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Gazing at the family: archives, performance and Portuguese photography (1940-1975)

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Gazing at the family: archives, performance and Portuguese photography (1940-1975)

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Westminster

May 2019

Abstract

This practice-based PhD thesis investigates photographic family archives and makes critical interpretations of them using performance photography. The two family's albums contain hundreds of photographs that belonged to my grandparents and represent a period in Portugal's past (1940-1975) scarred by one of the longest dictatorships in history. The research carries out an 'iconographic' analysis of the photographs in the family albums and focuses specifically on images of (my) two grandmothers. As representatives of two women's lives during this historical period, both women lived under the same dictatorial regime, but one on mainland Portugal and the other in the Portuguese overseas and colonial territories (India, 1951-61 and Mozambique 1962-75). With the end of the regime, these images have been passed down in the form of the identity of women in Portugal to this day, including my own.

The key questions of the research thus deal with self-representation, performance and the use of family photographic archives as a method of investigating the processes of identity formation. The thesis draws on cultural theory, including the sociology of family photography, archive fever, cultural memory, postmemory, and representations of femininity and feminism, alongside practices of performance. Relevant authors include Marianne Hirsch, Annette Kuhn, Jacques Derrida, Okwui Enwezor, Anne Whitehead, Hal Foster, Stuart Hall, Joan Riviere and Amelia Jones.

The research questions examine four key questions: (i) how can family archives be read as 'documents' in relation to social and historical regimes; (ii) how can family photographs be read along official imagery of the regime; (iii) how have other artists developed strategies for questions of inherited family images; and (iv) how can performance photography be used as a practice method for the critical interpretation of archives?

These questions and approaches are contextualised by a study of photographic archives, self-portraiture and performance practices including strategies developed by Portuguese artists.

A separate iconographic index of the family albums photographs was created to help identify certain specific repeated embodied elements, such as pose and gesture, which were subsequently re-performed for the camera. The different family albums reveal specific social and cultural differences: the specificity of their diverse settings results in distinct family images. The information contained within the archive images is re-written within the performance images. The practice aspect of the thesis has developed a precise performative method for interpreting and enacting the archives.

The thesis contributes contribution to knowledge not only by relating specifically to the questions of family, photography and Portuguese history, but has also by developing a method that other photographers and artist can apply to their own performance and family archive work.

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Acknowledgments

Because no man/woman is an island, forgive the lengthiness of my acknowledgements; I could not have produced this work without the support of everyone mentioned below.

First and foremost I thank my parents, for their unconditional support; my son for his unconditional love and patience. Silvia Ziranek for giving me a home away from home. Antonio, Vanessa and Aninhas, for being *framily.* Catarina Simões for all the motivational support and providing me with studio space when I most desperately needed it. David Bate, my supervisor, for making this one of the most rewarding and life-changing experiences and for all the amazing meetings in somewhat wonderful places, and for reminding me of the pleasures of writing. Margherita Sprio for her guidance and support and for also having the space to talk about the vicissitudes of life. Olga Iglesias Neves, for guiding me with her experience and generosity. Paulo Catrica, for helping me to start this journey and giving so much good advice. Paulo Mendes for being so supporting and patient in the last phase of the thesis.

My grandmother, Antonieta, for all the hours looking through the family albums and telling me all the things that would otherwise have always remained unknown.

Last but not least, my friends who also started this voyage the same day as I: Alexa Raisbeck, Dima Issa and Sabine Glatz.

Author's declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

HISTORICAL TIMELINE

WORLD	Year	PORTUGAL	FAMILY Year	FAMILY
Creation of Union of South Africa, by the UK. UK recognizes Portuguese Republic	1910	Republican revolution-First Republic		
	1911	Approval of Constitution. First woman to vote in Portugal		
	1913	Law changed to prevent female vote		
France, Russia and United Kingdom declare war on Germany and Austria- WWI	1914			
Germany uses lethal gas for the first time. Italy enters WWI	1915			
	1916	Portugal enters WWI allied to GB and France to defend the African colonies		
Soviet Russian Revolution. USA enters WWI	1917		1917	Francisco is born
Germany signs Armistice. End of WWI.Sufragettes. Female vote approved in UK.	1918			
War for the independence of Ireland starts (1919-1921)	1919	Peace treaty signed with Germany		
The League of Nations founded on 10 January 1920. Female vote approved in USA	1920			
Independence of Ireland. Northern Ireland remains with UK. Communist Party founded in China	1921	PCP founded (Portuguese Communist Party)		
Start of Mussolini's Fascist regime. March on Rome.	1922			
Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in Spain	1923			
			1925	Antonieta is born; Mário is born
	1926	Military Coup. Military Dictatorship. Censorship starts (by GNR)	1926	Gisela is born
Stalin -URSS (1928/30)	1928	SALAZAR becomes Minister of Finance. Creation of secret police. President of the Republic elected. Separation of sexes in schools		
Mussolini's fascist party forms new government in Italy. Wall Street crash	1929	Sanctions applied to state workers who act against the state		
The Salt March - Ghandi Satyagraha	1930	Colonial Act. Attempted military and civil coup with high number of arrests		
Independent dominions Canada, Australia, New Zeeland (1931-1947). Proclamation II Spanish Republic	1931	Female vote granted with many constraints		
	1932	Salazar becomes head of government. National Syndicalism Movement (NS) Rolão Preto		
Hitler rises to power - III Reich. Dollfuss-Schuschnigg (Austria) 1933-1938	1933	Constitution of New State (EN). Political Police (later designated PIDE). SPN was founded		
	1934	Portuguese colonial exposition in Porto. Rolão Preto arrested - end of National Syndicalism		
Hilter revokes German citizenship to Jews	1935	Established the public national radio broadcast (ENR)(Henrique Galvão- director)		
Franco's military revolt. Spanish civil war (1936-1939)	1936	MP and LP created. Tarrafal prison for political prisoners created "the camp of slow death"		
	1937	MPF. Attempted assassination of Salazar by bomb		
Hitler invades Austria	1938	Start of the nationalist commemorations (1140- 1640- 1940)		
Franco's dictatorship in Spain. Start WW II	1939	Iberian pact between Salazar and Franco. Portuguese neutral in WW II. MP extended to the colonies		
capitulation of France: Vichy 1940-1942 . Mussolini enters the war	1940	Portuguese world exposition, Lisbon. Refugees received in Portugal. Concordat with Church- Portugal and Vatican		
Japan attacks Pearl Harbour	1941	Salazar Doctor honoris causa by University of Oxford		
			1942	Antonieta finishes commercial school
Fall of Mussolini. German troops surrender to USSR	1943	Salazar lends Base in Azores to GB e USA.		
D Day - Normandie	1944	SPN extinguished. Creation of SNI (National Secretariat of information, popular culture and tourism)		
Execution of Mussolini. Capitulation of III Reich. Atomic bomb in Hiroshima. End of WW II.	1945	Hitler dies - Salazar orders to put flag at half-mast. MUD founded (opposition to the dictatorship)	1945	Gisela starts degree in Faculdade de Letras
UNO first session. Start of cold war between USA - USSR	1946	Solemn coronation of the Virgin Mary of Fatima. Female vote restricted to women with degree and financial possessions		
Independent Indian Union. End of British Empire. (1947-1970)	1947		1947	Antonieta and Mário get married
Assassination of Gandhi. New State of Israel. Apartheid South Africa	1948	MUD banned		
British Commonwealth of Nations, since 1949. Mao Zedong's communist China. NATO/OTAN created	1949	Portugal enters NATO. Norton de Matos presidential campaign boycotted by Salazar	1949	Francisco and Gisela get married
Korean war	1950		1950	First child born: daughter to Gisela and son to Antonieta
	1951	Revocation of the Colonial Act. Designation changes from colonies to overseas provinces	1951	Gisela and Francisco move to Goa
	1952	Extended concessions of the Azores to USA	1952	Gisela´s second daughter is born
	1953	Diplomatic relations cease between Portugal and IU. Massacre of Batepá in S.Tomé.	1953	Antonieta´s second son and Gisela´s third daughter are born
Civil rights movement USA	1954	Invasion by the I.U. of Portuguese enclaves near Daman		
Warsaw pact - decolonization. Family of man exhibition	1955	Portugal enters UNO. Portuguese government prosecutes UI in the Hague Court		
Suez crisis. Invasion of Hungary by USSR	1956	PIDE is reinforced. Creation of PAIGC and MPLA		
Independence of African countries from the UK. EEC common market founded	1957			
	1958	Presidential campaign of Humberto Delgado, boycotted by Salazar		
De Gaulle 1st president of the V French Republic. Cuban revolution	1959	Trial at the Hague court. Coup at Sé fails.	1959	Antonieta's third son is born
Independence of the majority of African countries	1960	UNO pressures Portugal towards decolonization		
Berlin Wall built. Cold War	1961	Santa Maria hijacking. Start of colonial war in Angola. Indian Union invades Portuguese India	1961	Gisela and Francisco return to Lisbon
Cuba missile crises	1962		1962	Gisela and Francisco move to Lourenço Marques, Mozambique
JFK assassination	1963	Start of colonial war in Guné Bissau		
USA enters Vietnam war	1964	Start of colonial war in Mozambique		
Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies(CONCP) in Dar-es-Salam	1965	Assassination of Humberto Delgado by PIDE		
Che Guevara dies in Bolivia	1967			
Invasion of Prague, URSS invades Czechoslovakia. Assassination of Martin Luther King	1968	Salazar ceases his function as president of council. Marcelo Caetano takes over. Restriction of female vote abolished. Only citizens who can read and write can vote.		
	1969	Extinction of PIDE and creation of DGS		
	1970	Salazar dies 27 jun. Samora Machel ahead of Frelimo. Pope receives leaders of liberation movements		
PRC enters UNO	1971	Priests in Mozambique retreat in protest against government		
UK enters EC	1972	Massacre on villages in the north of Mozambique- Wiriyamu. Clergy in Mozambique against imprisonment politics of government		
End of Vietnam war. Coup d'état by Pinochet and death of Salvador Allende	1973	Foundation of the Portuguese Socialist Party. PAIGC declares independence		
Watergate. Nixon resigns	1974	April 25th military coup. End of EN and of colonial war. PREC. Unrestricted Suffrage for the assembly of constituents. Lusaka accord: Independence of Mozambique		
	1975	End of PREC November 25th. Independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa	1975	Gisela and Francisco return to Lisbon
Mao Zedong dies	1976	New constitution of the Portuguese Republic. Universal suffrage, no restrictions		

List of Acronyms

FNAT: National Foundation for Joy at Work (Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho)

LP: Portuguese Legion (Legião Portuguesa)

MNF: National feminine movement (Movimento Nacional Feminino)

MP: Portuguese youth (Mocidade Portuguesa)

MPF: Portuguese Female youth (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina)

MUD: Movement of Democratic Unity (Movimento de Unidade Democrática)

NS: National Syndicalism movement (Nacional-Sindicalismo) Rolão Preto

OMEN: Mother's Work for National Education (Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional) inspired in: Opera Nazionale per la protezione della maternità e dell'Infanzia (ONMI)

ONB: Opera Nazionale Balilla

PIDE: International and State Defence Police (Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado)

SPN : Secretariat for National Propaganda (Secretariado da propaganda nacional)

For all of us there is a twilight zone between history and memory (…) It is itself an incoherent, incompletely perceived image of the past, sometimes more shadowy, sometimes apparently precise, always transmitted by a mixture of learning and second-hand memory shaped by public and private tradition. For it is still part of us, but no longer quite within our personal reach.[1]

Eric Hobsbawm

Introduction

One of the most intrinsic characteristics of being human is the need to know who we are, where we came from and why we are as such.

Growing up I remember feeling I was different, not completely, but in many ways. Most of my friends were religious; I was not. There were slight differences, such as the food we ate. I remember conversations between my parents, who happen to have been born in the same year, 1953, talking about their childhood or teenage memories, the books they read, the songs they heard; they were never the same ones. It was as if they were foreign to each other, growing up not just in a different place but in a different time. I remember my mother used to refer to *them, they, the Portuguese*. What I found odd about this is that I was, am Portuguese and so is she.

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[1] Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.

I didn't grow up conscious that there had been a dictatorship, or that it had lasted as long as it did.[2] I remember celebrating April 25th[3] as a celebration of liberty, a release from something bad and constrictive. One of the first memories I have of learning about Salazar was in the kitchen, making cookies with my mom, using the famously named cooking utensil – the Salazar spatula. Although not a uniquely Portuguese cooking item, it was baptised with the dictator's name for its purpose of scraping bowls and avoiding waste.

Figure 1 Salazar Spatula

My family (mother's side) talked mostly about life in India and Mozambique and how much they had learnt from living in these culturally diverse communities. Furthermore, life in Mozambique was different from on the mainland, as if the dictatorship's arms didn't reach that far.[4] In that sense it really was a foreign country. This is how I inherited the memory of these places, in the midst of loss and fascination. I grew up with these landscapes inside me, of places I had never been to. For me, the images in the family albums contain a promise of revelation.

Not long ago someone asked me why I was writing about my grandparents' family albums. I thought about it for a moment, deeply. I grew up listening to all these stories from different places and a different time. But I do carry these memories inside me, even if they are a second-generation memory. I suppose I needed to grasp

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[2] The dictatorship lasted 48 years (1926-1933 military dictatorship, 1933-1974 Estado Novo Regime).

[3] April 25th, 1974 was the date of the military coup that ended the Colonial War, and which overthrew the regime of the Estado Novo. This day is also known as Liberty day and the revolution of carnations. *Estado Novo* was the name of the dictatorial regime installed in Portugal in 1933

[4] I am referring specifically to my grandparents, mother and aunts, and the recollection I have of the stories I was told. I'm referring to a very specific situation, my grandparents, being part of the state apparatus in the overseas territories, had a privileged situation, and the reader should take this into account. The PIDE was not as present or harsh in Mozambique, towards its white citizens, although this was not the case of black citizens. The knowledge of what the PIDE did to its black citizens in these territories and the torture methods they implemented were even worse than on the mainland. Some of these testimonies can be seen in Susana de Sousa Dias documentary *48*, as well as in the PIDE archives.

them, to understand them, even if they are second-hand memories, perhaps to pass them along to future generations. They are part of me, part of my identity, my history and the history of my country.

The essential element to approaching the two families' archives is the political regime of Estado Novo. It forms the binding element of the two families as well as the core context of the historical period contained within the archives. The analysis of the archives will focus on the New State regime as the central element, whether in the approach to the archive material from the mainland or overseas, it is the context from which all images will be analysed.

The departure of my grandparents (Janeiro) to India was not in search of a better life, but to escape the political persecution and confined authoritarian atmosphere entailed by the regime.[5] Nevertheless, life was difficult there, with meagre earnings that were often in arrears due to the distance to the mainland and excessive bureaucracy.[6] In my grandmother's words, in a letter she wrote explaining their reasons to go to India, she says:

> When we decided to leave for India it was not our intention to "add new worlds to worlds of older men",[7] it was to set a new direction for our hectic lives.
>
> It was not easy to live in a country under Salazar's dictatorship. This was not in our nature nor were we people to simply stand by and watch.
>
> We both tried to participate in the movement against the oppressive regime based on fear that people in those days lived in.
>
> We gave our contribution whenever it was asked for. (…)
>
> Dad also held a position at that same office – the Conselho Técnico Corporativo (Technical Corporate Counsel). A PIDE inspector would often go

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[5] Both my grandparents participated in organisations against the regime; my grandfather was card-carrying member of the communist party, the only organised opposition to the regime, and my grandmother in the MUD.

[6] For more information on this period in my grandparents' lives: Janeiro, Ana. *Album India Portuguesa 1951-1961*. 2017 and Janeiro, Maria de Lurdes. *Cartas de Damão*. Cidade Branca, 2017.

[7] Quote from The Lusiads: translated by Sir Richard Francis Burton; Canto II, 45

there specifically using Dad's services by ingratiating himself, asking for concessions up to the point of summoning him to the PIDE's premises with the excuse of getting to know him better...

The net was "getting tighter". Then an invitation to re-join the military service came up: an expedition to India.

And this is how we got to India.[8]

This is one of the factors that make this situation so specific and what makes the study of these family albums so unique. The historical circumstances of both families form a unique case to be the object of this study.

It has been 45 years since the end of the regime and of the Portuguese colonies. It is the time for second and third generation to face the recent past. Only now are certain elements of this historical past being addressed.

A lack of knowledge of Portugal's recent past was common among my generation, "nobody talked about it"[9] nor was it part of the school syllabus. Only recently have museums been created to preserve memory of the dictatorship, such as the Museum of Aljube Resistance and Freedom and the National Museum of Resistance and Freedom in the Fortress of Peniche.[10] The PIDE headquarters in Lisbon, for example, were turned in to a luxury condominium in 2005. The collective amnesia towards this period in Portuguese history is one of the reasons behind this research. Many aspects regarding life in the colonial setting are only now being approached, such as the

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[8] Janeiro, Ana. *Album India Portuguesa 1951-1961*. Lisbon, 2017.

[9] Joana Craveiro´s quote from her PhD thesis on the subject of the dictatorship and revolutionary period. *in* Craveiro, Joana. "A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories Performing Narratives, Testimonies and Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution." University of Roehampton, 2016.

[10] Aljube was one of the prisons used to keep political prisoners during the regime. The museum opened on 25th April 2015, after I started this thesis. The National Museum of Resistance and Freedom in the Fortress of Peniche opened on 27th April 2019, the date of the anniversary of the release of political prisoners in 1974. The Fortress dates back to the 16th century; in 1934, under the Estado Novo, it was converted into a maximum-security political prison. From 1977 to the early 1980s, parts of the fortress were used as temporary accommodation for families returning from the overseas territories.

differences between censorship in the mainland versus in the colonies,[11] or persecution by the political police in these different settings.

So why use family albums?

Both my grandparents' families (my mother's and father's side), kept and left significant photographic family archives which provide the starting point for this investigation. After exploring and analysing both archives (1940-1975) consisting of pictures taken in Portugal, India and Mozambique, my research argues that their different paths suggest significantly different identities, and in particular, different roles and identities of women in these diverse histories.

This thesis works in the scope of analysis and visual appropriation of a family archive in order to recollect and rewrite a possible future (her)story. The aim is to investigate identity formation in the generations following the end of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonial empire while ascertaining the identity of women and how it was influenced by the previous generations who lived respectively on the mainland and in the colonial setting.

My family's history is intertwined with the history of Portugal. The Portuguese Diaspora was a long dispersion over many centuries and spanning several continents.[12] In the twentieth century my own family lived this dispersion: my

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[11] An example is Álvaro Costa de Matos: Jornal 57 and the refoundation of the Portuguese-speaking identity: History and Memory. He presented a newspaper (Jornal 57) as a publication that disseminated and inscribed Portuguese culture in its public, national and colonial spaces. Matos, Álvaro Costa de. "Jornal 57 and the Refoundation of the Portuguese-Speaking Identity: History and Memory." In *IV CHAM International Conference: Innovation, Invention and Memory in Africa*. Lisbon: n.p., 2019.

[12] The Portuguese diaspora is the name of the long migratory process through which the community inhabiting Portugal scattered throughout the world. The Portuguese spread and hybridised their culture with those inhabiting the places of destination.

This process began with the settlement of the North Atlantic Islands (Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde) and the occupation of the African coast to the Cape of Good Hope (1400-1500). It continued with the occupation of India (Goa) and, in the Far East, with the creation of enclaves in Japan (Nagasaki), China (Macau) and Timor (1500-1600). The migration turned towards Brazil (1600-1800) and Angola and Mozambique (1800-1900), generating successive colonial empires, until the decolonisation in the end of the 20th century.

But the Portuguese migratory processes also had a spontaneous and vernacular expression, autonomous from the politics of the Portuguese State. There has been a common and collective strand, creating communities, fixed over 1800-2000, in South Africa, Venezuela, the United States, Canada, France and other European countries, in a total of several million inhabitants. The migration developed mostly in the areas of agriculture, industry and services. These communities today have a strong cultural dynamic in the places of settlement.

grandparents, mother, father and aunts were born, and lived, in Portugal, India and Mozambique. This thesis evaluates the effect of this dispersion on one side of the family and assesses the consequence on the other of remaining in mainland Portugal during the period from 1940 to 1975.

Like other European countries, Portugal had a colonial empire. Portugal's, however, was the oldest and longest in European History, having started in 1415 with Morocco and ended with the Macao handover to China in 1999. Portuguese colonisation had the following geographical, economic and political centres (sequentially): North Africa and Guinea (1415-1498), India (1498-1961), Brazil (1668-1822) and Africa (1822-1975). This long and geographically scattered colonisation led to an extremely dispersed Portuguese community, known in Portuguese postcolonial studies as the Portuguese Diaspora. Although there was ambivalence toward their new places of settlement, deep and affectionate bonds to them also formed. Nevertheless, Portugal has always been a poor country with few resources and a small population, which made it always extremely dependant on its colonies for trade, industry and labour. Boaventura de Sousa Santos frames the identity of the Portuguese coloniser, claiming that:

> The identity of the Portuguese coloniser does not simply include the identity of the colonised other. It includes as well the identity of the coloniser as in turn himself colonised. The Portuguese Prospero is not just a Calibanised Prospero; he is a very Caliban from the viewpoint of the European super-Prosperos. The identity of the Portuguese coloniser is thus doubly double. It is constituted by the conjunction of two others: the colonised other, and the coloniser as himself a colonised other. Because of this profound double-sidedness, the Portuguese were often emigrants, rather than settlers, in "their" own colonies. Indeed, in the genealogy of the mirrors in which the

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For further reference see: Newitt, Malyn. *Emigration and the Sea An Alternative History of Portugal and the Portuguese.* Oxford University Press, 2015.

Portuguese see themselves, it remains to be decided whether their identity as colonised does not precede their identity as coloniser.[13]

For centuries, most Portuguese families had relatives moving to, or born in, Portuguese colonies or territories. The most relevant and recent of these colonies are Angola and Mozambique, which underwent greater development from the end of WW II until their independence in 1975. The long and unbearable colonial war that broke out in 1961 culminated in a military coup on the Portuguese mainland on April 25th, 1974, putting an end to the war and the 48 year-long dictatorship.[14] In the twentieth century, other small territories still subsisted under Portuguese rule such as Portuguese India (Goa, Daman and Diu), which in 1961 were militarily integrated into the Republic of India.

My family's past is intrinsically related to these historical events both in mainland Portugal and in its overseas territories. Accordingly, a dichotomy is represented by the two different branches of my family. First were my grandparents (on my mother's side), who moved from Lisbon to Goa and Daman in 1951 to work as civil servants, where they lived until 1961. Between 1962 and 1975 they lived in Mozambique, where my grandparents continued to work as part of the state apparatus. In 1975, after the military coup that ended the colonial war and the dictatorship, they finally returned to the mainland. Secondly, my grandparents, on my father's side, always lived in Lisbon under the dictatorial regime, conforming to the traditional values imposed by the constrictive dictatorial regime that they lived under.

Under the dictatorial regime, Portuguese society was extremely patriarchal and conservative under religious and traditional values. Although both my grandmothers had the same roles - daughters, wives, and mothers - they were diametrically opposed: my mother's mother was an emancipated independent woman while my father's mother held the traditional values imposed on women during the dictatorial regime. This thesis explores the way these archives portray two different female roles

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[13] Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 39, no. 2 (2002): 9–43.

[14] See glossary for *colonial war*

in Portuguese society during the dictatorship. This investigation argues that there is a specific identity construction attributable to the combination of the two sides of my family, characterised by my two grandmothers, asserting that these two identities, and their construction in visual representations, are present within the photographic albums. Ultimately, these different identities contributed to the identities of women of the post April 25th generation – my generation. I use images of myself to signify my own generation.

The framework for my photographic practice is in the genre of self-portraiture, self-representation and performance photography. In 2010 I produced a body of photographic work titled *Album Índia Portuguesa 1951-1961*. This work explores my family's photographic albums and transcripts of letters and re-constructs several episodes from the time my family lived in India. From the many letters my grandmother wrote to her own mother over that 10-year period, I made a selection of events from her life that formed the basis for the staging of my photographs. These events were the ones I thought most relevant for my own family's history. This story of dispersion was a recurrent one for many other Portuguese people during the dictatorship. It is this intertwining of personal and collective history that has interested me and which I continue to pursue in my work and my research. This previous project is where the beginning of my own "archive fever" began, which led me to this thesis. [15]

The concerns explored throughout my work have always been related to identity and memory, not necessarily my own identity but *a* construction of *an* identity, usually a female identity. How can women represent themselves? Where are the references for this representation (role models)? I am a woman. In this sense, when I use my own image, my own body, as a character, a personage, I am representing women

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[15] Reference to Jacques Derrida's "Archive Fever", a term commonly used in visual approaches to archives, namely Okwi Enwezor's exhibition of the same name. For further reference: Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996; Enwezor, Okwui. *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2009.

exploring characteristics such as body language and expression and how they are representative of women. Pose and gesture have been used through the careful staging of scenes for the photographic camera. Gesture and pose always have a meaning, like choreography in a dance, which is why they have been used throughout my work. My framework has attempted to question why these gestures and poses are characteristic of women, whether it has been through direct mimicking of other women's gestures or the inherently 'feminised' gestures learned through society, or even inherited gesture. Pose has always been an intrinsic and essential part of my framework, in performing for the camera.

Archives: interpretation and appropriation in artistic practice

This thesis approaches, studies and interprets photographic archives from two families. The context of the historical period of these archives is what makes them worthy of study.

The key questions in my research deal with self-representation and performance and the use of family photographic archives as a method for investigation into the process of identity formation. I explore cultural theories such as archive, memory, family photography, postmemory, representations of femininity and feminism (drawing on the theories of Jacques Derrida, Okwui Enwezor, Anne Whitehead, Hal Foster, Stuart Hall, Marianne Hirsch, Annette Kuhn, John Berger, Joan Riviere and Amelia Jones)[16] because they help to understand the issues at stake in dealing with archive photographs, the construction of familial identities of women and colonial history.

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[16] Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996; Enwezor, Okwui. *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2009; Whitehead, Anne. *Memory*. London: Routledge, 2009; Foster, Hal. "An Archival Impulse." *October* 110 (2004): 3–22; Hall, Stuart. "Reconstruction Work." *Ten-8* 16 (1984): 2–9; Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2012; Kuhn, Annette. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London, New York: Verso, 2002; Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London, New York: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1973; Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as a Masquerade." In *Gender*, edited by Anna Tripp, 130–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000; Jones, Amelia. "The 'Eternal Return': Self-Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment." *The University of Chicago Press* 27, no. 4 (2002): 947–78.

My methodological approaches deal with the study and appropriation of photographic archives, self-portraiture and performance drawing on the theories of Maria Tamboukou, Raqs Media collective, Jo Spence, Victor Burgin and Della Pollock.[17] In my research I examine the historical period of the New State regime and the last years of the Portuguese overseas territories. This is vital to establish the historical context of the archives.

Some of the questions that arise are:

Can theses family archives be read as documents containing information about historical events? What other information can they contain? What stories can the images tell in light of what we now know happened in the history of the New State regime and the overseas territories? Can these images be read along the official imagery of the regime? Can two women inform about the story of a generation? How can the images be interpreted? Is performance a pertinent method for interpreting archives?

The information contained in the archive images is re-written within the performance images (this is described in detail in chapter 5). As a practice-based thesis, it uses methods that result in a photographic body of work. The two areas of writing and practice inform one another and work in a feedback loop with each other. This investigation results in the following visual works: *The family albums* (Project A), *About an archive* (Project D) and *The Archive is Present* (Project E).

The photographic performance method for interpreting archives is one of the contributions to knowledge. Another contribution is the method used to approach and study archives. This method creates juxtapositions of archive images in order to challenge their existing narratives and establish new meanings. The written thesis together with the visual works form the contribution to knowledge in the areas of identity and representation.

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[17] Tamboukou, Maria. "Archival Research: Unravelling Space/Time/Matter Entanglements and Fragments." *Qualitative Research* 0, no. 0 (2013): 1–17; Raqs Media Collective. "In The Theatre of Memory: The Work of Contemporary Art in the Photographic Archive." *Lalit Kala Contemporary* 52, no. Photography as Art and Practice in India (2012): 85–95; Spence, Jo. "Putting Yourself in the Picture." *New Socialist*, no. 38 (1987); Burgin, Victor. *Thinking Photography*. London: MacMillan Press, 1982; Pollock, Della. "The Performative 'I.'" *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 7, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 239–55.

In the first chapter, this thesis approaches artistic appropriation of archives, whether public or personal, and the reasons artists have for approaching and appropriating and working on archives. There is an abundance of interesting and important texts on archive, so it is not a new or recent subject, and in the visual arts it has also been extensively worked on,[18] namely by artists who use self-representation or performance photography. This investigation focuses on approaches to the archive that directly relate the archive to visual practices wherever a direct relationship can be found.

The relationship between archive and memory is a very interesting and complex one. The first purpose of an archive is to preserve memory, yet, at least when speaking of the photographic archive, the matter is far from simple. If we consider that the photographic album, such as a family album, is constructed as a keepsake of moments, then its primary purpose is to safeguard memory. However, the relationship between photograph and memory is also an intricate one, and more often than not, the photograph ends up replacing one's own memory of a given moment or event. So, the photographic archive becomes something completely separate from memory. As Anne Whitehead so clearly points out:

> The archive is accordingly associated for [Pierre] Nora not with remembering but with forgetting: in depositing material in the archive, we are also 'delegating the responsibility for remembering', discarding our memories 'as the snake deposits its shed skin'.[19]

Furthermore, and making reference to "Archive fever", the archive becomes connected to its interpreter, and can 'be' many different archives depending on who the interpreter is. [20] It was probably one of the reasons why working with archives,

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[18] Some examples of references are: Halbwachs, Maurice, and Lewis A Coser. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Derrida, Jacques. *Mal de Arquivo : Uma Impressão Freudiana*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 2001; Foster, Hal. "An Archival Impulse." *October* 110 (2004): 3–22; Tagg, John. "The Archiving Machine." *Grey Room*, no. 47 (2012): 24–37.

Hall, Stuart. "Constituting an Archive." *Third Text* 15, no. 54 (2001): 89–92; Enwezor, Okwui. *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2009; Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.; Merewether, Charles. *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London: Whitechapel, 2006; Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." *October* 39 (December 1, 1986): 3–64.

[19] Whitehead, Anne. *Memory*. London: Routledge, 2009. p. 143

[20] Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. University of Chicago Press, 1996.

through visual practice, became such an obsession. It renders the archive infinite and susceptible to the 'interpreter's' actions on it. When considering the artistic interpretation/appropriation of an archive, it becomes something else-it transforms into memory. As David Bate states:

> …photography is the machine that industrializes visual memory[21]

So, what happens when artists take a public or 'collective' archive, and 'transform' it through their creative practice into something that also becomes public? Or when artists take a private archive, or a family album, and turn it public? For the purpose of this thesis, these are some of the crucial questions and approaches towards the archive that are being addressed.

Another important aspect explored in this thesis is how the artists explore, appropriate and transform the archive. One of the most interesting approaches I have come across is the performative aspect of interpreting the archive. Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith claim:

> "Acts of memory are thus acts of performance, representation, and interpretation. (…) They can be conscious and deliberate; at the same time, and this is certainly true in the case of drama, they can be involuntary, repetitious, obsessive."[22]

Chapter outline

Chapter 1 establishes the literature on archives, memory and artists working with family albums as a basis for their practice. It investigates artists working in the area of performance photography exploring family albums as well as artist working in the subject of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonial history.

Chapter 2 develops and elaborates on the method developed to analyse and interpret the family archives by specifically looking at my two grandmothers,

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[21] Bate, David. "The Memory of Photography." *Photographies* 3, no. 2 (2010): 243–57.

[22] Rossington, Michael, and Anne Whitehead, eds. *Theories of Memory: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

Antonieta and Gisela, and juxtaposing selected images from the family albums, drawing interesting conclusion from these comparisons.

Chapter 3 continues to analyse the family albums, but unlike in chapter 2, instead of juxtaposing photographs from the two family's albums, the families are analysed separately. The analysis focuses on finding the imprint of dictatorship and of life in the overseas territories and the influence of the existing iconography disseminated in the form of propaganda. As part of the method described in chapters 2 and 3, an iconographic index is created in the analysis process (shown in the appendix).

Chapter 4 is devoted to investigating the New State regime (1933-1974), specifically regarding its propaganda strategy and its ideology and politics towards women. At the end of this chapter images from the albums are juxtaposed with propaganda images to argue their interaction in the family album image.

Chapter 5 provides a detailed description of the practice developed in the thesis. It defines the strategies used for the analysis, study and interpretation of the family archives through performance photography.

The five chapters are interleaved with four visual works, Projects (A, B, C and D), to illustrate how the theory and practice developed and worked in parallel and together throughout the thesis. The whole thesis is framed within a feminist perspective, with the goal of analysing women's roles in Portuguese society through the iconography *hidden* in the family album. Although there is no chapter specifically dedicated to feminism it appears implicitly, framing the analysis and interpretation of the archive.

This "archive fever", this need to dig into the origin of all, the place where it all began, is at the core of this thesis. It is a quest for the story of my grandmothers, with the history of my country embedded in every black and white print and inherited in my own identity.

When parents or grandparents get out the family album and start to tell stories, children are riveted. (…) We might just as well call it 'identity research'. Family stories are embedded in a wider culture and history that shape our identity yet further, in terms of both form and content. And form, here, has to do with the body.[23]

Paul Verhaeghe

Chapter 1 Family Albums, archives, artists and the Portuguese dictatorship

This chapter focuses on artists approaching the family album through self-portraiture as well as artists approaching the Portuguese dictatorship and Portuguese colonialism during the same period of my research (1940-1975).

The New State regime (1930-1974) period traverses my grandparents' lives (mother's side) before and after their return from the overseas territories. This is crucial to investigate and situate the archive images accordingly.

It is the opportune period for analysing how Portuguese history isapproached by contemporary visual artists, performers, filmmakers and writers, who are simultaneously recollecting and respectively re-enacting, restaging, and rewriting this period in Portuguese history.[24] The artists' works, which use self-portraiture combined with the appropriation of family albums, are analysed to determine the *how* (the method), and the contextualisation of artists working on the subject of Portuguese colonialism and the dictatorship is important to determine the *what*

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[23] Verhaeghe, Paul. *What about Me?: The Struggle for Identity in a Market-Based Society*. London: Scribe, 2012.

[24] In visual arts: Manuel Botelho, Manuel Santos Maia, Daniel Barroca, Sandro Ferreira, Nuno Nunes-Ferreira, Ângela Ferreira, Paulo Mendes, Raquel Schefer, Filipa Cesar, Vasco Araújo; theatre performance: Joana Craveiro, André Amálio; cinema: Susana de Sousa Dias, Margarida Cardoso, Miguel Gomes, Ivo Ferreira; literature: Lída Jorge, Isabela Figueiredo, Dulce Maria Cardoso, Paulo Varela Gomes, Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, Irene Flunser Pimentel, Sofia Branco.

(history) and the *why* (motive).[25] In this sense all the works approached here lay the ground for the practice and theory developed throughout the thesis. To analyse artists working the family album through self-portraiture as well as artists approaching the Portuguese dictatorship and Portuguese colonialism, the chapter is divided into sub-sections to consider questions in the following order: archive(s); artists working in self-portraiture and the family album; artists working on the subject of Portuguese colonialism and the dictatorship, and memory. These sections investigate the relevant fields of reference for this thesis.

The inherent potential in the interpretation of an archive has seduced and intrigued many artists and authors since the twentieth century.[26] The intrinsic relationship between testimony and photography is overpowering.[27] This connection is confirmed by the fact that when the word 'proof' is looked up in a thesaurus the synonyms are 'photographic print' and picture. With the paramount construction of photographic archives came the obsession of analysing and interpreting them.[28] This thesis will not attempt to evade this tendency; on the contrary, it will embrace it.

How then have artists appropriated archives in their practice?

Archive(s)

Archives are thoroughly used by artists in contemporary artistic practice. As Okwui Enwezor points out in the exhibition catalogue *Archive fever*:

> … the archival impulse has become a commonplace in contemporary art. The fascination with the archive, the inimitable madness of the archive, the constant return to it for verification, inspiration, and source, suggest not only

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[25] Gillian Wearing, Rafael Goldchain, Ana Casas Broda, Cino Otsuka and Moira Ricci; and in the case of Portuguese context: Manuel Botelho, Manuela Santos Maia and Paulo Mendes.

[26] Literature: Charles Merewether, Hal Foster, Jacques Derrida, Alan Sekula, Pierre Nora, Michel Foucault.; Visual arts: Hans-Peter Feldmann, Christinan Boltanski, Susan Hiller, Daniel Blaufuks, Rosy Martin, Nurit Yarden, Lorie Novak, Wiebke Loeper, Rosângela Rennó.

[27] The Bertillon system of identification is a good example. See more *in* Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." *October*, vol. 39, 1986, pp. 3–64.

[28] Texts such as Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever,* Allan Sekula's *The Body and the Archive,* Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of knowledge* or John Tagg's *The archiving machine* are an important reference.

a profound interest in the nature of the archival form found in photography and film but art's relationship to historical reflections on the past.[29]

This is not a new area. Extensive literature can be found on archives, and artistic approaches to the archive also abound. Because there are so many different approaches to archives, this literature is quite diverse. As Anne Whitehead affirms in her book *Memory*:

> The archive has become a contemporary obsession, which has proliferated beyond our control: we attempt to preserve not only all of the past but all of the present as well' (…) We 'refrain from destroying anything and put everything in archives instead'.[30]

Although there are many artists who work on archives, this chapter focuses on those who explore archives through acts of performance and self-portraiture. Regardless of whether its subject is personal or refers to a collective history, photography is a constant presence in most artists dealing with archives and memory. All archives constitute acts of memory, rewriting, reclaiming, re-collecting history or familiar memory. Derrida's *Archive fever* frames the use of archives appropriated by contemporary art and is an essential text when approaching archives:

> … the question of the archive is not, we repeat, a question of the past. This is not the question of a concept dealing with the past, which might *already* be at our disposal or not at our disposal, *an archivable concept of the archive*. It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what this will have meant, we will only know in the times to come. Perhaps. Not tomorrow but in the times to come, later on or perhaps never.[31]

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[29] Enwezor, Okwui. *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2009.

[30] Whitehead, Anne. *Memory*. London: Routledge, 2009. p.142-143

[31] Derrida, Jacques, and Eric Prenowitz. "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression." *Diacritics*, vol. 25, no.2, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp. 9–63.

The archive thus acts as debris out of which the past can be made into the future. The responsibility latent in it that awaits for someone to take its reins and (re)write the future.

Family archive

There are many crucial texts on the subject of family photography relevant here, including Pierre Bourdieu's work, and especially the works by Annette Kuhn and Marianne Hirsch.[32] The essential texts approached here are the ones that relate and connect family photography with archives and memory. Marianne Hirsch is an indispensable reference here, considering her theories on postmemory and on second-generation memory work.[33] Her work also investigates the relationship between trauma and recollecting through family albums. Hirsch's second-generation theory claims that it is the second generation who can (and wants to/ needs to) and is in the privileged position to tackle the histories of the past that were lived by the first generation (usually the parents). Hirsch states that:

> Postmemory's connection to the past is thus actually mediated not only by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation. To grow up with overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors.(…) These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present. This is, I believe, the structure of postmemory and the process of its generation.[34]

These terms set the ground for the practice and for the study of artist shown in this chapter. Annette Kuhn has profoundly studied this subject and is a vital reference.

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[32] This subject has been profoundly studied since the 1980's with the exception of Pierre Bourdieu's *Un art moyen* which is from 1965; Bourdieu, Pierre. *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*. Cambridge: Polity, 1996.

[33] "Postmemory describes the relationship that the *generation after* bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before - to experiences they *remember* only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right" in Hirsch, Marianne. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*. Gender and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

[34] Hirsch, *Generation of Postmemory,* 2012.

Her work is also mentioned when approaching theories of memory, and in her book *Family secrets* she states:

> My understanding of memory work: an active practice of remembering which takes an inquiring attitude towards the past and the activity of its (re)construction through memory. (…) Memory work is a conscious and purposeful performance of memory: it involves an active staging of memory; it takes an inquiring attitude towards the past and its (re)construction through memory; it calls into question the transparency of what is remembered; and it takes what is remembered as material for interpretation.[35]

The relationship between performance and memory work is recurrent in many texts, by theorists and artists alike.

There is a clear connection between using performance as a process and re-collecting through archives, namely family albums. This thesis focuses on this relationship, and on the fact that these acts of performance are also a form of self-portraiture, especially in the cases in which family albums are the focus of the work.

The aspects of performance and gesture are approached later (in chapter 2) and contextualised within Paul Connerton's views on ceremonial rituals and gesture.[36] Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith also mention the performative characteristics of memory work, as well as Annette Kuhn. Kuhn emphasises that:

> In acknowledging the performative nature of remembering, memory work takes on board remembering's productivity and encourages the practitioner to use the pretexts of memory, the traces of the past that remain in the present, as raw material in the production of *new* stories about the past. These stories may heal the wounds of the past.[37]

When Kuhn refers to healing the wounds of the past, she is making reference to dealing with trauma. This is one of the common factors in all artists approached here, and most artists working with (familiar or historical) archives. The method used in

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[35]Kuhn, Annette. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London and New York: Verso, 2002.p.157

[36]Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

[37]Kuhn, Annette. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London and New York: Verso, 2002. p. 158

this thesis, however, is not framed through trauma but through an iconographic approach to the archives. There is something to be resolved, discovered or simply that cannot be forgotten (issues of colonialism, holocaust, dictatorship and collective trauma) for forgetting them would mean to repeat them, and to deface (second death) those who actually witnessed or lived the 'trauma'. Such is the example given by Christian Boltanski:

> Someone has said: 'nowadays we die twice: first at the time of our death, and again when nobody recognizes us in a photograph any more'.[38]

The need for recollecting a traumatised past, mainly approached by the second generation, is an attempt to both understand, resolve, and pay homage to those who lived it. It is only the second generation who is at a feasible distance to do so (distant enough for not having lived it, and simultaneously close for having heard the stories since childhood). The one who went though *it* is incapable, whether because it is too painful or because he\she is too close to *it.* And it is this *it* that must never be forgotten, because even though the second generation did not live *it,* it lived under its persistently creeping shadow. Accordingly, the identity formation of this second generation is its direct result. Herein lies the crux of this thesis: How do I, being second and third generation,[39] reconstruct the meaning of the archive?[40] What can the contribution to knowledge be when the analysis is made from a subjective perspective? What is the relevance of such an analysis amongst archival work?

More questions arise taking into consideration the context that the photographic albums belonged to two families who lived during the dictatorship, one on the mainland and the other in the colonial setting. How can the family album images provide information on the diverse settings contained within them? Are there visible differences between the two women that can be ascertained by the study of the archive?[41] The thesis attempts to answer these questions through the study of the

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[38] Christian Boltanski in an interview *In:*
http://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/collection/artwork/tombeaux-tombs

[39] Second generation in relation to my mother and third in relation to my grandmothers

[40] This refers to the *intra-action* as asserted by Maria Tambokou in her approach to archives mentioned further on in chapter 2

[41] My grandparents (both sides of the family)

family archives and through performance photography. Annette Kuhn eloquently observes about archives:

> They may also transform the way individuals and communities live in and relate to the present and the future. For the practitioner of memory work it is not merely a question of *what* we choose to keep in our 'memory boxes' (…) but of what we do with them, how we use these relics to make memories, and *how* we make use of the stories they generate to give deeper meaning to, and if necessary to change, our lives today.[42]

So, the reinterpretation of archives in performance work can do this as well. The relationship between present and future is a constant reference when it comes to archive and memory work. It is by facing the past, by its recollection, that the future and consequently the identity of those in it is built upon. Victor Rosenberg makes the point:

> Generally, the personal letters or photographs of an ordinary individual are of interest only to the family or friends of the individual. But when personal writings or artefacts are produced in an extraordinary time, they become valuable to historians and others as eyewitness accounts.[43]

To accept the position of the family albums within the context of these "extraordinary times" is then to give it new grounds to analyse them. To embrace that they consist not only of familiar memories but also a testimony of a political and social context, from a recent past. That through them traces of women's lives can be beheld. Can the family albums taken during a dictatorship or in a colonial context be considered 'mere' family albums?

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[42]Kuhn, Annette. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London and New York: Verso, 2002.p. 158

[43] Rosenberg, Victor. "The Power of a Family Archive." *Archival Science* 11, no. 1–2 (2011): 77–93. p.78

The existing literature on family photography, as well as memory work, has focused strongly on the uses of the family album as a place for identity recognition and (re)construction. The works of Jo Spence, Patricia Holland and Rosy Martin, amongst others, have focused on the family album for therapy and investigating identity issues.[44] The approach taken here, in my own work, though tempting to look into the family albums in light of these issues, lies in investigating the identity formation of a generation in a country scarred by dictatorship and the end of a colonial era. The approaches to the family albums are orientated towards this overall view, and not limited by the particularity of one family. The goal is not simply finding distinctive familial traits, but specifically finding the general from the particular, in order to construct an image of female identity during these "extraordinary times."[45]

My interest is not on the construction of the family album itself, but on how the album can be read and interpreted today, taking into consideration the historical and social context of when and how it was made.[46]

Artists work: self-portraiture and the family archive

The approach and study of photographic self-portraiture will focus on the relationship between self-portraiture as the formation of identity, a performative act, and family photography.

An extensive overall chronological view on self-portraiture is given in James Hall's book *The self-portrait: a cultural history*.[47] Although it for the most part presents the history of self-portraiture, it fails to approach one very significant part of self-portraiture history: women's contemporary self-portraiture. Though it mentions it in passing, it fails to elaborate fully on the reasons why the self-image was one of the genres most used for women at that time, especially in the second wave feminist

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[44] Spence, Jo, and Patricia Holland. *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*. London: Virago, 1991.; Martin, Rosy. "The Performative Body: Phototherapy and Re-Enactment." *Afterimage* 29, no. 3 (2001): 17–20. Are some examples

[45] Reference to the affirmation made by Victor Rosenberg in Rosenberg, 77–93.

[46] Contemporary or digital photographic family albums will not be approached, such as the appropriation of found family albums will only be tangentially referred to

[47] Hall, James. *The Self-Portrait: A Cultural History*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2014.

movement. This is relevant to the fact that the masculine perspective is still preponderant and dominates the dissemination of knowledge. Hall uses the term *career self-portraitist.* The practice developed in this thesis is placed within this terminology and will be developed further in the latter part of this chapter. He states:

> Self-portraiture has become more prevalent than ever. Not only have there been many serial and multiple self-portraitists, but a new type of specialist has emerged-the career self-portraitist, whose oeuvre consists almost entirely of self-portraits.[48]

In contrast, Frances Borzellóʹs book entitled Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits provides a direct approach to women and self-portraiture.[49] Borzello tackles the what, how, and why of women's self-portraiture and the differences from men's self-portraiture. She wonders why women's self-portraiture was so different from the ones produced by men. Men in the sixteenth century had the liberty to mock their own appearance, as caricatures, or by inserting themselves in roles as mythological or religious figures, such as Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel[50] or Caravaggio as Bacchus[51]. Sometimes they would simply mock their own appearance, using caricature, this was a liberty women did not possess. Women's self-portraiture was still highly bound by their social constraints. The way women presented their image would always comply with social code and decorum. The only form of masquerade[52] which appeared up until the sixteenth century was that in which artists represented themselves as mythological or biblical figures (Michelangelo, Caravaggio, Gentileschi, amongst others).[53] Much of the self-portraiture produced by artists up until the nineteenth century focuses mostly on the physiognomy of the artist, in contrast to

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[48] Hall, *Self-Portrait*, 2014. p. 232; some examples are: John Coplans, Samuel Fosso, Jorge Molder, Cindy Sherman, Francesca Woodman, to name a few.

[49] Borzello, Frances. *Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits*. Thames & Hudson, 2016.

[50] "...he gave his own unrefined facial features to the crumpled flayed skin held up by St Bartholomew in the *Last Judgement* (...) It was only claimed as a Self-portrait in 1925, but it has been widely accepted, and the 'flayed' head is a close match with a contemporary craggy portrait of Michelangelo." in Hall, *Self-Portrait*, 2014.p.110

[51] "Confirmation that Caravaggio used himself as a model comes from another early biographer, Giovanni Baglione, who says that when he first came to Rome in 1592, Caravaggio 'painted some portraits of himself in the mirror. The first was Bacchus with different bunches of grapes…'" in Hall, *Self-Portrait*, 2014, p.126

[52] The term *masquerade* is used here in the sense of disguise.

[53] Hall, *Self-Portrait,* 2014.

what arises in the twentieth century appearance of masquerade and of portraits showing only parts of the body. Is this due to the use of photography, on the assumption that the camera could provide a "truer" portrait?

Women are still trying to assert their place in society, or at least a socially fairer place in it. For many of the women artists producing self-portraits, their work still addresses these concerns. For the so-called "career self-portraitist",[54] identity is most often the biggest concern, whether her own identity, another's, or identity in a generic sense. Amelia Jones reminds us:

> Surely it is no accident that the practitioners of such dramatically self-performed images are all women…[55]

An interesting case is the Countess Castiglione's self-portraits as approached by Abigail Solomon-Godeau in the essay "The Legs of the Countess".[56] Although a professional photographer took the photographs, it was the Countess who directed and established the composition of the images. The representations of women, then (when the countess created the tableaux of herself) as well as now, are still bound by the codes of the representations of femininity. Solomon-Godeau states that:

> In the very act of authoring her image, a position that implies individuality and a unique subjectivity, the countess can only reproduce herself as a work of elaborately coded femininity, a femininity which, as always, derives from elsewhere.[57]

In her conclusions, and as is still the case today, she reminds us that one is never free from the constraints of the codes of representation, and these are intrinsically connected to the eyes of the beholder, the other. Francette Pacteau critiques Solomon-Godeau's argument on the grounds that the countess could never have escaped the conventions of representation, and adds:

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[54] James Hall designates this term Hall, *Self-Portrait,* 2014.

[55] Jones, Amelia. "The 'Eternal Return': Self-Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment." *The University of Chicago Press* 27, no. 4 (2002): 947–78.

[56] Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "The Legs of the Countess." *October* 39 (1986): 65–108.

[57] ibid

La Castiglione gazes upon these images of herself, but in the full understanding that her looking at herself can only ever be from the vantage point of another.[58]

The representation of femininity and the viewpoint of the other are two of the issues considered in this thesis. Such "elaborately coded femininity", as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, is present in the family albums.

The appropriation of family albums

Artists use family albums in their work to appropriate family archives and intervene in them.

The artists' work, which use self-portraiture to appropriate family albums, include artists such as Gillian Wearing, Chino Otsuka, Rafael Goldchain, Ana Casas Broda and Moira Ricci. The manner in which these five artists combine the use of their family albums with self-portraiture makes them ideal for the analysis. They appropriate the photographs in the albums and either re-enact them or intervene directly on the images. [59]

The first focus will be on Gillian Wearing's work *Album* (2003). In this work Wearing poses as and impersonates her family members.[60] She recreates the images from her family album using herself in the role of mother, father, brother and other family members. These photographs are a thorough and careful remake of the originals in the family album, with the particularity that she performs the role previously played by her relatives. The restaging and impersonation are done by the use of

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[58] Pacteau, Francette. *The Symptom of Beauty*. London: Reaktion Books, 1994.

[59] Other artists who have used self-portrait and family photography are: Rosy Martin, Jo Spence, Marie Sjovold, Elinor Carucci, Tal Shochat.

Several artists who have used photography and self-portraiture are: Hyppolytte Bayard , Lee Friedlander, Claude Cahun, Hannah Wilke, Valie Export, Francesca Woodman, Cindy Sherman, Carrie Mae Weems, Duane Michals, Yinka Shonibare, Yasumasa Morimura, Jorge Molder, John Coplans, Aino Kanisto, Catherine Opie, Dita Pepe, Eileen Cowin, Elina Brotherus, Gaueca, Helena Almeida, Ixone Sadaba, Jemima Stehli, Laura Torrado, Nan Goldin, Nikki S. Lee, Mariko Mori, Vibeke Tandberg, Cornelia Heidegger.

Performance: Marina Abramovich, Ma Liuming, Orlan, Adrien Piper, Ana Mendieta

[60] Gillian Wearing: (born 1963) is an English artist, one of the Young British Artists, who works with video and photography.

masquerade. Silicone masks were produced to mimic the faces of those portrayed in the album. The poses were carefully restaged and in the case of the photograph *Self Portrait as my Brother Richard Wearing* (Figure 3) a whole cast of the upper body had to be made to facsimile the original pose.

Figure 2 Self Portrait as my Mother Jean Gregory
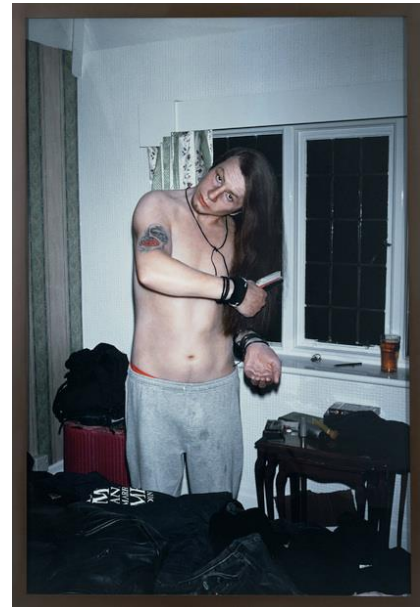
Figure 3 Self Portrait as my Brother Richard Wearing

In a first glimpse they are portraits of family members, but after observing for a few moments longer, the fact that they are masks becomes more apparent. There is a certain artificiality about them, and an unnatural shimmer and texture about the skin. Although the scenes are carefully staged, and the masks meticulously executed, they purposely maintain a masklike quality about them. This provokes eeriness, a disturbing simultaneous absence and presence. Wearing's only visible physical presence is through her eyes. In an interview, when Wearing describes finding a particular image of her mother she observes:

> When I was sorting through some old photographs I came across an image of my mother as a 23-year-old. I've had that image for about 20 years. I notice that my memory of the photo was very different from what I was looking at

when I rediscovered the photograph in 2001 it was through this re-evaluation that I began to think about what I had projected onto the image of her and my consciousness of her age. (…) I could see in the photograph my mother, myself and someone I could never have known at that age. It was a puzzle that motivated me to want to 'be her' at that age and investigate the missing link concerning me, her and that picture.[61]

She is talking about the memory she had of the photograph and then confronting this memory twenty years later with the actual image. This is one of the very interesting aspects in this dichotomy between memory and photography: how photography ultimately replaces the thing it was supposed to preserve – i.e., memory.

Another interesting aspect is "the missing link" that she describes about herself and that photograph of her mother at the age of 23. It is perhaps here that lie some of the answers to this compelling work. The search for the familial, which, at the same time, is a piece of the puzzle of identity, is found here, constructed through the family album and in realisation of the ever-existing "missing link".

One of the most intriguing images in *Album* is the photograph S*elf Portrait of Me Now in Mask* (Figure 4). The mask she wears is to resemble her exact appearance at the moment, a disturbing contradiction, and the negation of the very purpose of a mask. At the same time, *it is* a mask. The purpose of the mask as disguise or masquerade is denied by its characteristics. Is she hiding behind her own appearance or is she trying to make herself even more apparent?

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[61] Wearing, Gillian. *Gillian Wearing*. London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2012.

Figure 4 Self **Portrait** of Me Now in Mask   Figure 5 Self Portrait at 17 Years Old

Contrary to the masks of other family members, this mask is produced in such a way that it is identifiable as such; the area around the eyes is cut in such a way as to maintain a clear masklike aspect. This is different from *Self Portrait at 17 Years Old* (Figure 5), where we can undoubtedly find a correlation to the other images of her family members. Self-*Portrait of Me Now in Mask* thus makes a somewhat different statement. What could she be trying to say? Is the mask itself the issue? A useless mask with no purpose, unable to provide a disguise? Although still covering the face it is still a mask, albeit one that reproduces exactly what lies underneath. Could this be related to the (re)presentation of femininity through a *mask* in the metaphorical sense? When reading though Joan Riviere's text "Womanliness as a Masquerade", [62] there are correlations and connections to this *mask* of femininity she states:

> The reader may now ask how I define womanliness or where I draw the line between genuine womanliness and the 'masquerade'. My suggestion is not, however, that there is any such difference; whether radical or superficial, they are the same thing.[63]

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[62] Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as a Masquerade." In *Gender*, edited by Anna Tripp, 130–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000.

[63] ibid

But can Wearing's *Self-Portrait of Me Now in Mask* be considered a masquerade of femininity? Her somewhat distant and disconnected stare has none of the *coquette* characteristics described in the masquerade of femininity. Could that in fact be the point, a mask that de-masks femininity? The way her hair is placed reveals care and pose, slightly pushed to one side. The three-quarter pose suggests a carefully staged portrait. As Anna Tripp states when analysing Riviere's text,

> If womanliness is no more or less than a masquerade, this of course prompts the question of what is behind the mask.[64]

Wearing's *Self Portrait of Me Now in Mask* is the destruction of the mask of femininity, in the metaphorical sense that the viewer is "shown" what lays behind the mask, through the mask itself, and that this still provides no further clues to what lies behind the mask of femininity. Gillian Wearing, in an interview regarding her Album series affirms:

> I wanted them not only to look as real as possible but also to have certain parts of disguise visible. (…) The mask has an imprint of my face inside. There are two faces on the mask, so even before I wear it as my own face I am already in there. And, unlike photoshopping and retouching, wearing someone's face or body brings out a much stronger performative element in me. (..) it's not just about wearing a mask but about becoming someone else, too, acting out.[65]

What Wearing states here is extremely important, when she refers to the performative elements, about posture and gaze, and how, for the image to work, to be feasible, she has to "feel like another person".[66] Referring to Claude Cahun, in the research process work for the exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, she also mentions the process being like method acting, in the sense that she has to immerse herself into someone else's life: "The more someone is in your head, the more they become a real presence; so she's part of my memory now."[67]

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[64] Tripp, Anna. *Gender*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000. p.14

[65] Howgate, Sarah. *Gillian Wearing and Claude Cahun*. London: National Portrait Gallery, 2017. p. 163

[66] ibid

[67] Ibid p. 173

The correlation between acting and masquerade in performance photography becomes quite evident throughout Wearing's work and in the methods she claims to use. The common terminology between theatre and her framework becomes more and more apparent as she describes her work process:

> A lot of the acting happens in the eyes or posture; so when I edit the images the eyes are one of the first things I choose. If you take your concentration away for one second it shows, and if you overact it also doesn't work.[68]

Rafael Goldchain's work *I Am My Family* (Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8) uses masquerade and impersonation to create a family album.[69] Through the use of props and make up Rafael *is* his family, his family history, his heritage and himself. Contrary to Gillian Wearing in Album, we can recognise Rafael in the images where he poses as members of his family.
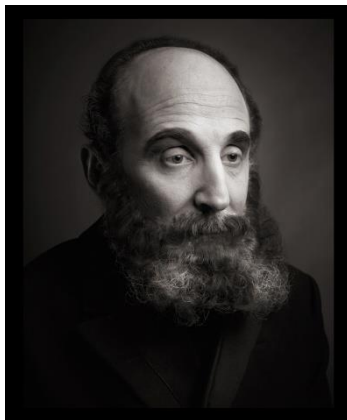
Figure 6 Self-Portrait as Baruch Rubinsztajn

Figure 7 Self-Portrait as Reizl Goldschain
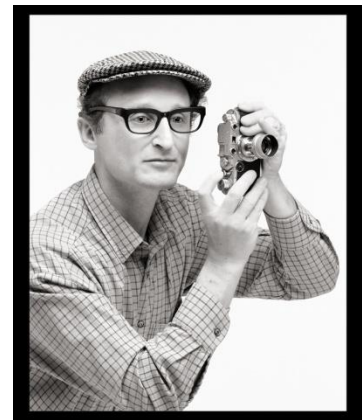
Figure 8 Self-Portrait as Don Isaac Goldszajn (Photographer)

His motivations are clear; he states:

> *Familial Ground* is the product of a process that started several years ago when my son was born (…) to pass on to my son familial and cultural

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[68] Howgate, *Gillian Wearing and Claude Cahun*, 2017. p. 163

[69] Rafael Goldchain: (born 1953) Canadian photographer in the late 1990s and early 2000s made a series of self-portraits of himself as his ancestors, many lost in the Holocaust (I Am My Family: Photographic Memories and Fictions).

inheritance. I thought of the many erasures that my family history was subjected to, and the way in which my South American and Jewish educations privileged public histories. (…) These images are the result of a reconstructive process that acknowledges its own limitations, in that the construction of an image of the past unavoidably involves a mixture of fragmented memory, artifice, and invention, and that this mixture necessarily evolves as it is transmitted from generation to generation.[70]

In these photographs he shows us his unique capacity to be himself and other simultaneously. This *other* isn't just any *other,* it is his family, and the heritage he recreated and passed on to his son.

Both Wearing and Goldchain use re-enactment and masquerade as a method regarding their family and consequently themselves. Though their motivations may differ, the result lies on similar grounds. It is through appropriating and re-creating the family album that they explore identity issues. Goldchain's images can be considered more straightforward, with the clear intention to recreate a family album and heritage. In Wearing's work, there are more complex elements at play. Her work *Album* contains more layers and is less clear on the reasons for using the re-enactment of existing family photographs. When these two works are compared, Goldchain's could perhaps be considered as containing the photographic characteristics of *Studium* and Wearing's as *Punctum.*[71] Goldchain's photographs contain a constructed although more straightforward family album and Wearing's a piercing and disturbingly staged family album. Both works provide valuable information and insight on the appropriation of family albums that substantiates and informs my own practice.

Ana Casas Broda's work *Album* (Figure 9 -Figure 11) is a memoir constructed from her and her grandmother's diaries and photographic albums. It is a history of four generations of women.[72]

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[70] Goldchain, Rafael. "Familial Ground." *Queen's Quarterly*, Literature Online, 114, no. 1 (2007): 132.

[71] Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. London: Vintage, 2000.

[72] Ana Casas Broda: (Born 1965) in Granada, Spain to an Austrian mother and a Spanish father. Works with the medium of photography and worked on the project *Album* for 14 years.

Ese es el vestido que te regalé, me dijo mi abuela. Supe entonces que he usado durante años el vestido de Grete.

Mi abuela cree que Grete y su hija murieron en el campo de concentración de Theresienstadt.

Figure 9 From Album

Figure 10 From Album

Contrary to Goldchain's or Wearing's work, there is no re-enactment or masquerade in Broda's work. It is as much her story as her mother's and grandmother's, it is an intimate diary and photographic album. The book begins chronologically with her grandmother's youth, during World War II, with a fragment of her grandmother's diary alongside archive photographs. These archive images are re-photographed family albums (Figure 10) as well as photographs taken by her grandmother. Gradually she begins to narrate her mother's story and ultimately her own, through self-portraiture and fragments from her diary. The line that binds these women and their story together is her grandmother's house in Vienna where Casas Broda frequently

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returns in an attempt to construct her identity and find a sense of belonging and ultimately her heritage. She juxtaposes the album photographs with her self-portraits, where she sometimes appears naked. (Figure 11).

Desde que nos fuimos a México siempre vuelvo a Viena a ver a Omama, mi abuela. Me sumerjo en los álbumes como si escondieran un secreto, la clave de algún misterio. No distingo entre las fotos y mis recuerdos, ya no sé si los he construido a partir de las imágenes.

Figure 11 From Album

The book is an intimate and introspect expedition into the family history, filled with the vicissitudes and fragility of life in an attempt to constitute an identity. Casas Broda's search for a sense of place and belonging, which she explores through her body and familial memory, is evident throughout this narrative. On turning family photographs public Susan Bright claims that,

> These approaches reference memories, real or constructed, of the artist's own past and identities and make public a private viewing experience. (…) For the audience to understand artwork based on these images, artists are reliant on a general familiarity with the generic language of vernacular family photography. (…) The artists who re-examine these modes of portraiture do so in an attempt to explore issues of remembrance and remembering-both crucial shapers of the self and the formation of identity.[73]

By placing the photographs in a different context they can shift their meaning and contribute to recollect and reconstruct identity. They enrich the identity with new

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[73] Bright, Susan. *Auto Focus: The Self-Portrait in Contemporary Photography*. New York: Monacelli Press, 2010. p.143

information, from a different perspective. Ultimately, Casas Broda remakes the family album within her own position and narrative.

Chino Otsuka and Moira Ricci use the same method of photomontage to insert themselves into their archive images.[74] In Ricci's case it is to reunite herself with her mother and in Otsuka's a meeting of two selves, present and childhood. Both cases are realistically produced and technically accurate in the sense that the characters in the photographs could actually coexist in the images. Chino Otsuka revisits many of her childhood places, inserting her present self alongside her infant self. Chino Otsuka's work *Imagine Finding Me* (Figure 12, Figure 13, Figure 14) is centred on herself, the album she explores is not simply a family album, but her own childhood album.

Figure 12 Imagine Finding Me 1982 and 2005 Paris France

Figure 13 Imagine Finding Me 1982 and 2005 Richmond Hotel France

Figure 14 Imagine Finding Me 1982 and 2006 Tokyo Japan

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[74] Chino Otsuka: (born 1972) Native of Tokyo, Japan, lives and works in London, UK. This visual artist uses photography and video to explore the relationship between memory, time and photography.

Moira Ricci: (born 1977) Italian visual artist, works with photography, video and installation. Her work, often autobiographical, investigates individual and social identity, family history and home.

Moira Ricci literally puts herself in the picture with her mother. Through carefully executed photomontages she places herself next to her mother, sometimes appearing to be the same age, but at other times even older, thereby eliminating the mother-daughter relationship. Ricci's work is titled *20.12.53 - 10.08.04* (Figure 15, Figure 16, Figure 17), the dates of her mother's birth and death, concluding that this is the only way she can be in her mother's presence. There is no masquerade or re-enactment found in their works, they are themselves, solely existing in a time and place where they could never coexist.

Figure 15 Fidanzati - 20.12.53 - 10.08.04

Figure 16 Autoritratto -20.12.53 - 10.08.04

Figure 17 Mamma con maestra - 20.12.53 - 10.08.04

Artists work: Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship

This section addresses work being done on the subject of Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship in contemporary art and specifically using the medium of photography. This investigation focuses on artists using an archive, (private or public) to explore a specific period in Portuguese history.

First, the thesis considers artists developing their framework within the subject of the Portuguese colonial war, a specific episode in the history of Portuguese colonialism.[75] It then goes on to approach artists who focus their subjects and creative practice on Portuguese colonialism through archival practice, such as Manuel Santos Maia.

The reason for paying particular attention to the colonial war in this chapter is because this is one of the most approached subjects in Portuguese colonial history, whether in literature, cinema and lately, the visual arts. [76] On the subject of artists approaching the Portuguese colonial war, the investigation focuses on the work of Manuel Botelho.[77] His body of work on this subject is both extensive and relevant, combining the use of archives with self-portraiture and performance through the photographic. He combines some of the crucial aspects of this thesis and is therefore an essential reference.

Manuel Botelho has been working on the subject of the Portuguese colonial war since 2007. Being born in 1950 in Portugal, he lived many years of his life with the fear of going to war or having to run from it and all the consequences thereof. He states:

> I was fortunate to be in the final year of my architecture degree when the 25th of April ended the nightmare that haunted my adolescence, and I didn't experience war live and in person. I did live it intensely, in an obsessive anticipation that lasted all my youth, from 11 to 23 years of age. Throughout

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[75] Some of the artists developing their framework within this subject are Manuel Botelho, Daniel Barroca, Sandro Ferreira and Nuno Nunes-Ferreira.

[76] The colonial war is a specific episode in Portuguese colonial history. It lasted 13 years, starting in Angola in 1961 and ending with the military coup of April 25th, 1974

[77] Manuel Botelho: (born 1950) Studied architecture and painting, works in painting and more recently photography. His work is concerned with the limits of private and public, sometimes posing himself as the subject of his paintings. Since 2007 he has been using photography to explore the history of the colonial war and the colonial past.

that time I lived in the dilemma of one day being forced to escape… Or to fight, for a cause that denied my deepest convictions.[78]

His first work on the subject of Portuguese colonial war was in the painting *Wiriyamu's ruins* (Figure 18), from 2006, in which an old soldier (himself) holds a G3 rifle against giant insects. This painting represents the massacre of Wiriyamu[79] in the north of Mozambique in 1972 an event that shocked the world and was probably one of the accelerators of the April 25th military coup.

Figure 18 Wiriyamu's ruins

Until 2007, Botelho established his practice as a figurative painter while focusing his subjects and concerns on politics. After the painting *Wiriyamu's ruins* it was the G3 in the painting that diverted his path into photography. He decided to buy a camera and go to the military museum to photograph a G3 and a Kalashnikov (Figure 19, Figure

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[78]Botelho, Manuel, and João Pinharanda. *Manuel Botelho*. *Madrinha de Guerra*. Lagos: Centro Cultural de Lagos, 2009. [My translation]

[79] Wiriyamu was one of the villages in the north of Mozambique where, during the colonial war, in December 1971 a massacre occurred by the hands of the Portuguese army. This massacre was later disclosed by the missionary priests in July 1972 and later denounced by Father Adrien Hastings in an article published by the London *Times.*

The international attention that followed exposed the violence and brutality of the colonial war. The U.N. applied pressure on the Portuguese regime that aggravated the Portuguese Armed Forces into rebellion. This is likely to have been one of the contributing factors for the April 25th uprising, thus ending a war that had no military outcome and the political regime that sustained it.

20), which were the rifles used in the colonial war, each on opposing sides, he describes:

> perhaps an impersonal record of those traces pointed towards a direction, perhaps the metallic rigour of a G3 dictated the near future of my work[80]

Figure 19 Confidential/Declassified: Inventory 16a.invt

Figure 20 Confidential/Declassified: Inventory 18a.invt

Figure 21 Confidential/Declassified: Letters of Love and Longing

Figure 22 Confidential/Declassified: Letters of Love and Longing, live performance

Manuel Botelho began visiting flea markets and, in his own words, became a collector of memorabilia. In a first instant his collection began with different objects related to the war such as lighters and soldiers' uniforms. These acquisitions later led to buying letters and correspondence, predominantly love letters between soldiers and a

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[80] Botelho, Manuel, and João Pinharanda. *Manuel Botelho*. *Madrinha de Guerra*. Lagos: Centro Cultural de Lagos, 2009. [My translation]

female figure created by the regime designated as *War Godmother*.[81] Through his persistence he eventually managed to buy all the correspondence between Nando and Lenita, (a soldier fighting in Africa and his sweetheart in Portugal) with which he produced a series of paintings and a performance, which consisted of two actors, reading the letters aloud to each other (Figure 21 Figure 22). Does the use of the correspondence letters between *Nando* and *Lenita* provide a female perspective on the dictatorship and on war?

In most of the works in *Confidential/Declassified* he uses self-representation as a device to explore the history of the colonial war (Figure 23, Figure 24, Figure 25).

Figure 23 Confidential/Declassified: ambush

Figure 24 Confidential/Declassified: war godmother

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[81] War Godmother was a figure created by the regime to incite women to write to the soldiers in Africa. The purpose was to involve women in the war effort and simultaneously create a homelike feeling for the soldiers who had no female figures to correspond with. This correlates with the three pillars of the Portuguese Estado Novo: Deus, Pátria, Familia (God, Fatherland, Family)

Figure 25 Confidential/Declassified: ambush

Manuel Botelho is exceptional among artists working on the subject of the colonial war in the sense that he is not second-generation.[82] In Marianne Hirsch's postmemory theories she observes that the second-generation has a need to rework the inherited traumas, whether from direct family members or otherwise. What is interesting in Botelho's work is that he lived during the war period, but as he states himself, he did not live the war, did not go to war. I do not believe he would have been able to produce this work if he had experienced the war. Manuel Botelho has some of the characteristics of second generation – he was close to the war but did not live it. He would not have been able to produce his work had he been to war. It would have been a trauma instead of a memory, in the sense that he lived under the threat of going to war. In this way it corresponds to the same cathartic elements of the second generation. On this matter he acknowledges:

> Who am I, to have had the right and the luxury of staying here, laying about in this Lisbon where one could only die of natural causes, whilst others had to leave, forced to waste the best years of their lives in a long and incomprehensible faraway war.[83]

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[82] As stated by Marianne Hirsch in her postmemory theories: memory transmitted to the second generation.

[83] Amado, Miguel, Manuel Botelho, Paulo Côrte-Real, and David Alan Prescott. *Manuel Botelho: Confidencial - Desclassificado*. Lisboa: Fundação PLMJ, 2012.

This chapter aims to investigate the motivations for working on the subject of Portuguese colonialism and on the dictatorship. In this sense Manuel Botelho is a suitable choice because he has both the closeness and the distance to work on the subject. He elucidates on the subject:

> Literature saw the colonial war as a subject to be dealt with from early on, both during the conflict itself after April 25 1974 'revolution of the carnations' in Portugal. In relation to the fine arts, there is a lacking in their treatment of the issue.[84]

In contrast, another artist under study here is Manuel Santos Maia, who, unlike most artists exploring this period in Portuguese history, does not set his framework in the colonial war.[85] His focus is on his own family history, intrinsically connected to the history of the 'retornados'.[86] Born in Nampula, Mozambique in 1970, Manuel Santos Maia began working in his project *alheava* (disposed) (figures 25, 26, 27) in 1999, and has been developing it up to the present day. This extensive work, which is composed of many different series, has been exhibited in several different countries. The object and focus of this project has been the vestiges and remains of his family's life in Mozambique, which he has been exploring as an archive. His family returned to mainland Portugal in 1976, when he was only 6 years old. Their narrative is inscribed within the story of the returnees.

His work is personal, for he is telling his own story and his family's history but he is also telling a story of decolonisation, loss and displacement. It is both an attempt to recover and preserve memory through those many objects, documents and photographs, but also, an act of re-writing it.

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[84] ibid

[85] Manuel Santos Maia: (born1970) Nampula, Mozambique, visual artist who uses video, documentation and sculpture as a medium to approach the subjects of memory and past. His autobiographical and often personal approach to his work result in complex installations.

[86] Literally translates as the ones who return (returnees), "the term "retornado", which refers to the Portuguese people who returned to Portugal from Africa after the end of the empire." This term had a negative connotation and created segregation between the mainland Portuguese and the ones who returned from the African colonies. *In* MS Maia et al., *Project room*, Coimbra, CAV, 2004.

Manuel Santos Maia ventures courageously to tell Portuguese colonial history from a perspective which is usually unappreciated and criticised. By giving the perspective of the settler, a particularly complex view, he is creating a new perspective and a unique contribution. There is nostalgia, but it is in this nostalgia[87], which most artists avoid,[88] that a significant part of colonial Portuguese history can be told from another perspective. The story of the returnees is still very controversial and very unexplored, and much is still unwritten, an interesting example of which is given by Joana Craveiro from one of the audience members in one of her performances:[89]

> She rebuked me for having "portrayed that horrible part about the family of the returned people", which she dismissed as "a waste of time".[90]

There is still no consensus regarding the story of the returnees, not from academia, and certainly not from the people.

Figure 26 Disposed (Alheava), film still

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[87] Nostalgia (*nostalghía)* from the Greek *nostós* (return) and *álgos* (pain).
In this particular case, this sentiment of sadness and grief and the longing to return to a place and time lived in the past, refers to the settlers in the former colonies. The guilt complex still present in Portuguese society results in a disapproval of those who lived in the colonies.

[88] No other artist approaching this period in Portuguese history does so using the point of view of the settler.

[89] Joana Craveiro is an actress working in documentary theatre, she has been investigating and creating an archive on the years of the dictatorship in Portugal and PREC. Her work is mentioned later on in chapter 5.

[90] Craveiro, Joana. "A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories Performing Narratives, Testimonies and Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution." University of Roehampton, 2016. p.197

Figure 27 Disposed_For Deposit from the exhibition Retornar

Figure 28 Disposed_For Deposit from the exhibition Retornar

The dichotomy that Pierre Nora describes in 'lieux de mémoire' between memory and history can be found in Manuel Santos Maia's work, in the sense that he is describing the personal while arriving at what is also *collective memory.*[91] He uses personal documents such as photographs and family objects as well as government documents and newspaper clippings in this construction of (his)story. As Ian Farr extrapolates on this matter:

> … from countless 'micro histories' we take shards of the past and tried to glue them together, in the hope that the history we reconstruct might seem more like the history we experience. One might try to sum all this up by coining the term like 'mirror memory', but the problem is that mirrors only reflect identical copies of ourselves (…) We seek not our origins but a way of figuring out what we are from what we are no longer.[92]

Santos Maia reveals an interesting aspect about his work in an interview by Sandra Vieira Jürgens - "I do not intend to build a history of historians".[93] This observation

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[91] Term established by Halbwachs in Halbwachs, Maurice, and Lewis A Coser. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

[92] Farr, Ian. *Memory: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London & Cambridge: Whitechapel Gallery & The MIT Press, 2012. p. 66

[93] Vieira Jürgens, Sandra. "Manuel Santos Maia." *Arqa Revista de Arquitectura e Arte*, no. 22 (1997): 86–89.

correlates with what has been stated about artists doing archival and memory work. The purpose is not to narrate history as it has been written in history books; it is precisely to immerse oneself in the vestiges and remains of a past, many times preserved in an archive, and to retell it. Frequently, it is an attempt to retell history, to confront the established history with the familial and inherited history. Pierre Nora articulates the differences between history and memory thusly:

> Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. (…)[94]

Other devices are used in this attempt, not just the evidence (documents images objects in the archives) but also the device of imagination, the crucial element of (re)creation. Sometimes the absences can only be filled/reconstructed through imagination. Filipa Lowndes Vicente asserts that:

> … Contemporary art is prodigal in demonstrating how colonial memory is feasible of being (re-) constructed *without* the colonial experience. And for this same reason, it can only be constructed through a recurrent imaginary element.[95]

This brings up another interesting aspect: the fact that most artists approaching Portuguese colonialism were born at the end of the colonial era. This is justified by the need for a degree of objectiveness, or as Manuel Botelho put it, a time for mourning. In accordance with Marianne Hirsh's postmemory theory, this need to revisit and rewrite history is a second-generation task.

In his "lieux de memoire", Pierre Nora describes two types of memories: true memory and "memory transformed by its passage through history, which is practically the

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[94] Rossington, Michael, and Anne Whitehead, eds. *Theories of Memory: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. p. 146

[95] Vicente, Filipa Lowndes, ed. *O Império Da Visão: A Fotografia No Contexto Colonial Português (1860-1960)*. Lisboa: 70, 2014. p. 471 [my translation]

opposite".[96] Could artists working on the past be trying to '(re)cover' / '(re) discover' this so-called true memory? The memory that exists of the events, namely the colonial war, "is a memory transformed by its passage through history".[97] Is it possible, that artists such as Manuel Botelho are trying to rediscover *true memory*? Can this also be true of 'second-generation' artists? Could they (Manuel Santos Maia, Daniel Barroca) be trying to (re)build their parents' memory through the use of the archive?

Paulo Mendes is very diverse in his practice using photography, video, painting, installation and performance.[98] In his series *S de Saudade,* [99] which he has been working on since 2007, he approaches the Portuguese dictatorship paying special attention to its dictator Salazar.[100] Having started with painting and drawing he soon moved on to performance. Impersonating the character *Mr. S.* (Figure 30) a figure embedded with a nostalgic feeling, reminiscent of the male figure of *Estado Novo*

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[96] Farr, Ian. *Memory: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London & Cambridge: Whitechapel Gallery & The MIT Press, 2012. p.62

[97] Ibid

[98] Paulo Mendes: (born 1966) Visual artist, curator and cultural project producer. He has been working on the project *S de Saudade* since 2007, which critically approaches the New State's regime history and memory. He uses several media such as documents, photography video, painting and performance to create immersive installations.

[99] *Saudade* can be translated as a melancholic longing or yearning

 "… the word saudade to speak about Portugal and to name the peculiarities of being Portuguese. Saudade can be loosely translated as 'homesickness', 'nostalgia', 'missing someone (or some- thing) beloved', 'remembering (and longing for) a past state of wellbeing', etc., and all the people I have just mentioned have used this word - or shall I say concept? to stress the main features they attribute to Portugueseness. According to them, the Portuguese possess a particular feeling, unknown to other cultures, called saudade, which is a unique mixture of sadness and passion, of past memories and imagined hopes." *In* Leal, João. "The Making of Saudade. National Identity and Ethnic Psychology in Portugal." *Roots and Rituals. The Construction of Ethnic Identities*, 2000. p 268

[100] António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) was an active political figure in Portugal where he ruled as a dictator. From 1932 to 1968 he was the leader of Estado Novo, a dictatorial regime created by him. In 1968 was deposed due to illness.

In 1928 Salazar, with a degree in Finance from the University of Coimbra, became minister and swiftly and poignantly balanced the government's financial system. He became Prime Minister and by 1933 he laid the legal basis for Estado Novo - its constitution and Colonial Act.

Salazar managed to keep Portugal neutral during World War II.

By the 1960s, his inability to understand politically and ideologically the international decolonisation movements thrust the country into the colonial war in Africa (1961-1974).

The Estado Novo ended with the military coup of April 25, 1974.

(New State).[101] In his words a figure created with the purpose of personifying the feeling of forgetfulness, a kind of shadow of the past.[102] First photographed and then portrayed through live performance, this figure of the absurd hovers between past and future, questioning the mentality and political views on the nation. Wondering about Salazar, Paulo Mendes affirms:

> How can a dictator who promoted illiteracy, adverse to modernity, a shy peasant with no life of his own, afraid to travel by airplane though the vast empire which he enjoyed so much talking about, continue so present in today's Portuguese society?[103]

Figure 29 S for Longing

Figure 30 S for Longing, Mr. S.

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[101] Estado Novo was the name of the dictatorial regime that took over in Portugal in 1933, after the military coup on the 28th *M*ay 1926. It succeeded the military dictatorship established in 1926 after the confusing and frail first Republic (1910-1926).

It was ruled by Salazar from 1932 to 1968 and ended in 1974 with the military coup on April 25th. Estado Novo was homonymous to Franco's regime in Spain and contemporary to many fascist regimes in Latin South America during the difficult years between the two world wars.

[102] Brás, Celina. "Paulo Mendes S de Saudade." Contemporânea, 2016. [my translation]

[103] Vieira Jürgens, Sandra, and João Urbano. "Para Uma Arte Política." *Nada*, no. 12 (2008): 76-109.[my translation] "Como pode um ditador que promoveu o analfabetismo, avesso à modernidade, um tímido camponês sem vida própria, com medo de viajar de avião pelo grande Império de que tanto gostava de falar, continuar tão presente na sociedade portuguesa de hoje?"

This series culminates in an anthological exhibition *S de Saudade: perfilados de medo*[104] (Figure 31, Figure 32).

Figure 31 S for Longing: lined up in fear (exhibition view)

Figure 32 S for Longing: lined up in fear (exhibition view)

It is composed of many of his video installations (Figure 32), photographs and collected objects from the period of *Estado Novo*.[105]

To view Paulo Mendes's exhibition *S de Saudade*: *Perfilados de medo* one must enter through a hole in a brick wall. We find ourselves in a dark narrow corridor of old wardrobes (such as the ones we used to hide in as children in our grandmothers' houses). Walking down this corridor, trying to get used to the dark, we are filled by the overwhelming smell of mothballs, our senses of vision, smell and touch transport us into our past. At the end of this corridor, under very dim light, there is a wall where a painting portraying Salazar can be seen (Figure 33) On our right, on an old wooden wall is a very small photograph of Salazar lying in his coffin. Walking into the next room we enter the P.I.D.E.[106] interrogation room (Figure 34). The whole exhibition is an installation composed of different artworks Paulo Mendes has been working on in this series *S de Saudade*. Many objects, photographs and videos of his performances

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[104] Could be translated as: S for homesickness/longing: lined up in fear (title of a poem by Alexandre O'Neill (1962))

[105] Amongst the video installations is his musical performance *the Post-Colonial Singer*. (Figure 35) In it he tackles postcolonial views with great irony. Impersonating the figure of *the jazz singer,* he performs the song *Kanimambo,* a colonial song from 1960s written by Reinaldo Ferreira and performed by João Maria Tudela.

[106] P.I.D.E. (Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado) was the political police for the *Estado Novo*

can be seen throughout the exhibition. He masterfully creates an overwhelming environment that not only brings us the past but also presents a highly critical view of it.

Paulo Mendes has managed to completely alter the physical space of the museum, enhancing the intensity and experience of inhabiting the space, transporting us into a depository of memory. It is an intense experience, like entering a stage set for a theatre play, where nothing was left to chance: the lighting, the sound and even the smell overwhelm.

Figure 33 S for Longing: lined up in fear (exhibition view)

Figure 34 S for Longing: lined up in fear (exhibition view)

As part of the series *S de Saudade* in progress since 2007, this exhibition culminates by giving the viewer a comprehensive panorama of his discursive research and intervention. The exhibition contributes not only to the Portuguese art scene, but also to the collective memory of Portugal's most recent history.

Figure 35 Post-Colonial Singer

What do all these artists have in common and what are they trying to achieve? They all use self-portraiture, whether to *be* someone else (other) or to be with someone else. As Marianne Hirsch observes:

> Autobiography and photography share, as well, a fragmentary structure and an incompleteness that can only be partially concealed by narrative and conventional connections. Naively, I keep trying to learn something about my grandmother and aunt, about my mother and about myself, by staring at their portrait.[107]

Are these artists trying to surpass this affirmation of Hirsch's by turning the family album permeable, making it a place they can penetrate and belong? All these artists enter into and put themselves in the family album. They go much further than "staring at their portrait". All these photographers have what Marianne Hirsch calls an affiliative look or affiliative relation to the work. Hirsch asks:

> What is my reader's relationship to my family images? What kind of look mediates between the protective circle of the familial and the public scrutiny of academic writing? What are the ethics, what are the politics, of this

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[107] Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2012. p.84

'exposure', this public reading of images that generate their meanings in the private realm?[108]

Why has this genre of taking family pictures and placing them in the public sphere been so used in contemporary culture? What is the relevance of such positioning of private and personal material in public view? Why do we need it (when we, ourselves are, the ones who place our personal imagery in the world) and what can be achieved from this? Is it by exposing ourselves to the world, or is it by the echoes which later return with answers? Why do we find it interesting to look at other's family pictures and the artists' work resulting from them? Do they also provide clues to our own familial identity constructions? Can one analyse family pictures from an aesthetic, political and theoretical perspective and combine this with a personal and familial approach?

Indeed, why and how family archives can be used and interpreted and what is provided from this appropriation are some of the questions this thesis aims to answer.

Memory

In Anne Whitehead's book *Memory,* she extrapolates reasons for the contemporary obsession with memory in Western culture. One of the most relevant aspects she notes is the fact that the twentieth century was marked by a great deal of migrations and the subsequent trauma left by such displacement. These diasporic communities are consumed with "a desire for mementos of lifestyles that have been lost"[109] which can reflect on the creation of personal or family archives that carried the task of keeping that place/life unforgotten. These same archives are the ones that 'second-generation' artists will use to re-collect the recent past through their work.

> History arises, Halbwachs argues, when the past 'is no longer included within the sphere of thought of existing groups'. It is only once social groups have

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[108] ibid p.107

[109] Whitehead, Anne. *Memory*. London: Routledge, 2009. p.2

disappeared and their thoughts and memories have vanished that history preserves and fixes the past.[110]

In her chapter on *Memory and the self* in which she discusses authors, poets and philosophers such as John Locke, David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and William Wordsworth she explains how for them, "the past is (re)figured in memory".[111] In their work, remembrance is not merely a reproduced image from the past, but rather, it transforms and adapts in the process. The transformation mentioned here could also be applied to the artists approached in this thesis, recollecting the past and creating images from it. The artists are not reproducing the past or reproducing memory, they are creating an 'adaptation' of memory. For many artists it is about more than just remembering, since there is often a critical view (historical facts-collective history) and sometimes a reinventing of the past.

Artists use many devices to explore these issues, sometimes by re-enacting the images in the family album (Goldchain, Wearing), or by restaging episodes of collective memory (Mendes, Botelho). One thing that unites these approaches is the use of gesture as symbolic of an event or character. In Whitehead's chapter on collective memory she describes Connerton's views of commemorative ceremonies, such as rituals using gesture and bodily performance, to conclude:

> Rites of this sort accordingly possess a characteristic of ritual re-enactment, which is central to the shaping of collective memory. An image of the past is, then, not simply conveyed and sustained by ritual performances; it is also brought to life in the present and relived through direct embodiment and gestural repetition.[112]

This way of establishing a connection between memory and gesture can be transposed to performance and re-enactments of archives in contemporary art. For example, Paulo Mendes's work is an act of performance and of re-enactment. He chooses to 'impersonate' *Mr. S.*, and in doing so he is invoking the memories of the dictatorship. *S* embodies the dictatorship as its ultimate symbol. By embodying *S* he

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[110] Ibid p.131

[111] ibid p.51

[112] ibid

is becoming himself a symbol of the dictatorship. Is it cathartic? Is it to better understand a dictator and the consequent dictatorship? Or is it just that he (*S*), needs to exist in order to be confronted with history and the present implications. He needs to exist so that memory (collective, historical and ultimately Mendes's own) can 'face' him. Yes, there is a need to understand. Yes, it is cathartic, there is a collective need to understand how a dictatorship could go on for 48 years, and yet Salazar's name has no such international resonance as Franco or Mussolini.

Halbwachs claims that there is no universal memory, that memory depends on a group, a community, and it is only in this community that collective memory can exist. When this memory is written, when it is recorded, it becomes historical, stretched onto universal. This happens when the memory becomes too distant, when the community that carried the collective memory no longer remains.

The purpose and intent of the artists mentioned above is to decode the existing memory, and to create a memory that corresponds to the one inherited from the first generation, a memory that is ideally faithful to the "truth" and free from the "silences" that have veiled it. Halbwachs treats memory as a living creature, nourished by the group or community, stating:

> History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. (…) History is a representation of the past. Memory, in so far as it is effective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it (…)[113]

This dichotomy between memory and history is present in many of the artists' works approached here. The pursuit of the historical and of *a* truth through acts of recollection (memory) is visible in the works of most artists analysed here. Being a construction to contain the universal, history belongs to no one and to everyone, whilst memory is personal and tremendously tendentious.

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[113] Rossington, Michael, and Anne Whitehead, eds. *Theories of Memory: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. p. 146

This may mean that one of the reasons for artists approaching the subject of the dictatorship at this time is because it might be the last chance to do so within the domain of memory and not that of history. While the group or community is still alive to maintain the memory and although the artist is not part of this group (for he did not live through the events personally), he is nevertheless close to it by a generation or family bond. *Lieux de mémoire* constitute the moment when living memory ceases to exist and history takes over. These *sites of memory* thus constitute the birth of archives, monuments and written history. Nora elucidates,

> The moment of *lieux de mémoire* occurs at the same time that the immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history.[114]

Artists intervene in the limbo - in the moment between - when collective memory still exists but archives have already been created and history has started being written. Pierre Nora states that modern memory is that of the archive and that it is dependent on the image:

> Modern memory, transformed by its passage through history, is associated with writing. It is the memory of the 'archive', and relies on 'the visibility of the image'[115]

Simultaneously, the archive is a place of remembering and forgetting, we place and delegate the "responsibility of remembering"[116] to the archive for disposing our memories. When artists recuperate and transform these archives, they are recovering memory as well as (re)framing it within contemporary context. For example, Manuel Botelho's work recovers the memories of soldiers of the colonial war whilst at the same time using objects (such as the AK47, soldiers' uniforms and several objects collected at flea markets) as representative of the archive. This archive works as one because it embodies the memory of the war. In turn, Botelho embodies the soldier and re-enacts the trauma of the war.

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[114] ibid p. 149

[115] Whitehead, *Memory*, 2009. p. 142

[116] Ibid p.143

All the artists mentioned here (the one's dealing with Portugal's past) have cathartic aspects to their approaches. This is one of the most relevant elements, the attempt, not only to understand but to try to make peace with the recent and formative history of the country and ultimately ourselves. Because it is an act of performance, there is an embodiment and a "personal" vessel of interpretation and reflection upon the past. Thus, the artists explored here do not simply reproduce images from the past but create images that reflect upon it through acts of remembrance and performance.

The absence of women from memory studies

Are any of the artists approaching female subjectivity or women's memory? There has been an extensive study by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro on women's testimonies during the colonial war[117] and in literature and cinema.[118] But where are these approaches in regard to the visual arts?

This is one of the key issues of this thesis: where are women's stories and testimonies in the visual arts? As Chedgzoy states:

> Yet women's contributions to cultural memory have scarcely been noted in the twentieth century's explosion of work on that subject: women are almost entirely absent from such key works in the field as Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory* series and the *Lieux de mémoire* project directed by Pierre Nora.[119]

It is the intention of the thesis to fill that gap in women's stories, specifically. As Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith poignantly observe,

> In a variety of ways, feminist theory can provide a valuable lens through which cultural memory may be studied. (…) Gender is an inescapable dimension of

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[117] Calafate Ribeiro, Margarida. *África No Feminino: As Mulheres Portuguesas e a Guerra Colonial*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2007.

[118] Cinema: Susana de Sousa Dias, Margarida Cardoso; Literature: Lída Jorge, Isabela Figueiredo, Dulce Maria Cardoso, Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, Irene Flunser Pimentel, Sofia Branco.

[119] Rossington, Michael, and Anne Whitehead, eds. *Theories of Memory: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. p.216

differential power relations, and cultural memory is always about the distribution of and contested claims to power.[120]

This lens is precisely what is missing from the works artist are pursuing in the realm of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonialism. Historical documents and archives were mostly built by men (male figures), who were the people in power to make them. In the private and reclusive universe of the home, where family albums were put together, it was the woman who constructed them. Does this mean that there is a matriarchal discourse embedded in the family albums? Can we then analyse these same albums thought a feminist theory framework? If so, it is perhaps through the family albums that one can re-collect memory from a non-patriarchal source. Jo Spence and Patricia Holland affirm:

> However, it is largely they (women) who have become the historians, the guardians of memory, selecting and preserving the family archive.[121]

The family albums, testimonies and all elements outside institutionalised or official apparatus, to the recollection of a matriarchal memory, can be ascertained. It is through them that the 'unofficial story' can be told, and herein lies the space for the female view.

> . . . we were constantly asked precisely what we meant by the conjunction of women and memory. Did we mean that memory is gendered, that there are memories that can be described as specifically feminine? Or did we want to explore what women can and cannot remember and why? . . . Are there conditions under which women are forbidden to remember? Who gives value to women's memories; who degrades or ignores them? Who are the carriers of family memories? Of public memories?'[122]

How female authors have used memory is an important focus of this work. The fact that family albums are mostly the domain of women makes them a good source for

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[120] ibid p.225

[121]Spence, Jo, and Patricia Holland. *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*. London: Virago, 1991. p.9

[122] Originally from: Lourie, Margaret, et al. *Women and Memory*. University of Michigan, 1987. *in* McDermott, Sinead. "Memory, Nostalgia, and Gender in A Thousand Acres." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (2002): 389–407.

finding the female perspective in relation to Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship. How to recall a time when women had no power socially or politically, and many rights were denied to them? How can the testimonies and archives of female experience be found when there are no inscriptions of female views? Looking specifically at the women portrayed in the family album may provide this information.

This chapter has provided an overall view on how artists have used, interpreted and appropriated archives, for both personal and social historical events. The study of artists' work is categorised in two different areas of practice, one approaching family albums, the other a specific period in Portuguese history. These two areas of research both inform and set the ground for the development of my own practice. Firstly, it can be established that archives are an important and valuable resource for historians and artists.

The first part of the study focused on artists appropriating their own family album and possibilities of method for the practice, such as how one inserts oneself into the family album, or how one uses oneself to replace those in the album. It can be concluded that the use and appropriation of the family album in the first category of works selected here was mostly concerned with identity issues: the identity of the portrayed and more importantly the identity of the artists which chose to include themselves (or replace family members) in the albums. The ways the appropriations of the archive are made are direct, in the sense that they mimic or re-enact the original image, or they insert their presence directly into the original archive image, in which case the family archive becomes public. In the case of Gillian Wearing and Rafael Goldchain's work, the images are a facsimile of the original archive images but the actual family photographs are never public.

The second part of this study was crucial to set the ground for the subject and inform the practice by knowing how artists have approached the history of Portuguese dictatorship and colonialism and more importantly, understanding why. These works were much more diverse and complex in the way the archives are appropriated and used by the artists. Although some of them also use their own image as a process of enactment, the purpose is more layered and complex than the understanding of their

own identity. It is more concerned with a cultural and historical formation of identity and as such, related to collective memory.

Not all the archives used are personal archives. Manuel Botelho, for example, built his archive from his collection of memorabilia. Paulo Mendes uses a mixture of personal and collected archives. Manuel Santos Maia's archive is personal as well as his approach to it. The subject is what relates to the collective history of the colonial and decolonisation period.

Understanding what has or has not yet been explored through artistic practice in this period in Portuguese history was crucial to the practice. It is clear that artists' approaches to archives are not intended to retell official historical narratives and that they are always tied to a subjective response. This subjectiveness is what gives rise to the contribution to knowledge. The second or third generation's subjectivity is a crucial element to be developed henceforth within the practice.

It is also concluded that there is a lack of women's perspective inscribed in this historical period within the visual arts, with most works being made by male artists and framed by their perspective.

In contrast, my practice is informed by the women's experience and framed by a feminist perspective. The lack of female inscription observed here is crucial to my approach to the archives and their subsequent interpretation. How these artists have chosen to relate themselves to the archive is also instructive to my own approach.

The next chapter considers the family archive and how to analyse it in order to understand what is contained in the Janeiro and Fernandes archives images and how they can be interpreted. These archives must be examined in detail, looking specifically at the images contained in it to develop a foundation for the performance work.

Project A The family albums
Fernandes archive

Fernandes archive, album Nau Portugal

Fernandes archive, brown album with flowers

Fernandes archive, the shoebox

Fernandes archive, the shoebox

Fernandes archive, shoebox, Fernandes couple envelope

Fernandes archive, shoebox, Maria Antonieta envelope

Janeiro archive

Janeiro archive, Japanese box
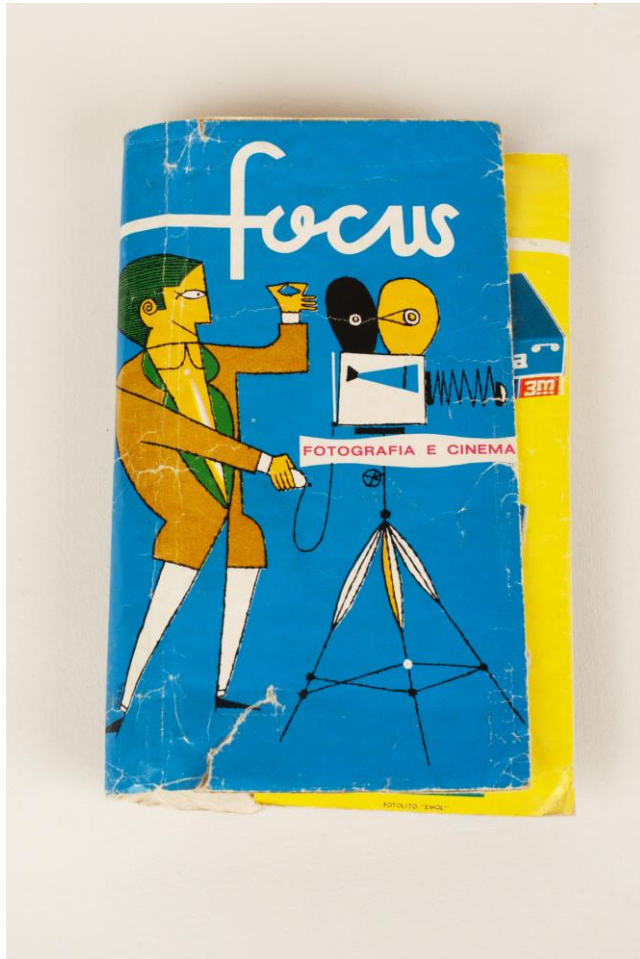
Janeiro archive, focus envelope

Janeiro archive, Ilda's blue box
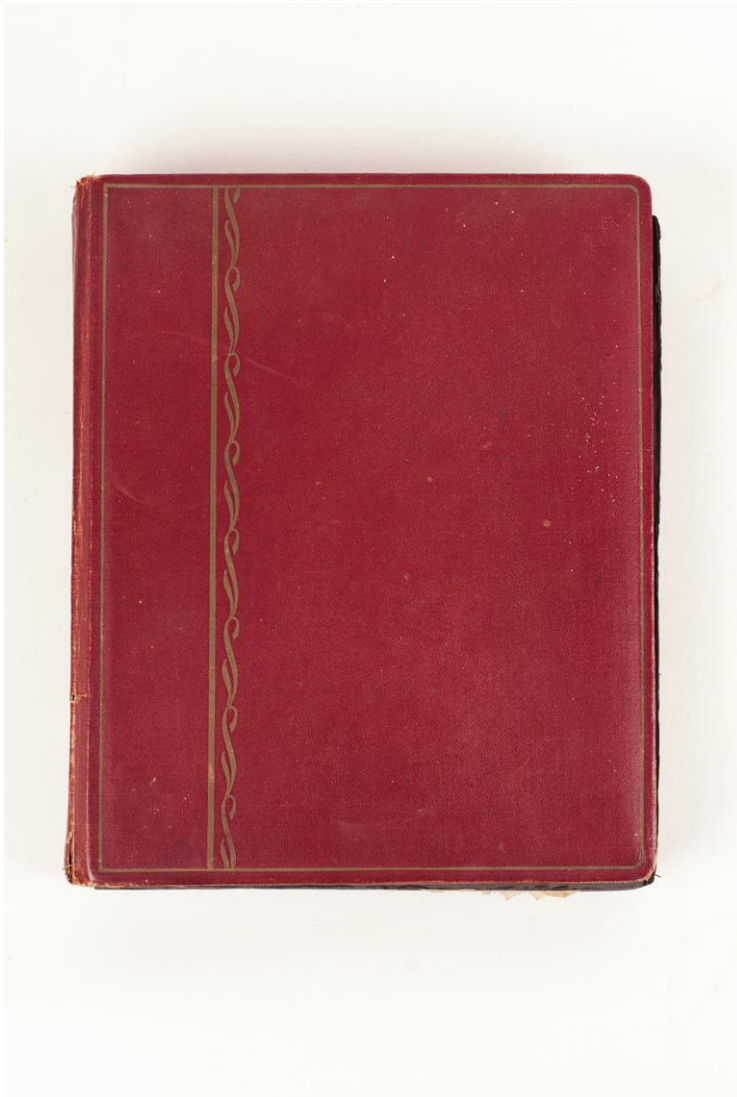
Janeiro archive, Ildas' album

Janeiro archive, Gisela's blue album
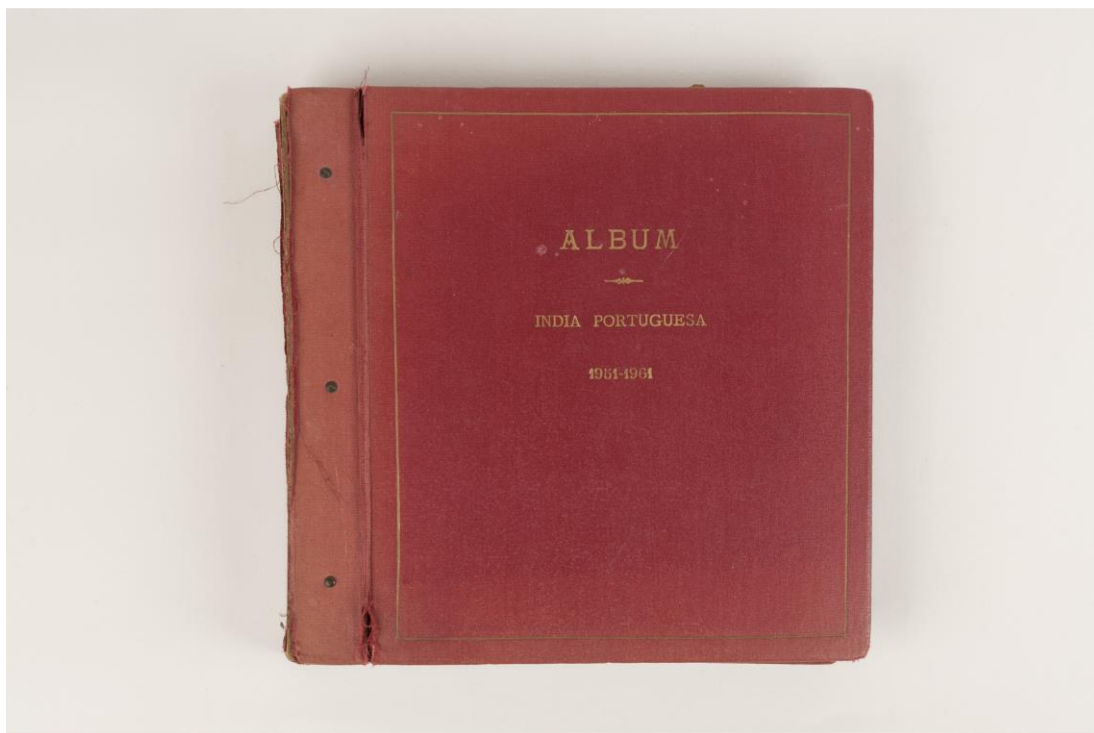
Janeiro archive, *Album India Portuguesa*

Janeiro archive, Mitó's blue album
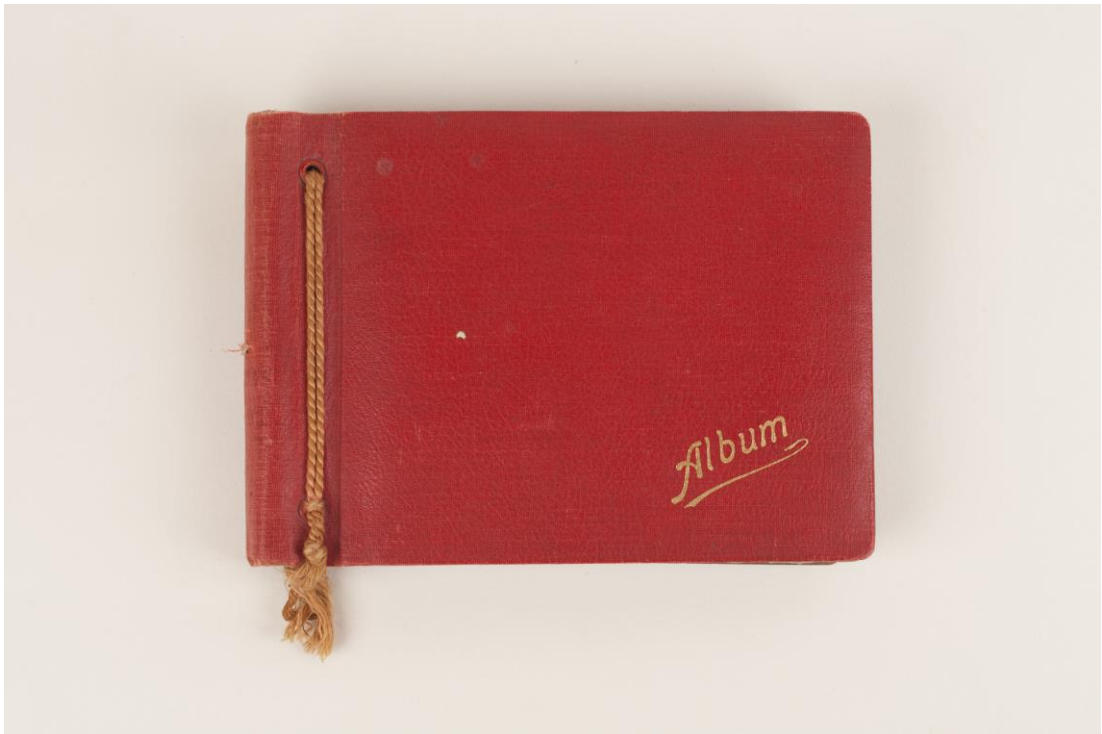
Janeiro archive, Mitó's red album
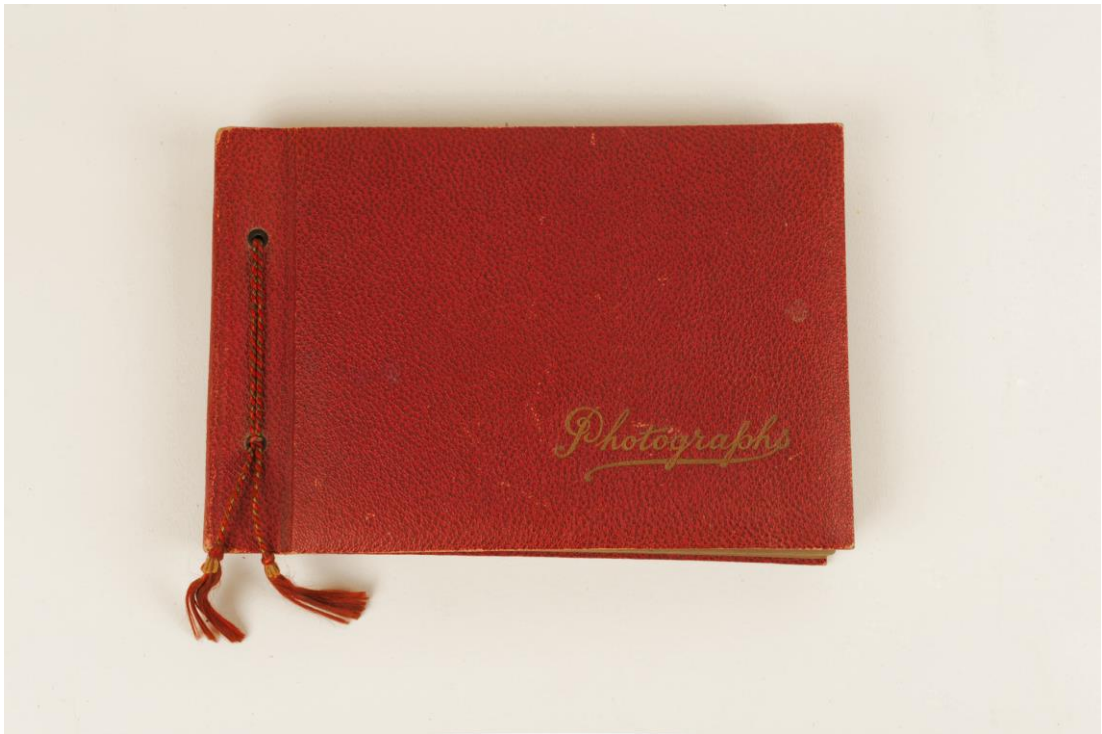
Janeiro archive, Jão's album
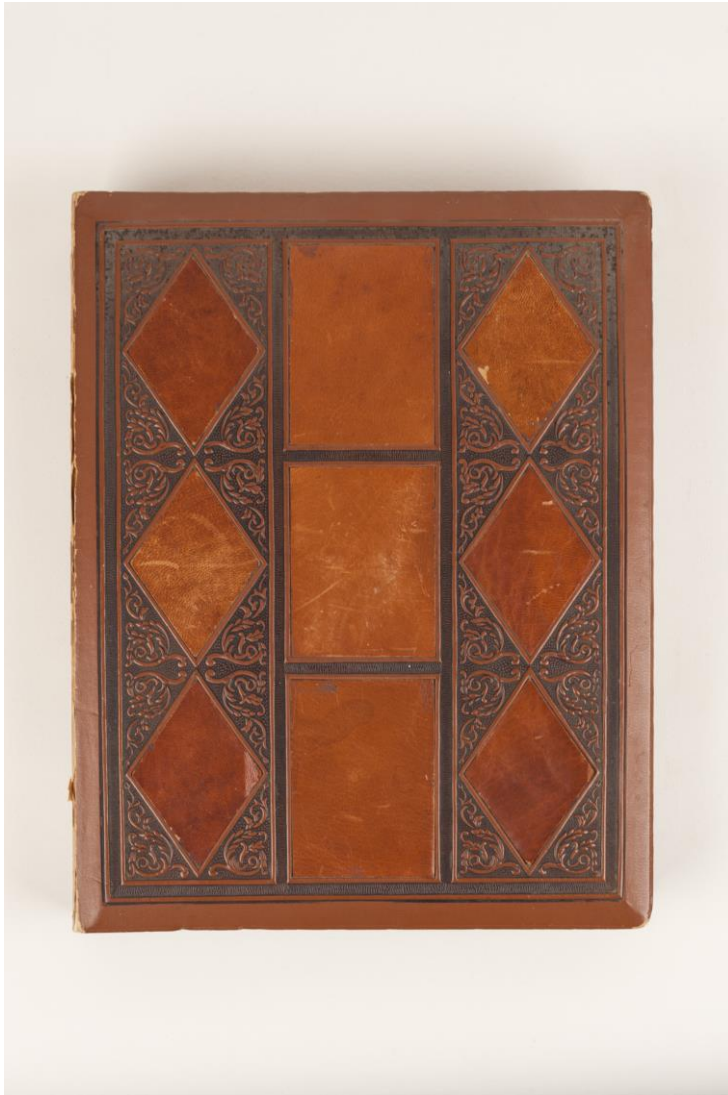
Janeiro archive, lozenge album Mozambique

Janeiro archive, brown album Mozambique
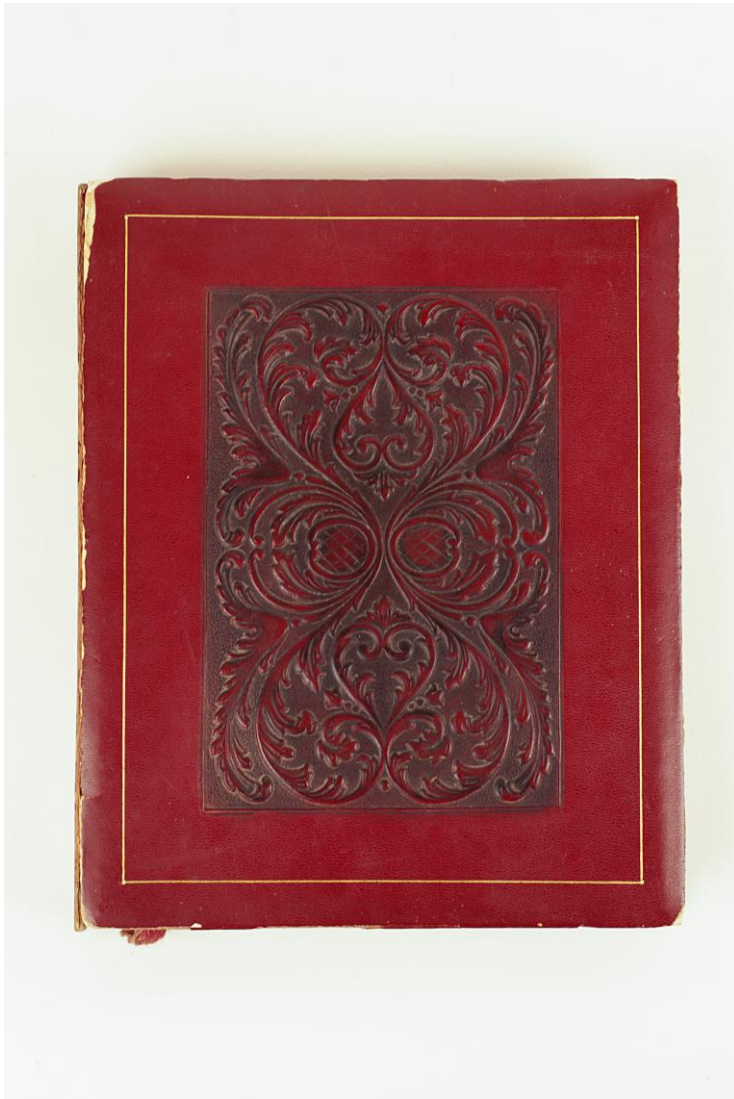
Janeiro archive, red album Mozambique

Janeiro archive, loose envelope

Janeiro archive, Milú's album

Janeiro archive, new album

> When we transfer this fictionalising impulse to the family context (…), we tend to move in two paradoxical ways. Either we crystallise family myths, keeping their *status quo* unchanged, or we question these myths and taboos, to find ourselves opening doors that have been shut for years.[123]
>
> *Catarina Mourão*

Chapter 2 Between history and memory, family albums

The method developed throughout the thesis is twofold: the analysis of an archive (family albums) and the re-interpretation of these archives through performance photography. Both these methods are informed by the theoretical research on Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship, archive(s), memory, family photography, self-portraiture, performance and feminism.

How can the family albums be analysed as an archive? What historical information can the images contain? How can the images be reorganised to reveal the context of the two women's lives?

The family albums: archive methodology

An analysis of the images from the family albums is made throughout this chapter. As already noted, the method for this investigation is divided into two stages. Firstly, there is an analysis of the family archives that consists of the study and re-organising (indexing) of the images. Secondly, after the archives are researched and analysed, they are reinterpreted through performance photography (chapter5).

Chapter one approached the literature on artists who intervene and appropriate archives in their practice. This chapter discusses methods for analysing the family archives. This analysis is divided into two parts: firstly, the analysis focuses on the two women (my grandmothers) and juxtaposes them, creating an index (iconographic

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[123] Mourão, Catarina. "The Wolf's Lair: Dreams and Fragmented Memories in a First-Person Essay Film." University of Edinburgh, 2016. p.84

index in appendix 1) that joins both archives together. Secondly, the family archives are analysed separately (chapter3) to create typologies of imagery.

This chapter focuses on the methodological possibilities in the interpretation of archives and on the juxtaposition of the two women.

The approach to the family albums takes into consideration that these albums form an existing archive. The theoretical background informs on the possibilities of how this archive could be approached. Maria Tamboukou's study of archives is fundamental in the research process and is referenced throughout this chapter. Tamboukou asserts that the researcher, the archive and its context are entangled in what she calls *intra-actions.*[124]

The narratives found in the archive are intrinsically connected and bound to my perspective as a woman, feminist researcher and photographer. More importantly, these archives contain the familial and are part of my own memories. Having been raised in a European country and with the second-hand memory/heritage of two former Portuguese overseas territories, the archives are read and analysed within this experience. What Tamboukou would call a *cartography of intra-actions* is then transferred to or revealed in the way the archive is reorganised. She states that:

> While working in the archive, the researcher is always creating an archive of her own, which gradually becomes part of wider fields and bodies of knowledge.[125]

The analysis of the family archives begins with a selection of photographs of both grandmothers (54 selected out of approximately 150). It is the contribution of two women, my grandmothers, which the thesis investigates in depth. Their contribution lies in the family albums, the testimony of their subjectivity and attestation of their lives. As Patrizia Di Bello states:

> … albums can sustain a detailed analysis beyond personal or family history.[126]

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[124] Tamboukou, Maria. "Archival Research: Unravelling Space/Time/Matter Entanglements and Fragments." *Qualitative Research* 0, no. 0 (2013): 1–17.

[125] ibid

[126] Di Bello, Patrizia. *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts*. Aldershot England; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007.

To remain objective in the analysis of one's own family archives, there is a need to develop a method that enables a certain distance. In a first instance, going through the family archives, which are mainly composed of family albums, it is easy to get lost in the familiarity of the images and the people in them. There needs to be a deliberate exhaustion of looking at the images to avoid dispersing in the memories ingrained in the photographs. My own familial gaze at the photographs needs to transform into an objective gaze. Only from the repetitiveness of going through the images over and over again comes the objectiveness and distance needed to analyse them. One needs to get past the familiarity of those portrayed to be able to see who, how or what is contained in the photographs. Thus stated, the process starts with the observation of both the family's albums. The repetition and exhaustion of observing the images is what enables pose and gesture to become apparent and emerge from the photographs, distancing them from personal memories, and to become objectified. It is by a process of repetition that the family album becomes an archive/ index. Once this happens, the criteria for analysing the archive and for building it becomes apparent. How can the images from two different families be viewed together, and how can an archive merging these two families be built? What information can derive from it?

Here is where the theory shapes and informs the process of the construction of a new archive (iconographic index in appendix). Repetition is an important factor throughout the thesis, not only in the process of analysing the archives but also in interpreting it and is a recurring subject throughout the thesis.

Family photography theory, particularly that of Annette Kuhn regarding what she calls *memory work* provided a starting point to build the archive. In her book *Family Secrets* Kuhn takes a set of protocols from Rosy Martin and Jo Spence's work on family photography and phototherapy. [127] Some of these criteria were about who had taken the photographs, for whom or what for, where the photographs were at present and who viewed them now.

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[127] Kuhn, Annette. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London and New York: Verso, 2002.

It became essential to create a form of identification of each image that would easily allow for the original to be found when necessary. The identification criterion was as follows: firstly, which archive it belongs to (Janeiro or Fernandes), secondly which album (the albums can be seen in chapter A- Family Albums) and finally an individual identification number was assigned to each image.

The origin of each image is carefully identified, which archive it belongs to, which album, box or envelope. This is important because the system by which the images were categorised or stored also provides valuable information. For example, in the Fernandes archive, the album identified as *Nau Portugal* is not an innocent symbol and contains more meaning than apparent. [128] *Nau Portugal* was a ship built in 1940 for the *Exposição do Mundo Português.*[129] Or in case of the Janeiro archive the album called *India Portuguesa* contains on the front cover the dates in which they lived there, 1951 to 1961.

Another important aspect is that in the Fernandes family a significant number of photographs were kept in a shoebox. This shoebox consists of carefully identified envelopes that contain the family photographs. The shoebox is an already existing archive.[130] The envelopes are organised according to who appears in the photographs, regardless of chronology. For example, there is an envelope identified as "Maria Antonieta", another as "mother Antonieta with 1 son", containing photographs of Antonieta and one of her sons (she had three sons) regardless of which son appeared in the photograph. So, was the archivist also present in the photographs and arranged/organised them accordingly? The shoebox was organised by Antonieta's husband, my grandfather (Mário). The fact that he constructed the family albums as an archive rather than the traditional arrangement of a family album

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[128] This was a ship built in 1940 as a facsimile to the vessels that made the route to India in the seventeenth century.

[129] The Portuguese World Exposition was an exhibition organised by the government to commemorate the anniversary of the Independence of Portugal (1140) and the restoration of independence (1640). This was an exhibition turned towards the celebration of the country's history and traditions. The architecture was monumental and neo classicist expressing the fascist ideology of the regime. It included a section dedicated to the colonies in Asia and Africa. Paulo Mendes has addressed this exhibition in his work *Saudade: Perfilados de medo* (addressed in chapter 1) in which he appropriates footage of the exhibition to critique it.

[130] See Project A The family albums

is an important aspect. He is an important part of the construction of the family archive and is referred to in more detail further in this chapter.

Figure 36 selecting the images from family archives

Figure 37 selecting images for Antonieta and Gisela juxtapositions

How can one take family photographic albums that contain a specific narrative structure and analyse them outside of this narrative? The images need to be taken apart from the album in order to be seen and organised following new criteria. The case study of this thesis encompasses albums from two different families.

How can the albums, which have similar narrative structures, be analysed within the scope of the questions made? Since the focus was on the two women, the investigation starts with them.

One of the first steps was to scan the images and identify them in the way discussed above. For this identification to be possible all the albums, including shoebox and envelopes and other boxes were photographed and later named (Project A The family albums). When and how the image was taken as well as the whole context surrounding the aesthetic and composition of the image was also part of Kuhn's

criteria.[131] These same criteria are used here, given that the objective of this study is the investigation of the lives of these two women and how the context they lived in consequently shaped the identity for the following generations, as well as the question of if and how these traces are visible in the family album photographs. Another question arises: how to make a selection of photographs from these two family's archives in a way that juxtaposes them and relates them to one another?

The first answer to these questions was to select images of my two grandmothers, leaving out any photographs in which neither was present. After the first selection of photographs was made, the images were scanned and printed. The selection criterion consists of images of either grandmother in which the physical presence (posture, activity, clothes) is relevant. The prints were laid out on a table to give an overall view of all the images simultaneously. This way they were separated from their original order and context, and freer associations and juxtapositions could be made from them. Throughout the selection process and careful observation of the photographs, certain poses have stood out.

As mentioned earlier, the prints were laid out on the table and organised chronologically. Then images were paired up, one from each family (Janeiro and Fernandes), creating juxtapositions and associations between them. The pairing of images was done according to criteria of chronology (being in the same timeframe), pose, activity or clothing. By pairing the images, a direct comparison could be made between the two women while looking at gesture, pose and activity. Both women are referred to by their first name, so the grandmother from the Fernandes archive is Antonieta and from the Janeiro archive, Gisela.

The fact that this new archive/index/iconography from the family albums is created physically, with new prints being made, was fundamental to the investigation. The physicality of holding the images and juxtaposing them with each other was something that could not be done virtually on the screen. Moreover, some images contain crucial information on the back such as the place, date and sometimes comments. The images that also contain information on the back are identified with

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[131] Kuhn, Annette. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London and New York: Verso, 2002.

an (a) at the end of the filename to indicate that there is a corresponding b-side to that image. After the juxtaposed images were paired, they were organised in a folder named 'iconographic index'. In this index, the images were organised chronologically.

Figure 38 showing iconographic index side a and b of prints

Since the main characters analysed in the photographs are women, an analysis of the significance of gesture and pose is crucial to this examination.[132] Pose and gesture become apparent as fundamental aspects of the images. Here Paul Connerton's views on performance and rituals are used to analyse the archives. The body language that can be seen in the images of Antonieta and Gisela (later in this chapter) is informed by these theories. This is one of the crucial elements in the investigation. In his text *How Societies Remember*, Connerton states:

> For instance, in one culture the correct seated posture for a woman may be with her legs drawn under her and to one side, and the correct seated posture for a man may be cross-legged. Little boys and girls will be corrected, verbally or by gesture, but most corrections will probably take the form of uttering phrases such as 'girls don't sit like that' or 'sit like a man'. (…) Postural behaviour, then, may be very highly structured and completely predictable,

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[132] Joan Riviere's text *Womanliness as a Masquerade* has revealed to be an important text to address further in the analysis of the family albums. *In* Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as a Masquerade." In *Gender*, edited by Anna Tripp, 130–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000.

even though it is neither verbalised nor consciously taught and may be so automatic that it is not even recognised as isolatable pieces of behaviour.[133]

These factors were taken into consideration whilst analysing in detail the photographs in the archives. This proved particularly relevant considering that these women lived during a dictatorship. There were many constraints on women, and many impositions on how a woman should behave and present herself. In such a patriarchal society, women's rights were few, and codes of conduct were restricting.

Context and concept

The methods for the practice are informed by the theoretical research on related subjects. Analysis of the archives is contextualised within their historical setting. Literature on the Portuguese dictatorship and on Portuguese colonialism primarily in the second half of the twentieth century is approached (chapter 4). Relevant fields of reference such as Family photography, Archive(s) and Memory are also addressed. Theories on the relationship between memory and gesture are particularly relevant. Jo Spence's extensive work on family photography and the self are an essential reference here. Specifically, family albums can be viewed as the ideal testimony from the female perspective because of the fact that they are primarily made by women:

> Because every image in the family album is a disavowal of everything else that could be in the family album. In this sense such images feed into the mythology of universal experience.[134]

Several different methods are used to analyse the archives. Maria Tamboukou, who has worked with archives extensively and is referred to throughout the investigation, argues that archival research is permeable to the circumstances of both the research

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[133] Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

[134] Spence, Jo. *Jo Spence: Beyond the Perfect Image- Photography, Subjectivity, Antagonism*. Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2005. p.98

and the researcher. Tamboukou's "narrative phenomenon",[135] in which the archive is never neutral, is crucial to this research. In addition, a research journal is used to narrate and record the investigation and analysis process. The investigation of the archives is also documented through photography (as an act of performance). The criteria for the analysis of the archives is defined through this process and registered within the journal. The analysis and selection of photographs from the family archives shown in section Antonieta and Gisela is made in an index (see appendix 1 - Iconographic index).

Tamboukou's methods for approaching and investigating archives are crucial and shaped the method for the study of the family archives. As she eloquently affirms:

> This brings me to the methodological theme of how the researcher prepares her visit to the archive, a crucial phase of doing archival research. Moreover, I am also looking into how the actual experience at the archive (no matter how well prepared) creates its own unique spatio-temporal dynamics that have a profound impact on the process of the research, on the writing of it and of course on the researcher herself.[136]

On one hand is the fact that she describes a specific dynamic between the archive and the researcher that is indivisible from who the researcher is, and that this researcher then becomes part of the narrative arisen form the archive. Suggesting that there is a "narrative phenomenon" that emerges between the researcher, the research object and the research context. [137] She claims:

> archives are not neutral sites within which researchers 'objectively' read, take notes and accumulate data.[138]

Tamboukou's narrative phenomenon, in which the researcher of the archive becomes 'part' of the process, together with the Raqs media collective theory on the

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[135] Term used in her text: Tamboukou, Maria. "Archival Research: Unravelling Space/Time/Matter Entanglements and Fragments." *Qualitative Research* 0, no. 0 (2013): 1–17.

[136] Tamboukou, Maria. "Archive Pleasures or Whose Time Is It?" *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12, no. 3 (2011).

[137] Term used in her text: Tamboukou, Maria. "Archival Research: Unravelling Space/Time/Matter Entanglements and Fragments." *Qualitative Research* 0, no. 0 (2013): 1–17.

[138] Tamboukou, "Archival Research: Unravelling", p.632

researcher being an actor on the archive's stage, are two of the methods used in this research. Tamboukou pertinently states that:

> …in the same way that we interpret voices we should perhaps start interpreting silences or, somehow, include them in our archives.[139]

These silences found in the archives are mentioned further on. The appropriation of the archive through artistic practice does not intend to remind us of the past, but as a reminder of what has been forgotten. Within this *narrative phenomenon* lies the subjectiveness mentioned earlier in chapter 1 as a crucial element to approaching archives.

It is paramount to take into consideration the time and context in which the albums were made and to understand how society viewed women. To that end, some examples of the Estado Novo regime's (1930-1974) propaganda aimed at women are given. Some of the poses found in the photographs from the family albums clearly resonate with the characteristic mentioned in "Womanliness as a Masquerade".[140] Some of the social, behavioural and etiquette rules imposed on women during the regime are stated in the 'Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina' pamphlets [141] such as this one, taken from the propaganda article titled "The ideal woman":

> ...to be a good housewife without pestering others with home affairs, understanding of other's likes and needs, affectionate towards the husband's family, discrete with her friends, frugal, sincere and loyal, well-tempered, kind, honest, confident, not a chatterbox and shouldn't wear 'lipstick'.[142]

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[139] Tamboukou, Maria. "Archive Pleasures or Whose Time Is It?" *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12, no. 3 (2011).

[140] Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as a Masquerade." In *Gender*, edited by Anna Tripp, 130–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000.

[141] Translated as 'Feminine Portuguese youth', it was the female branch of the juvenile organisation inspired by fascist youth organisations such as the Hitler youth and Opera Nazionale Balilla. Established in 1937 with the goal to create the new Portuguese woman: a good wife, mother, housewife. There were two propaganda publications: the Boletim da MPF (Portuguese Feminine Youth) and *Menina e Moça* (M&M) (Maiden and Modest).

[142] Pimentel, Irene. *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*. Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2007. [My translation]

Titles on the MPF [143] bulletin such as "Pity for the woman who works!" [144] were meant to discourage women from working and to stay at home taking care of the children and looking after their husbands. This was implemented for a number of reasons, for economic reasons due to the financial crisis, as well as ideological and religious reasons.

> Let men struggle with life away from home, outside.... And women defend it [life], cradling it in their arms, at home... [145]

A sentence pronounced by António de Oliveira Salazar reinforces the idea that the role of women should be played at home rather than joining the workforce alongside men. The rules of femininity were many, and clearly stated in the propaganda of EN. The representation of women, and how they ought to present themselves, was constructed and surveyed. Resonating with John Berger's famous statement:

> *Men act* and *women appear*. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of women in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object- and most particularly an object of vision: a sight.[146]

How can the images in the family albums - specifically the representation of Antonieta and Gisela - be re-read according to these constraints of femininity? John Berger's claim reiterates what was stated in "Womanliness as a Masquerade" [147] but takes it further. The masquerade is not only that which the woman represents of her femininity, but it is also a double reflection of what this femininity is bounced from the male eyes. The images of Antonieta and Gisela in the family albums are already a representation of their own femininity, which is to say they are the objects of vision

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[143] Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (Feminine Portuguese Youth)

[144] «Que pena da mulher que trabalha!», in Pimentel, Irene. *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*. Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2007. [my translation]

[145] «Deixemos o homem a lutar com a vida no exterior, na rua ...E a mulher a defendê-la, a trazê-la nos seus braços, no interior da casa ...» (Salazar, 1932).[145] In Pimentel, *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* [My translation].

[146] Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London, New York: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1973.

[147] Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as a Masquerade." In *Gender*, edited by Anna Tripp, 130–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000.

they intend to be - the sight, in the way they wish to be treated. What they project of themselves as their femininity may differ entirely. Indeed, this subject of the "masquerade of femininity"[148] was also approached by Luce Irigaray, who quotes:

> masquerade (la mascarade): An alienated or false version of femininity from the woman's awareness of the man's desire for her to be his other, the masquerade permits woman to experience desire not in her own right but as the man's desire situates her.[149]

From the male perspective, the woman becomes *other.* The gaze turns *self* into *other* "In this masquerade of femininity, the woman loses herself, and loses herself by playing on her femininity."[150] Here, this *other* replaces the *self* in the representation of femininity. The self has no room to exist in the surveyed woman. In her famous essay, Laura Mulvey claims that:

> The place of the look defines cinema (…) Going far beyond highlighting a woman's to-be-looked-at-ness, cinema builds the way she is to be looked at into the spectacle itself.[151]

In photography, like in cinema, this look (point of view) avows for specificity and control over the image of the woman. All this brings to light the following questions. Are the images of Antonieta and Gisela a dialogue between photographer and photographed? Does the subject being photographed (Antonieta/Gisela) pose specifically to control her image? *She* (woman) is always a surveyor of her own femininity. This is particularly relevant when the images discussed here correspond to a period of time lived under a dictatorship that was so imposing and restricting to women. The way they represented themselves (their femininity) was within the imposed strictures of femininity and womanliness. [152]

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[148] Irigaray, Luce. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. 6th ed. New York: Cornell University Press, 1985.

[149] ibid. p.220

[150] ibid

[151] Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In *Feminism Art Theory: An Anthology 1968-2014*, edited by Hilary Robinson. John Wiley & Sons, 2015.

[152] "A term which describes the construction of 'femaleness' by society and which connotes sexual attractiveness to men. Feminists are concerned about cultural definitions of femininity in the media which represent sex role stereotyping. (…) Both French and American writers suggest that 'femininity' is part of an ideology which positions' women as Other' against 'masculinity' which is regarded by

As mentioned above, different methods are used to analyse the photographs in the Albums. As Tamboukou observes:

> …working with letters as documents of life in narrative research raises a quite complex spectrum of questions around representation, context, truth, power, desire, identity, subjectivity, memory and ethics, questions that are now well identified and richly explored in the field of auto/biographical narratives…[153]

Issues of subjectivity can also be applied when working with archive photographs from family albums. Though they consist of non-verbal information, photographs contain precious information that can be categorised within these same characteristics.

The following section, *Antonieta and Gisela*, shows the selection of the juxtaposed images of the two women as contained in the iconographic index. It is important for the reader to experience these juxtapositions.

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society as the norm of human behaviour." In Humm, Maggie. *Dictionary of Feminist Theory*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.

[153]. Tamboukou, "Archive Pleasures", 2011.

Antonieta and Gisela

Figure 39 Antonieta, (unknown date) Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Maria Antonieta envelope

Figure 40 Gisela, Damão, India,1956 Janeiro archive, from Album India Portuguesa

Figure 41 Fernandes archive, from the brown album with flowers

Figure 42 Gisela and friend, Caparica, Portugal, 1941 Janeiro archive, from Gisela's blue album

Figure 43 Antonieta and friends, 1942 Fernandes archive, from the brown album with flowers

Figure 44 Gisela and friends, Caparica, Portugal, 1942 Janeiro archive, from Gisela's blue album

Figure 45 Antonieta and friend, unknown date Fernandes archive, from the brown album with flowers

Figure 46 Gisela and friend, Foz do Arelho, Portugal, 1947 Janeiro archive, from Gisela's blue album

Figure 47 Antonieta, 1945 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Maria Antonieta envelope

Figure 48 Gisela, Foz do Arelho, Portugal, 1947 Janeiro archive, from new album

Figure 49 Antonieta and future husband, Portugal May 3rd 1945. Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Casal Fernandes (Fernandes couple) envelope

Figure 50 Gisela and husband, newlywed, Portugal, August 1949 Janeiro archive, from new album

Figure 51 Antonieta, (unknown date) Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Maria Antonieta envelope

Figure 52 Gisela, Caldas da Rainha, 1947 Janeiro archive, from japonese box, focus envelope

Figure 53 Antonieta, (unknown date) Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Maria Antonieta
envelope

Figure 54 Gisela, 1949 Janeiro archive, from new album

Figure 55 Antonieta, (unknown date) Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Maria Antonieta envelope

Figure 56 Gisela, 1947 Janeiro archive, from japonese box, focus envelope

Figure 57 Wedding day Antonieta and Mário, December 21st 1947 Fernandes archive, from the brown album with flowers

Figure 58 Wedding day Gisela and Francisco, August 1st 1949 Janeiro archive, from new album

Figure 59 Wedding day Antonieta and Mário, December 21st 1947

Figure 60 Wedding day Gisela and Francisco, August 1st 1949 Janeiro archive, from new album

Figure 61 Coimbra, Portugal, July 1952 Fernandes archive, from the album Nau Portugal

Figure 62 "Faculdade de Direito" (Law School), June 1948 Janeiro archive, from new album

Figure 63 Antonieta, 1950 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 64 Gisela, 1950 Janeiro archive, from Ilda's blue box

Figure 651 c. 1950 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 66 On board the "India", April, 1951 Janeiro archive, loose envelope

Figure 67 Portugal, c.1952 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Familia Fernandes (Fernandes family) envelope

Figure 68 Goa, India 1952 Janeiro archive, loose envelope

Figure 69 May 1954 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 2 filhos" (Mother Antonieta with 2 sons) envelope

Figure 70 Caranzalém beach, Goa, India, March 1953 Janeiro archive, loose envelope

Figure 71 c1954 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 72 Caranzalém beach, Goa, India, October 1951 Janeiro archive, from Mitó's blue album

Figure 73 Lisbon, Portugal, May 1954 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 74 Daman, India, February 1954 Janeiro archive, from Milú's album

Figure 75 c.54 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 2 filhos" (Mother Antonieta with 2 sons) envelope

Figure 76 Caranzalém beach, Goa, India March 1953 Janeiro archive, loose envelope

Figure 77 October 1952 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 78 Goa, In dia, October 1951 Janeiro archive, from Mitó's red album

Figure 79 1953 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 80 Goa, India, 1952 Janeiro archive, from Jão's album

Figure 81 c.1953 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 2 filhos" (Mother Antonieta with 2 sons) envelope

Figure 82 Goa, India, February 1952 Janeiro archive, from Jão's album

Figure 83 1951 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Mãe Antonieta com 1 filho" (Mother Antonieta with 1 son) envelope

Figure 84 On board the India, April 1951 Janeiro archive, from Mitó's red album

Figure 85   unknown date Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, Casal Fernandes (Fernandes couple) envelope

Figure 86 Goa, India 1957 Janeiro archive, from Album India Portuguesa

Figure 87August 1961 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Família Fernandes" (Fernandes family) envelope

Figure 88 Queluz palace, September 1961 Janeiro archive, from Ildas' blue box

Figure 89 Algueirão, Portugal (unknown date) Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Casal Fernandes" (Fernandes couple) envelope

Figure 90 Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1968 Janeiro archive, red album Mozambique

Figure 91 Algueirão, Portugal, 1965 Fernandes archive, from the shoebox, "Casal Fernandes" (Fernandes couple) envelope

Figure 92 Lourenço Marques, Moçambique,1966 Janeiro archive, red album Mozambique

Analysis of the family albums

Analysis of the photographs reveals a number of salient details. This section discusses some of these findings. A more detailed commentary/observation is made on selected images in the following section. Pairings of images are observed and commented within content and iconographic analysis. Details about pose and gesture stood out, such as a crossing of the arms and legs revealing either easiness or a carefully constructed pose. Other details such as Gisela wearing trousers (Figure 48) can be found in many of the photographs, as opposed to the photos of Antonieta, in which not a single image is found. Likewise, leisure images at the beach show Gisela wearing a swimsuit and often in the water, whereas Antonieta always appears fully clothed. (Figure 93, Figure 94)

Figure 93
archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria
antonieta c_1filho_005_a

Figure 94 archive_janeiro_album azul
mitó_001_a

Other details emerge, such as the wearing of lipstick, which was mentioned in one of the MPF bulletins about the ideal woman not wearing any.[154] Antonieta is not seen wearing make up in any of the photographs, not even on her wedding photograph, whereas Gisela can be seen to be wearing it in quite a lot of them.

During the selection and analysis of the photographs certain elements became recurrent. One of the elements which persistently appeared throughout the Fernandes archive is the fact that Antonieta is always bending down. Throughout the

[154] Pimentel, *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, 2007.

images she appears to have a hump on her back from being in this position so often. Project B, Antonieta bending is dedicated to the careful observation of some of these images. The fact she started to develop a hump was probably caused by attending to the children and a life dedicated to serving others. It is a decoding of the images and a digging for the hidden layers contained in them that are revealed by this analysis. It becomes a sort of metaphor, the physically bent body, caused by a life of attending to others.

This form of analysis of a family archive creates a taxonomy from which the images are to be read and decodified. In a sense it creates a new archive that intertwines the Fernandes and the Janeiro archive together. The pairing of an image of Gisela and of Antonieta together is itself a new archive/ index.

From this index, the juxtapositions of Antonieta and Gisela revealed interesting information. One of the characteristics observed is an overall easiness in Gisela's poses in contrast to the highly constricted and possibly constructed poses of Antonieta. Another interesting aspect revealed was the husband-wife relationship apparent in some of the imagery. For example, the two images below (Figure 95, Figure 96) provide a very interesting juxtaposition.

Figure 95
archive_Fernandes_shoebox_casal fernandes_001

Figure 96
archive_janeiro_album_novo_014_a

In the first image (Figure 95) Mário and Antonieta are sitting on a wall. Mário, sitting on a higher part of the wall is looking directly at the camera. Antonieta is sitting lower than him with her legs crossed and right elbow on Mário's leg and is looking at him enraptured. In the second image (Figure 96) Gisela is also sitting on a wall, only this wall is higher than the one viewed in the first image. Francisco is standing next to her, but because of the height of the wall, Gisela stands slightly higher than him. Gisela is looking straight at the camera while Francisco is looking at her smiling. The opposition found in these two images is revealing of slightly different husband- wife relationships. The husband and wife being photographed one slightly higher than the other is found in a few more examples in the archive, such as Figure 97, Figure 98.

Figure 97
archive_Fernandes_album_nauPortugal_001

Figure 98
archive_Janeiro_album_novo_005_a

Another interesting example is found in the juxtaposition of Figure 99 and Figure 100 where Mário can be seen posing with his arm supported on Antonieta's shoulder. Antonieta is leaning her arm on a tree and her head is slightly tilted towards Mário. This striking image transmits a sense of submission from the wife towards her husband. The juxtaposed image, from the Janeiro archive, shows Francisco and Gisela in practically symmetrical poses, mirroring each other, symbolizing an equality between them.

Figure 99 archive_fernandes_shoebox_casal fernandes_004_a

Figure 100 archive_janeiro_(d_paula_a_002)

The ease in opposition to the restraint found in many of the poses as well as the husband-wife relationship can be observed in many of the photographs. As a result of this research, I argue that these differences, evident in the imagery, are caused by the cultural differences lived in their different locations. Furthermore, these differences can be observed in various juxtapositions, as will be demonstrated in chapter 3. While the sentences mentioned above regarding the Feminine Portuguese Youth serve as a framework to better understand the roles imposed on women at the time, [155] the analysis made in this chapter provides some answers: the family albums do offer information regarding the influence of the diverse settings on the two women.

There are visible differences to be found on how each woman presents herself towards the camera, namely through pose and gesture. The method used by juxtaposing the images of the two women revealed to be fruitful; there were many conclusions to be drawn from the juxtapositions.

The method used here to analyse the photographs was thorough in identifying all images of the two women. In a second stage these images were aligned chronologically side by side (Janeiro and Fernandes) in order to create pairings of images. This fundamental part of the method allowed the findings described above.

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[155] Pimentel, *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, 2007. For more detailed information see footnote 120.

The composition of the images was also a salient feature that became evident in this analysis and is investigated further in chapter 3.

The next chapter (3) looks at the family albums by re-analysing them from a different set of criteria. As mentioned above, different juxtapositions and groupings of images show what and how the composition of the images was influenced by life in the dictatorial regime.

Chapter 4, *The family albums within Portuguese history* also helps decodify some of the issues around the construction of these images and the roles of women in Portuguese society at the time.

Project B Antonieta bending

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (008)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (012)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 2 sons (008)

Shoebox, Simões Family (001)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (006)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 2 sons (003)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (003)   Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (001)

Shoebox, Regino Cruz family (001)   Shoebox, Maria Antonieta (001)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (026)   Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (024)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 2 sons (010)   Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (015)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (010)   Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 1 son (019)

Shoebox, Maria Antonieta with 2 sons (019)   Shoebox, Maria Antonieta (021)

More than any other, the Age of Empire cries out for demystification, just because we (..) are no longer in it, but do not know how much of it is still in us.[156]

Eric Hobsbawm

Chapter 3 Remaking the family album: from mainland to overseas

A revisiting of the family archives was necessary to establish the cultural context in which the images were taken. The first analysis of the archives (chapter 2) focused on Antonieta and Gisela and on the specificity of their gestures. So, in a sense, it was an investigation into the same aspects in both family albums. Both albums were analysed in terms of the gestures of the two women in the photographs and what can be read from them.

This second analysis investigates different elements, and although gesture is always an element to look at, the scope has expanded from being solely of the two women, to include other family members. The observation is based on a conventional form of analysis of content rather than on a method for analysing images.

I am looking for specific things in each of the Janeiro and the Fernandes family albums. Whilst in the Janeiro album I am looking for elements of life overseas, in the Fernandes album I am seeking something that perhaps was less tangible: the vestiges of life in a dictatorship/dictatorial regime. How can these vestiges be found in a family album? Can a dictatorship leave its imprint in a family album? What is there to look for?

It was necessary to start afresh and go through the family albums once again, photograph by photograph. Going through the archives again, after such a long time, was slightly similar to the rereading of a novel. There are things found which were not seen before. It was, in a sense, as if I knew the characters and the storyline, but

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[156] Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.

the places seemed different, with new characters I had not noticed before, and details that had not caught my attention the first time. The analysis expanded to my grandfathers and their children, sometimes also including their parents (my great grandparents) and their friends.

In the second analysis of the family archives a different method was used. Instead of pairing images from the two families' archives together against each other, Fernandes and Janeiro, the family archives were organised and analysed separately. The method consists in establishing typologies from which the images can be studied and analysed. Certain elements only become clear or visible when the element of repetition appears. By regrouping the photographs from the family album, organising them in a different way from the original family albums, elements such as pose and *mise en scène* become visible.

In the Fernandes album one of the most striking findings are the carefully orchestrated poses for each photograph. Not simply that a certain rigidity in the staging of these photographs can be found, but that their poses are geometrical and often symmetrical. Certainly, more relaxed and carefree poses can be found at family outings, especially picnics, where Antonieta can be seen mostly in her apron and often attending to others. The pose and the *mise en scène* constitute the most relevant aspects for the typology of photograph groups. As Roland Barthes describes in Camera Lucida:

> … what founds the nature of Photography is the pose. The physical duration of this pose is of little consequence; even in the interval the millionth of a second (…) there has still been a pose…[157]

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[157] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 2000. p.78.

It is in the pose that this investigation begins. Recently, more photographs of the family archive (Fernandes) were found by my father in my grandmother's house,[158] several envelopes and photo frames containing more family photographs. These new elements that belong to the family archive were scattered around different parts of the house. Some were found in drawers in my grandfather's office, others were in a cupboard organised in envelopes much like the shoebox. Most photographs are from the 1920s and 1930s but many more are from the 1940s and 1950s, in the time span of this investigation.

Mário, my grandfather, was a natural born collector and archivist.[159] In his office at home, there were drawers full of postcards, organised just like in the shoebox of family photographs, inside envelopes identified by place and subject. Other drawers contained archive files on films (see figure1). All around their house were boxes full of items such as bottle caps, or empty jars, everything neatly boxed and organised. With the selling of the house everything was removed and divided among siblings or simply thrown away. In Walter Benjamin's words:

> But one thing should be noted: the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner. (…). Only in extinction is the collector comprehended.[160]

This sentence resonated with my grandfather's home and the collections that were disassembled and dismantled by my father and uncles. For them, there was no point in maintaining these collections, only my grandfather could bring them to life:

> …ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them.[161]

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[158] My grandmother's house (Antonieta's) is to be sold, and so my father, uncles and grandmother have been emptying the house.

[159] In the Roget's Thesaurus, under the entry archivist, are the following terms: recordist, register, proto-notary; archivist, documentalist; librarian; clerk, record clerk; keeper, accountant; scribe, Scribner; scorekeeper, timekeeper

[160] Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books, 2007.

[161] ibid

My grandfather was obviously driven by an urge to collect and organise, turning most possessions into archives. The one collection that still exists and is still an archive are the family albums. This, in effect, is only so because of this investigation, because of my own need to possess this archive for research. Most probably, once this investigation ceases, so will the albums as a collection. Quoting Benjamin once more:

> Actually, inheritance is the soundest way of acquiring a collection. (…) Thus it is, in the highest sense, the attitude of an heir, and the most distinguished trait of a collection will always be its transmissibility.[162]

Figure 101 Mario's films archive in his office at home

One of the most incredible findings in this recently discovered archive are two photographs of Antonieta at the beach in a bathing suit. This important finding is discussed further on in this chapter.

This second reading of the archives begins with the intention to find, in the Janeiro archive, images that reflect life in the overseas territories, in an attempt to find traces or vestiges and aspects of colonial life. Some elements are more palpable such as the presence of the aiás in the photographs of the children, my mother and aunts, or with

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[162] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 2007.

the locations of the photographs in places such as tropical balconies or tropical landscapes.[163] Mostly what I have been able to conclude from observing the Janeiro archive, especially the period they spent in Portuguese India (between 1951-1961) was the carefree manner in which the photographs were taken. Although it is clear that they are posing for the photographs, their gestures appear to be more relaxed. Even in the carefully posed photographs of the children's birthdays (mother and two aunts) it is clear from observation that there is a relaxed and carefree mood.

The next section of this chapter, as well as chapter 2, comprises the exact contents of the iconographic index.[164] The following section contains the images that make up the iconographic index's second analysis. The groups of images form typologies of images with similar characteristics. To better understand the contents and observations from these juxtapositions, each group of photographs is commented on its observations.

[163]*Aiás* is name given to the nannies in Portuguese India
[164] The differences lie only in the layout of the images, which was altered for better reading.

Antonieta in swimsuit - the impossible images

Figure 102 archive_fernandes_blue envelope_envelope1_20meses_001_a

Figure 103 archive_fernandes_blue envelope_envelope1_20meses_002_a

These two images (Figure *102*, Figure *103*) appeared later, with the discovery of more family photographs and a new set of archive envelopes. Throughout the time I had been researching these archives, no images of Antonieta in a swimsuit were ever found in the family albums. There were a large number of photographs with Antonieta at the beach, but in all of them, she is fully clothed.

This was, in fact, one of the crucial points that had been made earlier in this chapter, a comparison between one of them wearing swimsuit (and swimming) and the other(of Antonieta) not.

With the discovery of these two images, the hypothesis on the reasons for the absence of the use of a bathing suit was rendered untenable. At the same time, it was also a revelation, as if these were impossible images: they provoked a mixture of revelation and denial. The images that provided evidence for the differences between Antonieta and Gisela were now contradicted. These photographs were images I had only imagined in my mind, but I never believed they could exist. It was as if the images that had only been imagined now magically appeared.

Recently, I showed Antonieta the two images of her in a swimsuit,[165] at first, she asked who it was. She did not recognise herself. She asked where I had found the photographs and said that she had never seen them before.

Was it perhaps because she was so young in them, or more likely, because she was in fact in a swimsuit? She herself confirmed that that was something quite rare. She claimed she rarely wore a bathing suit. She would usually take the children to the beach and it was her habit to be fully clothed in this activity. When asked whether or not she would go into the water, if she would go swimming, she replied she would only go if her husband would go into the water, otherwise she would not.

Antonieta's reaction to these photographs reminded me of Roland Barthes' comment:

> One day I received from a photographer a picture of myself which I could not remember being taken, for all my efforts; I inspected the tie, the sweater, to discover in what circumstances I had worn them; to no avail. And yet, because it was a photograph I could not deny that I had been there (even if I did not know where).[166]

The fact that these images were not in the shoebox or family albums is also relevant to their exceptional characteristics. The only existing images of Antonieta in a swimsuit were 'hidden' from sight, away from the family album.

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[165] I was able to show photographs to Antonieta (the only living grandparent at the moment of this investigation) and get a first-hand impression, (she is a direct witness) on some of the events portrayed in the photographs. Antonieta can provide meanings in the photographs that I cannot. At the beginning of this research, I wondered whether or not I should approach her, for I am trying to assert meaning from the photographs and by involving her I am getting information which is not solely provided by the images. I questioned myself whether it would be methodologically ethical to do so. I decided to analyse the images myself and only afterwards would I ask her for any extra information. She will not be around much longer and perhaps some questions would otherwise remain unanswered forever.

[166] Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 2000, p.85.
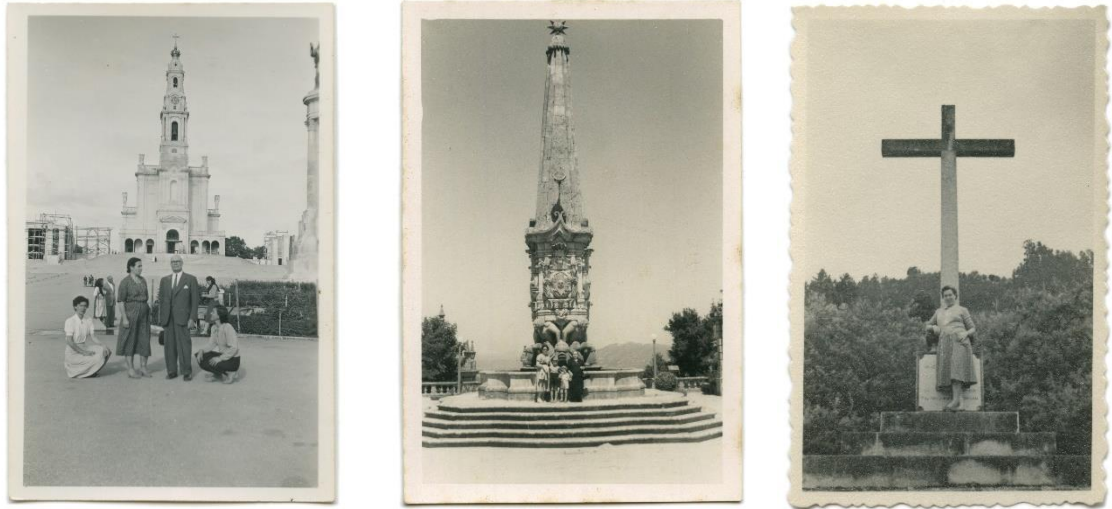
Figure 104 archive_fernandes_tebe box_011a

Figure 105 archive_fernandes_blue envelope_envelope2_001

Figure 106 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta_012

At first, because the photographs are scattered throughout the Fernandes family archive, there is nothing obvious about them to make them stand out. It is the repetition of the vertical figures centred in the image, and the low angle shot, that makes these relevant as a group.

The obelisk shape is always photographed either fully frontal, or at three quarters, with the people standing right in front of it, and looking straight at the camera. Either Antonieta or a group of people can be seen in the photographs. In Figure *104*, although neither Antonieta nor Mário are in the picture, taken at the Nossa senhora de Fátima sanctuary[167] the symmetrical, staged, almost theatrical pose is far too interesting to disregard it. The man, Antonieta's father, is looking straight at the camera. His wife photographed at three-quarter angle, is looking at him. Both mother and father are framed sideways by two squatting women.

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[167] The Sanctuary of Our Lady of Fátima is one of the most famous Catholic sanctuaries in Portugal. Located in Cova da Iria, in the civil parish of Fátima, in the municipality of Ourém, in Portugal, near which the Marian Apparitions occurred, where three children (Lúcia Santos and her cousins, Jacinta and Francisco Marto) were first visited by the Virgin Mary in 1971. It is a place of Roman Catholic pilgrimage.

The location of this photograph is also of great importance because it is at the location of the Fatima apparition, which is an important episode in the history of the Portuguese dictatorship and its connection with the Catholic Church. The symbols used in propaganda correlate to the settings depicted here. David Corkill and José Almeida state:

> By focusing on three symbols: 'O castelo, a igreja e o mosteiro' an attempt was made to reinforce the association between political power, religious authority and faith.[168]

The vertical elements, which are visible in all the images above, are either religious or symbols of the nation. This iconography is further investigated in chapter 4.

Figure 107 archive_fernandes_blue envelope_envelope3_002a

Figure 108 archive_fernandes_album_nauPortugal_005a

Figure 109 archive_fernandes_shoebox_seia_001

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[168] Corkill, David, and José Almeida. "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940." *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 3 (2009). p.385

Two horizontal lines

Figure 110 archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia cruz_002

Figure 111 archive_fernandes_large envelope diversos_001

This group of photographs stands out because of the clear division between two horizontal lines formed by two groups of people. In most of them, one of these groups is formed by men and the other by women. In three of the images the men are standing up in a line, whilst the women are sitting down in a line straight below them.

If one were to draw two imaginary lines, one for the male and the other for the female figures, they would consist of vertical and horizontal lines. The female groups are composed mostly of horizontal lines whilst the man horizontal and vertical.

Figure 112 archive_fernandes_tebe box_005_a

Figure 113 archive_fernandes_tebe box_009_a

Figure 114 archive_fernandes_tebe box_008_a

Figure 115 archive_fernandes_tebe box_010_a

Geometry in the pose

This ensemble of images is composed by curious symmetrical and geometrical poses. There was an obvious care with the composition and framing of the images. There are several images in the photo albums in this location, which appears to be a windmill water pump. The grid-like frame of the metallic structure enabled for more layered compositions. In the first image (Figure *116*) composed only of young girls, the ensemble of their bodies forms a cross-like shape. In the second one (Figure *117*) vertical and horizontal lines are visible again, where the vertical one is formed by two men, one on top and one at the bottom.

Figure 116 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_007

Figure 117 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_009

In the images below (Figure *118*, Figure *119*) the composition is formed by three people. Again, a very symmetrical configuration is seen. The three girls in dresses are holding onto the gate, and the three soldiers, lined up, are photographed from a low vantage point.

Figure 118 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_008

Figure 119 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_013

W

In most of the group photographs in the family album there is visible care given to the poses. The way in which people are set up amongst each other, posing for the photograph, is highly structured and self-organised. In three of these photographs there is a W shape formed by the place of each sitter. If I draw over the sitter's heads with tracing paper a W shape appears (see iconographic index in appendix). Perhaps this is simply an interesting composition of two inverted triangular shapes, or perhaps an influence of Hollywood aquamusical cinema, which was quite popular in Portugal during the 1940's and 1950's.

Figure 120 archive_fernandes_tebe box_006

Figure 121 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_003

In some photographs a very structured symmetry can be seen, especially in images Figure *120* and Figure *121*. In Figure *120*, two men and two women can be seen, the men are framing the two women, who are in the centre of this ensemble. Both men are holding the trunk of the tree behind the women creating a triangle-like shape above their heads. In Figure *121* the sitters create a curve-like shape. Again, the man is in the centre with three women on each side.

Figure 122 archive_fernandes_album_nauPortugal_007

Figure 123 archive_fernandes_tebe box_003

The rigidity and highly defined structure of the poses reflect a certain self-constraint from the sitters posing in the photographs. The symmetry is quite remarkable in these images with, perhaps, the exception of Figure *125*, where the two mothers hold their children by the hand and a fifth figure (on Antonieta's left side, possibly her maid) is the only element that breaks the symmetry of the composition.

Figure 124 archive_fernandes_shoebox_avós cruz_001a

Figure 125 archive_fernandes_blue envelope_envelope3_001_a

Portrait at three quarters unbalanced photograph

In these photographs there are always three members of the family portrayed, two women and one man: mother with son and daughter, or mother and father with daughter. In all of them the man is always in a higher position. The women are usually sitting down, apart from one of the images, where the mother is framed by the son and daughter on either side (Figure *127*). In most of the images they are photographed at three quarters and from a low vantage point.

Figure 126 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_031

Figure 127 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_016

Figure 128 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_030

Figure 129 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_029

In Figure *128* there is a strange tension, daughter (Antonieta) is sitting between father and mother, father is the only one standing, but mother is sitting slightly higher than Antonieta. What is eerie about this image is that Antonieta is leaning away from her father in what seems to be very tense and uncomfortable position. This is the element that gives a strange tension to the image. It can be interpreted as a sign of the paternalistic society, in which women had a lesser voice, less power and were subjugated to the will of man (father or husband).[169] The structure of the family, as will be developed further in chapter 3, consisted of a strong hierarchy, where men were the head of the family (legally controlling the family's property, finances and political life) and women were mostly restricted to the roles of wife, mother and housewife. Mother and daughter, when sitting, always have their hands on their lap.

The triangle/pyramid

The composition made by the sitters always forms a triangle shape. In two of the images there is a double exposure, probably due to the reloading of already used film (Figure *131* and Figure *133*). Mário is the tip of the triangle except in one of the images, where Antonieta forms the tip of the triangle, and mother and father compose the base of the triangle.

Figure 130 archive_fernandes_shoebox_pai mario_002_A
Figure 131 archive_fernandes_album_nauPortugal_001

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[169] During the regime women had restricted rights under the law. Under the pretext of the *nature of woman,* the New State restricted the right to own property, to vote and to travel overseas, which a woman could only do with the consent of father or husband.

Figure 132 archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia cruz_006_a

Figure 133 archive_fernandes_album_nauPortugal_008_a

In Figure *133* with Mário at the top and father straight below him, there is a diamond shape also visible, and again, the two men form a vertical line and the women a horizontal one.

The highly staged character of the images is exacerbated by this very clear triangle/pyramid shape. The symbolism of the triangle is quite a complex one, associated with the number three, which has a significant number of meanings (many of which are religious, such as the holy trinity in Catholicism.) When the tip of the triangle is pointing upwards (as is the case in the images here) it symbolises fire and the male sex. When the triangle is equilateral it represents harmony and morality. It is also the base of the pyramid. In the images presented here, this triangle shape can be interpreted as hierarchy and masculinity.

Figure 134 archive_fernandes_tebe box_negs_002

Figure 135 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_033

What links all these images together, the element that creates an association between them, is their highly constructed pose. In the images at the top, all the elements are in a row, posing in an orderly fashion. Whether acting as washerwomen or mimicking each other's pose, the postures are somewhat stiff and controlled. Although the posing is clearly informal, the highly organised way the subjects are posing gives a formal look to the images.

Figure 136 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_020

Figure 137 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_004

In the images below (Figure *138*, Figure *139*) three girls in floral patterned dresses, hold each other's hands, intertwining each other. In these, there is always a symmetry in the poses, and each girl always takes the same relative place.

Again, this posing is reminiscent of Hollywood aquamusical choreography, or a Busby Berkeley film. Moreover, the intertwining of the girls' arms acts as a symbol of friendship and intimate connection between them.
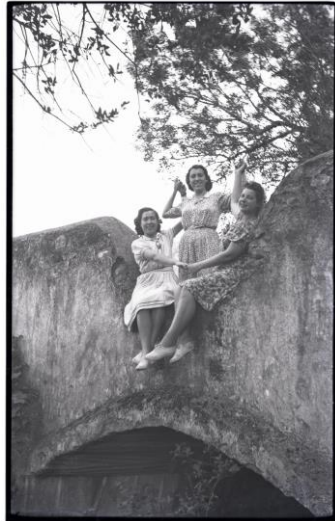
Figure 138 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_008

Figure 139 Fernandes_shoebox_negs_007

Friends and family

The groups in each photograph are formed by friends and family members, and the poses are slightly more carefree than in the group photographs seen previously. The rigid structure found in the previous images is not found here.

Figure 1402 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_037
Figure 141 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_035

Men and women pose for the camera. In the two images where the two men are present, a slight diagonal descending from right to left can be seen (Figure *141*, Figure *142*). In the other two there is only one man present and he is always slightly outside the group of women.

archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_034

Figure 142 archive_fernandes_tebe box_007a
Figure 143 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_034

In the last image Figure *143* the four women are sitting with their left arms on the table, looking slightly to the left. The only man in the picture (Antonieta's brother) is standing above them.

Leisure and picnics

Most of the photographs in this group are family outings or picnics. There is a more relaxed feeling in these images, whether in the framing of the photographs or the pose that the sitters take. In some of the images, they seem unaware that they are being photographed. Pierre Bourdieu, on family photographing during the holidays claims that:

> If the proportion of practitioners is higher among those who have had summer holidays than among those who have not, this is probably partly due to the fact that photographic practice, like the opportunity of taking holidays, is related to income, but also and particularly because of the fact that the holiday is one of the high points of family life.[170]

The father (Antonieta's) is always in a suit and tie and is dressed this way even on outings to the beach, as will be seen in the following sets of photographs.

In most of the images Antonieta is always bending down or attending to others (as can be seen in Project B-Antonieta bending).

Figure 144 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_025
Figure 145 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_010

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[170] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*. Cambridge: Polity, 1996.p.35

Figure 146 archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia regino cruz_002

Figure 147 archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia regino cruz_001

Figure 148 archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia cruz_005

Figure 149 archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia simoes_002

Figure 150 archive_fernandes_ envelope1_20meses_003_a

Figure 151 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_017_a

Figure 152 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_016_a

Figure 153 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_019

Antonieta and Mário

Figure 154 archive_fernandes_shoebox_casal fernandes_001_a

In Figure 154, which also appears in chapter 2, 'Antonieta and Gisela', Mário is sitting in a slightly higher vantage point with Antonieta gazing at him. Her legs are crossed and her head is slightly tilted upwards smiling at him. In the next two images (Figure 155, Figure 156) Antonieta is sitting, with Mário standing behind her. His right knee is up and his elbow is resting on his leg, his body slightly tilted to the side, and towards her.

Figure 155 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_012

Figure 156 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_018

In Figure 157 and Figure 158, **Mário holds this exact same pose, but stands alone in the photograph (and in one, again with the Morris Minor) using the car bumper to support his foot.**

Figure 157 archive_fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_007_a

Figure 158 archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_012

The higher vantage point that Mário holds in the photograph towards Antonieta and the codified pose he strikes work together to create a slight tension in the photographs. These images emphasise what was said earlier in this chapter about the husband-wife relationship, thus Mário is always standing higher than Antonieta in the photographs.

Mário: on top of the world

Mário presents theatrical poses in the photographs, his gestures, as well as the low-angle shot, imply strength. A photograph does not have only one meaning; in the words of Victor Burgin, the photograph is:

> ...a structured and structuring space within which the reader deploys, and is deployed by, what codes he or she is familiar with in order to make sense.[171]
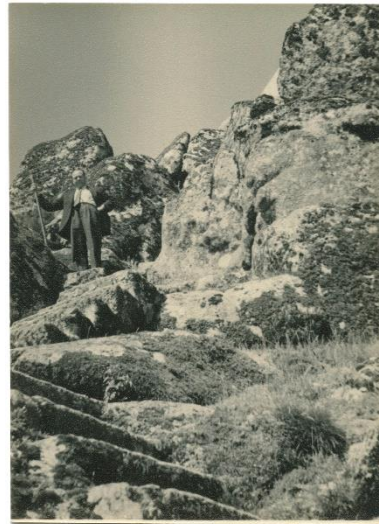
Figure 159 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_002_a

Figure 160 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_003_a

Figure 161 archive_fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_004_a

Figure 162 archive_fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_006

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[171] Burgin, Victor. *Thinking Photography*. London: MacMillan Press, 1982.

Antonieta is holding a child, she is either looking at the camera or at the child. In This group of photographs the poses appear to be less directed. In the first two photographs (Figure *163*, Figure *164*) Antonieta is at the beach with her two sons fully clothed.

Figure 163 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_004

Figure 164 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_015

The iconography of motherhood is approached in chapter 4, alongside the propaganda images of the New State. The role of woman as mother and housewife was crucial to the social politics of the New State, and so these images are essential to understanding how women were positioned within the family and social dynamics.

Figure 165 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_014

Figure 166 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_029

Figure 167 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_022_a

Figure 168 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_004_a

Figure 169 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_011

Figure 170 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_035

The construction of these images is twofold: the way the mother/ wife poses with the child and the way in which the husband/ photographer depicts her. Regarding this being one of the most typical family depictions, Judith Williamson adds:

Perhaps the most influential family image in our culture has been that of the Madonna and child; father was absent long before he had to hold the camera.[172]

[172] Williamson, Judith. "Family, Education, Photography." In *Consuming Passions: The Dynamics of Popular Culture*, 240. London, New York: M. Boyars, 1986. p. 240.

Figure 171 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_3filhos_002_a

Figure 172 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_3filhos_005_a
Figure 173 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_3filhos_004_a

The symmetry in the posing for these photographs is quite interesting. Three images at the top (Figure *171*, Figure *172*, Figure *173*) feature Antonieta and her three sons. She holds the youngest on her lap while the other two are on either side. The car, a Morris Minor, is also part of the composition. In each picture you see a different angle of the car, frontal, sideways, three quarters from the back, three quarters from the front. Nothing is left to chance in these photographs, the sitters are directed where to stand and where to look.

The Morris Minor was the first car Mário owned, and until the eldest son was old enough to drive it, Mário was the only one who drove it. The two photographs, where the car is seen at three quarters (Figure *174*, Figure *175*) show Antonieta and the two

elder sons, again each on either side of her. In these two photographs, there is a feeling of easiness form the sitters, unlike in the previous images.

Figure 174 MariaAntonietacom dois filhos 1962

Figure 175 archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_2filhos_018

Boy and Fountain

Figure 176 archive_fernandes_tebe box_negs_001

Figure 177 archive_fernandes_blue envelope_envelope2_002

These two images have no relationship with each other, they are two loose images from the family album, which could not simply be ignored. The boy dressed in what appears to be the military school uniform is doing the fascist salute. The boy, possibly Raul, Antonieta's cousin, is smiling, so this image hints towards a family that supported the dictatorship.

The image of the fountain is selected here especially because of the saying written on the tiles at the top. Though it is somewhat difficult to translate it to English "Água e Mulher só Boa se Quer" it could go something along the lines of: "only good water and good women are wanted" or "only good water and women clinch the thirst". In Portuguese it rhymes.

The fountain is completely centred in the image and the inscription is quite visible, and most certainly the reason why it was photographed in the first place. It says something about the intention of the photographer (unknown).

Housemaids

Figure 178 shoebox_empregadas domésticas_001_a

Figure 179 archive_fernandes_shoebox_empregadas domésticas_002_a

Although the images themselves are not interesting, the fact that the housemaids were photographed is. These are the only two photographs where the housemaids appear (only one more exists in the family archives that has appeared in group W, Figure *125*). The reason why they are selected is because an interesting parallel between the housemaids and the aiás[173] can be made later on.

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[173] aiás were the nannies in Portuguese India, and will appear in a group in the Janeiro archive.

Janeiro archive

Although this section looks at photographs taken in Portuguese India and in Mozambique, the analysis will not focus on the iconography and history of colonial imagery. The criteria will replicate the method used for the Fernandes family in this chapter. Looking at typologies of images and creating groups of images to observe the iconography and *mise en scène.*

The objective is to observe the common grounds between these two families' images and the differences from being in diverse settings. The politics of the regime and its propaganda strategy, whether in the mainland or overseas, form the basis for the analysis.

<div align="center">Masquerade / Carnival</div>

This group of images shows people in carnival costumes. Francisco and Gisela are in carnival costumes, both dressed as Muslims. The inscription on the back, quite humorously says "Daman 1956 a souvenir of the Carnival of 1956 a charmed Moor (without being charming) and a Moor with a not so friendly face". In one of the images another man and woman pose in masquerade next to them.

Figure 180 archive_janeiro_album_india_042_a

Figure 181 Damão pequeno_1956_carnaval_013

The next images are of two daughters in the carnival of 1955 in Daman, they are dressed in saree. The two girls are adorned with bracelets and have a bindi on their forehead. Although the pictures were probably taken by a professional photographer (Jotex is marked in each image) the girls, who are 3 and 4 years old, posing for the camera, appear to be quite relaxed about it. In contrast, Figure *185* was probably shot by Francisco or Gisela.[174]

Figure 182 archive_janeiro_album_mitó_azul_002_a
Figure 183 archive_janeiro_album_mitó_azul_003_a
Figure 184 archive_janeiro_album_jao_009_a

Figure 1853 archive_janeiro_album_jao_009_a
Figure 186 archive_janeiro_album_mitó_azul_004_a

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[174] It was a custom in the Catholic Damanese community to masquerade in typical Indian clothing during carnival. This community dressed in western clothing, and images such as these can be found in many family albums from this community depicting children in costume.

The aiás, the name given to the nannies in Portuguese India, were photographed with the children in different occasions. One of the images is clearly a studio photograph, with the aiá (Margarida) standing with a child on either side. It was probably taken as a souvenir when they left Panaji, and was taken by Souza & Paúl in 1953.
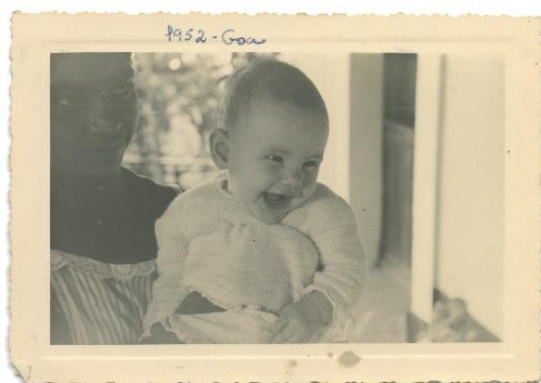
Figure 187 archive_janeiro_album_jao_004

Figure 188 archive_janeiro_album_jao_001

The last pair of photographs is of the eldest daughter (Mitó) with impedidos[175] (Figure *191*, Figure *192*).

Figure *190*, is quite interesting: there is one aiá behind each girl, although it is not clear from the photograph whether there was one for each child, or if they simply had different house tasks. It was taken on the eldest daughter's birthday in Panaji in 1959. The girl on the right-hand side is scratching her face and squinting her eyes, reflecting the informality of the photograph. The other two girls have their feet well-grounded on the floor, the child in the middle with arms crossed is looking defiantly at the camera.

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[175] Bateman, military

Figure 189 archive_janeiro_album_jao_011_a

Figure 190 archive_janeiro_album_Ilda_001_a

Figure 191 archive_janeiro_album_azul_mito_001

Figure 192 archive_janeiro_album_india_037

Birthdays

All photographs in this group were taken on one of the girls' birthday. In all the images the three girls are dressed in matching white dresses, except for one image, where they are at the beach, in their swimsuits, water up to their ankles (Figure *193*). In three of the images, the girls are lined up according to their height and their age, sometimes using the staircase to even out their heights.

Figure 193 archive_janeiro_jao_novo001

Figure 194 archive_janeiro_jao_novo003

Figure 195 archive_janeiro_jao_novo003

Figure 196 archive_janeiro_album_Ilda_004

In Figure *196*, each girl is sitting on a reclining chair on the balcony. The three girls are leaning forward, with the youngest in the middle.

All the images were taken in India apart from one (Figure *198*), which was taken in Mozambique in 1964. The 3 girls are standing outside their home in the neighbourhood of Sommerchild in Lourenço Marques. It is the 14th birthday of the eldest, who is dressed in a tailored jacket and dress. Her two sisters are wearing matching dresses and the age differences between the eldest and the two younger sisters is quite apparent through their clothing. This setting, just outside their home, was often used to take photographs of family members. Another photograph taken in the same location can be found in the group family photographs later on.

Figure 197 archive_janeiro_jao_novo005_a

Figure 198 MariaHelena_002

Mother with daughters

These are the only group of photographs in the Janeiro archive in which a triangle/pyramid shaped symmetry can be found in the pose of the sitters. Although it can only be seen in four out of eight photographs, in these, the mother is always the top of the triangle.

Figure 199 archive_janeiro_album_jao_003_008

Figure 200 archive_janeiro_jao_novo002_a

Figure 201 archive_janeiro_album_azul_mito_003_009

Figure 202 archive_janeiro_dossier_cartas_019_001

Figure 203 archive_janeiro_caixa Azul_Ilda_002_a

Figure 204 archive_janeiro_jao_novo004

Some photographs were taken on their doorstep, and others in moments of leisure, or at the beach. Figure *203* is the only image where they are dressed in winter clothes, still with matching dresses, and was taken when they disembarked in Lisbon in 1955.

Figure 205 archive_janeiro_album_jao_002

Figure 206 archive_janeiro_dossier_cartas_004

Father with daughters

Most of the photographs in this group appear to be moments of leisure with father and daughters. The carefree way in which the photographs were taken and the relaxed atmosphere visible in the images are clearly perceptible.

Figure 207 archive_janeiro_album_mitó_azul_001_a

Figure 208 archive_janeiro_album_jao_007_a

Figure 209 archive_janeiro_album_jao_006

Figure 210 archive_janeiro_album_jao_008 a

Figure 211 archive_janeiro_album_jao_005

The last photograph in this group (*Figure 213*) was taken in Mozambique in 1964, for what must have been a ceremonious event, for they are addressed in formal clothing.

The father is smiling in all of the photographs.

Figure 212 archive_janeiro_album_india_1958

Figure 213 archive_janeiro_album_jao_novo_007_a

Figure 214 archive_janeiro_album_mitó_vermelho_002

Figure 215 archive_janeiro_album_mitó_vermelho_001

The first two images (Figure *214*, Figure *215*) were taken in April 1951 on the ship *India* on their voyage from Portugal to Portuguese India. They are relaxed, sitting on a deckchair, with the eldest daughter (the only one born yet) in her pram. Father is reading, sitting with his legs crossed and the baby girl is staring straight at the camera, probably mother is taking the photograph. They are very representative of an equality between father and mother, a democratic way of photographing. Mother and father are portrayed with their daughter equally.

Figure *216* is taken on the balcony of their home in October 1951, mother and daughter are sitting in reclining chairs.

There is something endearing about these photographs, probably because they are sitting in reclining chairs, their legs in a childlike manner.

Figure 216 Archive_Janeiro_Album_Mitó_vermelho_015

Figure 217 archive_janeiro_album_india_027

Figure 218 archive_janeiro_album_india_044_a

The photographs in this group were all taken at official events, although they are not comparable to the group photographs in the Fernandes archive, because those were taken in leisure time with friends and family. What is interesting about these photographs is not so much what is visible in them but the events at which they were taken. In the second image at the top (Figure *218*) where Gisela is handing out something, we can read in the back that she is handing out the second prize for the Obra de Mães (OMEN) to a Hindu family. The children are lined up, oldest to youngest, and everyone is posing frontally towards the camera, apart from Gisela who is completely in profile as she reaches out her hand.

Figure 219 archive_janeiro_envelope010_a

Figure 220 archive_janeiro_album_india_029

Figure 221 archive_janeiro_album_india_040_a

Figure 222 archive_janeiro_album_india_028

Francisco and Gisela

Figure 223 MariaHelena_030_a

Figure 224 archive_janeiro_envelope011_a

The representation of the 'husband and wife' relationship has been approached earlier in this chapter regarding the distinct representations of the two families in the albums. Here it is further developed. It is interesting to observe and compare them to the images shown previously in 'Antonieta and Mário' (p.155)

The first photograph (Figure *223*), although taken prior to their departure for India, was notable for inclusion in this group. It was taken in September 1949, so they are newlyweds (they were married on 1 August 1949). This image is interesting for its comparison to the images of the couple Mário and Antonieta, in the Fernandes archive (in chapter 2, Antonieta and Gisela, as well as in this chapter.)

December 1960 at the ball of the saris (Figure *225*): Francisco and Gisela pose side-by-side for the photographer, Francisco with a sarcastic grin on his face. The back of the photograph reads: "souvenir (terrible) of the ball of the saris on 19 December 1960 at the Mandovi Hotel in Goa".

Figure 225 Archive_Janeiro_Album India_011_a

Figure 226 Archive_Janeiro_Album India_005_a

Figure 227 archive_janeiro_album_india_033

Figure *227*, on board the Bartolomeu Dias[176] features the punctum Roland Barthes talks about. There is something quite striking about this image, as if it belongs to a time and place reminiscent of dreams, perhaps part of the imaginary created by the stories told by my grandmother when I was a child. To put it in Barthes's words:

> This something has triggered me, has provoked a tiny shock, a satori, the passage of a void…[177]

It is reminiscent of an old film still, set somewhere in a tropical country, a dramatic romance between two people (probably starring Humphrey Bogart). Happiness, content, carefreeness and warmth are what this image exudes.

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[176] *Bartolomeu Dias* was a despatch vessel of the Portuguese navy.

[177] Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 200, p.49.

In Figure *228* and Figure *229* the couple is seen in what appears to be leisure time, their poses are far from the strictness and the formality of those in Mário and Antonieta. There is no repetition of pose here.

Figure 228 d_paula001

Figure 229 archive_janeiro_Album_india_015_a_004

The photograph where they are standing at the beach, both in swimsuits (Figure *230*), was taken in 1961 in Portugal. Their gaiety and playfulness shines through, with Francisco holding his stomach in and Gisela tapping him on the back.

Figure 230 archive_janeiro_envelope_focus_caixa_001_a

Figure 231 MariaHelena_019_a

The image where Francisco and Gisela are sitting in bathing suits at the beach (Figure *231*) is taken in Mozambique, Ponta de Malongane, Easter 1974. The full grasp of this image can only be achieved by having prior knowledge of the events that happened just 11 days after Easter Sunday 1974. The 25th April military coup that ended the

colonial war,[178] the New State regime and soon after, the Portuguese overseas territories (former colonies). This image is given meaning by the caption on the back, which contains the date and place. In the words of John Berger:

> The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given meaning by the words. (…) Together the two then become very powerful; an open question appears to have been fully answered.[179]

Francisco and Gisela appear relaxed sunbathing on the beach by the Indian Ocean, surprisingly they are sitting in the same pose, right leg stretched out, hands on left knee, completely oblivious of the events that would follow just 11 days later. Part of the *punctum*[180] of this image lies in the awareness of these events - the last image before it all ended.

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[178] Lasted from 1961 until the military coup in 1974, also known as the Overseas War, in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

[179] Berger, John. *Understanding a Photograph*. London: Penguin, 2013.

[180] Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 2000.

Two houses and children

Although these two images are not "family photographs" they could not easily be left out. They probably only exist because Francisco and Gisela were living far from their families and it was their way to show them where they lived.

In the first photograph (Figure *232*Figure *215*) is the house where they lived in Campal, Panaji, and what makes it particularly interesting is the inscription on the back. There is a full description of the rooms in the house as seen from the perspective of the photograph and of the visible windows. It was probably posted in the letter to her mother in Lisbon, along with the drawing of the layout of the same house.

Figure 232 archive_janeiro_album_azul_mito_002_a

Figure 233 archive_janeiro_caixa Azul_Ilda_004

The second house (Figure *233*) is in Daman and is the house where their youngest daughter was born (my mother). "The house where Lhu was born-1953" is written on the front.

Figure 234 MariaHelena_014_a

Figure 235 MariaHelena_025_a

The first four images (rectangular format) are from the 1950s. They are all in Daman except Figure 235, from 1955, when the girls stayed in Lisbon with their grandparents. Although the first image is actually the middle daughter's birthday it is not included in the 'Birthdays' group because, although there are some similarities (the photographs taken at the doorstep in the stairs) it has only two sisters, as the youngest was just an infant. This image provides a more interesting correlation to the other images presented here, the oldest holding her sister's hand in three of the photographs.

Figure 236 archive_janeiro_album_india_026

Figure 237 MariaHelena_012_a

The image of the infant in the pram surrounded by her two sisters (Figure *237*) was taken at the Governor's Palace in Daman. This was in August 1954, just after the Indian Union invasion of the Portuguese enclaves of Daman and my grandparents moved with their three daughters to live in the governor's palace because they feared for their safety. Soon after that, Gisela would be taking her three daughters to stay in Lisbon with her mother to later return to her husband in Daman.

All the other images in square format were taken between 1962 and 1966. There are all in Mozambique except for (Figure *240*), which is in Portugal, where the sisters are by a swimming pool.

Perhaps due to their square format, and the fact that they are from the 1960s and thus are more recent than all the other images seen before, they have a different feel to them, a more contemporary perspective perhaps. The image of the two sisters roller-skating (Figure *238*) reminds us of American photography, perhaps even a Diane Arbus. The fact that the two sisters are dressed in matching outfits and the frontal shot, with the subject looking straight at the camera is reminiscent of Arbus's photography.

Figure 238 archive_janeiro_album_jao_novo_008_a

Figure 239 archive_janeiro_album_jao_novo_006_a

Figure 240 MariaHelena_001_a

Figure 241 MariaHelena_015_a

The photograph taken in Portugal (Figure *240*) is also quite cinematographic because of the girls' pose and the dramatic, very low light casting a long shadow at their feet. The image of the sisters by the lake and the image of the three sisters on the bridge (Figure *239*, Figure *241*) are obviously more constructed than the others, the photographer making the most of the girls' reflection on the lake, and the different heights of the girls at the bridge.

Figure 242 MariaHelena_011_a

Figure 243 archive_janeiro_album_jao_novo_009_a

174

Figure 244 archive_janeiro_envelope001_

Figure 245 archive_janeiro_album_jao_012

The first image (Figure 244) was taken in Goa 1952, just outside the house where they lived. The family was consisted only of these three members, although the prominent bump that can be seen under Gisela's skirt shows she is pregnant with her second daughter. The second image (Figure 245) was taken in Portugal in 1962, and although there is no clear indication of that on the back on the photograph, it must have been a souvenir to leave to friends and family members prior to their departure for Mozambique. The three sisters are dressed in matching white dresses and their mother, Gisela, is also wearing a similar outfit. The oldest daughter is eating, holding what appears to be a cake on her left hand; the middle daughter has her hand on her face, possibly scratching her eyebrow; and her father standing behind her has a hand on her shoulder. The youngest, in the centre of the photograph and between her two sisters, is clutching her hands together in front of her in a tense position. The girls are all wearing matching sandals.

Figure 246 MariaHelena_010_a

Figure 247 MariaHelena_017_a

There are two black-and-white photographs in square format. Figure *246*, taken in Lourenço Marques, outside the house where they lived in Sommerschield, shows three generations of women: grandmother, mother and the three daughters. The car can also be seen in the garage just in the right-hand corner of the photograph. The other image was taken in Portugal in Easter 1971. Francisco, Gisela, her friend Maria Helena and two daughters are portrayed (possibly the oldest is taking the photograph or Maria Helena's husband is).

The only image in colour in this group is taken in their home in Lourenço Marques in September 1968 (Figure 248). The three sisters, Gisela, Francisco and the grandmother (Ilda) are in the picture. Who could have taken this picture?

Figure 248 MariaHelena_023_a

They all seem quite happy and relaxed, Francisco is holding Gisela's hand and the grandmother is elegantly sitting in an armchair. The colours of their clothing and the sisters' haircuts are very typical of the 1960s. It is not a formal family photograph, there is an intimate feel to this image as though one had just opened the door to this family's living room and glimpsed this scene.

Figure 249 MariaHelena_007_a

Figure 250 MariaHelena_027_a

This group is interesting in opposition to the group in the Fernandes archive 'Mother and sons (and car)'. The images seen here are much more carefree, with less concern for the framing or for the angle at which the car was shot from. In the first image (Figure *249*) from 1962, two sisters and the grandmother are inside the car and the other sister is sitting on the hood. The second image (Figure *250*) is identified in the back, Namaacha, 16-6-65, and the purpose appears to be to photograph the dog, Gisela is sitting on the front seat. The last image, in colour, taken in South Africa in August 1973 (Figure *251*), although the car here seems to be in the image only by accident and that the purpose was not actually to photograph the car.

Figure 251 MariaHelena_029_a

Friends

Although this section is in Portugal and not in the overseas colonies, it is included because it provides some relevant information and background. Even though these images are prior to their leaving for the overseas provinces, they are relevant in that they constitute an interesting comparison to the groups of images in the Fernandes archive.

Figure 252 MariaHelena_018

Figure 253 MariaHelena_004

When comparing this group of photographs to the group named 'Theatricality', in the Fernandes archive (p.143, 144), it is clear that here no such theatricality can be found, with the exception of one image Figure *253* taken in mainland Portugal (Foz do Arelho, 1949). In it, Gisela and her friend Maria Helena pose, apparently in prayer, except they are not actually praying; it is a mockery of the religious worship.

Figure 254 MariaHelena_021_a

Figure 255 MariaHelena_031_a

Both chapter 2 and chapter 3 replicate the contents of the iconographic index. This chapter focused on an iconographic typology approach to the archives. It is clear that in the Fernandes album, a coherent staging of the photographs could be observed. The images that were categorised into different typologies demonstrate the highly controlled and staged manner of posing and photographing. The systematic way of photographing revealed a highly constructed composition. Furthermore, the consistency of the low angle shot correlates with the aesthetics of the propaganda's regime. This will be developed further on in chapter 4.

These observations could only be established due to the method of analysing and reorganising the archive. Rearranging the photographs in groups of typologies is what gave them clarity in the first place. Otherwise, they would have never become apparent. The method consisted in rearranging the photographs from each family archive to create typologies of images. These should refer to the subject (who was photographed, activity depicted) and the scene (location, composition).

In the Janeiro archive the same method was used, albeit with different findings. In this case such a rigid structure for staging the photographs could not be found. Although group typologies can be made, they revealed a less constructed staging for the photographs.

The same contrasting constraint and easiness can be found in Antonieta and Gisela's poses, as was concluded in the previous chapter.

Because this research focuses mainly on the lives of Portuguese women between 1940 and 1975, it is imperative to understand the place and role of women in society in mainland Portugal and its overseas territories. The intention is to establish and question the relation between what is represented in the family albums and the lives of the women in these diverse territories, and if and how the way of posing for the photograph, of setting up the photograph, was impacted by this particular time in Portugal's history. The intention is to analyse the archives by searching for signs of the way of life during Estado Novo, especially its impact on the lives of women.

After a first reading and analysis of the images it is important to effectively understand the circumstances and context of when the photographs were taken. In order to be able to successfully analyse them within this historical context, it is essential to investigate the politics of the New State regime and of the overseas territories. The next chapter (4) will look into the New State regime, its politics towards women and the propaganda strategy.

Project C New found Fernandes archive

Fernandes archive, blue envelope, envelope (contains envelopes: 1, 2, 3)

Fernandes archive, white envelope (1)

    (contains prints of negatives found in shoebox)

Fernandes archive, white envelope (2)
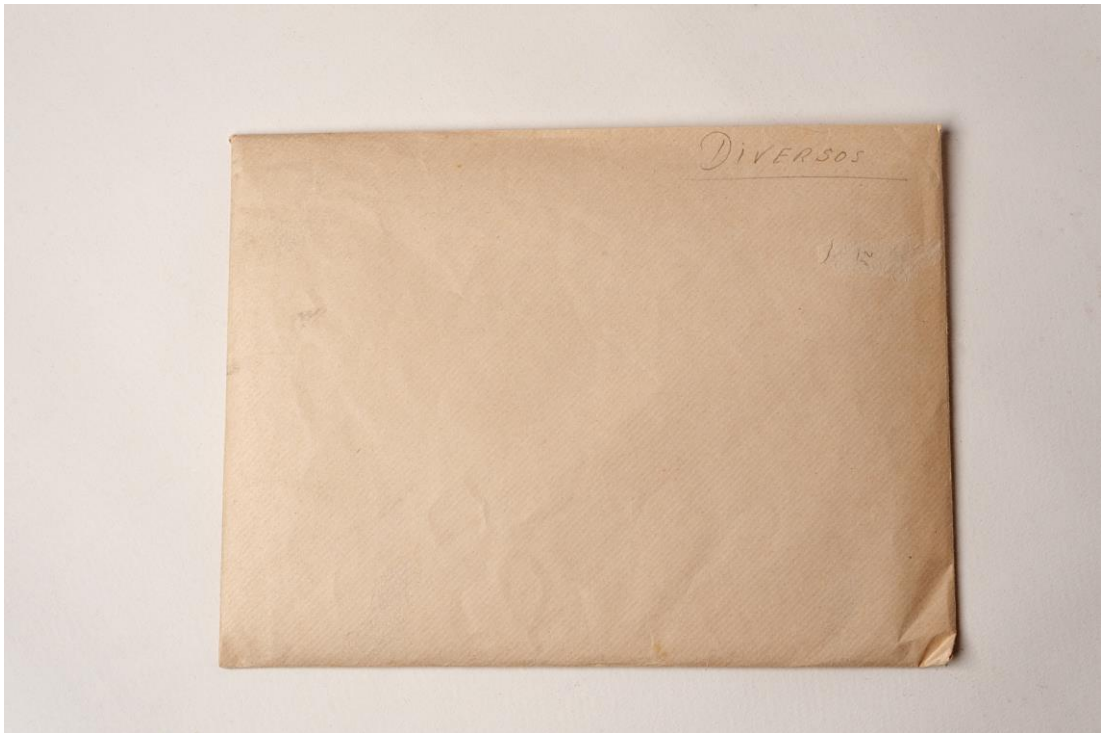
Fernandes archive, large envelope *Diversos* (miscellaneous)

Chapter 4 The family albums in Portuguese history

This chapter addresses the historical context of the thesis, paramount to understanding the historical and social circumstances of the period approached in the archives. As mentioned in the introduction, the New State regime is the central point of the thesis and of the archives. Throughout this chapter the political strategy and propaganda of the regime will be approached and specifically the politics regarding women. The overseas territories will be approached in the latter part of the chapter as a contextualisation of the Janeiro archive. This chapter also establishes a connection between the regime's propaganda and the iconography analysed in the family archives. At the end of the chapter, juxtapositions of the official imagery of the regime are made with selected images from the family archives.

The 'New State'

Although this thesis does not deeply discuss the Portuguese dictatorship or examine whether it was a fascist dictatorship or not, it is important to address some of its characteristics. To investigate women's role in society during this time in Portugal, it is important to understand that some of the peculiarities of the Salazarist regime were of a fascist nature. For example, when it concerns the social situation of women, there are many parallels to Mussolini's regime. Although politically the New State did not have the all the characteristics to be considered a fascist regime, it did have some aspects that can be considered of a fascist nature.

Over the years, mainly from the 1960s, the European fascist regimes, German and Italian, began to be studied more thoroughly.[182] Until the 1960's there was practically

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[181] Stated by António Oliveira Salazar in a speech in Pinto, António Costa. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995. p.196

[182] For more detailed information see: Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, 1995. There is extensive literature on the Estado Novo regime, but for the aims of this thesis, Costa Pinto's book was crucial because it specifically discusses whether the regime was fascist, which was imperative for establishing the

no mention of Salazar's New State amongst these studies. In the few times that Portugal's case come up, it was never regarded as fascist. As António Costa Pinto observes, "According to most historians, Salazarism did not display the characteristics which distinguished Fascism from classic dictatorships. It lacked a charismatic leadership, a single party which mobilised the masses, an expansionist, war-like ideology and a tendency towards totalitarianism."[183]

Only in the 1970s did Portugal's case receive more attention from scholars (Portuguese and international) and the discussion on the particularities and characteristics of the New State regime began to be analysed and discussed. As Costa Pinto mentions:

> … In the 1980s the predominant classifications invariably placed Austria 'close' to Salazar's regime, virtually placing them in the same 'family'.[184]

Salazarism and Francoism were the only authoritarian regimes from the fascist era that continued after 1945 and into the 1970's, both in the Iberian Peninsula context.

Portugal's case was classified as "clerico-fascist", "clerico-corporatist" or "semi-fascist" by historians.[185] In Costa Pinto's opinion these distinctions do not contribute any new knowledge or further the discussion on the matter. However, for the purposes of this thesis, some of these classifications may be relevant, particularly the ones that refer to the Church's position of relevance within the New State, or the social policy and propaganda strategy.

With the 1940 concordat with the church, state and church became unison in the morals and education of the Portuguese people, insofar that:

> …church and state imposed a strict conservatism on society. Anchored in Catholic conservatism and traditionalism, this hyper-nationalist and morally superior religious representation of the national heritage…[186]

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relationship between an aesthetics of fascism and the family photographs. Therefore it is often cited throughout the chapter.

[183] Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, 1995.

[184] ibid p.32

[185] For more detailed information see: Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, 1995.

[186] Corkill and Almeida, "Commemoration" , 2009, p.395

The message of the state was the same as the church's in that women, because of their 'nature' should stay at home, bear children and dedicate themselves to housework. This 'nature of women' was also stated in the constitution of the New State, which provided equal rights to all citizens before the law, noting that "women's differences result from their nature and their duty towards the good of the family."[187]

Figure 256 propaganda poster, depicting Salazar, the "saviour of the Fatherland" (his most common title). Written on the shield: "Everything for the nation, nothing against the nation".

The place of women as the 'pillar of the household' would become an intrinsic part of the New State's society. [188] Church and state would dictate the rules of behaviour and morals for women, mainly through education and propaganda. The Portuguese Feminine Youth (MPF) was one of its vehicles. Salazar's intention of making the Portuguese live by habit would in time do the rest, letting the 'new' habits infiltrate

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[187] Article 5 of the constitution of Estado novo, 1933 *in* Cova, Anne, and António Costa Pinto. "Women under Salazar's Dictatorship." *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2002, pp. 129–46, www.ics.ul.pt/rdonweb-docs/1. women-salazarism-pjss12.pdf.

[188] Expression used frequently in the Estado novo to describe the 'new' role of women in society [my translation]

into everyday life. The trinity that set the underlying principles of the dictatorship was thus established: "God, Fatherland, Family".

The role of propaganda, which will be further developed in this chapter, was crucial in the New State's strategy, be it in the form of published photographs, in magazines or, through youth movements (MP, MPF, LP)[189], and the two great expositions that would set the tone for the visual representations of the new regime. [190]

Figure 257 Salazar's lesson: poster depicting the "holy trinity" of the regime. "God, Fatherland, Family: the trinity of national education".

Although establishing the context of the Portuguese regime amongst the European dictatorships and their characteristics is important, this research does not attempt to study or analyse the German, Italian or Spanish regimes in depth. They will be

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[189] MP-Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth), MPF- Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (Portuguese Feminine Youth, LP- Legião Portuguesa (Portuguese Legion)

[190] 1934 colonial exposition (Oporto) and the 1940 Portuguese world exposition (Lisbon). The term exposition is used instead of exhibition according all the texts found in English on the subject and a particular reference by Filipa Lowndes Vicente in Vicente, Filipa Lowndes, ed. *O Império Da Visão: A Fotografia No Contexto Colonial Português (1860-1960)*. Lisboa: 70, 2014. The use of exposition instead of exhibition; although in English this does not occur, in Portuguese *exposição* is also to expose to the light (photographically). In English the word "exposure" exists in photography, as does the verb to expose, but not "exposition" in that sense.

mentioned throughout the thesis within the relevance of their common characteristics, it is not the goal of this thesis to provide an analysis of European dictatorships, nor other regimes outside of Europe, for they stretch out beyond the scope of this investigation.

As mentioned earlier, although the New State was not a fascist regime, it had many common traits with European fascist dictatorships in the "Generic fascism" scope. [191]Salazarism represented the "extreme right, non-radical but traditionalist wing of European Fascism."[192] Salazar's regime lacked a strong mass movement and was not revolutionary, but instead relied on conservative principles, to be considered a fascist regime. Roger Griffin in his book *The Nature of Fascism* classifies Salazar's regime as "para-fascist"[193], which encompassed the regimes that are based on the "era of the masses".

Figure 258 "Workers from the whole country salute Portugal's number one worker" from *Album Portugal 1940.*

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[191] Term mentioned by Enzo Collooti in the 1980's

[192] Santarelli, E., "Il caso portoghese: radici e permesse di una rivoluzione", *Critica Marxista,* nº4, 1975, pp.41-59. In Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, 1995, p.23.

[193] Griffin, Roger. *The Nature of Fascism*. London: Pinter, 1991. In Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship,* 1995. p.37

Manuel Lucena argues that there was no fascist movement in the New State because fascism is a totalitarian state and therefore revolutionary. The New State was nonetheless conservative and consequently not revolutionary. The Conservative nature of the New State separated it from other fascists movements such as the German. The Conservative aspects spread through 'the old ways' (*os costumes*).

Lucena did not agree with the term "generic fascism" and concluded that the Portuguese and Italian dictatorships had more in common with each other. He claimed that Nazism was a very particular type of Fascism other than a generic one. He affirms that the two, Portuguese and Italian, had the traits of fascist corporatism.[194] It was a clerical-fascism, of a corporatist nature dictatorship created "from above". Salazar said that "the constitution of vast elites is more important than teaching the people to read".[195] So, the Portuguese New State had many similarities with Italian Fascism. "Everything for the nation, nothing against it", and in Mussolini's regime totalitarian idea of "all in the state, nothing outside the state."[196]

The New State's "corporatist revolution" was announced in António Ferro's interview with Salazar in 1938.[197] The New State's constitution of 1933, conceived by Salazar, inscribed the state within the ideology of corporatism:

> the constitution declares that the Portuguese state is a corporatist Republic, considers the structural elements of the nation to be the family, autarchy, and corporatist organisms and classifies the corporations as moral, cultural and economic[198]

The New State was a conservative, Catholic, corporatist, paternalistic and authoritarian regime, with fascisising characteristics. These were particularly evident in the aesthetics and choreography of the regime, which mostly took its inspiration from other European dictatorships.

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[194] See glossary for corporatism

[195] Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship*, 1995, p. 197

[196] De Grazia, Victoria. *How Fascism Ruled Women Italy, 1922-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. p.79

[197] Ferro, António. *Salazar: O Homem e a Sua Obra*. Edições do Templo, 1978.

[198] Afonso, Antonio Martins. *Princípios Fundamentais de Organização Política e Administrativa Da Nação*. 1941. p.107 [my translation].

In conclusion, the New State was not a fascist regime politically speaking but was so socially. The high rates of illiteracy, the rurality and the religiousness of the bulk of the population created a prefect platform for the consolidation of a dictatorship.

The Propaganda machine

A quote by António Ferro encompasses the principles of the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN)[199] and points to the strategy that the SPN's programme was to establish in the New State regime.[200]

> Portugal is not a graphic country. Portugal is a country without 'pose'. Constantly dodging the lens; avoids going outside just not to have its portrait taken. Portugal is as gloomy as a darkroom, but a darkroom where nothing is developed... A race that does not let itself be photographed is a race that does not know its physiognomy and therefore does not know its strength.[201]

A profound use was made of photography in the Estado Novo propaganda machine. As Secretary of Propaganda, António Ferro relied on the support and collaboration of several of Portugal's artist, such as designers, architects and photographers. A new form of propaganda using printed photography as a means of mass communication was used by the Estado Novo, with high quality graphic design along the lines of Soviet propaganda as a model. Indeed, many European dictatorships followed the Soviet propaganda model, amongst them Portugal.

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[199] SPN are the Portuguese initials of Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda

[200] António Ferro was in charge of the National Propaganda Secretariat and played a crucial role implementing the propaganda strategies for the New State regime.

[201] Quote by António Ferro: "Portugal não é um país gráfico. Portugal é um país sem 'pose'. Furta-se constantemente á objectiva; não sai à rua só para que não lhe tirem o retrato. Portugal é triste como uma câmara escura, mas uma câmara escura onde não se fazem revelações... Uma raça que não se deixa fotografar é uma raça que desconhece a sua fisionomia, que desconhece portanto a sua força. (Ferro,1921:254)" In Lobo, Paula Ribeiro, and Margarida Brito Alves. "Espaço, Fotografia e 'Factografia' Na Propaganda Do SPN." *Comunicação Pública* 12, no. 23 (2017). [my translation]

Figure 259 A Hora é Nossa (the time is ours) from *Album Portugal 1934*

As observed by Natasha Revez:

> Photographic images in a sequential layout, in ascending diagonals, conveying great dynamism to the work, as well as the points of view in a low vantage point, giving us the heroic figures of Portugal's "rebirth". We can perhaps find here an echo of Rodchenko's lessons, who encouraged that photography should be made from non-traditional points of view, such as the low vantage point or the high vantage point.[202]

The photographic image, whether a moving picture (cinema) or a still image, was prolifically used by the New State propaganda machine (SPN) in order to manipulate public opinion to the regime's advantage. Perhaps the best example is the film *A Revolução de Maio*,[203] released in 1937 (although initially intended to be released in 1936 for the 10th anniversary of the military coup). Pena-Rodríguez, commenting on the film *A Revolução de Maio*, states that it is:

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[202] Revez, Natasha Finz Machado Paulino. "Os Álbuns Portugal 1934 e Portugal 1940. Dois Retratos Do País No Estado Novo." Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012. p.73 [my translation]

[203] *The Revolution of May* was the first feature film produced by the SPN, directed by António Lopes-Ribeiro, screenplay by António Ferro (Minister of the SPN) and shot by Tobis Portuguesa. António Lopes-Ribeiro was one of the regime's film directors and was profoundly inspired by Eisenstein's cinema.

an example of the ritual aesthetics of the fascist cinema, devoid of spontaneity, trying to transform the people into a disciplined and orderly mass that obeys its leaders devoutly.[204]

The 'fascist aesthetic' mentioned here is an important factor to take into consideration when observing the photographs in the Fernandes archive, especially in the orderly manner in which the photographs are set up, namely the carefully constructed *mise en scène* of the sitters. Susan Sontag refers to this aesthetics:

Fascist aesthetics is based on the containment of vital forces; movements are confined, held tight, held in.[205]

Photography was key to the regime's propaganda and one of the most widely used tools to spread the ideals of the New State and of the "politics of the spirit"[206]. The aesthetics of power were spread through the media such as newspapers and magazines, amateur photography salons, exhibitions and catalogues. *Política do espírito* (*politics of the spirit*) was a term coined by António Ferro, the first director of the National Propaganda Secretariat.

The role and area of action of the SPN was:

The methodical publication of flyers, brochures, posters, etc., to fix the doctrine and divulge the work being done.

Organisation of public demonstrations with the purpose of lifting the *national spirit*

Propaganda directed at women and children

(...)

Establishing an international opinion on the overseas provinces[207]

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[204] Pena-Rodríguez, Alberto. "Cinema, Fascism and Propaganda. A Historical Approximation to the Portuguese Estado Novo." *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* 67, no. 945 (2012): 207–27.

[205] Sontag, Susan. "Fascinating Fascism." In *Under the Sign of Saturn*, 73–105. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980.

[206] See glossary for *politics of the spirit*

[207] Revez, Natasha Finz Machado Paulino. "Os Álbuns Portugal 1934 e Portugal 1940. Dois Retratos Do País No Estado Novo." Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012. p.14

Figure 260 *Album Portugal 1940*, cover
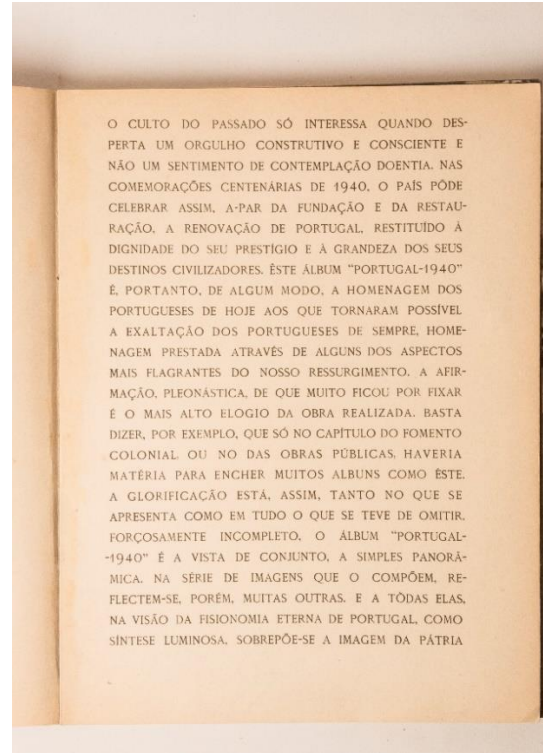
Figure 261 *Album Portugal 1940*, first page, description of purpose of publication

The re-invention of tradition through romanticised rurality, folklore and the image of a great empire supported by mythicised historical figures were the two main strategies of the "Politics of the spirit". Collective choreography was also an intrinsic part of the regime's strategy to create a new Portuguese identity. Comprised in the two major expositions, the colonial world exposition of 1934 and the Portuguese world exposition of 1940. The Portuguese world exposition date of 1940 was to celebrate two very important dates for the nation: 1140 as the founding of the nation and the 1640 as the re-conquest of independence from Spanish rule.

Figure 262 A aldeia mais Portuguesa (the most Portuguese village) from *Album Portugal* 1940

Figure 263 regional folklore, the Barcelos cock, from *Album Portugal* 1940

On one hand was the creation of a romanticised rurality with the exaltation of folklore and on the other hand was the notion of the great history of the Portuguese discoveries where its main protagonists would become myth.[208] "Antonio Ferro gave the regime a 'cultural project' which skilfully combined 'modern' aesthetic resources with a true 're-invention of tradition.'"[209] Re-invention of Portuguese identity romanticised rurality for the purpose of creating a Portuguese cult of tradition.[210]

Inspirations from fascism

Antonio Ferro would make references to the Nazi propaganda machine as an example to follow. For example, in an interview, he mentions the Goebbels campaign to incite the rich to share their wealth with the more impoverished (specifically the shameful poverty). [211]

It is important though to bring to light certain elements, with common characteristics, such as the Portuguese Youth and the Hitler Youth and the female section of the Spanish Falange youth movement. The Portuguese Female Youth (MPF) was shaped in light of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) which was created by the Italian fascist regime. Maria Guardiola,[212] along with Fernanda de Almeida d'Orey, Maria Luísa van Zeller and Maria Palmira Morais Pinto, went to Italy in September 1936 to study Mussolini's regime youth movements.[213] Because of the Spanish civil war, there was fear that liberal and revolutionary ideas would spread to Portugal, so organisations

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[208] Discoveries is the term which has been used to designate the period of the Portuguese overseas expansion (1400's-1600's). Lately there has been great controversy around this designation because of the implied connotation of colonialism.

[209] Pinto, António Costa. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995. p.195

[210] *The most Portuguese* was a title applied in several categories, such as *the most Portuguese village*, assigned in popularity competitions. A competition of this sort was made by the Portuguese television channel in 2007 (inspired by a BBC show that had chosen Winston Churchill), to assign *The Greatest Portuguese Person of all time*, and the one chosen was Salazar.

[211] Revez, Natasha Finz Machado Paulino. "Os Álbuns Portugal 1934 e Portugal 1940. Dois Retratos Do País No Estado Novo." Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012. p.15 (quote of António Ferro in an interview for a newspaper:"Uma Entrevista Oportuna", in: *Diário de Notícias*, 12/10/1933)

[212] Ahead of the MPF for 31 years (1937-1968) the attendance was mandatory for girls aged between 7 and 17. personal note: Gisela used the expression *don't be a Guardiola*, or *she is such a Guardiola*, when she wanted to refer to a woman being very strict or severe, towards other women.

[213] André, Catarina. "A Dama-de-Ferro de Salazar." *SÁBADO*, December 2017.

such as the Portuguese Legion (LP) and the Portuguese youth (MP) were formed to keep the public in line with the regime's ideals.

The MP and the LP were paramilitary organisations with a direct influence from fascist youth organisations in other European countries. The MP was directly involved with the Christian church and with the Ministry of Education and was a movement for young people in schools (mostly middle-class school aged children). The LP on the other hand was for lower class children, and for those who were not in school. The MP was of an educational and Christian nature, with a direct relationship with the church, whilst the LP, which was run more like a militia, was handled by the Ministry of War. Costa Pinto mentions that the MP "'uniformed, disciplined, and instructed', dominated the regime's choreography between 1937 in 1939."[214]

Figure 264 Portuguese youth (male and female) from *Album Portugal* 1940

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[214] Pinto, António Costa. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995. P.189

Even though the New State regime is not considered fascist by many, it was fascist without a fascist movement and did have many of the characteristics of fascism. [215] It was of fascist inspiration, such the ritualised gestures such as the Roman salute derived from Italian fascism.[216]

For the purpose of the analysis of the family albums, the fascist aesthetics need to be taken into account. The New State propaganda machine used and drew on the aesthetics and design of fascist movements such as Mussolini's and National Socialism, as well as Russian revolutionary propaganda's visual language. This thesis argues that this aesthetic exists in the Fernandes family album, and that it is a direct result of living in mainland Portugal during the regime. As Susan Sontag puts it in her text, Fascinating Fascism:

> Its choreography alternates between ceaseless motion and a congealed, static, "virile" posing. Fascist art glorifies surrender, it exalts mindlessness, it glamorizes death.[217]

The family album was permeable to this influence, being exposed to the visual propaganda with its strong, coherent and coercive language. To better illustrate these claims, a series of case studies relating photographs from the Fernandes family album to images of propaganda are shown at the end of this chapter.

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[215] Lucena, Manuel, *A Evolução do sistema Corporativo Português, Vol.I-O Salazarismo,* Lisboa,1976. *In* Pinto, António Costa. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995. p.49

[216] Léonard, Yves. *Salazarismo e Fascismo*. Mem Martins: Editorial Inquérito, 1998.

[217] Sontag, Susan. "Fascinating Fascism." In *Under the Sign of Saturn*, 73–105. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980.

Figure 265 Portuguese Female Youth (MPF)

Figure 266 The issued bathing suits of MPF

Propaganda and empire

Part of the propaganda programme created by António Ferro was to create an image of greatness through the history of the Portuguese Empire. With the Colonial Act of 1930, this became effective.[218] It was a strategy placed in several stages, starting with the Colonial Act, followed by the 1934 Colonial Exposition in Oporto and culminating with the Portuguese World Exposition of 1940 in Lisbon. The creation of commemorative and collective events would lay the basis for the re-shaping and re-creating of a Portuguese identity. One of these events, the Portuguese World Exposition, is part of the family archive (Fernandes) and has been mentioned earlier in the investigation. One of the family albums, the *Nau Portugal*, which was a vessel at the exposition, was most probably bought during a visit to the event, and contains, in the first pages of the album, photographs of the sites. These photographs were

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[218] See glossary for *Colonial Act*

probably sold with the album as a memento of the exposition. As quoted by Verner Poserver Curtis:

> From their earliest days, albums have been made for the purpose of preserving impressions and launching memories. They commemorate events and activities, recognize accomplishments, aid memory, contribute to family lore, and test pictorial ideas.[219]

The propaganda apparatus created not just an image of greatness of the Portuguese Empire, but also an exoticised image of the colonies, and of an imperial nation ruling over uncivilised territories. This generated the same paternalistic attitude that the state had toward its people in the mainland, towards the people in the overseas territories. The fact was that this enabled Portugal to keep the colonies and to use forced labour camps to produce wealth at very low costs. Only with the revocation of the Colonial Act in 1951, and the external pressure to quit the colonies[220] did Portugal change the designation from 'Portuguese Empire and colonies' to 'Overseas and overseas provinces'.[221] As Boaventura de Sousa Santos states in his text *Between Prospero and Caliban*:

> The colonies were now colonies, now overseas provinces; miscegenation was seen now as the degradation of the race, now as its most exalting feature; and the indigenous peoples were now savages, now national citizens.[222]

The revocation of the Colonial Act was intended to unite the empire as a Portuguese culture comprised of many diverse people, but all Portuguese.

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[219] Curtis, Verna Posever. *Photographic Memory: The Album in the Age of Photography*. 1st ed. New York: Aperture, 2011.

[220] The creation of article 73rd of the UN which determined that:" Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government…" in Repertory of Practices of United Nations Organs: http://legal.un.org/repertory/art73.shtml

[221] Before the 1930 Colonial Act the name of colonies was overseas provinces, returning to this designation in 1951.

[222] Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 39, no. 2 (2002): 9–43.

It was precisely in 1951 that Gisela and Francisco boarded the ship to Portuguese India, where they remained until its integration with the Indian Union in 1961. Most of the photographs from the Janeiro archive are from this period.

In a 1947 speech Salazar affirmed that:

> In the midst of the present convulsions we present ourselves as a brotherhood of peoples, cemented over centuries of peaceful living and Christian understanding, a community of peoples that whatever our differences help each other, cultivate each other and take pride in the same name and quality of the Portuguese[223]

This put all the people, in the mainland and overseas, under the same hat of *Portugueseness*[224] by claiming that the Portuguese colonisation was special, different from other European colonisations, and blander, through Gilberto Freire's *Lusotropicalismo* theories[225] stating that all were a big Portuguese family, all Cristian, Portuguese speaking, whether white or black. As David Corkill and José Almeida comment in their text:

> Colonization was described as a 'racial tendency' of the Portuguese, while events were held to celebrate that the 'Overseas expansion was done more with the heart than with the sword'. The country was said to be incomplete without its colonial subjects and its empire to be indivisibly part of the nation.[226]

Salazar ruled the empire from his office, having flown only once, and not liking it, he would never set foot in the colonies during the 36 years of his consulship.

> Yet it would be a mistake to assume that his provincialism implies a lack of political culture. Salazar was an 'academic' dictator…[227]

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[223] Carvalho, Teresa Bandeira de. "'Portugal Isn't a Small Country': The Construction of Colonial Memory under Salazar's Estado Novo." *Observatório Político*, no. 79 (2018).

[224] See glossary for *Portugueseness*

[225] See glossary for *Lusotropicalismo*

[226] Corkill, David, and José Almeida. "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940." *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 3 (2009).

[227] Pinto, António Costa. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995. p.170

As Natasha Revez points out in her thesis:

> From this point onwards, there was a distinction between 'good colonisation', the one which was made for humanitarian or selfless reasons and for the purpose of the development of the colonies, from 'bad colonisation' which was driven by profit and the intention of exploiting the colonised territories.[228]

This is one of the reasons why the dictatorship lasted as long as it did: the fear of losing its overseas territories (empire) kept the people living *habitually*.[229] The colonial war, which lasted 13 years, from 1961 to 1974's military coup, was also a result of the stubbornness of keeping sovereignty over the overseas territories.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos mentions the problem of self-representation of the Portuguese coloniser:

> As regards colonial discourses, the subalternity of Portuguese colonialism resides in the fact that, since the seventeenth century, the history of colonialism has been written in English, not in Portuguese. This means that the Portuguese colonizer has a problem of self-representation rather similar to that of the British colonized. As we know, this problem, as far as the colonized are concerned, consists in the impossibility of the colonized, or the formerly colonized Third World, to represent themselves in terms such that do not confirm the subaltern position ascribed to them by the colonial representation.[230]

The colonial memory constructed during the New State, and the long historical past of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, still constitutes one of the bases of Portuguese identity. And it is also a complicated one that once was a source of pride, but is now a source of shame.[231]

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[228] Revez, Natasha Finz Machado Paulino. "Os Álbuns Portugal 1934 e Portugal 1940. Dois Retratos Do País No Estado Novo." Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012. p.48 [my translation]

[229] Stated by Salazar once: "make Portugal live by habit"

[230] Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 39, no. 2 (2002): 9–43.

[231] For further reading on Portuguese Postcolonial overseas territories and the end of the African colonies see: Chabal, Patrick. *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. Specifically the chapters: *The end of Empire*, by Patrick Chabal and

Women, pillar of the household

In 1934 there were three women that entered the Portuguese Parliament for the first time, and although this may seem as quite a progressive or even feminist act, it was not. The inclusion of a few handpicked women in political life was part of the propaganda's strategy for winning the public opinion on women's side and to consolidate the role of women as the pillar of the home. Salazar said in an interview at a time:

> in both the one and the other chamber there will be a number of women, which doesn't mean that the state or they themselves have been converted to feminism.[232]

Amongst these three women, who were unmarried, Catholic and conservative, was Maria Guardiola, who was responsible for the creation of most women's movements[233] during the New State. The use of propaganda towards and the mobilising of women during the regime was essential for its success and long duration. The fact that women's role in society and in the building of a new regime was so 'directed', so constructed, spread into several areas of women´s lives. The idea was to give women a sense of purpose and security, which was perhaps true for middle and upperclass women living in the cities. The reality in rural areas, however, was quite different, as can be seen in Maria Lamas' book *As Mulheres do Meu País*:[234]

Mozambique, by Malyn Newitt; Rosas, Fernando, Mário Machaqueiro, and Pedro Aires Oliveira, eds. *O Adeus Ao Império: 40 Anos de Descolonização Portuguesa*. Nova Veja, 2015; Bandeira Jerónimo, Miguel, and António Costa Pinto. *The Ends of European Colonial Empires: Cases and Comparisons*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

[232] Pinto, António Costa. *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism: Problems of Interpretation*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1995. p.198

[233] OMEN, MPF

[234] Lamas, Maria. *As Mulheres Do Meu País*. Lisboa: Ed. Caminhos, 2002. Maria Lamas (1893-1983) was a writer who also wrote children's literature and an active participant against the Estado Novo regime. Participated in the MUD (democratic movement against the regime) and was arrested and imprisoned by the PIDE on several occasions, lived in Paris, in exile between 1962 and 1969. Joined the communist party after April 25th. With this book she intended to investigate and narrate the lives of Portuguese women. Its chapters are divided by the regions of the country and by the occupation of women e.g. woman of the sea, working woman, housewife, etc. The book has a remarkable collection of photographs from several different authors, including herself, of women in their daily chores, from north to south of the country and islands.

…the first book to use printed photographs, systematically, as a vehicle of a divergent discourse – a counter-discourse - towards the propaganda of the Estado Novo regime.[235]

As is claimed by José Carvalheiro and Maria Silveirinha, the New State regime policy of political censorship was a "gender-based censorship". For example, the patriarchal regime

…created hegemonic meanings for women's identities, in a framework of policing political behaviours from which it was difficult to escape, not only because the political regimes did not allow it but also because they were connected to a set of practices that intended to systematically censor any emancipation.[236]

This is one of the most important factors to take into consideration about the context of the Fernandes family archive. All the photographs need to be analysed in the light of these factors regarding the role and social and political situation of women who lived in mainland Portugal during the New State, especially between 1933 and 1945, the most proliferous years of the regime, and when the propaganda machine was at its height. As Carvalheiro and Silveirinha observe:

…it includes an entire system of socially repeated disapprovals and reprimands that exercised social power over women with the aim of regimenting consciences and attitudes.[237]

The social constraints imposed on women in the regime developed into self-control and self-surveillance amongst women themselves. With parallels to John Berger's theories on ways of seeing about women's self-surveillance and also with Joan Riviere's Womanliness as masquerade, this *mask of womanliness* and femininity that the New State regime imposed on women eventually became a social norm that would then be passed down from mother to daughter. The censorship on women's

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[235] Serra, Filomena. "Introdução." *Comunicação Pública* 12, no. 23 (2017).

[236] Carvalheiro, José, and Maria Silveirinha. "Acting on the Body of the Audience: Dictatorship, Hegemony, and Gender Censorship in Portugal." *Feminist Media Studies*, 2015, 1–16.

[237] ibid

bodies, on appearance, make-up, clothing and gesture became taboo, and self-censorship the norm for many women during the years of the regime.

Figure 267 propaganda poster by Almada Negreiros to appeal for the constitution vote of 1933

Figure 268 Maternity honours and glorifies the woman

Representations of women in media and propaganda were restricted to the housewife. Creating concepts of femininity such as the good mother, good housewife, submissive, polite, all under the selfless ideal of caring for others, in self-abnegation. The New State would generate the hierarchy of the household and "the true institution of female 'domestication.'"[238] All this was accomplished in simultaneous strategies, from the Church, education system, female organisations and propaganda. Women "were caught in the overlap between the censorship regime and the patriarchal system."[239]

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[238] ibid

[239] ibid

Again, a parallel is found in Italian fascism where, in the words of Victoria De Grazia it:

> sought to establish more control over female bodies, especially female reproductive functions, at the same time that it sought to rehabilitate older patriarchal notions of family and paternal authority.[240]

In Salazarism women were to be *re-nationalised* in order to become more Catholic, more Portuguese.[241] In the New State, in the same way as in Mussolini's regime, a propagandised notion of *bad woman* and *good woman* was established[242] to control and establish the role of women in society as mother, wife and housewife, clearly demarcating women's place in domesticity, and prevent any form of emancipation. An example of the regime´s propaganda aimed at women can be read here:

> the mother is the warmth of the house, around whom all may warm themselves; the first to rise and the last to retire for the night /to go to bed, denying herself a thousand things.[243]

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[240] Term used by De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, 1993. p. 9.

[241] To nationalise Portuguese women, *reaportuguesamento (to make more Portuguese)*. The New State constitution had a law that prevented women from marrying a foreign man, so if a woman were to marry a foreign citizen, she would lose her Portuguese nationality.

[242] This concept is profoundly shared and repeated throughout the New State's female organisation publications, such as the *Boletim da Mocidade Portuguesa feminina, Modas e Bordados* and *Menina e Moça*. It is also referred to in De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, 1993.

[243] 'Boletim da MPF nº17, 1848, p.1307.' [my translation] Here the fireplace is used as a metaphor for women. *In* Brasão, Inês Paulo. *Dons e Disciplinas Do Corpo Feminino: Os Discursos Sobre o Corpo Na História Do Estado Novo*. Gráfica 2000, 1999. p. 81

Figure 269 Marriage is a sacrament to becoming a real woman

Figure 270 (Learn to iron) *Menina e Moça* (maiden and modest magazine)

The conventions established by the regime towards women were based on self-analysis, introspection and self-awareness of the body, in permanent discipline. This relationship between the self-analysis suggested by the New State as a system of self-surveillance correlates with the (self)surveillance mentioned by John Berger about femininity and its representation.[244]

The goal of the New State was to take the image of women created by the first Republic and turn it into something wrong and sinful.[245] This new woman that the New State wanted to create, more feminine, more Portuguese and more religious, was created by contradicting the previous image of women shaped by the first Republic. This new woman was to be selfless, Catholic, submissive to her husband,

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[244] Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London, New York: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1973.

[245] During the *Estado Novo* emancipation was seen as something sinful and wrong: During the first republic there was a separation between state and church (which was reverted by the New State). The first republic attempted to have social equality and so women's rights and emancipation were one of the its goals, as well as putting an end to the high rates of illiteracy.

modest and a good mother. All the activities that related to women's bodies were to be channelled towards collective ends such as charity, motherhood and nursing. Women's bodies were sanctified as the maternal, so the idea of a woman working in the place traditionally consigned to man was an aberration and deemed as not natural. The woman who worked was stigmatised.

The church reacted violently to the liberal uses of the female body that the First Republic's equal rights between two sexes had established. The body was the vessel through which ethics and morals based on Christian principles were expressed.

Paradigm of a photograph - Antonieta holding water jug

Figure 271 archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_001

Figure 272 archive_fernandes_white envelope1_003_a

There was something striking about this image, in a way that it is an iconic image, due to the pose that Antonieta is in and the object that she holds. She is standing slightly leaning to the left, holding a water jug on the opposite hand. On her head is a scarf, but the way that it sits on her head, not too tight, is somewhat strange. The left knee

is slightly bending, creating a curve with her body. One hand holding the water jug, the other in her hip. She is standing on the balcony of what appears to be a house in the country. The landscape can be seen stretching far onto the horizon. Next to her is a rabbit cage made of wood and chicken wire. Right at the lower left corner a small rabbit with its eyes closed can be seen. Antonieta is wearing a light-coloured dress, with short sleeves down to her elbows, and a belt that matches her dress. She is wearing platform sandals. The photograph has an inscription on the back identifying the location and date, Rinchoa 1944. There is also the negative of this image and two photographs of two other women in the same pose.[246]

Antonieta looks straight at the camera. It could be a pose typical of a photographer's studio, made by a professional photographer, or in ethnographic photography. But because of the location (it is taken at a house where Antonieta and Mário used to spend their weekends with family and friends in Rinchoa, a place near Sintra), the photographer is probably a friend or family. She is slightly frowning her eyebrows, probably because of the sun, and presents a sort of smirk, not really a smile, as if she is not quite comfortable in this pose.

This specific pose and its objects are typical of regional photographs of women farmers who would carry the water jugs to and from the fountains. Looking at Maria Lamas's book, *As Mulheres do Meu País*, there are many images with a similar typology. [247] Peasant women, with a scarf on their heads, hand on their hip and holding a basket or clay pot. It can be said it is an ethnographic iconography of peasant women. So, this image of Antonieta is a remake, a masquerade of this ethnographic iconography. Could the photographer's intention be to recreate this iconography and insert it into the family album?

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[246] The option to show both negative and print here is because the way one *reads* the photograph is affected by the contrast and definition of these two formats.

[247] See footnote 219.

Duas lavradeiras de fartos haveres, com o casaquinho — ta-
bardo — que usam no Inverno, sobre o colete. Quando não
sentem frio, costumam pendurá-lo no ombro
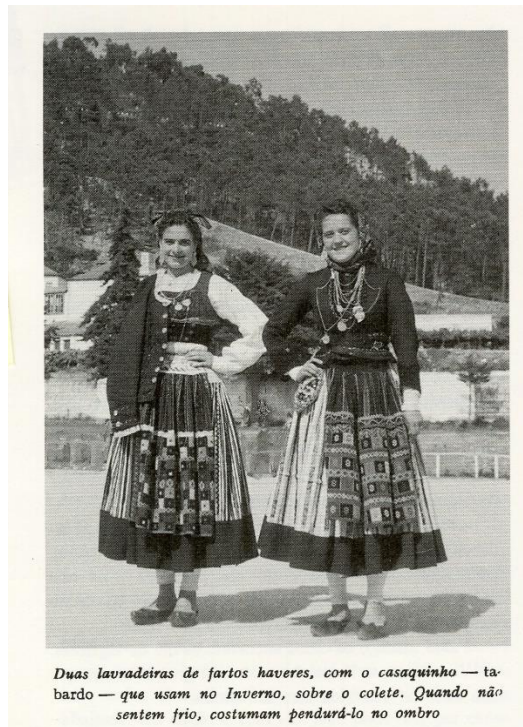
Figure 273 As Mulheres do Meu País

Figure 274 As Mulheres do Meu País

The New State *politics of the spirit* and its intention to create a new identity for the Portuguese people, an ideal of *Portugueseness*, also created a new iconography. This Portuguese identity was to be constructed through Portuguese history, the history of the Portuguese Empire and the specificity of the rurality of each region of the Portuguese mainland. Regional folklore and ethnographic icons were stereotyped and turned into idyllic rurality. It was a sort of return to the origins of the true Portuguese through photographic iconography and propaganda. This iconography, visible in the Portuguese world exposition, in fact did become part of the Portuguese identity, along with other symbols, which from this point on became a symbol of the Portuguese identity until this day. [248] I argue that this particular photograph, as well as others, is an example of how the New State propaganda through iconography and photography, did in fact permeate itself into the family album.

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[248] Galo de Barcelos, folklore, and later, fado. "It is this way that in the 1940 Album the use of the Barcelos rooster is first set as a symbol of nationality, never ceasing to be one." *In* Revez, Natasha Finz Machado Paulino. "Os Álbuns Portugal 1934 e Portugal 1940. Dois Retratos Do País No Estado Novo." Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012. p.103 [my translation]

Figure 275 official image from Portuguese world Exposition 1940. Typical costume form Beira Baixa region

Figure 276 official image from Portuguese world Exposition 1940. Typical costume form Minho region

Antonieta recently told me it was in fact her husband (Mário) who took the photograph, and who set the *mise en scène*. Even now, speaking about it, she did not seem more excited than she appears to be in the photograph, with the fact that her husband fully controlled and directed the photographs. When describing some of the other images, she said Mário enjoyed putting everyone in symmetry in the photographs.

The reading or interpretation of this photograph would be rather different without the knowledge that Mário, Antonieta's husband, was the author of the photograph. Furthermore, it was his idea in the first place to take such a photograph with these elements and this pose, and he was the one who completely directed the whole scene. The fact that he decided to photograph Antonieta in this costume, and in this

pose, correlates with the theories of the iconography of the New State being absorbed into the family album and into the family's (self) representation.

Here we have the husband gazing at his wife and the wife gazing at her husband, the photographer. There was a slight awkwardness in her pose as though she is not quite comfortable representing this role of 'peasant woman with water jug. Could it be perhaps that the jug is heavy and she is having trouble holding it, is that the reason why her body is slightly tilted to the opposite side?

Antonieta's dress, just as in all the other pictures, is fully buttoned up right to the neck. The dress goes down to her knees and her shoes, although sandals cover most of her feet. It is not a typical family photograph, or even a common way for a husband to portray his wife. This photograph asserts the New State's propaganda machine success in creating an iconography that would represent Portuguese identity and true *Portugueseness*.

Iconography in mainland and overseas

The choreography of the regime and the aesthetics of propaganda would reflect itself in the Fernandes family albums as a *hyper staginess.* The highly geometrical *mise en scène* and the theatricality found in the Fernandes archive photographs correlate to the aesthetics of the New State's propaganda. However, this theatricality and *hyper staginess* cannot be found in the Janeiro archive images. Could this mean that life in the overseas territories was less constricted, or that the propaganda machine was less intrusive?

Censorship was slightly more lenient in Lourenço Marques where, for example, one could read books or see films censored in the mainland. To thoroughly understand and analyse the Janeiro album, an overview of the context of the overseas territories is crucial. Firstly, it is necessary to understand the specificity of Portuguese India, which is a unique case, quite different from the African territories such as Mozambique or Angola. Unlike the extensive literature on life in mainland Portugal during the Estado Novo regime, literature on life in the Portuguese India territories is not so abundant.

The context of the New State propaganda in Portuguese India is less visual, less photographic, so in this sense Portuguese India is not 'modern'. The focus of the propaganda was on history rather than on progress or the future. The strategy for propaganda about Portuguese India was based on tradition, its long historical past and on the imagery of monuments, such as churches and fortifications. This strategy was based on the past and not on the future, unlike the propaganda used by the New State in mainland Portugal. As a result, the photographs are of official state events, religious ceremonies and local traditions such as can be seen in a headline article *Portuguese India in the glorious history of the fatherland.*[249] This article was published in a special issue of the official newspaper of the União Nacional (single party of the New State).

There was no need for propaganda in Portuguese India or about Portuguese India, also because there was little investment or development in these territories. The focus was mainly on the maintenance and management of the existing structures. The only time there was propaganda in the Portuguese mainland about Portuguese India was during the Indian Union attacks on the Portuguese territories and after the economic blockade by the Indian Union of the Portuguese India territories (1954-1961). "Our India" was one of the terms prolifically used during this time, a sort of affectionate and proprietous way of naming the territories under threat.

Geographically speaking, the territory of Portuguese India comprised in total, of all the territories put together, "an area of about 4000 km2. Portuguese India was 22 times smaller than mainland Portugal, having a total of 600.000 inhabitants".[250] It was a small territory divided in several smaller territories along the western Indian coast, the remaining provinces after 450 years of Portuguese rule.[251] Most of the population was a result of cultural miscegenation: Catholic Goanese, cohabiting with

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[249] Fonseca, António da, and Barradas de Oliveira. "A Índia Portuguesa Na História Gloriosa Da Pátria." *Suplemento Do Diário Da Manhã (40 Anos Na Vida de Uma Nação - Províncias de Moçambique, Índia, Macau e Timor)*. July 9, 1966.

[250] Carvalho, Pedro de. *Geografia de Portugal*. Porto: Porto Editora, n.d.

[251] Goa was conquered in 1510 by the Portuguese, followed by Diu in 1534 and Daman in 1559. In the eighteenth century were the new conquests of territory in Goa. The Portuguese India territories were integrated by the Indian Union in 1961. In the 1950 census Goa had 547.500 inhabitants, predominantly of Hindu and Catholic religion. Daman had 27.500 inhabitants, 77% Hindu,16% Muslim and 6% Catholic. The inhabitants in Diu were predominantly Muslim. *In* Brito, Raquel Soeiro de. *Goa e as Praças Do Norte*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1966.

the Hindu and Muslim population. The inhabitants who were part of the government apparatus, such as public servants and military were a scarce minority: "in Goa, the Goanese, held most of the administrative jobs. On the eve of the Indian Union invasion, only the posts of governor, the Archbishop and commanding officer had never been occupied by Goanese."[252] All these factors resulted in an informal atmosphere of co-habitation. In the case of Daman, where the Janeiro Family lived for a few years (1953-1956) and where some of the photographs in this analysis are from, there were only two western women living there at that time.[253]

In contrast to its propaganda in India, the regime's propaganda in the African colonies was focused on progress, industry, architecture and urban development. Angola and Mozambique were the largest and most important territories of the African colonies. Angola was 14 times larger than mainland Portugal and Mozambique 7 times larger.[254] Economic and urban growth were at their height in the years 1961-1975, from the start of the colonial war in Angola (1961) until the independence of the Portuguese overseas territories (1975). This coincides with the years the Janeiro family lived in Mozambique (1962-1975).[255]

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[252] Thomaz, Luís Filipe. "Muitas Goas, Uma Goa." In *Goa, Passado e Presente- Tomo1*, edited by Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Manuel Teles Cunha, 918. Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2012. p. 31 [my translation]

[253] In a letter from Gisela to her mother: "12-5-1954 the governor's wife has been very nice to us, since we are the only two European women here, we really must maintain a good relationship.In the afternoon she passes by our house and we go for a walk to the pier, or to the bazar in Damão Pequeno." [my translation]

[254] The Portuguese occupation of Mozambique begun with the island of Mozambique in 1506 followed by the Zambezi Valley in the seventeenth century. Lourenço Marques became the Capital in 1898 and Beira was founded in 1907. In the 1950 census the "native" population, named "não civilizados" amounted to a total of 5.638.526 inhabitants. The so-called "civilizados" amounted to 92.404: Whites 49.000 (52,93 %), 1.615 Chinese, 12.604 Indian, 24.898 mulatto e 4.377 "assimilados" (assimilated, black population that adhered to the settler's ways, culture and language). The white population lived mainly in the two main cities Lourenço Marques and Beira. *In* Boléo, Oliveira. *Moçambique*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1951.

[255] For further reading on the Portuguese overseas territories see: Newitt, Malyn. *Emigration and the Sea: an Alternative History of Portugal and the Portuguese.* Oxford University Press, 2015; Clarence-Smith, Gervaise. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985. Birmingham, David. *A Concise History of Portugal*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Birmingham, David. *Portugal and Africa*. Athens Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1999, MacQueen, Norrie. *A Descolonização Da África Portuguesa: A Revolução Metropolitana e a Dissolução Do Império*. Mem Martins: Editoria Inquérito, 1998.

For further reading on Portuguese colonial iconography see: Vicente, Filipa Lowndes, ed. *O Império Da Visão: A Fotografia No Contexto Colonial Português (1860-1960)*. Lisboa: 70, 2014; Barradas, Carlos. "Poder Ver , Poder Saber . A Fotografia Nos Meandros Do Colonialismo e Pós-Colonialismo" 6 (2006):

The visual propaganda for the African colonies was less constructed than the propaganda intended for the Portuguese mainland. It was less staged in its photographic elements (although it was still very constructed in its message), aesthetically less dramatic and theatrical, as can be seen by the examples in Figure 277 and Figure 278. The focus was aimed at the interracial relationships and the multiracial context of these territories. The president of the republic in an official visit to the African overseas territories, embracing a black man, and two children, one black and one white with the text: "this is Angola".

Figure 277 A memorable visit

Figure 278 This is Angola!

72–92; Oliveira, João Spacca de Assubuji, Rui, and Lailson de Holanda Sousa, Osvaldo Macedo de Cavalcanti. *Qual o Papel Da Imagem Na História?* Lisboa: Escolar Editora, 2015; Dias, Jill. "Photographic Sources for the History of Portuguese-Speaking Africa, 1870-1914." *History in Africa* 18 (1991): 67–82; Henriques, Isabel Castro. "L' Afrique Dans l' Iconographie Coloniale Portugaise." In *Images et Colonies*, edited by Pascal Blanchard and Armelle Chatelier, 110–20. Paris: Syros/ACHAC/Bibliothèque Nationale, 1993.

From a second analysis of the archives, chapter 3 *Remaking the Family Album: from mainland overseas*, it is clear that, firstly, there is evidence of the New State's policy and its impact on people's lives, and secondly that there is a difference between mainland Portugal and its overseas territories.

As Bourdieu points out, the "family album expresses the essence of social memory" and this is clearly seen here, as well as in the examples of photographs that follow. [256] The lives, locations and especially the cultural and social settings in which the two families lived, left an imprint in the photographs found in the albums. The specificity of the composition of the photographs has a clear influence from the imagery these two families were exposed to in the place where each lived.

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[256] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*. 1990th ed., Polity, 1996.

Janeiro family album in overseas territories

Figure 279 Goa, Panaji, 12-8-59 archive_janeiro_album_Ilda_001_a

Figure 280 Women in Goa 1956.

Figure 281 Archive Janeiro *Porto d'honra* Hotel Mandovi 1960. Photograph by Souza &Paul

Um aspecto da assistência que enchia a sala imponente entre os retratos severos dos Vice-Reis

Figure 282 Visit of the Overseas Minister in Goa, 1952
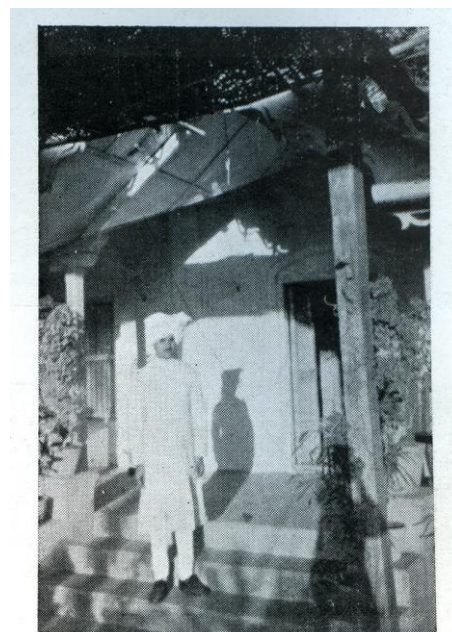
Figure 283 Archive Janeiro, Album India, Daman, 1953, "at the doorstep of the house where Milú was born"

Figure 284 *Rajput* (Hindu caste of Daman)

Figure 285 archive_janeiro_album_india_042_a

Figure 286 Senhora khojá (Moorish of Daman)

Fernandes family album and propaganda

Figure 287 detail of photograph from Fernandes Archive 1942

Figure 288 official image from Portuguese world Exposition 1940, *Nau Portugal* in the background

Figure 289 photograph from Fernandes Archive 1942
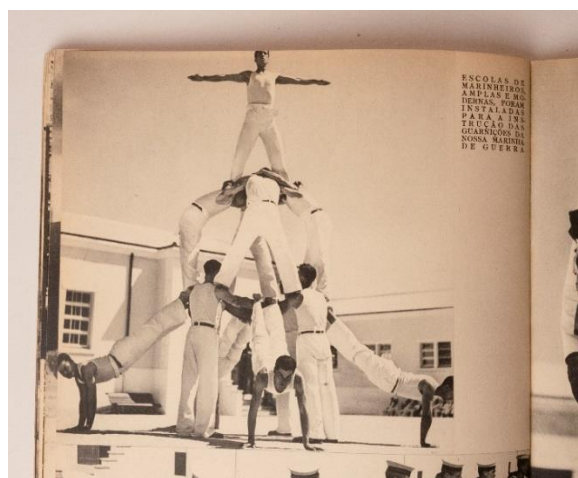
Figure 290 from *Album Portugal* 1940

Figure 291 photograph from Fernandes Archive 1954
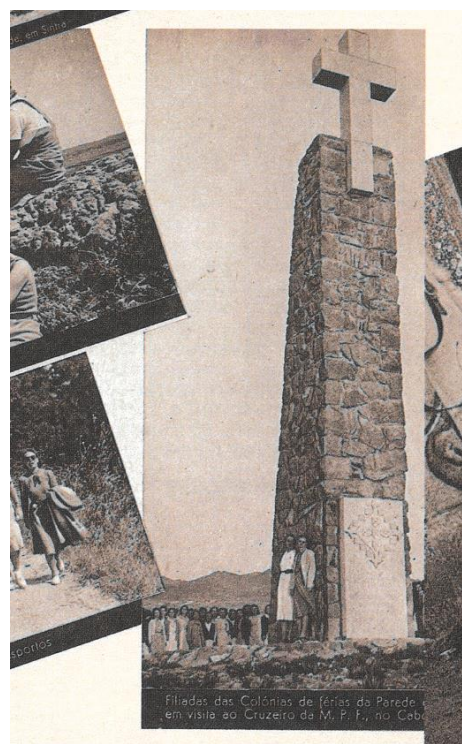
Figure 292 MPF summer camp

Figure 293   detail of photograph from Fernandes Archive

Figure 294 Portuguese Feminine youth summer camp, photograph by Mário Novais

Figure 295 detail from Fernandes archive

Figure 296 cover o *Menina e Moça* magazine no. 24, April 1949

The juxtaposition of images shown above clearly demonstrates the influence of the regime's propaganda in the family photographs of the Fernandes archive. The influence of the iconography divulged in the overseas territories can also be observed

in the Janeiro archive images. The composition of the images juxtaposed in the Fernandes archive are much more constructed and carefully staged than the images in the Janeiro archive. These observations sprung from the analysis and study of the propaganda aesthetics and strategy of the New State regime. It was crucial to study the context of this historical period to fully comprehend the social situation women were subject to. Furthermore, it was essential to understanding the compositions viewed in the Fernandes photographs to comprehend the visual strategies of propaganda as well as the regime's policies on women while noting the absence of such highly constructed poses in the Janeiro archive images.

The conclusion is that the family was indeed permeable to the influence of the visual propaganda strategy. This is crucial for the practice and the interpretation to be made of the archive images and their iconography. The act of performing for the camera is directly influenced by these findings.

Project D About an archive

Studies 3- About an archive #1   Studies 3- About an archive #3
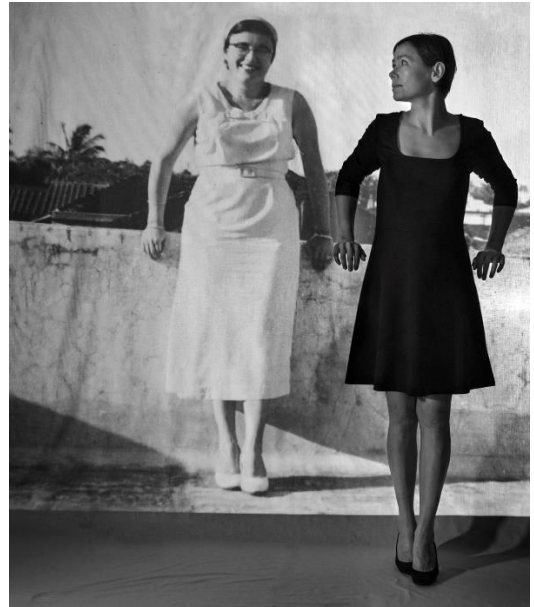
Studies 3- About an archive #3   Studies 3- About an archive #4

Studies 3- About an archive -Swimsuit

Studies 3- About an archive -lipstick

Studies 3- About an archive -unbuttoned

No man's self-portrait was assessed on its merits as an example of the painter's sex; the women's always were.

Frances Borzello[257]

Chapter 5 Acts of performance: contextualising practice

The previous chapter (4) concluded that certain visual elements of the regime can be found also represented in the family albums. Chapter 4 was essential to understand what is contained in the images so that the crucial findings could then be interpreted through performance photography.

The first part of this chapter considers self-portraiture and performance photography in its relationship to identity. The second part of this chapter examines theatre and performance and their relationship to the study and representation of archives and how they relate to the method used in this investigation: the role of the archivist as an 'actor' within the archive. The third part of this chapter looks into how the practice developed throughout this investigation. In this section I use first-person speech to clearly describe the creative process and the methods used here. To establish the ground where the practice for the thesis inserts itself, the chapter addresses self-portraiture, performance and self-representation.

Self-portraiture and identification, why am I using myself?

In an attempt to analyse and contextualise the practice developed in this thesis, my personal experience needs to be approached. To thoroughly investigate the concepts of self-portraiture, self-representation and performance, these three terms need to be contextualised within the practice.

For the purpose of this analysis, these terms need to be juxtaposed with my own practice. I consider self-portraiture is a genre, a visual language of communication

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[257] Borzello, Frances. *Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2016.

that in my practice I consider as a coherent vehicle for expressing issues and concerns.

Julia Espinosa's article in which she analyses the role of photography as building identity refers to self-portraiture as a form of self-investigation, of attaining knowledge. As Espinosa states:

> This process of looking at one's self with the intention of gaining insight is actually a process of performance by which identity is created and not discovered.[258]

This idea of identity being built or created instead of discovered is extremely important. The notion that identity is not simply something that exists and can be explored is linked to the hypothesis that new identities can be *built* through performance opens an important precedent that expands on the possibilities of the identity of the *other.* There is no limit or impossibility, Espinosa here says:

> Instead photography complicates and expands the ways in which consciousness can creatively *build* identity.[259]

In this "imitation of self," the photographic experience becomes a performative and transformative process. Barthes also notes,

> Once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes: I constitute myself in the process of 'posing,' I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image.[260]

This transforming oneself into an image "in advance" when confronted with the lens/ camera is one of the foundations of performance photography and photographic self-portraiture. It is here that the practice inserts itself in the building of identity. I turn myself into an image and then I become that image. The image inhabits me and is transformed within and by me. I become an active participant within the interpretation of the archive.

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[258] Espinosa, Julia. "Myself as Other Photography Memory and Identity Creation." *Gnovis* X, no. II (2010).

[259] Espinosa, "Myself as Other", 2010.

[260] Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 2000.

Jo Spence describes the reaction of people while she is photographing them, describing how they "staged themselves":

> …there is a gap between how we experience ourselves and how we would like to experience ourselves and how we would like other people to see us.[261]

Spence's ideas echo with the work developed here, and in a way sympathise with the intentions of this research:

> We need to begin to think historically as women - not only in terms of keeping evidence of the times we have literally passed through, but in terms of our fantasies, especially through staging things for the camera, trying to indicate our hopes for ourselves, as well as what we "failed to get" or had denied us. We need a whole spectrum of images to relate to, going way outside the range of images on public offer.[262]

Going outside the "images on public offer" is inherent in the use of *private* family albums, and a crucial aspect in this thesis. The fact that the focus is made on the two women represented in the family albums is a sign of a need to look for evidence of the times and things denied and lost, an attempt to think historically as *a woman*.

Considering the use of performance as a method for the study of an archive, it is imperative to look into interpretations of archive(s) through theatre performance. Is the work produced for the thesis getting closer to *the theatre/the theatrical*? It would make sense, considering the arguments from the Raqs Media Collective about the investigator of the archive also being an actor and the archive being a stage. Another important reference was Maria Tamboukou's work about the narrative phenomenon, and how one can never, and should never, remove oneself completely from the analysis and interpretation of a given archive.[263] These theories have most definitely contributed to develop my own practice. This realisation has contributed significantly to this thesis and to the possibilities of how the practice developed.

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[261] Spence, Jo. "Putting Yourself in the Picture." *New Socialist*, no. 38 (1987).

[262] ibid

[263] The "narrative phenomenon" is approached in chapter 2 Between history and memory, family albums in Tamboukou, "Archive Pleasures", 2011.

Archive as theatre: contextualizing practice

The aim of this chapter is to study and question the approaches to archive and subjective memory through self-portraiture and performance photography. It is imperative to also consider the approach to archives through documentary theatre, due to work developed in this field on the subject of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonial past. The documentary theatre practice developed by André Amálio and Joana Craveiro has some parallels to my own practice. Amálio and Craveiro both explore the period of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonialism. They investigate by collecting a variety of material, such as photographs and objects, and through interviews with the purpose of constituting an archive - the source material for their performances. This is why it is important to address their work, even though they are performing for an audience and not a camera, and to discuss the similarities and differences in methods. The fact that their primary source of material is an archive, which they built / collected themselves, correlates to the method used within this thesis. Quite often the material collected is from personal testimonies, of people who lived during that period. Some of them lived part or all of the time in a former Portuguese colony. Interviews, family photographs, objects and memorabilia are all shared with investigators-performers in order to constitute their archive.

André Amálio works in documentary theatre and verbatim theatre (a form of documentary theatre in which the source material from interviews, for example, is enacted word by word). The sources for the materials are interviews and collected photographs. Through the collection of other people's memories, their appropriation and subsequently using their physical presence (on stage) to re-enact these transmitted memories. It is a form or self-representation and self-portraiture, in the sense that the actors are also investigators and archivists researching and building a new archive.

Joana Craveiro created a performance she called "A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories", which is a live performance based on oral history testimonies, and in which she is the only actor. She performs autobiographically as her alter ego, the archivist. The stories she tells are a mixture

of her own memories, stories told by her family and collected oral testimonies. She states:

> A Living Museum however, starts with the reconstructive and autobiographical quest of "knowing what remains in me of those times", so that I can "know who I am", as I state in the beginning of the performance.[264]

Her aim is to bring the 'unofficial narratives' into the light of day, by addressing a specific period of Portuguese history. Working with Marianne Hirsch's postmemory theories, second and third generation memory work, she creates alternative histories.[265]

Figure 297   Live performance of: A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories

Figure 298 André Amálio in a live performance of Libertação

There is a relationship between the method used by André Amálio and Joana Craveiro in their documentary theatre and the method used in this thesis. The actors/performers are also the investigators and creators of an archive. This archive comes from personal sources (personal testimonies and photographs). The material in the archive is then appropriated and re-enacted by re-performing the stories from the archive. Although the starting point is quite similar to the practice developed in this thesis, the results are ultimately different. In Amálio and Craveiro's performances, they enact the (re)collection of the testimonies intrusted to them. The performances are, in this sense, a reproduction of the information contained in the

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[264] Craveiro, Joana. "A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories: Performing Narratives, Testimonies and Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution." University of Roehampton, 2016. p.131

[265] For more on postmemory, see footnote 33

archive. My performances intend to go further, to go beyond the archive, and to be critical about what is contained in it. In my practice, re-enactment of the archive is not simply a retelling of the stories in it; it is critical. Amálio and Craveiro perform the existing archive, but they do not transform it.

> A photographic image always represents a reality situated in the past and the viewer is always situated in relation to it historically.[266]

This can refer to any type of photograph but can also be applied to archive work. In fact, it gains a different depth when it is read within the context of archival work or memory work. When the images in the archive are appropriated and re-enacted, the historical dimension becomes more complex. The collecting of public memory constructs a new archive, distinct from the pre-existing historical archives. It is completely and assumedly subjective.

The idea of archive as theatre, as a performative act, is also approached by the Raqs media collective, as described in their article "In The Theatre of Memory".[267] The relationship established between archive and theatre is particularly pertinent when the archive is approached through artistic practice. The idea that the artist intervening or studying the archive also has the role of actor and that the archive becomes this place, this stage, where the artist plays the role of rewriter of memory. Photography, being the intimate companion of the archive, is in the privileged position to retell and rewrite its story. As "In The Theatre of Memory" attests:

> This is partly because this photograph, more than anything else, helped us understand that the archive is a theatre, that the witness is also an actor.[268]

Here they validate the visual approaches to archives through performance. In this text, artistic practice is also described as a privileged means for approaching archives, having the freedom to interpret and fill in the gaps.

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[266] Espinosa, "Myself as Other", 2010. http://www.gnovisjournal.org/2010/04/27/advent-myself-other-photography-memory-and-identity-creation/.

[267] Raqs Media Collective. "In The Theatre of Memory: The Work of Contemporary Art in the Photographic Archive." *Lalit Kala Contemporary*, vol. 52, Photography as Art and Practice in India, 2012, pp. 85–95, http://www.raqsmediacollective.net/images/pdf/7123c17b-aa9a-4ff3-a9ce-fdcd96f7ae8f.pdf.

[268] Raqs Media Collective. pp. 85–95.

The archival photograph contains both the presence as well as the absence of the historical within its surface. Reading the photograph then is to read into all the things it says, and at least into some of the things it does not say. Listening to its silences is an act of the imagination.[269]

The presence of silence, emptiness, and absence contains some of the puzzling contributions and one of the important factors in memory works. It is found through the Raqs media collective in, what they call the absences in the archives, which provide the space for imagination. These absences also resonate through Annette Kuhn's writings:

memory provides the raw material, such narratives of identity are shaped as much by what is left out of the account - whether forgotten or repressed - as by what is actually told.[270]

The theories presented by the Raqs media collective, were a starting point in the development of the practice. [271] In these theories it is affirmed that the witness to the archive, in this case the researcher, also becomes the actor in the archive. And the archive, which is re-invented or re-created, becomes the stage where the researcher performs. It is in this relationship between performance and archive that the visual project is sustained. Using the repetition of gesture in an attempt to recreate and retell the hidden stories in the archive. Sometimes using repetition or mimicry and other times leaving the space for a broader interpretation.

The fact that a new archive (iconographic index) is created enables for a deeper understanding of how the researcher influences the interpretation of the archive. What goes into the archive/ index and what is excluded from it, has informed the research. The elements that reveal themselves whilst investigating the archive are later explored. These elements create the narrative that is later performed for the camera. From the reinterpretation of the archive, and subsequent "filling of the

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[269] Ibid.

[270] Rossington, Michael., and Anne Whitehead. *Theories of Memory: A Reader*. Edinburgh University Press, 2008. p.226

[271] Raqs Media Collective, 2012.

empty spaces" found in this visual archive, a more informed view is built. [272] From the performative acts results a body of work providing possible interpretations into the archive. It is through the construction of this new archive/ iconographic index that the artistic project is developed and built, and it is through performance that the archive is interpreted.

It can then be concluded that what is important is not just what is found in the archive, but also what is missing from it. It is in this empty space that the artist finds room to re-interpret and re-collect memory. It is as if memory could only be re-materialised through the physicality of the body, and the repetition of gesture.

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[272] Reference to observation made by the Raqs Media Collective, 2012, pp. 85–95, http://www.raqsmediacollective.net/images/pdf/7123c17b-aa9a-4ff3-a9ce-fdcd96f7ae8f.pdf.p.88

Performing the archive

This section considers the role of performance photography in the interpretation of archives: what methods are used, and which theories informed the visual research. The starting point was the analysis of my family archive images of Antonieta and Gisela, which led to the conception/creation of the iconographic index. Later, it was from the iconographic index that images were selected and re-enacted through performance.

I felt a need to be in the presence of these women. I chose to project the images at life size scale so that I could stand next to them. The first steps consisted of mimicry and a re-enactment of the same gestures found in the archive photographs.[273] I needed to understand those poses, to feel and act the same, until I could enact the exact same gesture. As the investigation progressed, the images in the poses became more familiar, until finally they became part of my corporeality and it became a process of embodiment.

At first, I needed to project the images and to be photographed performing the gestures alongside those images. The projections worked as a backdrop, a sort of scenario, a stage. The physicality of each pose was minutely studied and repeated time after time.

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[273] Luce Irigaray defines mimicry as: "(*mimétisme*): An interim strategy for dealing with the realm of discourse (where the speaking subject is posited as masculine), in which the woman deliberately assumes the feminine style and posture assigned to her within this discourse in order to uncover the mechanisms by which it exploits her." In Irigaray, Luce. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. 6th print. New York: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Figure 299 Studies 1- a

Figure 300 Studies 1-b

Figure 301 Studies1-c

Figure 302 Studies1-d

Figure 303 Studies 1-e

Figure 304 Studies 1-f

Figure 305 Studies-g

Figure 306 Studies-h

In some cases, the poses were mirrored and other times symmetrical. This process was intuitive and relied on my own bodily reaction and interpretation of the gestures.

The projection of images to create a background was used by Cindy Sherman in her "Rear Screen Projections" series (Figure 307), only in her case she used the projections to set the scene in different locations. In this investigation my purpose was to put myself in the scene with Antonieta and Gisela.

Peggy Phelan comments in relation to Cindy Sherman's work:

> Each setting, pose and facial expression seems literally to express an almost immeasurable interior which is at once mysteriously deep, and totally impenetrable: a feminine identity[274]

Both works, mine and Sherman's, use the projection to give context to the subject being photographed. Although in Sherman's case the back projections function only as a location and in my work, it is used to insert myself in the image, alongside my grandmothers. Both explore representations of femininity.

Figure 307 Cindy Sherman untitled#66

The method of projecting the images from the archive was repeated many times. This is part of the process of researching through images, a visual research thesis, in which

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[274] Phelan, Peggy. *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*. Routledge, 2005.

the projections function as a meticulous method for mimicking and enacting pose. The experimental aspects that come with repeating the same action again and again are a crucial part of the method. These visual studies diverged slightly each time. Whether using digital manipulation on the archive images (e.g.Figure 308) in which case Antonieta was digitally erased from the projected image and I stand in her place, mimicking the same pose while I gaze at Mário. Or other times, by the use of different props such as headscarves, furniture, etc.

Figure 308 Studies 2 Mário & me

The projection of archive images, such as the case of Lorie Novak (below), has been used by many visual artists.[275] I suggest that the need to physically inhabit the same space as our ancestors or relatives who are no longer among us is recurring from many artists. Lori Novak also used projection of archive imagery in her project interior projections (Figure 309). The photographs from the family albums are projected onto interior spaces, and when describing her work, she makes an analogy with theatre:

> The rooms became a stage, and the projections of family photographs the players.[276]

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[275] Other artists which have used projection of archive images are: Shimon Attie, Rosy Martin and Christian Boltanski

[276] Novak, Lorie. "Lorie Novak," 2018. https://lorienovak.com/photos/interiors/index.html.

Figure 309 Lorie Novak: Interior projections

One of the fundamental aspects of the practice developed throughout this thesis is the relationship between the performance for the camera and theatre performance. By performing as an actor, on the stage created by the projected images, I am also interpreting the story. The performance translates the referent within the pose. There is a story to be told through gesture and there is a story contained within the pose. Returning to Cindy Sherman's work, Phelan describes her process:

> …in a way that might also be considered as mirroring the hypothesis of the Mnemosyne Atlas: the collecting and re-presenting of found images of the female form by Sherman represents a continued legacy in the production of traumatic memory through aesthetics.[277]

In this sense my performance work could also constitute a new archive, a new iconography, since it explores the different aspects of female gesture and the cultural diversities during a specific time and place.

The one element that remained immutable during this process was the black dress and black high heels used in the photographic performances. The choice of a black

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[277] Allan, Hannah Elizabeth. *The Archival Context of Contemporary Practice: How Might Temporal Artistic Process Function as Trace within the Archive?* Manchester Metropolitan University, 2015.

dress was mainly because of its neutrality. I wanted the dress to be something as neutral as possible in the sense that it wouldn't add anything else to the images. I tried black trousers as well in relation to the archive images where Gisela is seen wearing trousers. Clothing is very important because it is part of the story. I always try to use the same dress.[278] The high-heeled shoes were also extremely important because of the pose, as heels change the body pose.

Another practical reason for choosing black was because I was using projected images, so I wanted the dress to absorb light rather than reflect it. Had I, for example, worn a white dress, its effect would have been of a continuation of the canvas as a backdrop where the image would be projected onto, causing the physicality of the body to disappear amongst these projections. This was not the effect intended, it was not for the body to become a canvas, it was for the body to become visible and for the gestuality to become the central factor of the images.

Most of the photographs from the family albums are black-and-white prints and a few black-and-white negatives. There are very few colour prints. Although the performance images are all shot in digital, it became clear from the start that the project would consist of black-and-white photographs.[279] Colour photographs would create a contrast with the projection of the black-and-white images from the albums. Furthermore, the goal of the images was to show gesture and pose, therefore form, and for this, colour was unnecessary.

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[278] There were two dresses used, one long sleeved (figure 299 to figure 319) and one short sleeved (figure 323 to figure333)

[279] Shot in digital (in raw format therefore in colour)

Figure 310 Studies 2- Holding water pot

Figure 311 Studies 2- Casal Fernandes

The visual investigation had several stages, which I call studies 1, 2 and 3: Studies 1, shown above (Figure *299* - Figure *306*), studies2 (Figure *308* - Figure *315*) and studies 3 (Figure *316* - Figure *322*). Studies 2 started out with the same process of projecting the archive images onto a backdrop and to perform the poses for the camera. Eventually the archive images started to disappear from the photographs, remaining only the performing body (Figure *312* - Figure *315*).

Figure 312 Studies 2-a

Figure 313 Studies 2-b

Figure 314 Studies 2-c

Figure 315 Studies 2-d

At this point the archive images were no longer necessary. Antonieta and Gisela no longer needed to be in the picture, the gestures embodied me and became part of my corporality. The poses and gesture studied previously started to inhabit my own body. There was an intense repetition of pose in the attempt to grasp the essential elements of the poses found in Antonieta and Gisela. At this point there is still a use of props. Repetition is crucial in the acts of performance. Judith Butler is often quoted on the subject of repetition. Her reference to this term is used in her approach to gender identity, but here it shall be mentioned in reference to identity in a more general sense. According to Butler, gender identity is constructed through the repetition of acts through time, and that gender transformation lies in the breaking of these *stylized repetition of acts.*[280] In her feminist phenomenology approach she claims that the body is crafted into gender through historical and cultural construct, stating:

> The formulation of the body as a mode of dramatizing or enacting possibilities offers a way to understand how a cultural convention is embodied and enacted.[281]

Butler references anthropologist Victor Turner on his studies of ritual social drama and on the premise of gender as an act. Regarding Turner, she states:

> …social action requires a performance which is repeated. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; it is the mundane and ritualised form of their legitimation.[282]

The acts of performance developed throughout the approach to archives in this thesis correlate to the claims made by Butler. The socially and cultural established identity reenacted and questioned by repetitive acts of performance. On performance Victor Turner claims that:

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[280] Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3207893.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid.

To perform is thus to bring something about, to consummate something, or to "carry out" a play, order, or project. But in the carrying out, I hold, something new may be generated. The performance transforms itself.[283]

The acts of performance, which start by the poses of Antonieta and Gisela, are transformed by the repetition of those acts. On the relationship between performance and social memory Connerton is a reference in this investigation. His theories on commemorative rituals and their relationship to collective memory are also a basis for the method in the interpretation of the archive. Connerton claims that bodily memory has a strong connection to collective memory and that it is through performance that memory is recollected. He states that:

My argument is that, if there is such a thing as social memory, we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies. Commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative (only) in so far as they are performative. But performative memory is in fact much more widespread than commemorative ceremonies which are – though performance is necessary to them - highly representational. Performative memory is bodily. Therefore, I want to argue, there is an aspect of social memory which has been greatly neglected but is absolutely essential: bodily social memory.[284]

Connerton's affirmation resonates with the core of the subject approached in this practice. Although he focuses on commemorative ceremonies, the same can be said about the acts of recording moments through photography, the social memory is representational and performative thus, "Performative memory is bodily".

Studies 3 is composed of two parts. It is titled *About an archive* and has already been exhibited.[285] The first one is a restaging of four chosen poses from the archives and

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[283] Turner, Victor. "Social Dramas and Stories about Them." Edited by Victor Turner. *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 141–68. https://doi.org/10.1086/448092.

[284] Connerton, P, *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 71 <http://ebooks.cambridge.org.ezproxy.westminster.ac.uk/ebook.jsf?bid=CBO9780511628061>

[285] Exhibited in the solo exhibition, *retina of memory, a story of diaspora*, in Casa dos Mundos, Lisbon and in *Between Here and Then*, London Gallery West, CREAM-University of Westminster, London, UK, both in 2017.see appendix 2

with the projected images. The second one is a freer interpretation of elements found in the archives.

Intensive repetition of the poses becomes part of my own bodily memory. It is a process of embodiment, trying to act like someone else and, perhaps exaggerating a bit, trying to be someone else, to be an *other* body. With the life-size projection, I am performing next to Antonieta and Gisela, I am looking at them in some of the images. It is still a process of mimicry with the difference that there is an attempt to co-inhabit the same space. As Erika Fischer-Lichte notes:

> The specific materiality of the body emerges out of the repetition of certain gestures and movements; these acts generate the body as individually, sexually, ethnically, and culturally marked. Performative acts thus are of crucial importance in constituting bodily as well as social identity.[286]

The body performing the poses of Antonieta and Gisela is the one that bears the social and cultural identity. The goal of the photographs was to try to replicate but also create a relationship between myself, my own gesture and the images in the archives. I am trying to achieve a closeness to the characters of the two women, there is an overlapping of the projected images and my own image. The co-inhabiting of the image was an extremely important part of the investigation.

In the images (Figure *312* - Figure *315*) that were produced later, the actual images from the albums did not need to be there anymore because I embodied those gestures and everything that was found in the albums.

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[286] Fischer-Lichte, Erika. *The Transformative Power of Performance*. London, New York: Routledge, 2008.

Figure 316 Studies 3- About an archive #1

Figure 317 Studies 3- About an archive #2

Figure 318 Studies 3- About an archive #3

Figure 319 Studies 3- About an archive #4

When a gesture is repeated so many times it transforms into something else, it becomes embodied. Some poses were extremely difficult to mimic, especially Antonieta's. It was an exhausting process of repetition. The mimicking of the gestures and poses was repeated over and over until the performing became a natural process leading to the point where the gestures became part of me. Joana Craveiro, similarly to my process, describes hers with these terms:

Pierre Bourdieu (1990) has used the term "embodied historiography" to describe habitus, something our body knows. In my approach to what may be termed an embodied historiography, the body of the researcher becomes the repository of the voices and the memories of the interviewees and the authors quoted.[287]

In the case of my work the "embodied historiography" translates itself into bodily memory i.e. my body becomes the repository of the gestures in the images from the family archive.

The enacting of the poses with the projected images from the archives is a crucial part of the process but not its goal. In the images from *About an archive* (Figure *320 - Figure 322)* the archive is no longer needed, it becomes invisible and yet its essential traits are still in the image. This body of work expands from the idea of embodiment. Although mimicry or repetition cannot be found in these images, they consist of an exploration of elements that stand out from the archive. It became a portrayal of what was revealed in the family albums. Some of the observations made previously, after the analysis of the archives (chapter 2 *Between history and memory*) were that in fact there were elements of the dictatorship's regime that emerged from the family album. Some of these elements were the fact that Antonieta could not be found wearing a swimsuit in any of the photographs, other elements were the fact that she always wore her clothes all buttoned up to the neck. [288] The essential elements found from these observations were then performed for the camera.

In Figure 321, the act of putting on lipstick is performed for the camera. This was also an attempt to create a certain distance from the images in the archive so that the act of performance would leave some space for the interpreter-the performer.

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[287] Craveiro, Joana. "A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories Performing Narratives, Testimonies and Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution." University of Roehampton, 2016. p.93

[288] The body of work about an archive was produced before the appearance of the new elements of the Fernandes archive i.e. the images of Antonieta in a swimsuit.

Figure 320 Studies 3- About an archive - Swimsuit

Figure 321 Studies 3- About an archive - lipstick

The photographs are performed using gesture as a form of analysis and representation. I have come to realise that the separation between performance photography and self-portraiture started to fade, and I have no idea if this is due to the fact that this work is personal, and close to me. I will explain: in the image where I am holding the half-unbuttoned shirt by the shoulders, it is a performance using gesture but I can also see my *self* in the image, thus making it also a self-portrait. At the moment of taking the photograph I was actually thinking of how my grandmother would feel about this act of buttoning and unbuttoning the shirt, which is really a metaphor for the constraints and lack of freedom imposed on women. I believe at that moment I put myself in Antonieta's shoes (shirt). I find this image disturbing, perhaps it contains the *punctum* for me that Roland Barthes describes in *Camera Lucida*, or perhaps because for me it truly expresses the feeling powerlessness and resignation. [289]

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[289] Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 2000.

What has been interesting is that I am still consciously performing the gestures that I find transmit the story and at the same time I do see myself in the images, so there is an overlap. The act of performance merges with the self-portrait.

Figure 322 Studies 3- About an archive -unbuttoned

The issues undertaken in this chapter, correspond to what Mary Kelly states in her essay "Re-Viewing Modernist Criticism":

> Alternatively, the specific contribution of feminists in the field of performance has been to pose the question of sexual difference across the discourse of the body in a way which focuses on the construction not of the individual, but of the sexed subject. The body is not perceived as the repository of an artistic essence: it is seen as a kind of hermeneutic image, the enigma of femininity — formulated as the problem of representation (images of women, how to change them) and resolved by the discovery of a true identity behind the patriarchal facade — 'the essence in women'[290]

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[290] Kelly, Mary. "Re-Viewing Modernist Criticism." *Screen* 22, no. 3 (1981): 41–52.

"The essence in women", in a patriarchal, dictatorial and fascizing regime, left its scars and imprints for subsequent generations. The interpretation and enactment of the gestures through embodiment in *The archive is present* create an identification and dis-identification in the process. The acts of performing the archive and mirroring gesture are a mirroring of my grandmothers. It is a process of identifying with them through corporeal gesture, and of dis-identifying by deconstructing the mirror image created in the beginning. Paul Verhaeghe's writings on mirroring establish a connection to my performances. He states:

> That's because, alongside and intermingled with the initial process of identification or mirroring, there is also a second process at work: a striving for autonomy, and thus for separation from the other.[291]

The "separation from the other" is attained in the decoding of Antonieta's gestures through the acts of performance.

The archive is present

This thesis culminates with the last series of images that can be seen as the visual work of Project D-*The Archive is Present*. Here the archive images are no longer visible or needed.

The acts of mimicry and repetition performed throughout this investigation culminate in these final acts of representation. The process that follows the same methods previously described is one of mimicry and repetition.[292] As can be seen in Figure *323*, each pose was carefully enacted and repeated time after time, sometimes with very slight differences. It is by this exhaustive repetition that the pose is attained. It is also by the repetition that the embodiment, a sort of physical appropriation of

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[291] Verhaeghe, Paul. *What about Me?: The Struggle for Identity in a Market-Based Society*. London: Scribe, 2012.

[292] For further reading on mimicry related to postcolonial theory:

Bhabha, Homi. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 470. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto, 2008.

each pose, occurs. It is only when the pose becomes part of my own gestuality that it can then be interiorised, and it evolves. Fischer-Lichte observes:

> The stylized repetition of performative acts embodies certain cultural and historical possibilities. Performative acts, in turn, generate the culturally and historically marked body as well as its identity.[293]

The pose, which in a sense is not static, is a continuous movement, and each moment is captured by the camera. In this sense it truly is an act of performance. I start off with a particular pose and, through movement, the pose changes until it develops into a physical and embodied interpretation of that same pose. Della Pollock's "Performing Writing", sees an interesting connection between identity and performance.

> Identity cannot escape its discursive construction in/as iteration but, through performance, it may exert a counterpressure. It may repeat with a vengeance, making repetition stumble, stutter, driving a wedge into the practices of re/turn (between turn and return), thus at least promising repetition with a *difference*.[294]

In my performances, "repetition with a difference" is a fundamental part of the process. The performance turns into a repetition "with a vengeance", in the sense of a pursuit of a truth. An example of this repetition process in the performance work is shown below.

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[293] Fischer-Lichte, Erika. *The Transformative Power of Performance*. London, New York: Routledge, 2008.

[294] Pollock; Della. "Performing Writing." In *The Ends of Performance*, edited by Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane, 372. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

Figure 323 The archive is present: repetition of pose

Figure 324 The archive is present-a
Figure 325 The archive is present-e

Figure 326 The archive is present-b
Figure 327 The archive is present-f

For the last part of the practice developed in this thesis, I initially focused solely on mimicking certain gestures from the chosen images. The framing is set that a three-quarter shot so that face and arms are visible. These images started as a form of study of the gestures to be later photographed on medium format film, hence the square format.[295]

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[295] This idea was later abandoned, and all the photographs were shot in digital. The elemental aspects of this work were the performances and mimesis of the poses and gestures found in the family archive images. Not the photographic apparatus.

Figure 328 Detail of image: archive_fernandes_shoebox_familia simoes_001

Figure 329 The archive is present: sequence of images in several stages

The performances start by mimicking selected poses. As mentioned earlier the repetition of the pose is photographed until the embodiment of that same pose is attained. Then it becomes something else, the gist of the elements found in the archive is still there, but there is a more fluent and performative interpretation of those elements. Then the work becomes about body, about restraint and constraint, tension and relaxation. It is here, at this point, that the investigator and interpreter of the archive becomes the actor performing her own freer interpretation of the archive. The archive is present and alive.

The mimetic qualities of the method used in the interpretations of the archive images are fundamental to the thesis, on mimesis Irigaray observes that:

> To play with mimesis is thus, for a woman, to try to recover the place of her exploitation by discourse, without allowing herself to be simply reduced to it. It means to resubmit herself-inasmuch as she is on the side of the

"perceptible," of "matter"-to "ideas," in particular to ideas about herself, that are elaborated in/by a masculine logic, but so as to make "visible," by an effect of playful repetition, what was supposed to remain invisible: the cover-up of a possible operation of the feminine in language.[296]

In the practice, mimicry and repetition are intertwined in the acts of performance in *playful repetition*. I resubmit myself to the same role as my grandmothers to make the archive visible. On her approach to practice and the body, Saidiya Hartman refers to the role of repetition in performance as what enables us 'to regenerate ourselves through the continuing process of redefinition'.[297]Some interesting parallels are found in Della Pollock's essay the performative "I". She gives the example of a student in a seminar class when doing a performance in which the performer went "off script" and let herself be carried away by the act of performing. Pollock states:

"Acting far beyond intentionality, Kate became subject to her own performance. Overtaken by invention, she was reinvented. The ego-"I" who planned all kinds of things was displaced by becoming- "I" "[298]

By 'becoming I', the performer lets him or herself be overtaken by the act of performing. The initially planned performance is taken over by the performer, thus becoming something other. The performance may start off as a repetition and eventually become something else. The re-enactments of the movements and pose evolve, going beyond the original pose found in the family album. I, the performer, when embodying the pose, let myself 'be carried away' by it and let the pose take over. Letting the performance evolve through my body until it becomes an *other*.

By "Reinhabiting the old",[299] in the sense of re-enacting the images found in the family archives, the *old* becomes new. A new gestuality is born from the act of performance, but still contains the essence of the original pose. It is a filtering down

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[296] Irigaray, Luce. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. 6th print. New York: Cornell University Press, 1985.

[297] Hartman, Saidiya. "Redressing the Pained Body: Towards a Theory of Practice 1997." In *Practice*, edited by Marcus Boon and Gabriel Levine, 237. London & Cambridge: Whitechapel Gallery & The MIT Press, 2018. Originally stated by Drucilla Cornell *in* Cornell, Drucilla. *Transformations: Recollective Imagination and Sexual Difference*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

[298] Pollock, Della. "The Performative 'I.'" *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 7, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 239–55.

[299] ibid

of the essential aspects found in the family album images, a process of removing all which is not essential in the images remaining only the fundamental. Scenarios and props are removed from the scene, leaving only body, gestural corporality and pose.

Figure 330 Detail of image: archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta_021

Figure 331 The archive is present: sequence of images in several stages

The performance is constructed in several stages:

Stage 1: mimicry/mimesis;

Stage 2: repetition;

Stage 3: embodiment;

Stage 4: deconstruction

The final images are composed of photographs from all four stages. Here I have selected three example series of photographs of a pose corresponding to stages 1, 3

and 4. The intention is to describe in detail the method I used to interpret the family archive.

Stage 4, deconstruction, is also about fluidity, it is about the continuity of movement. When a certain pose is repeated and becomes embodied to the point where it becomes part of my own corporeality, of my own bodily expression, when that pose is no longer still, it is no longer the moment of the pose, but the gesture is continued. It is as if one could see what happened after the photograph was taken. The photographs of Antonieta and Gisela from the family album are moments still in time, so it is impossible to know how the gestures continued after the photograph was taken. By embodying the pose, and then continuing that moment, I am, metaphorically speaking, continuing their gestures.

Figure 332 Detail of image: archive_fernandes_shoebox_maria antonieta c_1filho_003_a

Figure 333 The archive is present: sequence of images in several stages

It is no longer about a fixed or still image; it has become about body, about pose, gesture, about how the body translates / re-tells / narrates a story. In images (above)

the pose depicted in the archive image is re-presented from a different perspective, and evolves into the reinvention. It becomes a consequent and consequential pose.

As mentioned earlier, performance is an enactment of the archive developed throughout four stages. Not all of the poses analysed and selected from the family archives are enacted in these four stages. Some poses are enacted through stages 1, 2 and 3 (mimesis, repetition, embodiment) and others, stage 1, 2 and 4 (mimesis, repetition, deconstruction). It is curious to discover that none of Gisela's selected poses are enacted through stage 4. It is not a coincidence and certainly not random, although it was not intentional. The intuitive character of the performance weighed on which stages were developed through which poses. The fact that Antonieta's poses were the only ones that required a process of consequence and reinvention is representative of their meaning. The fact that they needed to be taken further, to be decodified meant that, on one hand, the pose and gestures contained within those images in the photographs from the family archives were more coded to start with. In the enactments, I needed not only to identify with Antonieta's poses, but also to deconstruct them, whilst in Gisela's there was never a need for deconstruction. Gisela's images were already familiar. There was no rigidity of pose visible in them and therefore no need to free myself of them.

The gestures and the poses selected from the photographs of Antonieta and Gisela are representative of life within a historical period. The poses contain social codes, a social conduct of how women should behave, and how to present themselves. By embodying those codes, I am enacting, echoing those codes into the present. It is a sort of perfect continuous future tense: I will have been becoming the archive. My own bodily memory is now the bearer of Antonieta's and Gisela's gestuality. I reembody the archive, but it is transformed within me.

Project E The archive is present
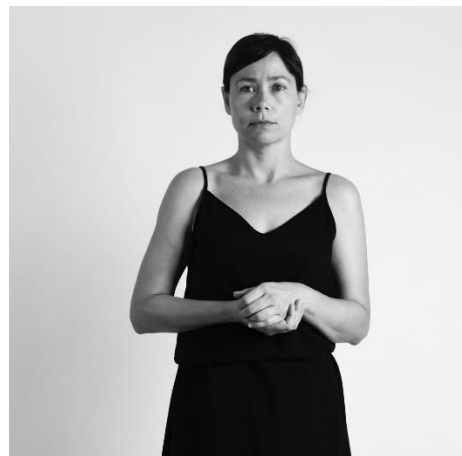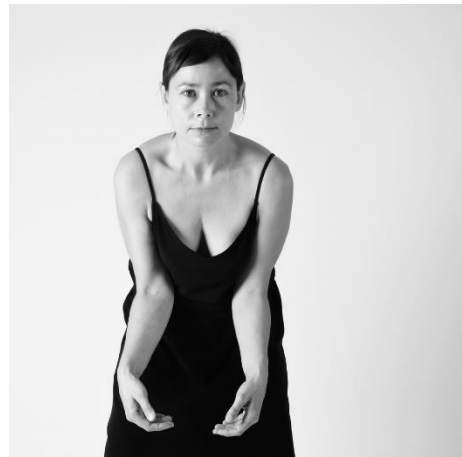
Conclusion

This thesis questions the possibilities family albums offer for being analysed in light of the context of where and when they were made. It also examines how family albums can contain information as documents and how contextualisation of these images can provide clues on identity and culture. Other questions consisted of how these images are inherited and seen today and how they can be analysed and interpreted.

Performance photography proved to be a good method for interpreting the archives. The analysis and study of the archives as an *iconographic index* (appendix 1) revealed the aspects that were later performed for the camera. These consisted of: the composition of the images, the poses of those photographed, the *mise en scène,* and particularly in the Fernandes archive the evident influence of the regime's iconography on the photographs and the regime's policies on women's bodies embedded in the Fernandes archive, particularly in the images of Antonieta.

The process consisted firstly in identifying which images could provide insight to answer the research questions. Secondly was the assembling and reflecting on the images and the possible juxtapositions to be created. Thirdly was analysing in detail and drawing conclusions from these juxtapositions. The second visiting of the archives (which led to the second part of the iconographic index- the typologies) required a different approach to the archives and the assembling of images by groups. This is what enabled the images to be pigeonholed for subsequent interpretation.

The method used to approach the archives is unique. The iconographic index creates a new reading of the archives by creating juxtapositions and associations of images in an iconographic approach. The process was long and laborious but also methodical. Tamboukou's approaches to archives proved to be the foundation for the method for analysing the archives through her *cartography of intra-actions.*[300]   I, as the researcher, influenced the reorganisation of the archives (iconographic index) by

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[300] As described in chapter 2- Between history and memory, family albums

creating an archive of my own. Moreover, the physicality of going through the archive (hundreds of photographs and the problems of trying to sort through them) underscored the importance of creating a new archive (iconographic index) with the same physical qualities.

The historical background of the regime and its propaganda strategy was crucial for the understanding of the iconography of the archive. The influence of this imagery is clear in the Fernandes photographs and was one of the critiques later developed in the acts of performance. The body of work produced in the thesis (Project D and E) transmits the information contained in the archive images through a more contemporary visual language – performance photography. These images form a critique by isolating the specificity of the elements found in the archive. These elements become visible in the body of work.

This thesis intertwines the (official) history of Portugal's New State regime (collective memory) and personal stories (inherited memories). Being second and third generation *inherited* memories, there is a personal perspective in the concluding remarks.

The grandmother I was closest to was Gisela, my mother's mother. I was never very close to Antonieta, who my mother never got along with very well. Their disaccordance was the result of a cultural shock between the imprint of dictatorship and life in the overseas territories. When I reached my teenage years communication with Antonieta became harder, as if there were a huge gap between us, and I interpreted it as her simply not liking me that much, or that I was just too much like my own mother. This thesis made me understand Antonieta and helped me to come to terms and make peace with her. It did bring us closer together, as she actively participated in my research by patiently identifying everyone in the family albums and sometimes identifying who the photographer of album photographs was. At other times she would tell me the stories that cannot be seen in the photographs. Metaphorically speaking, to understand and make peace with Antonieta is making peace with my country's past; understanding it, identifying with it and then, dis-

identifying and breaking away from it. My country's past is no longer a foreign language.[301]

Understanding why Antonieta was the way she was made me understand where I come from. I have had a liberty and freedom she never had. The family album is not innocent, it contains the imprint of the dictatorship and how it was lived by these two women, Antonieta and Gisela. By creating an iconographic index where the images from the two distinct families' albums are juxtaposed and compared, this evidence was clearly identified.

I had to look at my grandmothers to understand myself, where I came from. The heritage left by a patriarchy, especially from a dictatorship, that was so subduing of women. This was at a time (2014) when I was looking at my own life, my own past, trying to come to terms with it. The way to do it, for me, was to look even further back, two generations back, in fact. My parents' culture, which directly influenced my upbringing, was the result of their parents' experiences: my grandparents lived in a dictatorship for 48 years, whilst my parents lived through this regime for 21 years. Although I never experienced any of directly, the cultural and social imprint shaped my identity and those of my generation. My grandmothers, in a sense, were the key to answering questions and to understanding the effects of such a long dictatorship in the succeeding generations.

I am looking at how the cultural heritage has been passed on to my generation, especially women of my generation, how that has constructed the identity of women of the post-April 25 generation.[302] In a way, I am therefore the case study of my own thesis. I am an example of a woman whose upbringing was directly influenced by my country's dictatorship and colonial past.

Placing myself in and as the *other* was essential and crucial to understanding the archive and to investigating what the poses meant. My work on photography and performance from an existing archive becomes a new archive, first and foremost because it is a development of the indexical and iconographic qualities found in the

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[301] Reference to quote: "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." By LP Hartley in *The Go-Between*, prologue, 1953, quoted later by David Lowenthal in his book: Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

[302] April 25th 1974

family archives; and secondly because doing so through performance, which is photographed, goes back to the same qualities (photographic) of the original archive – and a new *critical* archive is created. This archive of the iconography of the original archive, consisting of acts of performance, is an index of the original family archives, the essential defining gestures that translate a story of dictatorship. What was originally found in the archives is conveyed in the new images without the need for the presence of the actual archive photograph. During the process of this investigation, the original images (the family album photographs) slowly disappear from the frame. What remains is the gesture/pose contained within the family album photographs. The analysis of the two families' albums, as a method of juxtaposition between two women living in the specific case of a dictatorship with highly iconographic and visual propaganda.

This method of using iconographic materials contextualised within a historical period can be used as a way of interpreting any archive, a *supra*-analysis that develops on the consequence of an existing archive, extrapolating on what is contained in it through a critical and bodily performative manner.

Bodily memory is precisely what is evoked in the performances for the camera. The analysis and study of the archive images of Antonieta and Gisela revealed that within their pose and gesture was also a female construct of society, that within their gestures was also society's imposition on the body, and more importantly, that those poses contain a history of dictatorship.

By mimicking, embodying and repeating those same gestures, the referent is transported and recreated into something else. A sort of filtering down occurs, taking all the layers and leaving only the essential contained within them.

The subject of this thesis can be summarised as a search for the role of women in Portuguese society from the 1940's to the present, in mainland and overseas territories. Why this is still important for the generations of women in Portugal today lies in the fact that inequality is still very present in Portuguese society. This thesis

argues (in chapters 2, 3 and 4) that one of the contributing factors for this is the long dictatorship whose imprint is still very much present.[303]

It is vital to consider the importance of the unofficial narratives in the construction of recent history (while the people who lived it have not disappeared) and while the second generation still has the memory of the stories told by those that did live through it. Family albums constitute a valuable source of unofficial narratives. The story of the returnees is an important example of how much is still unsaid and uninscribed. The fact that this issue is still so controversial to this day demonstrates that it needs to be spoken of and studied. I argue that the method developed in this thesis could be a valuable method for approaching the story of the returnees.

The history of the end of the Portuguese colonial era is intrinsically connected to the end of a dictatorship, and as such, many of the stories are left untold, overlapping each other by levels of importance. The unofficial history made of many untold narratives still remains unseen in many family albums. One of the few existing stories of the returnees, *O Retorno*,[304] written by Dulce Maria Cardoso, is a poignant personal story told through a fiction novel. Many people who lived through this period are silent, and their albums hidden from light. Perhaps here lies the chance to retell these stories, to investigate and perform these familiar archives to bring new narratives into the light of day. This is even more relevant when it comes to the stories of the returnees, which are still mainly left untold, and still shrouded in prejudice. One of the contributions could be to use this method to look into, analyse and interpret the family archives of the many as yet unknown and untold stories. The existing narratives need to be challenged, and more diverse narratives on this matter need to be disclosed. The method developed in this thesis can be a productive way to come to terms with and to retell this traumatic period of Portugal's history.

Returning to questions posed in the first chapter, why do artists expose family images to the public and what happens to those images viewed by a larger audience,

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[303] According to the INE (National Statistics Institute), women are still larger in number as caretakers, and in taking maternity leaves, and although their numbers are greater in higher education, the poverty risk and unemployment rate is higher amongst women. In "Estatísticas No Feminino: Ser Mulher Em Portugal - 2001-2011," 2012.

[304] Cardoso, Dulce. *O Retorno*. Lisboa: Tinta-da-China, 2012.

specifically when they are mediated through performance? It is a matter of disclosing the general through particular (in this case private) images, i.e., of using oneself through embodiment and performance to reveal what is hidden and apparently invisible.

The method for interpreting an archive through performance is a valuable contribution to knowledge. The four stages developed in this method constitute a new approach to the practice of performance. Furthermore, the text (chapter 5) meticulously describes the methodology, giving detailed visual examples of the four stages of the performance, which itself also constitutes a valuable contribution. To my knowledge, there is no such text to date. I have yet to find a description of performance, whether live or towards a camera, which describes the process of the performance. This text can be used as a method, or "script", for a process by any artist or performer.

In conclusion, this thesis presents a contribution to knowledge in its photographic performance method for analysing and interpreting archives. Furthermore, this method can be applied to private and family archives as well as public ones although, as this thesis has demonstrated, unofficial narratives provide a great contribution to history because many "invisible" archives harbour the possibility to narrate some of the stories that remain unknown.

Another conclusion I arrived at is the importance of the diversity of narratives, that there are many "truths", and all of them contribute to the memory and writing of history. All narratives, even opposing ones, need to be voiced so that no part of history, no matter how small, is forgotten.

As was mentioned earlier, artists intervene in the limbo - in the moment between - when collective memory still exists. My work performs in this limbo, my second-hand memory together with the photographic "proof" of a recent, yet traumatic past. My own body acts as an active participant in the re-telling of a story that is not only mine, but that of many women of my generation. Hopefully it may help them as well to come to terms with our country's past and make it no longer a foreign one.

Appendix 1- Iconographic index

New analysis of the archives

A new family Album: from mainland to overseas

Fernandes archive

Antonieta in swimsuit - the impossible images

these two images appeared later, with the discovery of more family photographs and a new set of archive envelopes. These images provoked mixed feelings, throughout most of the thesis, no images of Antonieta in swimsuit were ever found in the family albums. There were a large amount of photographs with Antonieta at the beach, but in all, she is fully clothed.

This was, in fact, one of the crucial points that had been made in the chapter 'Antonieta and Gisela', a comparison between one of them wearing swimsuit (and swimming) and the other-Antonieta-not.

With the discovery of these two images this theory was cast to earth, and simultaneously it was a revelation. As if these were impossible images, they provoked a mixture of revelation and denial. As if the images that had only been imagined, now magically appeared.

Geometry in the pose

this ensemble of images is composed by curious symmetrical and geometrical poses. There was an obvious care with the composition and framing of the images there are several images in the photo albums in this location which appears to be a windmill water pump. The gridlike frame of the metallic structure enabled for more layered compositions. In the first image composed only of women, young girls, the ensemble of their bodies forms of cross -like shape. In the second one it is visible again vertical and horizontal lines, where the vertical one is formed by two men, one on top and one at the bottom.

Below those images there are two others formed by three people. Again, a very symmetrical composition is seen. The three girls in dresses holding on to the gate and the three soldiers, lined up, photographed from the low vantage point.

ifarchive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_007 ti

archive_fernandes_album_maoflaluga_006 tif

if archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_008 tif

if archive_fernandes_album_castanhoflores_013 ti

W

In most of the group photographs in the family album there is a visible care given to the poses. The way that people are set amongst each other, posing for the photograph is structured. In the free of these photographs there is a W shape formed by the place of each sitter. Drawing over the sitters heads with tracing paper a W shape appears.

In the other three photographs there is a very structured symmetry, especially in the first and last photographs in the top row. The first one to men and two women, the man are framing the two women were in the centre of this ensemble. Both men are holding the trunk of the tree behind the women creating a triangle like shape above their heads.

In the last image of the same row the sitters create a curve like shape. Again the man is in the centre with three women on each side.

The rigidity and highly defined structure of the poses reflects a certain self constraint from the sitters posing in the photographs. The symmetry is quite remarkable in these images with, perhaps the exception, of the last photograph, where the two mothers hold their children by the hand and a fifth figure (on Antonieta's left side, possibly her maid) is the only element that breaks the symmetry of the composition.

Portrait at three quarters - an unbalanced photograph

In these photographs there are always three members of the family portrayed, two women and one man. Mother with the son and daughter or mother and father with daughter. In all of them the man is always in a higher position the women are usually sitting down apart from one of the images where the mothers framed by son and daughter on either side. In most of the images there photographed at three quarters from a low-angle.

In the last image there is a strange tension, daughter (Antonieta) is sitting between father and mother, father is the only one standing, but mother is sitting slightly higher than Antonieta. What is eerie about this image is that Antonieta is leaning away from her father in what seems to be very tense and uncomfortable position. This is the element which gives a strange tension to the image.

Mother and daughter, when sitting, always have their hands on their lap.

Look into the aesthetics of fascism.

archive_Fernandes_shoebox_nega_031.tif

archive_Fernandes_shoebox_nega_016.tif

archive_Fernandes_shoebox_nega_029.tif

archive_Fernandes_shoebox_nega_030.tif

The triangle/pyramid

the composition made by the sitters always forms a triangle shape. In Two of the images there is a double exposure, probably due to the reloading of already used film. Mário is the tip of the triangle except in one of the images where Antonieta forums this tip were mother and father compose the base of the triangle.

In the last image with Mário at the top and father straight below him, there is a diamond shape also visible, and again, the two men form a vertical line and the women a horizontal one.

The highly staged character of the images is exacerbated by this very clear triangle/pyramid shape.

Group photographs.

The poses in this group of images are slightly more carefree. The same rigid structure found in the previous images is not found here.

Men and women pose for the camera the two images where the two men are present a slight diagonal descending from right to left can be seen. In the other two there is only one man present and he is always slightly outside of the group of women.

Antonieta and Mário

The first image, which also appears in the chapter 'Antonieta and Gisela', Mário is sitting in a slightly higher vantage point with Antonieta gazing at him. Her legs are crossed in her head slightly tilted upwards smiling at him.

In the next two images Antonieta is sitting with Mário standing behind her. His right knee is up in his elbow is resting on his leg, his body slightly tilted to the side, and towards her.

The two images at the bottom he holds this exact same pose but stands alone in the photograph (and in one, again with the Morris Minor) using the car´s bumper as the support for his foot.

The higher vantage point that Mário holds in the photograph towards Antonieta and the codified pose which he takes, create a slight tension in the photographs.

archive_fernandes_shoebox_used fernandes_001 a.tif

archive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_012.tif

chive_Fernandes_shoebox_negs_018.tif

chive_fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_001a.tif

archive_fernandes_album_castanhofloxes_012.t

Mário

Mário presents theatrical poses in the photographs, his gestures imply strength as well as the low-angle shot.

Look into texts about the representation of masculinity, especially when using propaganda or in fascist regimes.

tive_Fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_002a.tif   _Fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_003

rchive_fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_0   rchive_fernandes_shoebox_mario fernandes_00

Mother holding child

Antonieta is holding a child, she is either looking at the camera or at the child. In This group of photographs the poses appears to be less directed. In the first two photographs Antonieta is at the beach with her two sons fully clothed.

Make references to the image of mother with child whether using propaganda or the traditional representations of mother and child. Possibly look into texts on family photography and also about motherhood.

Boy and Fountain

these two images have no relationship between themselves there are two loose images from the family album which could not be simply ignored. The boy dressed in what appears to be the military school uniform is doing the fascist salute slightly smiling. Not absolutely certain of who the boy is,perhaps Antonieta's cousin, the image points towards a family which supported the dictatorship.

The image of the fountain is selected here especially because of the saying written on the tiles at the top. Though it is somewhat difficult to translate it to English "Agua e Mulher so Boa se Quer" it could go something along the lines of: "only good water and women are wanted" or "only good water and women clinch the thirst". In Portuguese it rhymes.

The fountain is completely centred in the image and the inscription is quite visible, and most certainly the reason why it was photographed in the first place. It says something about the intention of the photographer (unknown).

archive_fernandes_tebe box_negs_001_layers.tif

Housemaids

Although the images in themselves are not interesting, the fact that the housemaids were photographed is. These are the only two photographs where the housemaids appear (only one more exists in the family archives which has appeared in the group W). The reason why there selected is because an interesting parallel between these and the aiás[1] can be made later on.

_____
[1] aiás where the nannies in Portuguese India, and it will appear in a group in the Janeiro archive.

Janeiro archive

Masquerade

this group of images shows people in carnival costumes. Francisco and Gisela are addressed in carnival costumes, they are both dressed as Muslims. The inscription on the back, quite humorously says "Daman 1956 a souvenir of the Carnival of 1956 a charmed Moorish (without being charming) and a Moorish with a not so friendly face". In one of the images another man and woman pose in masquerade next to them.

The other images are of two daughters in the carnival of 1955 in Daman, they are addressed in saree. The two girls are adorned with bracelets and have a bindi on their forehead. The girls, who are 3 and 4 years old, although are posing for the camera, which was probably taken by a professional photographer, appear to be quite relaxed about it.

archive_janeiro_album_mito_azul_002_a.tif
archive_janeiro_album_mito_azul_004_a.tif
archive_janeiro_album_mito_azul_003_a.tif
archive_janeiro_album_jac_009_a.tif
archive_janeiro_album_jac_010.tif
archive_janeiro_album_india_042_a.tif

Aiás

The aiás, name given to the nannies in Portuguese India, were photographed with the children in different occasions. One of the images, is clearly a studio photograph, with the aiá standing with a child on either side. It was probably taken to be left as a souvenir when they left Panaji, it was taken by Souza &Paul in 1953.

The last pair photographs are of the eldest daughter (Mitó) with impedidos[footnote]

the third photograph in the top row is quite interesting, there is one aiá behind each girl, it is not clear from the photograph whether there were one for each child or if they simply had different host tasks. It was taken on the eldest daughter's birthday in Panaji in 1959. A girl on the right-hand side is scratching her face and squinting her eyes, reflecting the informality of the photograph. The other two girls have their feet well-grounded on the floor the child in the middle is looking almost defiantly towards the camera.

Read: Lewis, R. (2003). *Feminist postcolonial theory : a reader*. New York: Routledge.

Chapter: 5 - A Sentimental Education - Children on the Imperial Divide

[footnote] Bateman, military

archive_janeiro_album_llda_001_a.tif

archive_janeiro_album_india_037.tif

Birthdays

All photographs in this group were taken in one of the girls' birthday. In all the images the three girls are dressed in matching white dresses, except for one image, where they are at the beach, in their swimsuits, water up to their ankles. In three of the images, the girls are aligned according to their height and their age, sometimes using the staircase to even out their heights.

In the last image each girl is sitting on a leaning chair in the balcony. The 3 girls are leaning forward and this time it's the youngest in the middle.

Read: Lewis, R. (2003). *Feminist postcolonial theory : a reader*. New York: Routledge.

Chapter: 5 - A Sentimental Education - Children on the Imperial Divide

archive_janeiro_jao_novo001_a.tif

archive_janeiro_jao_novo003.tif

archive_janeiro_album_llda_003.tif

archive_janeiro_jao_novo005_a.tif

archive_janeiro_album_llda_004.tif

Mother with daughters

These are the only group of photographs, in the Janeiro archive, where a triangle/pyramid shaped symmetry can be found in the pose of the sitters. Although it can only be seen in four out of eight photographs, in these, the mother is always the top of the triangle.

Some photographs were taken on their doorstep, and others in moments of leisure, or at the beach. The first image in the second row is the only image where they are dressed in winter clothes, still with matching dresses, it was taken when they disembarked in Lisbon in 1955.

Read: Lewis, R. (2003). *Feminist postcolonial theory : a reader*. New York: Routledge.

Chapter: 5 - A Sentimental Education - Children on the Imperial Divide

archive_janeiro_album_jao_003_008.tif archive_janeiro_jao_novo002_a.tif archive_janeiro_album_azul_nido_003_00 archive_janeiro_dossier_cartas_019_001_la

archive_janeiro_caixa Azul_ltda_002_ archive_janeiro_jao_novo004.tif

Father with daughters

most of the photographs in this group appeared to be moments of leisure between father and daughters. The Carefree way in which the photographs were taken, and the relaxed atmosphere visible in the images is clearly perceptible.

The last photograph in this group was taken in Mozambique in 1964, for what must have been a ceremonious event, for they are addressed in formal clothing.

Father is the smiling in all of the photographs.

archive_janeiro_album_jao_006.tif archive_janeiro_album_jao_008.tif

archive_janeiro_album_jao_005.tif

Sitting

Perhaps these images don't say much. The first 2 images were taken in April 1951 on the boat *India* under a voyage from Portugal to Portuguese India. They're relaxed, setting on a deckchair, with the eldest daughter (the only one born yet) in her pram. Father is reading, sitting with his legs crossed and the baby girl is staring straight at the camera, probably mother's taking the photograph. The last image on this page, is taken on the balcony of their home in October 1951, mother and daughter are sitting in reclining chairs.

There is something endearing about these photographs, probably because they're sitting in reclining chairs, their legs in a childlike manner.

Group photographs/official photographs

The photographs in this group were all taken in official events. Though not comparable to the group photographs in the Fernandes archive, because these were taken in leisure time between friends and family. What is interesting about these photographs is, not so much what is visible in them but the events in which they were taken. In the second image at the top where Gisela is handing out something, we can read in the back that she is handing out the second prize for the *Obra de Mães*[1] to a Hindu family. the children are lined up oldest to youngest, and everyone is posing frontally towards the camera's, apart from Gisela is completely on her profile reaching out her hand.

[1] could this be O.M.E.N.?

Francisco and Gisela

first photograph, December 1960 at the ball of the saris, Francisco and Gisela pose side-by-side for the photographer, Francisco has a sarcastic grin on his face. The back of the photograph reads souvenir (terrible) of the ball of the saris on 19 December 1960 at the Mandovi Hotel in Goa.

Third photograph, on board of *Bartolomeu Dias* , entails the punctum Roland Barthes talks about. It is reminiscent of an old film still, set somewhere in a tropical country, is a dramatic romance between two people (probably starring Humphrey Bogart). Happiness, content, Carefreeness and warmth is what transpires from this image.

In the second row we see the couple in what appears to be leisure time, their poses are far from the strictness and the formality of those in Mário and Antonieta. There is no repetition of pose here.

The photograph where they are at the beach, both in swimsuit, was taken in 1961 in Portugal. Their gaiety and playfulness, shines through, with Francisco holding his stomach in and Gisela tapping him on the back. The last image of this group, the only one in colour, is taken in their home in Mozambique, and Francisco has his arm around Gisela affectionately.

Strictness stiffness formality

Archive_Janeiro_Album India_011_a.jpg

chive_Janeiro_Album India_005_a.jpg

archive_janeiro_album_india_033.tif

rchive_janeiro_envelope_focus_caixa_001_a.jp

aro_album vermelho moçambique_001.t

archive_janeiro_envelope001_.jpg

archive_janeiro_album_jan_012.tif

archive_janeiro_album_india_046_a.tif

Two houses and children

These images are not particularly important are representative. There are simply images which could not easily be left out.

The 2 images on top are 2 houses the 1st one, the was the house where they lived in Campal, Panaji, and what makes it particularly interesting, is the inscriptions on the back. There is a full description of the rooms in the house as seen from the perspective of the photograph and the visible windows. It was probably posted in the letter to her mother in Lisbon, along with the drawing of the plan of the same house.

The second house is in Daman and is the house where their youngest daughter was born (my mother) it is written on the front "the house where Lhu was born-1953".

The three images at the bottom are of the young girls one on the boat to India, note to self perhaps these three images are not that important and they can be removed, while the one in the middle perhaps just the relaxed way that there opposing for the photograph maybe.

Sisters

These 3 images were taken between 1963 and 1966 of the 3 daughters.

Perhaps due to their square format and the fact that they are from the 1960s and so more recent than all the other images seen before. They have a different feel to them, more contemporary perspective perhaps. The 1st image reminding of American photography who knows maybe even a Diane Arbus.

The last image, obviously more constructed than the others, the photographer making the most of the reflection of the girls in the lake.

Appendix 2 Exhibition views

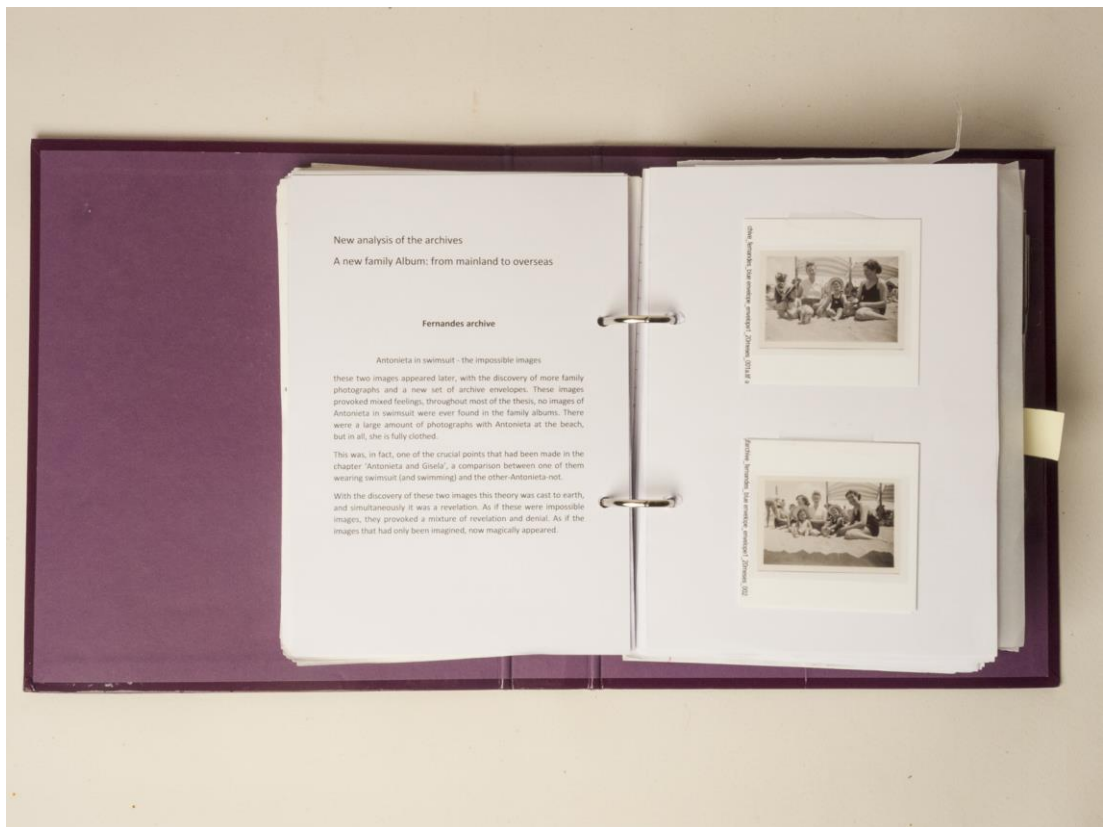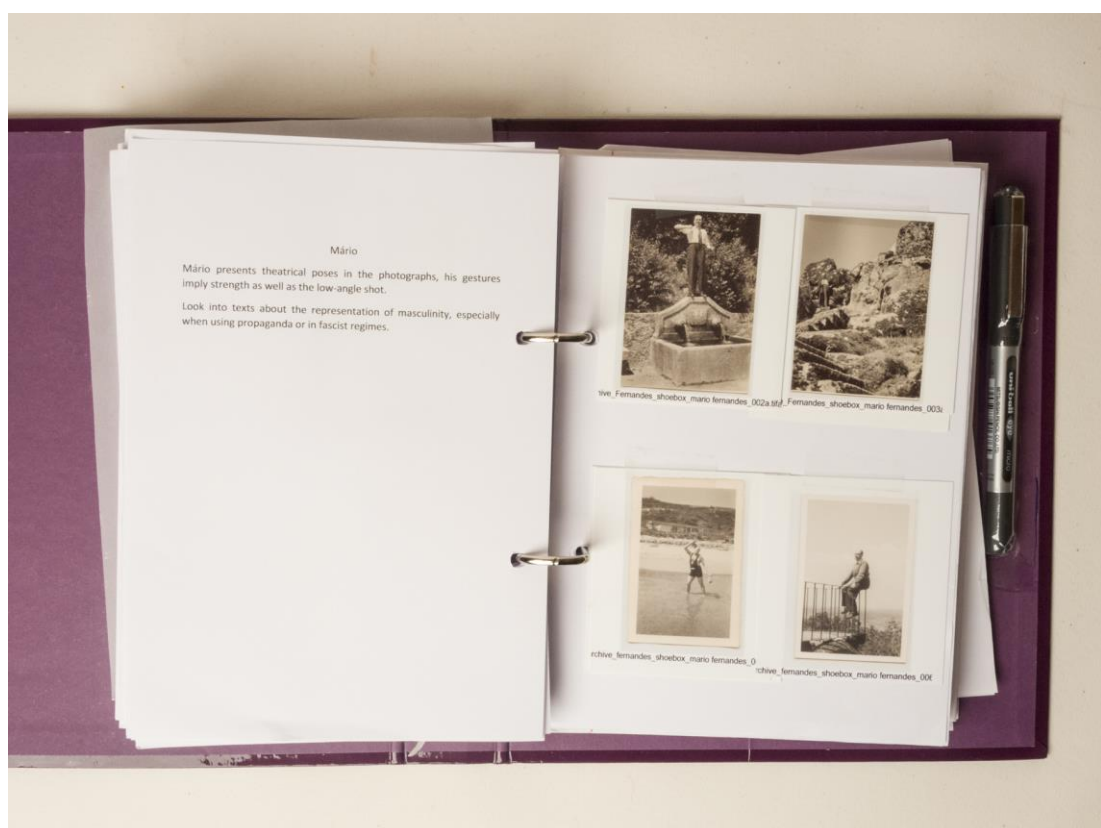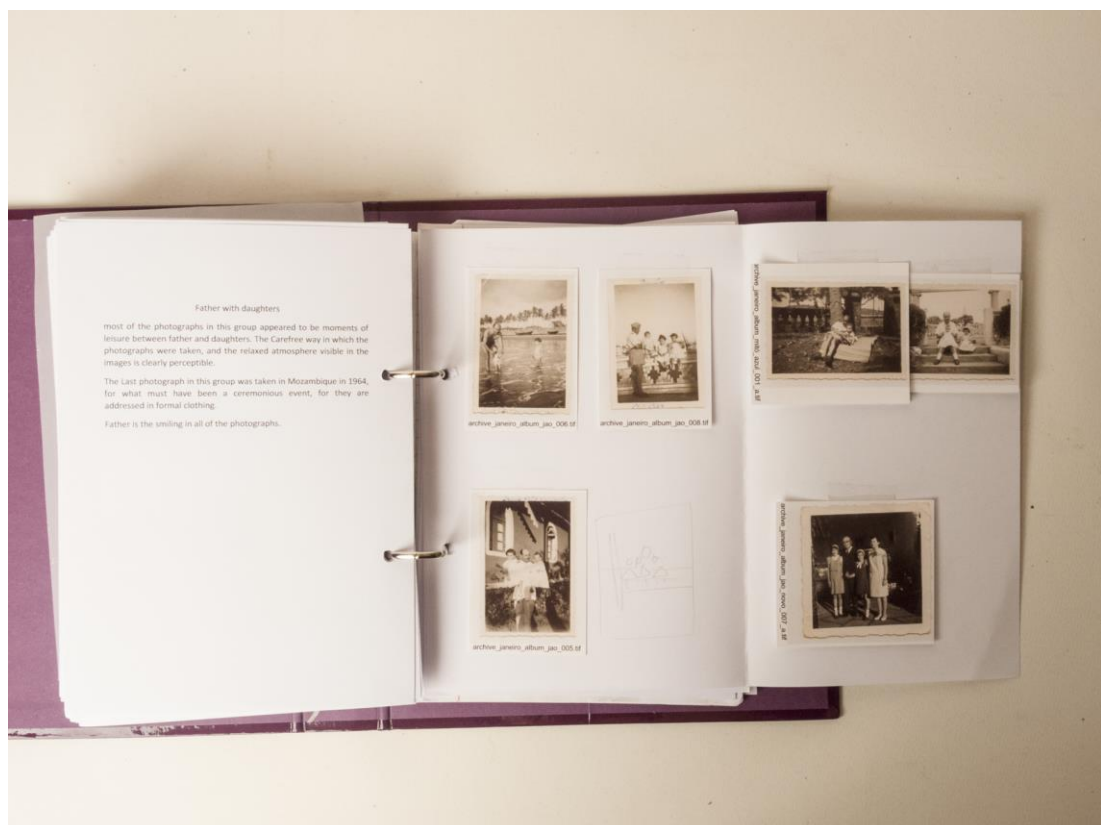**Retina of memory, a story of diaspora**

Solo exhibition at Casa dos Mundos, Lisbon, Portugal (9th February to 21st April 2017)

About an Archive

Between Here and Then

Group exhibition (CREAM) in London Gallery West and Project space, London, UK (21st June to 6th July 2017)

About an Archive

Photographs by Dave Freeman

Hyphen- an exposition between art and research

Group exhibition (CREAM) in AmbikaP3, London, UK (22nd to 27th March 2019)

The Archive is Present

Photographs

Photographs by Paulo Mendes

Live performance

The Archive is Present

Solo exhibition (VIVA) in London Gallery West, London, UK (25th April- 11thMay 2019)

Photographs by Dave Freeman

Glossary

African colonies (Portuguese): Salazar's dictatorship secured the five Lusitanian African territories through the Colonial Act (Acto Colonial-1930). The economic difficulties in Portugal in the 1950´s-60´s, together with the retrograde nationalist ideology imposed in the country for decades, intensified the need to maintain the African colonies during the European decolonisation process. The military coup of April 25th, 1974, generated by the long and arduous colonial war in Africa (1961–74) finally put an end to the Estado Novo regime.[305]

Colonial Act: Drafted by Salazar in 1930 for the Portuguese colonies and integrated into the founding constitution of the New State in 1933. Centralist and authoritarian, the Colonial Act addressed the new regime's objectives for the colonial territories, designated from then on as the *Portuguese Colonial Empire*. This document defined Portugal's role as a colonial empire and assumed the historical and nationalist 'duty' of maintaining these territories and civilising the indigenous populations. Article 2nd of the decree stated that: "...it is the Portuguese nation's historical duty of sovereignty to own and colonise the overseas territories and to civilise the indigenous populations..."[306]

 It put an end to the financial Autonomy of the colonies, which became controlled by the Ministry of the Colonies. It also established the status of 'natives' stripped of any rights of citizenship, thereby differentiating them from the colonisers.

Revoked in 1951, changing the designation from 'colonies' to 'overseas provinces', so that article 73rd of the UN would not be applied. This article determined that:" Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government..."[307]

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305 Salazar, António de Oliveira (1889 to 1970) From "Chambers Dictionary of World History" Chambers Harrap Publishers Ltd 2005

[306] http://www.parlamento.pt/Parlamento/Documents/acto_colonial.pdf [My translation]

[307] Repertory of Practices of United Nations Organs: http://legal.un.org/repertory/art73.shtml

Colonial discourse: A structured discourse within an ideology that justified the colonisation, for religious, nationalist and identity reasons. One of the ideologies was based on the theories of *Lusotropicalismo*.

Colonial War: (1961-1974) The war started in 1961 in Angola and soon spread to Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. It ended with the military coup of April 25th 1974, which also ended the New State regime.

Corporatism: The New State's "corporatist revolution" was announced in an António Ferro's interview with Salazar in 1938[308]. The New State's constitution of 1933, conceived by Salazar, inscribed the state within the ideology of corporatism: "The constitution declares that the Portuguese state is a corporatist Republic, considers the structural elements of the nation to be the family, autarchy, and corporatist organisms, and classifies the corporations as moral, cultural and economic".[309] Corporatism was an ideology that brought back an old tradition of social structure in Portuguese politics that had existed from the Middle Ages until the 19th century. Its basis was the social and economic organisation of rural and urban communities into professional or structured classes. The organised participation of populations in social construct was preferred in detriment to individual or isolated action from the people.

Diaspora: From the Greek *dia (by means of, through)* and *speiró* (dispersion dissemination). Initially used to refer to the Jewish dispersion, later became broadly applied to other dispersions.

Dictatorship: Authoritarian form of government controlled by a single party or individual. The Portuguese dictatorship lasted 48 years. Initially named National Dictatorship (1926-1933) and as of 1933 designated as the New State. The constitution of the New State, dated 1933, formed the government around Salazar's person, who ruled from 1928-1968. The regime lasted until 1974.

Estado Novo / New State – This designation was also used in Spain (with Franco, since 1939) and in Brazil (with Getúlio Vargas, c. 1940-45) – expressing a type of

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[308]Ferro, *Salazar: O Homem*, 1978.

[309] Afonso, Antonio Martins. *Princípios Fundamentais de Organização Política e Administrativa Da Nação*. 1941. p.107

authoritarian *para-fascist* regime. In Portugal Salazar controlled the *União Nacional* (National Union) government party in the early 1930´s, then the only authorised party. From then on, the New State defined a right-wing course, controlling every aspect of Portuguese society. With Estado Novo, Salazar created an ideology of stability and financial control.[310] This political regime lasted from 1933 to 1974 (Salazar died in 1970).

Ideology / ideological concepts of Estado Novo – The New State was conceived and organised by the dictator Salazar. It forced the abolition of political parties and trade unions, created censorship and structured a strong executive power. It developed a specific ideological system based on several neo-traditional and nationalist concepts. 'God, Country and Family' (Deus, Pátria, Família) was the motto founded by the regime, alluding to the cultural and social background of Portuguese culture. [311] Family oriented with a patriarchal system, with most of the population being Roman Catholic. The other motto was 'Order, Authority and Work' (Ordem, Autoridade, Trabalho) orienting the population towards work and away from political life and awareness.

Fascism: designation of the Italian political regime promoted by Benito Mussolini and empowered in 1922, which lasted until its fall in 1943, during WW II. It was highly militarised, inspired permanent social dynamics and was based on an incessant propaganda system. It inspired Hitler's National-Socialist party in Germany. «Fascism» comes from the word *fascio*, meaning a symbolic object (a bundle of sticks, tied and forming a cylinder), used in Ancient Rome, expressing political power and order. The New State of Salazar was inspired by Mussolini's regime, although it had its own unique differences.[312] Salazar had a photograph of Mussolini on his desk.

(Para)-fascism – designation for political regimes bearing a certain similarity with fascist characteristics, but not entirely identifiable with said ideology. The Portuguese New State had clear similarities with fascist regimes in Europe, mostly with Italian

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[310] Vallance, Monique. "Fascism In Portugal." Edited by Alfred J. Andrea. *World History Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011.

[311] Lenman, Bruce, and Hilary Marsden. *Chambers Dictionary of World History*. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: Chambers, 2005.

[312] ibid

Mussolini´s Fascism. However, it was not totally Fascist, as it lacked a complete militarily organised force and system, a military or martial leader (Salazar was a civilian, professor of economics) and a dynamics of modernisation. An attempt of imposing a pro Nazi-type militarised party, the *Nacional-sindicalismo* led by Rolão Preto in the early 1930s, failed as it was quickly crushed by Salazar's dominant rule.

Fascism (tendency) in Portugal: From 1914 on, political groups with clear Catholic origins such as *Integralismo Lusitano* (Lusitanian Integralism) appeared and grew, fighting against the political and social instability of post WWI in Portugal. The Integralists promoted a single party concept for the government. On May 28, 1926, a military coup ended the First Republic and proclaimed the Ditadura Nacional (National Dictatorship). In 1928, the new government included Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, an economics academic, as the new finance minister. Salazar's political ability was quickly recognised and effective, achieving a surplus in the 1928-1929 budget after years of decline and loss.[313] He gradually imposed and controlled all aspects of the new regime, the *Estado Novo*, and in 1933 he designed a new constitution, inspired by Fascist Italy. The regime lasted until 1974.

First Republic (in Portugal): The social and economic decline of Portugal at the end of the 19th century rushed the fall of the monarchy in 1910, which was replaced by the First Republic.[314]   The ideals of the first Republic (5th October 1910) were the separation of state and church powers, progress and education. Fighting illiteracy and poverty were the main goals. Women's rights were one of the focuses of the First Republic. The right to work, right to divorce, to education and to vote (although very restricted) were all measures that were later revoked under the dictatorship.

After participating in WWI with Britain and the allies, in 1916-18 (mainly to defend its African colonies), Portugal suffered a series of financial and political crises in 1920-1926 that ended with the collapse of the First Republic.

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[313] Vallance, Monique. "Fascism In Portugal." Edited by Alfred J. Andrea. *World History Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011.

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Lusotropicalismo: Theory developed by Gilberto Freire (1900-1987), which defended the special aptitude of the Portuguese people for their insertion in the tropics. This insertion was moved not by political or economic goals, but for the innate and natural capacities of the Portuguese people (miscegenation). This theory was used by the New State in the years 1950-60 to justify the continuity of the political and cultural domain over the Portuguese colonies as a specific attitude of the Portuguese people as a "good coloniser". This theory was meant to establish the difference between Portuguese and other colonisations.

Portuguese Colonial Empire: was the earliest and longest European empire to be formed.

North Africa and Guinea (1415-1498), India (1498-1961), Brazil (1668-1822) and Africa (1822-1975). East Timor (until 1975) and Macau (until 1999) were also part of the Portuguese overseas territories. In the twentieth century some of the overseas provinces dated back to the sixteenth century. These were located in Asia, namely the Portuguese India territories (Goa, Daman and Diu).

Portuguese decolonisation: The Portuguese were the last of the colonies to be part of the European decolonisation process that took place mainly in 1947-1965. The reactionary, nationalist and close-minded politics of Salazar resisted international pressure to quit the overseas territories. After the military integration of the Portuguese India territories (Goa, Daman, and Diu) into the Indian Union, Salazar was determined to keep the African Colonies. This was the start of the Colonial War from 1961 (in Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique) that lasted until 1974. The end of the war also resulted in the end of the New State regime, with the military coup. The new democratic regime started in 1974, and the independence of the five Lusitanian-African countries (former colonies) was negotiated. Later came the handover of Macau to China (1999) and the independence of East Timor (2002), under Indonesian rule since its invasion in 1975.

PIDE: International and State Defence Police, was a secret police initially named PVDE ('Police of Vigilance and State Defence') that began operating in 1933, created by the Salazar regime. The secret police became one of the most feared institutions of the New State. As in many dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, a violent secret police

force protected the interests of the regime. PVDE was renamed in 1945 as the International Police for State Defence (PIDE), then with larger powers - and it lasted until the end of the Estado Novo regime, in 1974 (renamed as the General Directorate of Security / DGS in 1969).[315] PIDE had an important hand in the Colonial War in Portuguese Africa, spying and imprisoning anyone suspected of defending the pro-independentists. PIDE also planned and executed opposition leader General Delgado in 1965. PIDE used torture methods and repression on political prisoners. The PIDE archives can be consulted, in their majority, and contain description of many of these occurrences.

Política do Espírito **(Politics of the spirit):** concept introduced in the early stages of the New State regime. Conceived by António Ferro (1895-1956), in a famous interview with Salazar in 1932.[316] As Ferro describes:

> ...an intelligent and premeditated Politics of the spirit, directed toward the young generations, which brings them into the limelight, gives them a role in this unmistakable hour of renewal? All great leaders (...) have done so. From Médicis to Mussolini...[317]

When in 1933 Ferro was nominated for the SPN (National Propaganda Secretariat), he put this *politics of the spirit* into practice with the creative participation of a young generation of modernists: artists, designers, painters, architects, writers, dancers, film directors and actors.

Portugueseness: *portugalidade* was a propaganda motto created by the New State in the 1950's-60's. Used for political and cultural propaganda for the purpose of creating a unitary ideology of Portuguese nationality. Based on the country's historical past, especially in the Portuguese expansion (Age of Discoveries), creating an image of great empire, geographically situating it *From Minho to Timor*. This was the result of the end of the Colonial Act, to situate the colonial territories, now named overseas provinces, as a part of Portugal and not autonomous territories, seeking

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[315] ibid

[316] Ferro, *Salazar: O Homem*, 1978.

[317] ibid p.122

independence. [318] One of the methods used by the regime was the invention of tradition, through the creation of symbols representative of the nation's culture and history. One of these symbols was the *Barcelos rooster*, which prevails to this day. The rebuilding of monuments such as Lisbon Castle, with the intention of creating an image of historical greatness and pride.

Salazar (António de Oliveira Salazar): (1889-1970) - Portuguese dictator who ruled from 1928 to 1968. Born in a northern-central area of the country, known for its traditionalist and conservative values. Educated as a Roman Catholic at the Seminary and University of Coimbra, he graduated in economics. His personal and professional characteristics led to an invitation from the right-wing military dictatorship to be the new Minister of Finance in 1928. In the early 1930s Salazar founded the *Estado Novo* and then ruled as a dictator until 1968. The *Salazarist* state, authoritarian and corporatist, relied in an alliance with the army and the much-feared security police, the PIDE. Salazar's strict economic policies made Portugal one of the poorest countries in Europe while also supporting a rich and elite group of landowners and industrial agents, i.e., an oligarchy. [319]

War Godmother: *Madrinha de Guerra* was a figure created by the regime to get women to write to the soldiers in Africa. The purpose was to involve women in the war effort and simultaneously create a homelike feeling for the soldiers who had no female figures to correspond with. This correlates with the three pillars of the Portuguese Estado Novo: Deus, Pátria, Familia (God, Fatherland, Family). *Madrinhas de Guerra* was organised by MNF, the National Women's Movement.

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