 3,000,000 older people, 36.6% of the total Portuguese population forecasted (8,200,000), whereas "the working-age population (15 to 64 years old) will decrease from 6.6 to 4.2 million people" (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2020, p. 1).

3. Digitalisation Among Baby Boomers

According to the latest published data on the digitalisation of older people in Portugal (Cardoso et al., 2015; Miranda et al., 2020), internet use by age group showed a 12% rate for 65+ people. Among non-users, the reasons seem to be lack of skills (60%) and lack of interest and perception of the resource's usefulness (22%).

According to the CSIC (Abellán García et al., 2019), there is a perceived digital divide between the over-55s and the rest of the population in Spain. However, this gap has been narrowing rapidly in recent years, especially because people who were already using the internet came of age, not due to the digital literacy of older people. In 2007, the gap was 78.6 % between the most connected age group (16–24 years) and the oldest (65–74 years); in 2018, it narrowed to 51.6 %. In 2008, seven seniors out of every 100 used the internet; in 2018, this figure stands at 47 per 100 seniors. This increase has been more significant among women.

4. Baby Boomers' Characterisation

Baby boomers are men and women aged 55 to 75 (Coolhunting Group, 2017) who want to stay active. They consider themselves "digital immigrants", but this does not mean that they use digital media for basic communication. They have high purchasing power, and their health is a priority, especially among women (Saucedo Soto et al., 2018), who are concerned about their family's financial well-being and are interested in providing support to their community, want to stay young and integrated into society and context (Aboim, 2014). Therefore, according to Majón-Valpuesta et al. (2021), the popularity of the baby boomer generation will expectedly lead to claiming new spaces for social participation.

Work from Miranda et al. (2020) shows that age seems an explanatory factor for people's digital behaviour, while Loos (2012) warns that it is a big mistake to look at older people as a homogeneous group. Variables such as gender, educational background and income level (Abellán García et al., 2019) should also be considered to characterise them. White and Cornu (2011) talk about attitudes, behaviours and usage practices they consider to be much more related to the level of motivation and context than to age.

Thus, according to "La Generación Senior 4.0: Cómo Seducirlos" (2019) and following Lasierra-Esteban (2020) thesis, perhaps the division by age should not be the most appropriate. However, from a commercial point of view, the senior segment can be said to have four main groups, which may be juxtaposed in age:

- *Early retirees* (50–65). Although this group starts at 55, many people turning 50 are already thinking about retirement. In addition, younger spouses married to retirees may also be in this segment, as they make decisions prior to their partner's retirement. In fact, for Lasierra-Esteban (2020), although the division by age should not be the most appropriate, she recognises the true boomers in this bracket, considering those who have reached the age of 60 as seniors.
- *Grandparents and relatives* (+50). Grandparents and family seniors deserve a separate segmentation, as they often invest a lot of time and money in relatives and respond well to targeted ads.
- *Late retirees* (65–75). This segment comprises age groups above the standard retirement age who are still working.
- *Active retirees* (+65). This group of adults no longer earns active income. Their money comes from savings.

Certainly, the older they are, the more security-conscious, health-conscious and conservative they are, and there need not be major geographical or contextual differences between the different groups, as Lasierra-Esteban (2020) also explains.

5. Baby Boomers and Their Social Media Exposure Habits

Work by the Coolhunting Group (2017) shows that 91% of baby boomers use one or more social media networks, with no other demographic group increasing their presence on social media platforms as much, doubling from 24% in 2016 to 48% as of 2017. Furthermore, baby boomers are more stable in the digital context, are more predisposed to receive quality content, read more and visit brand websites longer. In addition, around 70% enjoy watching videos. On the same note, based on work by Lehr (2015), around 25% of baby boomers consume more than 20 hours of online content per week.

However, they have different design needs and different content interests, so creating tailored content should become a priority.

The IAB Spain (2021) study concludes that Spaniards' most used social media networks are WhatsApp, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram. Compared to 2018, Facebook lost the first position to WhatsApp. This study concludes that WhatsApp is the most used app by adults aged 65+ because, as their entire environment has the app, it drives their need to feel connected with family and friends. The study provides that this does not mean that they are permanently attentive to the phone during the day but repeatedly make brief consultations over time. Apart from WhatsApp, their preferred social media network seems to be Facebook, with Instagram becoming increasingly popular (IAB Spain, 2021). Older people thus tend to make more selective and rational use of social media networks, usually in a different order of priority (Boardman, 2019). According to Bento et al. (2018), when people were born in the digital era, they actively contribute, share and consume content on social media networks, whereas older adults use the "active" features of Facebook, such as Facebook chatting and uploading photos much less than younger users (Hayes et al., 2015). Moreover, young users tend to engage in conversations and are both producers and consumers of information, which sets them apart from people. Therefore, following Bento et al. (2018, p. 236), if there are different behaviours in different generations, it would be relevant to investigate these behaviours in different generations concerning engagement on social media networks.

6. Social Media Networks for Corporate Communication

As baby boomers become a natural trend (Balcerzak & Nielek, 2017), their enormous consumer potential is highlighted. According to Peregrina et al. (2017), baby boomers shop online with the same frequency as millennials but spend more. Kantar World Panel (Centromarca, 2018) underlines that besides their purchasing power, they value quality, are more loyal to brands and, finally, are sensitive to the way brands communicate with them.

Thus, according to Carrillo-Durán and Tato-Jiménez (2019), it is necessary to reflect on the use of social media networks that brands make with different stakeholders to evaluate the real interest of brands in communicating with baby boomers through social media networks.

It is assumed that companies need corporate communication channels (not only commercial communication channels) that facilitate the fulfilment of their objectives and ensure contact between brands and stakeholders. In this sense, it is important to set up a social media strategy that includes social media networks, not only considering them for commercial online interactions. Thereby, gaining competitive advantages through social media networks should not be understood only as making it possible to generate traffic (Narváez & Montalvo, 2014) through interaction among users. Therefore, "users" must be understood broadly, encompassing different stakeholders.

If social media networks are a good channel to engage stakeholders, they will be a good channel to build corporate communication through engagement with brands. Social media networks have become a tool for companies to get to know their stakeholders whose needs and views they cannot ignore. In sum, the most relevant barriers to companies using social media networks in their social media strategy are economic issues, staff training, lack of control, and, above all, mixing different targets and generations.

Therefore, there is a need to reinforce research on the impact of social media networks on different targets. On the one hand, a quantitative measure of the effectiveness of social media networks could show any lack of expertise related to the benefits of creating a dialogue with different stakeholders. On the other hand, a qualitative approach would be in line with the possibility of actively listening to stakeholders, not just hearing their online conversations.

Establishing and maintaining appropriate contacts with stakeholders through social media networks is vital to managing corporate communication. It requires the definition of a map of the firm's groups of stakeholders (consumers, new potential customers, and of course, baby boomers should be considered a new stakeholder...) and combining them with the possibilities provided by each type of social media network. It is also important to establish the level of relationship and active communication necessary with each of those groups. To this end, some variables can be considered to help determine the relative importance of communication with each stakeholder group. For example, one might establish general variables to help delimit the firm's strategy, each group's importance for the organisation, and the capacity of each group to influence the opinions of the other stakeholder groups. In this line, it is relevant to know what motivations can prompt action of different stakeholder groups, especially baby boomers, as a new target to consider. This work is trying to look into this issue to know more about baby boomers' behaviour in the context of the Internet and social media networks.

7. The Engagement in Social Media Networks

Engagement understood as a permanent commitment between brands and users, is a concept that stems from another, which is dialogue. Calder and Malthouse (2009) suggest that engagement links audiences and brands to establish a dialogue and continuous interaction in both directions, co-creating value.

According to Taylor and Kent (2014, p. 384), the term is commonly used in the literature but rarely defined. For Dijkmans et al. (2015), it is a multidimensional concept defined as "a combination of cognitive aspects (e.g. being interested in a company's activities), behavioural aspects (participating in the company's activities), and/or emotional aspects (having positive feelings in relation to the company's activities)" (p. 59).

Therefore, three dimensions of engagement can be established: the behavioural or dialogical dimension (based on social interactions), the cognitive dimension of interest in the brand and its contents, and the emotional dimension based on feelings towards

the brand. Therefore, brands must strive to work sequentially in these three directions, as it is not possible to reach the emotional level without establishing dialogue and creating content.

According to Carrillo-Durán and Tato-Jiménez (2019), there are many expressions of online behaviour of engagement with a company based on experiencing interest and interacting, contributing or participating with the company. Social media networks have this capacity, but organisations have to activate it. For example, a question to generate debate can foster interactivity and dialogue. Nonetheless, while interactivity must be guaranteed, what is important in generating value is that the public feels committed to the firm. For this, the dialogue must be effective and not simply seek commitment just through actions that produce a one-off type of gratification.

Regarding the cognitive dimension, the organisation has to work both on the content it posts to social media networks and on that generated by its stakeholders. About content posted by the organisation, García García et al. (2017) suggest there is a need to prepare information showing what the firm is like and what its values are. Concerning user-created content, the firm's intention must be to reduce content consumption without the participation and increase the contribution and creation of content.

Concerning the emotional aspects of engagement, social media networks can present an emotional dimension of the company while dealing directly with its different stakeholders (Dijkmans et al., 2015). According to the broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson, 2001), personal information accumulated while exposed to positive emotions lasts longer than temporary ones. Therefore, one can say that users whose experiences through social media networks are positive extend their well-being to other aspects of their lives. This connection can be achieved through such techniques as branded content (communication designed to transmit values and emotions, which, with a well-constructed discourse, generate a connection between the firm and the public). The goal is to generate affinity rather than to sell a product. Connecting with your audiences through a story with a character and plot appeals to the emotional side.

In sum, engagement can be improved by being clear that, firstly, the messages must be adapted to the different stakeholder groups — a single message cannot connect with everyone. Secondly, the firm's audiences must learn something useful, not wasting their time. If something does not work on social media networks, the firm can redirect it. Thirdly, the firm must always consider the public's perspective. An organisation without empathy will not reach people because it does not listen to them.

In this context, engagement between brands and baby boomers is essential to meet their needs. However, this is not possible without understanding the motivation and behaviour of baby boomers on social media, hence the real interest of this paper.

8. Key Variables in the Baby Boomers' Relationship With Social Media Networks

Regarding the possible motivations of older people for the presence and use of social media networks, Krishen et al. (2016) talk about affinity, affiliation, belonging,

interactivity and innovation as relevant variables. Similarly, Berezan et al. (2020) suggest that, for older people, interactivity and belonging are fundamental elements to improve. Majón-Valpuesta et al. (2021) also established in their study three axes/variables that allowed them to interpret the data extracted from the focus groups carried out: interaction with others, forms of participation and social contribution.

Therefore, following these authors, we established the following variables as the most representative in the baby boomer segment.

8.1. Affiliation Variable

This variable is related to the fact of looking for community interests. According to Oh and Syn (2015), social media networks may gather people connected by the same interests to develop community identification and encourage various activities within this community.

Work by IAB Spain (2021) shows that social media networks allow baby boomers to carry-out everyday actions, such as saying what the members of this population group think, commenting on news, chatting, listening to what others who agree with them are doing and thinking, knowing where they are and knowing what those who belong to their group are doing. Along these lines, baby boomers tend to be more inclined to share political content on social media networks (Coolhunting Group, 2017). However, rather than exposing their privacy, these users enjoy sharing articles, photos and videos related to their interests.

While they like to feel integrated and part of the lifestyles and habits of younger generations, they also like companies to offer them solutions for their specific and unique needs. An example in this line is Silvernest, a vertical social media network for people who want to share a home to avoid loneliness or share expenses.

All of this is influenced by the person's social and professional profile, their digital background, the networks they use, and the use they make of them to seek to follow brands. Thus, this variable is connected to brand affiliation motivation, so they generally will follow the brands on social media networks they often buy/consume, brands that are consistent with their lifestyle or they wish to buy in future, although they cannot afford or do not want to buy immediately.

Bento et al. (2018) states that "brands should adapt their posted online content to the characteristics of their specific audience. Accordingly, value co-creation among community participants acts as a prominent driving force in the context of social media" (p. 234). In this sense, in environments such as social media, people can align around particular values even without directly interacting (Zappavigna & Martin, 2018, p. 6). Zappavigna and Martin (2018) developed a model for social media communication's "ambient" nature, where social bonding can occur even without direct dialogue between users. They proposed a discursive system, referred to as "communing affiliation", for describing how values are positioned in three ways very close to the engagement stages: by being directed

at particular communities (convoking), entering into relationships with other potential value positions, and being foregrounded interpersonally in various ways (promoting).

8.2. Support Variable

Supporting behaviour is a strong motivating factor. According to Oh and Syn (2015), social media is a venue for people to gather to provide and receive social and emotional support. Social theories mostly focus on how one can benefit from social activities with others. Supporting behaviour has to do with caring for others' feelings or situations.

Although according to Kelly et al. (2017, p. 14), social support has been shown to promote resilience, whereas simply engaging in social activities or having a larger network of friends may not translate to the kind of social-emotional support required for older people. However, it is a fact that older people are looking for support outside and within social media networks. In addition, according to Wohn and Lee (2013), the main driver for older users in the social media networks is reciprocity (i.e., baby boomers look forward to getting some supporting behaviour, whereas younger users' main driver is hanging about). In this sense, if that is the goal, baby boomers need to learn to engage with brands in social media networks.

This goal can put them under pressure, so according to IAB Spain (2021), the best way to help them is to take the pressure off. Do not urge anyone to enter social media networks or interact with them, but teach them how to use the channels to get the most out of them. Thus, when people start sharing content on social media networks, they become an active part of these social spaces, seeking to be supported and willing to engage with their sender.

Thus, according to Rebelo (2013), social media networks (in this case, Facebook) are instruments that enhance the reinforcement of social ties through a constant dialogue with the past, multiplying reunions with people, friends and family or meeting other people in the same situation. Indeed, for Davalos et al. (2015), nostalgia is an important catalyst for baby boomers to access social media networks.

Therefore, feeling supported is directly related to why baby boomers use networks (making friends, communicating with family...) and their network behaviours, that is, the time they spend on networks and which devices they use more or less flexibly. All these indicators will also be observed in this study.

9. Material and Methods

To meet the proposed objectives, a qualitative analysis was carried out using a focus group as a data collection technique used in studies on the same group (Majón-Valpuesta et al., 2021). A methodology based on the definition of the dependent and independent variables was used to conduct this work. The dependent variable is the study of the perceptions and uses that the people who voluntarily participate in this work (included in the baby boomers) make of the digital context. For this purpose, four different focus groups were analysed in this study, two in Spain and two in Portugal. The reason for choosing

the two countries is not to seek differentiation as diversity. In this, we follow the thesis of Lasierra-Esteban (2020), whose work did not seem to be great differences in values between different countries but within the groups observed as older (boomers and seniors for the author). "In our case, we reject the idea that generations have a set of values that hardly change and we observe, on the contrary, that the value system of individuals is quite similar across generations in the countries studied" (Lasierra-Esteban, 2020. p. 366).

The independent variables that explain the dependent variable and that have been previously defined are affiliation and support/socialisation. Thus, according to the description of each variable above, the following indicators have been used.

First independent variable, *affiliation*:

- professional and social profile of members;
- members' digital training;
- networks where they have profiles at the time of the study;
- members' use of social networks to search for products and interest in brands on social media networks.

Second independent variable, *support*:

- reasons for using the networks: to communicate, to make friends (socialise), to publish;
- behaviour on social media networks, that is, the time they spend on social media networks and which device they use.

10. Sample Description

In order to carry out this study, the researchers of the project approached the universities for seniors. These university programs are aimed at all people over 55 years of age who want to learn and enjoy university. Their objective is to facilitate adults' personal and social development, regardless of their residence and income level. It incorporates older people into the opportunities offered by the new information society, encourages the participation of older people as future facilitators in their own socio-cultural context and provides a space for technological debate. With all this, these university programs have provided a very heterogeneous sample that is distributed as follows.

10.1. Spain

Two groups with 22 people, 13 women and nine men, with a minimum age of 60, maximum age of 73 and an average age of 67. Regarding the academic level, 11 have university studies, bachelor degrees or vocational training; the rest do not specify. All the participants are retired and are students at the senior university.

10.2. Portugal

Two focus groups with 18 participants. Of these, 11 were women, and seven were men. The average age is 68.3 years, with a minimum age of 60 and a maximum age of

79. Education-wise, participants are evenly distributed between graduates up to the 9th grade (nine) and between 10th and 12th grade (nine). All participants are retirees and students at senior universities.

11. Methodology

The focus group sessions took place in Badajoz (Spain) and Lisbon (Portugal) between September and November 2019 (Portugal) and November 2019 and January 2020 (Spain). The group interviews were conducted in spaces provided by the educational centres adapted to the needs of the research. An authorisation to record the sessions' audio, always ensuring data confidentiality, was requested from the participants. The interviews lasted approximately 1 and a half hours and were led by a moderator, who guided the semi-structured interview questions according to the group dynamics and the study's objectives.

Once completed, they were transcribed, and their content was analysed according to the indicators of each study variable.

12. Results

In addition to the information on the volunteer participants' profiles above described, the main results are as follows.

12.1. Spanish Focus Groups

About the participants' level of competence on social media networks and their presence on them through profiles, certain differences can be observed between the two groups. The participants in the first Spanish focus group (FGE1), although they do have a profile on the social media network Facebook, state that, in general, they have a medium-low knowledge of what they can do on it. However, the second Spanish focus group (FGE2) is a group with medium-high knowledge of the social media network Facebook (some have even taken courses), all participants have a profile on the social network Facebook, some of them also on Instagram. Two people have a Facebook page and post photos and videos on YouTube.

Overall, they created a Facebook profile because other people (family or friends) suggested it, and, in some cases, the rest of their circle of people had a profile, and they did not want to be "left out".

In terms of use, in FGE1, the average frequency of use is low, with occasional use for half of the sample. In FGE2, the general frequency of use is daily. In this group, some people posted content every day on Facebook. Moreover, in FGE2, they are clear about the limits of this tool and how they should use it, which is not the case in FGE1.

Although they also report using WhatsApp in their daily activity, Facebook is the social media network they use the most. Their use of Facebook is mainly to communicate within their group and post photos of their excursions, videos, or share opinions, and so forth.

In FGE1, two male participants say that they go on Facebook for professional interests in business and music to find out what is new in their fields of interest. A participant in FGE2 defines Facebook "as a neighbourhood playground where everyone is connected and finds out about everything" and where "some want to find out about everything and remain anonymous".

The main time of use is at night (not in the early morning), although some use it at any time of the day. The average time spent on Facebook is less than 1 hour per day (in the FGE1, almost all report spending more than 1 hour per day on WhatsApp).

In terms of devices, the mobile phone is a widely used device and the preferred device in FGE2 (seven participants use it to connect to social networks), while in FGE1, the computer is the preferred device for eight participants (for only three in FGE2).

The higher the consumption, the higher the use of the social media network from the mobile phone, and the lower the consumption, the lower the use of the social media network from the mobile phone. Connections are mainly made from home. They use it mainly to share content, meet people, seek their peers' support.

When asked if using social media networks improves or worsens their quality of life, they say that it is good for them to obtain information and as a benefit and company for those who live alone; Facebook helps them be more active, and their minds are more occupied.

The negative point is that it takes away hours of rest at night and hours of reading. Similarly, people who say they do not know how to use it well are afraid of possible security-related problems. Similarly, some say that there is a certain invasion of their privacy. In short, as expressed by one of the participants, "if it were a person, I would define Facebook as a well-informed, well-connected and somewhat 'gossipy' person".

As for the use of Facebook to access the profiles of specific brands, they see this as a drawback; they feel intimidated by the subsequent use of their data for advertising. Therefore, they are not consumers of brands through their Facebook profiles, nor do they show much interest in searching for brands on any other social media network. They would like to find accurate product information and discounts if they did.

12.2. Portuguese Focus Groups

In Portugal, this study involved 18 volunteer participants in two focus groups. Participants use Facebook as the predominant network, although they indicate that they have profiles on several social media networks: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Skype, WhatsApp and YouTube. Facebook is the social network where the majority, 16 out of 18 participants, have an active profile. The second social media network with the highest number of users is WhatsApp, with four people with an active profile. Twitter and Instagram are the two social media networks least used by the participants. As for Skype and YouTube, each network is used by one participant.

As for the reasons that made them join social media networks, the data show four reasons for creating a profile on social networks: to seek support from others, be where others are, apply acquired knowledge about the internet environment and work reasons.

The people who played an important role in creating these profiles are family members or co-workers.

In terms of devices, the mobile phone is the most used device to access social media networks in the groups in Portugal. Out of the 18 participants, 17 use their mobile phones to access social media networks. The computer is another device used by most participants in both countries. Tablets are not used as a form of access in Portugal.

Participants indicated they access social networks from several places, such as their homes, bus, supermarket and café. Home is where Portuguese participants spend the most time on social media networks. However, some mentioned that they could access them anywhere.

As for the time of day they access social media networks, most people did not specify a time. Regarding their interest in brands through Facebook, of the 18 participants, only seven showed that they were engaged and interacting with brands through Facebook, although at different intensities.

Table 1 shows a comparative summary of the most relevant results.

Variable	Indicator	Spain	Portugal
Affiliation	Participants' profile	Of the 22 participants: 13 women/nine men, average age of 67; 11 with university studies/ the rest do not specify; retirees (not exercising any professional activity), students at seniors universities	Of the 18 participants: 11 women/seven men, average age of 68.3; nine between graduates up to the 9th grade/nine with 10–12 years of age studies; retirees (not exercising any professional activity), students at seniors universities
	Digital training	First Spanish focus group (FGE1): medium-low knowledge; second Spanish focus group (FGE2): medium-high knowledge	Some of them medium-low knowledge, and some of them medium-high
	Networks used	All use Facebook and WhatsApp; some Instagram; two use YouTube (uploading content)	Of the 18 participants, 16 have an active profile on Facebook; four have a profile in WhatsApp; others used: Instagram, Twitter, Skype (one), and YouTube (one)
	Brands-related use	None for that purpose. They see the use of Facebook to access brand's profiles as a drawback (they feel intimidated/fear of using their data for advertising)	Seven showed that they were engaged and interacting with brands through Facebook
Support	Reasons for using	Because people around them (family/friends) had profiles. Mainly to share content, and secondarily to meet people, to seek the support of their peers	To seek support from others, to be where others are, to apply acquired knowledge about the internet environment and for work reasons
	Behaviour on social media (time/devices/ where)	Time: FGE1 occasional use/ FGE2 daily use; devices: FGE1 computer/ FGE2 prefers mobile phone; where: they use it at home	Time: they did not specify; devices: 17 out of 18 use the mobile phone (computer is also used; no tablets used); where: mainly at home, but also outside (mobiles)

Table 1 *Comparative table (Portugal–Spain) with a summary of the most significant results*

13. Discussion

The results show a certain balance between the Spanish and Portuguese groups. Both groups state that they connect to Facebook for support and socialisation (Rebelo, 2013). Several participants from Portugal say they use Facebook to connect with friends, mainly, but not so much to meet people. Some confirmed that Facebook had been used to contact old friends (Davalos et al., 2015). However, in the same group, this type of connection was viewed with some fear due to the possibility that the person requesting friendship might not be the person they claimed to be (it could be another person with the same or a similar name). On the other hand, some say they have met new friends through Facebook, believing that it should also be used for that purpose, and explain they do not accept a friend request from anyone with whom they do not have at least one friend in common (they look to see who this common friend is and then make sure that the requester is from their area).

Therefore, it can be said that baby boomers use Facebook to socialise and seek the support of their acquaintances, as the possibility of being cheated makes them very cautious, generally stating that they know the basic functions of Facebook but do not master all its possibilities. Some users are more open and do not mind accepting friend requests from strangers but seek mechanisms to verify the origin of the requester, and may limit the acceptance of requests to their immediate geographic environment.

Baby boomers are therefore looking for support, although, as noted, some created their Facebook profiles because "everyone was doing it", it does not seem that, in that sense, they participated in it under pressure (IAB Spain, 2021), but rather out of fondness, which would have more to do with group affiliation. In fact, most of the participants are happy to have done so, as they feel they are more in the company of others. One participant from second Portuguese focus group explains that "in social networks, I also looked for the company". Another from the first Portugues focus group concludes that the network "ends up being a companion itself" (implying that, even if it is not explicitly sought, it ends up being one).

Therefore, the social media network Facebook is used by participants to feel accompanied and supported by their friends and acquaintances and by people with whom they share interests in certain groups. This support is essential, but especially for baby boomers due to their personal situations, in many cases of loneliness. That is in line with Berezan et al. (2020), whose findings suggest that for the loneliest people, interactivity and belonging may be psychological needs that drive Facebook usage and, at the same time, can also be seen as rewards for less lonely people.

On the other hand, Facebook has been found to offer baby boomers the possibility to strengthen their affiliation (IAB Spain, 2021). All four focus groups use Facebook to participate in common interest groups, as discussed in Coolhunting Group (2017). For example, in FGE1, they shared interests and hobbies such as hiking and music. Some claim to follow people they do not know because they like the work they share on their Facebook profiles.

Therefore, it can be said that participants use Facebook to reinforce their feeling of belonging to a certain group of people with common interests. The profile of the

volunteer participants in the study is that of proactive people, that is, people interested in staying active, meeting people, doing new activities, continuing to learn, and so forth.

As for their relationship with brands, they do not express, in this study, a great interest in them in the digital environment. However, it is interesting to note that participants explained that they would like brands to offer them truthful product information and discounts, as referred to in Kantar World Panel (Centromarca, 2018) when it exposes that baby boomers are sensitive to the way brands communicate with them. In this case, participants were more restrained than proactive, not in line with previously published reports (Peregrina et al., 2017). However, this report does refer to the brakes detected in our study related, above all, to security and privacy.

14. Conclusions

Firstly, it is worth noting that the average profile of the participants in this exploratory is people with a mainly professional background, although some have also had academic education. As for the initial objective of building knowledge about the uses that baby boomers in the sample make of social media networks to seek affiliation, it can be said that, along the lines of IAB Spain (2021), participants use mainly Facebook but have limited knowledge of it.

The second most used social media network is WhatsApp, and some also have profiles on other social networks, such as Twitter or Instagram and, to a lesser extent, YouTube or Skype. However, even if participants are cautious, it is clear that the greater the knowledge of the network, the more it is used to seek affiliation and to be able to express opinions, including political ones, without fear, as was stated in the Institute of Digital Economy report (Coolhunting Group, 2017).

Regarding the objective to determine the main motivations and impediments that baby boomers face in adopting these new digital technologies to seek support and socialise, the conclusion is that their main motivations are to relate to their loved ones, and, to a lesser extent, to make new friends, and seek support, joining groups of people, known or not, with similar tastes and interests (IAB Spain, 2021).

They find social media networks very interesting and useful, although they also express as obstacles certain reticence related to privacy and security, as well as the possible loss of time that they may entail with other activities such as reading, a habit developed offline and online by baby boomers ("La Generación Senior 4.0: Cómo Seducirlos", 2019). In this sense, they do not usually use Facebook for more than 1 hour a day, preferably via mobile phone or computer and at night, at home, before resting. However, they may also connect from other locations. Although their use is not very extensive over time, Spanish and Portuguese participants tend to participate actively in social networks, especially Facebook, but they are selective about the content they choose (Coolhunting Group, 2017; "La Generación Senior 4.0: Cómo Seducirlos", 2019).

Regarding the participants' relationship with the brands' Facebook profiles and their relationship with them, according to their preferences and tastes, the groups do not

seem to behave as active consumers on Facebook. Still, they neither seek information about their favourite brands on any other social media network. Even so, the Portuguese focus groups admitted a greater interaction with brands, with different intensities, which suggests a certain openness to this possibility if brands improve the experience they offer to the baby boomers (Boardman, 2019). According to Davalos et al. (2015), it would be useful to carry-out communication campaigns that use nostalgia as an integrating element aimed at this age group, given that this contributes to improving the feeling of belonging and affiliation. In this sense, it can be said that brands are not working along the same lines that baby boomers need and that are not taking into account their needs for affiliation and support to generate the necessary commitment (engagement) between both groups (IAB Spain, 2021).

15. Research Limitations

The study's main limitations are the digital divide and the geographic dispersion of the population under study. For this reason, the sample was selected from among participants in universities for seniors. It is relevant when the demographic reality is noted, implying that it is necessary to know more about the baby boomers to design strategies and policies that promote active and healthy ageing. However, their roles, needs, practices and competencies have changed in recent decades, as has the internet. As a result, there is still much to research on this age segment's adoption of technologies. The issues raised by this paper are of utmost importance when it is noted that the state of research on these topics is rather limited. That translates into fragmented, atomised and quite incomplete actions. A perspective of this social phenomenon is observed at a global level and specifically in the sample analysed in Spain and Portugal.

16. Recommendations for Improving Baby Boomers' Experience With Brands

Brands need to understand that the engagement they wish to achieve with this population group will depend on establishing an active dialogue, with content targeted at different segments within this population group, relating to the variables (affiliation and support/socialisation), and a sufficient degree to emotionally reach baby boomer audiences.

16.1. Creating Dialogue

When we talk about engagement, the dialogic dimension (participation based on social interactions) sometimes seems to be confused with the possibility of obtaining a response from the audience. For Carrillo-Durán and Tato-Jimenéz (2019), dialogue is not only possible by obtaining feedback from the subject but when there is real interactivity. Real interactivity begins with the feedback, but it does not end there. Feedback only opens the door to real dialogue but does not guarantee it. Thus, it can be said that getting feedback from the other is not interactive communication but only the initiation of it.

In this line, Men and Tsai (2015) extracted two ways of engaging in dialogue: reactive mode (consuming information) and proactive mode (contributing and generating value). Thus, it can be said that dialogue will occur when there is proactive dialogue from the subject and at different levels: low (e.g., giving a "like"), medium (commenting) and high (sharing content).

To achieve an active dialogue, brands should consider the profile of baby boomers, not underestimate them, since, given the results, although they do not participate in active dialogue with brands, they are professionally and academically prepared to do so. However, to establish dialogue as the first necessary step to achieve engagement, brands must take special care with privacy and the misuse of the data of these audiences; thus, brands have to work on building loyalty on social media networks, basing their strategy on generating trust.

16.2. Creating Content

Engagement is developed through the content presented in digital communication channels. Thus, Muntinga et al. (2011) proposed a typology that classifies forms of online participation into three levels: content consumption (mere passive recipients), contribution (contributing something to the content of another) and content creation (actively generating information). When it comes to content contribution or creation, it is critical to consider the content's positive or negative meaning (Ji et al., 2017).

Based on this work, the participant baby boomers analysed are at the initial level, mere content receivers. Only in some cases did they move to the creation level. That would be possible for all of them if brands made an effort to create specific content, seeking above all to encourage affiliation, speaking the same language and creating an identity in line with the subgroups of baby boomers indicated above ("La Generación Senior 4.0: Cómo Seducirlos", 2019). The baby boomers' mode of expression should be the one each of the brands created for them, and this should lead them to participate in the brands' content and create content of interest to the brands.

16.3. Creating Emotions

It is not just a matter of assessing whether the brand is friendly. Work by Chung et al. (2017) shows that commitment is possible, firstly, when an individual accepts to be influenced because he or she expects to achieve a favourable reaction from another person or group and then when the result is intrinsically rewarding, and he or she wants to maintain it (internalisation of commitment).

For Carrillo-Durán and Tato-Jiménez (2019), internalisation of commitment can occur when the subject shows long-term conformity with the values represented by the brand and coincides rationally and emotionally with it.

According to what the participants expressed and their needs, it is safe to say that brands do not capitalise on the baby boomers' needs as consumers of emotions. Baby

boomers feel alienated from brands because they do not believe that brands treat them right (they use their data, flood them with unwanted advertising, and do not offer them special discounts, which is very important to them, as most participants stated in the focus groups).

Finally, brands must consider that facilitating support and affiliation for baby boomers is key to building engagement, as long as it is achieved at all three levels. There is no point in engaging in an effective dialogue that is not fed by content reinforcing these two fundamental needs of baby boomers' relationship with social media networks (support and affiliation). Of course, completing this step will lead those engaged at the last level, which is building an emotional relationship with brands.

Authors' Contribution

María-Victoria Carrillo-Durán did conceptualization, formal analysis, funding acquisition, investigation, methodology, supervision, validation, writing — original draft, writing — review and editing. Soledad Ruano-López did conceptualization, formal analysis, funding acquisition, investigation, methodology, supervision, validation, writing — original draft. M-Rosario Fernández-Falero did conceptualization, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, supervision, validation, writing — original draft. Javier Trabadela-Robles did conceptualization, resources, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, supervision, validation, writing — original draft, writing — review and editing.

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