

MEMORY AND MONUMENTALITY: (IN)VISIBLE LEGACIES OF A COLONIAL PAST WITHIN PUBLIC SPACES OF PORTO

MASTERS DISSERTATION AND PROJECT WORK

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ABSTRACT

The present master thesis gives an overview of the background about the construction of the monument *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português* in Porto. The work, commissioned for the *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa*, points to intricate contexts of the colonial legacies. As these relics are representing a collective memory, which in some cases narrate history one-sided and create opacities. These currents are partly nurturing present-day attitudes.

Therefore, the theoretical context is examined more closely and the Construction of Invisibility as well as the Construction of Public Space is conceived. The Historiography of the Fascist Regime used memory as a unifying tool for establishing a national identity. Within this some position were excluded by render them invisible. These representations also show in the monuments in the public space. With their monumentality these monuments are referring to a specific time in history, but to some extend they are also representing present-day thoughts transmitted through memory. As the public space is a social product these representations are also affecting social identities. The aim is to analyze the public space of a society and explore the relations of racial consciousness. Therefore, these unilateral shaped public areas are explored within this work. The practical work analyzes the effectiveness of deconstructing stereotypes and nurturing a movement to more racial awareness. This process also uncovers the invisible and silent voices in predominant relationships towards a more harmonious and collaborative society applied on the public space in Porto.

KEYWORDS:

Invisibility
Representation
Colonialism
Public Space

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

How are social identities represented within public spaces?

How can an artistic intervention use this space?

A presente dissertação de mestrado fornece uma visão geral dos contextos sobre a construção do monumento *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português* no Porto. A obra, encomendada para a *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa*, aponta para contextos intrincados dos legados coloniais. Como essas relíquias representam uma memória coletiva, que em alguns casos narra a história unilateralmente e cria opacidades. Essa corrente alimenta parcialmente as atitudes atuais.

Portanto, o contexto teórico é examinado mais de perto e a Construção da Invisibilidade e a Construção do Espaço Público são concebidas. A historiografia do regime fascista usou a memória como uma ferramenta unificadora para estabelecer uma identidade nacional. Dentro disso, algumas posições foram excluídas por torná-las invisíveis. Essas representações também aparecem nos monumentos no espaço público. Com sua monumentalidade, esses monumentos estão se referindo a um tempo específico da história, mas, em certa medida, também representam pensamentos atuais transmitidos pela memória. Como o espaço público é um produto social, essas representações também afetam as identidades sociais. O objetivo é analisar o espaço público de uma sociedade e explorar as relações da consciência racial. Portanto, essas áreas públicas de formato unilateral são exploradas neste trabalho. O trabalho prático analisa a eficácia da desconstrução de estereótipos e alimenta um movimento para uma maior consciência racial. Este processo revela também as vozes invisíveis e silenciosas nas relações predominantes, no sentido de uma sociedade mais harmoniosa e colaborativa aplicada no espaço público do Porto.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Invisibilidade
Representação
Colonialismo
Espaço Público

PERGUNTA DE INVESTIGAÇÃO:

Como são identidades sociais representadas em espaços públicos?

Como uma intervenção artística pode usar esse espaço?

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INTRODUCTION

The history and processes of colonialism throughout the world still influence a variety of discourses, in which the effects and legacies of the colonial past are discussed. Requests for equal opportunities for everybody manifest themselves not only in current dialogues of socio-critical and political debates, they also shape daily lived experiences. The city of Porto refers to its colonial history on many levels which contribute to various contemporaneous forms of representation. Exemplary are the different colonial relics, such as the monument “Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português”¹. With their monumentality these monuments are referring to a specific time in history, but to some extent they are also representing present-day thoughts transmitted through memory. This is a collective memory, which in these cases narrates history one-sided from a Eurocentric perspective. This hegemonic narration excludes other narratives while rendering them invisible. On the basis of this preliminary diagnosis this work explores these unilateral shaped areas focusing on historical, spatial and social approaches.

When I came to Portugal, with the perspective of a half German, half Haitian human being, I immediately noticed a difference in the narrative of the historical past. Germany confronts itself critically while vigilantly attentive to the causes that have historically led to greater social division and inequalities. In Portugal, colonial power is trivialized to the extent that for my generation almost as if it had not taken place.² As an outsider it is possible to notice different aspects in contrast to those who are constantly confronted with these mindsets. It caught then my interest when I heard about the First Colonial Exhibition that took place in 1934 in Porto. Also, a friend mentioned the *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português* which lead me to the search of its origins and this later became the focus of my master’s thesis.

My first intention was to create communitarian project. At the same I quickly understood that in order to decode a political context, I would first have to focus on its history. Accordingly, the first part of this project is a theoretical investigation of the historical background and various concepts, which are relevant to the colonial context. Followed by the application of artistic projects, exploring the ways in which art can amplify the possibilities of heterogeneously lived experiences. The aim is to explore the legacy of colonialism by

¹ Free translation: monument to the Portuguese colonial effort.

² I do not seek to compare the historical contexts. The example only aims to clarify my lived experiences in present-day contexts. Also, Germany as a colonial power is hardly discussed whether in school education nor in everyday life.

reflecting on these relics and to analyze how invisibility manifests itself in the public space of a society and in the relations of racial consciousness.

Therefore, the work is composed of three parts. Since I started with the reviewing the literature and theoretical concepts, the first part consists of the development and limitation of those applied on the research context. Invisibility becomes an important issue here. As this is a social construction that on the one hand reveals multiple subjectivities and their interrelation with the postcolonial context. On the other hand, power relations can be made clear by analyzing which narratives are accessible and thus visible and which are not within collective representation, the building of identity and historiography. The social interaction as well as visual representation come together in the public space, which composes the second part of social construction. In it positions of difference are affirmed or contested, as well as processes of (in)visibility contested.

The second part begins with an analysis of the two places, examining their distinctive and common contexts. Although a historical and theoretical approach at the core, the two places were repeatedly visited and observed. Thereby samples, photographs and sketches were made. However, interest in the archive and historiography remained and the exploration of the background of the monument *ao Esforço Colonizador Portuguesa* as well as the *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* are the center of attention. Considering the efforts of the fascist regime to create a national memory, their monumentality and the role of statues are reflected.

Part three constitutes the practical experimentation. During the Master's programme and within the cooperation of other members of "InterStruct Collective" various projects are discussed and developed on the subject matter. My first approach often follows photographic conventions. Therefore, the artistic projects presented here include images taken in and around the analysed locations. Furthermore, the performative approach includes thematic issues, on how subjectivities can experience history and how historically charged places can be utilized.

By exploring the two public spaces within historical and artistic approaches, an attempt is made to uncover the invisible and silent(ed) voices in predominant relationships. Applied within the public space of Porto, the work aims to analyze the effectiveness of deconstructing stereotypes and promote a movement to more racial awareness and towards a more harmonious and collaborative society.

PART I

A. CONSTRUCTION OF INVISIBILITY

“I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me.”

Ralph Ellison – *Invisible Man* (1952)

Discussions about the existence of race and the discrimination of the diaspora are deeply rooted in past and present discourses all over the world. Speaking generally from a European perspective it seems that the white population can be considered as a majority group which possesses then a subject position, whereas all divergent positions, for example of a diaspora, are often considered as marginalized. As a result, discussions about the various forms of Diaspora identity arise, which are characterized by contradictions and dualisms.

One of these contradictions towards marginalized groups is their exclusion by actions and conceptions of the majority group. This leads to the visibility or invisibility of the outnumbered part of society. It can describe the processes emanating from the dominant group towards the “divergent” position. But speaks not of the real difference, but of the point of view of the person who perceives the other as different.³ They then gain a subaltern position which is not directly obvious. As this invisible group has no marked position it is not addressed or even silenced. Subaltern means that it does not have a subject position and it seems that the only way to be made visible is through the subject position. As the *invisible other* is a position which is existent but disregarded. It is excluded from social, cultural and political processes by the predominant social group. This invisibility is constructing social relations on the needs of the mainstream group with a fictional character, as it is an imaginary representation originating from the predominant group. But, in a second step, through constant exposure, it can also describe the perception of the subordinate self towards itself and can affect the self-image. These conceptions and challenges can lead to unequal relations within society.

The complexity of this invisibility becomes clear if we consider with the result also it's conditions: transparency and opacity. When we question a starting point of this

³ Staszak, Jean-Francios [2008] “Other/otherness” in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Elsevier, 2008, p. 1

neglecting, we can consider a development between different conditions of visibility. One can therefore ask to what extend during the process the relationship between the subject and the subaltern, was first transparent and visible. And when some of the realities and interpretations blur, or disappear, become opaque and the subaltern invisible – or the other way around. On the other side *Invisibility* can in some occasions be considered as a positive factor, as in some situations it can be advantageous not to be included. *Invisibility* in this regard cannot be a constant state but is ever connected to and shaped by contexts, perspectives and histories. Lann Hornscheidt applies these mechanisms towards identity construction in a postcolonial context:

All these aspects of identity shaping are mechanisms of representation and demonstrate the local power relation. The different concepts form a constructed identity. The humanistic, sociopolitical and psychoanalytical discourses uncover connections between the supposedly visible and the hidden, between the known and the unknown and the mentioned, between the dominant and the marginalized. It also allows to see how colonial power is re-produced through a variety of linguistic actions, in literature, culture, and through the institutions that regulate daily life and how discursive expression of postcolonial ideas can be.⁴

Theoretical tools can be therefore a vehicle to analyze and deconstruct these relations. It attempts to open the dialogue, in a first step to discuss and mark the invisible positions. Thus, to render visible. The specific subject relations are then discussed only after they have been commented and made visible. The task of this criticism is here to create spaces in which the others are heard, and to expose other so far unnoticed perspectives that were previously not valued.

As my research is based in a European context, I consider this perspective as the predominant subject position. Dominant in the sense of inheriting privileges within the specific society, e.g. through heritage, access to education or economical guarantees. When I continue speaking about a diaspora identity this can be considered in a first sense as a position with components of a non-European ethnic identity. Throughout Portugal's colonial history many people got deported from their homelands, based on the imperial needs. Also, in current day more complex forms of dislocation and migration from the former colonies take place. I would therefore consider the roots of diasporic identities, within the Portuguese context, in the former colonized countries. As it now can be used in a wider context as a description for a

⁴ Lann Hornscheidt, Antje [2010] "Was ist post- und kontrakoloniale Diskursanalyse?" in Hornscheidt, Lann / Nduka-Agwu, Adibeli (Ed.) *Rassismus auf gut Deutsch: ein kritisches Nachschlagewerk zu rassistischen Sprachhandlungen*, Frankfurt am Main, Brandes & Apsel, p. 453

social or cultural community in a “foreign” place as a local minority. Also, it can include the following generation of dispersed peoples, who retain a strong link to their ancestors’ roots.

Beside *Invisibility*, another way of perceiving and constructing identities is by making a deviant group especially visible by labelling it as *the Other*. It describes a mindset that illustrates the difference between two different social groups, one acts as a subject position and the second as *the Other*. It is characterized by seeing the other social group always as something deviant and acts as a “criterion that allows humanity to be divided into two groups: one that embodies the norm and whose identity is valued and another that is defined by its faults, devalued and susceptible to discrimination.”⁵ This *Othering* imposes a subalternate and objectified position to e.g. the diasporic identity.

Othering is a projection from one dominant position towards a marked subordinate position. It creates then an imaginary representation of *Otherness*. It is here to mention that this is not only an oppositional dialectic. The complexity of *Otherness* becomes clear as we suppose that the subordinate position is possibly equally projecting a subordination on another group and turn back the process of *Othering*. This could be a third position or also that ever dominant position. It is then marked as subordinate in return. The process of *Othering* is possible within these complex subject-object relations – but shifting within different perspectives. According to Nietzsche's conception of perspectivism every reality is a fiction, because it is only the subjective interpretation of every individual. There are no actual truths, only interpretations of experiences. Reality is an imaginary construction which shifts with each perspective. This becomes relevant while we regard the different dislocations and migration processes within the Portuguese context. Through the movement from the African countries to Portugal, e.g. after the colonial wars, the diaspora identity might be considered as a marginal identity in Portugal. But, also during the war some Portuguese fled to other European countries, so that they might be considered as *the Other* within these perspectives over there and turn from a subject position to an object position. Thus, there is a subjective passive position for each subject. Decisive is the perspective and specifically the differentiation from other perspectives.⁶ This could mean that only when one steps out of his own subjective interpretation, e.g. by connecting with another position, the actual *Othering* processes are created, and *Otherness* named. Because it marks the dualisms between different groups that would not be marked according individual perspectivism, because in this case all the different subjective interpretations can exist at the same time. There is in this sense no

⁵ Staszak (2008: 1)

⁶ See Lacewing, Michael Nietzsche's perspectivism, Routledge

<http://cw.routledge.com/textbooks/alevelphilosophy/data/A2/Nietzsche/NietzschePerspectivism.pdf>

objective reality, only if different interpretations match and merge, which are then dominating the other, this can be perceived as reality.

We can take here as an example the illustration of Joaquín Torres García from 1943. One can suggest that cartography was initiated from a European subject position and perspective. The inversion of the South American map symbolizes the South American as the subject perspective. The artist says: “[...] because in reality, our north is the South. There should be no north for us, except in opposition to our South. Therefore, we now turn the map upside down, and then we have a true idea of our position, and not as the rest of the world wishes. From now on, the elongated tip of South America will point insistently to the South, our north.” (García 1944)⁷

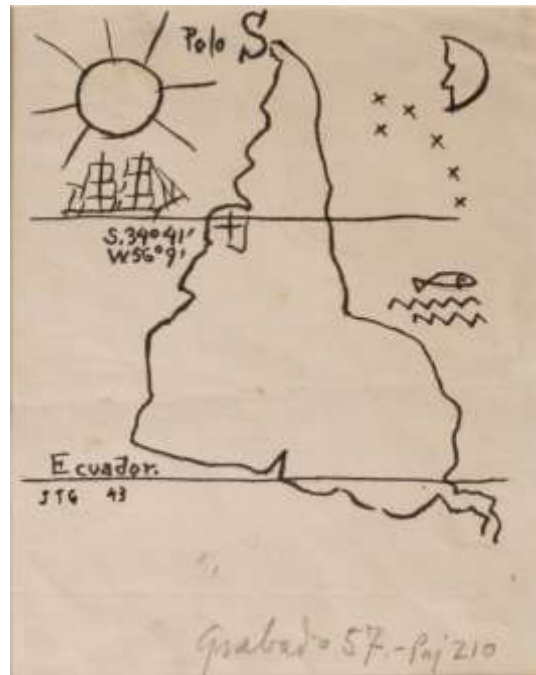


Fig. 1 – Joaquín Torres-García, *América invertida* (*Inverted America*) (1943), ink on paper, 8 11/16 x 6 5/16 inches. Museo Torres García, Montevideo

Also, it must be said, that a diasporic identity is not fixed on a specific group. The boundaries blur, as there is no direct oppositional dualism as *the* one and *the* other, the good or the bad, black and white, but many in-between places and positions. These are then a variety of identities which might only have in common that they are not part of the predominant identity, and therefore to some extent not a privileged position. Homi Bhabha states that these identities are in a constant transition as each individual is shifting and navigating between different characteristics and heritages. He describes this as a complex fluid state, a *Hybridity*⁸. Every individual, especially diasporic identity, is then not uniformly within one (or two dialectic) closed and homogenous entities. The culture of a society is constructed within the shifting borders of the individuals and marked by their differences. In this sense this location is not self-contained but a *Third Space*, which emerges by the surpassing and crossing, as well as transformation of these borders. It is this reciprocal transition that allows to say that most individuals are inhabiting a *Third Space* in a fluid way. It is not only that black and white meet so that gray can result, but contradictions are recognized what is resulting in different blacks and different whites, different *hybridities*. He

⁷ García, Joaquín apud De Armendi, Nicole “The Map as Political Agent: Destabilising the North-South Model and Redefining Identity in Twentieth-Century Latin American Art” in *St Andrews Journal of Art History and Museum Studies*, Vol. 13, 2009

⁸ Bhabha, Homi K. [1994] *The location of culture*, New York, Routledge, 1994

also explains that this transition is emanating from shifting and enforcing *authorities*. Therefore, the different cultures (e.g. predominant and marginal) are constantly in negotiations and conduct translations.

Another concept describing this fluidity and dealing with the *Third Space* is Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic*.⁹ It is a source of cultural construction in the African Diaspora. Having the roots of the slave trade the Black Atlantic describes a common ground and therefore transnational and intercultural perspectives. Also, as a metaphor the Atlantic visualizes a fluidity, represented by water, waves and movement. It is a cultural construction against all absolutism. One can also interpret the importance of routes, initiated with the slave trade but connected to further and complex forms of dislocation. One can highlight that all people's heritage is in the end not only consistent of one individual homeland but, through the various routes of the ancestors, create a hybridity. This metaphor is not about borders, countries or nations and not even time, but the ocean as a liminal space.

Personally, I acknowledge the metaphor of the ocean as a cultural space that connects different *hybridities*. It also represents personal history for me as I have roots in Haiti. The Black Atlantic played a crucial role, considering that, at a time in history, a major part of the population consisted of slaves. Also, the Haitian were the first population to suppress slavery in 1801 and gain independence from the French colonial powers. The Atlantic is then also a connecting point to my family, which then traversed to the USA and Mexico. The ocean for me was always a representation of the distance but also a connection to the family and a symbol of kinship. As well as it stands for the transit and the migration of my father, who crossed the long way of the Atlantic and settled in Germany. It is also defining my current residence in a city at the Atlantic. From here, some of the first and most ships traveled for discovery, but also slavery, exploitation and colonialism. Since I grew up and educated German, for me it also represents this elusive hybrid, a certain attraction, a point of reference, something mystical.

⁹ Gilroy, Paul [1993] *The black Atlantic. modernity and double consciousness*, London, Verso, 1996

B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC SPACE

According to urban theorists the public space is a production made of people and their social actions within it. One of the first and most influential theorist towards these ideas was Henri Lefebvre with “The production of space”. He organized the analysis on space in three approaches forming the *spatial triad*. Simplified for the purpose of introducing them, it can be mentioned, that the *perceived space* of everyday social life and perception is in cohesion but not coherence with each social formation. The professional, and theoretical *conceived space* of cartographers or urban planners is the dominant space. Also, all users dwell in a *lived space* of the imagination constructed by symbolisms as well e.g. by the arts. This is also referred to as a *third space*, which not only surpasses borders but has the power to refigure the balance of daily-life *perceived space* and official *conceived space*. This *third space* is also an imaginary space or a mental space. Lefebvre sets the interdisciplinary common ground of the making of space as a social product. Susan Ruddick is referring to urban theories as Marshall Berman’s *open-minded public space* and states: “Public space [...] is understood not simply as a passive arena for the manifestation of specific predetermined social behaviors. It is rather the active medium for construction of new class cultures, of sexual and gendered identities, or of the places where marginalized identities can be challenged or confirmed.”¹⁰ The public space becomes therefore, as Balshaw and Kennedy continue, “a site of intersubjective and collective encounters through which the formation of identity is spatialized.”¹¹ Accordingly, public space can be what allows multiplicity and complexity within society. Therefore, it cannot be understood only with direct physical and local meanings but encompasses a multitude of different contexts. These contexts and influences create a bridge between the physical space and imaginary (third) space. As Balshaw and Kennedy resume: “He [Lefebvre] argues that traditional dualities of physical space and mental space are bridged by the processes of the production of space, especially as these are enacted through ‘spatial practice’ which he founds not on political economy [...] but on the material experience of social relations in ‘everyday life’”¹²

It is then necessary to look at the forms of representations in the urban space to understand imaginary spaces. The representations visualize positions that dictate who is

¹⁰ Ruddick, Susan [1996] “Constructing Differences in Public Spaces: Race, Class, and Gender as Interlocking Systems” in Gieseeking, Jen Jack (Ed.) [2014] *The people, place, and space reader*, New York, 2014, p. 135

¹¹ Balshaw, Maria; Kennedy, Liam (Ed.) [2000] *Urban Space and Representation*, London, Pluto Press, 2000, p. 11

¹² Balshaw (2000:2)

included in the local narration and who is not. Thus, cultural production and visual representations of the public space create the urban identity which also leads to unequal and varying spatial conceptions. Although the making of public space is a social collective product, it is complexly constructed through different experiences and perspectives. These represent *third spaces*, not as they really exist but as a mental space of different groups that use this space. Depending on power relations, representation can then distort reality and construct opacity. These representations of power must be recognized by transparency and opacity as Balshaw/Kennedy assume:

The relationship between material and imaginary spaces is one that is rendered opaque as well as transparent by the force of representation. We need to understand not only the will to transparency in representations of urban space but also its necessary correlate, the production of opacity – this correlation is ever active in the illusory power of representation to render space ‘legible’. To focus exclusively upon transparency as a veil of power leaves us contesting ‘false’ representations – a useful enough practice and one that can have political effect – but may blind us to the ambiguous, overlapping and disjunctive relations, the slippage, between transparency and opacity in the production of space.¹³

Representation therefore holds an illusionary power, influenced by perspectives. In this sense also, hegemonic monuments which are representing one part of the inhabitants create a mental space in which the other is excluded, displaced or rendered invisible. As the authors describe the production of space is simultaneously real, symbolic and imaginary; what it produces is a material environment, a visual culture and a psychic space. This provokes questions of subjectivity and power relations in the urban space. This becomes clear in the complex spatial dialectics or trialectics which exist between the self and the other, inside and outside. The analysis of representation may provide a base study of race and ethnicity in that specific space.

The public space can be understood as one of the main mediums and inherent in the process of Othering. The use of labels is another step for the projection of a subjugated position. If there is a predominant social group, the presence of another group can evoke a feeling of threat. Through this, fears and anxieties are expressed in stereotypes¹⁴ (Sibley 1995). This stereotyping is only possible through an engagement with “the other”. It is thus described as a marked different position and not left invisible or unremarked. It is also connected to power. The privileged sees the self and the inherent position threatened, whereas boundaries are set up, what is a way of reducing fear. The “endangered” group is keeping

¹³ Balshaw (2000:4)

¹⁴ Sibley, David [1995] *Geographies of Exclusion. Society and Difference in the West*, London, Routledge, p. 110

their territory homogenous through the use and representation of space. David Sibley is also mentioning the “national territory which is pictured as stable, culturally homogeneous, historically unchanging which are taken to represent the nation in nationalistic discourse.”¹⁵ It is a sense of identity politics towards a homogenous nation in which the Other is rendered invisible so that there is no possibility of turning back Otherness on the Self. Kristeva states: “Living with the other, with the foreigner, confronts us with the possibility, or not, of being an other. It is not simply—humanistically—a matter of being able to accept the other but of being in his place, and this means to imagine and make oneself other for oneself.”¹⁶ This is a view which underlines also the sense of a nation and identity politics, which has been effectively challenged by the postcolonial and postmigration relations. As, e.g., the *Third Space* by Homi Bhabha, which emphasizes that the multi-layered translations made by different subjectivities makes the original veiled or invisible, thus reinforcing fluidity and complexity in the Public Space.

The difference constructed and demonstrated in the public space is a complex system which indicates a large scale of interwoven ideas, histories, contexts, memories and stories. They arise from social interaction and intersubjective positions within the public space, which are constantly shifting. If a confrontation occurs the subjective positions create a differentiation out of their perception and a boundary of space. Thus, the analysis of the forms of representation becomes a critical tool to understand the construction of *the invisible Other* within imaginary spaces within hegemonic structures.

¹⁵ Sibley (1995:108)

¹⁶ Kristeva apud Sibley (1995:111)

THE CONTEXT OF PORTO

The previous chapter shows how the public space can be understood and experienced with the construction of difference, which are the result of projection from a social mainstream on a minority group. In this chapter I am going to examine to what extent difference is expressed in representations within Porto's public space. I chose two important public places, which also retain a recreational character, to see how Visibility and Invisibility are (still) associable: the *Praça do Império*, and the *Jardins do Palácio Cristal*. The *Praça do Império* is forming a striking reference to the way of thinking about Portugal's influence as a colonial power as it nowadays is stage for the *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português*. This monument was initially constructed for the First Colonial Exhibition, held in 1934 and then only in 1984 implemented in the area of Foz. The venue for this Colonial exhibition was then the park *Jardins de Palácio de Cristal*. In the following chapter I attempt to give a historical review to the colonial exhibition and the process of *Otherness*, as I am proceeding to review historical points of importance in a chronological way to the implementation of the monument in Foz and aspects of Invisibility.

A. PRAÇA DO IMPÉRIO: MONUMENTO AO ESFORÇO COLONIZADOR PORTUGUÊS

Considering that throughout the city of Porto many statues are piling up in honor of seafarers and explorers, the *Praça do Império* is a highly dramatic reference to Portugal's historical past as a colonial power. If one considers the location and background to which the monument was placed, long after the exhibition different aspects become apparent. The monument is situated on a large square, to which lead a number of large streets and avenues. The size of the streets and the square alone reinforce the pomposity of the district. The name of the square *Praça do Império* – “Empire Square” refers also to the surrounding streets. The Avenue do Marechal Gomes da Costa, is named after the leader of the military coup in 1926, after which the *Estado Novo* and the dictatorship in Portugal was implemented. Other representatives include cartographers, sailors, governors and military strategists at the time or over the period of colonial power. Similarly, the Avenida do Brasil, or Rua de Diu point to large and therefore former colonies under Portuguese control.



Fig. 2 & 3 – Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português, Praça do Império, Porto, 2018

The statue was created by Sousa Caldas and Alberto Ponce de Castro for the exhibition *I Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* in Porto in 1934, which I am going to review in the following chapter in more detail. It consists of six allegorical figures lined up in a circle. From their midst, rectangular columns emerge, whereas the smaller ones piled up ever higher. At the highest point peaks the Portuguese coat of arms. Each figure has a symbol in front of their chest, which represents the main components to the colonizing effort: A cross for the missionary, a sword for the soldier, a Hermes staff for the trader, an ear with sickle for the farmer, an Aesculapius staff for the doctor, female breasts for the woman. The woman is the only figure without an object and therefore not symbolically entitled of power through occupation but through her body. Women are primarily valued for their gender role, the breasts are symbols for the male gaze, subordinated within a patriarchal system. They stand with their backs to each other while they hold firmly onto a rod. This creates a bond between the characters. Together they lift the burden of the upward-aspiring, seemingly endless columns. The heads are directed upwards and thus match the aspiring appearance of the whole monument. They are all designed in the same stylized way and only show differences in their symbolism. Head and arms are designed in detail while the body shape is abstracted behind the symbols. The more abstract form resembles Doric columns and reinforces the monumentality of the building. At the bottom of the alleged columns, the feet, which stand

out as if under a robe, refer again to the figural representation. The pedestals emphasize the monumentality of the statue.

Not only through the title “monument to the colonial effort” but also by the detailed design of the strong arms, at which single muscles stand out, express the effort they bring up - as well as the power they have built up and possess. The figures, disciplined and strung up, seem to raise their heads gracefully and seem to take the weight of the pillars with pride. The statue can stand for, on the one hand, the strength and valor required for the creation of such a large colonial empire and, on the other, for the effort and force required to maintain imperial power. The monumentality and size of the whole structure also illustrate the size and power of the colonial era and its importance to Portuguese culture. Remarkable in the representation of the figures is that they do not carry a classical sculptural characteristic of European scholars, warriors and leaders, with uniforms, hats or beards but are more stylized. Their exposed upper body show a strongly emphasized masculinity.

My impression when I saw the monument for the first time, was that the monument might be a reference to the actual slaves and servants instead of the colonializing white patriarchy, as the appearance – short hair, wide flat nose, emphasized masculinity – can be compared with visual representations of African men in western culture.

The formal characteristics of this monument are comparable to the visual representations of Italian fascism. But not only the formal character, also the name and background and processes of implementation show affirmation of these ideals. Its realization in the Public Space of Porto presented some issues. First created for the colonial exhibition in wood and plaster, it was chosen to be materialized in granite after the end of the exhibition as a monument which should last forever. After a few years it was not possible anymore to remain inside the *Jardins de Palácio de Cristal* and it was dismantled. Discussions about its determined space and function continued for about ten years, as Abreu states it, because whether in an artistic, archaeologic nor time-related meaning, the representatives of the city did not see a necessity of implementing the monument so that its stones left scattered around.

But the more relevant fact to record in the brief history that we made, is the non-recognition of the artistic qualities of the monument, by the Municipal Commission of Art and Archeology. Non-recognition, as we have seen, reiterated and assumed several times, and by committees presided over and constituted by different elements, maintaining the CMAA their views, against the position taken by the councilmen and even by the president himself.¹⁷

¹⁷ Abreu, Guilherme (1996), *A Escultura no Espaço Público do porto no Seculo XX*, Inventário, Historia e Perspectivas de Interpretação, Porto, FLUP, p. 171 free translation from original: “Mas o facto de maior a relevância a registar no breve historial que fizemos, é o não reconhecimento das qualidades artísticas do

It was only in 1984 then, to the 50th anniversary of the colonial exhibition when it was installed on the *Praça do Império*. Remarkably, ten years after the Portuguese revolution of 1974 which ended the dictatorship, which the monument is symbolically celebrating. Furthermore noticeable, the sculptor was not an academic but military personnel, who maintained a close relationship to Henrique Galvão, at that time supporter of the *Estado Novo* as well organizer of the mentioned exhibition. This indicates again the intentions of the implementation which could not be justified from an artistic perspective. The monument thus symbolizes the empire as a pillar of national identity and imperial confirmation, even after the time of colonialism and fascism in Portugal. “In this programmatic line, a new role for the statuary was inscribed: to be a propaganda vehicle at the service of power and a means of gradual conversion to the nationalist ideology, an ideology that in António Ferro appeared associated with an idea of modernity.”¹⁸

The *Praça do Império* is therefore not only a reference to the ideals how they were idealized in times of imperialism but could also demonstrate political tactic or a romanticized way of thinking about Portugal's influence as a colonial power. It should be noted here that the lack of commenting or contextualization on the monument in current time brings the function of propaganda that the monument held during the dictatorship not only to its implementation in 1984 but towards present day attitudes. Thus, it can be understood as a symbol and important sign of the current and increasing discourses on disadvantaged positions and racism in Portugal. The monument can be found in an open public space, which *open-mindedness* makes it a space for everybody, but euro-centric statues are not including deviant positions in representation. In a colonial context, former colony countries were very important for Portuguese economy, including the labor by forced slaves. This is not included in the discourse. The statue is honoring the academics and colonizing workers and similarly making invisible the positions which were needed in the same way for their success. It is in this sense an invisibility of positions, which image got shaped within the first colonial exhibition. The next chapter concerns the historical facts to it.

monumento, por parte da Comissão Municipal de Arte e Arqueologia. Não reconhecimento, como vimos, reiterado e assumido por diversas vezes, e por comissões presididas e constituídas por elementos diferentes, mantendo a CMAA os seus pontos de vista, contra a postura assumida pelos vereadores e mesmo pelo próprio presidente”

¹⁸ Abreu (1996:164) free translation from original: “Nesta linha programática, inscrevia-se um novo papel para a estatuária: ser um veículo de propaganda ao serviço do poder e um meio de paulatina conversão à ideologia nacionalista, ideologia que em António Ferro aparecia associada a uma ideia de modernidade”

B. JARDINS DO PALÁCIO DE CRISTAL: I EXPOSIÇÃO COLONIAL PORTUGUESA

The park *Jardins do Palácio de Cristal* serves as a main venue for recreational purposes and made stage for various festivities, as it has become also a place of remembrance. The building as it stands today, was designed in 1951 by José Carlos Loureiro. Initially it was created in 1861, when the palace was designed for higher class public events for the “contemporary society, whose idea of progress became the hosting of an International Exhibition in Portugal, the very first of the Iberian Peninsula and among the first in the international panorama.”¹⁹ The palace then was demolished, before eventually in 1952 the *Pavilhão dos Desportos* was constructed to receive the World Roller Hockey Championships. Imposing over the Douro river and Porto “that building [...] today has a place of reference in the silhouette of the city and one of the most important examples of modernist architecture.”²⁰ The former XIX century’s building made stage for some of the most important events of the city and the country, including the First Colonial Exhibition. It primarily functioned as propaganda at the start of the Salazar dictatorship: to strengthen public opinion for overseas territorial control and tactical affirmation of nationalism. The exhibition also had commercial, educational and scientific goals reinforcing the imperialist effort. Therefore, the organiser imported not only goods from former colonies but also even people from different countries. This event was thus reinforcing the construction of Otherness whose representation and influences on current days should be discussed.

Shortly after the great success within the *Exposition Coloniale Internationale et des Pays d’Outre Mer*, which took place in Paris in 1931, Portugal inaugurated their own International Exhibition, the *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* from the 16th June to the 30th of September 1934. In it, Portuguese products and possessions were demonstrated to the public by aiming to strengthen a certain pride in the people. Considering Portugal being ruled by a fascist dictatorship, the clear purpose was territorial affirmation and imposition of colonial power. Shortly before the exhibition, the *Acto Colonial* was published, with the target to “[...] carry out the historical function of possessing and colonizing overseas dominions and of civilizing the indigenous peoples who understand them, also exercising the moral influence which is attached to it by the Padroado do Oriente”²¹. As well as it was declared by the

¹⁹ Gonçalves, Vera Lúcia [2018] *Imagens e Memórias em Reconstrução. Do Palácio de Cristal Portuense ao Pavilhão Rosa Mota*, Uporto, 2018, p. 163

²⁰ Gonçalves (2018:163)

²¹ Gonçalves (2018:166) free translation from original: “[...] desempenhar a função histórica de possuir e colonizar domínios ultramarinos e de civilizar as populações indígenas que neles se compreendam, exercendo também a influência moral que lhe é adstrita pelo Padroado do Oriente”

Decree-Law 18, that the exhibition “demonstrated the need to revise colonial policy, which should now be based on the principles of integration of the overseas areas, reinforcing the links, especially of an economic nature, between them and the Metropolis”²² This demonstrate the different attitudes towards the colonies. On the one side the task of civilization and on the other the integration in Portuguese economy. Also, it shows the pedagogical purpose of the exhibition to counterfeit the ignorance towards colonial powers and possibilities and to reinforce the feeling of a nation. The expected goal was to make use of future economic and political potentials as a big nation. The efforts were reflected in the investment of the exhibition. The fair resembled an amusement park with a large scale of exhibition stands, restaurants, theatres, reproductions of monuments in former colony countries, zoological garden, cinema, tourist train. As also a public display of indigenous populations, in a way of a human zoo.

In the building, the *Palácio de Cristal*, which was renamed as *Palácio das Colónias*, various exhibitors were housed. There was a physical separation inside the building, on the right side for the exhibitors of the colonies. On the left side the exhibitors of the metropolis, Portugal. While the interior represented museum character, the gardens were given a recreational feel. In addition, various statues were created that praised the will and courage of Portuguese sailors and colonial rulers, represented their possessions and thus promoted national pride.²³ As also the figure *Homem do Leme*, which is installed today close to the *Monumento aos Esforço Colonizador Português* in the *Avenida Montevideo* in Foz. This work becomes a metaphor that represents, after Guilherme Abreu, the Portuguese as “symbol and the identity of itself”²⁴. Close by right at the entrance in front of the building could be found the *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador* at that time created in plaster.

This monument, in particular, symbolizes the Empire as a support of the national identity and was expertly located at the entrance of the exhibition, facing the Crystal Palace, staging the reception in imperial mystique: the civilizing and missionary mission of the Portuguese people, the idea of the indissoluble unity of the empire defended by the Minister of the Colonies Armindo Monteiro.²⁵

²² Golcaves (2018:166) free translation from original: “demonstrava a necessidade de rever a política colonial, que deveria agora assentar sobre princípios de integração dos domínios ultramarinos, reforçando-se as ligações, sobretudo de cariz económico, entre estes e a Metrópole.”

²³ The prestigious *Avenida das Índias*, named *Avenida da Índia* at the time, included reproductions of two colonial monuments erected during the Portuguese expansion: *o Arco dos Vice-Reis da Índia* in Goa at the northern side, and *o Farol de Nossa Senhora da Guia* from Macau at the southern border.

²⁴ Abreu (1996:139)

²⁵ Marroni (2013:68) free translation from original: “Este monumento, em particular, simboliza o Império como sustentáculo da identidade nacional e encontrava-se habilmente localizado na entrada da exposição, de frente para o Palácio de Cristal, encenando a recepção em mística imperial: a missão civilizadora e missionária do



Fig. 4 – 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa: Portugal: Porto: Praça do Império, 1934, Foto Alvão (fotogr.), Coleção de Postais, Arquivo Histórico Camara Municipal do Porto

povo português, a ideia da unidade indissolúvel do império defendida pelo Ministro das Colónias Armindo Monteiro”

UNIÃO ELÉCTRICA PORTUGUESA S. A. R. L. Rua Duque de Loulé, 388 — PORTO — CAPITAL: ações 80.000 contos obrigações 20.000 contos ELÉCTRICIDADE DO LINDOSO Consultas ao escritório da U. E. P.	HOTEL "CONTINENTAL" 4, R. DE ENTREPAREDES, 12 (A PRACA DA CATHEDRAL) PORTO TELEFONE, 798 ESMERADO SERVIÇO DE MESA QUARTOS CONFORTÁVEIS E HIGIENICOS ALMOÇOS E JANTARES AVULSOS PREÇOS MODICOS	REDE para Construção de Claveto Armado Rede para Vedação Capuchos de Arame Colchões de Arame Capacho metálico - IDEAL - Hygiene A PRODUTIVA (Registada) JOSÉ DE MAGALHÃES Rua da Pizarra, 27 — PORTO — Telefones, 81	A POEIRA EVITA-SE COM O CLORETO DE CÁLCIO SOLVAY À VENDA EM TODAS AS CASAS DE DROGAS
PRINCIPALMENTE NESTA ÉPOCA DO ANO NENHUMA SENHORA PODEÁ DISPENSAR OS PRODUTOS DE BELEZA ELIZABETH ARDEN À VENDA NO GRANDE SAZÃO DO PORTO R. Santa Catarina, 100 PORTO DAVID & DAVID R. Santa, 108 119754 JOSÉ JULIO VILAÇA R. Dr. Sousa Ribeiro, 27 PORTO MAQUINAS para a Industria Textil das melhores fabricas Alemãs. MOTORES e TRACTORES OTTO-DEUTZ O principal combote que circula no recinto de Exposição é rebocado por um Tractor OTTO-DEUTZ		PREFIRA PONCHE ALBERGARIA O MELHOR ENTRE OS MELHORES FABRICA: AVENIDA CAMILO 116 a 129 PORTO TELEF. 2308 MATOZINHOS Unica fabrica de material de cimento para construções, bloques, etc. CONCRETE pedreira hidrologica e ACELSON de areia e cimento. A Central dos Loios Largo dos Loios, 11-14 PORTO TELEFONE, 1599 Apresenta sempre as últimas novidades em SEDAS LÁS PELES e MIUDEZAS	
Division & Union, L. Rua dos Fiorel, 139-1" = PORTO Maquinas para todas as Indústrias Acessórios para as mesmas Instalações Eléctricas Material Eléctrico	Visite V. Ex.º o Stand n.º 125 da Litografia Nacional do Porto, na nave dos Expositores da Metrópole	PIANOS E ORGÃOS A DINHEIRO E PRESTAÇÕES Vendem-se, trocam-se e alugam-se DAVID RUFINA Telefones 715 R. Formosa, 173 — PORTO	
H. VAULTIER & C.ª PORTO - LISBOA Stand 184 — Rua de Guiné FABRICANTES de Curtido de Couro, Mangueiras para incendios Pneus para carros, Tumbore de madeira, Mascaretas de Borracha Rua Mouzinho da Silveira, 268 — PORTO	CASA DO CANTINHO A. PINHO & C.ª LOIOS, 83 TELEF. 1310 MODAS, PELES, MIUDEZAS e todos os artigos de novidade para Senhores Esta casa não tem filial	FARMÁCIA Almeida Cunha, L.ª (ANTIGA FARMÁCIA DO OLIVAR) 327, R. Formosa, 328 — PORTO Telefones, 4874 Serviço permanente de quatro-feixas ARMAMENTO DE RESERVATÓRIOS, ESPECIALIDADES FARMACÉUTICAS, BARÔMETROS — PERIFÉRICOS LABORATÓRIOS para a análise de todo o tipo de amostras de Fábrica com todos os meios, aparelhos, instrumentos, Esterilizadores, Cámaras de secagem, etc.	

Fig. 5 – Roadmap of the 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, Porto, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

CONSTRUCTION OF OTHERNESS

The way in which populations of former colonized countries and especially black bodies were represented within the exhibition demonstrates *Otherness*. Brought from their home countries, the people were housed in the park for the duration of the exhibition and issued to the gaze of the Portuguese public. Representing each colonized country, the various dwellings were installed throughout the park. The reconstitutions consisted of ephemeral materials such as wood or stem. As Serra states it: “These were nothing more than ethnographic enactments whose “racial” and gender diversity was offered in spectacle to the contemplation of their daily activities.”²⁶ This indicates a staging of a highly stereotyped ethnographic representation in which the white civilized population was confronted with the “typical black indigenous”.

The presentation emphasized a considerable gap between the population of the metropolis and the population of the colonies. The simplified depiction of the huts, in contrast to the progressive, modern implementation and equipment of the exhibition itself, left the spectators draw a distinction between the self, and the people of the African countries, the *Other*. This stereotyped Otherness “justifies comparison and examples with different levels and hierarchies. The visitor is confronted with the other who waits, exposed, to be seen as being inferior.”²⁷ The staging illustrated difference and constructed the concept of exoticism towards the savage, or primitive. It put the colonial rulers against the colonized, clarifying a clear position of power. Thus, legitimizing the necessity of the process of civilization in the period of the construction of the Portuguese colonial empire and the unified identity of a single nation.

This staging was reinforced through the photographic and visual representations published in the several magazines of the event. Serra analyses that especially: “The representations [...] allow us to understand how the body has become, in this exhibition, a space of inscription and racial and cultural categorization, in the name of regime propaganda.”²⁸ Within these, hierarchies became clear, on the one hand portraying the main rulers of the country and the organizing elites of the exhibition and juxtaposed to the representations of populations of the

²⁶ Serra, Filómena [2016] “Visões do Império: a 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa de 1934 e alguns dos seus álbuns” in Revista Brasileira de História da Mídia, v.5, n.1, jan./2016 - jun./2016, p. 49 free translation from original: “Homens, mulheres e crianças seriam alojados nas suas habitações ou aldeias “típicas”. Estas mais não eram do que encenações etnográficas cuja diversidade «racial» e de género era oferecida em espectáculo à contemplação das suas actividades diárias”

²⁷ Marroni (2013:73) free translation from original: “justifica comparação e exemplos com diferentes níveis e hierarquias. O visitante confronta-se com um outro que o aguarda, exposto, para ser visto como ser inferior.”

²⁸ Serra (2016:45) free translation from original: “As representações [...] permitem compreender o modo como o corpo se tornou, nessa exposição, um espaço de inscrição e de categorização racial e cultural, em nome da propaganda do regime

former Portuguese colonies in their housings. These opposed representations reinforced the image of the exotic, as also within the terminology – as “the Other” was described as “indigenous” or “savage”. Populations from, for example, Goa were presented in a different way than Angola or Guinee populations, which excluded the aspect of the erotic, but included the aspect of exoticism.



Fig. 6 – "Rosinha, mulher da Guiné, empunhando a Bandeira nacional." 0,180 x 0,240 m; 1 prova fotográfica a p&b – Arquivo Histórico Câmara Municipal do Porto

The visual presentation and reproduction through postcards, souvenirs and event catalogs, emphasized the Othering process, but also a voyeuristic view. The presentation of the “typical natives” also illustrates an eroticization and reification. The exhibited is assigned an object position, which provokes the amusement of the white male gaze. A human zoo, through which the white population strolled, with a voyeuristic gaze and collected photographic reproductions as a souvenir. The objectification becomes especially clear through the contest which was held between the various women. Each nominated woman was depicted and compared in different editions of the magazines and elected and celebrated the

Rainha das Colónias by the end of the fair. This woman was named “Rosinha”, without regarding her real name. Serra states that: “The truth is that indigenous populations and their naked bodies have attracted huge numbers of visitors and may have been the main cause of the success of the exhibition.”²⁹

The forms of (re)presentation, racial and sexual stereotypes set a look that illustrates the white male supremacy at that time. On the other hand, however, they are important documents and relics that outlast times. Serra thus summarizes:

Support of the propaganda discourse, the albums have become important media for the investigation not only of the processes of imagery creation but also of the narratives built on the identity of the nation. It found in the imperial project its reason for being and even its survival. Considering the Portuguese colonization as a kind of special vocation and even a providential mission, the myth of the Empire could only provoke chimerical visions. In short, to dive into these images, for so long forgotten, means to rescue the past and also to speak about ourselves.³⁰

These images then not only show the event, but the narration and the relationship to the event. The importance to present day becomes also evident in the accessibility of these documentations. Most images can be found in the archive of the municipality of Porto, physical as well as online. They are carefully preserved and serve as a document and documentation of history. The preservation is kept clean but without context or commentary, in a way hidden information only for those who want to immerse and investigate. This again shows or preserves ideals and mindsets as narrated during the fascist regime or during historical contexts and are taken into current context.

²⁹ Serra (2016:54) free translation from original: “A verdade é que as populações indígenas e os seus corpos nus atraíram um número enorme de visitantes e talvez tenha sido a causa principal do sucesso da exposição”

³⁰ Serra (2016:58) free translation from original: Suportes do discurso de propaganda, os álbuns tornaram-se media importantes para a investigação não só dos processos de criação imagética mas também das narrativas construídas sobre a identidade da nação. Esta encontrava no projecto imperial a sua razão de ser e até a sua sobrevivência. Considerada a colonização portuguesa como uma espécie de vocação especial e até de missão providencial, o mito do Império só poderia provocar quiméricas visões. Enfim, mergulhar nestas imagens, durante tanto tempo esquecidas, significa resgatar o passado e, também, falar de nós próprios”

A. MEMORY: HISTORICAL IMPACTS ON TODAY'S THINKING

“O passado colonial é memorizado na medida em que não esquecido. Às vezes, é preferível não lembrar. Mas a teoria de memória é, na verdade, uma teoria do esquecimento. Não podemos simplesmente esquecer e não podemos evitar lembrar.”

Grada Kilomba – Memórias de Plantação (2010)

In order to better understand the phenomenon that certain attitudes are selectively adopted in the current time, it is also important to consider the phases and processes surrounding the creation of the monument and exhibition in 1934. This chapter will look phases of the dictatorship and the decolonization processes. It is not possible to give a detailed insight of the procedures, but rather a brief overview of events in Portuguese context.

The revolution of 28th May 1926 introduced authoritarian rule in Portugal. This military coup replaced the first short period of a republic. This was a consequence of the political instability and neglect of the army by the governments within these sixteen years. While the focus in establishing the dictatorship was on the financial situation, António de Oliveira Salazar gained more and more power within the authoritarian and progressive fascist rule. As the president of the Council of Ministers, dictatorial power increased, and a conservative and nationalistic constitution was set out. This initiated the new political regime, the *Estado Novo* in 1933. It was at that time that the colonial exhibition was held which promoted a sense of the unified power of Portugal and the importance of colonial territories. The regime sought to legitimize a colonial perspective by assimilating the colonies and establishing harmony between the metropolis and the colonial territories. This homogenization, in contrast to the stereotyping during the first exhibition, increased the united white population and made *the other* invisible. Again, a visual representation was the method to spread this idea. The map “Portugal não é um país pequeno” – “Portugal is not a small country” is showing the contours of the colonial territories, superposed over Europe. This image symbolized Portugal’s imperial power in comparison with other “small” European countries. This map was continuously reproduced and recited not only during that time and became an example of tactic of the *Estado Novo*.

What was sought to construct was a memory, which legitimised the present. The historical past was made visible. And created a new national memory as a construction of an imaginary production and reproduction. It was the effort of António Ferro who affirmed and power of the nation by creating this *Política do espírito* – “politic of the mind”. This became especially important whilst the beginning of World War II, in which Portugal tactically declared neutrality, as well as the civil war in Spain. The Portuguese authoritarian regime seemed to be released in the troubled European political scene.³² Since the first exhibition in Porto the *Estado Novo* culminated years of affirmation and political strategy which resulted in the *Exposição do Mundo Português*.

Accordingly, the efforts and procedures led by António Ferro within Portugal deserve to be stressed. As the chief of Propaganda, of the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* and later minister of Portugal his role during the fascist regime becomes clear through the effort and means of propagandistic procedures, as for example the colonial and historical exhibitions. On the other side it is important to mention that he was active in keeping up a national image for the Portuguese society.

It will be the transformation of the image of Portugal, or the confirmation of a certain vision, politically and ideologically oriented, what Ferro, as the SPN director, will do, reformulating the concept of national identity and (re) creating Portugal. By materializing the cultural understanding of the new political order emerging with the *Estado Novo*, Ferro will present a traditional, popular, rural ethos where the spiritual legacy, assumed as the basis of power in the nation-state, gained primacy over industrial progress.³³

Using memory as a unifying tool his role was clearly to establish and maintain a sense of national identity and of belonging. Therefore, he created and reinforced symbols for the

consagração pública de uma legitimidade representativa própria, desta feita, eminentemente ideológica e histórica. [...] Esforçou-se o Estado Novo por associar os traços mais marcantes do seu nacionalismo – autoritarismo, elitismo, paternalismo, conservadorismo – a um passado mítico legitimador do presente. [...] Corolário de uma «política de espírito», lançada na década anterior pelo audacioso diretor do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, António Ferro, assiste-se à mais conseguida conciliação da arte com a política no Estado Novo”

³² See Ribeiro (2014:135) free translation from original: “Sem guerra, as repercussões dos Centenários seria evidentemente mais objectiva porque as Comemorações, conservando o seu carácter de festas, transformar-se-iam numa grande romaria internacional. Com a guerra, a festa desapareceu, os Centenários estão-se revestindo doutra solenidade, doutra gravidade [...], são as luminosas sílabas com que se está formando a palavra de ânimo e de conforto que contribuirá para ajudar as nações em guerra a suportar este novo dilúvio [transformando-se Portugal] em candeia na distância, em luz de farol, em clarão de esperança”

³³ Ribeiro (2014:159) free translation from original: “Será a transformação da imagem de Portugal, ou a confirmação de uma determinada visão, orientada política e ideologicamente, aquilo que Ferro, na sua qualidade de diretor do SPN, irá fazer, reformulando o conceito de identidade nacional e (re)criando Portugal. Materializando o entendimento cultural da nova ordem política surgida com o Estado Novo, Ferro apresentará um ethos tradicionalista, popular, rural, onde o legado espiritual, assumido como base do poder na nação estadonovista, ganhava primazia sobre o progresso industrial:”

middle-class and ‘pequeno povo’ of the countryside. While mediating between tradition and modernity, he also established various initiatives for a progressive and modern Portuguese society. This included the renovation of public spaces towards clean, inclusive and representative spaces. This *Política do Espírito* anchored a mindset, that is reflected in the construction of the monument on the *Praça to Império* in Foz. Within a clear and organised structure, the contextless and non-explanatory statue is taking this mindset to current debate and contexts.

In June 2018 the monument was vandalized. The hands of the figures were painted red, as well as on the bottom of the statue was written “Tirem esta merda daqui”³⁴. The color on the hands can be interpreted as blood that the colonialists have on their hands. It was in this sense an act of making visible, what was tried to be forgotten. As in Portuguese contexts colonialism is mainly romantically referred to discovery. It seems that attempts are being made to keep these pictures. There was an immediate reaction and within the next day the monument was clean, evidences and indications erased, other voices made invisible.

After World War II European relations got ambiguous and general decolonization processes took place. Therefore, it got also more difficult for Portugal to maintain the colonial territories. To stop international political pressures the *Estado Novo* formulated a new Overseas policy in 1951: it revoked the Colonial Act of 1930 and created the “Portuguese solution”, which now designates the colonies by *províncias ultramarinas*, considering that these were an integral and inseparable part of Portugal. The following images shows a World Map, indicating the Portuguese population. Therefore, it only counts its white population in all the colonized countries.

However, opponents of the dictatorship within Portugal and groupings formed in African colonies continued the strive against the *Estado Novo*. In 1961 an uprising in Angola began to which Portugal sent troops to cut down the rebellion. This was the onset of the Angolan War for independence, which endured until 1974. Following Angola, also in other Portuguese African colonies, Guinea and Mozambique, various groups formed parties to fight for self-determination starting the *Guerra do Ultramar*.

³⁴ Free translation: “get this shit out of here”.



Fig. 8 – World Map illustrating Portuguese population, July 1962, seen in antique Shop

After the colonial wars for independence in Mozambique and Angola power struggles between the different armed movements in Angola created a situation of collapse of public order and initiated violence. Although during the years of armed conflict in the Portuguese colonies from 1961 to 1974, colonist populations - old or recent - seemed not to consider the possibility of a return to the metropolis, the Portuguese people and military had to leave the countries as fast as they could. It was not possible for them to stay any longer and to organize in the country where they stayed for years, made connections and families as well. Within the years 1974 to 1975 people fled to Portugal, which was amid a revolution from the dictatorship. They arrived within this turbulent time at the port in Lisbon without any belongings, as photographer Alfredo Cunha captured in his series. In some cases, like in Mozambique the Portuguese people had left 24 hours and allowed luggage of 24 kg to leave the country. A massive migratory movement from 5 000 000 to 800 000 people left the African countries. Through an airlift 7 000 people per day arrived in the port of Lisbon, the collected luggage separately. Some people came back to their former lives and denied and repressed memories and feelings of that time. There has not been enough time to process on what happened in the last radical steps towards independence. Whereas some of them were

already born in the colonies and referred to themselves rather as refugee or evicted than “returned”³⁵.



Fig. 9 – Alfredo Cunha Descolonização portuguesa, Portugal, Lisboa, 1975

B. MONUMENTALITY: MATERIAL IMPACTS ON TODAY’S THINKING

Representations within a society traditionally demonstrate power relations, especially through monuments. These are built to last and preserving histories and narratives of the past. A monument has a celebrational character being whether a memory to an important hero of the country or victim of a heroic scene. In Lisbon as the capital of the country there is much more visibility of the celebration of the state, with many more monuments of the historical past than in Porto. As these monuments are representations narrated from one perspective, they are excluding other perspectives. In the sense of colonialism, they represent white supremacy over the colonial countries and are excluding the narration of slave trade and violence which went along with it. This could be also interpreted as W.J.T Mitchell states,

³⁵ Oliveira, Joana; Peralte, Elsa [2016] “Pós-memoia como herança: fotografia e testemunho do “retorno” de África” in *Configuracoes* [online], Revista de sociologia 17, 2016

that these monuments represent violence, or monumentalise violence.³⁶ This becomes clear through statues which are representing an emperor as role model and a man of peace, what can be applied in the case of *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português* to the violence of the colonial power. As the monument was constructed 1934 at the *Jardins de Palácio de Cristal* and implemented 1984 in the *Praca do Império* it tells more about the time of implementation than the time which it is commemorating. Instead of seeking to capture the memory of events, it remembers the own relationship to events. The dislocation from the park *Palácio de Cristal* is a way of mirroring the background of the monument. The image on the left shows an aerial view of the *Praça do Império* in 1939 in Foz, yet without a monument. And on the right side its replica in the *Jardins do Palacio de Cristal* with the monument in plaster. The monument was already invisible as it was dismantled and scattered around the park before it got reactivated with its implementation in 1984. But even after its reactivation through the lack of commenting the monument is invisible as it seems to be unremarked or non-registered by many.



Fig. 10 & 11 – Fotografia aérea da cidade do Porto: 1939-1940 Foz / Massarelos, Arquivo
Camara do Porto

Art and monuments in the public space are supposed to be in the literal sense a liberal model of art, as opposed to art in private spaces. It stands for inclusivity even though it is often used to privatise a space. The general model then is still categorized by a fictional character. It seems to include everybody but, it is unavoidably narrated from one perspective. In another sense, after the concepts of Nietzsche's perspectivism as well as Bhabha's *Third*

³⁶ Mitchell, W.J.T. "The Violence of the Public Art. "Do the Right Thing"" in (University of Chicago Press) *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Summer, 1990), p. 886

Space, this imaginary can only be constructed by the exclusion of some people or certain groups. As the own perspective is build up by the own differentiation from oneself to the other. It is necessary to create an alternative way of narration within representation in the public space.

Public art has always dared to dream, projecting fantasies of a monolithic, uniform, pacified public sphere. What seems called for now, and what many of our contemporary artists wish to provide, is a critical public art that is frank about the contradictions and violence encoded in its own situation, one that dares to awaken a public sphere of resistance, struggle, and dialogue. Exactly how to negotiate the border between struggle and dialogue, between the argument of force and the force of argument, is an open question.³⁷

This means that monuments can be a construction of a specific group but including the stories of other groups. Therefore, constructing an alternative monument, including oppositional perspectives. Because the other is needed in order to narrate the own history. There is no own history without the differentiation to the other. The public space creates therefore many different oppositions of the subjects and agents, the own memory towards a collective memory. Nevertheless, to be fully inclusive the only possibility seems constituting many different (oppositional) monuments.

In Germany the heavy burden of history is a well-known fact. As I grew up, the history around the second world war was always narrated in a way of admonishing. This dialogues also reflect in the construction of monuments. They often also represent victims of a crime the country itself committed, such as the holocaust memorials. Also, the correctness of other historical monuments is widely discussed. This development and process of monuments, described as “Denkmal-Arbeit”³⁸, is thus a high culture of memory, in which monuments which turn out to be inappropriate or violent in the course of time are discussed or dismantled. This constant rearranging, after James E. Young, displaces and constitutes the actual object, so to speak the event or person, of memory, makes it visible and invisible. He describes the notion of memorials towards remembering as such: the more monuments and representation within the public sphere is expressed, the less memory is experienced within society. With this comparison the author argues that the monumentalizing of a monument does not fit into the processes of daily life, as the events which they remember mostly not even recognized anymore. He states: “To the extent that we encourage monuments to do our memory-work for

³⁷ Mitchell (1990:898)

³⁸ Free translation: memorial-work

us, we become that much more forgetful. In effect, the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them.”³⁹

This applied would mean that the colonial times are forgotten as they have been expressed many times in the public space. But on the other side it is considerable that the analyzed monument *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português* and its background demonstrate that “From political discourses, to the agendas of cultural institutions to the banal acceptance of common sense, Portugal continues to imagine itself as an empire, an imagination in which war and 'return' remain without a place of inscription.”⁴⁰ The implementation in 1984 is then a way of trying to reactivate a memory. But explanation or context of the reason for this monument are not able to be given. The war in the African countries as well as the decolonization are excluded in the public space. This non-registration in the public space’s – memorial and imagery – representation leads to an invisibility.⁴¹ In the words of the author: “We say that they are non-registered, pointing precisely to this non-inclusion as an act of omission or forgetting about the events that marked the end of Portuguese colonial rule.”⁴² That would mean, in the sense that of Young's description, the more memory is felt the less they come into expression, that these narratives are well remembered. Invisibility serves to forget and to create an opacity. When the monument was first designed, the people of the Diaspora were visible, as the *exotic Other* and clearly marked. The monument, however, completely excludes them from dialogue. It illustrates according to this model then especially that the more distant and blurring colonial era is no longer remembered. There are also fewer and fewer people who experienced it. But on the other side due to the travel and migration processes, Portugal is more and more characterized by diversity. The invisibility of diasporic narratives in the public space makes clear that these positions are not unremarked in society. It is then a counter movement between memory and forgetting. This also becomes apparent in the discussion about the planned memorial in Lisbon. In 2018 an initiative of the Lisbon association DJASS promoted the creation of a

³⁹ Young (1992:272)

⁴⁰ Oliveira/ Peralte (2016:187) free translation from original: „Dos discursos políticos, às agendas das instituições culturais até às banais aceções do senso-comum, Portugal continua a imaginar-se enquanto império, imaginação essa na qual a guerra e o “retorno” continuam sem lugar de inscrição.”

⁴¹ See Oliveira / Peralte (2016:187)

⁴² Oliveira / Peralte (2016:187) free translation from original quote: „ora por razões de má consciência relativamente ao processo de descolonização, ora devido às tensões manifestas no seio da sociedade civil e das forças armadas sobre a questão colonial, a guerra e o êxodo africano são “não-inscritos” (Gil, 2005) no espaço público – memorial e imagético – nacional. Dizemos que são não-inscritos assinalando, precisamente, essa não inscrição como ato, de omissão ou de esquecimento, sobre os acontecimentos que marcaram o fim do domínio colonial português. Trata-se assim, de acontecimentos que não aconteceram, desaparecendo, segundo José Gil, pelo “buraco negro que suga o espaço público”

memorial to the victims of slavery. Even though voted by the residents, the monument failed to be designed nor implemented what highlights the complex current discussions about issues of race in Portugal.⁴³

The question remains open whether a more inclusive model of public art or public representation is possible. Monuments are also necessary, as all life depends to some amount of preservation. But the spatialization of power often interferes with a selective preservation and monumentalisation. Also, any monuments, whether giving form to state power or challenging it, use space in the same way to block the future by preserving either the present or the past. Monumentalisation reduces the thoughts and produces forgetting. Young suggests then the implementation of counter-monuments and describes the goals to rather provoke instead to consolidate, not to be ignored but interactive, not everlasting but disappearing, not to accept the burden of memory but to throw it back to the viewer.⁴⁴

INTERIM SUMMARY

The summary above illustrates the importance of history as a dialogue and as a problem. What becomes clear is how the narration of a history is also a social construction framed in time and space. A selective narration is partly excluding realities and creating opacities. It becomes therefore also a sign of how a reality is built and rebuilt through a social group, by the construction of Invisibility and Otherness. After Bloch history can be understood as a view of human spectacles, while it both locates the observer and the observed object. In the words of the author, “Whenever our societies [...] begin to doubt themselves, one sees them wondering if they have been right in questioning the past or if they have questioned it well”⁴⁵. This is the reason that it is important to look on the historical realities and visual representations to understand the present and to be able to overcome (un)conscious biases and mindsets.

The outline shows significant events which shaped a long period of thinking towards nationalist ideals and that this might still have an impact on current reasoning. The *política do espírito* guided by António Ferro, Henrique Galvão and the nationalist regime used the unifying tool of memory to create a national identity throughout the different phases of Eurocentric narration. Peralte argues “that memory, far from being able to be referred to a

⁴³ Badcock, James [2018] “Slavery memorial highlights Portugal's racism taboo” BBC News retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44965631> [8th january 2018]

⁴⁴ See Young (1992)

⁴⁵ Bloch apud Ribeiro (2014:176)

human mental faculty, must first be understood procedurally, that is, as a process of enunciation of acts of remembrance, thus articulated - in speech - to become memory.”⁴⁶ The narratives promoted by the *Estado Novo*, associated with the exhibitions and fairs repeatedly would show a heroic past to consolidate the imperial identity, including a continuity between the past and present and future. The exhibition made *the Other* and Portuguese supremacy visible. The relics of this heavy, monumental past are now mainly physically invisible within the park, except of some stones and leftovers. The traces only survive like a ghost in the memory of a society. Depending on the interpretation of the past lays an invisible weight between memory, knowledge and repression.

The vitality and permanence of the national community and the construction (and reconstruction) of the collective imaginary of the Nation depend to a great extent on memory, especially on historical memory: "In the process of collective identification memory plays an anchor role and provides the elements that allow us to reiterate the solidarity, unity and continuity of the community, "reaffirming" what their members have in common and what separates them from others, from the evocation of the past and the history of the nation."⁴⁷

Even in more current day memory and remembrance play a crucial role. Also, as we can see *Palácio de Cristal* does not exist since many years. But a melancholic way of looking at the past of the building still exists. Even if there aren't many people truly remembering how the palace has been until the demolition in 1948 there is still a feeling of loss. Thus, also the exhibitions became a structure that gives continuity to a common past through an explicit claim of this continuity. To this extent, the analyzed phenomenon is a social construct in which the formation of unity exalts values and traditions that generate pride and cohesion.

It is then, that despite the high amount of transitions and “retornados” that little is said about these immigrational movements. There is a lack of individual and collective memory towards the remembrance of the wars in Africa, but a high affirmation about the more prosperous times as a colonial power. As we have seen the narrative of the imperial power was always the main characteristic of the Portuguese identity and “taking into account that within the narrative the idea of the innate goodness of the Portuguese imperial project is

⁴⁶ Oliveira / Peralte (2016:186) free translation from original quote: „Quer isto dizer que a memória, longe de poder ser remetida para uma faculdade mental humana, deve antes ser entendida processualmente, ou seja, enquanto processo de enunciação de atos de recordação, assim articulados – em fala – para se tornarem memória Peralte”

⁴⁷ Ribeiro (2015:111) free translation from original: “A vitalidade e permanência da comunidade nacional e a construção (e reconstrução) do imaginário coletivo da Nação dependem em grande medida da memória, em especial da memória histórica: “No processo de identificação colectiva a memória desempenha um papel de âncora e fornece os elementos que permitem reiterar a solidariedade, unidade e continuidade da comunidade”, reafirmando “o que os seus membros têm em comum e o que os separa dos outros, a partir da evocação do passado e da história da nação.”

deeply rooted, these consequences [narratives about the wars] profoundly destabilize the structure of the national mnemonic imagination.”⁴⁸ For a nation that glorifies its explorers and navigators, examining its colonial past is divisive. It must also be said that war memories often are memories which are neglected. It is also connected to pain and mechanism to self-protection. The invisibility towards *other/other* social narratives, from diaspora or black part of the society might be unconscious but existent.

This reality also shows in the current implementation of the monument. The lack of context or commenting promotes a clandestine implementation within the public space of Porto what seems to be unremarked and indifferent by many. It can also be interpreted as a privilege of not having to see it. The privileged group of the society does not see a problem in these representations in the public space because as a privileged group there is no direct need to see or to reflect on it. This is another form of Invisibility, where the actual problem is (made) invisible.

It seems then that the project of colonialism is tied to nation building in which some positions are excluded and rendered invisible. Also, it is narrating history which is exposing the imagery about the subaltern people. And even today within a modernity of colonialism the history of “the other” is written by the predominant subject position. When this Invisibility is an imaginary product it would be therefore necessary to decolonize the imaginary and the thought. While there was a constant disappearing of the (black) body a re-appropriation of the invisibility of the subordinated towards an inclusive narrative is needed. “Focusing attention on the voids, on the silences offered by the midst of the speech of those who “returned”, we try to recognize and claim the transforming action of the ethical value of what is not and can not be forgotten.”⁴⁹ Decolonization means in this sense also reactivation of the disappeared body to gain the possibility of inscription in the national memory. As stated earlier this is supposedly only possible through the subject positions. But it seems that it is also possible if one steps out of their perspectives and reflects on the situation. After Bhabha’s concept of authority the different positions are in constant negotiations and changing. So that some of the invisible positions can be made visible, when these negotiations outweigh white supremacy.

⁴⁸ Oliveira / Peralte (2016:186) free translation from original: “Considerando que o império foi e continua a ser o principal tropo de articulação da narrativa identitária portuguesa (Peralta, 2013), e tendo em conta que no seio dessa narrativa está fortemente enraizada a ideia da bondade inata do projeto imperial português, estas consequências desestabilizam profundamente a estrutura da imaginação mnemónica nacional.”

⁴⁹ Oliveira / Peralte (2016:192) free translation from original: Focando assim a atenção aos vazios, aos silêncios, oferecidos por entre meio da fala de quem “retornou”, procura-se reconhecer e reclamar a ação transformadora do valor ético daquilo que não deve e não pode ser esquecido.

Remembrance is, first of all, an exercise in detachment from the task of the historian - one who collects facts from history by lending them a linear sequence. Around him, exercising the remembrance is to explore the nooks and "instead of repeating what he remembers, he opens himself to the whites, the holes, the forgotten and the repressed, to say, with hesitations, bumps, incompleteness, what still had no right either to Remembrance or to words (Gagnebin, 2006: 55)⁵⁰

The process of decolonization would be in this sense also to dismantle the white male as a center and to de-center Europe as an agent. As well as to confront what is tried to be kept invisible. As a way of unlearning from what has been created throughout historiography, and to change the perspective of narration. It is also important to acknowledge each individual's hybridities and to overthrow binaries of oppositional dialectics. This could be then the first step towards more balanced power relations.

⁵⁰ Gagnebin, Jeanne Marie apud Oliveira / Peralte (2016:194) free translation from original: "em seu livro Lembrar, Escrever, Esquecer, incita a pensar a força gestante do conceito de rememoração. Rememorar trata-se, em primeiro lugar, de fazer um exercício de desprendimento da tarefa do historiador – aquele que colige factos da história emprestando-lhes uma sequência linear. Em torno, exercitar a rememoração é explorar os recantos e "em vez de repetir aquilo de que se lembra, abre-se aos brancos, aos buracos, ao esquecido e ao recalcado, para dizer, com hesitações, solavancos, incompletude, aquilo que ainda não teve direito nem à Lembrança nem às palavras"

PROJECTUAL/EXPERIMENTAL FIELD

Considering now this theoretical base different topics and methodologies become relevant. It becomes clear that an artistic intervention would include the exploration of collective memory, as it plays a crucial role within the narration of history and shifting dynamics in a society. Therefore, on the one side can the direct engagement with historical material trigger self-reflection. As well as on the other can the focus on inclusivity within art practice bring more racial awareness and serve as a decolonizing tool. This chapter is thus composed of artistic references as well as practical experiments and projects, which are connected to the aims as well as intent to follow up the issues raised in this research.

A culture where everyone works together instead of competing against each other usually results in a more harmonious society. Furthermore, participatory work can create a feeling of belonging. This was one of the reasons for the founding of the arts collective “InterStruct” in which I am one of the founding members. The joint work within the collaboration enables dialogues and narrations while decisions can be made collectively without an organisational hierarchy. This fluid approach enables greater cooperation between individual and group motivations. In this regard, different opinions become possible and even necessary, as other perspectives can be recognized and reflected. In this sense, opinions can change accordingly. This also plays a role in overcoming imposed opinions. As the previously introduced example of Homi Bhabha's *negotiations* makes clear, collaborative work can enable substantiated reasoning and accordingly achieve more success.

The first idea of the collective emerged following a workshop at “FuturePlaces: Medialab for Citizenship” in 2017, which a part of the group attended. Participants shared the aspect of being new to the city of Porto, and in this regard also shared same views guided by the look from the outside. The *InterStruct Collective* became then an interdisciplinary collaborative art group which offers a platform for the exchange of ideas and experiences within different cultural backgrounds. We believe in inclusivity to promote the goal of breaking disadvantaged positions and ideologies. Within topics and projects towards an intercultural dialogue, our work encourages self-reflection and empathy as the foundation for deconstructing prescribed roles and stereotypes. While focusing on exploring root causes of adverse ideologies and its consequences it becomes important to investigate methods for disrupting and challenging these behaviours. Accordingly, I believe that art practice can be a powerful tool for raising social awareness and encouraging the development of intercultural dialogue and understanding. The name InterStruct is composed of two elements: the prefix

“inter” meaning “between” and the Latin root “struere” meaning “to build” or “to assemble”. Merging these terms underlines the importance of engaging with constructive and deconstructive processes during creation. With these themes our collective and my individual work branches into multiple forms of presentation, such as installation, photography and performance with an emphasis on the experimentation in materials.

During the various phases of my master’s thesis, the review of archival documentation of the exhibition in 1934 have led to the collection of this material. Also, the repeated visits to the two public spaces *Jardins do Palácio de Cristal* and *Praça do Império* in order to observe them shaped my research. The focus laid on my personal perception of the park and the green areas, as well as the impression of other user’s perception and especially what changes take place at different times. While carrying almost always different cameras, pen and paper or some material from the archives with me. Therefore, the project book in my case has become rather a visual sketchbook. In this I have assembled the selected images of the collections and experiences that have become important to me. The use of appropriated materials, such as archival documentation and historical and contemporaneous texts, explores the tradition of remembrance and experience. The work revolves around the documentation of events, as the colonial exhibition in 1934 and questions how they are and how they can be presented. The visual culture created within the exhibitions and the continuous display of inferior black bodies are aspects I do not seek to spread any further. The photographs of the harsh reality from the archive as they can be found in the work and in the visual essay, stand in the context of my work and should not be regarded as reproducing the former intentions.

A. PHOTOGRAPHIC APPROACH

The research resulted in two photographic works which intended to artistically explore the legacy of colonialism. The burden of the historical past haunts the current experience of the park of *Palácio de Cristal*. In the *Praça do Império*, on the other hand, it can be experienced in all its monumentality.

The imposing monument in Foz figuratively represents the main components to the Portuguese colonising effort., how they were formulated within an unilateral shaped past. The reassembling of the monument in 1984 as well as the preservation until now can reveal present-day attitudes and perspectives which however cannot communicate the complexity of lived experiences within colonial and postcolonial hegemonic structures. Depending on the perspective and interpretation exists then an invisible charge between memory, knowledge and repression. In these photographs, this comes together and provides an opportunity to examine existing representations and to formulate new artistic representations. The double exposure aims to represent the connection between the two places. The contrast between the monumentality and durability of public monuments, as opposed to the fragility of memory, is also evident in the construction of prejudices and views that guide discrimination. The photographic effects gained by experimentation underline the strain and a certain darkness of the past. On the other side it also ties up to the imagery of documentation from the exhibition and brings them into current context. Through the archives, the old methods of photography have been preserved as a visual culture. Their use in contemporary approaches provides an alternative narrative and can trigger questioning of the past, which will always be a continuous process.



Fig. 12 & 13 – own images, black and white film



Fig 14 & 15 – own
images, black and white film

The other project was the mixed media installation “Memories of the city” in 2019. It aimed to address the topic, including the keywords fragility and durability. The work is a collection of aspects that I have perceived in some Eurocentric public spaces, such as the *Jardins do Palácio de Cristal*, the *Praça do Império*, and additionally the *Jardim do Infante Dom Henrique*. The installation refers to the many different levels and narratives of a history. History is important as a dialogue in current and contemporaneous time, as well as a problem. The narrative is a social construction framed in time and space. Through memory a national identity was created throughout Eurocentric narration. The work includes quotes from magazines and texts from archival material, dealing with the portrayal and representation of colonizing and colonized subjects as well as about the reading and understanding of a city. Also, a combination of photographic imagery was used, which were taken around these three places. On the other side different frames with different filters were hung up. The frames were suspended in front of the different layers of visual as well as textual material and affected which parts of the background, the historical base are visible and which are invisible.



Fig. 16-18 – photographic series around the three different places



The first idea of the filter comes from a proposal for the empty lots for the project “Primeira Avenida / Duplo Sentido” during our masters program.⁵¹ It speaks of different perspectives and how an imposed narration can influence our perception. It can result in different forms of opacity and distort viewpoints. Therefore, objects and realities can appear as through a veil, or in a distorted consciousness.



Fig. 19 & 20 – Installation *Memories of the City*, Exhibition View “Pentagona”, OKNA, Porto, 2019

⁵¹ Project Proposal and Description in Appendix A

B. PERFORMATIVE APPROACH

Taking on the interest in the *I Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* I continued working on performative ideas. The aspect of *Othering* and *Otherness*, as well *Invisibility* is commonly addressed in performances, within the topics of postcolonialism. Many performance artists explore subjectivity and objectivity as well as authorship. One way is inserting themselves into their artworks what allows them to make themselves a viewed object and at the same time a viewing subject of the work of art.

While reclaiming their subjectivity through this self-insertion and centralizing their own bodies, [they] also question, disrupt and subvert patriarchal structures by occupying the same representational spaces that have been reserved for men. In this regard, the body functions as a subject and a site through which some women contest their subjection.⁵²

By combining collective history or transferring personal history, artists use performance for social and political purposes. It brings the possibility to portray multiple identities that can be experienced and highlight previously unmarked positions. As subject and object at the same time, it symbolizes performative identities in a subversive way. It is also a method as Gayatri Spivak has argued, to examine the limited opportunities that were available to the colonised. In colonial institutions, the colonizers had the means and power to write themselves into history. Autobiography, therefore, aims to include in history the voices of the previously colonized and their descendants, and applied on present day then people, who suffer race and gender-based discrimination. This strategy gives the platform to write own histories according to own voices and perspectives.

Another important fact is that performance is only happening in a limited time and in a specific place. Repetition is possible but it will not be the same. This is an interesting connection to historical events as it stays in the memory of the spectators, but from the perception of the individual views. To deal with historical facts in a time limited performance can create new space and time experiences and makes connections to the previously known or unknown. As Paul Connerton states:

We may note that our experience of the present depends greatly on our knowledge of the past. In fact, memory - especially collective memory - is a fundamental point for historical studies, allowing direct knowledge of facts from testimonies and experiences. It is a “lived, oral, normative and plural” memory deeply influenced by emotions and affects, aspects that manipulate the very historical view of some events.⁵³

⁵² Malaatje, Lorraine [2011] Framing the Artwork of Tracey Rose and Berni Searle through Black Feminism, University of the Witwatersrand, p. 39

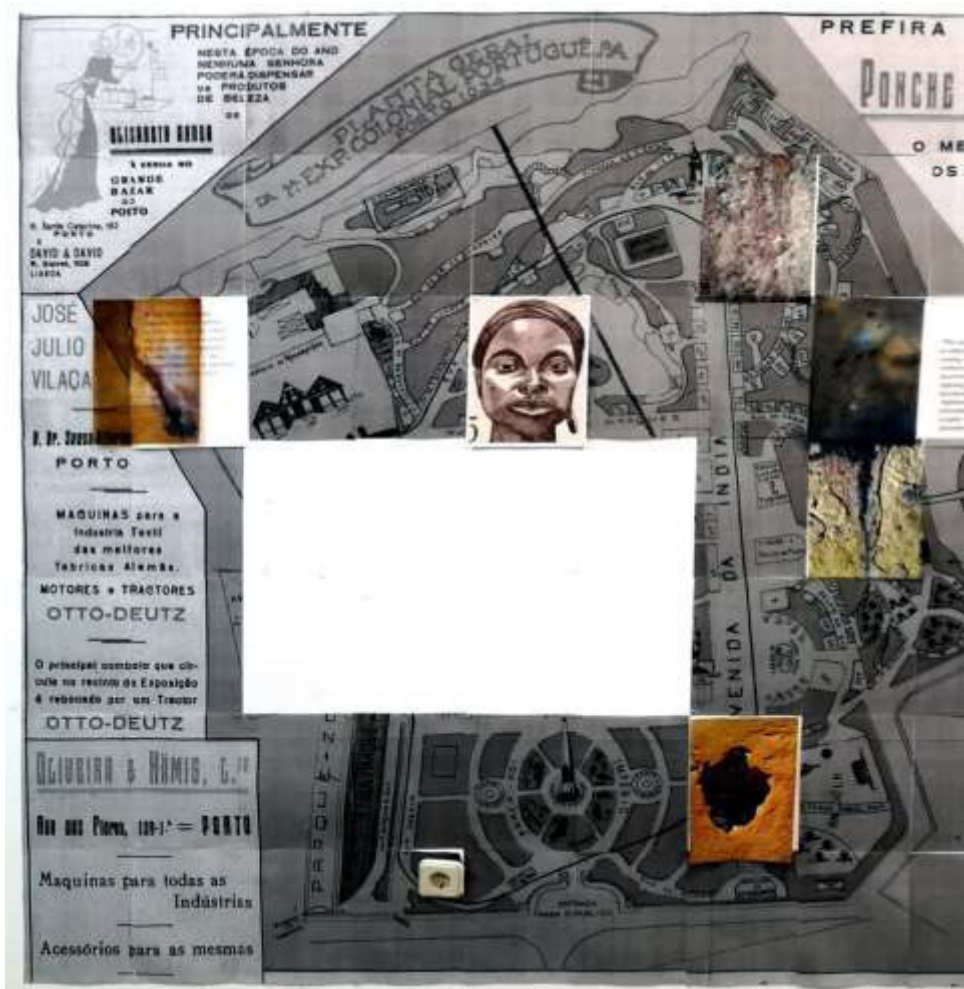
⁵³ Connerton and Goncalves (2018:207)

The direct knowledge of facts here means that, for example, a photo of the colonial exhibitions alone can be shocking for some, for others indifferent and for others it can create a nostalgic feeling. It also follows that the elements shown must be directly commented, deconstructed and disassembled to clarify the own positions. The performance of Khairani Barokka “Annah: Nomenclature” is a successful example. Here, the artist presents her research about Gauguin’s painting “Annah”. Her main concern is the identity of the naked portrayed, which remains distorted or hidden in the literature of the painting. Within her narration she creates new links between history and imagery and raises topics of the male and colonial gaze in relation to Annah.



Fig. 21 – Documentation of Khairani Barokka’s lecture-performance *Annah: Nomenclature* (2018) at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 2018

Through performance I tried in a first attempt to position myself and understand histories in the context of Porto and Portugal. Questions which arise were: What forms of representation are used to oppress minority experiences? From which perspective are they narrated? How can one position oneself inside a prescribed context? Within these the performance attempted to explore what is behind this glittered collective entity: formulated as Eurocentric history. The tool of (de)constructing stories was used for uncovering connections between the supposedly visible and the invisible, between the known and the unknown, between the predominant and the marginalised. With the reflection on history I pursued to explore root causes of racial discrimination and see how invisibility and visibility work within these.



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Fig. 23 – Documentation of Performance *In Visible II*, Rosa Imunda, Porto, 2019



Fig. 24 – Documentation of Performance *In Visible II*, Rosa Imunda, Porto, 2019

The performance was first presented in an Open Studio and built the second part of an exhibition of the *InterStruct Collective*. The dialogue between those two parts gave me the opportunity to intensify the current research focus. It was also an attempt to position myself in context. The shifting contexts from Haiti over Germany to Portugal and their influences feed into my approach if only indirectly. On the wall was the to 2x2 m enlarged image of the map of the *Jardins de Palacio de Cristal*, which was distributed to the colonial exhibition in 1934. To begin the performance, I spoke about my perception of the reception of foreigners and/or Germans, whose stereotypes do not seem to fit on myself. Ongoing, I dissected the map, while I was reading out quotes of the same year, which demonstrate a way of *Othering* and humiliate foreigners from former colonized countries. The slow process of deconstruction also serves to process the facts of history, which in my view are regarded indifferently, in a way that makes them clear and thought-provoking. In a kind of self-expression, themes such as blackness or social inclusion were reflected. While the dissection of the historical map left open spaces for new stories, I added imagery of my own photographs which were taken around Porto to create new links between history and imagery. The images demonstrate the decay of monuments, as well as as printed on transparency paper, they indicate an alternative reading and representing of the city. As additional visual material I used newspaper headlines or pictures of graffiti in the city, or the vandalization of the *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Português* to show how deeply rooted non-reflected ways of thinking construct biases. And ultimately, as another textual narrative I added quotes of social psychoanalytical approaches of Grada Kilomba concerning *Otherness* and claiming subjectivity. This was the first approach and was including a variety of layers and ways of understanding different topics and structures to reflect on. Through the combination of words and quotes as well as pictures – both taken out of historic books, current references or taken by me – new narratives emerged in a different current context.



Fig. 25 – Documentation of Performance *In Visible II*
Rosa Imunda, Porto, 2019

Another artistic example, relevant for the following project is Norbert Radermacher's installation of 1994. It is dealing with the invisible facts of a history. The artist is using the space to make its now invisible past visible. The projection shows a written text, about the street in which used to be a Satellite Camp. He states that the space or site alone cannot remember but needs the projection of memory of its passengers, this is what makes it then a memorial. Passersby cannot really deny or avoid the memorial and if they try so they first must deal with what exactly they want to avoid. And this makes it a memorial in a different or reversed sense. He prefers to not physically touch the site, with which he draws the connection of the effacement and absence of memory in that space.

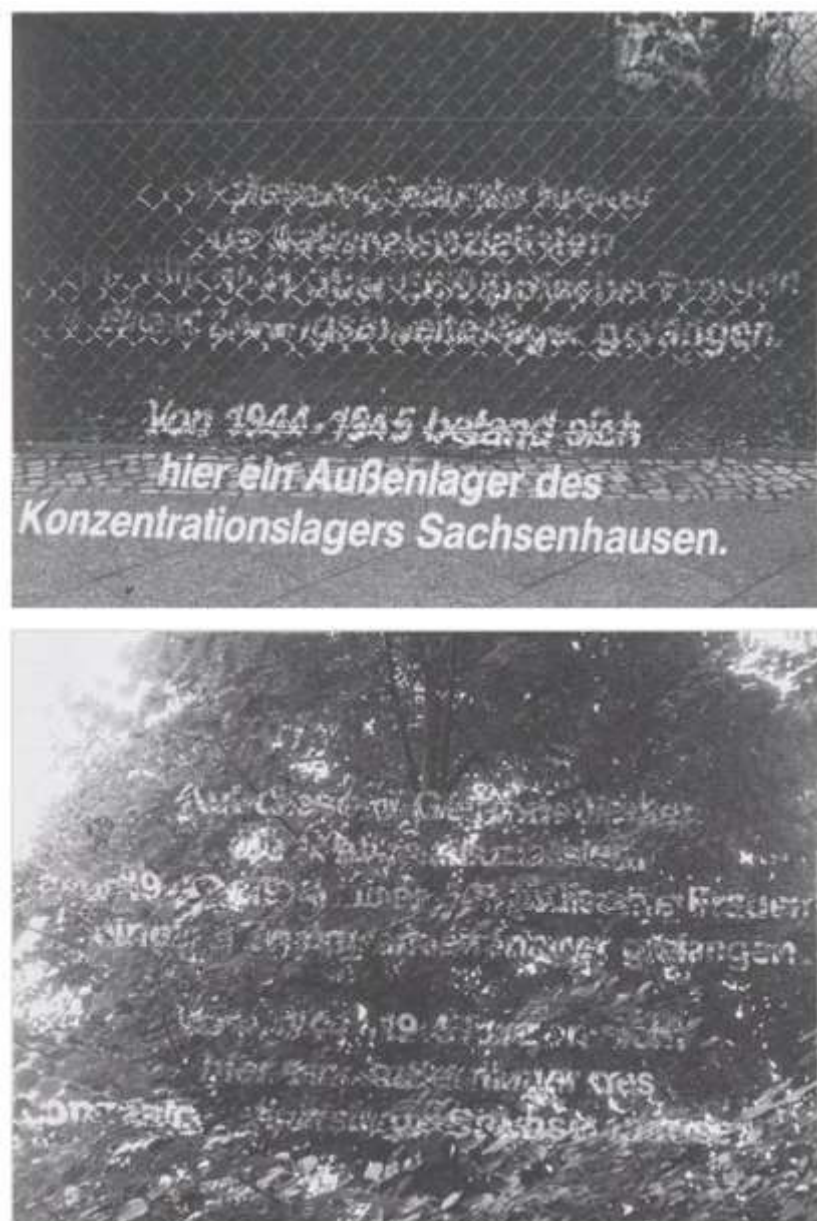


Fig 26 – Installation view Norbert Radermacher, Berlin, 1994

The site-disruption, in this case, is the equivalent of a memorial inscription, reinvesting an otherwise unremarkable site with its altogether remarkable past. In fact, by leaving the site physically unaltered, the artist allows the site to retain a façade of innocence only so that he might betray more forcefully its actual historical past. Radermacher's memorial thus reminds us that the history of this site also includes its own forgetfulness, its own memory lapse.⁵⁴

Norbert Radermacher intervenes in the place where the story has taken place and establishes a connection to contemporaneity to confront people with the past and to exclude future biases.

Within the Summer School “Art under Condition: Post/Colonialisms (Porto Research)” which was organised and guided by Prof. Miguel Leal and Prof. Andreas Broeckmann (HGB Leipzig) in May 2019, the *InterStruct Collective* proposed a first walking tour through the *Jardins do Palácio de Cristal* to reflect on the invisible burden of the past lying within the park, and to elaborate what it brings to contemporaneity without being seemingly known or acknowledged. While digging into the past a detailed analysis of the park and its structure could be taken into consideration. Therefore, an overlay of the map of the colonial exhibition as well as the current map of the park was distributed to aid discussion. Not through an installation but in an informative way we scrutinized the otherwise unremarkable public park with its altogether remarkable past.

The *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* delivered a visual culture which was (mis)representing the colonized. This juncture needs to be marked by acknowledging historical systems of oppression and how they relate to current postcolonial experiences. Arts based praxis can engage with heterogeneous lived experiences, providing a reflexive platform for nurturing future realities. While walking through the gardens, different key points offered to stop by using original archival materials (i.e., postal stamps, photographs and souvenirs) to support our discussions. We aimed to explore the visual imagery from the 1930s and to relate these to the current context of memory, ruins and remembrance within Porto. Benefitting from the discussions with the students from Leipzig we gained again another view from the outside and are now developing the tour with more guided topics and discussions, what will be included in the program “The (mis)guided Tours” of the Porto Design Biennale from 28th September to 08th December.

⁵⁴ Young (1992:287)

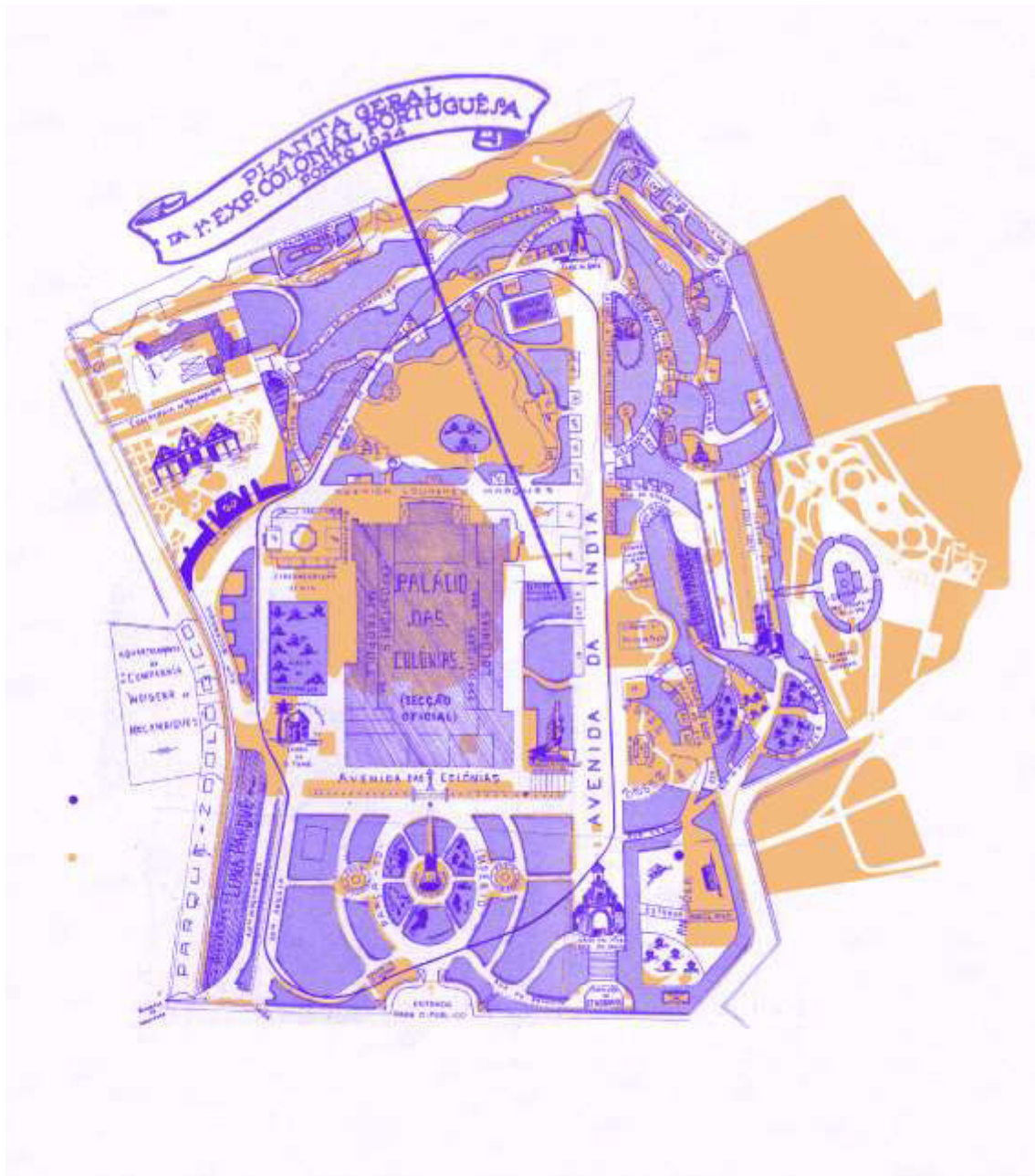


Fig. 27 – Overlay of the map distributed to the *I Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* and the official map of the *Jardins do Palácio de Cristal* 2019 by InterStruct Collective

The shown projects are on the one side directly engaging with the historical event, in connection to the subject oriented discrimination of the marginalized black body, the “other”. The visual culture created within established and confirmed memory as a unifying tool. On the other side the projects deal with the physical aspect of the location and the direct engagement within the public space. Durability and monumentality in contrast to fragility and memory also shows in the construction of biases and views which dictate discrimination. The interventions in the public space question and challenge memory of the public and counteract

monumentality. The *open-mindedness* of a public space leaves space for anti-monuments and interventions to “recreate a kind of space required by our new democratic project – one that can contest, decolonize and demythologize the hegemonic narratives that we are left to imagine our futures.”⁵⁵ It is here then still an continuous project, to deal with the burden of the past as well as its fragility to develop a strong and functioning future. Without the look into the past it is impossible to progress.

⁵⁵ Carvalho, Marcio in Interview with Savvy Contemporary <https://www.savvy-contemporary.com/en/events/2018/fragments-3-part2/>

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The monument *ao Esforço Colonizador Português* serves here as an indicator for the many rooted and interrelated discourses of a society. The monument itself is highly visible in all its monumentality within the public space. However, it also refers to multilayered aspects of invisibility.

The first invisibility is the monument itself. Visible and yet invisible, as to the fact that few monuments today are truly regarded or questioned in everyday life. They shape the cityscape, but their background remains mostly unclear. They are therefore not noticed as they have not been registered. The unregistered implementation of the monument in 1984 is monumental since it throws a spotlight on the predominant historic current of that time, even ten years after the dictatorship. It illustrates the perspectives and accordingly the relationship to the historical background. The monument was invisible, it was reactivated, and it is still not registered due to missing commentary. It was commissioned for the *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* in 1934. The history and the associated burden are completely invisible in the park. In the present-day it haunts throughout the park, because there are some clues. However, these are mainly accessible to the few who are searching. As in historiography there is a selective inscription of the events.

The first colonial exhibition shaped the process of Othering. Representation forms of racial and gendered stereotypes have spread a visual culture that proclaims white male supremacy at that time. The presentation emphasizes a difference between the population of the metropolis and the population of the colonies. This resulted on the one hand with the strengthening of a unified nation and legitimizing of the Portuguese colonial empire. On the other hand, it further persuaded audiences of the necessity for “civilizing” non-European populations and shaped collective memory.

In all these forms of representation, perspective plays a special role. In times of colonialism and dictatorship, the state made their own views clear and established a narrative in its favor. The production and reproduction of a national memory created an imaginary that would unite society. Within this a perspective of selective memory was spread. And therefore, the exclusion of unwanted facts. To the same extent that the war and the fate of those who returned were not registered. After a general model of perspective every reality is only the subjective interpretation of the individual. Everyone sees “the other” in a different position and differentiates oneself from “them”. This was the case during the exhibition and in the depiction of the peoples of the then colonized countries. But even in the current context there

is a certain problem of perspective, even within the paradox of North and South. As the northern countries are associated with more wealth and higher location, the southern countries are associated with poorer people and lower location. Within Europe Portugal finds itself in the southern area, and migration processes rather lead towards the North. But considering the former colonial territories, Portugal is the North of these, and an effort is made to prevent migration.

These perspectives are symbolized within public space. Thus, the public space is also the active medium and place of creation of these perspectives. Applying Homi Bhabha's concepts found that here *hybridity* is formed and can be accepted. Because every human being inhabits this liminal space as a heterogeneous *third space*. In this space, which can also be the public area, *negotiations* take place. Nevertheless, it often is attempted to privatize and control this space, and an effort is made to marginalize and exclude social minority groups. It is a sense of identity politics towards a homogenous nation in which the Other is rendered invisible so that there is no possibility of turning back *Otherness* on the Self. But especially due to the progressive modernity, power structures are changing with greater emphasis on groups with limited political agency.. This is why collectivity becomes important. We need interpretations that match in this *third space* to construct our reality.

Therefore, arts-based praxis is a fitting tool to engage with these heterogeneously lived experiences. It provides a reflexive platform to promote dialogues for the future. Provided, it is enough spread and reaches the right recipients. Yet again, the perspective plays a crucial role. As even in performative approaches, in which the author represents the subjective perspective, goals can be misunderstood. While dissecting and deconstructing imagery of the archive I precisely did not want to restage former intentions. However, spectator's perspective can vary and perceive it as such. On the other side, for me personally looking at images of the colonial exhibition can be disturbing, whereas for a Portuguese grandfather they might be considered as normal. In the same way within a guided tour through the park, we do not want to add on former narratives but to experience them anew. The invisibility of the historical past leads to the urge of implanting new memory to the place. While walking through the park and scrutinize it, we disrupt it to some extent. Is there is a possibility to make an inscription in a sense of a memorial within the park?

History became a very important tool for the analysis of the monument. The narration of history is then another considerable factor. The narrative through the *politica do espirito* as well as about the subaltern is an imaginary construction which needs to be rewritten, through *negotiations*. This requires a re-appropriation of the invisibility of the subordinated body and

concealed narratives. On the other hand, this also requires also a deconstruction of the idea of Europe and the old white heterosexual male as a center, and as the authority. In this sense also includes that some privileges need to be given up. So far, “the Other” is partly accepted but the possibility of being the other seems to be unacceptable.

The archive is then showing documentation and documents of a history. It locates both the observer and the observed object. This means that, to question history, we must be able to speak about ourselves. It is important to have a closer look on all the different aspects, narratives and perspective to understand culturally biased viewpoints. Understanding this makes clear that Decolonization then is much more opaque as it may initially seem. The critical look towards history and the present is and will be a continuous project. Not to judge, as it cannot be changed but to understand, since oppressive legacies can be stopped. It is important to deal with the burden of the past in order to nurture future realities, as denying it will impede progress.

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APPENDIX A (PREVIOUS WORKS)

A. In my proposal for the project “Primeira Avenida / Duplo Sentido” at Vila Nova de Gaia. I worked on the idea of a curtain or gate to be installed in an empty lot next to the *Avenida da República*. Therefore, the wooden-beam gate and a curtain of red transparent plastic strips are installed in front of the wall. The construction is reminiscent of a PVC curtain, which is used to isolate the cold. On the wall behind the gate, the word “identity” is written in different colors and layers. The curtain is accessible to passengers and can be crossed, entered and touched. Standing in front of the construction and looking at the wall, only part of the word “entity” is visible due to the matching red color of the curtain and paint. Upon entering the curtain, the full word is revealed. Furthermore, the environment of the place (passengers, subway and cars) is colored red and changes the actual view and perception of the physical environment.



Fig. 18 – Sketches/Tests, Project Proposal *Identity* Installation, 2018

The project idea speaks of the concept and the perception of identities. People are characterized by different ways of thinking and experiences. These also dictates how people act and shape their own identity. Identity is the totality of peculiarities that characterize an entity and differentiates as individuals from all others. It is also used to characterize humans. Identity contains various characteristics that are essential to the self-understanding of individuals and groups. It is a cluster made up of numerous components with different sources such as mindsets and experiences. In some cases, certain attitudes outweigh others and determine how an identity should be shaped. The oppressed identities then see themselves through a veil, in a multiplied or distorted consciousness. The identification of identities is therefore relevant for the inclusion and exclusion of social groups as well as for self-understanding and self-awareness. The look in the mirror shows how I see myself, how others see me and how I believe others see me. As not everything seen at first glance is the truth. The many levels and different entities of identity only become clear on closer inspection. It is needed to isolate and identify what the appearance and what the reality is.

B. The work “inventario-inventar-inverdade-invisible-invisual” was developed within the artistic residency “Mosteiro das emoções” at Cabeceira de Basto in 2019 where six invited artists responded to the Mosteiro de S. Miguel de Refojos and its surrounding area. The context of the patrimony raised topics such as monumentality, memory, time and decay. Using glass, acrylics and concrete as materials allowed an interplay between transparency and opacity, visibility and invisibility, fragility and endurance, which are symptoms of memories and embedded within objects of history.

There are no physical spaces for objects with titles beginning with the letters I, U or W within the Mosteiro de S. Miguel de Refojos library. This exclusion was immediately apparent as being English speakers there are many more words beginning with these letters in English than in Portuguese. The significance is heightened once recognising that ‘I’, ‘you’ (same pronunciation as ‘u’) and ‘we’ (the most commonly used ‘w’ word) are all the first and second personal subject pronouns.

What can we gain by including all Portuguese letters when categorising objects within the archive? Can greater attention to personal pronouns help to humanise scientific processes and outcomes?⁵⁶

The window is a door from the inside to the outside, from the self to the other, from the I to the U. It opens up human relations. Windows are omnipresent within the monastery yet there was little personal contact between those inside and out. Many windows within the church are blocked, sight is restricted, and monks had limited access to information. Books within a library come into the present sometimes only partly or in filtered form.

Fig. 21 – Details Installation, Cabeceira de Basto, 2019



⁵⁶ Exhibition Description “I U W” in collaboration with Vijay Patel (InterStruct Collective)

APPENDIX B (PROJECT BOOK)

As a supplement to this work, is the "Project Book", in my case a visual essay. It contains several pictures that have become important to me during my research. These are images that I took myself, that come from different archives or were referred to by friends. In addition, I have included some quotes that relate to this work. It can be understood as a visual narrative or as a kind of personal archive.

It is an A5 printed booklet, in which some pages are foldable in half, so that 2-4 images can be viewed at a time, and different combinations arise. While folding different images each reader can perceive the narration in different ways.

Image Index

Image 1: own photograph

Image 2: own photograph

Image 3: botanical illustration, british library <https://www.flickr.com/photos/britishlibrary/>

Image 4: own photograph

Image 5: Aerial view Praca

Image 6: Fotografia aérea da cidade do Porto: 1939-1940 Foz, Arquivo Camara do Porto

Image 7: own photograph

Image 8: own photograph

Image 9: own photograph

Image 10: Roadmap of the 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, Porto, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 11: No Palácio de Cristal: 1.^a Exposição Ultramarina Colonial Portuguesa: [Carro da Colónia de Angola], 1934, Porto, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 12: own photograph

Image 13: As quatro estações - Catálogo da Fundação Durenne apud Paula Torres (2012) "Os jardins do Palácio de Cristal e as Fontes D'art". Revista Arquitectura Lusíada, N. 4

Image 14: own photograph

Image 15: exhibition view Palácio das Colónias, 1er Exposicao Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, Arquivo Histórico Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 16: 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa: Cortejo Histórico: [Carro Câmara Municipal do Porto: pormenor], 1934, Arquivo Histórico Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 17: own photograph

Image 18: close view of Roadmap of the 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, Porto, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 19: own photograph

Image 20: Alfredo Cunha Descolonização portuguesa, Portugal, Lisboa, 1975

Image 21: own photograph

Image 22: No Palácio de Cristal: 1.^a Exposição Ultramarina Colonial Portuguesa: [exaltação patriótica], 1934, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 23: own photograph

Image 22: own photograph

Image 23: own photograph

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Image 26: own photograph

Image 27: [Fotografia aérea da cidade do Porto: 1939-1940 Massarelos], Arquivo Camara do Porto

Image 28: 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa: Portugal: Porto: Praça do Império, 1934, Foto Alvão (fotogr.), Coleção de Postais, Arquivo Histórico Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 29: Botanical illustration *Weiche Bärenklau* british library

Image 30: own photograph

Image 31: Botanical illustration *Rose* british library
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/britishlibrary/>

Image 32: own photograph

Image 33: close view of Roadmap of the 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, Porto, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 34: own photograph

Image 35: [Palácio de Cristal]: nave central, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 36: own photograph

Image 38: own photograph

Image 39: own photograph

Image 40: own photograph

Image 41: botanical illustration *Roßkastanie* british library
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Image 42: own photograph

Image 43: close view of Roadmap of the 1.^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, Porto, Arquivo Histórico, Camara Municipal do Porto

Image 44: own photograph

Image 45: [Rosinha, mulher da Guiné, empunhando a Bandeira nacional.] prova fotográfica a p&b, Arquivo Histórico Câmara Municipal do Porto

Image: 46: own photograph