

# **A Political Reading of Humanness**

## ***Criança-Irân* and Power Configurations in Guinea-Bissau**

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*Tese especialmente elaborada para obtenção do grau de Doutor em Ciência Política*

*Lisboa*  
*2022*

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- Doutora Andrea Sofia da Cruz Valente, Professora Auxiliar do Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas da Universidade de Lisboa, na qualidade de orientadora;

- Doutora Gabrieli Fernandes Fickelsherer Gaio, Professora Auxiliar Convidada do Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas da Universidade de Lisboa.

*Lisboa*

*2022*



## Abstract

This dissertation analyses power principles and configurations in Guinea-Bissau's pluralistic political scenario, as highlighted by the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* (spirit-children). Working within a political theory framework, the grounds for the analysis are endogenous conceptualisations of humanness. The qualitative study takes an interpretivist epistemological and inductive-deductive approach. Its conceptual groundwork is in political relations and intersubjectivity (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; Bongmba, 2001, Han, [2005] 2019); biopolitics (Agamben, 1995, 1996); communitarian political community (Menkiti, 2002, 2004, Gyekye, 2003, Wiredu, 2001); and the Africanisation of power (Chabal, 1992).

The thesis offers an analytical model comprising of three category-concepts: *bíos-zōē*, *nomos*, and *locus*. The phenomenon of the *criança-irân* complements the conceptual framework as analytical lenses. The existence of these liminal and hybrid beings (neither human or spirit) points to the threshold ordering relations of power between a political subject (*ego*) and political subjects other than oneself (*alter*). The centrality of intersubjective relations, along with the ontological relevance of community and kin (*djorson*), past-ward temporality, and land (*tchon*) show the binomial *ego-djorson* as foundational to the political community.

The endogenous polity devises a configuration of power (*nomos*) that combines the symbolic duties of chiefs with communal councils. As these give preference to participatory, dialogical, and consensual politics, they reveal intersubjective power relations at odds with the foundational principles of the official state *nomos*.

The *criança-irân* is the signifier of humanness, political relations, and the order of the polity. Broad acknowledgement or acceptance of the phenomenon augments the intermingling of power principles and configurations beyond the institutionalised *nomoi*. The political space is an example of Africanisation, generated by the syncretism of endogenous and exogenous conceptualisations of power. The result is a hybrid space in which several *loci* of the political coexist and intertwine.

**Keywords:** African political theory; humanness; *criança-irân* in Guinea-Bissau; biopolitics; Africanisation of power; intersubjective political relations

## Resumo

As configurações e os princípios subjacentes ao poder político na Guiné-Bissau contemporânea, evidenciados pelo fenómeno da *criança-irân* (crianças-espírito), constituem o tema central desta dissertação. O tema da investigação assenta e coloca em debate premissas teóricas sobre as relações de poder, o entendimento da condição humana, a ordem na comunidade política no África subsaariana. Ancorada na engenharia conceptual da teoria política, a tese investiga relações, princípios e configurações de poder político a luz de conceptualizações de *humanness* (a qualidade ou condição de ser humano) na Guiné-Bissau.

O ativo e intenso debate sobre modelos e paradigmas do político na teoria e filosofia política africana, assim como sobre noções teóricas em estudos de cariz comparativista, reivindicam a relevância de estudos que abordem estas temáticas sob perspetivas endógenas. Assente na estreita interligação entre teorizações sobre a natureza e condição humana, consagrada em séculos de produção científica e filosófica das demais tradições de pensamento político, o presente estudo visa analisar, compreender e interpretar as fundamentações ontológicas e normativas subjacentes à entidade política no entendimento endógeno guineense. Estas bases são necessárias para articular formulações sobre ordem, configurações, assim como autoridades, instituições e *modi operandi*, do poder político, num espaço pluralista, que engloba a ordem formal do Estado e a ordem informal do poder dito tradicional ou indígena.

O estudo centra-se na discussão de um núcleo de conceitos, nomeadamente o de *humanness*, ponto de partida para discutir o entendimento de relações de poder e intersubjetividade (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987, [1974]1991; Bongmba, 2001; Han, [2005]2019, 2012, 2014), ou seja, as matrizes constitutivas da ordem política. A estruturação de relações de poder identifica quais os sujeitos coconstituintes à comunidade política e determina os limites da esfera biopolítica (Arendt, 1958, Agamben, 1995, 1996, 2003). Da análise transparece o pano de fundo fundacional da comunidade política, aqui considerada nas teorizações organicistas e do comunitarismo (Menkiti, 1984, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2018; Gyekye, 1997, 2003, 2012; Wiredu, 2001, 2003, 2007). O diálogo com estes conceitos ajuda a entender e discutir o processo de africanização do poder (Chabal, 1986, 1992, 2009).

O fenómeno da *criança-irân*, ou criança-espírito, oferece a chave de leitura do fenómeno político na realidade guineense. Com base na cosmologia local, de cariz animista, existem seres que nascem em corpo humano, mas cuja essência é metafísica. Esta dualidade, que combina a parte biológica da esfera física e a componente imaterial ou espiritual metafísica,

torna estes recém-nascidos seres liminares e híbridos. Em virtude da sua natureza, não só são excluídos da comunidade política, como lhes são retirados os mais básicos direitos humanos, tal como o direito à vida. Além disso, às chamadas *crianças-irân* é-lhes negada a sua natureza humana; como espíritos, ou seres metafísicos, acredita-se que devam abandonar a comunidade dos seres humanos. Estas bases ontológicas justificam a prática de infanticídio ritual que leva ao desaparecimento destes seres (Jonnarsdóttir, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, Gonçalves, 2015, Jao, 2003, Dias, 1989).

O caráter peculiar da conceção normativa, ontológica e metafísica que subjaz às crianças-espírito torna este fenómeno um elemento iluminador dos princípios e configurações da ordem política endógena. guineense A relevância do caso deve-se à contemporaneidade, incidência e partilha, ou pelo menos, conhecimento pela população da crença na existência destes seres. O fenómeno é representativo de uma ordem sociopolítica, mais do que de crenças cosmológicas ou religiosas. A condição excecional da *criança-irân* no seio da comunidade política torna o fenómeno um símbolo manifesto de enraizadas e extensas conceptualizações sobre os limites da comunidade política e da biopolítica. Assim sendo, o fenómeno das crianças-espírito evidencia a normatividade subjacente à ordem política endógena e a manutenção desta ao lado de e dentro da configuração estatal.

A tese estrutura-se como estudo qualitativo, guiado pelo paradigma epistemológico interpretativista. O desenho de pesquisa visa a recolha e análise de dados que permitam compreender e interpretar o objeto de estudo – princípios e configurações de poder político na Guiné-Bissau contemporânea. O estudo privilegia resultados descritivos. A construção de sentido e significado dada pela interligação de elementos subjetivos e objetivos adquire primazia a respeito de relações de causalidade, verificação de hipóteses ou quantificação. O estudo adota uma abordagem indutivo-dedutiva. A literatura existente representa um guia essencial não só em termos de enquadramento teórico, mas também realça modalidades e conceitos, apurados pelo trabalho de campo. Em outras palavras, constitui uns *corpora* indispensáveis que definem o universo ontológico e teórico no contexto regional. Estas generalizações precisam de ser complementadas por especificidades locais por foma a prevenir a análise do contexto subsaariano como unanimismo monolítico. A indução, preferencialmente oferecida pelo trabalho de campo, torna-se assim um instrumento indispensável da investigação.

A triangulação de diferentes técnicas de recolha de dados durante o trabalho de campo, dentre as quais entrevista semiestruturada, observação e *focus group*, garante maior fiabilidade

e diversificação dos dados recolhidos. O texto das entrevistas, transcrito *verbatim*, foi analisado segundo os parâmetros da *thematic content analysis*.

Os resultados da análise são apresentados na tese em três capítulos distintos, correspondentes ao modelo de análise desenhado. Este representa a contributo analítico desta tese para o estudo do poder, princípios e configurações políticas na África subsaariana; o resultado da análise compõem os contributos analítico-empíricos acerca das configurações de poder na Guiné-Bissau. O modelo analítico compõe-se de três conceitos-categoria: *bíos* e *zōē*, *nomos* e *locus*. A escolha destes conceitos-categoria deve-se ao seu carácter ineludível em qualquer instância do político: o poder político exige sempre princípios fundacionais, que distingam a vida política (*bíos politicon*) de outras formas de vida (*zōē*); a configuração ordenada destes princípios numa cristalização temporal e espacialmente definida (*nomos*); o fulcro no qual o poder se baseia (*locus*), que determina consequentes atribuições do poder, como legitimidade, representação, processos deliberativos, governação.

A discussão do **primeiro conceito-categoria, *bíos* e *zōē***, evidencia as bases e as fundamentações da esfera política. A análise considera a noção endógena de *humanness* e as relações de poder entre sujeitos. A primeira configura-se em categorias ontológicas regionais e locais, que realçam a primazia do elemento metafísico sob o físico. Este espaço semifísico é delineado por três categorias ontológicas primárias: o *djorson* (vínculos de parentesco), o *tchon* (a terra) e a centralidade do passado no *continuum* cronológico. Estas determinam as relações de poder, ou a forma como uma singularidade política (*ego*) se relaciona com outras singularidades além de si (*alter*).

O fenómeno da *criança-irân* torna-se, pois, essencial para discernir as determinações e delimitações destas relações políticas. A exclusão-inclusiva das crianças-espírito revela que as relações políticas são intersubjetivas (garantem a individualidade do sujeito enquanto salientam a interdependência do indivíduo com a esfera relacional) e fundadas no vínculo ontológico tripartido de *djorson-tchon*-passado. Estas delimitações impossibilitam a inclusão dos seres híbridos e atemporais na esfera biopolítica e enfatizam o binómio *ego-djorson* como princípio fundacional do *bíos politicon* no pensamento político endógeno da Guiné-Bissau.

Tendo a estruturação destas relações como base de partida, o **segundo conceito-categoria *nomos*** investiga como estas impactam a ordem da comunidade politicamente instituída. A relevância originária da co-existencialidade semifísica e atemporal entre indivíduo e esfera relacional implica a sobreposição da condição humana com a condição social e política, determinando a coincidência entre apolítico e a-humano. Também implica uma entidade política

centrada no espaço relacional. O *nomos* político endógeno prevê uma instituição (a autoridade tradicional ou indígena) mais representativa do vínculo *djorson-tchon*-passado e uma instituição que satisfaça as relações de intersubjetividade. Os conselhos comunitários (*baraca* [*di fanado*], *djumbai*) servem como instrumentos de processos deliberativos dialógicos e consensuais. A centralidade e primazia da esfera relacional compõe a lógica que guia e motiva o consenso. Os indivíduos aceitam ceder parte de ou ajustar interesses pessoais aos da comunidade, para manutenção de paz e equilíbrio, em luz da consciência dos vínculos relacionais que interligam todos e cada um. O *nomos* endógeno contrasta com o estatal, fundado no paradigma liberal, que destaca o indivíduo, a primazia da legalidade e o conúbio entre Estado, nação e cidadão. As configurações do poder apresentam dois *nomoi* a coexistir num único espaço político.

Em luz desta pluralidade, o **terceiro conceito-categoria reflete sobre o locus ou os loci** do poder, a partir do fenómeno da *criança-irân*. Considerando que este simboliza mais amplas conceptualizações da esfera política, a resiliência da crença assinala a interligação entre pensamento político liberal e o endógeno na configuração estatal. Por um verso, a força da conceptualização endógena de *humanness* é tal ao ponto de inibir o Estado em ações ou condenações do infanticídio ritual; por outro verso, o entrelaço explica a continuidade fundacional entre o poder tradicional e o estatal, transcendendo distinções institucionais. A transcendência e imbricação entre poderes políticos determina a sobreposição de diferentes *loci* políticos, sem deixar de enfatizar como o hibridismo da entidade estatal pretende alcançar caminhos de poder endógeno na sua construção e procura de identidade. Esta conversão e necessária adaptação a paradigmas endógenos constitui uma faceta do processo de africanização da esfera política, mas também do pensamento político na Guiné-Bissau.

**Palavras-chave:** teoria política africana; *humanness*; *criança-irân* em Guiné-Bissau; biopolítica; Africanização do poder; relações políticas intersubjetivas



## Glossary and Acronyms

<i>Alter</i>	a being whose existence is absolutely other from oneself
ANP	Assembleia Nacional Popular
<i>Balobeiro</i>	ritual specialist in charge of the <i>baloba</i> sanctuary
<i>Bíos</i>	the <i>humanized</i> sort of life characterizing the polis.
CPT	Comparative political theory
<i>Curandeiro</i>	traditional healer
<i>Djambakos</i>	ritual specialist capable of interacting with <i>irân</i> spirit
<i>Djorson</i>	the family, kinship or kindred generation, including the ascendants and descendants, often following matrilinear descendance. Also spelled <i>djerason</i> or <i>gerason</i>
<i>Ego</i>	normative and existential condition of one's singularity as an individual, self-subjectivity
FAPD-GB	Federação das Associações para Pessoas com Deficiência da Guiné-Bissau
FARP	Força Armadas de Revolução do Povo
FDB	Faculdade de Direito de Bissau
FGM	female genital mutilation
Gnosis	the mode of knowing and riddling reality inherent in proponents of a worldview
<i>Herrschaft</i>	political power, indicating an asymmetrical relation of power because dominant subjects' power is legitimated by the consent of the subordinated subjects
INEP	Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa
<i>Irân</i>	spirit, main element of Bissau-Guinean cosmology

ISCSP	Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas
<i>Legitimitätglaube</i>	belief in legitimacy, sustaining power as legitimate since dominant and subordinate subjects believe it to be so
<i>Locus</i>	centrepiece or fulcrum of political power
MADEM G-15	Movimento para Alternância Democrática
Majoritarian democracy	any form of government where political parties engage with each other in antithetical terms with the final aim to control power
<i>Muros</i>	muslim healer
NGO	non-governmental organisation
<i>Nomos</i>	presence and organisation of power
<i>Nomos basileus</i>	the sovereign <i>nomos</i> , the threshold between the coerciveness of violence and the superiority of law, symbolised in the figure of the sovereign and of the ban
PAIGC	Partido Africano pela Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PNI	Parlamento Nacional Infantil
PRS	Partido de Renovação Social
<i>Regulado</i>	all territories of an ethnical group, according to tradition
<i>regulo</i>	indigenous chief
<i>Reino</i>	the territory and people of a <i>djorson</i>
RGB	Resistência Guiné-Bissau
RSA	Republic of South Africa
<i>Tabanca</i>	town or village
<i>Tchon</i>	land, father land
UN	United Nations

UNDP/PNUD	United Nations Development Program / Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento
<i>Weltanschauung</i>	worldview, the general understanding of nature and the world, along with their purpose, held by a people or a group of individuals
<i>Zōé</i>	the sort of “nude” life accorded to those living outside the polis.

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## Acknowledgements

There is a long list of people I should thank and without whom these pages would not have been possible. First and foremost, my thoughts go to all the people in Guinea-Bissau who openly engaged in talks with me and shared much of their life, experience, understanding, and wisdom. They shared much more than just words, and I find myself deeply indebted for the warm hospitality I received in the many areas of the country I visited during my stays. Above all, I wish to particularly thank Padre Michael Danielis for the never-ending hospitality and warm welcome on every visit to Quinhamel. My gratitude goes to Cambraima Alanso Casamá, the man whose name is on everybody's lips: not only does he know the right person at the right moment and time but also always has a kind way of finding the most apt solution. For all the support, time, patience, translation, travels, and adventures, I would like to thank Mamadou, Saidu Coiate, Bacar Bassi Djassi, *tio* Sembé, and Nemésio Ié.

I grew as a researcher during these years at ISCSP. The Universidade de Lisboa is not only responsible for granting me resources and hosting my research; it also gave me the opportunity to collaborate with brilliant academics. I am deeply thankful to Professor Celeste Quintino, who was to me a mentor and guide. Professor Quintino offered me irreplaceable academic and personal support from the very early stage of research to approaching the topic of research, the travel, the difficulties and, finally, the outcomes. My gratitude also to Professor Heitor Romana, whose sharp mind was helpful at every stage of this research process, and to Professor Álvaro Nóbrega for all the books and passionate discussions about Guinea-Bissau. Last but not least, a special thanks to Professor Andrea Valente, who is not merely my supervisor but became a friend during these years working together.

With the support of the FCT doctoral grant, I was also able to spend a few months at SOAS, University of London. Besides access to a vast library, the hours at the Doctoral School played a decisive role in the final realisation of the thesis; I am thankful to the staff who made my stay there unforgettable. The months working under the supervision of Professor Alena Rettová represent invaluable support and contributions to my reflection and to this work. Moreover, she introduced me to the lively world of African philosophy and its current debates, a perspective enriched by the annual *Asixoxe (Let's Talk!)* Conference on African Philosophy and the joint session with the ERC group to discuss doubts and ideas. My gratitude goes to Dr Marek Hrubec and Dr Albert Kasanda for organising and so warmly welcoming me at the Asixoxe Conference.

Thanks to Evan, who read these pages in the spirit of friendship and also proofread my faulty English as a professional editor. I am sure your polishing made my ideas much clearer than I originally expressed them. Another great thanks to Emanuele for being a close friend in times of need (or desperation) and for the enthusiastic support of the research I was trying to pursue (thanks also to the still-to-be E.T. Corporation).

To my colleagues and friends David, Zara, Arthur, Clara, Roberto, Cristina, Gabrieli, Tânia, Carol, Andrea—thank you with all my heart for sharing with me all or pieces of this long path to the PhD, for your advice, support, motivation, and feedback. You were not only indispensable to the realisation of this project, but also you made Lisbon my city and yourselves my family. To Samory, Marek, Ignatius, for all the face to face and virtual meetings that started with common academic interests and became great friendships.

Thanks to my parents, Vittorio and Ornella, for always believing in me; to my brother Davide, who keeps up with my endless studentship. To Monica, Elisa, and Valentino, who wholeheartedly, genuinely love their very nerdy cousin/aunt, notwithstanding the distance between us.

And of course, to Farhad, my love, my life, for the constant support and never-ending patience.

This thesis was supported by Portuguese national funds through FCT - Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, under the grant SFRH/BD/139431/2018





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## 1. Introduction

This dissertation takes as its starting point the concept of the political, the bedrock of any discipline within the broad spectrum of political science. It argues against the existence of unique, unambiguous definitions of the political and (political) power. The canons of the discipline tend to assume one paradigm of the political as foundational to political theory—a paradigm established over time in accordance with dominant philosophy and science. Sacralised by customs and conventions, the model of the state thus appears, in theoretical terms, the embodiment of the political.

This paradigm assumes, on the one hand, that the institution of a polity is due to the *free* and *rational* choice of the individual, formalised as a contract binding all extant and future individuals within the political community. As such a contract is formulated in the deontological form of law, legality assumes primacy and control over the political sphere. Ergo, legality arises as a dominant trait of sovereignty. On the other hand, the Westphalian state, developed along centuries of cultural traditions, praises the role of the nation in state politics. In turn, the nation is assumed to be a collective entity composed of individualities, hence an aggregate of autonomous and self-reliant individuals. These tenets are accepted in and foundational to western political thought, being deeply rooted in philosophies and epistemologies that are, overall, agreed upon and widely shared.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon of the political—that is, the relational phenomenon differentiating the *societas generis humana* from any other sort of aggregate of individuals, animal or human—has not followed an identical path of development in all areas of the world. On the African continent, pre-colonial political formations were fiercely swept away by colonialist policies. Although they did not last, colonial occupations left profound cultural, social, and political marks, the legacy of which is burdensome. Moreover, the colonial disruption in African historicity is responsible for the peculiar characteristic of contemporary African states, along with national and regional politics.

By and large, the state does not represent the outcome of African endogenous political traditions, from which fact it derives its characteristic *alienness*, nor did the notion of the nation as grounded in individualism evolve from native philosophies. In practice, the bureaucracy-based functioning of administration and institutions overlaps with endogenous relations that traverse horizontal and vertical networks, while the idea of democratic accountability limits

bonds based in inter-reliance and kinship. Representative, majoritarian democracy hinders the organic, society-based participation in politics that is typical of communo-centric societies. If anything, the nation-state in sub-Saharan Africa is stuck in its implementation, thus in being *the political*.

The resultant epistemological uneasiness makes it necessary to formulate an *ad hoc* conceptual framework to frame the topic under examination. Chapter 2 of the dissertation firstly argues that the existing theoretical frameworks in political theory lack comprehensiveness in their understanding of the political in the African scenario. Secondly, moving beyond criticism and analysis of scholarship, I articulate a conceptual framework appropriate to the study of the political in the Sub-Saharan scenario—specifically, the case of Guinea-Bissau. I advance the idea that an exhaustive political analysis ought to take into consideration the interplay of state and indigenous powers to formulate a broad approach to the political and understand its inner characters, principles, and contemporary configurations. Hence, the primary aim of this study is to analyse principles and configurations of political power in Guinea-Bissau.

To this end, the analysis considers a phenomenon chosen for its exceptionality and liminality: the *criança-irân*.<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon, discussed in depth in Chapter 3.3, has its origin in the animist cosmology shared by several ethnic groups of Guinea-Bissau (mainly the Pepel, Balanta, Bijagós, and the Manjaco). Children deemed to be *criança-irân* are labelled as non-human and excluded from the political plurality due to the disposability of their lives, of which they are deprived through ritual infanticide. The practice, and the underlying belief, convey a deeper meaning that is revelatory of the local-native conception of humanness and of the political subject. Hence, the theme of the *criança-irân* is a way of describing and making sense of a sociopolitical reality that is familiar to relatively few people.

The notion of humanness epitomises a concept foundational to any political theory; conceptualisations of humanness define the boundaries of the polity, the institutions framing political relations, and the centrepieces of political power. Bissau-Guinean native understandings of humanness rebuke cherished notions of political theory while questioning the concept of the political subject, the quintessence of the political *qua* political.

This study distinguishes between the notion of personhood and that of humanness, keeping in mind linguistic differences and how category-concepts can be represented or misrepresented

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<sup>1</sup> Literally “child-spirit” but referred to here collectively under the term *spirit-children*. For the purposes of this study, the two English and the creole Portuguese term are used interchangeably.

when translated. It is understood that the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* falls outside of the debate over the relationship between individual and community, grounded in the moral-political notion of personhood, initiated within Afro-communitarianism. For this reason, I argue that the notion of humanness constitutes a more robust theoretical basis for the analysis of Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity and the peculiar inclusionary exclusion of the *criança-irân*.

To unravel a concept that would be labelled, by its nature, metaphysical, I adopt an interpretative epistemological approach grounded in political theory. Considering the ontological and normative premises underlying the *criança-irân* ritual infanticide, I show how these refute the universality of the notion of humanness. In other words, I consider political theorisations of what it is to be classified as *human*, meaning a normative and metaphysical attribution detached from biological features that is responsible for one's inclusion in the *bíos politicon* (the political mode of life). Discerning the liminality of spirit-children reveals an exceptionality that sheds lights on the norms that order the polity.

The analytical model articulated in this study evokes the abovementioned conceptual framework and is mirrored in the rationale underpinning this dissertation. This model is composed of three related concepts, which together form a comprehensive analysis of political power: the *bíos* and the *zōé*, the *nomos*, and the *locus*. As the state and indigenous power constantly interplay and intermingle in the political scenario of Guinea-Bissau, so the theoretical exposé of this reality employs local and non-local terminology. For instance, the concept of *bíos* and *zōé*, the foundations of which are rooted in ancient Greek philosophy, are combined with local conceptualisations of *djorson* (kinship) and *tchon* (land).

Both analytical model for the study and the methodological components for the research design are related in Chapter 4. Scientific rigour is an essential component of any study, and the qualitative character of an investigation, including the present investigation, does not hinder such a prerogative. The fieldwork conducted in 2016, 2019, and 2020 (online) brings together an extensive sample of over one hundred subjects. Several techniques for data gathering were employed, ranging from non-participant observation to interviews and focus groups. The transcribed data were analysed according to thematic content analysis.

Guinea-Bissau was chosen due to a set of equally valid reasons, not least of which is my acquaintance with the country. My interest on Guinea-Bissau started during my first year as a graduate student at the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas* (ISCSP), where I eventually decided on the case of the *criança-irân* as the focus of a master's thesis. Following three months of fieldwork in 2016, I returned to Guinea-Bissau in 2019 and travelled the

country. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I had to cancel the fieldwork planned for 2020. Nevertheless, I conducted several online interviews from Lisbon. With no claim to expertise, I consider myself, at least, well-acquainted with Bissau-Guinean peoples and culture.

The second reason is related to the fact that, since independence, constant turmoil has characterised the Bissau-Guinean political arena. Prior to the 1998-1999 civil war, the country endured a decades-long semi-authoritarian regime. Moreover, until 1994 the former liberation movement *Partido Africano pela Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* (hereafter PAIGC) occupied the political sphere, being coincident with the state. A *de facto* shift in political offices and elites occurred only in the aftermath of the civil war, when *de jure* Guinea-Bissau enforced a multi-party system in 1991. However, the democratisation of politics did not restore stability or order to the country; if anything, it exacerbated the struggle for political power, which eventually burst into repeated coups d'état and left a legacy of a restive military. The literature largely dwells on aspects of state fragility or failure, along with the criminalisation of the state and depictions of its recurrent instability.

By and large, the chronic instability reigning in Bissau-Guinean politics cannot be fully explained by appealing merely to those notions of political science that refer to clientelism, corruption, state privatisation, state criminalisation, or state failure (as discussed in Chapter 3). The complexity of the phenomenon calls for renewed, perspicacious analysis of political power, as political configurations surpass the order envisioned by the canons. To this end, the contribution of comparative political theory and African political theory and philosophy offer a critical theoretical support. Along with critiques of liberal and majoritarian African democracies, the disciplines bring to the table innovative theoretical proposals. For example, democracy by consensus, which revisits endogenous political thought in the contemporary frame of the state.

Thirdly, I chose Guinea-Bissau to close what I see as current gaps in the scholarship. The country has been the object of several political analyses, many of which are tightly linked to sociology, that tackle themes such as state fragility, state criminalisation, and the political elite. Yet little analysis has been made through the lenses of political theory, nor have previous studies sought to include the theories and concepts of African political theory in their conceptual framework. Moreover, African political theory has evolved as a discipline mainly in Anglophone countries of the sub-Saharan region, and so Lusophone regions have received little attention.

The appeal to accepted notions of African political theory as inferred by African and Euro-Africanist academics, in this scenario, is a Janus figure. On the one hand, it offers a wide array of notions and tools of self-understanding in the analysis of the Bissau-Guinean context. On the other, it hypes pretences of overarching *unanimism* for the African world, thus indiscriminately applying theoretical concepts to all cases with little consideration for differences and specificities. Despite heterogeneity, regional contingency and proximity enable researchers to adapt theoretical formulations from one to another sub-region of the continent.

Lastly, this study is prompted by the ongoing performance and resilience of the *criança-irân* ritual infanticide. The scarce data available in the scholarship have been complemented by fieldwork data. They show that, whether the practice is widespread or restricted to select ethnic groups or geographic areas, the belief in the spirit-children is widely held and at least known to all the population. Given the commonness of the belief, regardless of religious or ethnic differences or cultural influences, understanding the *criança-irân* as a mere aspect of a cosmological creed would be reductive.

The ritual infanticide signifies a broader political reality that resides in the shadows of informality within the boundaries of Bissau-Guinean formal politics. Given its liminality, the practice represents, to the aims of this study, an instrument to recognise the political ordering of indigenous power, to understand its foundations and its boundaries. Moreover, the ritual infanticide practice epitomises the point of intersection from which to begin an investigation into the intersection of endogenous principles of political power and state configuration.

Having spelled out the theoretical, analytical, and contextual frames of this study in the first part of the thesis, the Part II applies the conceptual and analytical model to the selected case, namely the principles and configurations of power in Guinea-Bissau.

I begin with a consideration of the elements of local ontology and epistemology to analyse the notion of humanness held in Bissau-Guinean gnosis, although this dissertation refrains from reproducing a quintessential Africanness vis-à-vis political theory. Starting from the gathered data, and aided by studies in African philosophy, I investigate the notion of spatiality and temporality to discern the concept of humanness and the boundaries of the human-constituted political plurality—that is, the *bíos*. The interplay with local gnosis is necessary to the aim of identifying the power relations ordering the relationship of the individual (*ego*) to the outer world (*alter*), as well as the relationship between individual and community.



Articulated throughout Chapter 5 (“The *bíos* and the *zōé*: Human life and political life in Guinea-Bissau indigenous political power”), I discuss the abovementioned elements to examine power relations of indigenous power and endogenous political principles in Guinea-Bissau. By and large, these discard the individualistic premises that largely underpin the canons of political theory. Rather, they give preference to a communo-centric approach and intersubjectivity. Relations of power are not framed according to an adversarial model, riddled with prevarication, aimed at domination of the other. On the contrary, intersubjectivity enhances power relations grounded in compromise. In these relations, no subject is made an object, nor does one subject hoard power. Political power transcends the subjects to be, effectively, a purely *relational* phenomenon, hence residing primarily in the relationship binding *ego* and *alter*. Thereby, power relations are *intersubjective*, equally promoting the subjects and the plurality engendered through reciprocal relations.

From the theoretical understanding of *ego-alter* power relations according to Bissau-Guinean native gnosis, I proceed to examine how such tenets order established and stable political institutions. In Chapter 6 (“*Nomoi* of political power in Guinea-Bissau”), I discuss these foundational principles as institutionalised in indigenous power, namely in the indigenous chiefs (*regulo*, *chefe de tabanca*) and councils (*baraca*, *djumbai*). The indigenous institutions of power are highly representative of endogenous conceptions of power entwined with local ontology. I argue that while the chiefs inhabit a merely symbolic position, being representative in the *physikon*, the effective power and decision-making belongs to the councils.

Still, these considerations do not represent an account of societies devoid of the fluidity of contemporaneity. The enduring presence of the state, inherited from the colonial administration, triggered the bi-directional process of the Africanisation of power. The present political analysis aims to discern how these powers interact, overlap, or conflict within one single political space. As such, I discuss not the *nomos* and *locus* but rather the *nomoi* and *loci* of political power.

For the indigenous powers of Guinea-Bissau, Africanisation has meant institutionalisation, or stationalisation. In other words, the process has blurred the boundaries between state and indigenous power, which are seen as overlapping, at times, or contiguous. For the state, Africanisation has consistently brought the intermingling of endogenous principles of political power in an exogenous institution. As previously noted, state and nation, as well as liberal majoritarian democracy, are concepts formulated and promulgated in contexts exogenous to the sub-Saharan. They rely on a conception of humanness, and of power relations, diametrically opposed

to that of present-day conceptions in Guinea-Bissau, in the overall sub-Saharan context, and in many other non-western philosophical systems. The Africanisation of power brings to light further political inconsistencies, from the coexistence of plural political powers within one political space, to state fragility and illegitimacy. As the notion of the individual grounds a political analysis model, it also provides *praxis* for the sustainability of a political system.

In Chapter 7 (“*Loci* of power: Africanisation and asymmetries in Bissau-Guinean plural political configurations”) I analyse the process of Africanisation through the reading-lenses of the *criança-irân* ritual infanticide. The latter is read as a point of connection between the principles underlying the state and those underpinning indigenous powers, as in accordance with legal provisions it calls for state action and repression of a practice accepted by indigenous powers. Hence, the ritual practice provides a means to read the interaction between the two orders of power, although this analysis does not adopt either an institutional or legal standpoint. Despite the dichotomous depiction of the state (generally assumed as vector of modernity and development) and indigenous powers (epitomising tradition), the juxtaposition of the two orders’ positions vis-à-vis the spirit-children phenomenon reveals a certain degree of continuity, or institutional transcendence, of political relations.

Insofar as the resilience of indigenous powers is greatly due to their representation of endogenous power relations, I look at whether the process of Africanisation represents one of the fundamental causes of the recurrent political turmoil affecting the country. Said otherwise, the mismatch between the state political configuration and the coagent political relations partially induces abuses of power. Lastly, the Africanisation of power reveals the *locus*, or better, the *loci*, of political power. Grounded in the local, endogenous, and intersubjective political relations, the centres of power are found in the intersubjective space, that being the network of relations binding individuals to one another and to the community. These *loci* are pervasive in the pluralistic political realms, for the state itself attempts to absorb the intersubjective political space through the project of modernisation.

To sum up, this dissertation investigates, through the lens of the spirit-children phenomenon, the configurations of political power in Guinea-Bissau. Examining indigenous and state configurations, it argues that the underpinning political relations transcend institutional differentiation. The pluralistic political powers framed within one political sphere are differentiated according to their specific conceptions of humanness, of political subject, and of the polity. Nevertheless, these *nomoi* of power stay in a constant, reciprocal relation, which engenders the process of the Africanisation of power. The outcome of this bi-directional influence is a

pluralistic, hybrid political configuration. In the latter, the political thought of contemporary Guinea-Bissau dwells, merging endogenous and exogenous elements into local and unique conceptualisations of the political.

Aware of the current gaps in the literature, and of my euro-Africanist position, I examine categories of political thought specific to Guinea-Bissau tradition and daily political life. Although this study is undoubtedly ambitious, I intend to, eventually, contribute to different disciplinary areas. By examining the configurations of power in Guinea-Bissau, I aim to integrate the *corpus* of political science studies focusing on the political conjuncture, structure, and institutions of the country. The effort here is directed at providing a renewed, and hopefully comprehensive, analytical instrument to discern, analyse, and discuss the political sphere in Guinea-Bissau.

The concepts add onto and transpose the discussion of the ontology of the political and biopolitics initiated within western theory. The theoretical proposal advanced in the dissertation not only debates literature from a critical perspective but aims to bridge it with non-western epistemology through a critical appraisal. The endeavour is thus to rethink the categories of thought, from *bíos* and *zōē* to *nomos* and *locus*, according to local-specific epistemologies and ontologies, to rethink the notion of biopolitics.

The use of a liminal, exceptional phenomenon like the *criança-irân* reveals the inherently political significance of a phenomenon that is not eminently political. The interplay of the political with other spheres—cultural, cosmological, social—that compose the gnosis and *Weltanschauung* of a people constitutes a possibility to enrich the formulations of political theory. Thus, this study exhorts and contributes to the widening of political theorisations above and beyond what canonically and ontologically constitutes “the political.”

African political theory and the debates over communitarianism benefit from the ideas formulated here, since the latter aim to provide a new insight, derived from research in a Lusophone context, to theorisations of humanness, personhood, community, polity, and politics in an African fashion. Nevertheless, the label “African” should be considered proper to any study or analysis that considers African epistemologies and worldviews. That said, as it revisits a foundational concept of political theory (the concept of humanness), this thesis hopes to enrich the canons of the discipline, by bringing to it African formulations that I regard as essential to a full understanding of African politics.

## 1.1 Object of study

Being a dissertation in political science, with emphasis on political theory, this study considers configurations and principles of political power in Guinea-Bissau. The subject matter of this dissertation has been determined by conceptual concerns (and in some way a certain discontent) with the models for the study of political power in Africa at large, and in Guinea-Bissau in particular, offered by the literature. In this sense, the ontology of the study is not concerned exclusively with the *what* but also with the *how* of power—a phenomenon of polysemous forms. Scholarship presents a wide array of studies underpinned by the paradigms of the canons, yet few sources are available that embrace an endogenous perspective. Moreover, the literature suffers from a general tendency of facilely distinguishing among state and indigenous powers.

The study interrogates neither the state nor indigenous power. Rather, it aims to bridge the analysis of two spheres to produce a comprehensive account of political power in Guinea-Bissau. The disciplinary triangulation of political science, political theory, and political anthropology constitutes the theoretical bedrock of this thesis. Emphasis is placed on political power, one of the main concerns and objects of study within the political sciences at large, via normative and hermeneutic lenses—part of the theoretical apparatus of political theory. In conjunction with the anthropocentric, humanistic understanding of political anthropology, I hope to shed further light on the question of political power in Guinea-Bissau. Moreover, such conceptual and ontological frames benefit from the approach and methods of disciplines that themselves remain farther outside the influence of the canons, namely African political theory, African political philosophy, and comparative political theory. These disciplines are unique in their approach in that they argue for an understanding of modernity and post-modernity that transcends the dichotomy East-West, or North-South, to engage with broader conceptual frames embodying generalised concepts along with local specificities. Putting aside any ethnocentric standpoint,<sup>2</sup> the aim of these disciplines is to study, interpret, and understand non-western contemporaneity as the intertwining of global concepts with local, endogenous gnosis.

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<sup>2</sup> Spatial and temporal categories cooccur to constitute epistemological, as well as ontological and disciplinary, ethnocentrism. The question of time and constructs of temporality is an object of vast reflection and critique within the social sciences and humanities. Non-western scholars recognise how much of knowledge rests on the concepts underlying the western chronological model, which casts the present time as a central temporal frame (Mudimbe, 1988). This paramountcy highlights the allochryony in the social sciences. This divergence operates simultaneously

The study of configurations and principles of power in Guinea-Bissau is approached through the local understanding of humanness as a sufficient condition for the institution of the *bios politicon*. The analysis begins with the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* as a framework to reveal the interplay of the notion of human with that of political power as well as the underpinning principles of indigenous power. The ritual infanticide practice, rooted in endogenous beliefs, represents an exception to the regular order of the political, thus rendering the otherwise obscure net of power relations and principles evident to the researcher. The latter are fundamental to the establishing of power relations—the blueprint for the political community. Likewise, the same phenomenon is used to investigate the coexistence of indigenous powers alongside the formal state, and their reciprocal influence.

The importance of the notion of human nature to political science and political philosophy is well-founded. Written statements describing humans as beings with unique capabilities, such as reason, that, aided by a natural sociability, enable the institution of a political community steered by morals, date back to Aristotelian and Stoic philosophies. Notions of humanness have influenced the more diverse political doctrines along the centuries, passing through Enlightenment and contractualism, Nazism and fascism, to socialism and communism and communitarianism. These doctrines emphasise the notion of humanness differently—now implicitly, now explicitly, now promoting the link to humanness to foster local political specificities, such as in the case of African socialism. In the last decades, however, political theory has promoted the understanding of humanness, whether normative or metaphysical, alongside the concept of the human condition, i.e., the condition of living a life that meets our needs and is tailored to our capabilities, including the natural tendency toward relating within a political community. As such, the extrapolation of the conception of humanness prevalent among a culture, by means of analysing local ontological and epistemological features, represents the bedrock of the discernment of foundational principles of political power.

Taking into consideration that the Bissau-Guinean state is modelled on the globally dominant Westphalian state, organised in a semi-presidential republic, ordered through a liberal majoritarian democracy, this dissertation does not undertake an extensive analysis of the underlying principles of the state. Theoretical considerations about the formal state come mostly from the literature, rather than fieldwork. The research conducted in the country focused, instead, on collecting data to support the analysis of indigenous political power and the

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in the chronological and spatial dimensions, distancing subjects and objects of research across time, space, and cultures (Fabian, [1983] 2006).

persistence of the latter within the state political configuration. There exists, at the time of writing, no study produced through the reading lenses of political theory that focuses on this relationship of political powers.

Guinea-Bissau is located on the coast of West Africa, just south of Senegal and the Gambia. It is a rather small country, inhabited by less than two million people, many of whom reside in the capital, Bissau. However, the country presents a highly diverse demographic, featuring almost thirty distinct ethnic groups. While these can be grouped together according to cultural, societal, religious, and historical commonalities, ethnic heterogeneity persists. This impacted the scope of the research, as to include all cases within one dissertation would have been impossible in terms of time, scope, and resources. Rigorous criteria were used to obtain a selection of samples and to account for diversity among ethnic traditions. Since the rationale of the research is to produce a comprehensive understanding of political power, and not to foster parochialism, the study attempted to bridge particularities, to seek generality and intermingling in political thought. The representation of ethnic heterogeneity and specific notions of political power constitute the main limits to this study.

Recalling the object of study (i.e., configuration and principles of political power in Guinea-Bissau), the question guiding the research is as follows: What pluralistic configurations and principles of political power are highlighted by the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* in contemporary Guinea-Bissau? Too broad to find a univocal or satisfactory answer, the answer was dissected into narrower questions that steered the research design:

- How do local epistemology, ontology, and gnosis interplay with the discernment and understanding of the political and of humanness?
- What category-concept sustains the indigenous polity in Guinea-Bissau, considering the phenomenon of the *criança-irân*?
- What are the underpinning principles sustaining the order of the indigenous polity?
- How is the endogenous conceptualisation of the political configured in crystallised political *nomos*?
- How do endogenous principles interplay with the tenets grounding the formal state, and how best to reveal these?
- Where is the centre of political power in Guinea-Bissau?

These questions constitute the groundwork for the objectives pursued in the study. The primary aim of the dissertation is to reveal the configurations and principles of political

power composing the pluralistic realm of Guinea-Bissau, understood through the liminal phenomenon of the *criança-irân*. To produce a satisfactory, interpretative discussion, the research proceeded under the guidance of four derivative objectives of study, which constitute the very structure of the dissertation. These secondary objectives are:

- **To critically examine the literature, to expose its weaknesses and strength and articulate a conceptual frame for the study of political power in Guinea-Bissau.** Although devised with reference to a specific case study, the theoretical model has broader applicability.
- **To discern select local ontological concepts, the key to understanding the notion of humanness, derived from the *criança-irân* ritual infanticide practice.** These enable the study of power relations as envisaged in endogenous thought, ultimately serving as the base for the political and foundations of the political community.
- **To frame these endogenous principles through a critical appraisal of indigenous power's contemporary political practices and institutions.** The functioning of the latter underpins an understanding of both the relationship between individual and community and the constitutive basis for the political.
- **To analyse divergences and interactions of state and indigenous political powers.** The two powers differ in their foundational principles and *modus operandi*, which impacts their *loci*. The study aims to discern reciprocal influences that constitute the process of the Africanisation of power and define the fulcra of power.

## 1.2 Epistemological aspects

Prior to articulating the epistemological stance underpinning the research, we must identify the scientific paradigm of the topic being studied. The scientific paradigm impacts the ontological and epistemological parameters of the research as it shapes questions about the core matter to be addressed, the mode by which evidence should be obtained, the nature of the theoretical enterprise, and the underlying assumptions about the nature and dynamics of the phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 210).

Different from the hard, positivistic natural sciences, matters of *Kulturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften* cannot decouple themselves from the social, cultural, and historical

contexts of their occurrence. These are made of a *pluriverse* of individualities, which fact becomes clear in the data of the research. To deal with the inherent unpredictability, along with the manifold peculiarities, of the social system, the scientific paradigm of the human and social sciences requires an approach that encompasses specific modes of inquiry, in accordance with the subject under examination.

Human beings' actions are not reducible to mere rational, causal processes, nor to a cost-benefit analysis. The irrational, emotional component of human nature is undeniable; in this sense, the understanding of the researcher is also subject to emotion, which is not the outcome of mere reason (Maltez, 2007, p. 20).

Moreover, the observational model (A. Moreira, 1993) acknowledges the intertwining of the scientific paradigm and the theoretical background of the research. This model ought therefore to consider epistemological and ontological specificities of the social, political, cultural, and philosophical context under examination. In interpreting reality, the rationale underlying a phenomenon is of greater assistance than an overt, causal process.

In light of the above, this research intends to take into consideration cultural, philosophical, and epistemological particularities to integrate universalisable methods and logic of analysis. Hence, the scientific paradigm adopted in this dissertation embodies not only epistemological and methodological stances proposed by the canons as well as those from within African political theory, African philosophy, and comparative political theory. What is unique and common to these disciplines is the inherent urge to reconsider and rebuke the canons (in this case, the “other”) to obtain scholarly independence and self-sufficiency, along with complementarity with and beyond the canons. This inquiry is mainly pursued by yoking *Weltanschauung*<sup>3</sup> and gnosis to ontology.

Regarding the African context, the dependency on ontology inherent in political thought is bound to the origins of African philosophy itself, representative of the need to redeem the African self from the neglected and inferior position to which it was relegated by western modernity. In other words, the first *Leitmotiv* of African scholars was an effort, driven by self-

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<sup>3</sup> Literally, “worldview.” This German expression, used throughout the text, is tightly linked to continental and Kantian philosophy. The term refers to a general understanding of nature and the world, along with their purpose, held by a people or a group of individuals. Aerts et al. define the concept of worldview as:

“a coherent collection of concepts and theorems that must allow us to construct a global image of the world and in this way to understand as many elements of our experience as possible. A worldview is a system of coordinates or a frame of reference in which everything presented to us by our diverse experience can be placed. It is a symbolic system of representation that allows us to integrate everything we know about the world and ourselves into a global picture, one that illuminates reality as it is presented within a certain setting” (Aerts et al., [1994] 2007).



understanding, to reveal and assert the inherent, diverse, and equal humanity of the African peoples. More than simply promoting the integration of African *gnosis* (Mudimbe, 1988) into the canon, the mystic African participative and subjective reason<sup>4</sup> (Senghor, 1965) has deepened the dichotomy between emotion-based African and logocentric western reason.

African philosophers have written extensively about how the definition of reason is an inherently valuable means for the control of identity. The differentiation between logocentrism and emotivism epitomises the threshold that separates civilised from uncivilised (Masolo, 1994) and further establishes the epistemological and ontological position of Africa as knowable through the Eurocentric reading lenses of ethnology (Mudimbe, 1988). To cite V. Y. Mudimbe (1988, p. 195), “the invention of the idea of Africa is constantly reinvented and recreated through its history and past proposed by a present-conditioned epistemological set of analysis tools” that deprive the continent of its historicity. Being ahistorical, there is a dearth of philosophy of history in Africa, even while a theocracy of philosophy has been fostered, grounded in the sanctity of western reason-based science (C. B. Okolo, 1993).

The scientific approach of earlier African philosophy distanced itself from that of the reason-based canons. As the discipline has affirmed itself in the literature during the last decades, the approach to scientific knowledge has tended toward postures of compromise and intertwining rather than antagonism toward western concepts. The scientific paradigm promoted by scholars of African philosophy, African political theory, and comparative political theory accounts for the interplay of reason and individualism, along with emotive traits (such as solidarity, identity, and the capacity for communion) and communocentrism. This approach broadens the spectrum of reliable sources constituting scientific knowledge and enables a comprehensive analysis that accounts for the political, social, and philosophical context.

Still, the growing importance of African quintessence in political thought should not be overestimated. Doing so would drown one in *theoria*, thus distancing the scholar from the *praxis* of the political world, the realm of practical attitudes and pragmatism (Kasanda, 2018). Thus, to conduct research in the realm of the political, one should refer to ontological features as a means of understanding the phenomenon. For example, many scholars argue for the

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<sup>4</sup> The Senegalese thinker, in alignment with negritude, has argued for the diversity and equity of what he refers to as the “Negro,” for every human being is endowed with reason—although the type of reason may vary. Hence, his celebrated phrase, “emotion is Negro as reason is Hellenic” (Senghor, 1962, 1965), synthesises with strong and unforgettable words Senghor’s conception of the African human being; a notion worthy of being nourished by politicians who are today helping build the socio-political system. Alongside Senghor’s conceptualisations, Valentin-Yves Mudimbe (1988) has supported the dismantling of rigid disciplinary and epistemological categories, constructed upon western *gnosis*, to foster inclusivity of world epistemic traditions.

recognition of endogenous<sup>5</sup> knowledge transmitted by oral modes such as proverbs and social arrangements discernible through the critical eyes “of the philosopher trained in scientific methods” (Wiredu, 1980). Past legacies, along with the contemporary reality shaped by globalisation and Baumanian fluidity in the hyper-flow of post-modernity, contribute to the understanding of the political and of power.

In this dissertation, I adopt an anti-fundamentalist epistemology of modern and post-modern *Kulturwissenschaften*, which pinpoints the understanding of meaning rather than aims to disclose causal relations (Burnham, Lutz, Grant, & Layton-Henry, 2008). This epistemological approach starts with the premise that human actions possess constitutive meaningfulness, and as such do not resemble natural phenomena. As humans are both rational and irrational creatures, they build worlds that are largely unpredictable. Yet social facts convey the subjective meaning of human actions, enabling the researcher to observe.

In consideration of the anti-fundamentalist stance, along with the impact of local ontology on the epistemological approach, I deem interpretivism the most apt epistemological paradigm to frame this study. According to the tenets of the paradigm, by engaging with the *what* and *how* of social reality, a scientific inquiry can interpret and make sense of the configuration of meanings and institutional life that inform and shape a culture’s reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 488). Interpretivism, like constructivism,<sup>6</sup> focuses on the processes (the *why*) by which intersubjective, common “meanings are created, negotiated, sustained, and modified within a specific context of human action” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b, p. 225).

As will become evident in the following chapters, the *corpus* of literature sustaining my arguments does not always align with the epistemological choices I refer to here. A dissertation, like any other product of research, arises from the researcher’s understanding of how to approach the matter. Therefore, by no means will the same approach be found among all of the authors whose work informs the present theoretical or conceptual framework. Authors,

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<sup>5</sup> According to Pauli Hountondji, the term “endogenous” is preferred to traditional, for the latter is charged with static features and immutability throughout time and space. Moreover, the suffix “en-” contrasts more sharply with the imported or exogenous knowledge determined by western gnosis (Hountondji, 1983). In the dissertation, the terms “endogenous” and “indigenous” will be used to refer to native systems of thought or political organisation.

<sup>6</sup> For the aims of this research, interpretivism was preferred over constructivism for the inherent ontological hermeneutics surrounding concepts such as humanness. Interpretivism and constructivism start from common epistemological bases; both paradigms analyse human experience and phenomena through the meaning inherent in intersubjective and subjective human actions. However, constructivism places emphasis on the social and cultural construction of meaning, rather than on the interpretative pursuits (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b).

theories, concepts, and ideas belonging to differing epistemologies can commingle in the same study.

The choice of the interpretative paradigm is due to the approach's ability to offer explanations of life occurrences and everyday life in a social reality seen through a reflexive perspective. In this sense, "[T]o understand through interpretation is to accept a particular model of being or way of life" (M. J. Shapiro, 1981). It considers objective (the vast historical web of social interaction among people) and subjective (individual actions, shaped by the values, intentions, and judgments of people acting in a specific social and historical context) elements that influence each other in the shaping of a specific practice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 575). Reflexivity considers the interplay of a temporally and culturally determined context with individual, situational self-interpretation, while the relevance of an internalist perspective epitomises the core of normative or hermeneutical explanations sought in the epistemological approach of political theory (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 27; Ferejohn, 2004, p. 146).

As noted at the beginning of this section, human and social sciences model their scientific paradigms on the inherent uncontrollability of the social environment, which undermines the feasibility of studies rooted in mathematical language and positivism. Therefore, this dissertation produces a qualitative study aimed at understanding meaning in the studied phenomenon rather than measuring data quantitatively. To provide as many details as possible about the studied phenomenon, the mode of conveying findings is descriptive (Creswell, 2007; Silverman, 2005), since the rationale of qualitative research is to interpret or to make sense of the meaning others give to the world.



## **Part I –Framing the Study**

## 2 Theoretical framework: Power, the Political and Humanness

### 2.1 The Political and Political Power

To provide a clear and unequivocal definition of political power is an imposing task—certainly, it has sparked a debate among scholars that, after centuries, and due to the ineffability of political power, goes unresolved. By and large, power refers to the capability, or possibility, of acting and producing effects on other beings, be they human or non-human, and objects. More narrowly, political power has been defined as the “capability to make others do what they would otherwise have not done in the light of their own interest” (A. Moreira, 1993), or as the “capability to determine someone else behaviour” (Bobbio, 1989). Still, these definitions of power as causal relation do not do justice to its complexity (Han, [2005] 2019). Seen differently, political power refers to a relational phenomenon (Maltez, 2007) that occurs universally in all societies or groups of persons living in a coordinated plurality. Political power also guarantees the survival of individual, avoids social entropy, and enhances the quality of human life (Balandier, 1972).

In performing these primordial functions, political power overlaps with yet transcends state and government; it is an all-pervasive phenomenon embracing any form of human life, common to all societies and to all aggregated individuals organised in a plurality. As such, political community is reflected in the life and the death of the individual, guided by resilient moral norms and legal conventions (Beetham, 1991; Davies, 2006; Moore, 1978, 2014), mandatory by nature, and grounded in relevant moral principles. The latter are shared, fostered, and preserved by individuals who sustain the internal determinism of power structured upon a circular process. Because political power is charged with the production and allocation of values, ideas, and beliefs (Bessa, 1997), it possesses the necessary means to preserve and strengthen itself in a looping, self-sustaining process.

Political power and politics serve a social need, for they save society from itself. Bare aggregations of individuals, neither organised nor institutionalised, tend to entropy and to self-destruction. Political power works as a means to an end, since it reduces such entropy and maintains equilibrium within the group (Balandier, 1972; Fukuyama, 2011). Devoid of teleological functions in its own ontology, political power ensures the survival of the community (Balandier, 1972; Easton, 1957; Schmitt, [1932] 2009), while its configurations are shaped

upon internal determinism (main values and primary aims) and upon external necessities (Balandier, 1972).

From the ineffability of power, a relational phenomenon, there unfold the different branches that constitute it: the political, politics, polity, and the *polis*. Although overlapping and interdependent, these concepts are not synonyms. Politics is directly bound to the social sphere of human life in plurality; it represents the crystallisation of the political as a defined asset, structured upon rules, institutions, and *habitus*. As such, it is representative of one epoch and its metaphysics (Schmitt, [1922] 1985). By contrast, the political is a groundless phenomenon featuring all forms of human life in plurality. The universality of this phenomenon is deeply rooted, given that the political is the expression of human life in the condition of plurality (Arendt, 1958). If, on the one hand, the existence of the political phenomenon attests to the opposition between forms of bare life (*zōē*) and of human life (*bios politicon*) (Agamben, 1995, 2003), on the other hand it marks the beginning of a philosophical, systematised approach to human existence.

In accordance with the tenets organising life in the ancient Greek *polis*, the *bios politicon* (the political mode of life) occupies the highest position above all realms of human existence (Arendt, 1958). There, principles of righteous and moral conduct shaped the teleology of the political system. Platonic justice, or Aristotelian wellbeing—the ultimate goals for human life—were entailed by the political sphere. Therefore, governance grounded on individuals' rational and free choices represented the best empirical outcome of political power. Cornerstone of the modern western polity, the creation of the *polis* forged a system of rules and conventions that, far from leaving the organisation of the association of individuals to chaos or randomness, created a system of free but not equal individuals joined in the togetherness. The ancient Greek political system inaugurated the distinction between those entitled to participate in life in the *polis* and those who were not. In other words, the treasured utopia of Kallipolis gave rise to the discrimination, beyond biological factors, among human beings who were entitled to a humanly dignified existence and those relegated to bare life.

As seen through functionalist reading-lenses, the political organisation of Greek *poleis* responds to different needs. Shared norms and metaphysical beliefs become the new political bonds, strengthening tight-knit communities formerly dependent on kinship aggregation. Further, the exigencies of war and the search for stability sparked the formation of centralised authorities led to the monopoly of coercion. To protect and to punish were the prerogative of political power while despotism remained foreign to it. Brute force belonged to the *oikia*

(household), whilst the *imperium* (politics) used speech and persuasion as primary means (Arendt, 1958). Means of power further discriminated between public and private, widening the gap between the political and the household, *aristoi* and *potesta*.

Nowadays, the Greek word *polis* supplies most of the etymology referring to ruling and governing the public realm. Some examples include polity (the modes of government of human society), policy (the type of actions employed in the management of political affairs), and politics (the strategies resulting from the competition between individuals and groups in the political arena). These words suffered an etymological shift due to their transposition into the realm of the Latin *societas*. The Roman interpretation of the political abandoned the moral teleology sought via dialogical procedures and persuasion to pinpoint the character of alliance between people to serve a purpose or a need (Arendt, 1958). In other words, the *societas* laid the basis for later formulations of contractualism, by charting a political sphere strictly connected to the *societas generis humana*. The latter is underpinned by the inherent sociability of the human being as “man is by nature a social animal” (Aristoteles, n.d.), yet it does not confirm the human aptitude for political life as a *human* condition (Arendt, 1958).

Moreover, the purely personal relations in the *civitas* blurred the liminality of private and public life, firstly by bringing the legitimate use of force to the means of political power (Maltez, 2007) and secondly by a process of progressive absorption of private units, such as the family, into social groups and institutions (Arendt, 1958). The Roman *societas* merged *dominium* and *imperium* into a synthesis, catalysing the domination and obedience that today justify the ambiguous nature of political power. The latter is the one authority permitted to perform acts of aggression or physically constrain its citizens in exchange for the protection it provides (Sarmiento, 2008, 2009). Within its boundaries, political power is granted the authority to decide over death and life, or, to “exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power” (Mbembe, 2003, p. 12).

Deprived of the stillness of contemplation and action (Arendt, 1958), and granted a monopoly on coercion, the political has drifted from the art of persuasion to the art of force and command, first, and to biological and psychological dominion, second. When conceived as the outcome of a contract agreed upon through humans’ reasoned choices, aimed at the satisfaction of needs and interests, political power loses its emblematic superiority over the other power spheres comprised in the social system to finally merge with the social. In the early twentieth century, Weberian sociological theorisations conceived the state as a rationally-based, bureaucratic apparatus; an institutionalised enterprise aiming to comply and ensure compliance with



active laws (Max Weber, 1921). The conception of the political and of the state transfigured the role humans are called to play in it, thus giving priority to the *Homo laborans* in the hierarchy of the human condition (Arendt, 1958). Individuals turned into a machinery of production, enslaved by the needs of mortality, by the speed of services and production, constrained to work for the satisfaction of vital needs (Han, [2010] 2012). The rationale of the modern human being is translated into the structure of the Weberian state—an aggregation of individuals seemingly devoid of organic character (Menkiti, 2002).

Ergo, theorisations of humanness<sup>7</sup> cogent in a specific epoch shape the inner teleology of the political. As the *bios politicon* is the basic figure for broader political institutions entrenching political, moral, and legal power, any political theory necessarily relies upon conceptions of humanness; that is, prior to the formulation of principles and norms ordering the political community, teleology, and the deployment of political power, it is necessary to define the subject of such power. Hence, conceptions of human nature frame the relationship between the individual and the community and the definition of politics.

Still, conceptions of humanness and of human nature are highly dependent on the specificities of culture. Although the political and political power are universal, theoretical and philosophical theorisations are culturally dependent (Wiredu, 1996). In other words, humanness and the political are an eminently “human dilemma” (Euben, 1997), not bound to any specific spatial, historical, or cultural setting. Yet philosophical interpretations and theoretical explanations of these phenomena vary in accordance with the unavoidable underpinning *gnosis*<sup>8</sup> (Mudimbe, 1988) inherent in cultural and philosophical systems. As such, western theorisations are not universally valid, because theoretical normativity obscures the close dependency between humanness and political theorisations.

What is more, the changeability of theorisations of humanness, even within a single paradigm, is such that no universal generalisation can be put forward. Although variations do not necessarily lead to the reshaping of the basic categories of political thought, changes in the underpinning philosophical paradigm will eventually change a given political configuration. The political dependency on humanness creates distance among polities resting on common

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<sup>7</sup> The Aristotelian statement depicting Man as a social animal is underpinned by robust philosophical tenets, universally shared, since they rely on the peculiar worth, or sanctity, attributed to human life (Singer, 1994). Notwithstanding biological closeness of the species, due to biological nature and the inner instincts ruling human behaviour, any ethics, morality, or ontological system will consider human life differentiated from other forms of animal life due to Man’s capacity for autonomy, freedom, vitality, or commonality.

<sup>8</sup> That is, the mode of knowing reality inherent in proponents of a worldview (L. R. Gordon, 2008, p. 204; Mudimbe, 1988).

foundations. For instance, the political system organising the ancient Greek *polis*, grounded on Aristotelian organicism, has nothing or little to do with the individualism inherent in modern and post-modern nation-state democracies.

Political theory studies are not limited to cultural traits of humanness (Chabal & Daloz, 2003); that is, to discerning how the individual is conceived of in a socio-historical, spatially-defined setting. Also, the interest of contemporary political theory does not rest on human nature *per se*, as Hobbesian or Rousseauian assumptions of inherent good or evil may. Rather, political theory today concentrates on the condition of being human (Arendt, 1958), hence to live a life in the state of humanness, in the political plurality. A life lived according to human standards, in accordance with a human being's inherent sociability (Fukuyama, 2011) is framed by organised communities ruled by governing principles, ordering norms, and customary conventions. A humanised life is elevated from a mere biological, memory-driven existence (Bessa, 1997) to the sharing of abstract thought—a form of communication that broadly deifies human beings. Recalling Aristotelian and Stoic postulations, humans are intended to be a plural being, as human life calls for political organisation on the self-sufficient basis of the subject's human essence (Arendt, 1958).

The political sphere represents the prime realm of *humanly* human life (*bios*), since the relational phenomenon presuppose the founding of some sort of relationship beyond the basic instinct for survival, feeding needs, or procreation—that is to say, drives felt by any living animal species living bare life (*zōē*) (Agamben, 1995, 2003; Arendt, 1958). Humanised interactions presuppose the deployment of peculiarly human capabilities yet do not necessarily require contractual formulations on the basis of liberties to guarantee the absence of brute force for the establishment of life in the plurality, i.e., life organised in a political form (Arendt, 1958).

The institution of a political realm differentiated from bare life (*zōē*) denotes the autonomy and authenticity of human existence. The *politicon* represents the autonomous and authentic way of human life—an explicit realm of human actions, praxis, and human affairs. Uniquely human capabilities, such as reason and abstraction (Fukuyama, 2011) but also language (Agamben, 1995; Levinas, [1974] 1991) or communion (Chemhuru, 2017; Gyekye &

Wiredu, 1992; Menkiti, 1984; Metz, 2014) provide the bond between the two existential conditions, *zōē* and *bíos*.<sup>9</sup>

According to the canons of political theory, dialogical practices are the necessary means to seal the boundaries of political power (Agamben, 1995; Levinas, [1974] 1991), as from them emerge the ties binding individuals, primarily driven by self-interest, into a tight community. The designation of language as a foundational element in the establishment of political power, and therefore of the political order, is due to the underlying, deep-rooted tenets of humanness generally accepted in western thought.

African tenets of political theory, while not rejecting the postulates of the western canons, add that language *per se* does not suffice as *conditio per quam* of the *bíos politicon*. This assumption departs from the understanding of humans as units of organic communities (Menkiti, 1984), interlaced not only in light of commonality, but also by solidarity and identity (Metz, 2012b, 2014). In these groups, social and political relations are not merely contingent but necessary (Gyekye, 2003), brought about through the sense of communion innate to humans.

African conceptions of humanness, broadly understood, see human beings as unavoidably part of a plurality, one that constitutes and embraces them. Prior to the definition of the political realm, the notion of the human as an atomic, monadic individual is inconceivable. Hence, African political theory presupposes the existence of community even in the original human condition (Hallen, 2015; Menkiti, 2004a; Wiredu, 1980), in the bare life of the *zōē*. Individual realisation of belonging and communing with the surrounding plurality, inherent to humans' nature, lays the sufficing grounds for the *bíos politicon*. Consequently, African organicism rebukes foundational individualism inherent in the canons.

Broadly speaking, the western conception of the human pivots on egocentrism, which takes its cue from a rational epistemology that shapes the idea of the world, the perception of reality, and subsequent moral and ethical stances. Reason represents the quintessence of humanness, the distinguishing feature of humankind, marking a cleavage between deified humans

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<sup>9</sup> As deployed in the study, the terms *bíos* and *zōē* draw upon classic philosophy developed in ancient Greece. The latter identifies the sort of life of beings living outside the polis; this “bare” life represents a life condition close to what has been called by contractualist thinkers a “state of nature.” The *zōē* is opposed to the *humanised* sort of life, the *bíos*, characterising the polis. While ancient Greek philosophy distinguished between different *bíos* (the *bíos theōrēticós*, the *bíos apolausticós* and, finally, the *bíos politicós*) (Agamben, 1995), only the *bíos politicós* has maintained its original meanings throughout the centuries and in translation, such as from Greek to Latin. According to Hannah Arendt, the Roman *civitas* perpetuates the division, consecrating the overlap between the institution of the political plurality; that is, of a group ordered and united by political power, with the *societas generis humana* (Arendt, 1958).

and animals, even though both are part of the physical reality, subjected to the biological rules of life and death, and ruled by natural instincts. Due to the agency *ego* is endowed with, humans are conceived of as individualistic beings, ego-centred, interacting with others only as an aftereffect of self-recognition, which is possible through an autonomous and free use of reason. The recognition of existing, self-conscious otherness (Levinas, [1974] 1991) in fellow humans, of infinite *alter-egos*, demands the reciprocal attribution of inherent dignity, and the universalising imperative of moral interactions among humankind (Kant, [1797] 1991 [1797]).

Nevertheless, existential and essential proximity among self-sufficient *egos* do not provide satisfactory grounds for the commitment to reciprocity among individuals, or the responsibilities that such a commitment would entail. The capacity for language and communication (Agamben, 1995) binds monadic individuals as it charts reciprocal limitations and delimitations of *ego* (oneself) and of *alter* (the other)<sup>10</sup> (Levinas, [1974] 1991). Essential proximity is most evident in language, meaning the commitment toward *alter*; however, the manifestation of cognition, of *ego*, of *alter* (Levinas, [1974] 1991) is the ultimate function of speech. *Ego* and *alter* are bound in the inherent incapability and impossibility of encountering, since the *ego* is confined to an existential solitude within the materiality of the present (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987).<sup>11</sup>

Even though the existence of *alter* attests to and undeniably confirms the existence of *ego* (Ricoeur, 1992), language is the bridging tool enabling the one possibility, in one's monadic solitude, of engaging in a truly face-to-face relationship (Agamben, 1995; Levinas, [1974] 1991). Despite the apophysis of institutionalised language, communication is the foundation for the recognition of *ego* and the differentiation of self through confrontation with the other, and for the subsequent constitution of the *bios politicon*—the political relational realm (Agamben, 1995; Levinas, [1946/7] 1987).

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<sup>10</sup> The terms “*ego*” and “*alter*” used in the text are borrowed from existential philosophy. The terms refer, respectively, to one's singularity or subjectivity and beings whose existence is other from oneself. Existing beyond self-subjectivity, power principles order the modes of relation between *ego* and *alter*. In this sense, the terms refer to a normative and existential condition, common to all humankind. The use of these terms is preferred over “*ego*” and “*other*,” or “*self*” and “*other*,” as the latter are more closely linked to philosophies of ethno-anthropological encounters, hence would not suit the purposes of the present study. Regarding political relations, *ego* refers to an individual, national, or supranational entity holder of power. The conceptualisation of the two terms is further discussed in the next chapter (§3.3.2).

<sup>11</sup> In the space of intersubjective relations, *ego* can possibly encounter the unknowable other (thus not a knowable object) solely in the unforeseeability of the future or in death. Therefore, the time of the relation *ego-alter* encounter is not the present, chained to knowability and materiality, but the yet-to-come, undisclosed future (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987).

### 2.1.1 Political theory canons reappraised

In the tight link between individuals and power, the political is inherently a deeply relational phenomenon, underpinned by the basic category-concepts of *bíos* and *zōḗ*, universally present in any political configuration and manifestation. In identifying the connection to bare life, the sovereign position of the political appears clearly and in opposition to that state of nature still proximate to a state of exception (Agamben, 1995, 2003), a state that has emerged as secularised democracies have withdrawn older theological concepts (Schmitt, [1922] 1985) from political configurations. Moreover, the *nomos basileus*<sup>12</sup> of sovereignty has been transformed from an anthropomorphic figure (the sovereign) to the form of the ban. In other words, the state of exception characteristic of contemporary politics reveals how the *locus* of sovereign power rests in the space of liminality, which inherently enlaces bare, biological bodies to the *humanised* life in the *politicon*, blurring the boundaries of the paradigm of the political.

The intersections among bare life, the state of exception and the *bíos politicon* reframe the centrality of an individual's existence. As producing a biological body is the original goal of the sovereign power (Agamben, 1995, p. 9), birth comes to replace Hegelian death in the apogee of power. Natality represents the primary, foundational political act (Arendt, 1958; Han, [2010] 2012), due to the power the political exerts over the biological body of those belonging to the political plurality. Contemporary political techniques of *biopolitics* (Foucault, 1977), *thanato-politics* (Agamben, 1995), *necropolitics* (Mbembe, 2003), and *psychopolitics* (Han, 2014), are nonetheless the expression of the ultimate rationale of political power *simpliciter*.

The politicisation of bare life (*zōḗ*), due to politics of biopower, annihilates the continuum posing *zōḗ* and *bíos* in an antagonistic binomial. According to Giorgio Agamben, communication and dialogical practice belong to the bare *and* to the political spheres of human life,

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<sup>12</sup> The concept of *nomos basileus* is derived from Pindar's writings: "the *nomos*, sovereign of all, of mortals and immortals; rules with stronger hand; justifying the most violent; I deduct it from Heracle's writings." The *nomos basileus* is the sovereign *nomos*, the threshold between the coerciveness of violence and the superiority of law (Agamben, 1995). Throughout time, it has been symbolised in the figure of the sovereign and of the ban. According to the political thought of Giorgio Agamben and Carl Schmitt, the *nomos basileus* epitomises the essence of the paradox of sovereignty (Agamben, 1995, 2003; Schmitt, [1922] 1985; [1950] 2006). In other words, the *nomos basileus* is an exception to the order of the *physikos* (nature) and to the order of the *nomos* (polity); therefore, it constitutes a transcendent power operating in the twilight of the inclusionary-exclusion, whilst it incarnates the source of the overarching sovereign power ordaining political life.

as being inherently biological features. Humans' innate communicativeness creates an inalienable tie among political power, language, and the one responsible for the dialogical act; that is, the political subject (Agamben, 1995, 2003). Biopower enables political power to take control over any domain of life.

Due to the impossibility of excluding the dialogical dimension from the plurality of individuals, language ceases to epitomise the threshold separating the category-concepts of *zōē* and *bíos*. Nonetheless, the distinction between the two realms is not erased, since they identify not the *condition* of one's body but how the body is lived, which is to say the human condition of one's body. *Zōē* and *bíos*, foundational tenets grounding the political order in western thought, demand a thicker conceptual frame.

Due to the inherent characteristics of political power, the *condition per quam* of political unity rests in the opposition *ego-alter* grounded in individualistic premises inherently imbedded in western thought. The rationale of the egocentric recognition strengthens the agency of the individual *qua* individual. The *condition sine qua non* of the political is framed within the binomial antagonism *ego-alter*, as the differentiation results in the attempt to annihilate who and what is different. Translated into the political plurality, due to sociocentric claims of power, the *alter versus ego* binary generates an endless opposition of poles that define association and dissociations, friend and enemy, *Freund* and *Feind* (Freund, 1965; Schmitt, [1932] 2009).<sup>13</sup>

According to the western canons, political life is directed toward the affirmation of the self, in singular or plural expression. Self-reliant strength creates a continuum where *ego* and *alter* are entrenched in antagonism, generating a socio-political immunological paradigm (Han, 2014) aiming to nullify the *alter*. The annihilation of the *alter* represents one's ultimate goal and also the impossibility of achieving it, since *ego* would then be unbound and unlimited without the presence of the *alter* (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987).<sup>14</sup> The *ego-alter* opposition, while the bedrock in the affirmation of principles of association and dissociation, nevertheless represents the necessary and sufficient condition for the constitution of tight political communities,

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<sup>13</sup> In 'Der Begriff des Politischen' (1932), the German jurist and political scientist Carl Schmitt unfolds in detail what he deems to be the characteristics of political power. Political is that power that, different from any other sort of power, holds above all the capability of sustaining the opposition and differentiation between friends (*Freund*) and enemies (*Feind*). The opposition is a sufficient and necessary trait of the political (Schmitt, [1932] 2009).

<sup>14</sup> In this sense, Carl Schmitt explains the impossibility of world peace or the constitution of a world nation: inner foundation characterising the political is the opposition between *ego* and *alter*; without it, the concept of the political itself ceases to make sense. The opposition requires, by definition, the presence of at least two terms to oppose, hence the institution of one world-nation would collapse the political *stricto sensu* (Schmitt, [1932] 2009).

wherein individuals are the primary units, as in the configuration of modern nation-states (Agamben, 1995).

Scholarship and western tradition identify the state, sacralised in the Westphalian model, as the most suitable configuration to carry out the duties political power implies. The formalistic and institutional approach of *Staatwissenschaft* (science of the state) highlights the three imperative elements of the state - territory, population, and sovereignty - as implicitly foundational of political power *per se*. Nineteenth century political analysis is underpinned by such premises, excluding any other configuration of (political) power as pre-political. Being the configurations of political power *par excellence*, the order of the state assumes contractualist formulations as the quintessence of political power, thus posing strict boundaries on the broad and universal sphere of the political.

The contractarian nation-state epitomises the central political unit of modernity (Mills, 2015). Political contractualism not only constitutes the cornerstone for the development of western political thought but has also developed a theoretical stance that stretches from the decades of the Enlightenment to the present day, framing the realm of political power, the limits of sovereignty, and the prerogatives powers is endowed with. In this sense, the philosophical project of modernity drew the lines between political and pre-political, human and not-human, civilised and uncivilised. In the Westphalian state, there is no higher authority within its borders; no state can claim to rule it from outside its borders. Within a situation of juridical equality of all the sovereign powers, prerogatives, and preeminent functions of the state, is the right to wage wars, and thus to kill or to end peace (Mbembe, 2003, p. 23). The domestication of violence and coercion provide sovereignty to the state, sacralised in the legal order of the *Ius Publicum Europaeum* (Schmitt, [1950] 2006).

As a political configuration arises from ordering and localisation (*nomos*), the legitimate members of the legal order are territorialised forms of political power, i.e., the states (Mbembe, 2003). The nineteenth and twentieth century Eurocentric *nomos* distinguished global political configurations upon the existence of the state. The stateless political organisation in the *terra nullius* of Africa thus represented a not-equal political entity, where war could be waged outside the power of the law (Mbembe, 2003). The *nomos* of the Earth (Schmitt, [1950] 2006) inscribed geographical and cultural borders to uphold the existence and the notion of the state, heavily reflected in political epistemology and the primacy of one analytical model. African politics thus appeared as a *disorder*, prone to corruption, clientelism, and personalistic

power, inherently subtended to the order established by the dominant paradigm (Chabal & Daloz, 2003).

### 2.1.2 African and Comparative Political Theory

Taking into account the variety of configurations and manifestations of political power, we begin to see the impossibility of assuming a one-size-fits-all paradigm. The twentieth century *nomos* could not erase the roots and underpinnings of context-dependent political configurations, the resilience of which nowadays affects, among others, African polities and politics. Being that the political is a phenomenon universal to all human pluralities (Balandier, 1972), western scholars argue that the quest of how individuals live together is a human, and not merely a western, dilemma (Euben, 1997). Therefore, it cannot be interpreted and read through one-sided, mono-perspective lenses, culturally embedded in an established gnosis.

Therefore, to avoid biased outcomes in political research, a scholar ought to change, review, and adapt their established epistemology to conform to the matter under examination. In other words, the *observing model* (A. Moreira, 1993) should account for theories and concepts to conduct a comprehensive as possible analysis. To recognise the foundational category-concepts of the political in Africa, and, more specifically, in Guinea-Bissau, is to revisit the canons of the discipline through different reading-lenses, using a theoretical framework that includes western, comparative, and African political theory.

The conceptual framework enables us to approach political theorisations on biopolitics and political power from different thought traditions. On the one hand, European theorists of sovereignty (Giorgio Agamben, Carl Schmitt), whose studies intertwine with conceptions of polity, community, and political subject, as formulated by Agamben and Foucault. On the other hand, parallel formulations in the philosophically oriented studies of Ifeanyi Menkiti, Kwame Gyekye, Kwasi Wiredu, and Bernard Matolino. Seeking to define a paradigm (or model) for the African polity, their inquiries engage with scopes, limits, properties, and modes of political power, shaping the ordering (*Ordnung*) of the human plurality. These notions rest on underlying conceptualisations of community and the individual, themselves fashioned upon notions of humanness or the human condition. To make sense of how individuals exist and relate to one another is pivotal to political theory analytical approach, for it epitomises the building-blocks



beneath the community. As African political theory maintains an active mixing with philosophical inquiries over the metaphysical, normative, and societal nature of being, western thought presents a distinct philosophical school grounded in the Cartesian *ego cogito*. Under the aim of discerning principles of power, the formulations on *ego* relating to the outer world and subjects as devised by Emmanuel Levinas and Paul Ricoeur present a clear conceptual basis.

The theoretical framework here elaborated represents a transformative and constructive endeavour (Ackerly & Bajpai, 2013). The intent is to supplement and enlarge the existing corpus with reflections on the meaning of life in the global arena (Dallmayr, 1999a, 2004, 2008), in and beyond the state (Williams & Warren, 2014), and against the partiality of thinkers, tradition, and texts, almost entirely Europeans and North-Americans, associated with and taught in political theory. In this sense, the approach adopted in this study converges with the aims<sup>15</sup> of comparative political theory (hereafter CPT). The latter is a broad discipline, that seeks to bring to attention those epistemic traditions usually neglected or disregarded by the canon (Omar, 2016).

CPT allows for comparison among selected units of analysis (Freeden, 2007; Freeden & Vincent, 2013), similar to political science. However, its comparative character is due not merely to its comparativist essence but to its methodology (Ackerly & Bajpai, 2013; March, 2009) and to CPT's characteristic cosmopolitan hermeneutics, fostering inclusivity and theorising beyond dominant ideas (Euben, 1997; Godrej, 2009b, 2015). CPT does not elaborate a theoretical stance or a conceptual doctrine but provides a formal frame giving deontological strength to otherwise marginalised epistemologies, theories, and formulations. In its five broad themes,<sup>16</sup> CPT aims to integrate perspectives and politics from all world regions to promote an

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<sup>15</sup> The discipline of CPT holds three main aims, which also determine the character of each type (Ackerly & Bajpai, 2013). The conversational and discursive CPT aims at building a cross-cultural, participatory dialogue according to the *imparative* (learning-based) paradigm (Black, 2011; Dallmayr, 1999b, 2004; Euben, 1997; Parel, 1992); the disruptive and decolonising account rebuts the Eurocentric canons dominant in political theory and contest their impartiality nor universality (Godrej, 2015; March, 2009; Mbembe, 2015; Mills, 2015); and finally, the transformative and constructive approach aims to redefine the scope of political theory beyond the west, to familiarise the estranged, and estrange the familiar (Euben, 1999; Freeden, 2007; Godrej, 2009b; Williams & Warren, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> According to Andrew F. March (March, 2009) and to Ayesha Omar (Omar, 2016), comparative political theory extends into five main themes or sub-areas: the epistemic (because political theory can make no claim for universality if excluding non-western insights), the global democratic (with regard to imperative needs in the globalised/ing world), the critical transformative (particularly critical of hegemony and domination, so tightly bonded to post-colonial claims), the explanatory interpretative (aiming to bridge political theory and comparative political theory), and the rehabilitative (which aims to retrieve the non-west from the margins and pinpoints its uniqueness along with its similarities to western thought). Diego Von Vacano (2015) further distinguishes these themes as belonging either to the normative reading of CPT, engaged with morally-driven ends of dialogue and cooperation,

‘existential transformation’ (Dallmayr, 2008),<sup>17</sup> or rather the repositioning of the self, together with a radical reorientation of the practice of politics.

Arguing for the introduction of non-western formulations alongside the existing canons, scholars do not intend to substitute or to deny cherished notions of political theory. Rather, they aim to integrate the existing scholarship with a broader and more comprehensive understanding of what the political is, and with a non-western, culturally-embedded reading of how individuals order life in plurality through political power (Ackerly & Bajpai, 2013; Euben, 1997; Kapust & Kinsella, 2017; Williams & Warren, 2014). African politics and political theory cannot be understood as essentially the importation of an alien mode of government, the Westphalian state, nor as uniquely the consequence of violence perpetrated by colonialism; post-colonial African states possess their own cultural and philosophical historicity (Bayart, 2003). To become aware of this is to step away from the western experience and long tradition of the nation-state, to take into consideration the melange of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial understandings as constitutional features of the African politics.

Along with embracing the de-centralising comprehensiveness and cross-culturalism of comparative political theory, the theoretical standpoint that constitutes the dissertation’s epistemological bedrock relies on concepts developed within African political theory, especially on the formulations of Afro-communitarianism. The present analysis is, also, expected to integrate the *corpus* of African political theory literature. “African” theory does not straightforwardly imply that a theory can be defined as African, notwithstanding its inherent epistemological positioning, simply because its articulator is African. That is, formulations of a scholar who was born in Africa or from Afro-descendent yet trained under the influence of western canons, is likely to belong to the epistemological tradition of these canons, regardless of the origins of its author. Likewise, Euro, Asian or American Africanists can be authors of African theory, in accordance with the epistemological choices they adopt. The attribution of African

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or to the scholarly approach, interested in teleological neutral knowledge of the political from the global arena. Other scholars critically consider March’s classification, indicating its methodological orthodoxy (Godrej, 2009a)

<sup>17</sup> Embracing normative and historical perspectives in its comparative analysis, CPT promotes a dialogical approach and a *diatopical* hermeneutics, since the distance to overcome is between at least two cultures that developed in different times and spaces, and as such are structured upon their own modes of philosophising and of using specific categories to reach intelligibility (Dallmayr, 1999a). According to Bhikhu Parekh ([2000] 2006), theorising in CPT comprises three facts: the cultural embeddedness of human beings; the incapability and desirability of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue; and the internal plurality of all cultures.

character to (political) theory is due to the approach, epistemology and point of view assumed as grounds for analysis and theorisations.<sup>18</sup>

Before moving further into how to study the political realm in Africa, it is compelling to clarify the use of the terms “western” and “African” as deployed throughout this study. The labels, as used, do not reflect a constructivist nor an essentialist perspective; they do not share the social determinism of the former or the univocity (as only *x* can be *x*) implied in the latter. They refer to the salient theoretical features of an area during a relevant period of time (Tschaepe, 2015). The broad geographical characterisation has no pretence to fostering *unanimism* (Hountondji, 1983; Wiredu, 1980), but rather it aims at grouping theoretical strands that share basic common traits. In this sense, the label “western” generally refers to North American- and European-produced theoretical canons, whilst “African” is used for sub-Saharan postulation.

Returning to the matter at hand, African political theory still lacks its own clear boundaries with regard to theme and authorship; at times, it overlaps with the more specific African political philosophy. In these pages I do not intend to engage in a debate about the nature and critiques of African philosophy,<sup>19</sup> where it ends and begins, for it would take me further beyond the purposes of the dissertation. As a discipline, African political theory had and has to face remonstrances, similar to African philosophy, including critiques aimed at a purported lack of clearly established methods and uncritical acceptance of tradition, often deduced from the unauthorised sharing of community thought, along with the epistemological liability of a cherished past, and reliance on oral sources (L. R. Gordon, 2008; Hountondji, 1983; Kasanda, 2018; Matolino, 2016; Sogolo, 1993; Wiredu, 2004).

The central aim of African political theory is a natively African commitment to clarifying political categories, theorisations, and concepts with a view to discern the better-suited form of political organisation, one that is respectful of African identity, apt to the pursuit of

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<sup>18</sup> The scholar Paulin Hountondji gave great attention to the question of *what* constitutes African philosophy. See, in particular, *Sur la “philosophie” africaine. Critique de l’ethnophilosophie* (1977); and *Combats pour le Sens. Un itinéraire africain* (1997). In the Portuguese literature, the debate is synthesised in the thought-provoking book *O que é a filosofia Africana?*, written by Victor Jaibanga, Euclides André Mance, and Reinaldo João de Oliveira (2015).

<sup>19</sup> The publication of the ground-breaking *Bantu Philosophy* (Tempels, 1959)—an inquiry into the existence of African philosophy, its methods, sources, and authors—occupied the philosophising of many early scholars in the field, such as Kwasi Wiredu (1980; 1996), Paulin Hountondji (1983), Richard Wright (1984), V. Y. Mudimbe (1988), D. A. Masolo (1994), Godwin Sogolo (1993), John S. Mbiti (1990), Samuel Imbo (1998), and Lewis Gordon (2008). Although no agreement on the definition of the subject has been reached, professional philosophers involved in the debate agree that the mere existence of the debate demonstrates the existence of African philosophy and its scholarship (Etieyibo, 2018).

public benefits, and capable of promoting the welfare of human beings, along with their inherent dignity (Aborisade, 2015; Kasanda, 2018; Metz, 2012b). The core of academic political theorisations is concerned with discerning the better modes of political (and sociomoral) organisation in the African context (Appiah, 1992; E. C. Eze, 1997; Gyekye, 1997, 2003; Martin, 2012; Matolino, 2018b; Menkiti, 2004a, 2018; Metz, 2012b; Molefe, 2019; Wiredu, 2001). The grounding premises of these postulations lie in normative and ontological, as well as sociological, conceptions of the community created by the ordered spatial organisation (*nomos*) of individuals, transmitted by culture, tradition, and philosophy. In other words, scholars have drawn from tradition and culture, expressed through literature, orality, and philosophy, to construct political theories. In this study I intend to apply a similar conceptual frame, that of unravelling concepts of political theory that departs from a local-specific ontology and normativity, in the specific, underexplored context of Guinea-Bissau.

The inclusion of such non-eminently “political” elements in the analysis arises from a conceptual concern. Western canons are moved by the logic of the *ego-alter* opposition, founded in the individualism taken to be the dominant conception of humanness. Still, the literature (that is, that of political science, as well as African philosophy, cultural and literary studies, sociology, anthropology, and the humanities at large) tells us that the individualistic premises of human nature are not largely shared throughout the sub-Saharan continent, where, instead, societal systems tend to be organicist or communo-centric. These characteristics seem to be considered by communitarianism and African political theory still are rather forgotten by the dominant models of political analysis that proceed from the canons.

Taking into consideration the African conceptualisation of humanness, in particular the Bissau-Guinean one, this research questions how the belief in the existence of spirit-children (*criança-irân*) shapes political thought. Departing from a conception of humanness that deeply entangles humans and non-humans, it aims to discern the effects on political power and understand how these effects can be seen, explained, and interpreted. The discernment of the political in the Bissau-Guinean scenario necessarily broadens the horizon political to a realm comprehensive of the political whole. From this perspective, the state appears a rather soft or superficial entity, insofar as its principles and tenets belong to an exogenous paradigm. A comprehensive understanding of these dimensions constitutes contemporary political thought in Guinea-Bissau and in Africa at large.

African politics is not a fractioned realm in which the state is irrevocably separate from indigenous<sup>20</sup> or ethnic politics. Rather, the polity is constituted by the interplay of the two modes of the political. Hence, a befitting conceptual frame enables the researcher's eyes to comprehend and understand both in the analysis. In order to do so, political theory ought to dig into which the lesson to learn from indigenous political power.

## 2.2 Politics in Africa: Irreducible Antagonism between the Indigenous and the State?

Any study of the political in the African context cannot avoid considering the threefold complexity inherent in the continent's sociopolitical reality (Balandier, 1972; Fortes, Meyer & Evans-Pritchard, [1940] 1981), an eclectic, flexible melange of old and new, of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial elements (E. C. Eze, 1997) that give a rise to a system of organic, systematically organised structures that work together in a synergic mode of action.

Rather than a highly hierarchised system, the literature describes African sociopolitical organisation as a slightly asymmetric system of mutual dependencies (Diop, 1987; Hyden,

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<sup>20</sup> The choice of this term is controversial. The literature reports several terms used in referring to African political configurations beyond the contemporary state, ranging from traditional, customary, informal, or indigenous denominations. The sphere of informality includes all those powers escaping the normative and legal determination inherent in the pristine political unit of modernity, the state (Mbembe, 2001; [2016] 2019). It depicts power configurations, institutions, and authorities based on structural and normative features grounded in a state-centric paradigm. African philosophers, as Paulin Hountondji, advocate instead that the idea of tradition carries an ethnocentric, or rather Eurocentric, epistemological understanding—largely responsible for the ethnophilosophical enterprises of many western and African thinkers alike. Tradition appears static and immutable throughout time and space (Hountondji, 1983), being the repository of the societal telos enlaced with the past. Also, the ethnocentric standpoint corroborates the dichotomous standing of tradition against modernity, determining epistemological, gnoseological, and political hierarchies. Thus considered, the term “endogenous” is preferred to “traditional,” insofar as the prefix “en-” sharpens the contrast with the imported or exogenous knowledge determined by western gnosis. The character of endogeneity – the property of being from within – is often associated with indigeness, or the property of being native. In the dissertation, the terms “endogenous” and “indigenous” are used to refer to native systems of thought or political organisation.

Nevertheless, the interplay of Portuguese and English languages in interviews and text enhances the need to consider the conceptual implications of this choice. The risk of being “lost in translation” epitomises the issues that exist with nominal labelling of ideas, notions, and concepts, clearly conveying the apophysis of institutionalised languages. The Portuguese word for indigenous, *indígena*, is evocative not only of selected spatial configurations (South American peoples and cultures) but also of the two-tier system established in the colonial regime. Deepening the cleavage between foreigners (citizens) and autochthons (subjects) (Chabal, 2009; Mamdani, 1996), *indígena* denotes an exogenous differentiation, reified in legal, bureaucratic, and political terms. Beyond scholarly approach and discussions, the use of “indigenous” or “traditional” terms constitute a conceptual concern to be addressed during data gathering, where interviews were conducted in Portuguese or Kriol. Aware of the conceptual and linguistic frame of these terms, during interviews “traditional” was used to refer to native representatives, authorities, or institutions of power. Interviewees' acceptance of or preference for this term played a subsequent role in defining word choice.

2013) and a realm of asymmetrical intersubjectivity (Bongmba, 2001). This consideration relies on sociological studies conducted during the twentieth century that emphasised the relevance of kinship-based structures and families in horizontal African native societies (Balandier, 1972; Diop, 1987). In this sense, political power stays within the parameters of Weberian *Herrschaft*,<sup>21</sup> a consensual and legitimate mode of ruling.<sup>22</sup>

The horizontal organisation of contemporary African sociopolitical reality is indicated to be a vestige of native segmentary societies (Durkheim, 1965), where single units independent from each other cooperate under the recognition of mutual interests. In other words, power in Africa is framed in an organic, net-like social structure, rather than a hierarchical pyramid (Diop, 1987; Hyden, 2013). In this sense, power appears not as a top-down opposition stemming from an appointed authority or the rule of law but as a system of corporate actors engaging with one another, inspired by counter-gain in rights and advantages brought by performing duties for others (Gyekye, 1997; Hyden, 2013; Menkiti, 2002; Tschaepe, 2015).

In this scenario, the state epitomises a soft or weak entity, the overt element of a much broader rhizome politics (Bayart, 2003).<sup>23</sup> The state does not epitomise an authentic model of existing power; its legal configuration rejects the truth of the operating political power (A. Moreira, 1993, p. 71). Political power can better be identified as a wide relational net, which mingles the formal and the informal system, the exogenous and the endogenous. The wide ranging political realm is grounded in the role of informal institutions, active in the political and in the economic sphere, which are accorded equal importance as state-dependent ones (Hyden, 2013). On the other hand, the porosity of state institutions and the administration has induced further strengthening of non-state actors and institutions. The latter come from NGOs, civil society, indigenous and traditional organisations, bonded on an economic, cultural,

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<sup>21</sup> Max Weber distinguished power into *Macht* and *Herrschaft*. Whilst the former shares a close proximity to the concepts of *oikos* and *imperium*, that is of power by domination, the latter would be translated in English as political power. Both words indicate an asymmetrical relation of power, with the slight yet fundamental difference that *Herrschaft* is legitimated by the consent of the subordinated subjects. In other words, the dominant subjects can employ their power as legitimate domination, since their rule is accounted for by the subordinates' consent (Marx Weber, 1968).

<sup>22</sup> According to the historian Cheick Anta Diop (1987), the relationship between individuals and their sovereign was based on mutual consent since anointed rulers, holders of legitimate monopoly of coercion, could not govern without the support of their people. The people had the power to scrutinise, reject, and oppose the decision of the ruler, even if it was against the common good, and protest or overthrow him, in certain cases (Cabral, n.d.; Kwesi, 2021).

<sup>23</sup> The depiction of the African post-colonial state as a rhizome, invoked by Jean-François Bayart, conveys, through a very clear metaphor, the structuring of the political sphere in the sub-Saharan scenario. Lying above the "ground" level, political institutions are the most visible yet least relevant element, whereas the "underground" roots play a central role, interconnecting multiple actors, bridging differentiated social, historical, and political associations and hierarchies (Bayart, 2003).

religious, or solidarity basis. Altogether the network of institutions working in informality provides an extensive economic and political asset transcending states and borders (Hyden, 2013).

The literature on African politics frequently points out the fragilities of modern African states, often resorting to characterisations such as “failed,” “collapsed,” and “weak.”<sup>24</sup> The state does not reflect the reality of accountability and political community in the sub-Saharan context (Chabal, 1992) because it is designed upon the static, imported and imposed European model (Bayart, 2009; Hyden, 2013; Reno, 1998). In the words of Elísio Macamo (n.d.), “*em África, o estado entrou em cena já dominante.*”<sup>25</sup> Also, it is questionable if weaknesses are due solely to structural factors or to the human capital running the state, as the legacy of colonial rule or the outcome of post-colonial governments (Bongmba, 2006).

Lastly, the strength of the democratised state is yoked to the strength of civil society (Chabal, 1992; Hyden, 2013; Kasanda, 2018) and the role it played in the resistance to authoritarian regimes (Bongmba, 2006; Breytenbach, 1998; Gramsci, 1996). Its origins are found at the roots of the liberation movements against the colonial powers, inasmuch as local, educated elites, speaking through the thought-categories of the colonisers (Bell, 2002), joined forces to express an awareness of their inherent human dignity and to demand the recognition of their righteous independence (Breytenbach, 1998; Hyden, 2013). Notwithstanding the heterogenous dynamism of contemporary civil society (Kasanda, 2018), critics punctuate its structural weakness. Fragilities are attributable to the lack of clearly identified economic standards (Pirotte, 2007), to the growing cleavage between state and society (Kasanda, 2018), and to the anachronism characterising political parties born from the liberation movements (Hyden, 2013).<sup>26</sup>

In the aftermath of independence, several factors influenced the definition of which political system to adopt. As the international community urged for rapid democratisation,

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<sup>24</sup> These concepts area controversial among scholars. Post- and de-colonial, critical, and CPT studies call into question the foundations, functions, and aims inherent to statehood. The understanding of these roots is unavoidable for the recognition of those functions a state fails to perform, identifying which state structure, legitimate power, law, and authority signals the collapse of normative variations. Pre-empting these *a priori* conceptualisations, any notions of statehood and state remain viciously anchored in narrow, selected paradigms and avoid questioning the desirability or necessity of state (versus non-state) political order (Clapham, 2000, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> “The African state came on the scene already dominant” (my translation). Elísio Macamo describes the modern state in Africa as an overarching and co-opting entity engendered by a romanticised (yet inaccurate or even biased) sociopolitical account of the European state. In Africa, there is a gap in the sociohistorical record that eventually led to the tenets and institutions of contemporary, liberal democracy. Macamo mentions, among others, the absence of collective unions, grounded upon political or non-political bases such as religiosity, profession, or locality that would create a tight-bonded community. The latter is supposed to hold sufficient strength to contrast state power against the vulnerabilities of the individual, hence enabling the political as a space of renewal, possibilities, and growth rather than co-optation (Macamo, n.d.).

<sup>26</sup> The latter suffer legacies brought about by the pre-political liberation movements, inasmuch as these were characterised by secretiveness about their operations and reliance on military support (Hyden, 2013).

national leaders ought to have complied with the western-created political grounds of self-determination, autonomous government, and freedom. Per contra, other political configurations represented a counter-system to western liberalism (Aborisade, 2015), and established socialist government rooted in the symmetry between national and class revolution. Social-populism (Martin, 2012, pp. 71–72) characterised the political ideals of Amílcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), Patrice Lumumba (Congo), Ahmed Ben Bella (Algeria), Oginga Odinga (Kenya), Agostinho Neto (Angola), Samora Machel (Mozambique) and Robert Sobuke (Republic of South Africa).

Amílcar Cabral, among the others, strenuously defended the inextricable link between *praxis* and *theoria*: theories are not an exportable merchandise that can be extracted or copied to apply to a different reality; the abstract level arises from the concreteness of practice and reality (Cabral, n.d.). The so-called *genuinely* African political stance became part of state politics, as experimented in the governments of Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Ahmed Sékou Toure (Guinea), and Modibo Kéita (Mali).

The political regimes of Nyerere's Ujamaa, Nkrumah's *consciencism* (Nkrumah, 1964; Wiredu, 2004, p. 255), and African socialism approach the national political realm from a monist perspective. Hence, they identify politics with a collective personality (Touré, 1973; Wiredu, 2004), being the synthesis of individual wills and their transcendental aspirations. In many cases such configurations aggravated the structural weaknesses of the state, as the will of statesmen overrode that of the population—supposedly isomorphic to the first, but which in reality was left unaccounted for (Brown, 2004, p. 232; Chabal, 1992).

By and large, these cross-cultural experimentations bridging established theories with African peculiarities share some common grounds, despite the different labels provided for the government systems at various times, like African socialism, African Marxism, or Humanist Marxism. Tenets of the socialist-populist doctrines, for example, affirm a radical nationalism, radical mood, and an anti-capitalist position; they include populist elements, promote an extensive exaltation of peasantry, and reject Marxism to hew more closely to socialist or social-democratic ideals (Martin, 2012). Teodros Kiros (2000) categorises the political thought of post-independence Africa in six traditions. The first two, tribalism and dignitarianism, are closely related to traits of traditional values, kinship, ethnic belonging and the racial anti-racism of pan-Africanism that transcend the dimension of the state and of the nation. The nationalist and liberal capitalist traditions are more closely related to issues of political economy, as the second backs property, production, and individualism over the collectiveness and solidarity



promoted by the first. Finally, the socialist and democracy traditions recall in an African fashion cherished western-promoted systems of government (Kiros, 2000).

Although extensive, Kiro's categorisation lacks comprehensiveness, since it automatically excludes those flexible hybrids theorised alongside pure political thought, such as Humanist Marxism (Senghor, 1962) and Afro-communitarianism (Gyekye, 1997; Kiros, 2000; Menkiti, 2004a). Léopold Senghor suggests an African version of Marxism based on African emotive reason and participative mode of knowing (Senghor, 1962). Humanist Marxism was called on to fill the void of secularism and objectiveness inherent to the economy-centred classic Marxism with uniquely African emotions and religiosity; that is, the basic traits of Sub-Saharan humanism.

Following widespread claims for representative democracy in the earliest years of independence, one-party regimes arose. Main imputable causes led to a persistent gap between governors and governed (Forrest, 2003; Kasanda, 2018), or to the unadjusted models of accountability and representation (Chabal, 1992), yet the principle of oneness and the worship of the leader were aiding factors. Many heads of state would promote their figure as "father of the nation," with reference to the value of family anchored in the tradition, enhancing a process of deification of their to-be-worshipped persons (Hayward & Dumbuya, 1983; Nóbrega, 2015). On the other hand, many leaders dispraised democracy, as a source of internal division, disunity, and antagonisms and as a cause of disagreements and civil wars (Kasanda, 2018; Wiredu, 1996). Authoritarian or semi-authoritarian systems were fostered in the name of pre-colonial government *per consensus*.<sup>27</sup>

As broadly stated in the scholarship, in the African context the construction of the state preceded nation-building, to the point that nations were engendered and promoted from the state itself (Chabal, 1992; Graça, 2005; Menkiti, 2002). Moreover, borders and state delimitation did not result from an endemic historical process but were inherited from colonial domination and foreign imposition. Even where the debate over the possibility of rearranging African state borders faded away rapidly (Kasanda, 2018), there persists intra-state uncertainty over the nations *per se*.

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<sup>27</sup> Although to the general understanding consensus in traditional African societies was essentially a general agreement achieved through public discussion among all the members of the community (Gyekye, 1997), leaders, as the Tanzanian Julius Nyerere, proclaimed themselves the spokespersons of such consensus against the disruptive potential of multiparty system and democracy, imbued with discordant views, antagonism, and disunity.

Underpinned by notions of contractualism, the liberal state confers sovereignty on the nation (the people), since the state consists of the mere embodiment of the sovereign body. In contemporary, multi-ethnic African states, the issue of sovereignty results in inherent complexities, as one state embodies many nations of different cultural, historical, or linguistic background (Menkiti, 2002, 2018). The question remains of how a state can govern without further fostering a sharp dichotomy and the political, normative rupture between central formal power and indigenous political communities.

The African states are relatively young institutions, such that there are men older than the institutions themselves, hence a source of diminishing respect for the state and its capability to exert authority (Menkiti, 2018). In addition to this, institutional instability and political turmoil weaken the state as political entity. This considered, the state might “appear not especially well-placed to carry through needs of people” (Menkiti, 2018, p. 298).

Due to the inadequacy and inefficiency of the state, we have a counter-role played by indigenous polities. Their role in social incorporation and interiorisation enables the community to provide more suitable grounds than the nation for the training of one’s civic spirit in togetherness (Menkiti, 1984, 2001) while constituting a protective buffer from the overbearing state (Menkiti, 2002). Still, the community represents a contested element in contemporary African polities. The local, ethnic, or regional community, and the inner strength and importance it is entitled to, occupies one segment of a binary continuum with the nation, thus complicating the overall concept of political community. At the centre of the debate lies the possibility of overhauling systems of regional and ethnic loyalty to make them compatible with state ones (Menkiti, 2002). Although state and ethnic-tribal loyalties are not mutually exclusive (Menkiti, 2001), one tends to identify primarily with the local community, which epitomises the prime *locus* of one’s membership and identity as social self (Ekeh, 1975).

On the one hand, such identification cause a cognitive and cathectic detachment from the formal, distant state, thus strengthening customary and local powers. On the other hand, it fosters a system underpinned by reliance rather than on accountability (Hyden, 2013).<sup>28</sup> Along with the blurred distinction between private and public life (Ekeh, 1975), the latter is partly

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<sup>28</sup> According to Goran Hyden (2013), politics remains locational when driven by local-specific interpretations of reality. On the one hand, the constraint is due to insufficient institutional dissembling, for rules do not rein in political action. On the other hand, the persisting prevalence of confidence instead of trust as determinant of political actions hampers accountability in national politics. Confidence tends to rely strongly on personal reciprocities and on individuals’ mutual reliance, thus geographically embedding policies enacted by political provision need a spatial link for their force to be perceived effectively.

responsible for personalisms of state leaders, for one would not subordinate one's personality to the role one is playing. In turn, the use, or even abuse, of public office to seek informal values-driven goals entrenched with local-specific morality and personality deprives politics of accountability and trust. Lacking autonomy from society, the state thus become an instrument of collective action. Unable to supply guidance and to operate predictably, the state appears to be ruled by its own shadow (Reno, 1998, 2000).

In juxtaposition to the state, the strength of indigenous powers rests on shared values and internalised understanding of the polity, reified into conventions. Being a set of rules and norms a plurality adopts to organise, order itself, and avoid destructive entropy, conventions respond to, and are resilient when responding to, the primary needs of the social group (Beetham, 1991). Endogenous conceptions of the political highly differ among the peoples of Africa, yet some common, broad traits are recognisable.

In pre-colonial Africa, the prevailing tendency was to worship elders, sages, and warriors (Kiros, 2000). Even if these sociopolitical and cultural underpinnings are diminished today, they continue to impact the roughly pyramidal scheme that orders the indigenous political institutions in a horizontal network of mutual dependencies (Hyden, 2013). At the bottom there are common people, enabled to meet and deliberate in a village assembly, above whom is the more powerful council of elders and the chief (Martin, 2012). Because the latter represent the ancestors, the former would be the institution that holds legislative, judicial, and executive power. Consequently, the chief's position is one of a sovereign that does not govern (E. C. Eze, 1997, p. 316; Matolino, 2016; Wiredu, 1980, 2001). The indigenous chief covers an essential function charged with symbolic capital, embedded in the physical, psychological, and meta-physical conceptions of the sacred ancestry and of the individuals.<sup>29</sup>

Indigenous power relies strongly on the kinship or the ethnic group, which binds patterns of institutionalised political succession to belonging to a specific kinship, lineage, or *djorson*, in Bissau-Guinean creole (Fonseca, 1997; Jao, 1989; Martin, 2012; Nanque, 2017a, 2017b). Moreover, African political systems are cosmology-inclusive, meaning that there is no dichotomy between the secular and the sacred. The sphere of religion is inseparable from the political, since it is indiscernible from life itself, inasmuch as supernatural powers and deities operate in every sphere of human existence and activity of life (Sogolo, 1993).

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<sup>29</sup> In contrast to commoners, the chief stays in a privileged relationship with the ancestors, since the office he covers reproduces the primordial act of the foundational myth (Martin, 2012; Nanque, 2017a, 2017b), maintaining it over time.

The threefold complexity of contemporary African sociopolitical realms hampers the endurance of these political values, conceptions, and ideologies, turning them into longed-for ethno-regionalist ideologies. Endogenous conceptions of the individual and the community are deeply rooted in the gnosis and in the grassroots, foundational character of indigenous political thought. Their strength and endogeneity add to state's weaknesses, in light of its character of *alienness* from and inadequacy (Ake, 2000) to the sub-Saharan context. The element under question is the configuration of the state, indiscernible element of modernity, as a univocal expression of liberalism and majoritarian democracy.<sup>30</sup>

The rule of majoritarian democracy is perceived, broadly speaking, as unsuitable (Ake, 2000) for the sub-Saharan scenario, a political configuration that hit Africa like a political malaise (Matolino, 2018a), enhancing political instability and social conflict and fostering harsh western assessments of poor democratic performance (Ikuenobe, 2017a; Oduor, 2019). On the one hand, the adoption of an exogenous political model with little flexibility engendered hybridism and anomalies in African modes of government (Ikuenobe, 2017a). On the other hand, the unfeasibility of majoritarian democracy is due to its failure to match people's expectations of their political rulers, as well as failure in matters of representation, legitimacy, and accountability (Chabal, 1992).

The inadequacy of majoritarian democracy comes, to put it simply, from its exogenous character, as it does not constitute a theory of (democratic) governance built upon African pre-existing social, moral, and political structures (Ikuenobe, 2017a). Even beyond considerations of colonial or neo-colonial vestiges, or cultural imperialism (Ake, 2000; Oduor, 2019), the main inconsistency of majoritarian democracy lies in its individualism. The individualistic premises support, to varying degrees, stances of liberalism (Ajei, 2016), depriving the people of power, for whom government is the rule of law and the consent of the people (Ake, 2000; Martin, 2012). Hence, considering that “democracy should be a process of decision-making which involves the people, especially those people who will be affected by the decision” (Sindane, 1994, p. 2), majoritarian democracy fails African people.

The individualistic tenets of liberalism make majoritarian democracy unattainable in communo-centric societal organisations, for “African endogenous worldview differs fundamentally from liberal democracy” (Agulanna & Osimiri, 2017). According to Joe Teffo (2004),

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<sup>30</sup> Kwasi Wiredu (2007) understands majoritarian democracy as any form of government where political parties engage with each other in antithetical terms with the final aim of controlling power. Nonetheless, a political system can be termed majoritarian when it grants the power to govern to a political association, party, or elite to whom has been conferred the majority of votes (Ajei, 2016; Oduor, 2019; Teffo, 2004).

indigenous African polities are a system of *communocracy*, a type of governance based on general community involvement and participation, as it rests on the three bedrocks of solidarity, people-centredness, and consensus. The liberal model epitomises the direct opposite model of governance, as it fosters adversarial politics and endless fighting among political parties. The alienness and unfeasibility of party politics endlessly opposing winners and losers is “emphasised even more by the fact that quite often this kind of politics degenerates into opposition for the sake of opposition. No doubt the protagonist of this system will retort that the aim of the opposition is to accede in the position of political power by displacing the ruling party. Without denying this rather egoistic aim, I still argue that, understood this way, adversarial politics undermines the principle of solidarity in traditional African political culture” (Ramose, 1992, p. 75).

In addition to the impracticability of individualistic governance within Africa’s largely communitarian outlook, liberal democracy is questioned over the logical<sup>31</sup> and practical<sup>32</sup> consistencies of the theory, along with its respect for the right to ethnic identity of peoples and individuals, and the right to cultural emancipation (Oduor, 2019). The latter is inseparable from the construction of a compatible cultural democracy (Osabu-Kle, 2000), a bottom-up conceptualisation of government and politics that departs from tradition and culture (Ajei, 2016; Osabu-Kle, 2000).

The reappraisal of politics departing from endogenous grounds to devise a new political paradigm for Africa is part of the ongoing *Africanisation of power* (Chabal, 1992). Partly explained by the greater success of socio-cultural ideologies, that pivots on patterns of identity, ancestry, sacredness, and social values, along with ethnicity and belief system, inter- and intra-races solidarities, religions, and value systems within the newly forged nationalism (Kiros, 2000) over socio-economic ones (grounded in ideas of class, economic interest, and transformation, thus placing the state before the nation), the Africanisation process introduced a cultural non-modernity into the political (Appiah, 1992), thereupon creating its own political (dis)order (Chabal & Daloz, 2003) and not a mere “digestion of colonial legacies” (Chabal, 1992,

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<sup>31</sup> The point at stake is the conceived atomism and self-sufficiency of the individual, considered in one’s original position (a pre-political status). Against liberal tenets, Barry Hallen (2015, p. 7) asks whether liberal theory “does not [...] have to presuppose or presume some form of social context that produces the rational, mature individual who enters into the social contract?” Liberal theory seems to precede description (as “individuals should be concerned primarily with their own interests”) and prescription (“individuals are primarily concerned with their own interests”) without demonstrating a logical connection between the two stances (Oduor, 2019).

<sup>32</sup> Grounds for inconsistency given the fact that liberalism allowed for or sustained slavery and colonialism while championing the emancipation and freedom of the individual (Oduor, 2019).

p. 204). Africa's reality and theoretical stances are a syncretism of "non-traditional and non-modern elements" (Appiah, 1992, p. 120) as well as of "modernized traditions and traditionalized modernity" (Chabal, 1992, p. 89), revealing a unique combination.

The support for an "African fingerprint" (An'Naim & Deng, 1990) in the political sphere underpins a generalised "return to the source" (Cabral, 1973), inherent to the Africanisation process, that foresees the possibilities of conceiving African democratic governance as a modified indigenous political system (Osabu-Kle, 2000). The attribution of democratic characters to the indigenous polity (Martin, 2012) supports these claims. However, allegations of democratic traits within pre-colonial political systems in Africa is at the centre of an unresolved academical debate, as there is no agreement over the presence of such features or over the possibility of using the denomination 'democratic' due to anachronism and foreignness to the African context.

According to Kwame Anthony Appiah, indigenous political power is anti-democratic because of the inheritance of chieftaincy and the inter-ethnic discrimination among insiders and outsiders that perpetuates discriminatory rights-entitlement<sup>33</sup> and fosters a resilient social hierarchy (Appiah, 2001). By contrast, Guy Martin argues that the democratic characters of indigenous political systems are revealed in several aspects, above all by the system of check and balances (Martin, 2012, p. 12) that regulates political power. The competitiveness in the selection of the ruler (Agulanna & Osimiri, 2017), popular consent, and participation—as "one cannot be a chief without the people" (Teffo, 2004, p. 446)—support the attribution of democratic traits of the African polity. In addition, the practices of decision-making and governing by consensus confirms that "our [African] original social and political institutions were constructed on a firm, democratic bed-rock" (Awoonor, 2001).

Deemed the democratic character *par excellence* in African communitarian societies, the practice of dialogical consensus is understood as a general agreement achieved through deliberative debate involving all the concerned members of the community (Kasanda, 2018, p. 31). The *modus operandi* of consensus results from adjustments and compromises that are inherent to individuals' willingness (Wiredu, 1996, 2007). The overall compliance, in centralised and in spread societies alike, with consensus-reached decisions, is due to the rational, dialogical

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<sup>33</sup> The endowment of human dignity and human rights followed a statutory logic in several pre-colonial African societies (Donnelly, 1982). In other words, one would be entitled dignity proportionally to the status one occupies in society.

process<sup>34</sup> leading to the deliberation (Wiredu, 2001). The justness of the political process is also due to the moral and social prestige of the elders constituting the community council. Other scholars, instead, infer that compliance with consensus-engendered communal norms is reducible to precepts of African humanistic-based morality (Tschaepe, 2015).

The dialogical consensus entailed in Kwasi Wiredu's postulations has been criticised on several points. On the one hand, Michael O. Eze argues that consensus as a decision-making practice is detrimental to the individual's uniqueness and the dimension of individuality. By pinpointing the character of communality and homogeneity as the necessary outcomes of the political debate, the oneness of the individual is annulled. An excessive emphasis on monolithic uniformity in African traditional and communitarian societies is likely to provide an erroneous account of the interconnectedness and intersubjectivity underpinning communitarian theorisations (M. O. Eze, 2008).

Other critiques point to the reference to rationality as a basis for reaching consensus (Matolino, 2016). According to Emmanuel Eze, rational persuasion alone serves as an inadequate rationale for the decision-making process, in contrast to non-rational factors inherent to indigenous societal organisation (E. C. Eze, 2000). South-African scholar Bernard Matolino argues that this dependency renders dialogical consensus unattainable in the modern, urbanised African countries, inasmuch as many traditional underpinnings have disappeared (Matolino, 2016). Per contra, other scholars assume that the non-rational elements might be derived from deep-seated, enduring ethics and morality (Ani, 2014; Wiredu, 1995, 2001).

Despite these unresolved issues, many scholars argue that consensus is an essential, non-negotiable element of a true or genuinely African democracy. Rather than voting for and opposing political parties, decision-making and governing ought to be conducted through extensive dialogue and participation (Agulanna & Osimiri, 2017), which dialogical basis provides the basis for a renewed, endogenous and participative social contract (Massoni, 2015; Ngoenha, 1993). The provocative plea of Kwasi Wiredu for a no-party polity (Wiredu, 2001, 2007), which updates old legacies (Wiredu, 1995), responds to the rules of consensus in a modern democracy.

According to the Ghanaian scholar, the no-party polity is likely to have a more positive psychological effect on the members of the community (Ani, 2014) and enjoy better

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<sup>34</sup> Over the last decade, scholarship has debated on pure rationality (Ani, 2014, 2018; Matolino, 2016; Wiredu, 1995, 2001) and on the influence of non-rationality factors (E. C. Eze, 2000) in the process of traditional dialogical consensual practice.

applicability than representative democracy. Such a mode of government dismisses political parties and representative democracy in favour of a government run by all individuals through the practice of dialogical consensus. Being an ongoing process, hence assuming the ever-existing presence of dissensus, agreement by consensus is based upon deliberative practices to attract as many people as possible to a political association's<sup>35</sup> point of view, with the ultimate aim of influencing the government and the policies enacted (Wiredu, 2001, pp. 178–179).

### 2.3 Humanness versus personhood

The academic inquiry for an African paradigm or model of the political, such as Wiredu's democracy by consensus, rest on the conceptual basis laid by African-communitarianism in African philosophy. Although enclosed within a rather restricted circle of theoretical variations, African or Afro-communitarianism comprises an essential set of key-concepts for reading contemporary politics in Africa. Taking upon itself the burden of speaking as the essence of, or the *authentic* African worldview (Matolino, 2014), scholars of communitarianism work with tightly linked, inferred theorisations on the political community, beginning with the concept of personhood.

By and large, communitarian postulations conform to consensus, widely agreed-upon in African academic contexts, of the individual as a subject whose rationality is based on communal logic (Chabal & Daloz, 2003). Accordingly, relations of power are conceived of as a communal fact, comprising both horizontal and vertical networks. As such, the inherent commonality of power determines the preponderance of the local community for individual psychological, social, and religious inner foundations. Political rationality is grounded in one's primordial public realm (Hyden, 2013), that being the local community, the prime *locus* of one's membership and identity as social self (Ekeh, 1975).

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<sup>35</sup> In the no-party polity envisaged by Kwasi Wiredu, there is no space for political parties, understood as a group of people, more or less of one mind, organised to win governmental power. Due to their inner structure and nature, political parties fuel an irreducible competition between majority and minority parties sparking sectional appropriation of power. Ergo, political parties are antithetical to the democratic aims acceptable in communitarian systems. Wiredu distinguishes this meaning of party (*party*<sub>3</sub>), from *party*<sub>1</sub> (an individual or group of individuals with an interest or concern for a given issue or project) and *party*<sub>2</sub> (being a participant in the making of a decision). In the last instance, the term *party* is used adjectivally (as in, "to be party to a decision"); *party*<sub>2</sub> represents the bedrocks of consent, thus the only welcomed party in Wiredu's political theory of democracy (Wiredu, 2007, p. 164).



According to Godwin Sogolo (1993), traditional African cultures recognise the place of the individual in society through to one's relationships with other living beings and one's role toward others. Many African traditions assume the community, the "we," as the base for building personhood (Ikuenobe, 2015). Cultural and normative conception of personhood underlying radical and moderate communitarianism (Gyekye, 1997) cast the individual as an incorporated being, included in and inseparable from society.

The ontological precedence accorded to community over the individual stands out in the characterising traits of African humanism. In the west, humanism tends to focus entirely on the individual, fostering one's acquisition of knowledge for one's own sake, along with liberties and civil and political rights (Bell, 2002, p. 39; Metz, 2012b). Instead, tenets of sub-Saharan humanism rest on a system of lived dependencies (Sogolo, 1993; Tschaepé, 2015). Because a being is human insofar as it is relational, immersed *in* and fused *with* the community, thus arises the need to preserve and maintain the plurality and its foundational precepts. African humanism rests on deep-rooted values of tradition, respect for kin, and the awareness of one's position in the larger natural-cosmological order of things (Bell, 2002).

The commonality inherent in native African political practices is attributed not merely to the sociopolitical realm but extends to knowledge as a whole (Metz, 2015).<sup>36</sup> African tenets are grounded in the inseparability of individual from community, as the individual cannot exist alone except collectively (Mbiti, [1969] 1990) or by being a person-in-community (M. S. C. Okolo, 2007), a unity of *loving togetherness* where the "we" is a fused collective of individual "we" (Touré, 1973), creating a collective personality, a synthesis of individuals *egos*. The inseparability is not intended as rhetoric. Rather, it is framed as practice by customary law and moral provisions.

Although not organised in the form of systematic theorisations, oral knowledge in Guinea-Bissau conveys the idea of relational character attributed to the individual. Tales, fables, and popular sayings (Couto, 2010; Departamento Da Edição, 1979; Pinto Bull, 1989), the ultimate aim of which is to convey a moral precept, mention exile as the highest punishment for wrong-doers or recidivist felons committing morally wrong deeds.<sup>37</sup> Although no trial

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<sup>36</sup> The primacy of the community before the individual is such that scholarship has long referred to African philosophy as the production of community thought (Sogolo, 1993) or community knowledge (Menkiti, 1984), avoiding attributing ideas to individual thinkers

<sup>37</sup> Bissau-Guinean tradition reports the tale of three evil brothers who do not refrain from committing bad deeds negative consequences, including to death, notwithstanding. As punishment, one survivor of the three is exiled from the community (Pinto Bull, 1989). Beyond emphasising the link between the individual and the community, the tale addresses the link between morality and humanness—more specifically, personhood.

record is available, the provision is also confirmed by the existing written collection of customary law (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012), which attests to community councils' power to send an individual away if they persist in their alleged wrong behaviour.<sup>38</sup>

In the discernment of the human relational phenomenon, i.e., the political, African political theory emphasises the centrality of personhood. According to principles of togetherness shared among peoples in sub-Saharan Africa at large, the conception of the individual is subject to the distinction drawn between human being and personhood. The latter is a necessary requirement to achieving the standards of a full human life in the plurality. Nevertheless, it is a controversial issue. Scholars' approaches range from the normative (Gyekye, 1997), social and cultural (Menkiti, 2004a), to metaphysical (Matolino, 2014) perspectives as well as ritual (Nanque, 2017b) and performative (Sogolo, 1993) aspects. The grounds of this debate were first postulated by the theorisations of Ifeanyi Menkiti (then labelled “radical communitarianism”) and the later rebuke by Kwame Gyekye (considered the forerunner of moderate communitarianism).

Menkiti (1984, 2004a) argues that personhood is acquired through participation in the organically constituted community. The plurality constitutes a *thoroughly-fused we*, a group of normative persons, principles, processes, and structures that define social norms, moral expectations and responsibilities, contrary to the western group of voluntarily aggregated individuals (Menkiti, 1984). Hence, the sense of self-identity which an individual comes to possess cannot be made sense of except by reference to collective facts, encompassing past, present, and future times (Menkiti, 1984). In other words, the community embodies the transcendental set of sociopolitical norms, values, and relationship sustaining the relational life, shaping the shared conception of goodness and of morality. In order to acquire moral status—that is, to become a person in the processual becoming of social incorporation—the individual must ensure that their choices, worldview, actions, and identity conform to the community's morality.

Calling the above idea of personhood culturally embedded and socially dependent, Gyekye maintains instead that there is no attainment in the path to personhood. Rather, personhood is part of the substratum of metaphysical features possessed by each individual. That is, personhood represents a character prior to and independent of the community (Gyekye, 1997).

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<sup>38</sup> As the character of right or wrong of an action is not due to universalisable imperatives but is dependent on the effect it will have on the overall community, to define moral action is an inherently relative stance.

What an individual achieves is not personhood but social-moral status. One is already inherently endowed with personhood—or, better still, with the capacity for personhood.

In response to Gyekye’s moderate communitarianism, Menkiti (2004a) suggests a differentiation between the minimal definition of personhood, consisting solely of physical, metaphysical and psychological elements, and the maximal or robust one, backed also by the theorisations of Kwasi Wiredu, John S. Mbiti, and Placide Tempels. For the latter, the physical, metaphysical and psychological elements are combined with socio-moral and normative ones, thus constituting a thick concept made of equally essential evaluative and descriptive aspects (Ikuenobe, 2017b). Moreover, the robust conception of personhood acknowledges the solid ontological and normative distinction between person and human being, as one can fail at attaining personhood (Menkiti, 1984) but one’s biological nature cannot be denied by any means.

According to the analysis of Polycarp Ikuenobe, Gyekye’s moderate communitarianism draws a distinction between human being and person, since the “biological and metaphysical humanness is not affected by moral personhood” (Ikuenobe, 2018, p. 199). Therefore, one can be more or less a person, but cannot be more or less human. Notably, the “degree” of personhood, or its absence, distinguishes Gyekye’s minimal notion of personhood from Menkiti’s maximal one, as Menkiti’s radical standpoint states that one can fail at personhood. However, one is “initially biologically given” (Menkiti, 1984, p. 173) humanness, a metaphysical trait of the individual. That the “thick” concept of personhood, as designated by Ikuenobe (2018), includes metaphysical and biological elements alongside social, moral, and normative ones does not mean that humanness is a trait an individual acquires with personhood.

In order to complement the theoretical debate referred to above, the distinguishability between the two concepts is contextualised in the Bissau-Guinean scenario. Local ontologies, culture, and tradition of the western African country overlap with communitarian postulations as there exists a notion of personhood, understood as constituted by the public performance of morally relevant actions, that slightly merges the individual with social identity. The formation of personhood necessarily results from the performance of moral or ritual acts.

Among the Pepel, for example, along with other ethnic groups of Guinea-Bissau, traditions prescribe the performance of ethically good deeds and of rituals, signifiers of one’s moral attainments (Einarsdóttir, 2004b; Jao, 2003; Nanque, 2017a, 2017b). Individuals who do

not perform the ritual of *fanado*<sup>39</sup> are not permitted to become adults and will remain “children” throughout their lives.<sup>40</sup> Despite the denial of full entitlement to social and political rights (a non-adult is forbidden from marrying or having children), being a child is not merely a matter of age but brings with it a whole set of considerations from the community. Childhood and adulthood are dependent on the relational aspect of personhood (Sogolo, 1993).

African philosophy scholarship postulates that children possess a different attitude to the world (Menkiti, 2004b) and are subjects impeded from acquiring personhood.<sup>41</sup> In childhood, individuals are thought to lack moral perception; they are preoccupied primarily with physical needs and perform mainly self-centred actions. Because of this, personhood-less children have no *fala* (language, tongue) according to Bissau-Guinean tradition; their language has no invocative nor evocative power, and their words have so little weight that they often go unheard (Nanque, 2017b; Programa Das Nações Unidas Para O Desenvolvimento, 2011).<sup>42</sup>

The contextualisation from Guinea-Bissau attests to the distinguishability between the notion of personhood and that of humanness, as well as the strict reliance of the former on morality. Moderate and radical communitarianism alike recognise that, while humanness constitutes a biological and metaphysical trait inherent to the human being, personhood is a processual trait one acquires or develops through intrinsic entitlement. This distinction comes with several implications. Primarily, it substantiates the insufficiency of personhood as a conceptual frame to analyse the phenomenon of the *criança-irân*. In light of the distinction between the two concepts – humanness and personhood – as reported in the literature and existing throughout Bissau-Guinean ontology, the phenomenon of the spirit-children belongs to a different category of analysis than the notion of personhood.

Still, the literature refers to the status of disabled or impaired individuals vis-à-vis communitarian theories of personhood, namely in relation to Menkiti’s cultural and normative

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<sup>39</sup> *Fanado* is a ritual practice that symbolises the entrance into adulthood. While for females it is marked by the menarche, for males it is a more complex ceremony that involves circumcision and *irân di fanado*, one of the wild and strong spirits. The ritual is an enabling practice, because it represents a moment worshipping individual energy, creating the bridge between individual’s, others, and Nature’s energy. After *fanado* one is capable of using one’s own living force, for themselves and for others (Nanque, 2017b).

<sup>40</sup> In addition to this, one might be referred to as “*blufo*,” rather than the general word for person (*pekadur*).

<sup>41</sup> The Nigerian Ifeanyi A. Menkiti further notes that the use of the pronoun “it,” as in the English language, may refer to infants or children. He argues that the use of an undifferentiated pronoun is due to the not-yet-person status of children, who are taking the first steps in the processual attainment of personhood. Also, Menkiti refers to the complexity of funeral ceremonies and the strong community grief at elders’ deaths to reveal the intrinsic morally, as well as ontologically, superior status of aged people (Menkiti, 1984, 2004b).

<sup>42</sup> The study conducted by UNDP reports that children would rather resort to the state legal and judicial system, insofar as their opinion, testimony, or claims often go unheard within the indigenous justice system (Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento, 2011).

formulations. Criticism is also levelled at the theory's inability to account for individuals who lack relevant capacities, including people with disabilities and other impairments, children, babies, and foetuses (Horsthemke, 2018). The rationale for their exclusion or discrimination lies in the inherent contributive or reciprocal character of the notion of personhood, according to which a "person" reciprocates in communal life, to the common good, according to a scheme of mutuality. These individuals, limited in their capabilities, are prevented from taking part in communal life, hence the possibility of acquiring personhood eludes them.

The failure at attaining personhood (a possibility granted by Menkiti's and Gyekye's formulations, as well as in Bissau-Guinean oral prescriptions and conventions) implies consequences in one's social and political life, as one is not considered an adult, meaning a morally mature individual, who contributes to and receives from the community. This inhibition is not coincident with not being human, as their treatment and position toward the community differs. The exclusion from the category of humans constitutes a permanent, non-changeable status, for one cannot alter a biologically determined trait. Per contra, personhood has the potential for different "degrees" of acquisition, or even the failure at attaining it.

The contingent aspect of personhood constitutes the bedrock for a broader debate within communitarianism, one intertwined with tenets of political theory. The literature conflates the idea of individuals who are in the process of acquiring personhood (hence a pre-personhood status) with the liberal (Rawlsian) idea of a pre-political stage (Hallen, 2015; Menkiti, 2002). Barry Hallen notes that both communitarianism and liberalism recognise a change in transition, therefore confirming the temporary nature of personhood. More interestingly, he then avers that Afro-communitarianism "does a better job of speaking to this transition than liberalism" (Hallen, 2015, p. 9). Liberalism does not provide any sound grounds on which atomic, pre-personhood individuals might develop the willingness or the capabilities to become contractarian political subjects; conversely, communitarianism conceives of the existence and necessity of affective and reasoned relationships, thus of a surrounding community, in the pre-personhood status, that enable the individual to commit to life in the sociopolitical group.

While the transposition of this theoretical debate to the factual life stages of childhood (pre-personhood), to youth, and then adulthood (moral maturity) is controversial, it undoubtedly corroborates the claims that Afro-communitarianism gives precedence to the community at the disadvantage of the individual. The lively discussion over the standing of individual and community, or of the possibility of safeguarding individual rights in communo-centric systems, is central to communitarianism's influence on political theories.

Moderates like Gyekye (Gyekye, 1995, 2003), D. A. Masolo (Masolo, 1994), Bernard Matolino (Matolino, 2014), and Polycarp Ikuenobe (Ikuenobe, 2017b, 2018) reject Menkiti's "radical and excessive" (Gyekye, 2003) reliance on the community. Individual and community are given equal moral standing since "one is a person because of what one is, not because of what one has acquired" (Gyekye, 1997). The community provides the environment for the complete realisation of the individual, or rather, for the display of norms and ideals in one's moral conduct.

According to tenets of moderate communitarianism, the primacy of the community does not displace the priority accorded to the individual because, on the one hand, one's personhood is part of one's metaphysical substratum, hence only partially dependent on the community or the performance of moral deeds (Gyekye, 1997, 2011). Moreover, the equal standing of the individual and the community is supported by the ontological nature of human beings as one's status as an individual entity is supported by one's dual entity (C. B. Okolo, 1993, 2003): a being-in-relation-to-others, as well as a distinctive being identified by name, a label carrying inherent significance and referring to the inner qualities of the individual (C. B. Okolo, 2003, p. 214).<sup>43</sup> Also, scholars affirm that the intersubjective basis of mutual relationship creates the space for a constant renegotiation and reformulation of the notion and position of the individual (Bongmba, 2006).

In this sense, the communal realm responds to the inner needs of human natural sociability. Deprived of social relations, human beings lack completeness and self-sufficiency (Gyekye, 2003). Therefore, the aggregation of singular lives into the plural community is not the optional outcome of free choice, nor is it driven by the satisfaction of common needs or mutual interests. In other words, social relations are not contingent but necessary (Gyekye, 2003). The subject acting in this sociopolitical realm is thus an individual whose personhood is in part socially constituted (Gyekye, 1995, 1997).

South African Motsamai Molefe puts the argument in moral terms, speaking of moral individualism in communitarian ethics. He charts a morality individualistic in its ends and communitarian in its means (Molefe, 2019). His position is that any kind of moral system is

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<sup>43</sup> Also, in studies on Yoruba normative concepts, the community-concept of holistic destiny has been referred to sustain the independency and relevance of the individuals in communitarian systems. The social existence of the individual is understandable through the reading lenses of the communal influence on individuals and its overarching connection to destiny, i.e., who or what one is meant to be. At the same time that it intertwines the existence of the individual with the socio-political, relational existence of the community, destiny confers personality on one, since each individual has a pre-decided lifepath (Gbadegesin, 2003).

fundamentally individualistic since the final aim of one's actions are directed toward one's own good (Molefe, 2017b). In other words, the recipient of the moral action is the same agent performing the action (given that the final end is attaining personhood), whose deeds are moved by their own inner capability as a moral agent (therefore an individualistic feature). The community, far from *defining* the person *qua* person, provides a prescriptive moral framework, made up of norms that facilitate the attainment of those distinctions used to evaluate one as a moral agent, ergo as a person (Molefe, 2019). Due to the relativity of morality and moral deeds, one must be part of the plurality, sharing its inherent, *we-fused* values, principles, and beliefs to act as moral agents; that is, performing acts that weigh on one's evaluation of personhood.

Nevertheless, the embeddedness of the individual in the community does not consequently imply passive acceptance of the norms of such community. In Menkiti's view of personhood (Menkiti, 1984, 2004a), there is space solely for the blind interiorisation of the community's requirements. The individual may not choose freely, may not reflect or reject (Ahiauzu, 2001). The in part socially constituted personhood outlined by Gyekye (1995, 2003) holds the individual person more accountable in the greater scheme of things. Inasmuch as human natural sociability renders one a relational being enjoying partial autonomy, this is consistent with moral autonomy (Ahiauzu, 2001). The individual owns and maintains the ability to engage in the use of authoritative self-reflection (Ahiauzu, 2001) in community-centric systems. The acceptance of norms, precepts, and rules active in the community is subject to one's own debate and interior reflection. These individual abilities can be used to reject communal duties that are not acceptable to the individual for being "inelegant, undignifying, unenlightening," they are "thoughtfully questioned and evaluated" (Gyekye & Wiredu, 1992).

By and large, the debate over the precedence of the community or of the individual is vicious, or exhaustive and exhausted, to paraphrase Bernard Matolino (2018b), since there is no way to reach any conclusion. Contending that Menkiti's classic communitarianism (Menkiti, 1984, 2004a, 2004b) and Gyekye's moderate communitarianism (Gyekye, 1997) do not substantially differ in their normative account of personhood, nor in the political traits of communo-centric societies, the South-African Matolino argues for a different spin on communitarianism, which he labels *limited communitarianism* (Matolino, 2018b). He argues that his approach eludes the limits of communitarianism, being the restrictive approach to the African worldview—as communitarianism assumes itself to be the one authentic essence of Africa—and the dependence on the anachronistic view of communities that long ago existed yet has

ceased to be present in the contemporary globalised and highly urbanised African reality (Matolino, 2018b).

The theoretical contributions of limited communitarianism infer that, to restore the dignity of the individual in an original, native sense, the metaphysical account of personhood ought to be prioritised, while the indistinctiveness of the individual against the community or against other individuals should be discouraged (Matolino, 2018b). The metaphysical approach endorsed by Matolino would offer a more comprehensive view of personhood than the normative and communitarian thesis, because it refers to unchangeable key characteristics constitutive of a person *qua* person, intended as a Godly ordained being (Matolino, 2014). These characteristics are responsible for defining one's identity and constituting self-reflection and self-consciousness. No matter what the extent of social and cultural reflection, by no means will they ever be able to "format the individual in such a manner that one cease to have the capability for self-reflection and self-consciousness" (Matolino, 2014, p. 140).

In the conception of personhood given by Matolino, the individual is endowed with agency, autonomy, and freedom. One deliberately, out of the free will to associate, chooses to join life in the plurality. Political organisation is a set of conventions that result from negotiation to serve social needs (Matolino, 2014), therefore it depends on the individual, a completed and self-defined being. Political configuration is then a temporal occurrence, changing over time. The discernment of these configurations represents an imperative in communitarianism's agenda on moral-political theorisations and analysis.

Notwithstanding their tacit theoretical support of African socialist ideologies (Matolino, 2018b), theorisations on communitarianism have, so far, avoided the task of bridging the gap between conceptions of personhood and their consequential political outcomes. On the one hand, epistemological constraint is partly responsible for the lack of political commitment in communitarian theorisations, which appear incapable of dealing with the issues of the contemporary world. On the other hand, by taking into consideration a loose and accidental account of the community (Matolino, 2018b, p. 119), it is possible to induce further understanding of the polity underpinning dynamic and multi-faceted contemporary African societies.





### 3 Elements of Guinea-Bissau Power Configurations: the State, Indigenous Powers, and the Phenomenon of *Criança-Irân*

#### 3.1 The state

Less than a century old, African states challenge many principles dear to the canons of political science—among these the principle of sovereignty, i.e., the principle that a state will have control over what occurs within its own territory. As such, state territoriality is coincident with the extent of state power, the latter being the effective capacity of the state to exercise its power on the population within a given territory. In the African context, reality disproves such an assumption, giving rise to a disruption between territory and the extent of power. The weak presence or absence of the state throughout the totality of the country has been read by political scientists as sign of state fragility that renders the state a shadow (Bayart, 2009; Reno, 1998, 2000) or a failure (Chabal & Green, 2016).

Still, the current political configurations in African states do not result unequivocally from the absence of the state but from the unique forms the state assumes in the sub-Saharan continent. In a context of plural political powers, the power of the state might transpose itself onto more subtle processes, as in the state of exception (Agamben, 1995, 2003; Minca, 2006). In other cases, it may become an overarching entity mediating existing political powers (Menkiti, 2002). Nevertheless, the extent of state power in Africa cannot be understood unless the specificities of these states are taken into consideration.

In this scenario, Guinea-Bissau is no exception. The formal borders of the country stretch from Senegal in the north to Guinea-Conakry to the south and east before spreading out into the Atlantic ocean with the Bijagós archipelago to the west. Yet the power of the state is limited to urban areas (Forrest, 2003; Nóbrega, 2015). The centripetal orientation of the state, concentrated in the capital Bissau, was promoted by the quasi-authoritarian regime that governed the country in the 1980s. This centralised government did not follow the path set out by the former national liberation movement, or its leader, Amílcar Cabral.

Before independence (September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1974, although unilaterally proclaimed in 1973), the Partido para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (hereafter PAIGC), was an illegal association, originally set up by an educated elite pursuing higher studies in European cities, namely Lisbon and Paris. In Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, the leader of the liberation

movement, Amílcar Cabral<sup>44</sup>, made himself known to the population, little by little gaining their trust. In his political writings, such as the well-known *Unidade e Luta (Unity and Struggle*, n.d.), he aimed to involve the population in the struggle against the Portuguese who were “occupying” the country (Cabral, n.d., 1967). To mobilise the people, he appealed to values embedded in local animist beliefs,<sup>45</sup> in particular those of the inhabitants of Guinea-Bissau. Deeply aware of the structural socio-economical differences between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, the engineer had particular consideration for unifying people along the lines of cultural specificities, calling for the abandonment of economical, religious, and ethnic differences in the name of the common *guineidadi*.<sup>46</sup>

PAIGC strongly relied on a rural support base, anchoring the right to independence and self-government in tenets of socialism, adapted to the context of the struggle. The political strategy of Cabral demonstrates the need to conjugate *theoria* and *praxis*, or, to say it better, the inherent necessity to bridge a sterile, imported ideology with the de facto specificities of the context where those principle are to be put into practice. The Cape Verde-born engineer foresaw plans for development grounded in agricultural progress, as agriculture ought not to be discarded in favour of a rapid industrialisation (Chabal, 1986, p. 86). Due to the economic relevance of agriculture to Cabral’s ideology, the rural population became even more important to the liberation movement and to the forthcoming state. By 1973, the movement had a stronger hold in rural areas, enjoyed wide popular support, and its forces stretched over more than 70% of the territory. In 1972, the first elections were held within the PAIGC. They lead to the establishment of elected local councils and local committees, as well as the creation of the Assembleia Nacional Popular (National Popular Assembly, i.e., the Parliament) (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002, p. 62).

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<sup>44</sup> Amílcar Cabral, an agricultural engineer educated in Lisbon, one of Africa’s foremost anti-colonial leaders, politically involved writer and poet. Notwithstanding his premature death under still unclear circumstances, he is considered the father of the nation and his memory is cherished by both Cape Verdeans and Bissau-Guineans.

<sup>45</sup> Cabral himself made use of local spirits, *irâns*, as a means to mobilise people to join the then-liberationist movement of the PAIGC by affirming that the spirits of the woods were nationalists and were saying, “*Portugueses, têm que ir embora! Vocês não têm nada a ver com a nossa terra*” (“Portuguese colonialist, you must leave! You don’t have anything to do with our land”) (Cabral, 1967, 1973).

<sup>46</sup> The term *guineidadi*, in Kriol, refers to the feeling of belonging to and being Bissau-Guinean; that is, part of a nation. The latter does not symmetrically merge with the state, as they rely upon different sources of power and legitimisation. While the nation stays somehow in proximity to the people, the state is usually perceived and described as a weak and distant entity, incapable of fulfilling its duties and providing basic services to the people. Overall, people look at the state as the reign of politicians, individuals engaged in mutual struggles over power and resources, stopping short of the performance of democratic duties. By contrast, a wide array of positive feelings like hope, identification, and pride are attached to the nation.

Still, the ideological heritage of the liberation movement did not entail in either the political practices of the PAIGC or Guinea-Bissau's first presidents, Luís Cabral (1973-1980) and João Bernardino "Nino" Vieira (1980-1998; 2005-2009; generally referred to as Nino Vieira). Facing difficulty in attempting to strengthen state institutions during the early years of independence, Cabral and Vieira deployed resources in the cities at the expense of the inner country (Forrest, 1992). A heterogeneous mix of Bissau-Guineans, Cape-Verdeans, and Europeans who did not flee the country, the cities were inhabited by a creole society whose bonds to the rural-based liberation movement were quite loose. The newly born PAIGC party based its headquarters in Bissau and it enacted policies aimed at gaining support from urban citizens through consent rather than through coercion (Chabal, 1986). The policies aimed to tackle problems arising from rapid urbanisation, as well as to sort out the manifold pressures on urban-based forms of development (Chabal, 1986, p. 90). Moreover, the party leaders themselves became more absorbed in an urban, consumption-oriented lifestyle (Forrest, 1992).

The centripetal movements made by PAIGC in the late 1970s not only created and deepened a gap, or "de-linkage," in the words of Joshua Forrest (1992, 2003), between the state government and the population but also set the stage for the rise of a one-party system. The latter would use a socialist façade to buffer authoritarian coercion and the overarching control that operated through mass organisation (Koudawo & Mendy, 1996, p. 28). Insulated from people's influence, the weaknesses of the state in the rural realm would be compensated through the use of repressive means of coercion under the regime of João Bernardino Vieira (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002).

Known simply as Nino, Vieira took power in 1980 after a coup d'état that ended the presidency of Amílcar Cabral's half-brother, Luís Cabral. Numerous reasons are offered to explain the coup, such as nationalism, ethnic dynamics, or the discontent of national liberation fighters not reallocated to new functions. The claim for "national purity" within the ranks of politics nevertheless had the strongest impact, for it brought about the split between Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. The continental country strongly claimed the necessity of a government constituted by Guinea-Bissau-born people, while accusing the generally lighter-skinned Cape Verdean to be allies of the former colonial power (Chabal, 1983).

Following the coup d'état, Nino Vieira pursued an even further centralisation of the state power, shutting down the ANP from 1980 to 1984 (year of the approval of the new Constitution) and endowing the president with a wide array of functions and powers formerly distributed among legislative and executive branches (Forrest, 1992). The centralisation of powers in

the hands of the president would eventually lead to the dismantling of a representative system of checks and balances and to a reduction in accountability, thus hampering the formation of an active civil society or of dissent according to democratic principles (Chabal, 1992).

On the one hand, state-led mass organisations, exclusive and anti-democratic (Koudawo & Mendy, 1996), took over the civic public sphere, meanwhile a brutally repressive system operated by police was in charge of restoring order and providing information on possible subversive tendencies blossoming in the country (Fistein, 2011). On the other hand, the strength of Nino's power was guaranteed by his prestige as a man who relentlessly fought for the independence of his country; moreover, he was regarded to be protected by supernatural forces (*irâns*) and to be immortal (Nóbrega, 2015, p. 118). The myth attached to Nino not only provides all the required credentials for him to be regarded as a hero and one of the founding fathers of the nation, but it also strengthens a personalistic attribution of power, beyond the materiality and temporality of the office of president (Nóbrega, 2003, p. 248; Nóbrega, 2015, p. 115).

In response to the instruments of repression deployed in Viera's authoritarian regime, discontent arose among the people. Nino's government (1980-1998) brought about a political breakdown in the countryside: while villagers had been tightly connected to the rural-based liberation movement, no bonds of belonging or representation were created between them and the centralised, straightforwardly hierarchical state (Chabal, 1986, p. 99). As occurred in many African countries, the independent state took upon itself the task of creating the nation. Contrary to western tradition, it was not the nation to propel the state but *vice versa* (Graça, 2005). The Bissau-Guinean state inherited the administrative weaknesses and structural fragilities of the colonial apparatus and was unable to tighten bonds and belonging among individuals to strengthen national consciousness (Fistein, 2011; Forrest, 2003; Nóbrega, 2003). Moreover, state and nation became blurred in the imaginary of Guinea-Bissau's people. Vasco Cabral wrote, in 1990, "Guinea-Bissau is not yet a nation [...] an almost independent ruling of regions and districts, despite the acknowledgement throughout the country of the ultimate sovereignty of the Guinea-Bissau state" (as reported in Forrest, 1992, p. 64).

The nationalist motto of Amílcar Cabral remains undeniably true: *uma nação forjada na luta* (a nation forged in the struggle), as individuals came together and joined the liberation movement regardless of their ethnical belonging or their religious orientation. People fought in the name of their country, inasmuch as its borders were defined by foreigners and had disrupted the previous ethnical communities' ties and ancient structures (Chabal & Green, 2016).

As recalled by the Mozambican Severinho Ngoenha, the PAIGC appealed to brotherhood and the strength of union against foreign domination: “*pa no uni, pa no mama, pa no uni pa no luta pa no terra*”<sup>47</sup> (Bussotti & Ngoenha, 2008, p. 108). These days, the formation of a national consciousness and identity is, as it has been throughout the last decades, an anachronistic concept detached from reality, however anchored in a cherished past and the hope for a better future.

Neither political pluralism nor the multi-party elections held in 1994 could bridge the gap between the state and the people. Nino Vieira set in motion a feeble process of democratisation under the pressure of the international context, featured by the “third wave” of democratisation and the Washington consensus that upheld conditions put on financial aid by bi- and multi-lateral partners. Moreover, the inefficiency of the structural adjustment and the persisting economic crisis, along with political instability and Vieira’s tendency for authoritarianism, were threatening the party’s popular base (Koudawo & Mendy, 1996, p. 58). The newly arisen competition among political parties, opposing PAIGC and RGB/Movimento Ba Fata,<sup>48</sup> offered indigenous authorities the chance to play a new role in the political scenario.

During the liberation struggle and Luís Cabral’s government, indigenous leaders lived the darkest days of their history. Identified as embodying characters of tribalism and backwardness, they (mostly Fula and Manjaco) were victims of brutal violence over alleged alliance with the Portuguese coloniser (Jao, 1996, p. 129). Labelled enemies of the state, they were excluded from government and accused of treason (Jao, 1996).

Nevertheless, if Vieira’s government was already more sympathetic toward the ethnic-indigenous communities’ authorities,<sup>49</sup> the pluralistic elections in 1994 offered the perfect setting for their political capitalisation (Jao, 1996). Because the state was detached from the rural population, the latter relied on local, indigenous chiefs, thus the resilience of their social

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<sup>47</sup> “We are to unite, in brotherhood, to unite to fight for our land.”

<sup>48</sup> The party Resistência Guiné-Bissau (RGB) or Movimento Bafata or Ba Fata, was started by exiled political opposers in Lisbon during the 1980s. The name refers to the second biggest city of the country, where Amílcar Cabral was born; also, ‘bafata’ or ‘ba fata’ in Mandinga language means, “Enough! We have had enough!” (Rudebeck, 2001, p. 38).

<sup>49</sup> During fourteen years of government, Nino Vieira made several efforts to bridge politics and native cultural roots, seeking the “return to the source” ideologised by Amílcar Cabral (1973). The reference to tradition (customs and cosmology) was nevertheless a powerful means to legitimate power, avoiding the accountability required in the modern bureaucratic modern state, riding the wave of revitalisation of tradition, and symbolising the government’s commitment to the rural population, hitherto neglected. The milestones of the renewed relationship between the formal state and the informal powers were laid with the integration of traditional healers into the public health system in 1987 (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002, p. 72) and the search for the mythical “magic canoe” conducted by Pepel *djambakus* (ritual specialists) in the streets of Bissau (Jao, 1996, p. 129).

influence and legitimacy. To political parties (mostly to PAIGC, which already had several, albeit weak, structures spread throughout the country) *régulos e chefes de tabanca*<sup>50</sup> represented convenient allies working as middlemen to gain as broad an electoral pool as possible. Therefore, the campaigns of 1994 announced indigenous authorities' importance to Guinea-Bissau society and to tradition, discrediting the policies of the former regime, which had been prejudicial to traditional chieftaincy (Jao, 1996, p. 129; Rudebeck, n.d.).

Still, the instrumental involvement of indigenous authorities in national politics did not consequently lead to their incorporation into the legal system or their *de jure* recognition. Although trial judges might take customary prescriptions into consideration (A. S. Dias, 1989; S. B. Monteiro, 2016),<sup>51</sup> there lacks, so far, an extensive and exhaustive legislative framework for the relationship of the state with indigenous authorities. Today, there is no uniformity in the interaction and cooperation among formal and informal political powers. Further, the heterogeneous indigenous system engenders a panoply of customs and traditions according to ethnicity and religious orientation. There is little symmetrical correspondence among indigenous authorities of the major Bissau-Guinean ethnic groups. The generally animist Balanta are organised according to a horizontal societal structure wherein elders are given decision-making power during the often-held councils. By contrast, traditionally Muslim communities, such as Fula and Mandinga, are ordered on a hierarchical, highly structured social order merging secular and temporal power in the figure of the imam (Sarró & Barros, 2016).

These diverse forms of social organisation differentiating ethnic groups is partly responsible for the 1998-1999 civil war. According to Toby Green (2016, p. 34), the fratricidal conflict arose from dynamics of ethnic groups. The Balanta, for instance, had long been neglected by the central government. They were beaten and mistreated more than any other ethnic group during colonisation (Green, 2016, p. 28) and, even though many Balanta joined and fought for national liberation, they were not given much space in the Guinea-Bissau government and administration. They were harassed, jailed, and executed as political opponents during Nino's regime (Forrest, 2016, p. 49; Kohl, 2016, p. 167) or, at best, marginalised from state politics (Temudo, 2009).<sup>52</sup> Many enlisted in the army and police to avoid marginalisation due to

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<sup>50</sup> Hierarchical authorities are present in the vast majority of Bissau-Guinean ethnic groups.

<sup>51</sup> In the brief article "O caso de Membo Cá," the Portuguese Francisco da Mota Teixeira reports on a legal trial conducted in the late 1980s, where the accused was released without being charged, notwithstanding the fact that he had confessed to performing a traditional ritual leading to the death of infants. The ruling was justified adducing respect for traditional values, along with the evident lack of criminal intent of the defendant (Teixeira, 1983)

<sup>52</sup> It should be noted that the study by Temudo (2009) is an ethnographic collection mainly constructed upon Balanta's self-perception and representation. This perspective heightens the possibility of inner narrative and

historic-cultural ties and a high population (Kohl, 2016). Nevertheless, many young Balanta fighters of the former liberation movement who joined the army were not given high postings in the army ranks (Forrest, 1992, p. 57). The standard hierarchy of ranks instituted in 1979 by Luís Cabral did not even out the situation, and discontent arose during the following decade to surge into three putsches (in 1982, 1983, 1985) allegedly organised by the army (Forrest, 1992, p. 59).

The political unrest of the 1980s reveals underlying ethnic dynamics, such as the exclusion *in toto* of Cape-Verdeans from politics and army ranks, as well as the neglect of Balanta, one of the biggest ethnic groups in the country. Also, it unveils personal antagonism and individuals' self-interest in managing state resources (Forrest, 1992; Ostheimer, 2001). Neo-patrimonialism and factionalism are among the causes of the 1998-1999 civil war. The conflict started on June 7<sup>th</sup>, one day after the President Nino had sacked Military Chief Ansumane Mané on charges of involvement in weapon smuggling in the region of Cassamance, at the border with Senegal. In response, Mané seized control of military barracks in Bissau and other strategic points, demanding the resignation of Vieira and for elections to be held (Nóbrega, 2003).

While the army forces fought for the General, the president was aided by a presidential militia in which foreign forces (from Senegal and Guinea-Conakry) were involved. Early studies of the conflict (Massey, 2012; Rudebeck, 2001) agree that the separatist rebellion led by the Mouvement de Forces Democratiques de Cassamance (MFDC) sparked the personal conflict between Nino and Mané, as both were involved in illegal trafficking (Chabal & Green, 2016, p. 211).

Moreover, it is not yet clearly understood whether the ethnic element was part of or cause of the conflict: Green argues that the military intervention in the political should not be read as an interference between the civilian and the military spheres but rather as a Balanta's claim for economic extraversion, linked to others' perception of them for the role they occupy (Green, 2016, p. 34). Henrik Vigh argues instead that the hostilities were not ideologically articulated, but socially situated. In other words, civilians took part in the fight as a life-changing opportunity, fighting for the possibility of accessing patrimonial networks and sloughing off social

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justification from the subjects themselves rather than an objective account. While Green (2016) presents an historic understanding of ethnicity and endo/exogenous origins of ethnic differentiation, Forrest's (2016) political structuralist analysis assesses the antagonism between Vieira's presidency and the armed forces, home to a large number of Balanta people.



immobility (Vigh, 2009, pp. 155–161). In consideration of the many factors behind the rupture of the conflict, it is difficult to say whether the ethnic factor *per se* was a trigger or not.

The civil war ended in a peace agreement signed on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1999, and with the voluntary exile of Nino Vieira. The conflict's aftermath saw a time of political and economic turmoil. The previously fragile administrative, infrastructural, and public services institutions were rendered totally dysfunctional (Forrest, 2003, 2016), incapable of delivering even basic public goods such as health and education. The socioeconomic and infrastructural backwardness inherited from the colonial apparatus (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002) never recovered during the authoritarian, urban-focused regime of Nino and only worsened with the ten-month war. The dysfunction left room for the interplay among impaired state institutions and informal ones, such as traditional healers and koranic schools and other religion-based groups (mostly Catholic missions), as well as foreign NGOs and supra-national organisations (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002).

On the economic side, the conflict increased the country's dependence on the foreign imports and aids still succouring the unsuccessful structural adjustments of the 1980-90s. The weakened state had (and still has) none or little power in trade deals with other powers (e.g., China, the European Union, the United States) over the use of and access to key resources, among them agriculture and fishing. Because the licenses sold constituted a significant percentage of state revenue, their sale went unregulated alongside ongoing state privatisation.

Moreover, the conflict heightened inner political and military factionalism, providing an easy scenario for drug traffickers to arrange a covert network within which to operate. According to Christoph Kohl (2016) and to Hassouns Ceesay (2016), small-scale smuggling businesses were active in Guinea-Bissau before the war, however only in its aftermath could South American drug cartels operate large-scale trafficking aided by the complicity of senior government officials (Chabal & Green, 2016, p. 220). Immersed in a political dance of instrumentalised power (Forrest, 2016), featuring the absence of the state, the collapse of law and of the rule of law, a factionalised army, ongoing erosion of state's institutions and weak judiciary system, the trafficking of narcotics surged between 2006 and 2008 (Kohl, 2016; Shaw & Gomes, 2020).

The corrupt political elite playing with state power further detached the state from the people, eliminating any possible paradigm of accountability. The instrumentalisation of power according to tenets of neopatrimonialism and personal interests slowly led to the criminalisation of the state (Bayart, Ellis, & Hibou, 1999) and to the accusation of being the first “narco-

state” in Western Africa (Ceesay, 2016; Ferrett & Vulliamy, 2008; Sourt, 2009). The concept of “narco-state” is roughly a synonym of criminal state, according to Simon Massey, as state-level involvement in the trafficking transforms authoritarianism into criminality and undermines the democratic check on abuses of power by protecting elected officials from accountability (Massey, 2016).

In Guinea-Bissau, the drug trade had thoroughly corrupted the political elite. Drug money was allegedly used to pay public officers’ salaries while trafficking started to create disquiet among the country’s neighbours and to attract international attention (Ceesay, 2016). The 2006-2008 surge in criminal activities within the ranks of the political elite (Ceesay, 2016) led to mutual accusation of corruption and involvement in drug smuggling between the politicians themselves (Nóbrega, 2015). Even if drug traffickers were not in control of, or directly connected to power themselves, they were extremely close to the centre of power and to those in charge of the country (Ceesay, 2016). Aided by reliance on the informal institutions filling the vacuum provided by the absent state, along with the failure of the economic adjustment and the development of international crime, in Guinea-Bissau there emerged a form of criminalised political society (Bayart et al., 1999) whose involvement in the government was driven by interests in illicit businesses and smuggling.<sup>53</sup>

While the state embraced crime and illegality, power underwent a process of privatisation, so that the access and use of politics were pursued for personal benefit (Bayart et al., 1999). The privatisation of power is part of a political configuration that Jean-François Bayart has called the politics of the belly (Bayart, 2009).<sup>54</sup> The phenomenon impacted political stability in Guinea-Bissau in different ways. Since 1994, democracy in Guinea-Bissau has been on and off, led by reluctant democrats, intertwining civil war, seizures of power (five coups d’état were made between 1999 and 2014), and bland attempts to restore democracy. Beyond inferences in the state and the feasibility of democracy in African states (Ake, 2000; Chabal, 1992; Nóbrega, 2015), the permanent condition of crisis or stable instability (Vigh, 2009, p. 145) characterising the 21<sup>st</sup> century Guinea-Bissau state is understood to be due, in large part,

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<sup>53</sup> The report “Breaking the Vicious Cycle: Cocaine Politics in Guinea-Bissau” (Shaw & Gomes, 2020) provides an accurate overview of the emerging links between political and military elites and narco-trafficking during the last decade.

<sup>54</sup> According to the definition of Jean-François Bayart (2009), the “politics of the belly” refers to a social fact and a complex mode of government. In politics, it indicates a system where individuals make use of the tenure of political power to accumulate not only power and wealth but also the means to achieve power and to generate wealth. The phrase, borrowed from Cameroonian popular philosophy, is a symbolic reference to family lineage and witchcraft, and to physical corpulence, characterising big men and powerful women.

to games of power involving corrupt politicians and a restive military (Ceasay, 2016; Ostheimer, 2001).

On the one hand, the so-called politics of the belly emphasises personal idiosyncrasies within the deployment of power and strengthens a personalistic understanding of power, in light of a generalised difficulty in providing state offices and institutions with power (Nóbrega, 2008). Personalism is characteristic of indigenous political power, where the public and the private sphere form a tangled unit, and the distinction between individuals (the private subject) and institutions (the public office covered) is blurred. Hence, it is easy to endow individuals, rather than institutions, with power. Guinea-Bissau's leaders imported this feature to national politics and employed power beyond the material and temporal limits allowed by their office (Forrest, 2016).

The absence of power's institutionalisation is particularly evident in the office of the presidency: throughout the years, the strong hold on power maintained by Nino Vieira, Kumba Yala, and, more recently, José Mario Vaz, hampered the relationship between the former and the government (particularly with regard to the office of prime minister), while it devalued the ANP or deprived it of power entirely (Bussotti & Ngoenha, 2008). As the political and politics are a relational phenomenon, they are inherently constituted by the relationships performed and experienced by its members; hence, *praxis* in Bissau-Guinean politics mismatches with *theoria* as the state system performs more often as hyper-presidentialism rather than semi-presidentialism (Nóbrega, 2015, p. 116; Rudebeck, 2001).

On the other hand, the personal idiosyncrasies and personalistic interests strengthened a network of mutual dependencies engendered by several incipencies beyond ethnicity. To enter a political party or a government is generally understood as “*fazer a vida*” (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002; Vigh, 2009)<sup>55</sup> or rather to achieve a means of survival. Politicians are often keen to hold on to power as a life-long duty and generally resist changes in power balances not solely according to political ideology but to maintain their own interests (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002; Nóbrega, 2003). The organicist social organisation underpinned by bonds of reciprocity is a hallmark of African societies in general—when one enjoys success it is not as an individual but because it provides for the community as well. Furthermore, factionalism in the higher offices of Guinea-Bissau's politics and ranks of the army are not dependent on ethnic belonging

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<sup>55</sup> The expression can be taken as equivalent of the English expressions “set for life” or “to have it made”; it refers to an action, occurrence or choice that puts an end to one's problem in coping with life's difficulties and hardships.

alone but are set by ancestral, cultural, and geographical ties and obligations (Kohl, 2016), thus spreading privatisation in favour of its leaders down through the party members and ranks.

Notwithstanding the cross-ethnic ties, in the last decades some politicians have appealed to the “tribal imperative”<sup>56</sup> (Chabal, 1996) as a political means. The instrumentalisation of ethnicity to achieve political goals was particularly evident in the government of Kumba Yala, the 2000 presidential nominee for the Social Renovation Party (Partido para a Renovação Social, PRS, founded by Yala himself in 1994).<sup>57</sup> Pledging friendship and family ties, Yala rewarded the large Balanta population who voted for him with ministerial and other posts with a view to guaranteeing the army’s control over the port of Bissau, thus protecting a series of semi-legal or illegal businesses. Long marginalised from state politics during the 1980-90s, the Balanta group promptly learnt how to use identity politics to its own advantages (Temudo, 2009). The ethnic triumph at the state level has led scholars to label Bissau-Guinean early-2000s politics as time of state *balantisation* (or *Balantização de Estado*, as in the original text by Eduardo Costa Dias [2000; Kohl, 2016]).

The Balanta strongly value animist cosmology, an inherent part of their political power (Sarró & Barros, 2016). President Yala, Balanta himself, made large use of traditional clothing at national and international public appearances; tabloid pictures of Kumba Yala show him wearing a red toque, symbolic of animist religions.<sup>58</sup> Through the use of symbolic capital (Nóbrega, 2003; Nóbrega, 2003; Rudebeck, 2001),<sup>59</sup> he manipulated and exploited ethnicity, acquiring the favour of Muslim as well as animist groups.

The instrumentalisation of ethnicity did not go beyond the political sphere; with historical events, the trans-ethnicisation of cultural features, and common suffering in mind, Bissau-Guineans rejected factionalism grounded in ethnic ties (Havik, 2016), choosing a livelihood propelling a sense of communality beyond ethnicity rather than divisions. In fact, the 2000 presidential election put paid to the possibility of an ethnic vote, as Kumba Yala (Balanta and

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<sup>56</sup> According to Patrick Chabal, the “tribal imperative” refers to ethnicity and ethnical affiliation, as the ultima ratio of African politics (Chabal, 1996, p. 48).

<sup>57</sup> Recent elections (2019, legislative and 2000 presidential elections) brought up the ethnical factor once more, linked also with religious and geographical elements, as the fifteen dissidents expelled from the PAIGC, founders of the prominent MADEM-G15 political party, are Muslims from the regions of Bafata and Gabu. The president, Umaro Sissoco Embalò, who took office on late February 2020, belongs to the MADEM-G15 party.

<sup>58</sup> Although he reconverted to the animist faith and boasted of new spiritualist contracts on the last years of his life, President Yala was a faithful Catholic (Rudebeck, 2001).

<sup>59</sup> The question of the use of religious or para-religious symbolic capital in national politics is considered in detail in Favarato, C. (2018). A Religião Tradicional Na Cultura Política Da Guiné-Bissau. JANUS NET E-Journal of International Relation, 2(9). <https://doi.org/10.26619/1647-7251.9.2.7>.

Catholic) won the vote of over 50% of the population, regardless of ethnicity or religious affiliation (Rudebeck, 2001).

Still, the *balantisation* of the state did not repair the chronic instability affecting the political scenario. A military coup overthrew Kumba Yala in 2003, and the returning Nino won the 2005 presidential elections. Shortly after a European Union-sponsored security reform project started, in March 2009 Military Chief Tagme Na'Waie died in a bomb blast and a retaliatory attack killed Nino Vieira. Due to the ineffective attempts to restore the rule of law between 1999 and 2012, the army gave itself the role of counter-balancing force to, or of, the guardians of the political power (Forrest, 2016). The strength and self-reliance acquired from the essential role played during the liberation struggle, along with high distrust in politics and politicians, fed the idea that the coup d'état was a legitimate means to secure power (Forrest, 2016), or rather that the political is an independent yet not autonomous realm to be under the surveillance of the army forces.

Beyond analysis of ethnic dynamics (Green, 2016), the intersection of military and politics reveals the exogenous character of the state in the Guinea-Bissau political scenario. The former was imported and adopted as the result of a choice of a western-educated elite fêting the liberation movement. Henceforth, the state system has not reflected indigenous aspirations or expectations, nor does it represent local peoples' models for accountability and political representation (Chabal, 1992). The contemporary political elite is tightly bound up with allegations of corruption, in a political dance of power instrumentalisation that leaves aside accountability and transparency in favour of the privatisation and personalistic use of political power. Starting from Cabral's insistence on the inextricable link between *praxis* (the context and its specificities) and *theoria* (power, politics, and government), the "return to the source" calls for a less alien and foreign idea of democracy. This definition could be closer to the understanding in Kriol, a language that has no proper translation for the term *democracy*, which could be roughly translated as "*busca felicidade*"—"in search of a better society" (Rudebeck, 2001).

According to the literature's depiction, the Bissau-Guinean state appears as an externalised form of power and government, driven by drug trafficking, international aid dependency, power privatisation, and personal idiosyncrasies. Beyond patrimonialism and criminalisation, scholars have also argued that the fundamentally politically inert state in Guinea-Bissau is a socio-legal fiction devoid of political and moral authority and sovereignty (Bordonaro, 2009; Vigh, 2006, 2009). As Lorenzo Bordonaro discerned in his analysis, the unstable economy of

power in Guinea-Bissau is played on a highly dispersed and horizontal sphere outside the state (Bordonaro, 2009). As the state is “effectively not-existent in Guinea-Bissau” (Vigh, 2006, p. 111) power networks and alliances bypass the formal political arena to involve international, local, indigenous, military, and economic actors. Given the irrelevance of the state, its actors, easily replaced without any real political change, become disposable (Bordonaro, 2009, p. 36).<sup>60</sup>

### 3.2 The interlaced and pluralistic political space

The hollowness of the Bissau-Guinean state is not reflected solely in state privatisation or criminalisation, inasmuch as these represent the overt elements of much broader phenomenon. To use the words of François Bayart, the political in Africa figures as a rhizome (Bayart, 2003; Bayart et al., 1999). On the one hand, a comprehensive consideration of political configurations and principles needs to account for the pluralistic scenario embodying multiple political powers within one country, as well as for the modes of interaction among those powers. In other words, the political in Guinea-Bissau cannot be analysed in depth if considered as the state *per se*, an institution modelled upon the tenets of the Weberian state. The relational network it relies upon integrates specificities that belong to indigenous configurations of political power, tooled to fit (at their best) the configuration of the state.

On the other hand, the state itself has acquired and developed features to boost its legitimacy, strength, and accountability. In order to reduce the gap between governors and governed, because state politics did not match with people’s expectations of political power, it has been necessary to find an indigenous paradigm, truly satisfying the needs and expectations of the people (Chabal, 1992). That is, at the time of independence, political leaders adapted as best they could the political apparatus the colonial powers had left behind (Bayart, 2003). As the result did not prove fruitful or establish a *de facto* empowered institution, politicians resorted to an adaptation of political power; thus the ongoing process of political Africanisation (Chabal, 1992, p. 2000; Nóbrega, 2003; Nóbrega, 2008)

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<sup>60</sup> The anthropologist Lorenzo Bordonaro provides an accurate and visual example to sustain his assumption. The funeral ceremony following the death of João Bernardino Vieira passed in a general apathy; it was held rapidly, and no international leader appeared. Hence, the *prima facie* ease of state or army leaders’ replacement further attests to their disposability (Bordonaro, 2009, p. 38).

According to the literature<sup>61</sup> (Chabal, 1992), the process of Africanisation refers to the creation of a political order in African countries that is not a mere digestion of colonial legacies or the blind adoption of imported models but draws from the *source* (Cabral, 1973; Hyden, 2013) to engender its own peculiar paradigm for the political system. Beyond stressing the primacy of community and of the communal individual (Menkiti, 1984) and the relevance of family (Nóbrega, 2003; Nyerere, 1967b), the process engenders a variety of syncretic configurations bridging the endogenous and the exogenous models. Africanisation performs an all-inclusive action, intertwining the political realm with the social and civil as well as the cultural.

In Guinea-Bissau, according to custom, the *mandjuandade* are age-based groups, partially responsible for one's individualisation and socialisation; they represented the one civic life alternative to state-controlled mass-organisations during the party-state regime in the 1980s (Koudawo & Mendy, 1996; Lourenço-Lindell, 2002). They embodied not only volition versus authoritarianism but also the unique and unconstrained space for the development of any form of civil society. Moreover, as outlined by Lourenço-Lindell (2002) and Koudawo & Mendy (1996), traditional forms of associativism such as the *mandjuandade* are to be considered part of the civil society<sup>62</sup> in Guinea-Bissau, along with religious institutions, organisations, and authorities, for the effective role they play in the public sphere. An aspect of pre-colonial Bissau-Guinean societies that lasted throughout the centuries, the age-based groups are effective and legitimate in holding political institutions accountable before the citizens (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002) while mirroring the moral framework and sociopolitical expectation of the people.

Nevertheless, political Africanisation does not entail civil matters only but is pervasive at the core of the political, affecting practices of legitimation and the understanding of political power *per se*. Among others, the personalistic conception of power is said to be transposed to the state politic from the traditional political systems. In a context of the institutionalisation of fragile power, power tends to be endowed to an individual, and abused beyond the defined

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<sup>61</sup> Africanisation is a concept dependent on temporal, cultural, and philosophical understanding that finds variations within literature. According to Frantz Fanon, to "Africanise" is synonymous with decolonisation, a demand "rooted in a genuine endeavor at nationalization" (Fanon, [1963] 2005, p. 104) occurring in African countries during the 1960-70s. Per contra, for Ngugi na Thiongo (Thiong'o, 1986), Africanisation is part of a larger politics, underpinned in language, seeking after a liberating perspective that enables subjects to see themselves clearly in relation to themselves and to other selves in the universe. In a similar manner, Achille Mbembe understands Africanisation as a process of appropriation, which should start with education (Mbembe, 2015). The notion used along these pages draws upon Patrick Chabal's understanding, instead. He refers to Africanisation specifically as a political process investing the spheres of the relationship between individual and community, the use of family as a reference and metaphor within politics, and the legitimacy of rules (Chabal, 1992).

<sup>62</sup> For the purposes of this study, I agree with the analysis on civil society in Africa written by Albert Kasanda who identifies a plurality of subjects, ranging from activists to writers to musicians, as active members of the contemporary civil society (Kasanda, 2018).

limits of materiality and temporality (Forrest, 2016). Remaining in office longer than a mandate provides for, or holding on to a role even if against popular will, are pointed to as unconstitutional. Nevertheless, the Constitution itself (Constituição da Guiné-Bissau, 1996) is not thoroughly comprehensive and lacks clarity with regard to the terms of the presidential office's termination.<sup>63</sup> The legal legitimacy of political offices is unclear due to legal voids; hence, the possibility of sacking prime ministers or dismissing governments as occurred under the hyper-presidentialism (Nóbrega, 2015; Rudebeck, 2001) of Nino Vieira, Kumba Yala, and José Mário Vaz. The personal antagonism underlying politicians' acts hampers any beliefs in legitimation by the people, for whom they resemble an alien dominator wearing a Bissau-Guinean mask.

Moreover, Bissau-Guinean political order determined own patterns of legitimation and identification, relying on symbolic capital and ethnic referents (Nóbrega, 2008). Broadly speaking, the political elite of Guinea-Bissau fails in the three aspects of legitimation, defined as consent, legality, and belief (Beetham, 1991). The legitimation impasse stems from the lack of consent to the formal government, as the state's reaches do not go beyond urban spaces (Forrest, 2003). Even in the cities, only select social groups interact with the state, showing support for or dissent against the policies enacted. Protests and marches involve mostly activists (calling for the implementation and respect of human, social, and civil rights), along with some students and scholars fed up with the dysfunctional education system—mere buildings and façades rather than a real institution providing a public service (Chabal & Green, 2016).

Moreover, the de-linkage between the state and the society is affected by the cleavage existing between the rural and urban population. In the former, the state is either an absence or an inconvenient intruder (Forrest, 2003) while the *comités de tabanca* (village councils) are often taken over by the locals, who elect either individuals ones endowed with authority also by indigenous power or persons lacking sociopolitical influence (Nóbrega, 2003). Although the state and its institutions are generally acknowledged, there exists little real knowledge of it and the unstable and inert state does not figure much beyond its empirical existence (Bordonaro, 2009). Besides the electorate engagement, it is hard to say whether people cast

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<sup>63</sup> The topic was at the eye of public debates with regard to Vaz's presidential term, since for the first time a president of the Republic held his office to the end of the mandate. Still, Vaz's decision to leave office only by the time the next presidential election were held caused opposed reactions among the political elite and accusations of "abuse of power," "unconstitutionality," and "coup d'état" ("Guiné-Bissau: 'Jomav no poder é um golpe de Estado,' entende constitucionalista," 2019; "Parlamento da Guiné-Bissau é o órgão legítimo para retirar poderes ao PR, diz Ramos-Horta," 2019; Issufo, 2019).



their vote as a result of genuine engagement with politics or as a way to sustain hope for change and a better future (Rudebeck, 2001).

In the attempt to achieve democratic, threefold legitimation, the use of symbolic capital related to culture and to the local animist cosmology has proved particularly efficient, for as Amílcar Cabral recalled “even the most faithful Muslim believer has inside him that faith in *irâns*” (Cabral, n.d., p. 34). Many of the country’s most notorious leaders, such as João Bernardino Vieira and Kumba Yala, resorted to clothing, behaviours, and values entailed in the native cosmological tradition to emphasise features of their personality (being brave, clever, undefeatable, e.g.) or their power. These claims were assumed on the basis of metaphysical beliefs that would entitle one with strength and all-pervasive power (Nóbrega, 2008, 2015). Fieldwork experience supports the inference of the Portuguese Álvaro Nóbrega (2015) of the relevance of animist cosmology, including *irân*, spirits, and ancestors, to state politics. Though not openly expressed in public speeches, newspapers, or even in casual conversation, all citizens mingle state politics with *irân* in rumours, denunciations, and political speculation. As one of my interviewees in Bissau once said, “*durante o dia ninguém fala. Não se reconhece. Mas à noite todos são djambakos, fazem cerimónias, consultam irân.*”<sup>64</sup>

The relevance of native, local cosmology to state politics appears as a means to boost indigenous origins and to enhance an African-rooted political system in contemporaneity. The revitalisation of tradition started in the 1980s (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002), its reinvention (Hobsbawm, 2002) in neo-traditional forms of power and the more recent surge of reconversion to traditional religions (Sarró & Barros, 2016) are milestones in the “return to the source” process outlined in similar terms by Cabral. Thanks to his experiences in Lisbon and Paris, Cabral was deeply acquainted with Negritude and Pan-Africanist ideals and engaged with them in his nationalist-agrarian socialist theory. Unfortunately, his premature death left us with texts, although copiously covering national liberation, with little to say about subsequent nation- and state-building (Chabal, 1983).

Still, the enhancement of tradition does not even or cancel out the tensions in relations between state and indigenous powers. The PAIGC’s attempts to centralise power in state institutions in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had to face the centripetal force of resilient local and indigenous powers. Following multiparty elections, the same challenge was posed to the state, regardless of the political party ruling. To the degree that functions in state institutions

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<sup>64</sup> “[D]uring the day nobody speaks. It is not acknowledged. But at night everybody is a *djambakos*, does ceremonies, consults with *irân*” (informal conversation with Rui Ribeiro, Bissau, February 2019).

were centralised, there arose the decentralisation of power in the interior of the country, where state and customary power coexist (Araújo, 2008; Mamdani, 1996). The persistence of local and traditional powers<sup>65</sup> was due to the indirect rule applied by the Portuguese, as they applied both colonial and customary norms (Moore, 1978), and to their inability to penetrate and overcome local communities' resistance.<sup>66</sup>

Since the local community is one's primordial public realm (Ekeh, 1975; Hyden, 2013), it fosters close proximity with indigenous authorities, which appear legitimate and resilient. In other words, the existing informal networks, based on kinship, religion, family ties, or economic bonds, provide services the state is unwilling or unable to deliver, creating a condition of *pluralism* where political power is not coincident with but outside the state (Bordonaro, 2009). The overlap involves all spheres of political power, ranging from legitimation to law and legislation, passing through authorities, institutions, justice, and government. The imbrication of powers results from the commingling of all these aspects.

To this aim, the condition of normative pluralism is not a mere question of how legal orders coexist within one system (Griffiths, 1986). Rather, it reveals a more complex scenario where legal aspects are inherently connected to authority and institutions. In this sense, the contributions of legal anthropology are a useful tool to discern the two orders of differentiated law, one official (or formal) and one performative—that which dominates life itself, even if it has not been articulated in writing (Herlich, 1936, as cited in Griffiths, 1986). Being the materialisation of multiple alterities in socio-political interactions, the Bissau-Guinean configuration transcends the orthodox view of legal pluralism,<sup>67</sup> as superimposed and interpenetrated normo-legal spaces created by cross-intersections of different orders of integral plurality (Fitzpatrick, 1983; Merry, 1988) and *interlegality* (Santos, 2002, 2003).

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<sup>65</sup> The anthropologist Clara Carvalho draws a distinction between local and traditional power, the former being an independent ruling structure, historically deep-rooted in customary practices and social habitus, and the latter the source of the legitimation of power (Carvalho, 2000, 2004). I use the overarching term “indigenous” to refer to the variety of Bissau-Guinean endogenous powers, authorities, and political institutions.

<sup>66</sup> Country folk resisted the occupation of the Portuguese colonisers in many ways. In a number of cases, the appointed officers for local committees, a branch of the colonial government, were socially-inept individuals, or persons given local socio-political legitimacy, who would govern independently, away from the metropolis (Forrest, 2003; Nóbrega, 2003; Nóbrega, 2015).

<sup>67</sup> According to the orthodox view, legal pluralism is the multiplicity of systems coexisting in a defined social or sociopolitical domain, with some degrees of interdependency between the two legal orders (Davies, 2006, p. 578), or more broadly as the state of affairs, for any social field, in which behaviour pursuant to more than one legal order occurs (Griffiths, 1986, p. 2). Milder strands of thought on legal pluralism argue, instead, that plural normative orders are a recurrent feature, common to all societies (Merry, 1988, p. 372; Santos, 2002).

The framed normative pluralism, where state and indigenous authorities, institutions, laws, and polities coexist, reveals the presence of a lively informal second state (or multiple states, as the case may be) (Scheye, 2009) in Guinea-Bissau. Covering for the state in its inefficiency in providing service to the people, mostly in rural areas (Estanislao, Sigrun, Hakon, & Wodon, 2007), the variety of non-state authorities relies on deep-seated allegiances of kinship, ethnicity, and regionalism. These informal agents are tightly linked to indigenous values, are widely spread across the territory, and have the capability to actively involve the population due to the inner motive they convey. Therefore, informal institutions do not operate merely on the economic level but make up for the deficiency of the state in providing a variety of services that range from security and conflict resolution to health and education. Their organisation and institutionalisation in customary terms is such that they represent a second state (or states) carrying out political functions next to, or at times in cooperation with, the formal one (Scheye, 2009). The literature (Augel & Cardoso, 1996; Forrest, 2003; Koudawo & Mendy, 1996) confirms that relationships and interactions between state-formal and traditional-local powers are generally framed in accordance with the pursued goal.

The existing pluralism is therefore recognisable in *praxis* but not in *theoria*. On the one hand, indigenous and local power have enjoyed in the last decades a wave of revitalisation grounded in the (re)invention of tradition (Hobsbawm, 2002) to foster and increase the legitimation of local leaders. Along with the political capitalisation of traditional authorities (Koudawo & Mendy, 1996), traditional social clubs and *mandjundades* came back into fashion (Estanislao, Hakon, & Wodon, 2007; Koudawo & Mendy, 1996; Lourenço-Lindell, 2002). Moreover, indigenous authorities and polities shuffled the order of the state, from which they could no longer be excluded or separated. An emblematic case is the region of Buba, where traditionally no *regulado* existed until it was established by the government of Kumba Yala (2000-2003).<sup>68</sup> To achieve, or to strengthen, their legitimacy in the eyes of the population, the new leaders often stressed ancestry or the religious, sociopolitical relevance of their position, as opposed to the rational-bureaucratic legitimation of state politicians (Nóbrega, 2008).

On the other hand, the rural absence and political, legal, moral weakness of the state strengthens the high reliance on indigenous authorities. In this scenario, the resort to indigenous powers and custom stands not only as the preferred but as the only viable option. Considering the judicial system, where no case of *forum shopping* has yet been detected, individuals tend

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<sup>68</sup> Continued today by the Bissau-Guinean government, the state-led institution of *regulados* was begun during the colonial administration (Djaló, 2012).

to prefer customary law in a large number of situations (Estanislao, Hakon, et al., 2007; Programa Das Nações Unidas Para O Desenvolvimento, 2011). Also, many seek traditional justice instead of the judicial system as it has validity also in front of *irân* (Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento, 2011).<sup>69</sup> Trust in local authorities is at times a point of conflict, for some are perceived as withholding or controlling access to information (Estanislao, Sigrun, et al., 2007). Nevertheless, they are the first authority sought to solve conflicts, mostly with regard to land-ownership disputes. Despite the recent compilation of customary law in a report adapted to the penal code, drafted by the Faculdade de Direito de Bissau (FDB) and the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (INEP) in 2012, the legislation of Guinea-Bissau does not recognise nor include customary norms within the Constitution's provisions.

The absence of *de jure* recognition, along with scarce clarity or uniformity in the relations between state and indigenous powers, sparks an impasse in the understanding of normative pluralism. Beyond this approach, this study takes as the grounds of its analysis inner principles and configurations. As seen in the process of power Africanisation, the two orders of power—the state and indigenous powers—not only influence but also complete one another. And yet they rest on distinguished principles of power and political configurations. The state, regardless of its depiction as rogue, failed, or a narco-state (Chabal & Green, 2016), epitomises a bureaucratic set of institutions underpinned by the rule of law of posited norms, modelled upon majoritarian democracy and the liberal state. Per contra, the indigenous polity confers an institutionalised configuration on ontological and normative conceptions, embodied in the hermeneutics of native knowledge and theories.

### 3.3 Lenses on political powers in Guinea-Bissau: the phenomenon of *criança-irân*

In light of pluralism composing the political space, the analysis ought to consider that the context presents two different sources of data, one referring to the state, the other to indigenous powers. The latter are insulated in the sphere of informality; to the cultural outsider, the oral nature of laws and knowledge hampers the intelligibility of foundational concepts. Moreover,

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<sup>69</sup> Some ethnic groups attribute to *irân*, along with the ancestors, the possibility of cooperating in matters of justice. Furthermore, if the spirit were not content with human-made decisions, it would seek its own justice.

in light of the populational and religious melange that composes Guinea-Bissau, indigenous polities govern through diverse institutions or authorities.

This heterogeneity thwarts the discernment of underlying tenets of indigenous powers in the country. Each of the almost thirty ethnic groups comprising the current state possesses its own historical and cultural roots, creating evident distinction among the various groups. These underpinnings are manifest in sociopolitical organisation and differentiated traditions. For example, the horizontal, chief-less society of the Balanta people contrasts with the hierarchical Fulani one, or with the highly structured Pepel political system. Moreover, in contrast to other groups, who tenaciously hold to local animist cosmology, as the Bijagós, or more those who have recently embraced Christianity, Fulani and Mandinga people have long been influenced by Sunni Islam. Still, these differences are smoothed by years of reciprocal relations and coexistence (Djaló, 2012). While preserving the history and customs of each people with pride, their sociopolitical systems, along with cosmological and ontological understandings of the world, are deeply interwoven.

In order to examine the foundations of indigenous politics within and among these groups, the analysis assumes the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* (spirit-children) as an emblematic case. The ritual infanticide is not *per se* the phenomenon under examination in this study; instead, it epitomises a medium through which to further analyse and understand a broader phenomenon—configurations and principles of political power in Guinea-Bissau. These babies, considered spirits in human flesh, represent a challenge to the universality of the notion of humanness. Being an anomaly or deviation from the norm, the spirit-children epitomise an exception, and their failure to be accepted places *criança-irân* in a unique space in the polity.

According to the belief, disabled babies<sup>70</sup> are not recognised as humans but are spirits (*irân*) encased in a human body. Their status does not coincide with cases of witchcraft and spirit possession as defined in the literature (see Denham, Adongo, Freydlberg, & Hidgson, 2010; Geschiere, 1997; La Fontaine, 2009; Olsen & Beek, 2015) since what is of concern is their human essence, or their inner humanness. As spirits, they are also denied the possibility of attaining personhood, as prescribed in accordance with communitarian formulations (Gyekye & Wiredu, 1992; Menkiti, 1984, 2004a; see §2.3). The status of people with impairments and disabilities is hardly discussed within these formulations (Horsthemke, 2018). Communitarian theory may lack the means to comprehensively understand the phenomenon, since

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<sup>70</sup> Disabled or impaired children are not the only babies deemed *criança-irân*. A detailed characterisations of the spirit-children is presented in the next section.

the denial of *criança-irân*'s humanness in fact occurs on normative, ontological, and metaphysical grounds.

Widely accepted and adhered to, the *criança-irân* phenomenon cannot be understood only as a cultural belief, as the vestige of traditional practices, or as an adaptive measure to dispose of weaker individuals (Einarsdóttir, 2004b). As the belief (and the ritual infanticide practice that accompanies it) transcends cosmological and ethnical boundaries, its foundations are sought in deep roots of the community. The *criança-irân* represents the hallmark of resilient indigenous normative and ontological conceptions of humanness and political plurality due to their outcast position in the network of established interactions ordering the political plurality. The political configuration reified in social structures, authority, accountability, administration, and legitimacy epitomises the invisible and immaterial set of thoughts, ideas, values and morals, that form the boundaries of the political sphere from which *crianças-irân* are excluded.

The existence of the *criança-irân*, a liminal subject, impacts the underpinning principles of indigenous power, although it is arguable whether it alters them. In other words, the political order endogenous to Guinea-Bissau would not suffer a radical restructuring if the belief in the spirit-children ceased to exist. This is because the *criança-irân* represents a passive element, an outcome rather than a cause, not an active element whose presence defines the polity. Nonetheless, the relevance of the phenomenon rests in the analytical lenses it provides for recognising formative factors in the indigenous polity. In light of their character of exceptionality and liminality, the non-human babies expose the rules that determine inclusion and exclusion from the political plurality.

Therefore, the phenomenon helps us see the grounds of the polity and the sort of political relations among political subjects. This understanding is instrumental to a clear depiction of the boundaries and the *conditio per quam* of the *bíos politicon*. Exposing the mode of intersubjective relations within the polity, the *criança-irân* enables the analysis to move further into in-depth analysis of the community's organisation. A clear exposition of indigenous political institutions—the reification of political principles constitutive of the political plurality in a settled *nomos*—sheds light on their rationale and *modus operandi*.

In addition, the *criança-irân* allows for the discernment of indigenous political tenets within the state. Through the analysis of the acceptance, rejection, or tolerance of the practice by political institutions, underlying conceptions of the polity and of humanness are made evident. That is, the approach to the spirit-children, transcending the institutional frame, enables the disclosure of the grounds of the polity. Recalling the process of the Africanisation of power,

hence the appropriation of a political model (the state) in accordance with endogenous political tenets (Chabal, 1992), the lenses of analysis reveal the intermingling of political principles and the *loci* of the Bissau-Guinean pluralistic power realm.

The phenomenon of the spirit-children is deeply entrenched in all the dimensions of the conceptual framework. It constitutes an essential element to approaching the matter of political power configurations and principles in Guinea-Bissau. The following analysis of the phenomenon, supported by fieldwork data, confirms its relevance to this end, pinpointing its significance to the concept of humanness.

### 3.3.1 Criança-irân: the belief and the practice of ritual infanticide

The *criança-irân* belief rests on the central entity of native Bissau-Guinean animist cosmology, called *irân*.<sup>71</sup> The term is polysemous, used to designate a major or a wide range of spiritual forces (Einarsdóttir, 2004b, p. 34), an incarnation of supernatural deities (Carreira, 1961, p. 509), an ancestor spirit or a supernatural being (Jong, 1988, p. 4), an ancestor spirit's fetish (Quintino, 1949a, p. 448), or a sacred place for rites and ceremonies. Being at once a benevolent and a malign entity, *irân* is an almighty spirit that is yet involved in physical reality. *Irân* is recognised as the final cause of occurrences, success, and misfortune in one's life (Einarsdóttir, 2004b). Its will eludes human control and knowledge.

There exist several *irâns*, from those of the wilderness (the most powerful) to those of individuals, which power is restricted to one's personal use (Carreira, 1971a; Quintino, 1949b, 1949a). During the first fieldwork trip in 2016 I was able to meet with several ritual specialists and to observe diverse representations and ideas about *irân*. As Nemésio was warning me against the fierce power of the spirits in the *mato* (bush, wilderness), I took part in ceremonies where a minor *irân*, belonging to the household or to a singular person, was summoned. Often

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<sup>71</sup> The origin of the term *irân* (also written as *irã* due to lack of orthographical uniformity in written and unstable local Kriol) is controversial. According to the Portuguese anthropologist Fernando Rogado Quintino, words of similar meaning (dark, shadow, wilderness) had long been used around Africa and the Middle East to refer to bad or evil spirits: *tchina*, *china*, or *xina* (likely a misspelling of the Arab word *djina* or *djin*, meaning genie) were the most common forms encountered in Guinea Bissau (Quintino, 1962, pp. 294–298). The term was later replaced with *irân*, a misspelling of imported Bijagós, *erâdê* (*kurâdê*, plural form), used to refer to a bad or maleficent deity (Carreira, 1961, p. 507; Quintino, 1962).

personal *irâns* are embodied in one's personal objects, as in the necklace used by Pós Miguel Cá (Quinahmel) or the powerful stick of Fodé “Dedé” Andrade in Cacheu.

Persons endowed with unique, “extra,” or “supernatural” capabilities, such as ritual specialists, have the power to understand the will of *irân* and can request help from *irân*. Still, it is generally believed that *irân* are not good to people. As reported by the young members of the PNI in Biombo, the spirit possesses a double nature—helping people when asked to, while representing an evil force (table 1)<sup>72</sup>. This representation makes *irân* an almighty and overarching entity, endowed with responsibility over many spheres of human life.

To act against *irân*'s will would cause disgrace, misfortune and death (Carreira, 1971b, 1971a; Quintino, 1949b, 1949a); the spirit's will is adduced as grounds for a wide array of customary prescriptions (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012). By and large, *irân* acts as a warrant of the wider metaphysical and secular order, a provider of aid and punishment, supporting the continuance of the community.

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<sup>72</sup> A translated version of the table is available in annex II.



Table 1: Excerpt (a) from the questionnaire to PNI member (Quinhamel, December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016)

<b>na tua opinião, o que o Irân?</b>	O Irân é aquele que nós chamamos de Diabo, que tem poderes de fazer mal a qualquer pessoa que depende dele para resolver os seus problemas	Irân é um demónio	O Irân na minha opinião é primeiro criatura pelo Deus mas hoje dia Irân tornou um grande inimigo pelo deus, por isso tornou um grande demónio	Irân é o demónio	o Irân na cultura Papel é o segundo Deus	Irân é um dos Deuses adorados por infieis	não sei. Mas sempre ouvi a dizer que existe Irân mais para aprovar isso eu não consigo mesmo
<b>O Irân é bom ou é mau?</b>	Na verdade o que eu sei o Irân nunca é bom sempre procura cativar as pessoas, afim de manter o seu poder de mal	Irân é mau	O Irân para mim não é bom porque ele tem sede de fazer o homem tornar como ele mesmo, como que nós já sabemos do que ele é mau por isso eu não accito o Irân	Não é bom Irân é mau	O Irân é bom na cultural Papel porque os Papeis dizem que Irân ajuda eles para ou pergunta morte ou doença e a ajudar para oferecer sorte	Irân é bom para os que lhe adorá-lo, é mau para os que não confiam-lhe nele	Pelas palavras dos meus avós dizem que é muito mau

Notwithstanding the many and various interactions with physical reality,<sup>73</sup> *irân* does not belong to the world of living human beings. Consequently, the birth of the so-called *criança-irân*, a spirit-child, constitutes a disruptive exceptionality as the baby is not born as a human (*pekadur*) but as a spirit (*irân*).

A spirit-child is recognisable by their different appearance and unusual development. For these reasons they are typically referred to in Kriol as *kil minino padidu ku kabesa garandi* (that baby born with a big head) or *kil menino ki ka ta padidu diritu* (that baby who was not born right). The baby “*apanhou o burto de irân*,”<sup>74</sup> such that

“*quando uma pessoa, uma pessoa engravida, dá luz, e criança vem ao mundo, [...] com deficiência congénita, de uma outra forma, a criança vem com deficiência, ou cabeça ou mão, há aqueles que tem cabeça, cabeça fica a crescer mais que o corpo. Há aqueles que vem as vezes as duas mãos ficam paralisadas, ou os pés. A criança tem quantos anos, não consegue fazer nada.*”<sup>75</sup>

Identified by western medicine as disabled children, categories of alleged *criança-irân* include infants born with macrocephalic heads, microcephalia, polydactyly, Down’s syndrome, intellectual disability or other cognitive or mental disorders, dwarfism, blindness, deformed limbs, or even twins in certain cases<sup>76</sup> (Carreira, 1971b, 1971a; Einarsdóttir, 2004b; Jao, 2003; Quintino, 1949b). They are often described as having a spineless body, pale skin, an apathetic face, “bizarre” eyes, a foaming mouth (Einarsdóttir, 2004b); they are said to constantly drool on themselves and to be incapable of securing their head; they do not respond when they are called. They are said to often fall seemingly unconscious, collapsing on the floor, with a

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<sup>73</sup> *Irân* can be seen and heard, although only by those with the special capabilities of interacting with it. Moreover, sightings of *irân* may be entered as proof in penal trials according to customary law (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012). The semi-physical status of *irân* is further discussed in the following chapters (see, especially, §5.2.1).

<sup>74</sup> “[C]aught *irân*.” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>75</sup> “[W]hen a person, when a person gets pregnant, gives birth, and the baby is born with congenital disabilities, in other words, the baby is born with disabilities, the head or the hand, there are those who have a head, the head grows much more than the body. At times, there those who are born and the two hands are paralysed, or their feet. The baby is I do not know how old and cannot do anything.” From the online semi-structured interview with Maria Vitória Correia, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020.

<sup>76</sup> Only among the Balanta it is thought that twins are *criança-irân*. Carlos Laudolino Medina notes that his grandmother was abandoned because she was a twin: “*Foi o caso da minha avó, foi um caçador que a encontrou, de uma etnia Pepel e que tinha também uma filha de quase da sua idade, ela tomava peito e foi esta senhora que criou a minha avó*” (“it was the case for my grandmother, a hunter, from the Pepel, found her, and he also had a daughter of approximately the same age who was breastfeeding, and it was that lady who raised my grandmother”). From the semi-structured interview, conducted in Bissau, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016). According to the literature, older traditions include a broader variety of cases under the spirit-children category, like *meninu ku denti di riba* (child whose teething starts in the upper jaw) who are no longer considered so (Carreira, 1971a, 1971b).

foaming mouth, an occurrence known as “*derruba cabeça*” that “*faz parte de irân.*”<sup>77</sup> Refusing to eat, disappearing, restlessness during sleep, affected eyesight, or delayed walking (Jao, 2003, p. 56) are also pointed to as signs of the baby being a spirit.

Of a baby born with disabilities and impairments, it is said, “*não é pekadur, é irân.*”<sup>78</sup> These infants<sup>79</sup> are not born as human but are a spirit, *irân*, encased in a human-flesh body. Due to their hybrid essence (neither spirit nor human yet somehow both), the spirit-children do not belong to the physical reality of humans or to the metaphysical (or semi-physical) realm of *irân*. Their exceptional nature casts them in the space of liminality, differentiating them from other forms of animal, human, and spiritual life.

Just as *irâns* do not pertain to the human realm, neither are the *criança-irân* welcome in the community of humans, “*porque não é um ser natural, normal, não é, não é uma pessoa humana, porque são espíritos ancestrais que tem que voltar as suas origens. Ou porque é irân, ou porque é uma cobra.*”<sup>80</sup> These non-human babies are regarded as a highly disruptive entity, who would jeopardise primarily the life of the mother, those of the all family, and the survival of the community at large (Einarsdóttir, 2004b; Jao, 2003) as it “*regressou para poder fazer, matar as pessoas.*”<sup>81</sup>

People tend to refrain from interacting with or touching the baby considered *irân* and invite others to maintain their distance from these babies, even when unattended. “*Ah, tomem cuidado, porque esta criança não é normal, é irân!*” *Portadora de mau espírito,*<sup>82</sup> Carlos Laudolino, from the *Associação dos Amigos da Criança* (Association of the Friends of the Child, AMIC), was advised when he went to rescue one of these babies. The *criança-irân* is not only

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<sup>77</sup> “[K]nocking the head down” that “is part of *irân*,” from the semi-structured interview with Baakuran. Farim, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> “[It] is not human, it is *irân*,” as stated during the *djumbai* in Jemberem on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>79</sup> In this study I use the terms infant, baby, and child interchangeably, although aware of the distinction present in the literature. The ritual is not performed prevalently on new-borns but may involve children up to two-years-old or even older.

<sup>80</sup> “[B]ecause s/he is not a natural being, normal, s/he is not, s/he is not a human person, because they are ancestral spirits who ought to go back to the origins, or because s/he is an *irân*, or because s/he is a snake.” From the online interview with Ana Muscuta Ture on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>81</sup> “they came back to be able to, to kill the people.” As reported by Maria Vitória Correia (online semi-structured interview, December 21<sup>st</sup> 2020), “*Então... o poder tradicional acha que isso é alma de uma pessoa que vinha, que morreu, morreu mal, então regressou para poder fazer, matar as pessoas*” (So... the traditional power thinks that the souls of a person who went, who died, died badly, then came back to be able, to be able kill other people). NB: Maria Vitória was the only interviewee who connected the jeopardising threat represented by the spirit-child to a soul’s reincarnation.

<sup>82</sup> “[B]e careful, because this child is not normal, it is *irân!*” It has a bad spirit.” From the semi-structured interview with Carlos Laudolino Medina. Bissau, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

unwelcome but is feared as a major threat to the survival of the community. To prevent disgrace, the babies “*devem ser afastados senão vão fazer mal a sociedade.*”<sup>83</sup>

Disposing of the baby is a rather covert issue, as the ritual practices have the primary aim to ascertain the real nature of the baby, through the realisation of specific tests. The procedures to perform the tests vary, ranging from abandoning the baby in the *mato*, to a starvation trial, to abandoning the baby in the sea (Carreira, 1971b, 1971a; Jao, 2003; Quintino, 1949b). The latter test, referred to in Kriol as *leba menino ao mar* (roughly translated as “take the baby to the sea”), is the most common and definitive proof of a baby’s humanness. As Carlos Laudolino describes it:

*chamam a criança-irân e levam à beira do rio (na prática, no uso, não é?), com ovos ou farinha,<sup>84</sup> organizam estas cerimónias. Pegam a criança à beira do rio, do mar, quando as águas estão baixas, quando o mar enche, a maré soube, a sua força pode levar uma pessoa, adulta, quanto mais uma criança. A corrente leva a criança e eles dizem que o mau espirito foi-se. A forma de liquidar, exterminar, portanto, estas crianças ditas criança-irân.<sup>85</sup>*

The verdict of the test is simple: “*si pekadur normal, ka di irân... i na fica. Mas si minino di irân, esse i di irân...*”<sup>86</sup> On the rare occasion that the baby is still there, he or she is welcomed into the community. If s/he is gone it is thought that the spirit simply left to return to its true home (Einarsdóttir, 2004b; Jao, 2003). The *menino ki bai* (“the baby who went”) is simply the spirit returning its own reality. There is no crying nor mourning for a departed *criança-irân* because there is no human, no soul to be guided in the transition to the semi-physical world of the dead.

Likewise, there is a clear lack of criminal intent in the infanticide (A. S. Dias, 1989) as families, community, and the practitioners of the ritual themselves seem to find no feelings of guilt in the practice, but mostly relief. People are so afraid of the highly disruptive and

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<sup>83</sup> “[M]ust be disposed of, or they will harm the society,” as reported in the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>84</sup> The infant is taken to the riverbanks at low tide, in a basket with rice, eggs, and flour, thought to be *irân*’s favourite food.

<sup>85</sup> “[T]hey call the *criança-irân* and they take him or her to the riverbanks (in practice, according to tradition, right?) with eggs and flour, they organise this ceremony. They place the baby by the riverbanks, at the shore, when the tide is low, when the tide rises, its strength could easily wash away an adult, even more so a child. The current takes the child, and they say the evil spirit went away. The way to dispose of, exterminate, then, these babies called *criança-irân*.” From the semi-structured interview with Carlos Laudolino Medina. Bissau, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>86</sup> “[I]f s/he is a normal person, not an *irân*, s/he will stay. But if it is a spirit-child, s/he belongs to *irân*...” From the semi-structured interview with Tia Fei. Cacheu, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

potentially destructive presence of these babies that their “departure” is greeted with a general feeling of solace. Nonetheless, some raise concern over the performance of the infanticide, accusing those who perform the ritual of invoking their spiritual essence as an excuse: “*daquele especialista que tira as crianças que dizem que mata as crianças diz que não são pessoas, pessoas humanas, são irâns.*”<sup>87</sup> Others question the economic gains of performing the ritual, adding some ritual specialists just need to be “*pagal dinheiro e mata bu fidjo.*”<sup>88</sup>

As condemnations grow, they pinpoint the existence of discrepancies between the belief and the practice. The latter’s truthfulness as a test of humanness is questioned as the lifeless bodies of babies have reappeared on seashores (Teixeira, 1983) or practitioners have been seen murdering the baby, as occurred in Gabu (eastern Guinea-Bissau), years ago:

*“quando o homem preparou para matar aquilo, então, as pessoas vão, chegam num determinado lugar, ficam, ele é que vai sozinho, faz aquela cerimonia em que o irân... [...] O homem chegou a ver que ninguém viu... Foi arranjar um pau, para dar a criança na cabeça e matar, então.. [...] E ele quando estava a preparar para dar, a pessoa gritou: ‘Não faça isso! Afinal é, é assim que você faz!’”*<sup>89</sup>

The ritual infanticide brings with it more controversies within families, as mothers tend to be more reluctant toward the performance of the ritual, in contrast to fathers, extended family, or the community. To save the baby from this fate, leaving them to an orphanage or other shelter represents the only way. Casa Bambaram, in Bissau, was hosting fifty-two children when I visited it in October 2016. Thirteen of them had been left at the shelter following the accusation of being a spirit-child or a devil.<sup>90</sup> Other times, the babies are taken to the orphanages to remove them from the family or the community, for the threat they represent, in this way avoiding the ritual infanticide.

Nonetheless, the strength of the belief remains. The existence of babies who are not humans persists as a local ontological category, thus originating a peculiar conception of being.

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<sup>87</sup> “[O]f those specialists who dispose of the children, they say that kill the children, they say that they are not humans, human person, they are *irâns*.” From the semi-structured interview with Mamadou Camará. Buba, February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>88</sup> “[P]aid the money and kill your son.” From the semi-structured interview with Djon. Farim, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>89</sup> “[W]hen the man was getting ready to kill that, then, people go, arrive at a certain place, they stay, he [the practitioner] goes alone, doing that ceremony in which *irân*... [...] The man checked no one could see... went to get a stick, to hit the baby on the head and kill it, so... [...] And when he was about ready to hit, a person screamed, ‘Do not do it! So that is how you do this!’” From the semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané. Bissau, October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>90</sup> As reported during the interview with Djamila Biam, child psychologist at Casa Bambaram. Interviewed on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2016, in Bissau.

The *criança-irân* are distinguished from other humans because they do not possess a soul within their body and are not connected to a kinship, to the past and the traditions of a people and their land. Failing on metaphysical and ontological grounds of humanness, they cannot be involved in the socio-moral life of the community. These non-human babies challenge the very foundations of humanness.

Also, in light of their spiritual essence, of being *irân*, yet encased in human flesh, the spirit-children do not belong to the semi-physical category of *irâns* either. Unlike the spirits, who interact with and command the human world as they please, the *criança-irân* are prevented from doing so as they are already a part of the human reality and exist among human beings. Cast out from the human and the semi-physical sphere, the *criança-irân* are relegated to a liminal normative and ontological sphere, unique to them alone, due to their hybrid nature.

This liminality casts them out of the political plurality, from the *bíos politicon*. The latter engenders and is ordered upon human actions and decisions, possessing an eminently secular character. However, in light of their semi-physical nature, and of the recurrent interaction of non-material entities in the material world (see §5.2.1), *irâns* and ancestors might take part in the political life of the community. Per contra, the *criança-irân* cannot, by any means, reach this status, and eternally epitomises the inclusionary-excluded (Agamben, 1995) element of the *bíos politicon*.

### 3.3.2 The exception proving the rule? Linking the spirit-children and political configurations

The phenomenon of the spirit-children exposes the particular conception of humanness native to Bissau-Guinean gnosis. A thorough analysis of this understanding carries the potential to disclose further elements constituting local political thought, from theorisations of the individual to the reciprocal standing of individual and community and to the broader conception of the political order. Furthermore, the controversial case of the non-human babies draws the line of divergence between the informal, indigenous power and the formal state. The acceptance of the *criança-irân* as a legitimate element of the political order distinguishes one from the other. In other words, state and indigenous political foundations do not agree over the very notion of humanness, or over the entitlement to participate in the *humanised* kind of life, the political life.

A symptomatic example of the foundational discrepancies between indigenous and state powers relates to how the practice is dealt with. As previously mentioned, the infanticide of a *criança-irân* lacks in criminal intent, and it is not criminalised under customary law (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012) for *nullum crimen sine poena, nulla poena sine lege*. Lacking the death of a human being, there cannot be any murder. Per contra, state law criminalises the practice, ex. Art. 110 of the Penal Code (Código Penal da Guiné-Bissau, 1994). The legal code, and the political system, adopted during the 1990s, are largely modelled on the Portuguese political and legal systems, hence underpinned in the roots of the liberal state and individualism. In such a scenario, an exception to the notion of humanness, such as the *criança-irân*, is not conceivable.

Still, the state's position on paper contrasts with reality. State powers generally deny the existence of the phenomenon in contemporaneity and lack a firm, direct condemnation of the practice. A scarcity of data and records on the ritual infanticide, enhanced by the taboo status of the practice, along with few studies on the belief, corroborate the ambiguous position of the state. The latter has not enacted any preventive mechanism or protocol and offers scarce support to NGOs and human rights associations who engage in awareness campaigns.

The generalised silence from state authorities on the practice presents the researcher with the opportunity to question whether it is due to simpler institutional weaknesses or lack of political will to deal with an uncomfortable phenomenon, or whether it reveals the intermingling of state foundations with indigenous ones. In other words, the generalised lack of response to the *criança-irân* phenomenon from the state puts into question the persistence of principles steering the indigenous polity within the boundaries of the state itself. Thus, the spirit-children are a means to discern the ongoing process of power's Africanisation occurring in Guinea-Bissau and its intertwined, pluralistic political configurations.

For its singular status in the political plurality, the *criança-irân* reveals the principles underpinning indigenous powers while attesting to the existence and resilience of this polity, in juxtaposition to the formal state. Therefore, the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* epitomises, to the ends of this study, an instrumental concept: being an exception, the case 'simplifies' the reality to be studied, exposing with clear evidence its characteristic patterns.

This study does not endeavour to provide an anthropological characterisation of humanness as conceived in Bissau-Guinean animist conceptions. I rather intend to outline a normative conception of political humanness, meaning naturally political and part of the human plurality. The political plurality represents the primordial theoretical stage of human, political life, thus

being a universal feature prior to any type of political system. Being cast outside the plurality, *criança-irân* represents a factual exception to the theoretical stances underlying the political order. Hence, the non-human babies constitute an analytical instrument to discern indigenous political foundations. Beyond benchmarking the contemporary strength of indigenous polity, the understanding of native political thought constitutes a key-element in a comprehensive understanding of contemporary configurations of power in Guinea-Bissau.

Concepts and theories to analyse the ritual infanticide and indigenous political principles lies on the understanding of political relations occurring in an organicist scenario. The latter is underpinned by the understanding of the relations between individual and community, and in the previous establishment of political relations among individuals, between *ego* and *alter*. There are several reasons for choosing this frame of analysis.

The analysis aims to break with the universalistic pretences inherent in the theorisations of the canons, further intending to provide a solid counter-element to the conceptualisation of the relations between *ego* and *alter* as univocally antagonistic. As the oppositional standing of *ego* and *alter* lays the basis for individualism and adversarial politics, inherent to western political thought and the liberal Westphalian state, an embracing relation connecting *ego* and *alter* poses goods grounds for a polity ruled through compromise and participation. Using *ego* and *alter* as terms of analysis confers the political theories under analysis here a strength equal to those of the canons while refraining from drawing on elements of cherished, pre-colonial societies.

In addition, the analysis adds to the Afro-communitarianism debate on individual and community. The analysis keeps some distance from communitarianism, however, and the reason is twofold. First, communitarian formulations start from the notion of personhood, drawing a significant connection between a normative and metaphysical understanding of the individual and morality<sup>91</sup>. Second, the literature composing communitarianism's notion of personhood does not relate to Bissau-Guinean specificities or ontologies. Scholars argue that the emphasis on normative and metaphysical understandings of the person (Menkiti, 1984) enables theorising and avoids the essentialism and cultural, spatial, and temporal relativism inherent to computational modelling.

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<sup>91</sup> The distinction between humanness and personhood, along with the preference shown for the former concept, is discussed at length in section §2.3.



On the one hand, adducible and existing commonalities throughout the sub-Saharan scenario at large can be at odds with local, epistemological specificities. On the other hand, as emphasised by Bernard Matolino (2014, 2018b), African ethics and African political philosophy recognise various modes to approach the notion of personhood. The communitarian model constitutes but one of these modes, therefore its applicability to the context under analysis is questionable.

### 3.3.3 Assessing the relevance of the phenomenon

The choice of a less-than-conspicuous political phenomenon through which to analyse the political is justified by the premise that many, if not all events and acts in organised society possess a political essence. Few, I think, would argue with this statement. More disagreement might arise, however, with regard to the choice of the *criança-irân* to meet the ends of this study. Nevertheless, multiple reasons defend the choice of the spirit-children as reading lenses.

First, the incidence of the practice in current times attests to its contemporaneity and significance in Guinea-Bissau. Ritual infanticide is still practiced among the main animist ethnic groups, such as Pepel, Balanta, Mancanha, Manjaco, and Bijagós. Notwithstanding its eminently animist cosmological basis, the belief is also acknowledged by all Bissau-Guinean people regardless of religious affiliation. Of the over one hundred interviewees, very few denied believing in the spirit-child. Among those, the vast majority were academics from different social science backgrounds and representatives of NGOs or other associations for the protection and promotion of human rights.

Of all the *curandeiros*, *djambakos*, and *balobeiros*<sup>92</sup> I spoke with, only Mamadou Djakhra Camará reported that the *criança-irân* are not spirits, but babies with disabilities. Mamadou works as *curandeiro* (traditional healer) in Buba, belongs to the Fulani people, and is a Muslim. He energetically dismissed my question about the spirit-children, saying “*doença*

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<sup>92</sup> *Curandeiro*, *balobeiro*, and *djambakos* fall into the category, overall, of traditional healers. The *balobeiro* and the *djambakos* relate to the local animist cosmology, hence they provide treatments for the body and for the soul. The *curandeiro*, instead, relates only with illnesses of the body; even if the treatment, mainly composed of herbs and roots, oils and juices, can be accompanied by prayers, to God, Allah or *irân*, the *curandeiro* cannot heal matters of the soul.

*ke ta pui meninu pa i transforma di kil forma. Meninu irân ka ten.*”<sup>93</sup> Nonetheless, none of the interviewees, whether Christian, Muslim, or Animist, were not aware of the belief or of the practice, nor did I once have to offer any words of explanation about the topic.

The data collected by the Portuguese NGO Fé e Cooperação (hereafter FEC) through a nation-wide survey, corroborate the information gathered during fieldwork. According to the responses given, about one in two Christian or Muslim persons believe in the existence of *criança-irân* (Gonçalves, 2015). Therefore, the categorisation of these babies as non-human is not merely the outcome of cosmological precepts. Also, the data show that age and education are not discriminant parameters, for the difference is slightly reckonable in the straightforwardness of the answers given (Gonçalves, 2015).

The data gathered in the context of Quinhamel (in the Biombo region) demonstrate a similar pattern. With regard to the belief in the existence of spirit-children, among the thirty-seven pregnant and puerperal women interviewed (mainly Pepel, and four from the Balanta ethnical group), only four, between nineteen and forty-three years-old, answered in the negative.<sup>94</sup> Even in a younger sample group, familiarity with the belief remains the same. The seven members of the *Parlamento Nacional Infantil* (PNI), aged between sixteen and thirty years-old, to whom questionnaires were submitted, appear generally aware of the existence and meaning of the belief. Only two denied the existence of the *criança-irân*, in spite of the fact that all of them advocate the need to protect and care for children with disabilities. An excerpt of their answer is reported in Table 2<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>93</sup> “[An] illness catches the baby, so s/he is disfigured. *Irân*-children do not exist.” From the semi-structured interview with Mamadou Camará, in Buba on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019.

<sup>94</sup> As related in the appendix.

<sup>95</sup> A translated version of the table is available in annex II.

Table 2: excerpt (b) from the questionnaire to PNI member (Quinhamel, December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016)

<b>O que é Criança-Irân?</b>	Para me não há criança Irân porque muitas vezes as crianças nascem com deficiência devido a falta de acompanhamento médico, a mãe pode ser que tinha outra doença e passou ao filho durante a gravidez ou parto	a Criança-Irân é a criança que não anda muito cedinho ou não está a falar, dizemos de que isso é Irân mas caso contrário não é Irân	O crianças-Irân para os homens é um mito mas não só mito as vezes aqueles crianças tornarei na verdade Irân, porque nós vimos muitas crianças que levado por pais para mar então aquele criança vai para mar	O Criança-Irân não existe, as pessoas diz a Criança-Irân para mim não existem crianças-Irân	A criança Irân é aquele criança que [e ???] E por isso que os mais velhos considera que aquela criança e Irân	Criança-Irân são aquelas crianças mais pequenas que não é famoso para os que adorá-lo ou aqueles que nascem com uma coisa admirável que os velhos nunca viu	Mas na verdade existe menino Irân pelo visto a criança começa a fazer algum gesta desagradável, com idade elevada sem andar
<b>Conheces ou conhecestes alguma criança considerada Irân?</b>	Sim conheço	sim conhecestes algumas crianças considerada Irân	sim conhecestes alguma criança que foi considerada Irân aqui no Setor, mas hoje em dia alguns aquele Irân tornarei são criança	eu não conheço alguma Criança-Irân	sim algumas crianças consideradas Irân conheces -2	não	sim: em Bissau na messa existia uma criança mas com o tempo perdeu a vida
<b>Qual é a tua opinião sobre crianças com deficiência?</b>	para me essas crianças são pessoas normais, infelizmente podem contrair doença e nasceram com problemas físicas ou mentais, o importante é procurar o tratamento adequado	minha opinião das crianças com deficiência deve ser respeitada em qualquer momento que seja	Acho que a deficiência vem da natureza não são coisas desejada mas se vai acontecer e destinario por Deus e na vida do um ser humano em qualquer parte do mundo	O meu opinião é para os pais cuidaram de essa criança deficiente se o governante tem meio para fazer um jardim para essa criança	a minha opinião das crianças com deficiência precisa de cuidado e o amor para o bem estar dele	A minha opinião sobre crianças com deficiência, são aquelas crianças que mas tem vergonha porque eles não pensam que são como os outros	as crianças com deficiência merecem ser tratados com amor e carinho em todos os dias

With regard to the performance of the ritual, the available data are even scarcer. The phenomenon is considered taboo; during the interviews with pregnant women, I had to be very cautious when asking about the matter, or to avoid it completely, as the discussion of *criança-irân* is thought to bring misfortune or cause a baby to be born as a *criança-irân*. The ritual infanticide is “*um segredo de, de comunidade, da família, continua ter esta... não é um assunto público ainda.*”<sup>96</sup> An aura of taboo surrounds the practice, along with the fear engendered by the threat of breaking a metaphysical or social prescription, resulting in *irân*’s vengeance or one’s own social isolation. Thus a general silence is cast over the *criança-irân*.

Indigenous<sup>97</sup> or state authorities are neither informed nor are they demanded permission for the performance of the ritual. Cases are not reported to the police, due to a general awareness of the state’s prohibition of the practice, resulting in a lack of criminal and trial records. National institutions do not possess much information or statistics about the occurrence of the infanticide. Politicians, from their side, adduce structural fragilities as the main cause for the general lack of data, since the practice would occur primarily “*em zonas reconditas, fora do alcance do estado.*”<sup>98</sup> NGOs and human rights’ groups, however, accuse the state of “*faz-se de não saber,*”<sup>99</sup> and denounce that the ritual infanticide “*está a acontecer em todas as zonas do país, também em Bissau.*”<sup>100</sup> They call attention to the fact the performance of the ritual infanticide, happening throughout all the country, occurs “*com predominância, especificadamente em algumas regiões.*”<sup>101</sup> In this regard, the study conducted by FEC points out that the incidence of the ritual is higher in predominantly or traditionally animist groups (Gonçalves, 2015).

Secondly, there is urgency around analysing the belief as, so far, few studies have been produced about the *criança-irân*, and a large majority date back to before independence. The studies by António Carreira (1971b, 1971a) and Rogado Fernando Quintino (1949a, 1949b) are the most extensive and complete resources available today, yet the anthropological insight they offer suffers from the epistemological traps inherent in the incommunicability underlying the

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<sup>96</sup> “[A] secret of, of the community, of the family, it still has this... it is not yet a public matter.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>97</sup> That is, indigenous political authorities. Because in the indigenous sphere political and religious authority might easily overlap, local chiefs may not only be informed of but even be involved in the ritual.

<sup>98</sup> “[I]n remote areas, beyond the reach of the state.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>99</sup> “Pretending not to know.” From the online semi-structured interview with Rui da Fonseca, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>100</sup> “[...I]s happening in throughout all the country, also in Bissau,” From the online semi-structured interview with Maria Vitória Correia, on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020.

<sup>101</sup> “[...P]rimarily in some specific regions,” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. After 1974, matters of tradition were easily dismissed in favour of development and state-building. Academic attention also was partially withdrawn, both by national and international scholars, during the PAIGC one-party governments.

By and large, the case of the spirit children has been poorly accounted for. As reported by Gonçalves (2015), the European Union Delegation of Bissau, in regulation n.235/2014, call for more attention and studies on the phenomenon of *criança-irân*. Also, the literature is not up to date. The most recent scholarship relies almost exclusively on reports produced by NGOs or supranational organisations. Among those it is worthy to recall that only the study conducted by FEC focuses entirely on *criança-irân* (Gonçalves, 2015). The documents published by United Nations Development Program, UNDP (2011) only briefly mention the practice, giving greater attention to other child's rights violations, including human trafficking, *talibé* children, and female genital mutilation (FGM). Exceptions to this include the legal works of Augusto Silva Dias (1989) and Francisco da Mota Teixeira (1983) and the anthropological studies of Jónina Eirnarssdóttir (2004b) and Mamadou Jao (2003).

Jao's paper, published by the Bissau-Guinean journal *Soronda*, run by the governmental research institute *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa* (INEP), details the performance of the practice. The study questions the local understanding of person and individual, starting with the Mancanha lifeworld (Jao, 2003). The book "*Mothers tired of weeping: Mother love, child death and poverty in Guinea Bissau*" (2004), written by the Icelandic scholar Eirnarssdóttir, is the outcome of five years of intensive fieldwork in the Biombo region. The book discusses patterns of maternal love toward children's diseases and death, including the ritual of infanticide (Eirnarssdóttir, 2004b).

Thirdly, the studies undertaken up to now have adopted a sociological and/or anthropological approach to the *criança-irân* belief. Whether cultural practices are straightforwardly understandable in these terms, anthropology and sociology do not represent the sole means to unriddle them.<sup>102</sup> Also, political turmoil in Guinea-Bissau has negatively contributed to the scholarship. On the one hand, poor academic infrastructures and resources have impacted the possibility of national scholars engaging in further studies or prevented a lively participation in

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<sup>102</sup> As title of example and significant for the aim of these study, see the work of Elias Kifon Bongmba, '*Witchcraft and Otherness*' (2001), where acts of witchcraft are explained through Levina's concepts of intersubjective relations.

the debate going on in the continent. On the other hand, civil war and *coups d'état* have restricted the possibilities of accessing the field for foreign researchers.

Reading the *criança-irân* through a different sort of lens, the present study aims to contribute to a deeper and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. While the case of spirit-children reveals relevant characteristics of the political in Guinea-Bissau, the analysis also observes several aspects of the phenomenon itself. Along with discussing local, native ontologies and normative understandings, this study emphasises the contemporaneity of the belief and of the practice. The recurrence and occurrence of the *criança-irân* enhances the notion that, far from a universalistic understanding, the conception of humanness is composed by a pluriverse of different views. The practice's unique theorisation of the human and the political constitutes the decisive element speaking to the relevance of the spirit-children phenomenon for the purposes of this dissertation.



## 4 Analytical model and Methods

### 4.1 Methods

A contextualisation of the phenomenon is in order prior to discussing the methodological choices adopted. The objects of study are configurations and principles of political power in Guinea-Bissau. These are studied as they exist at the time of writing, since the present theoretical discussion transcends any clear-cut timeframe, which would be difficult or impossible to follow when writing about abstract principles, concepts, and ideas. Principles and consequent configurations of political power present at the time of fieldwork are considered in light of the aims of this thesis.

With regard to spatial boundaries, the object of study is Guinea-Bissau overall, since the final aim of the analysis is to discuss and offer an overview of political power in the country, juxtaposing indigenous and state powers. However, resources and physical constraints inhibited the realisation of fieldwork in all the regions of the country, in particular western (Bijagós islands) and eastern areas (regions of Bafata and Gabú). The lack of data sufficient to ensure the representation of ethnic and geographical differences constitutes one of the main limitations to this study.

Among the methodological choices adopted, fieldwork research is a crucial element, grounded in the inductive-deductive approach employed in this study. Scholarship and the existing literature aid in formulating and framing the research questions guiding the research and provide a robust theoretical basis. Further, a critical analysis of African political theory and philosophy constitutes an inevitable bedrock of theories and concepts of reference within the broad sub-Saharan philosophical universe.

Induction remains crucial to interpretive research since the researcher, as an analyst, is in charge of interpreting the phenomena—much as one stands in a critical relationship to the world of actual events (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a). Rather than emphasising the operationalisation of concepts, variable, and hypotheses, interpretivism prefers to engage in continuous feedback between the research design and its implementation, letting concepts emerge from the research itself (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 29).

Therefore, triangulation with fieldwork data prevents theorisations that may be imbued with restrictive *unanimism* (Hountondji, 1983) and also orients the researcher in the vast



network of ideas, ontologies, epistemologies, and gnosis. Long-established in social sciences such as anthropology or sociology, comparative political theory scholars emphasise the relevance of fieldwork research for political theorists in order to promote cosmopolitan hermeneutics of self and other (Godrej, 2009b, 2015). First-hand, lived experience of the reality under examination complements acquired, scholarly notions, hence aiding in familiarising the estranged and estranging the familiar (Euben, 1999).

In focusing on humans, human actions, and human phenomena, methodological choices devise ethical guidelines for how to approach research-subjects in consideration of the inherent dignity of every human being. Research in the social sciences should observe the basic ethical norms of respect, benefit, and justice, with special emphasis on issues of consent, privacy, transparency, and the physical-psychological well-being of the participants (Creswell, 2007; Punch, 1998). Individuals were recruited on a voluntary basis. While no payment was offered, they received a symbolic token to thank them for their participation (snacks or drinks).

Informed consent, including agreement to recording the interview, was obtained prior to collecting any data. My openness regarding the topics of the interviews presented a more complicated ethical issue to be dealt with. Whereas discussing indigenous power and tradition could in some cases raise concerns over the involvement of a female foreigner in the local public sphere, talking about spirit-children is even more problematic. The phenomenon of the *criança-irân* carries many superstitions; it is not spoken about or is simply taboo.

Relying on the contextualised-consequentialist ethical position<sup>103</sup> (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 24), the topic was carefully introduced in the interviews, using paraphrasing to refer to the spirit-children. Mindful of participant well-being, no further questions were asked when the participant showed any discomfort around the topic. The selected ethical model emphasises respectful and trusting relations with informants; it heightens general common sense and calls for pragmatic solutions. Help from locals in contacting participants and organising interviews helped build a base of trust for the research. The ethical stance adopted conforms to the perspective of analysis, EMIC, aiming to understand the phenomenon from the involved subjects' perspective (C. D. Moreira, 1994).

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<sup>103</sup> Denzin and Lincoln (2000) identify five ethics models for field research, distinguished by the type of relationship intended. These include the absolutist stance, the deception model, the relativist stance, the feminist model, and the contextualised-consequentialist ethical position.

#### 4.1.1 Notes from fieldwork

Fieldwork activities were conducted in the central regions of SAB (Sector Autónomo de Bissau), Biombo, Cacheu, Tombali, and Quinara.

Figure 1: Guinea-Bissau map with highlighted fieldwork areas



Source: <https://www.24point0.com/ppt-shop/guinea-bissau-map-editable-ppt/>

Along with spatial and temporal parameters adopted to design the study, organising fieldwork depended on other decisive factors. The selection of research sites was driven by needs related to the realisation of research (contact with local informants, accommodation and transport means, e.g.) as well as by a consideration of the ethnic and religious predominance among the people inhabiting the region. As mentioned, given the relatively small population of Guinea-Bissau (less than two million people), ethnic diversity is high, and there are more than twenty ethnicities in the country. Among these, coexistence is generally peaceful and mixing very common. Likewise, religious affiliation is not grounds for discrimination. The main religions in the country are Christianity (Catholicism, Protestantism, and Evangelism), Islam (Sunni), and local animism. However, religious affiliation is merely indicative, as individuals at large acknowledge, or at times share, beliefs of another religions, thus engendering a panoply

of synchronism. Religious affiliation is an individual matter, yet there exist some recurrent patterns characterising the main orientation of an ethnical group. For example, as the Fula are predominantly Muslim, the Balanta and the Bijagós adhere more to animism, as many Pepel are Christian or Christianised.

Religious affiliation constituted one of the elements considered when defining the sample of the research. In the groups where religious syncretism is higher, or where animism prevails, it is easier to talk about sensitive topics involving endogenous metaphysics, beliefs, and tradition. Per contra, Muslim groups tend to eschew talks about *irân* and other elements of endogenous cosmology. On the other hand, along with religiosity, I considered the “openness” of a particular culture to engage in talks with a female foreigner. Therefore, ethnical groups like the Felupe (whose traditions do not provide for women’s presence in the public sphere) were out ruled in favour of others, such as Pepel, Balanta, Nalu, and Bijagós, with whom it would be easier to interact. Similarly, individual interviews and focus groups had a different impact according to the subjects with whom I interacted.

The parameters of ethnicity and religiosity helped to design the spatial map of where to conduct fieldwork. The areas were selected according to the ethnic and religious belonging prevalent among the population, hence framing a human rather than geographical map. Still, the intensity of migratory fluxes, along with urbanisation, blurred the links binding an ethnic group to a specific space. The population intertwining also made it possible to conduct interviews and focus groups that went beyond the determined parameters, enhancing the reliability of the study and the comprehensiveness of the data gathered.

The specificities characterising the ethnic groups composing the Bissau-Guinean nation impact also impact traditional sociopolitical structures. These might be hierarchical (as is the case of the Fula), horizontal, with no *regulo* (chief) or *regulado* (political territory, according to tradition), as among the Balanta, or built upon a highly structured order, as is the case of the Pepel. Such historical, cultural, and social divergences depart from principles of power, thereby reflected in the sociopolitical order. The emphasis on principles underpinning power and power relations steered by the ethnic diversity of the sample helped to reveal commonalities at the ontological level. This helped to develop an essentialist understanding of the political in indigenous thought, transcending the specificities of contemporary ethnic, political configuration.

Research was divided into separate fieldwork trips. My first research experience in Guinea-Bissau dates back to 2016, when I spent three months in the village of Quinhamel (Biombo region). These interviews and observations were intended mostly to gather data for a

Masters' thesis. Nevertheless, those months are highly important to my understanding of local, indigenous powers, along with their systems of thought. With awareness of the rigor and discipline necessary to good research, and of the steps entailed by scientific method, these data were considered among the those analysed during the present, doctoral research. The experience in the field were essential to gain a basic, first-hand knowledge of the phenomenon of *criança-irân*, and the research aims of that period are partially coincident with the aims of this thesis.

Fieldwork conducted in 2016 focused primarily on the *criança-irân* ritual infanticide practice and its underpinning beliefs. The research was limited to a geographical area, the village of Quinhamel and surroundings, mainly inhabited by Pepel people. The following visit (in 2019) covered a broader geographical area, from the north to the south of the country. In 2019's fieldwork, the driving question of the research was indigenous power, its foundational principles and configurations, along with its attitude toward the *criança-irân* phenomenon. The last segment of research was conducted mainly in Bissau, interviewing subjects directly involved with state power and state institutions relating to indigenous power and the ritual infanticide practice. The data gathered were neither sufficient nor satisfactory enough, as many subjects in the devised sample could not be contacted due to upcoming legislative election, held in early March 2019.

A final trip to Bissau was planned for the spring of 2020. However, it was cancelled following the World Health Organisation's declaration of the COVID-19 global pandemic. The prolonged uncertainties over the unfolding of this health crisis, the travel restrictions imposed by many countries, along with moral concerns over risks of infections and transmission of the virus influenced the decision to conclude the last phase of fieldwork through online platforms. Meetings for interviews were scheduled using email and instant message services (e.g., WhatsApp) and were then held online during November and December 2020 via Zoom, Skype, or WhatsApp.

The diversity of my fieldwork as described above shows the need for flexibility in the research design. The techniques employed for data gathering had to adapt to differing circumstances, as well as to the parameters and objectives of the research design. A triangulation of research techniques, along with different sample groups, was indeed essential to the realisation of fruitful fieldwork and data-gathering. The methodological differentiation with regard to data-gathering increases the reliability of the data, on the one hand, because it permits the researcher to broaden the corpus of available data. On the other hand, it enables the researcher to examine

a phenomenon through different perspectives, each of which require different techniques to collect the data.

#### 4.1.2 Samples

The selection of the sampling models is drawn from criteria including socio-political role, ethnicity, and religious affiliation in the said ethnic group. The selection of informants considered primarily their position in the social organisation, ranging from elders (*garandi*), indigenous authorities (*regulo, chefe de tabanca*), religious specialists (*djambakos, balobeiro, curandeiro*), academics, state officials (from the Council of Ministries and from the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Power), and human and children's rights NGOs or civil society representatives. These parameters would not lead to the exclusion of an interviewee from a non-selected ethnic group or of a non-animist religious orientation. While ethnic and religious criteria were primarily used to select informants, the presence and coexistence of different groups in one area led to an increase in adaptability and flexibility in the selection of participants.

The groups initially taken into consideration while developing this research were Pepel, Balanta, and Bijagós, representative of approximately 40% of the overall population. Moreover, field conditions improved the ethnic heterogeneity of the samples, as the interviewees included Pepel, Balanta, Bijagós, Manjaco, Nalú, Fula, and Mandinga informants.

Data-gathering was conducted in both urban and rural settings, according preference to informants from the indigenous power in the second case, and to exponents of state power in the former. The selection of the two settings promotes complementarity between the two spheres, with the aim of identifying configurations of and interrelations between traditional power and state power.

The sampling models employed are non-probabilistic, such that they may be considered complete when the sources collected permit an overall view of the phenomenon, while the sources are undoubtedly trustful and reliable (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 375). The samples were defined according to the key-informant snow-ball sampling model and the judgement sampling model (Marshall, 1996; C. D. Moreira, 1994). While the latter was chosen primarily due to a selection made previously by the researcher, based on the notion that informants should meet the defined parameters, the former is more closely dependent on research conditions, and allowed informants to suggest other relevant interviewees to the researcher, creating a chain-reaction. Gender did not constitute a discriminant parameter in the definition of the sample;

however, most of the interviewees are males, since political offices in indigenous power are usually filled by men.

The figure below reports the samples included in the study, one-hundred and nine individuals overall, categorised according to sociopolitical role and/or profession.

Figure 2: synthesis and categorisation of interviewees

<b>Samples</b>									
	Baakuran (Farim)								
	Omi Manhã (Cacheu)	Djon and Carlos Adriano (Farim)				Djamila (Casa Bambaran, Bissau)			
	Gil (Cacheu)					Fatumata Baldé (Lisbon)			
António (Quinhamel)	Mamadou Camará (Buba)	Tio Nemésio, garandi (Plack - Quinhamel)		Abubacar Mané (Bissau)	Fodé Mané (online)		Family 1: *** rua da Praia family (Quinhamel)	37 women:	
Nemésio Santim Ié (Quinhamel)	Pedro (Buba)		<i>Djumbai</i> in Jemberem (16 people)	Rui Jorge da Fonseca (online)	João Paulo Pinto Có (online)	Rui Jorge da Fonseca (online)		33 Pepel; 4 Balanta women	Anonymous
	Tia fei , garandi (Cacheu)	Pos Miguel Cá (Quinhamel)		Olívio Pereira (online)		Vladimir Sano (online)	Family 2: *** (Ilondé)	Age: 19 to 43* (one elder lady stated she did not know her age)	7 boys between 16 and 30 years old; five Pepel, 2 Balanta
Pedro da Silvia (Quinhamel)	*** djambakos balanta (Buba)		<i>Djumbai</i> in Catió (12 people, 6 males 6 females)	Alsana Negado (online)	Mamadou Jao (online)	Ana Muscuta Turé (online)	Family 3: Fernando, Escola João XXIII		
Mariama Cassamá (Farim)	*** curandeiro Fula (Jemberem)	Fodé Dedé Andrade (Cacheu)				Mária Vitória Correia (online)			
	*** curandeira (Jemberem)	Djamba (Farim)							
	Aresse (Bijimita)								
	*** balobeiro, Pepel (Bijimita)								
<i>Omi garandi</i>	<i>Curandeiros</i> <i>Djambakos</i> <i>Balobeiros</i>	<i>Régulos</i>	<i>Rregulo, garandi, balobeiro, djambakos, curandeiro</i>	State officials	Academics	NGOs and Civil Society representatives	<i>Testimonio</i> Families (Biombo)	Pregnant women and puerperal mothers (Biombo)	Parlamento Nacional Infantil (PNI) (Quinhamel)

Source: .draft by the author

The fieldwork conducted in 2016 supplement these samples with two other sample groups, (a) pregnant and puerperal women<sup>104</sup> and (b) families of *criança-irân*.<sup>105</sup> These two samples are considered, in light of the aims of this dissertation, complementary to the ones framed above. The data offered by these informants focus primarily on the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* and the ritual infanticide practice, although limited to the area of Quinhamel. However, combined with the broader study conducted by FEC (Gonçalves, 2015), these samples offer a clearer understanding of the beliefs underpinning the practice on the national level.

Lastly, it was not possible to collect any data from the *Ministério da Mulher, Família e Solidariedade Social* (Ministry for Women, Family and Social Solidarity, as it is currently called) due to technical constraints and lack of reliable contacts. Still, the ministerial source is not regarded as primary because it does not constitute a preferential source of information. In light of the high governmental instability and rapid turnover in institutional personnel, the officials working at the ministry are not necessarily the people most acquainted with the issues under consideration.

#### 4.1.3 Triangulation and techniques for data gathering

As mentioned, methodological triangulation was essential to a successful realisation of data-gathering for this dissertation. Denzin and Lincoln emphasise the advantages of multi-focus research design, ergo the analysis of the same process as it occurs among different subjects (2000, p. 369). Similarly, the triangulation of methodological techniques is beneficial to fieldwork-based studies, since it is likely to make research more objective, valid, and trustworthy, because retaining differentiated data sources and analysis techniques will lead to a fine-tuned theoretical elaboration (Creswell, 2007, p. 210).

The methodological model for this research had to adapt throughout the stages of fieldwork; as such, there are some evident differences between the fieldwork conducted in 2016 and

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<sup>104</sup> 37 women were interviewed using semi-structured interviews, aged between 19 and 43 years old, including one woman who stated she did not know her age. With regard to ethnic roots, one is Bijagó, five Balanta, and the rest are Pepel. The interviews were conducted in the hospital at Quinhamel, managed by Catholic nuns, and the interviewees were pregnant and puerperal women attending a gynaecological appointment. The sample was selected due to the subjects' proximity to babies and infants.

<sup>105</sup> The inquiry into these families, in which an alleged *criança-irân* is or was extant, represents a critical-case judgment sample model, which includes those subjects who have gone through a specific experience (Marshall, 1996, p. 524). Information was collected using unstructured interviews, informal conversation, and *testimonio* techniques. Unlike autobiographies, where subjects refer to their own experience and focus on themselves, in *testimonio* technique a single person speaks on behalf of the larger whole: one single voice who stands in for the others (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 557).



the research undertaken in 2019 and 2020. Although the first experience in the field relates primarily to data collected for the Masters' thesis, much of such data is relevant to the aims of this dissertation as well.

Methodological techniques applied differ insofar as, in 2016, research was conducted in one geographical region, which enabled the researcher to develop a network of informants based on snow-ball criteria through direct involvement in local livelihood. Therefore, participant observation proved the most apt methodological option for data-gathering. Through “low-tech” methods, in spite of methodological sophistication, the use of participant observation revisits the idea of research, of the identity of the researcher, and of the nature of social life. Prescribing a varied range of involvement levels, participant observation compels the researcher to observe the phenomenon while interacting with members of the socio-political reality examined.

Nevertheless, the secrecy and sacredness of the ritual infanticide inhibit the possibility of witnessing the practice first-hand. The participant observation employed is hence intended as an active interaction with occurrences and partakers of socio-political life. Acting as an active member to become an insider of the community,<sup>106</sup> rather than an objective outsider-investigator (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), the researcher acquires their own multifaceted perspective on the studied phenomenon. In order to collect reliable sources, the selected methodological options are semi-structured interviews and informal conversation (Marshall, 1996, p. 523) that complement the participant observation.

Instead, more recent fieldwork required a spatial broadening of the phenomenon under examination. Thereby, observation could hardly profit from the benefit of an insider's point of view, as it would hardly be feasible to employ such techniques throughout all the areas of interest. Non-participant observation thus proved a more suitable methodological choice to cover several regions and interview subjects from different backgrounds (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This technique prescribes that the researcher act as an outsider, gaining objectivity and broadness of perspective with regard to the examined phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Local contacts were essential to make contact with the first informants, and therefore to consolidate the snow-ball sample. Furthermore, local contacts were an essential aid in translation during the semi-structured interviews and focus group conducted in the regions of Cacheu,

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<sup>106</sup> During the three-month stay, I offered to give English and Portuguese language classes to youngsters at the Catholic Mission, in whose residence I was hosted. Being given an active role within the community provided a deeper level of involvement, beyond my identity as a foreigner or researcher.

Biombo, SAB, Tombali, and Quinara. Although prior to fieldwork I acquired a basic knowledge of the local *Kriol*, which enabled me to understand my informants, that was not always sufficient to pose my questions in a clear manner. Some of the subjects interviewed were not fluent in *Kriol* or preferred to speak in their ethnic language instead. Especially in these cases, the trust and reliance of my local informants and translators were essential to the realisation of a reliable and unbiased work that would not get “lost in translation.”

The methodological techniques used, along with non-participant observation, were semi-structured interview, informal conversation and focus group (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a, 2000). Informal conversations proved particularly efficient to retain information from subjects not included in the selected samples, hence broadening the spectrum of the analysis. Interactions meaningful to the ends of this research happened often with my local contacts, as well as local informants with whom I interacted on a daily basis and became acquainted.

During the month-long fieldwork in 2019, I was able to organise two focus groups, one in Jemberem (Tombali region) and one in Catió (region of Quinara). The meetings took on aspects similar to local *djumbai*, an open gathering to discuss matters of the community. Participants of the two *djumbai* were mainly subjects from the *omi garandi* sample, along with *curandeiros*; they were contacted by locally influential people (*garandi*, chief of the natural reserve). Although finding time and space for all the participants to contribute to the discussion posed some difficulties, the focus group was a fruitful experience because the participants were allowed the opportunity to discuss their opinions with one another and felt less pressured and inhibited in their response. Particularly sensitive topics, such as the *criança-irân* practice, could be approached with more ease during these *djumbai*.

Semi-structured interviews constitute, beyond doubt, the keystone of data-gathering. Semi-structured interviews were preferred over questionnaires and structured interviews for the flexibility and possibility to adapt the interview to the subject, to produce reliable and fruitful results from each informant (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a). Hence the interview’s guidelines<sup>107</sup> refer to the questions asked to the subjects, whereas not all the questions were posed in all interviews. Moreover, the informants were not equally willing to discuss different topics; while subjects were generally comfortable talking about indigenous political power, only some felt comfortable talking about the ritual infanticide and the underpinning beliefs.

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<sup>107</sup> Interviews and focus-groups, as well as questionnaires, submitted to the interviewees are reported as annexes to the dissertation.

Guidelines for the interviews were drafted on the basis of the subject. I defined five main topics:

1. belief and characteristics of *criança-irân*;
2. indigenous notion of humanness;
3. principles of indigenous political power;
4. approach of political authorities (state and indigenous ones) on the *criança-irân* practice;
5. relations between state and indigenous powers, and modernisation of the state.

With regard to the first, during the interviews I discussed with the informants the existence of these babies and the belief as well as perceptions of the baby and reasons for performing the ritual. This set of questions is largely coincident with that used during fieldwork in Quinhamel in 2016. The main goal is to frame the practice within a system of belief to make sense of the ontology of these babies who are considered non-human. Therefore, this matter is tightly linked to the second, the indigenous notion of humanness. Rather than focusing on ontological characters of the human person, through these questions I intended to identify the connection between humanness and the political. In order to do so, the research pinpointed theoretical elements such as power relations and the relation among individuals (*ego* and *alter*) and between individuals and the community. The case of the *criança-irân* previously discerned provided a solid basis of exceptionality that shed light on the boundaries of these relationships. The use of the exceptional case of the spirit-child was particularly fruitful, even though discussion of these topics resulted at times in difficulty due to language barriers in talking about such a theoretical topic.

Topics were given different relevance according to the sample under examination. Indigenous authorities and *omi garandi* were preferred to discuss the underpinning principles of political power in the *tabanca*. The interviews focused on principles of power, underpinning customary norms, functioning of institutions, duties of political roles, the rights of the authorities, along with their legitimation, and the connection of political power to local cosmology or other religions. Also, the interviews touched on practices and procedures of indigenous politics. Finally, the last segment was presented to academics, members of NGOs, civil society representatives, and officeholders in state institutions, with particular regard for government personnel. These questions were developed primarily to investigate the intersection of principles and power relations in the state. They were subsequently intended, through the discernment of the approach of the state to the spirit-children phenomenon, and its relations with indigenous authorities within state institutions, offices, and principles, to frame the pluralistic political realm.

Moreover, they aimed to discern the *locus* and the Africanisation of power in Guinea-Bissau, the latter being a bidirectional process in which indigenous and state principles of political power influence one another. The case of *criança-irân* represents one of many possible means of revealing this interaction.

The last set of questions was mostly employed during interviews conducted in 2020. As previously mentioned, these were conducted online because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Conducting interviews online poses constraints that a researcher would not otherwise face when being in the field. The difficulties can be divided into two categories: technical impediments and ethical considerations, both impacting the empathetic approach pinpointed in the contextualised-consequentialist ethical model. Access to a stable internet connection (because of poor service or for economic reasons) or technology (computers, mobile phones) might prevent many from effectively being able to take part in an online interview. One interview, for instance, was conducted as a phone call to avoid the disruptions of using an internet-related line. For other interviews, a contact-person in the field facilitated by offering the use of own mobile phone.

The second order of problems touches more delicate issues. Firstly, the economic, social, and political situation caused by the pandemic, repeated lockdowns and social isolation, along with generally heightened health concerns, demand that the researcher consider and evaluate the weight of an interview, which involves several sensitive topics, might have on the psychological well-being of the interviewee (A. Jowett, 2020). All questions were posed with extra caution or (re)phrased in order to respond to the interviewee's sensibility. Secondly, conducting interviews via technological means, whether by phone, email, or the internet, creates a distance between the interviewer and the interviewee, who remain rooted in distinct spatial and cultural environments simultaneously while talking. Not being able to share a physical space inhibits the sharing of many aspects of communication, such as the elements of non-verbal communication, especially true when in situations without visual contact (Burke & Miller, 2001; Maddox, n.d.). Considering these limitations, the semi-structured interviews were designed paying attention to word choice and I further tried to engage the interviewee in small talk before the interview, to create, as much as possible, some empathy and get to know the subject.

#### 4.2 Analytical model to study political power in Guinea-Bissau

The present analytical model is the manifestation of the underlying theoretical framework of a study. The model's design was triggered by the intellectual urgency compelling us to review scholarship and formulate conceptual frameworks comprehensive of the reality under analysis. In consideration of the lack of universal applicability of mainstream *gnosis* engineering developed by western academia, I question the talent of political theory for creating generalisations that pre-empt the need to verify local understanding of a concept (Hyden, 2013)

The suitability of a western-tailored, state-centred model as an exhaustive and universal frame to the analysis of the political is questionable. These categories are well-suited to understanding the foundations of the formal, state system existing in Guinea-Bissau—its practices and institutions. It is crucial, however, that we recognise the insufficiency of western epistemology to the ends of the present analysis. Western political theory suffers from departing premises that are unerringly connected to a cultural and historical background. The theoretical framework of western science is not incongruous because of a failure of veracity, rightness, or methods, but due to its lack of comprehensiveness, as it is the crystallisation of an established philosophical paradigm, bound by epistemological exclusions and elusions.

In Patrick Chabal's revealing inversion, political scientists interested in the sub-Saharan region should not look closely at politics in Africa, but should widen their gaze to African politics to conceive of political theory through renewed reading lenses (Chabal, 1986). The study of the political in Africa exceeds the liminal margins of the discipline since it questions dominant theories, methods, and assumptions. Pushing research into yet-uncharted theoretical territories, it shows its ability to enrich the canon with fresh insight.

Still, the task of studying politics in Africa does not come without challenges. According to Goran Hyden, there are four main challenges: the need to problematise the premises of theoretical models; the reliance on multiple methods of data collection (pinpointing the relevance of mixed methods against purely qualitative or quantitative ones); the renewed question of *how* to study political power; and the affirmation of the value of political sociology (Hyden, 2013, pp. 244–248).

Against these limitations, disciplinary triangulation with comparative and African political theory is a valuable ally in the task of studying the political in the sub-Saharan region through an all-embracing perspective. As previously discussed (§2.1.2), concepts and theories from these disciplines were put in play to devise a conceptual framework apt to the analysis of the selected context, considering the political as a relational phenomenon embracing intersubjective relations.

Guided by the interpretivist epistemological paradigm, the analytical model developed for this study aims to analytically structure the conceptual framework adopted. Nuanced differences distinguish a conceptual from a theoretical framework. The conceptual framework is composed of articulated concepts that intertwine, complement, and support one another (Dickson, Adu-Agyem, & Emad Kamil, 2018; Jabareen, 2009). The theoretical framework is instead composed of theory or theories established in literature and already applied and validated by scholars. These theories underpinning the research inscribe themselves clearly within a certain discipline or a scholarly tradition, while also defining how the research should be conducted, broadly speaking, on matters of epistemology, ontology and methodology (Dickson et al., 2018). On the one hand, the theoretical framework gives strength to the study and makes it easily intelligible to the reader. On the other hand, the conceptual framework improves on aspects such as capacity for modification, flexibility, and understanding of the phenomenon under examination (Jabareen, 2009).

By and large, the interpretive aim of a conceptual framework, pre-empting the prediction of outcomes or satisfactory explanatory causes, fits the epistemological goals of interpretivism: to unravel the *what* and *how* to produce outcomes as *understanding*. That is, the rationale of the conceptual framework goes hand in hand with interpretivism, insofar as the aim is to provide a comprehensive and flexible frame to guide the analysis.

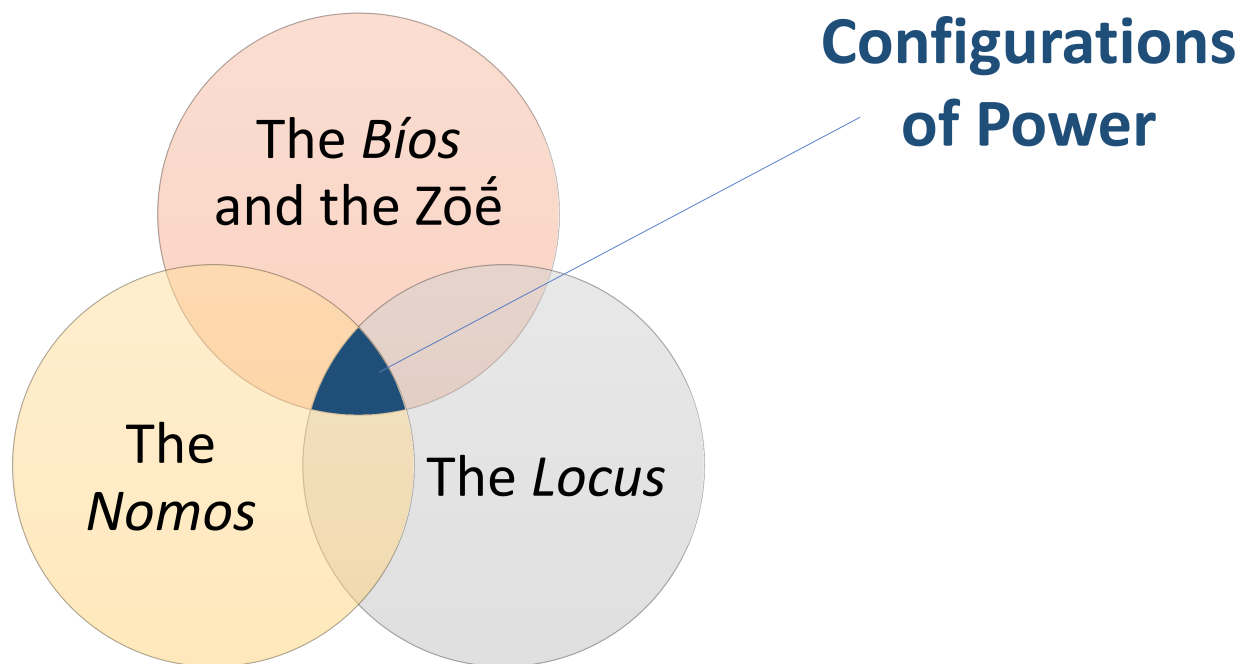
As the conceptual framework is an *ad hoc* frame based on method and the autonomous choice of the conceptual apparatus, it may lack in validation and robustness. To address these weaknesses, the connection among the concepts to be used ought to be evident and coherent. In this sense, the analytical model provides the deontological structure to sustain and support the applicability of the concepts. The analytical model fulfils the instrumental purpose of joining theoretical stances to the reality under examination while guiding data gathering and analysis (Dickson et al., 2018; Jabareen, 2009).

Regardless of the method applied in the research (inductive, deductive, inductive-deductive, abductive), the analytical model gives formality to unbounded concepts, which might come to constitute a theoretical unity, thus a theory. Due to its flexibility and innovative insight, this model can produce otherwise undisclosed outcomes in the understanding of a phenomenon. Further, a newly proposed analytical model can be applied to the study of similar phenomena in different scenarios or contexts. Finally, as a well-built analytical model creates strong ties between concepts, it allows the researcher to advance confidently in their analysis as the guidance provided relies on solid grounds validated by epistemology and ontology.

The analytical model designed for this doctoral research not only interrelates concepts but also poses them in a sequential, rather than hierarchical, order. Taking up the privileging of humanness over political theorisations, the relevance of the conceptualisation of political life (*bíos politicon*) is significant. To unravel the boundaries of the political plurality is a preliminary stance necessary to unfolding the foundational categories of political power to the discern the *nomos* and *locus* of power. Bridging theoretical stances on indigenous powers developed from fieldwork data, alongside theorisations deduced from scholarship, enables the researcher to travel along proximities and discrepancies among powers and provides the reading lenses to understand the plural political configuration.

The image below illustrates the analytical model devised for the study, in which the three sequential category-concepts intertwine and intersect.

Figure 3: Graphic representation of the analytical model



Source: draft by the author

The articulated conceptual framework intends to apply and revisit cherished, grounding categories of the political. Therefore, the use of categories of western thought (*zōé* and *bíos*, *nomos*, *locus*) pre-empts any universalistic claim or approach, to engage with a Derridian deconstruction of the concept. Disarticulation and revisitation of their inner meanings voids the

category-concepts of inherent cultural and philosophical bonds, reducing them to “empty” forms—reading lenses purposeful to the understanding of polysemic political configurations.

The selection of the three concepts relies on the universality of the political, and on their flexibility in revealing boundaries of the political in indigenous Guinea-Bissau’s configurations. The three categories correspond to the universal trait of the political, given that the unavoidable distinction between mere, animal, or non-human life and a political life (*bios politicon*) constitutes the *per quam* of any political plurality. The latter demands forms of spatial and human organisation, therefore a *nomos*. Lastly, an overarching rationale sustains the organised plurality, always defining a fulcrum (the *locus*) of political power.

Inasmuch as philosophical concepts possess cross-cultural applicability, the question of language remains problematic, as “an inference based on the characteristic of a non-African language is being regarded as having serious implications for African thought” (Gyekye & Wiredu, 1992, p. 107). In order to avoid the “[fundamental] difficulty in seeking to understand an alien culture using paradigms of our own [culture]” (Sogolo, 1993), there rises the need to decolonise thought and language (Bell, 2002; Wiredu, 1996) in theoretical formulations. These claims have no pretences to fostering parochial essentialism, cultural relativism, or the uniqueness of an African mode of knowing. Rather, they call into question a linguistic representation of fundamental categories of *gnosis*.

On the other hand, language is not only representative and descriptive but also has a communicative function. To fulfil both tasks, a language should accommodate different conceptual, epistemological, and interpretative elements. Concepts conveyed only in indigenous languages would have limited reach, just as they would have if transposed *in toto* to a European language. To avoid this trap, we need a conceptual transformation of European languages to accommodate multi-cultural nuances (Uduagwu, 2017 in Agada & Egbai, 2018). To this end, the category-concepts employed in this dissertation are complemented by indigenous, untranslated concepts on the political, as the latter give the former inner significance and inform endogenous understanding of the political phenomenon. That is, the epistemology of the concepts herein applied relies not on the concept *per se*, as it is justified by the conceptualisation framed in the analytical model adopted.

The analytical model proved particularly fruitful for understanding of the political configurations composing the pluralistic realm of Guinea-Bissau politics. The analysis considers formal politics of the state and the informal reality constituted by indigenous political power. While inner discrepancies between the two rest on the category-concepts underlying the



boundaries of *bíos* and *zōé*, the dimension of *nomos* and *locus* disclose the underlying continuity intermingling the plurality of existing political powers.

Overt reality may reveal uncanny realities, and examination can fall into misleading or limited judgements. Therefore, I propose the use of Popper's law of falsification to discern the phenomenon: an exception epitomising the rules the phenomenon obeys, and therefore an analytical instrument fit to verify and confirm the phenomenon. The political theory analysis undertaken here benefits from the endurance of a ritual practice linked to indigenous animist traditions—the belief in and infanticide of the *criança-irân*. The phenomenon of the spirit-children intersects with the three category-concepts. Its overarching position epitomises the broadness of the analytical lens applied to the principles under examination.

The articulated analytical model is potentially applicable to other contexts and phenomena: in agreement with the rationale and the logic underlying the conceptual framework previously articulated, several phenomena, whether political, cultural, religious, ethnic, or of another sort, would fit the analytical model. The phenomenon of the *criança-irân* complement the analysis with local-specific conceptions. The practice is deemed a highly significant element, self-evidently confirming discrepancies in the concepts of humanness, rights-holder, and political plurality, insofar as indigenous politics excludes these children from the realm of *bíos*.

#### 4.2.1 The *Bíos* and the *Zōé*

The departing premise of this thesis is a universalist assumption—the omnipresence of the political in human communities and the existence of boundaries to such a phenomenon, since human life always demands some form of political organisation (Arendt, 1958). Being a relational process, the political represents the human mode of life (Arendt, 1958), occurring in all organised human groups. As such, the political realm is the sphere of the human condition, a necessary part of the humanised existence, differentiated from the bare *zōé* (Agamben, 1995). In this sense, the political involves a plurality and not necessarily a society united by contract. In other words, the political foregoes politics: as the former constitutes the human condition, the latter is the specific and arbitrary reification of power in territorialised *nomoi* and institutionalised *loci*.

As philosophers and social scientists of different epochs and spatial-cultural origins have acknowledged, sociability is a feature of human nature. Nonetheless, the tendency to group in community (hence the propensity for socially articulated forms of life) is not peculiar to humans; animals also gather in flocks, packs, and herds. The peculiarity of the *societas generis humanis* (Arendt, 1958) is its capability to create political community. The inner *politicality* of the humankind so far has not been thought of as separate from humans' social nature, despite the one not necessarily entailing one other. Still, organised forms of life in the human plurality tend to the political and not to mere social forms of organisation.

Nevertheless, the bridging of the universal and the particular aspects of power is what brings the political into existence. Similar to the existent bringing the existing into being (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987), the founding of a political system, of a form of politics, translates human condition into materiality—a concrete occurrence. Hence, political configurations are unavoidably dependent on historical trajectories and cultural contingencies, on philosophical doctrines and *gnosis* (Mudimbe, 1988). Therefore, the study of political configurations ought to involve particularism, and to take into consideration context-dependent variables.

In light of these assumptions, I intend to discern foundations of political power underpinning indigenous political power in Guinea-Bissau, starting with the formulations of *zōē*, *bios*, and liminality to distinguish between bare life and the *politicon* as basic boundaries of political existence (Agamben, 1995; Arendt, 1958; Chemhuru, 2017; Hallen, 2015; Ikuenobe, 2017a).

By and large, western theorisations stand upon an *egological* conception (Bongmba, 2001) of the human being, meaning that the capability for reason has utter importance. It also registers the basis for the mutual recognition of *ego* and *alter* as an antagonistic encounter: *ego* recognises the other as eminently not-oneself, and the recognition of alterity reflects *ego*'s self-awareness, autonomy, and limitations (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; [1974] 1991; Ricoeur, 1992).

In a western political theory tradition, the bedrock for the political is this individualistic opposition of *ego* to *alter*. Boundaries of the political are thus defined by an ego-centred and rationalistic *Freund* against *Feind* opposition (Freund, 1965; Schmitt, [1932] 2009). The recognition of *ego* and *alter* granted upon the use of reason and Cartesian logic pinpoints the agency of the individual *quam* individual, in possession of autonomy, freedom, and reason. The differentiation from *alter* then represents the *conditio sine qua non* of the political in western theorisations: mirrored in the plurality, the opposition *ego-alter* engenders a binomial antagonism of association and dissociation, friend and enemy, *Freund* and *Feind* (Freund, 1965; Schmitt,

[1932] 2009). In its material configurations, politics tames brutality and the inherent urge for aggression inherent in *ego*'s unbridgeable differentiation, designing *nomoi* aimed at the maintenance of peace (Mbembe, 2003; Schmitt, [1950] 2006).

As far as western thought is concerned, there seems to be no possibility of eluding the immunological paradigm, notwithstanding the epistemological nuances brought by post-modernity (Han, [2010] 2012, 2014).<sup>108</sup> The present analysis seeks distance from western canons while it dismisses individualistic premises to take into consideration organicist societal features, typical of pre-colonial and contemporary Africa's cultures and politics.

The cherished Ubuntu expression,<sup>109</sup> "I am because you are, and since I am, you are" (Mbiti, [1969] 1990), entails a form of being not in opposition to, but *through* the other, making *ego* dependent on *alter* for its own essence and in its own existing. As previously mentioned (§2.3), African *Weltanschauung* conceives of the community, of human plural existence, as overarching in *bíos* and *zōē* spheres of life.

To express the relational condition of *ego*, Elias Kifon Bongmba recalls Emmanuel Levinas's intersubjectivity: human life, he argues, is not an individual matter, but involves all the community; occurrences are not individual but collective (Bongmba, 2001). Intersubjectivity comprises any sphere of existence, from material institutions like marriage to metaphysical events like witchcraft. Therefore, these patterns ordaining the relationships between the individuals are mirrored in the political configuration. Even while valuable for its philosophical account of intersubjective relationships in an African scenario, the analysis of the Camerooniano-American scholar does not engage with a deeper analysis of the political sphere.

In this sense, the present study aims to unfold how life is bonded to the political in indigenous Bissau-Guinean conceptions, through the exception of *criança-irân* as a liminal element revealing the distinction between *bíos* and *zōē*. That is, in any kind of institutionalised form of political life, *id est* political configuration, there exist *homines sacri*, whose life is sacrificable yet not killable (Agamben, 1995, p. 154). Scholars of different disciplinary backgrounds have long debated the implications of the *homo sacer* concept to contemporary political

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<sup>108</sup> The Korean-born Byung Chul-Han, currently living and working in Germany, postulates that the paradigm of post-modernity shifted the focus of the immunological opposition from an external to an internal element, thus conceived to be within the individuals themselves. The relocation poses the basis to the emergence of the "burnout society" constitutive of the current socio-political order in western states (Han, [2010] 2012, 2014).

<sup>109</sup> Placide Tempels's "Bantu Philosophy" (1959), along with John Mbiti's masterpiece "African Religions and Philosophy" (1990), although broadly criticised by scholars (Nganang, 2007; Rettová, 2016), are still a great source of inspiration for those trends of philosophy, including South African scholarship and the Nigerian Calabar School of Philosophy, that rely upon tenets of Ubuntu. The latter refers to an understanding of the world common to peoples in the southern regions of the African continent.

sovereignty, with special emphasis on the condition experienced by migrants and refugees (Agamben, 2008; Arendt, 1943; Deuber-Mankowsky, Diehl, & Coles, 2015; Hagmann & Korf, 2012; Minca, 2006; Prozorov, 2014).

In the conceptual framework I propose to revisit the concepts of *homo sacer* and liminality; first and foremost, I seek to apply the categories of *bíos* and *zōē* to a non-individualistic societal scenario. The concepts of *ego* and *alter* recognition, and intersubjectivity, will be the conceptual means to elucidate such a reality.

#### 4.2.2 The *Nomos*

Inasmuch as the political is a universal phenomenon, concerned with the relation between the *bíos* and the *zōē*, the political and human life, politics necessarily entails political configurations, thus crystallised reification of power. Such a form of organisation falls under the dominion of the political *nomos*. The term derives from the Greek *nemein* and indicates the immediate form in which the political and social order of a people becomes spatially visible (Schmitt, [1950] 2006). Whereas current usage of the word attaches its meaning more closely to law, and legal acts and technicalities, the etymology of the word relates to land appropriation (*nehmen*), division and distribution (*teilen*), and pasturage (*weiden*) (Schmitt, [1950] 2006, pp. 326–327).

The *nomos* is implicit to political power due to its defining role in shaping legal and social orders. As such, the *nomos* penetrates any form of political system and organisation, interacting with and defining them. It is in this sense that the *Ius Publicum Europaeum* sacralised the configuration of the Westphalian state as the international, sovereign subject, equal before other states, whilst positioning other political *nomoi* in a pre- or apolitical liminality (Mbembe, 2003). Hence, the power of *nomomachy* is tightly linked to acts and measures legal within the strict confines of the state (Schmitt, [1950] 2006), thereby strengthening the epistemological validity and the primacy of the democratic state as *the* political model.

The state and its related forms of government, from democracy to authoritarianism, are, in the final analysis, the outcome of western theorisation—the fruit of a specific historical and cultural development. Being the crystallisation of one epoch’s values and specific *gnosis*, concepts are not absolute but changeable (Schmitt, [1922] 1985). Western theorisations rest on the

bedrock of modernity and post-modernity; that is, on the assumption of individual reason enabling the self. The strength of the *ego cogito* is sufficient to ground a political project where political power and sovereignty are dependent on reason expressed through the exercise of freedom (Mbembe, 2003, p. 13). The self-awareness of the rational individual suffices for one's autonomy and freedom, enabling capabilities for self-institution and self-limitation in the establishment of the political among the plurality.

Today the state is inextricable from the nation-state, much like human life being inherent to the political. Birth represents the primary political act (Arendt, 1958), for it brings with it the origins and the foundation of sovereignty. That is, the birth of an individual is equal to the birth of a citizen, a subject unavoidably ascribed to embodiment in the political *nomos* of the nation.<sup>110</sup> The latter includes the individuals within the *nomos* because one's biological existence inextricably entrenches with the existence of the citizen (Agamben, 1995). As such, the individual is a dual figure: the subject of sovereign power and the holder of individual liberties. In other words, the coming into existence of the biological body of the individual provides the foundations of the nation-state. The bond between natality, nationality, and citizenship reinforces the relationship between the nation-state and the individual, through the immunological process of association and dissociation, *Freund* and *Feind*, that creates and sustains nations and nationalisms (Schmitt, [1932] 2009). The nation is thus the life of a people (Agamben, 1995), sealed in the overlapping of the ontological categories of individual and citizen.

In accordance with the conceptions of biopower and biopolitics discussed above, the *nomos* can be understood as the equivalent of the *bíos* in spatial terms. The concept of *nomos* has often been used by geopolitics and geography to refer exclusively to the process of land appropriation and division (Hagmann & Korf, 2012; Minca, 2006). Nevertheless, the concept entails more than one dimension. Firstly, pre- and post-colonial politics in Africa have sought

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<sup>110</sup> As theorised by Michel Foucault, in modern times the *nomos* of political power is not land but the people, the individuals. Giorgio Agamben revisited the Foucauldian postulation, arguing that biopower was, in fact, theorised in the twentieth century, yet biopower is an implicit trait of political power in any configuration, due to the proximity created by the bridging of *logos*. Agamben traces the origins of biopower, systematised into posited terms, to the English *Habeas Corpus*, that indissolubly bonds the body of the citizens to one's rights (Agamben, 1995). By and large, the two scholars' theorisations remain in agreement as long as they identify the individuals (or citizens) composing the nation as the *nomos* of power in the nation-states. Agamben's conceptions also draw from the Schmittian concept of sovereignty to distinguish between the *bíos* and the *zōē*. He argues that the threshold separating bare from political life is constituted in the deontological condition of the ban; that is, the condition of exception from the rule. In this peculiar space lies the origin, and the sustainment, of political power, because the source of sovereign power, anthropomorphised in the figure of the king, arises in the space of prohibition. The king is a unique element that, similar to the *homo sacer*, is an inclusionary exclusion to the political (and judicial-legal order). Therefore, the locus of political power rest in the ban, in the exception, that is represented, in secularised state, by the body-politics of the state: the nation (Agamben, 1995, 2003).

the boundaries of political power in labour, in people, rather than in terms of land appropriation (partially due to the nomadism practiced by many peoples living on the continent). Secondly, as the *nomos* is the political part countering the *physikos* (nature), it entails not merely forms of political *Ortung* (localisation), but of *Ordung* (ordering) (Agamben, 1995, 2003; Schmitt, [1950] 2006; [1932] 2009).

This is to say that the concept of *nomos* does not convey the idea of borders or limits of the political power in space *simpliciter*, but rather clarifies *how* the space is ordered. In other words, the presence and organisation of power. The ordering is made visible by the manifestation of power toward citizens, crystallised in the shape of a political system. Scholars of political theory ought to consider the symmetry between the state (and majoritarian democracy) and the political as the outcome of a geographically and historically settled paradigm. Moreover, they ought to deconstruct this paradigm to enable theorisations of heterogenous political *nomoi* to emerge and be validated.

The earliest proponents of Africanism, moved by the ideologies of *negritude* and pan-Africanism, strongly sided with the defence of an African pre-colonial past and its magnificence. Traditional or native African communities were seen as an inclusive, humanist-based, harmonious system based on consensus (Diop, 1987; Senghor, 1962). In the name of a cherished past, several African leaders wiped out colonialist influence as part of an unapologetic “return to the source” (Cabral, 1973), establishing political systems relying on alleged pre-colonial, native characters of social and political life. In this sense, African socialism and *Ujamaa* (“brotherhood,” roughly translated (Nyerere, 1967b, 1967a) strongly emphasised the characters of communality, hence the primacy of the group and of the society over the individual, extending the power of the state from within the borders of social institutions, such as family, out into the private sphere of a citizen’s existence.

Conditioned by the length of this study, any discussions on African socialism, social-populism and populist socialism (Martin, 2012) must necessarily be held elsewhere. What this brief paragraph aims to point out is the use, and exaltation, of linkages to the past adopted in national government and assumed as national ideologies by political leaders. An understanding of African peoples as ontologically connected to their own roots and pre-colonial modes of being was expounded by those leaders, who proclaimed African socialist governments the best-fitting power configuration for the sub-Saharan states, since principles of socialism are inherent to the character of the local cultures.

The quest for a “genuinely African” (Matolino, 2014; Metz, 2014; Wiredu, 1980) political configuration has been crucial for national leaders and scholars. Rather than blindly accept majoritarian democracy, theorisations aim to solve its inner weaknesses and poor outcomes in African countries through the development of a more culturally embedded political system, thus easing the processes of implementation and legitimation of power. African socio-political traits reject political competition and the inner opposition entailed by multiparty, majoritarian democracy—a political model grounded in adversarial politics. Scholars argue that, instead, African modes of government give preference to less polarised polities characterised by the dialogical practice of consensus (Ani, 2018; E. C. Eze, 2000; Matolino, 2016; Menkiti, 2002, 2018; Wiredu, 1995, 2001).

These theoretical proposals for the rearrangement of political *nomos* rest on the premise that the “imported” majoritarian democracy hit African countries like a malaise (Matolino, 2018a) and resurged in side-effects such as endemic paternalism and corruption. The ontological quest of scholars has sought the righteous embodiment of indigenous forms of the political in the broader national order. Despite critiques over the influence of a cherished past on contemporary politics (Ani, 2014; Matolino, 2018a), and over the feasibility of implementing a democracy through consensus on the broad scale of a state (Ikuenobe, 2015), theorisations over the spatial division and ordering of the political according to African organicist tenets have sparked a lively debate within communitarianism.

Afro-communitarianism’s scholars have sought to unfold the relationship between the individual and the community, between citizens and nation, and to decipher the political *nomos* in an African spin. Such analysis has often been conducted through an accurate analysis of personhood, anchored in sociological and metaphysical insights (Gyekye, 1995, 1997; Menkiti, 1984, 2004b, 2004a). As the debate becomes “exhaustive and exhausted” (Matolino, 2018b, p. 101), with regard to political theory, two major flaws affect the studies done. Firstly, Afro-communitarianism has not been analysed as a political phenomenon, nor as a form of political organisation; secondly, the relationship between individuals and community is not grounded in conceptions of human nature but in more sociology- and anthropology-imbued conceptions of person and personhood. Secondly, the communitarianism debate, as well as African political

thought at large, has eluded and received little contributions from Lusophone scholars,<sup>111</sup> whether from Europe, Africa, Asia, or Latin America.

This study has no pretence to engaging with the philosophical debate over personhood. Still, the discernment of the relationship between individual and community constitutes a necessary step to discern political configurations. As mentioned above, there lacks an analysis from the standpoint of political theory to bridge communitarianism's theorisations and the canons of the discipline, toward the discernment of the *nomos* of power. To this aim, the concept is grounded in the findings brought by the analysis of the category-concept *bíos-zōē*, on which *nomos* of power depends. Yet this study deals with a context of pluralistic political power, therefore it is not possible to talk about one *nomos* of power. The term *nomois* will be used instead to account for the configurations generated within the indigenous political powers and within the state.

#### 4.2.3 The Locus

As for science writ large (Kuhn, 1972), the emergence of a new epistemological paradigm is likely to challenge *nomoi* and *loci* (Schmitt, [1922] 1985; [1950] 2006) of political power. In the sixteenth century, the individualistic-based formulations of *jus*-naturalism and contractualism were distanced from the categorisable order of the classics and from the theologically imposed universe of Christian philosophers such as Thomas Aquinas. Setting the *locus* of power in society, meaning the togetherness of individuals, the functions and limits of political power were due to change. The anthropomorphic incarnation of power, the sovereign, ceased to exist, henceforth dismantling the liminal figure of the *nomos basileum*<sup>112</sup> (Agamben, 2003). In the state ruled by democracy and the rule of law, the *locus* of political power is the

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<sup>111</sup> With regard to the Lusophone world, likely the most salient contemporary (professional) thinker is the Mozambican Severinho Ngoenha. Notwithstanding the contribution to African philosophy at large from the School of Rome (Massoni, 2015), counting within its members Severino Ngoenha, Filomeno Lopes Syaré and José Castiano.

<sup>112</sup> Similar to the religious concept of miracle, the king represents the emblematic figure of exception: the sovereign can create and enforce rules and norms even while he stays above and beyond them (Agamben, 2003). The figure of the sovereign rests in the zone of *nomos basileum*: not included in norms' provisions, he is not among the citizenry, yet he is not excluded from them. Laws and norms provide an example of exception, which they aim to limit, thus making factual what would otherwise remain abstract. Since the king is already an exception, he cannot be more factual than he already is. The figure of the sovereign lives in the liminal sphere of the ban, where secular power has its *locus*.



people. Endowed with creative power, individuals are entitled to direct or indirect participation in the matters of the political, and in the functioning of the body politic.

Nevertheless, the parcelled-out locus of political power has not only empowered individual citizens but also mostly strengthened the western *nomoi* and their inner aspect of legality. As free and reason-endowed individuals they agree on the social contract, the inherently higher power entitled to the rule of law, whilst according primacy to posited law and legislation (Hayek, 1976) over deep-rooted conventions. In majoritarian democracy of the liberal state, the ultimate *locus* of power is not the citizens as individuals composing the bodies politic, but the posited rules governing power and relations among them. To affirm their political will, citizens choose their representatives, who are deemed accountable and legitimate.

Therefore, modern and contemporary representative democracies advance another relevant character of political power: the legal aspect of legitimation. In contrast to the assumption of the sociologist Max Weber regarding the self-sufficiency of *Legitimitätsglaube*<sup>113</sup> as solid a foundation for legitimate power as *Herrschaft* (Max Weber, 1921), political power should fulfil the threefold requirement of legality, consent, and belief to be legitimate (Beetham, 1991). The requirement is therefore a threshold out of which political power translates into domination, coercive power, or illicit office.

As the socio-structurally situated concept the *Legitimitätsglaube* makes evident, the notion of legitimacy is inherently relative. Like other attributes of political power, such as authority or accountability, the legitimation of power draws upon a defined *locus* of power. The latter constitutes a fruitful theoretical frame for discerning the arduous implementation of majoritarian democracy in sub-Saharan Africa, with specific consideration of Guinea-Bissau. As the bedrock of subsequent political notions, the *locus* of power indicates which are the fulcra, the centrepieces of power and its essence and rationale. The *locus* of power is determined by the understanding of power and polity extant within a community. The notion of *locus* not only sheds lights on the gap between the official exogenous political model and endogenous political conceptions but also reveals the interplay among them.

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<sup>113</sup> According to the sociologist and political scientist Max Weber, the legitimation of power finds its roots in a self-explanatory mechanism. The latter is expressed through the German word *Legitimitätsglaube*, literally “belief in legitimacy.” The term conveys the idea that power, and therefore power relations, are legitimate insofar as those involved in it (dominant and subordinate groups alike) believe them to be so (Beetham, 1991; Max Weber, 1968; Max Weber, 1921). Nevertheless, according to the scholar David Beetham, this mechanism is misleading and induces misrepresentations since its grounds (that is, the beliefs in legitimacy) cannot be assumed as an ultimate validation of legitimacy. Beliefs are not a solid ground to sustain rules due to their highly changeability and the difficulty, or impossibility, of identifying to what extent the basis for a *shared* belief exists. Moreover, changing circumstances might render the justification provided by a belief totally invalid (Beetham, 1991).

Discerning the *locus* (or *loci*) of power enables the researcher to understand Africanisation of power and broader political phenomena, such as functions and legitimation of power. With regard to Guinea-Bissau, the concept offers an explanatory stance for the recurrent political instability in the country. In-depth analysis of the interactions among the state and indigenous powers helps to perceive the unitary dimension of the *loci* of power. Rather than referring to the lenses of legal or normative pluralism, the analysis gives preference to the principles underpinning political power. Namely, we look for the presence of indigenous tenets within the state, aiming to unveil the peculiar intermingling of *loci*.

Through the concept of *locus*, a theoretical synthesis of the pluralistic political powers existing in the country develops. It does not assume an exclusively legalistic, normative, or institutional approach but aims to bring multiple points of view into convergence. Hence, to unriddle the *locus* of power it is necessary to take into consideration the existing institutional framework, as well as the local ontologies regarding power and authorities. Among the latter, special attention is given to how individuals relate to one another and to the community—in other words, the sort of political relations connecting political subjects within the polity constitute the theoretical means to disentangle the *loci* of political power.

Regarding institutional frameworks, the coexistence of political powers and configurations (state and indigenous) within one single political space is responsible for the presence of plural *loci* of power in sub-Saharan political configurations. Historical legacies and structural disruptions lay the grounds for this political pluralism.

At the state level, African politics has, on the one hand, to deal with colonial inheritances (Bongmba, 2006). These represent an explanatory stance not only for the institutional structuring of the state apparatus but also for its weakness and legitimation. As the state preceded nations in most of the contemporary African states, it is often regarded as a top-down imposition, at times simply detached from and foreign to common people. The state is deemed an extension of colonial rule, rather than an authentic representation of people's political views or expectations.

On the other hand, historians such as Cheikh Anta Diop, Achille Mbembe, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, as well as political leaders, including Ahmed Sekou Touré, Julius Nyerere, and Jomo Kenyatta, have stressed the inner vitality and ontological importance of past, pre-colonial legacies in building a political system, in opposition to the adoption of “pre-prepared” political systems with little feasibility in the African sociopolitical and cultural scenario. The “return to the past” (Masolo, 1994) suggested in ethnophilosophy studies was thus translated into politics

and/or political projects. Defying the primacy of the rule of law, of representation, and of the bureaucratic state typical of western (majoritarian) democracies, African indigenous political practices stress the relevance of dialogical practices, entailing the direct participation in concert of members of the greater community.

As previously mentioned, Afro-communitarianism argues for the reformulation of state systems to conform to local, native understandings of the polity, hence fostering the idea of an African *sui generis* type of democracy. In other words, the moral-political theories or conceptualisations (Ani, 2014, 2018; E. C. Eze, 2000; Matolino, 2016, 2018a, 2018b; Wiredu, 1995, 2001) result in a political configuration marked by uniquely African cultural, philosophical, and sociopolitical traits. As such, these the “genuinely” African political configurations are organicist rather than individualistic, as the focus shifts from individuals to the community.

The search for a distinctive political configuration that would join tradition, at times free of underpinnings (Matolino, 2018b), with contemporaneity and historical legacies is partially coincident with the broader process of appropriation known as Africanisation. According to Patrick Chabal, the Africanisation of power and politics refers to the construction of a political order beyond a mere “digestion” of colonial legacies or imported models (Chabal, 1986, 1992). Encompassing state politics and indigenous power, Africanisation constitutes a bi-directional process, in which both parties mutually influence one another.

Torn between the exogenous model and endogenous political conceptions, the state in Africa constitutes a hybrid political configuration undergoing continuous metamorphosis to better fit its context. Not only that, but the state also epitomises an overarching entity comprising or coexisting with a diversity of political power within a single political space. As political pluralism is unique to African political hybridism, it pinpoints the diverse *loci* of power, directly dependent upon the extant tenets ordering the polity.

The recurrent crisis plunging the Bissau-Guinean state into instability calls attention to the ongoing changes and dynamics in the political sphere. The urgency of *praxis*, which calls on researchers to develop the theoretical means to analyse and interpret reality and its phenomena, along with the demands of *theoria* to take part into a lively and contemporary debate, foster the relevance of the *locus* as a conceptual means. To identify and locate the essence, the fulcrum, and the rationale of political power, thus to unveil the *locus (loci)* of power, represents a step toward a clear-eyed study of the political configurations of Guinea-Bissau.

### 4.3 Data analysis: thematic content analysis

The data analysis applied in this study aims to analytically deconstruct structures of power through interpretative reading-lenses. In other words, the intent is to interpret (*zu verstehen*, or to understand) a phenomenon by revealing not only the *why* beneath it, but also offering an explanation that emphasises the *what* and *how* of it. Thus, the interpretative epistemological approach tends toward the discernment of the underpinning rationale of the studied phenomenon.

As the core of this dissertation lies in political thought, the material here under examination is the understanding (or interpretation) of modes of knowing, or rather of how subjects make sense of themselves, their surrounding reality, and political phenomena. Such a complex understanding, undoubtedly riddled with individual peculiarities, is here approached as a discourse, made up of human actions along with texts and tales. These two elements are complementary insofar as together they are fundamental to explaining in detail not only the phenomenon itself but also the context in which it takes place (Creswell, 2007, p. 197).

The analysis of the discourse I undertook is grounded in the tenets of Ethnomethodology and Foucauldian discourse analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp. 490–492). The former argues for the analytical discernment of reality and everyday life through a network of meaningful human actions; that is, human subjectivity, actions, and relations—the interactional level of human existence—assist in the development of a discourse that makes sense of life and worldview as organic phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). By contrast, Foucauldian discourse analysis pinpoints the relevance of language in unravelling “how historically and institutionally located systems of power and knowledge construct subjects and their worlds” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 488). In other words, language, the foundation of discourse, embodies a set of symbols of formulations, a manifest chain of words which make visible the obscure web of unperceivable reality, modes of address, terms of reference, and courses of action (Foucault, 1977). Furthermore, language holds evocative power, since words and phrases, with their inherent meanings, are actively constitutive of the reality they depict.

Setting off from these epistemological premises, data analysis took into consideration the data gathered from non-participant observations, the semi-structured interviews, the focus

groups,<sup>114</sup> and also from popular sayings and tales.<sup>115</sup> As Toyin Falola relates, the meaningfulness of a proverb is that of a “horse that carries words to a different level, enrobing the user with the garment of wisdom” (Falola, 2016, p. 53). Different in essence, this material has been treated differently than the data. The observation of human actions cannot be understood through textual analysis, inasmuch as published collections (reviewed and analysed by scholars) of tales and popular sayings contrast with recorded interviews. Keeping in mind scientific rigour and the necessity of sustaining a study with reliable data, this analysis accorded priority to the thematic content analysis of interviews and focus groups, whereas non-participant observation and the critical analysis of tales and popular sayings are used as supplementary data.

All interviews conducted during fieldwork<sup>116</sup> (seventy-six in total, involving one-hundred and nine subjects) were recorded using the AudioNote application for smartphone and computer. The voice records were then transcribed verbatim using the same program (AudioNotes) for Mac to foster data reliability<sup>117</sup>. The corpus was then analysed through thematic content analysis, using the software Taguette to encode the data. The analysed data were then reported as citations in the texts, using, as far as possible, the original language (Portuguese and, mainly, *Kriol*) and the word choice of the speaker, regardless of grammatical accuracy.

To code qualitative data means to use analytical categories in order to deconstruct, as well as describe, explain, and interpret a socio-political phenomenon. Although the encoding offers some possibilities for data quantification (e.g., by assessing the frequency of categories and themes), the outcomes of the analysis are mainly qualitative. The encoding elaborated through thematic content analysis is centred on themes and categories that require the researcher’s analytical interpretation. A theme is an implicit topic in the discourse, expressed as attribute, description, element, or concept (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). Whether a theme might be more or less explicit, it nevertheless organises a group of repeating ideas verging on a common point of reference. As an analytical theme accepts several degrees of generality, it can be further fragmented into subthemes (Vaismoradi et al., 2013), emphasising one notable element. In sum, a theme is the element the research seeks in the analysis of the text,

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<sup>114</sup> A transcription of the interviews and focus groups is appended.

<sup>115</sup> I analysed the following collections: Departamento Da Edição. (1979). *Contos Da Nossa Tabanca*. Bissau (Guinea Bissau): Dedild; Pinto Bull, B. (1989). *O Crioulo Da Guiné-Bissau: Filosofia E Sabedoria*. Bissau (Guinea Bissau): Instituto Nacional De Estudos E Pesquisa; Montenegro, T., & Morais, C. de. (1995). *Uori, stórias de lama e filosofia*. Bissau (Guinea Bissau): Ku Si Mon Editora.

<sup>116</sup> Thirty-three presential and online semi-structured interviews for thirty-four subjects; two focus groups (*djumbai*) involving twenty-eight individuals; one questionnaire, submitted to seven people; thirty-seven structured interviews, conducted with as many women; three *testimonio* statements gathered from three families.

<sup>117</sup> The transcription of the interviews is available in appendix.

the implicit idea underneath the overt network of words and phrases there expressed. The definition of a theme is inductive, deductive, or a mingling of induction and deduction.

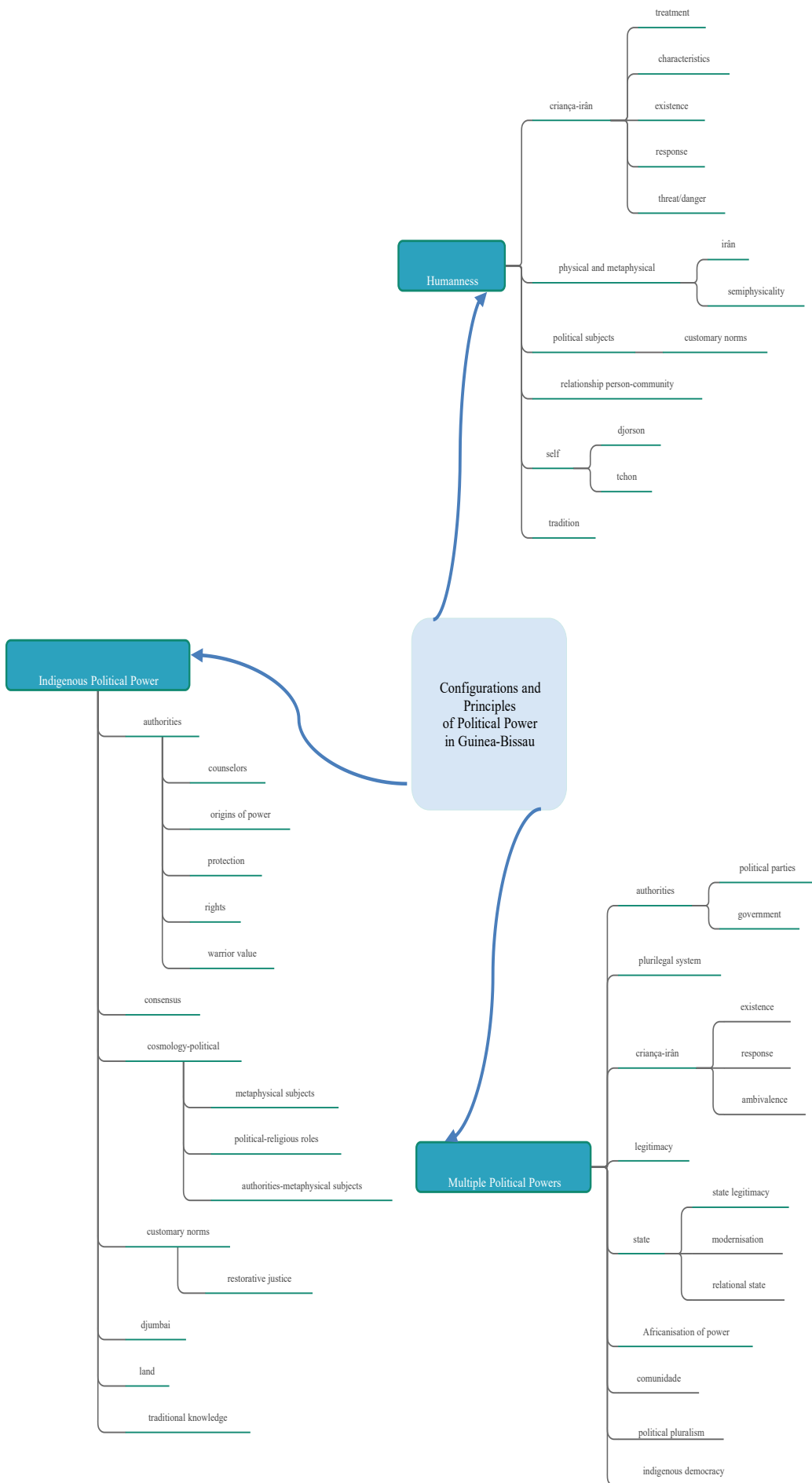
Next to themes, the thematic content analysis prescribes the use of categories; i.e., descriptions of the themes through the words of the speaker as stated in the text under examination (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Hence, the categories are the explicit configuration of the conceptualisation conveyed in a theme. As for the themes, categories further break up into subcategories.

For the analysis of the interviews and focus groups as well as, to a minor extent, tales and popular sayings, I inductively framed the analytical themes starting with the four topics on which interviews' guidelines were built. An initial analysis of the data made it clear that these themes had to be reviewed, since the topic of the ritual infanticide of the *criança-irân* could not be analysed separately from other themes. The *criança-irân* topic is used in the analysis as a common term uniting the three main themes (humanness, indigenous powers, multiple political powers), the one concept binding the others and providing the rationale of this study.

With regard to the categories of analysis, they were defined using inductive and deductive methods. The categories developed from conceptual concerns established in the three main themes, adapted, developed, grew, or merged according to the data presented in the text. Insofar as the analysis derives from a theoretical framework elaborated by the scholar to make sense of a phenomenon, the analysis of new data might deceive pre-formatted conceptual models, and thus requires the analytical tools to embrace new ideas that arise during the analysis.

The following codebook shows in detail the themes, sub-themes, and categories used in thematic content analysis.

Figure 4: Encoding used for thematic content analysis



Source: draft by the Author





## Part II – Implementing the Analytical Model

Guided by the broader aim of discerning configurations and principles of political power in Guinea-Bissau, the analysis I unfold in these pages gives precedence to endogenous conceptions of humanness and political tenets. As the discussed literature describes, the state represents, on the one hand, a dysfunctional, weak, or even criminalised power. On the other hand, it is a political institution interlaced with local, native understanding of government, authority, and legitimacy. The latter aspects comprise an as-yet unexamined matter. African political thought has, so far, developed in contexts other than Guinea-Bissau, or considered only the contributions of Amílcar Cabral, rather than “common” political thought. Hence, this study aims to fill this gap, by providing a systematised understanding of the political power, its rationale and polity, endogenous to Guinea-Bissau.

To discern how power ought to order and organise life in the political plurality, the consideration of local-specific *gnosis* is indispensable, being the mode of making sense of the human and of reality. Among all the elements constituting what can be called a people’s *philosophy*, the conception of humanness is invested with the utmost importance. The theoretical idea of humanness, as recalled in previous chapters, is inherently intertwined with political theorisations, since modes and means of government cannot be deduced if withheld from the understanding of the subjects on whom that political power is focused.

In the communo-centric scenario, the socio-political order merges with analytical models of the political founded on western ideas of the self-reliant citizens of a nation, also invalidating most existing interpretations of politics in contemporary Africa (Chabal & Daloz, 1999). Moreover, “if we cannot simply assume what individual behaviour may mean politically, as most paradigms do, we have in effect to reconstruct one of the foundational concepts of modern political analysis” (Chabal & Daloz, 2003, p. 52).

Therefore, the conceptual intricacy of the *criança-irân* is a perfect frame to analyse the local conceptualisation of humanness, a notion cherished by any philosophy and culture. The *criança-irân* stands as a manifest substantiation of Bissau-Guinean native formulations of humanness and of the concept of the individual, consistent with societal and organicist tenets. Furthermore, it provides the analytical basis from which to advance even further a normative analysis of concepts foundational to political theory.

Jean-François Bayart often uses the metaphor of the iceberg to exemplify the concept of the African political arena: like the ice block emerging from the water, the state represents only the visible part of a much deeper political reality (Bayart, 2003; Bayart et al., 1999). Likewise, the *criança-irân* stands out as incontestable evidence of an underexamined conceptualisation of humanness, relying on local specificities and regional, African tenets.

## 5 The *Bíos* and the *Zōē*: Human Life and Political Life in Guinea-Bissau Indigenous Political Power

### 5.1 The roots of political power relations

African societies are generally defined as organicist, societal, or communitarian since they prioritize the community over the individual. As mentioned, African thought discards the ego-centred and individualistic premises underpinning western political thought. Sub-Saharan conceptions root political theorisations in a relational, anthropocentric holism centred in the oneness of the harmonic universe that transcends the physical realm. In this sense, communitarianism conceives of the individual as one inseparable or infused unit of the community.

The understanding of the polity (or community, or plurality) and of the individual (or *ego*) depends upon epistemology and gnosis. The latter can be broadly defined as a set of modes of knowing and making sense of the surrounding reality, thus the way people structure their understand of reality, of humanness, of themselves, and of the other (Mudimbe, 1988). The way subjects think about the world is influenced by several factors, among which the categories of thoughts inherent in language (Bell, 2002) and the dependency and inductiveness of the context. Such conditionality does not reduce the universality of the philosophical endeavour (Wiredu, 1996) since to dwell on questions of power and how humans organize it among them is a universally human, rather than merely western, dilemma (Euben, 1997).

Nevertheless, because the questions are universal, the given answers are culture-bound. To be reliable and feasible, the conceptual bedrocks of this study cannot rest on the insufficiency of western-tailored gnosis, bound to the primacy of reason, and the self-sufficiency of freedom. Features of African *Weltanschauung* are therefore considered to constitute more comprehensive reading-lenses. To find positions in agreement with the reality under examination, this study takes into consideration selected ontological elements of Bissau-Guinean gnosis to read the category-concepts underlying Bissau-Guinean political thought and possibly shed light on patterns of African political thought more broadly.

Understandings of the political cannot avoid an essential deconstruction to achieve meaningful, reliable, and viable findings. As for Derridean logic, to make sense of complex signifiers, such as the political, they must be deprived of the inner symbology and reduced to simpler units of meaning. It is, in other words, a process of going back to the roots to look more clearly

at the big picture. In this sense, to read the foundations of the political plurality, one must consider the relationship between individuals and the community. This relationship is responsible for defining the functions and structures of the *politicon*, since the rationale of political power rests upon a conception of humanness.

As noted elsewhere (§2.1), the understanding of the individual necessarily precedes the reading of the political phenomenon. I do not intend to use this section to state over and over the intrinsic connection as well as mutual dependency between notions of human nature and political theorisations. My aim here is to discuss the notion of human and political life in Bissau-Guinean conceptions; ergo, the analysis ought, first and foremost, to identify the underlying normative and metaphysical grounds.

Nevertheless, the writing of a dissertation poses technical limitations on the expression of a scholar's ideas, such that one must define and refine the matter to discuss in depth. Taking into consideration the aims of the present study, two conceptions are deemed utterly important: the subjects of the political plurality and the idea of temporality. The latter has been referred to in the literature of African philosophy (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Mudimbe, 1988; Rettová, 2016; Tempels, 1959) yet has so far received little attention from political theory. Nevertheless, concepts of time are a necessary epistemological key to reading the political and politics, insofar as conception of time can prioritize the past, the present, or the future, hence provoking different cultural and socio-political orientations. Moreover, temporality is necessary to untangle the mechanism of *ego* and *alter* recognition, as they provide the frame for the reciprocal encounter.

The concept of the subjects constituting the political plurality is inherently related to the idea of personhood that communitarianism has established in the scholarship. Still, communitarianist formulations largely underpinned by moral theorisations, do not provide a sufficient theoretical means to discern the reality under examination. Bissau-Guinean ontology distinguishes between individuals who achieve adulthood and moral maturity (hence personhood, according to the communitarianist view), yet this distinction does not disclose which are the boundaries of the *bíos politicon*. The existence of the liminal spirit-child (*criança-irân*), instead, transposes the debate from personhood to humanness (§2.3).

Hence, the political order of a plurality, including the legal and moral spheres, is shaped upon the ontology of humanness—a sound foundation for the conception of political subject. To understand the latter's inherent characteristics in Guinea-Bissau, one must take into consideration a *Weltanschauung* that discards any dualistic differentiation between natural and

supernatural, in which the sovereignty of power goes beyond biopolitics and power over physical bodies to reach out to the sphere of metaphysics and semi-corporality.

To enable such theorisations, it is first necessary to decipher the ontological context. Next, the analysis focuses on the relationship among individuals constituting the basis of the political plurality. This query requires deeper analytical investigation to understand the relation between *ego* and *alter*, which determines the boundaries of the political in Bissau-Guinean political thought. The analysis relies on various sources to unveil such elements. Interviews and fieldwork observation represent the core of the analysis, supported by collections of tales and popular sayings (Couto, 2010; Departamento Da Edição, 1979; Montenegro & Morais, 1995; Pinto Bull, 1989) expressing ontological categories in the Bissau-Guinean understanding. Regarding the literature, sources available on ontological and epistemological codes operating in Guinea-Bissau are short anthropological accounts produced in the twentieth century. To fill the gap, the present analysis relies on elements of African ontology as expressed through scholarship on philosophy and political philosophy on the sub-Saharan continent.

The importance of African *Weltanschauung* to the discernment of political thought does not state *ipso facto* the dependency of the latter on an African quintessence (Kasanda, 2018). The interrelatedness of political theory and African ontology brings with it disadvantages and advantages. On the one hand, to assume that African peoples know and understand the world in a singular way fosters ideas of relativism and incommunicability, which ideas have long preoccupied critics of Senghor's conception of humanism (Senghor, 1965). Also, the exacerbation of the relevance of ontology fosters the risk of *unanimism* in a continent featuring spatial broadness, along with population and cultural diversification.

On the other hand, African ontology ought to be considered in the 'lenses' of analysis adopted by the observing model (A. Moreira, 1993; Nóbrega, 2008) framing the research. In other words, ontology permits the contextualisation of any theoretical assumptions developed. By rejecting the universalistic claim inherent in stances featuring an idealistic world, the brief account of the African and Bissau-Guinean worldviews functions as a working premise, tying both the theoretical stances developed here and postulations on intersubjectivity to the circumscribed epistemological and ontological reality of Guinea-Bissau. The contextualisation offers further evidence of the need to contextualise theoretical stances to avoid the risks of generalisation inherent to political theory.

## 5.2 Ontology bedrocks: A monist *Weltanschauung*

The demographic and cultural heterogeneity of the sub-Saharan reality is too great to possibly allow for any kind of *unanimism*. Still, African worldviews share a cosmological proximity due to common anciently-rooted origins of metaphysical beliefs (L. R. Gordon, 2008, p. 187). In the ancient cosmology lies the foundation of contemporary African gnosis, which rejects the dichotomy between natural and supernatural world so dear to the Abrahamic religions, and to the western world at large. The general understanding of reality is dominated by the epistemic principle of not creating distinctions where the situation does not call for it (Menkiti, 1984). Hence, all beings belong to one monist reality comprising all entities and forces. The ambiguity and differentiation between the physical and the metaphysical order is null; neither God and deities nor spirits are immanent the holistic order of the universe (Sogolo, 1993).

According to African philosophers, in the African conceptual frame, what westerners call supernatural belongs to the same space of what Africans call natural (Menkiti, 1984; Sogolo, 1993). The epistemological gap is responsible for the long-held misunderstanding of acts and practices charged with cultural and ontological meaning, such as witchcraft. Under the operating rules of the African monist system, all entities operate within one order, hence all are constrained by similar rules and capacities in their actions (Sogolo, 1993). There is no entity capable of breaching the operating rules of the monist universe; therefore, it is not possible to identify supernatural acts or individuals endowed with superpower or supra-natural powers. Acts of witchcraft or acts performed by God cannot be assumed to be equivalent to miracle inasmuch as they are an ordinary part of the universal order (Sogolo, 1993).

During an interview in Quinhamel, an interviewee and I were discussing the interventional presence of spirit and dead ancestors on the political sphere. His account of these “metaphysical” entities’ presence in worldly reality presented them as a regular feature of the community, part of ordinary, daily life. “*Sim porque não? O regulo não pode governar sem irân. Não é possível.*”<sup>118</sup> *Irân* and ancestors’ involvement is deemed a natural fact of the *physikon*.

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<sup>118</sup> “Yes, why not? The *regulo* cannot govern without *irân*. It is not possible.” Nemésio replied my likewise when I asked him about the possibility to ask for advice and opinion of the dead during the interview in Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

In African ontology, broadly speaking, deities and spirits are neither extraordinary nor superhuman entities but are inherently part of the greater order of things. Scholars have coined the term *wholism* (Dukor, 1989) to refer to the great, all-comprising order of things governing things, being, reality, and nature. The understanding of the universe as a unitary entity is the bedrock for relevant normative and ontological principles. Since the reality of nature is monist in its essence, human beings are conceived as units immersed in the harmonious oneness. In other words, humans are an inherent part of the broader Cosmos, an organic unity thoroughly-fused with the plurality (Menkiti, 2004b) and organicist in essence (Nyerere, 1967b).

Loosely defined, societal tenets on humanness prioritize the organic union of a biological body with a metaphysical soul over the primacy of reason-based individualism and self-reliance. That is, the primary reliance on a metaphysical element—such as the soul each individual owns, one’s vital force, or vital energy or vitality (Brown, 2004; Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Metz, 2012b; Tempels, 1959)—allows African ontology to break free from the laws of physics to peg an individuals’ essence to eternity. The living occupying the Earth are not moved by biological strength embodied in the crude flesh but are animated by the necessary force, life and vitality provided by their souls, the vital force or energy. While biological bodies cannot escape the laws of birth, perishing, and death, the ultimate essence of an individuals’ *human* character (Nanque, 2017b) is preserved in the aftermath of physical reality. That is, souls and forces can continue their existence beyond the limits posed by a physical or biological body and beyond the laws of time and (western) mortality. Such is the case of the ancestors, who are never completely dead inasmuch as they become entities prolonging their existence in a meta- or semi-physical reality.

According to the organicist viewpoint, in the monist universe, the individual is a unit inseparable from the community, so that one cannot exist alone (Mbiti, [1969] 1990). Despite variations in in-depth accounts on the idea of person (Matolino, 2018b), it can be said that African formulations frame the individual in a communo-centric system, since the origination of human essence is derived from the community rather than individuals. Scholarship defines in several ways this homogenous synthesis of individual *ego* in a collective *ego*, thus coining the idea of individual as being a person-in-community (M. S. C. Okolo, 2007), or a unity of loving togetherness where the “we” is a fused collective of individual “we” creating a collective personality (Touré, 1973).

Since in African cultures the individual is inseparable from the community, the primary locus of life is the relational ties bonding human beings to one another. Distancing humans

from the reason-centred subject, the relational subject lives in a condition where the boundaries existing between individuals and communal occurrences are erased, so that what happens to an “I” happens to a “we” (Bongmba, 2006; Mbiti, [1969] 1990). The interdependence is to such a high degree that the existence of the individual is endowed with meaning solely within the group, inasmuch as one “cannot exist alone except corporately” (Sogolo, 1993). Staying in a diametrically opposite position to that of the *cogito* individual, the communo-centric individual is nullified as “simply” one. The overarching primacy of the whole over the individual has given rise to a lively debate in African philosophy as scholars recognise that, to a certain extent, traits of individualism endure in organicist, communo-centric systems (Ahiauzu, 2001; Molefe, 2017a).

According to African thinkers’ accounts, the interconnectedness between individuals and community grows to such an extent as to ultimately generate congruence between the single unit and the oneness of the universe. Since all occurrences are publicly shared, and feelings, from love and joy to sorrow, are felt collectively by those belonging to the plurality, the “I” can be said to be just a “we” from a different perspective (Gbadegesin, 2003).

In light of the assumed African monist *Weltanschauung*, African philosophies such as Afro-communitarianism and Ubuntu, take on an approach to individual and community that is communalistic in nature and humanistic in character (Senghor, 1993). This togetherness thus becomes the realm providing all the essential characteristics for one’s existence as a person (Gyekye, 2003; Menkiti, 1984). According to the theoretical stances advanced by communitarianism, the social realm is necessary to enable one become conscious of his own duties, responsibilities, privileges, and responses towards others and towards oneself (Mbiti, [1969] 1990). The individual cannot reject existence in society since one is a social being, living an incorporated existence (Ahiauzu, 2001; Gyekye, 2012). It is not possible for a being to live outside of the unity of the loving community and be human because empirical reality is monist—a unique, complete oneness—and human nature is organicist (Touré, 1973).

These theorisations<sup>119</sup> cannot be discussed here at length, since the endeavour would not be, at this point, beneficial to the ends of this chapter. The focus ought now to turn from ontological traits in the cross-disciplinary literature of African Studies to Guinea-Bissau ontology. Given the cosmological proximity recognisable through the otherwise heterogeneous sub-

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<sup>119</sup> Although copiously researched by Nigerian and South-African scholars, communitarianism, African political philosophy, and African political theory have received little attention in Portuguese-speaking countries and, when they have, have not been analysed while taking into account the specificities of these realities.



Sharan scenario, by rational-consequentialist reasoning, we can expect the same to be found in Guinea-Bissau as well. The local ontology shows signs of continuity, notwithstanding the geographical broadness of the continent. Bissau-Guinean reality presents its own unique traits, namely the concept of *djorson*<sup>120</sup> and of *tchon*,<sup>121</sup> the latter comprising the dimensions of space and time, thus inducing a chrono-spatial union at the normative level.

### 5.2.1 Political subjects

*“Vocês europeus são assim, cada um por sua conta, não ajudam nem dão atenção um ao outro. Isto não acontece com nós africanos, todos nos conhecemos, todos somos da mesma família.”*<sup>122</sup>

It is with such strong words that one of my closest acquaintances expresses his opinion on how people relate to one another in the sub-Saharan socio-cultural context. In line with broader African conceptions,<sup>123</sup> Guinea-Bissau ontology relies on the idea of the socially-embedded individual, although the individual conceived in Bissau-Guinean thought is a relational subject bonded to their community and kinship. The latter idea is the defining trait of the local ontology and epistemology, expressed through the idea of *djorson*.

Scholarship does not provide an accurate definition of *djorson*; the texts of brother Nanque designate it *the extended family of the individual*, which extends throughout generations<sup>124</sup> (Nanque, 2017b, p. 16). Such a definition is misleading, since it leads to the idea that

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<sup>120</sup> *Djorson*, also spelled *djerson* or *gerason*, refers to a family or kinship generation, including ascendants and descendants. In Guinea-Bissau, many *djorsons* follow matrilineal descentance. According to P.e Luigi Scantamburlo, the term is also used to refer to a group of people of the same age (Scantamburlo, 1999, p. 114). Like the word *tchon*, *djorson* is a creole word, largely influenced by the Portuguese *geração*, “generation.” Its etymological roots and variations are unclear (Scantamburlo, 1999).

<sup>121</sup> Land, fatherland. The creole term is strongly influenced by the Portuguese roots of the word *chão*, corresponding to the English “floor.”

<sup>122</sup> “You Europeans are like that, everyone for themselves, you do not help or pay attention to one another. This does not happen with us Africans, we all know each other, we all are part of the same family.” Informal talk with Papis. Bissau, February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>123</sup> I refer mainly to the theorisations elaborated by I. E. Menkiti, K. Gyekye, K. Wiredu, B. Matolino, M. Molefe, G. Sogolo, L. Brown, J. Mbiti, T. Metz, and E. K. Bongmba, that I deem representative, for the purposes of this dissertation, of African political theory and African Philosophy.

<sup>124</sup> The studies of the Guinea-Bissau born scholar focus eminently on Pepel’s lifeworld, where children belong to the matrilineal heritage. Hence, women represent the essence of the *djorson* in Pepel’s ontology, because they are entitled the honour and the burden to continuously regenerate the vital essence sustaining humanness and human life (Nanque, 2017b).

*djorson* is equivalent to the English word *kin*, comprising the large group of individuals bound by biological ties. The congruence is essentially reductive, for it does not convey the depth of the concept underpinning the Bissau-Guinean *djorson*. Local speakers sometimes interchange *djorson* with the term *gerason* (also spelled *gerason*), or *geração*, mostly when talking with foreigners. Once again, the substitution is not satisfying, since *gerason* conveys a meaning closely related to the concept of kinship, again eluding what *djorson* stands for. The linguistic gap<sup>125</sup> between the terms persists, however, because the local *Kriol* word refers to the extended family of the individual as including ancestors, from the mythical founders of the larger family or kinship to the individuals currently enjoying earthly existence.

In other words, the *djorson* materialises the Bissau-Guinean concept of social, and political community, as an *atemporal community* including the living and the dead. To broaden the boundaries of the community beyond the sphere of worldly existence does not entail that the politically community constituting the *corpus* of indigenous political power in Guinea-Bissau is an overcrowded space comprising the material existence of living subjects along with the immaterial presence of all the dead subjects. The conception of *djorson* requires a thorough analysis to avoid misunderstandings of this kind, and thus the hazard of falling into relativized accounts of African political power that file it under cosmology, magic, metaphysics, and inexplicable matter.

Nevertheless, the syncretism between the cosmological and the political phenomena appears, at a first glance, an undeniable bedrock for indigenous political power in Guinea-Bissau. The political and the metaphysical realms stay in a syncretic relation due to the oneness of the universe; as the two belong to one continuum of overarching nature, there is no duality or barrier between the two spheres. The political is not a realm deriving from or conflicting with the supernatural. Rather, they interpenetrate each other. That is, political power relies on the metaphysical order, and otherworldly powers are inherent foundations of legitimacy and authority.

This inter-relation is so evident that it was used by the PAIGC during the liberation struggle to strengthen people's support for the movement. Amílcar Cabral himself promoted such a strategy, and extensively affirms in his writings that the spirits of the forest are nationalist (Cabral, n.d., 1973). One of the most influential African political thinkers, Cabral took the chance to exploit the intertwining of animist cosmology and politics for the aims of the

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<sup>125</sup> The English word "kindred", often used to describe not only physical but also spiritual reality, denotes a closer meaning to the *Kriol* term.

nationalist cause for self-determination. The involvement of spirits in indigenous politics is remarkable and appears particularly evident during ceremonies such as the one performed when a new *regulo* takes office. Interviewees did not refer directly to *irân* when speaking on the topic but did mention several times places connected to spirits, like *balobas*<sup>126</sup> and sacred lands<sup>127</sup> in the wilderness.

Still, the intervention of the otherworldly cannot be depicted as one unified cosmology, since heterogeneity characterises religious orientation, and religious syncretism, among Guinea-Bissau people. For the highly diverse population, the definition of cosmology as a unitary system does not fit, since different systems of belief coexist. Likewise, to frame local indigenous configuration as a secular and temporal political system intertwined with different cosmologies would be to posit an analogy between religious and political power, on the one hand, and would annihilate the nuances characterising different ethnic groups on the other.<sup>128</sup>

Far from being a space blurred with patterns of religiosity, the political in Bissau-Guinean indigenous conceptions is a metaphysical, inclusive space, due to underlying ontological categories that defy a strictly dualistic conception of the universe. Normative concepts stretch epistemology and the boundaries of the *physikon* to include what westerners call otherworldly. In this sense, the political phenomenon comprises an atemporal community embodying the living and the dead.

The deep, active, and powerful relation existing between the communities of the living and the dead is an important concept for normative theorisations of personhood developed by communitarianism.<sup>129</sup> Specifically, scholars have insisted on the idea that the living community

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<sup>126</sup> António, omi garandi of Quinhamel, said: “[...] *há cerimónia. Ele [the new regulo] anda por aqueles, aqueles balobas de tradição. Ele passa ali. Quando toma posse lá. Aquele carmussa para ir reinado sentar lá, ele passa para esse caminho. Mas depois, ele a seguir, ele volta aquele caminho, fazer a sua cerimónia*” (“there is a ceremony. He goes through those balobas of tradition. He goes there. When he takes office, there. That *carmussa* to enable him taking office and reign there, he has to go through that path. But afterward, he moves on, he come back from that path, continues to do the ceremony.” Interview in Quinhamel. February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>127</sup> During the interview, held in Cacheu on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019, Fodé “Dedé” Andrade insinuates repeatedly that customs vary from one ethnic group to the other. He also affirmed that “*Nô, nas gerason di Felupe no fassi na mato, mato sagrado. [...] Sim i coisa diferente, nà fassil na mato*” (“We, in the Felupe kinship, we do it [the ceremony] in the wilderness [...] Yes, it is something different, we do it there in the wilderness.”

<sup>128</sup> The political and religious position of a Muslim chief are inherently different from the ones of a local-traditional *regulo*, at the very least because the latter inherits power through blood descendance, while the imam can also be appointed; hence, an imam does not necessarily need to belong to a specific kinship to rise to the office (Carvalho, 2000, 2004).

<sup>129</sup> The ground-breaking study of Prof. John Samuel Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy*, published in 1969, opened the stage to the debate over the moral status of the dead people, and on the ontological significance of death. The topic was soon enriched by the theorisation developed by the well-known scholar Ifeanyi A. Menkiti (Menkiti, 1984, 2004a) and recently revoked by the critics Bernard Matolino (Matolino, 2011) and Motsamai Molefe (Molefe, 2017c).

is not confined by physical death, since there exist distinguished stages of death. Following the perishing of the biological body, one reaches the status of living dead (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Menkiti, 1984, 2004a). The dead are physically dead, yet alive in memory (Mbiti, [1969] 1990), as they are remembered through ritual sharing and libation and are called by their own name. In other words, they continue their personal existence, on which the inexistence of a physical body poses no constraint (Menkiti, 1984) since they are a person of “pure spirithood” (Menkiti, 2004a, p. 327), belonging to the living community. The ancestors depart from the living community to reach the status of collective (Menkiti, 1984, 2004a) or nameless (Mbiti, [1969] 1990) death when they are no longer remembered or recognised by their name. Deprived of their personal identity, complete death occurs when one becomes a particle of the impersonalised oneness constituting the universe (Menkiti, 1984, 2004a, 2004b).

The interaction among physical and metaphysical entities is the framework for adequately understanding the political as a phenomenon beyond the *physikon*. In consideration of the inadequacy of dualistic ontological schemes in unriddling the natural world or the nature of human beings, terminology must adapt. African and Bissau-Guinean ontology provides the normative space for a type of entity that is neither physical nor metaphysical but *semi*-physical (Brown, 2004; Menkiti, 1984). Distancing itself from the dichotomy of natural and supranatural, the term envisions the normative condition of entities capable of acting, interacting, and influencing the physical world notwithstanding their lack of a body.

Such is the condition of ancestors and spirits, quasi-material entities who, for the organic (and not dualistic) nature binding their physical humanness to the soul counterpart, can act in and interact with the sphere of physicality. Since a person is physical and non-physical essence (Brown, 2004), materiality and immateriality appear no longer relevant to the definition of personality and subjecthood.

The condition of semi-physicality in Guinea-Bissau thought is attributable to the commonly shared belief in the presence of a soul within the human body that provides one with human energy or essence. Souls can live without a body, however a body cannot live without a soul. There is general agreement that every human being is born with a soul, and that is what gives life to the baby. Nevertheless, there is no accordance on the mortality of the soul. Omi Masa, a powerful *djambakos* in Cacheu, describes how the soul arrives, or returns to this world,

when an individual is born: when the body dies and perishes in the soil, the soul leaves it to go back to where it came from, yet no human senses can apprehend this process.<sup>130</sup>

In Bissau-Guinean ontology, the semi-physicality of dead ancestors and spirits can be reckoned from the attribution of two relevant characteristics to the aforementioned entities, namely possessing bodily senses (taste, sight, smell, touch, hearing) and being capable of performing acts of will. The latter refers to agency, associated with the condition of consciousness defining a self-reflective person (Brown, 2004, p. 186), meaning that bodiless beings are aware of their actions, able to initiate them of their own accord, and aware that those actions have intended consequences for themselves and others. Scholarship states that to be capable of conscious acts is an epistemological requirement evinced from the status of personhood (Brown, 2004); hence the inconsistency, in the dualistic scheme, when applied to beings other than humans. Still, since in African ontology, broadly speaking, dead people are still endowed with personality (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Menkiti, 1984), they can also be regarded as capable of acts of consciousness, self-reflection, and will.

In Bissau-Guinean jargon, the people with the means to convey a dead person's will are called *balobeiros*. They hold the unique ability of interacting easily with the dead. There is no reciprocal relationship, however, since the dead person “*vai escolher quem quer falar com [por] ele.*”<sup>131</sup> When an individual is chosen as the spokesperson for the dead, they lose control over their body and fall under the total control of the bodiless being. It is said that the this person can then speak any language, regardless of the languages they know, and, most importantly, will not respond to their own name but rather to that of the deceased person. Therefore, by occupying an extraneous body, the one who is dead affirms their personality and ability to perform acts.

To ascribe agency to semi-physical entities does not imply, against western ontological and epistemological concerns (Brown, 2004), that the quintessence of African thought accepts the concepts of non-material agency (Menkiti, 1984, 2004b). In question are not on the limits of what to include in the epistemological boundaries of agency (the action) but rather where to position such boundaries. A spirit's witnessing, or a dead person's service in the political decision-making process, are two examples of what ought to be framed as metaphysical,

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<sup>130</sup> “*Não pekadur padiu ku alma. [...] Ma i ka ta djubi murri... alma i riba di nunde ki sai. Corpu na fica na areia.*” (“No, a person is born with a soul [...] But you do not see it die... the souls return to where it exited. The body stays in the sand.” From the interview with Omi Masa, Cacheu, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>131</sup> “He [the dead] will chose whom he wants to speak through.” From the interview with Nemésio, Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

according to the dichotomy of natural (explicable) and supernatural (inexplicable). Such a framework ought to be reconsidered, however, given the lack of congruence in the definition of metaphysical among different *gnosis*, and the existence, in African and Bissau-Guinean *Weltanschauung*, of the intermediate condition of semi-physicality. Due to this extended notion of what is embraced in the material universe (Menkiti, 2004b, p. 117), non-material agency is rejected by African ontology. This belief is discarded, insofar as sub-Saharan *gnosis* is fully committed to material agency, in light of and in accordance with the irrelevance of bodily materiality.

The first characteristic imputed to semi-physical entities refers to peculiar traits featuring those who are alive, such as possessing taste. This characterisation revolves around the spirit, *irân*, and not the dead ancestors. According to twentieth century Portuguese anthropologists (Carreira, 1971a, 1971b; Quintino, 1949b, 1949a) and to more recent studies (Einarsdóttir, 2004b; Jong, 1988), *irân* likes food and is capable of transforming into humans or animals to communicate. Therefore, the spirit is considered a *living* presence existing on Earth, knowable as one gets to know a person—hence the expression *kunsi irân* (knowing *irân*). The latter is frequently used for the ongoing interactions between ritual specialists and the spirit and the relationship they build.

Furthermore, *irân* not only can take the form of a human being but also behaves as one, interacting with those who can *see* it and who might ask the spirit for counsel. On the one hand, *irân* represents a benevolent entity, who can be asked for help in times of need. On the other hand, dealing with one can pose great danger to a person's security or existence;<sup>132</sup> *irân* can kill or attack a person if they expose themselves in the wilderness, land owned by the spirit. Benjamin Pinto Bull refers to the prohibition through the popular saying “*algi ka ta camadu di noti*”<sup>133</sup> (Pinto Bull, 1989, p. 161). I was given a similar example by one acquaintance in Buba, who said that when a Bijagó person is called out loud by name in the wilderness they would reply with a monotone “*kuuu*” to deceive the spirit.

While part of the ordinary life of all people, the interaction with semi-physical beings has preferential channels of communication. There are individuals that are appointed as “*kil ki*

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<sup>132</sup> To deepen studies on matters such the origins, powers, functions of and belief in *irân*, the cornerstones are the masterpieces of Rogado Fernando Quintino, “No Segredo Das Crenças, Das Instituições Religiosas Da Guiné-Bissau” (1949), and of António Carreira “Símbolos, Rituais, Ritualismo Na Guiné Animista” (1961), both published in the *Boletim Cultural Da Guiné Portuguesa*, n.16. Also worthy of consideration, Joop TVM de Jong, “O Irã, O Fulano, A Doença,” available in *Soronda*, 5, 3–27 (1988).

<sup>133</sup> “Do not call, with loud voice, a person by name at night.”

*tene odjo*” (those who can see) or “*kil di cabeça*<sup>134</sup> *garandi*” (those with a big head) due to their extraordinary capabilities of interacting with *irân*. These capabilities are not acquired but given, often through misfortune,<sup>135</sup> or by spirit’s anointing,<sup>136</sup> and are generally connected to human senses, sight being considered the most important. Tia Fei,<sup>137</sup> a *djambakos* living in Cacheu, repeatedly referred to having more than one pair of eyes as a synonym for possessing capabilities to interact, hear, see, or intercede with *irân*.

The possession of physical capacities beyond normal standards gives ritual specialists such as *djambakos* and *balobeiro* an enigmatic status as their condition involves semi-physicality. In popular tales (Departamento Da Edição, 1979; Montenegro & Morais, 1995; Pinto Bull, 1989) there are abundant references to people holding “extra” powers or capabilities, among which the recurrent ability to transform themselves into an object, animal, or natural element, or the ability to fly (Montenegro & Morais, 1995).<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, tradition does not accord the same semi-physical status to all ritual specialists, since *mouro* and *imam*<sup>139</sup> are not among those eligible for semi-physicality, nor are they provided with extra senses to interact with the spirits and ancestors.

Therefore, the political community is constituted as a continuum that unites the living and the ancestors. In consideration of the preservation of human characteristics in the semi-physical reality, as well as the performance of acts ascribable to consciousness through agency, and for the ontological status they occupy in the anthropomorphic universe, *irân* and ancestors

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<sup>134</sup> *Cabeça*, or *cabeça*, is used with different meanings since it denotes not only the body part but also the centre for moral judgement and the core of humanising reason. Furthermore, it is used as a figure of speech to allude to meta- or semi-physical abilities, or to insinuate characteristics of moral behaviour. The expression *cabeça garandi* (big head) points to a person of big ego, stimulated or not by external factors like smoking or alcohol. Differently, a person who is *bom cabeça*, or *cabeça diritu* (good head), denotes a well-behaved individual, who shows good moral virtues and pays due respect to parents, relatives, and elders.

<sup>135</sup> The ancestor of Tia Fei was a *djambakos* him/herself, however the woman I interviewed (Cacheu, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019) was endowed with powers after she almost died in the *mato* (forest) when she was a child.

<sup>136</sup> Pedro works as *djambakos* in Buba. A few years ago, he was working as a mechanic when he heard a voice and *irân* made him find the egg that guides his practices. Interview held in Buba on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019.

<sup>137</sup> Interview conducted in Cacheu on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>138</sup> In traditional tales, elements of metaphysics, physics, and semi-physics are mingled together in an undiscernible unit transcending dichotomy. There are no boundaries to the nature of subjects’ acts regarding the kind of occurrences that might happen. As an example, the story *Desafasakaleron*, reported in the collection *Uori* by T. Montenegro and C. de Morais, tells of three brothers, the youngest being a powerful individual capable of transforming itself, to fly and even to speak to his mother to make him be born earlier. He will need these beyond-physical capabilities to save his and his brothers’ lives. Eventually, the story ends with a duel against a malicious stepbrother.

<sup>139</sup> *Imam* and *mouro* are religious offices dependent upon Muslim faith; the latter record a century-long presence in Guinea-Bissau, during which little mingle with local animism happened. For this reason, the inherent differences underlying the social-political and religious roles never bridged nor merged, maintaining substantial discrepancies. Social functions and the services provided by the *imam* combine the office of spiritual guide as well as political leader of the community.

are rightfully included in the political plurality. According to the ontology of Pepel and Mancanha, the spirits are bestowed the socially and politically essential function of being warrants of order and harmony, protecting and promoting tradition, common and individual well-being, and law and rules fostered through conventions (Fonseca, 1997; Jao, 1989; Nanque, 2017a, 2017b).

Still, Bissau-Guinean political thought is not unanimous on the matter. Ancestors, either defined as the living-dead, are fully entitled membership in the living community along with all beings enjoying worldly existence, however there is no agreement over the participation of spirits and *irân*. During the djumbai held in Jemberem, in the Tombali region, I was reprimanded by one of Jemberem's *chefes de tabanca* over my questions on the involvement of *irân* in local, indigenous political matters. “*Senhora! Sabe o que é que baraca? Não é mato. É a comunidade. Baraca é comunidade. Quando que nós sentamos aí, nós já temos um baraca. [...] Se nós dizemos que temos baraca no mato... não!! Não. Baraca nós temos no nosso coração.*”<sup>140</sup> The participants to the djumbai agreed with the *omi garandi* and emphasised how the political is a matter to be discussed and agreed upon by humans; it has nothing to do with *coisas do mato*, meaning spirits and *irân*. To constitute and guide a political system is an act of the community and of those who belong to it.

What I was told in Jemberem is quite different from what the interviewees recounted in the Northern regions of Biombo and Cacheu. Here the intervention of *irân* on human, social, and political matters is quite consensual since the spirit is held as an almighty entity responsible for any occurrence. The power and the presence of *irân* is seen as essential to the execution of political duties, such as *fitcha bolanha*,<sup>141</sup> and symbols of *irân* belong to the local *regulo*. Moreover, *irân* is regarded as the guardian of the universe's order as well as of the social order, since it provides punishments to those who commit misdemeanours or breach customary rules.

Thus, the political community cannot be thought of as a dimension defined solely by cosmology, whereby the sovereignty of political power extends beyond the limits of the *physikon*. The political community is co-determinant with the *djorson*, the extended community comprising the living, dead ancestors, and the founding fathers of the greater kinship. Yet

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<sup>140</sup> “Madam! Do you know what *baraca* is? It is not wilderness. It is the community. *Baraca* is the community. When we sit there, then we already have a *baraca*. [...] If we say that we have a *baraca* in the wilderness... no!! No. *Baraca*, we have it in our heart”.

<sup>141</sup> Literally to “close” the rice field. The practice involves the commitment of *irân* as an otherworldly assurance of the protection of the field, hence of the basic source of staples and feeding. The indigenous duty stemming from the position of office was explained to me by the *regulo* of Plack, anonymous, during an interview on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.



it should be noted that these boundaries do not reflect *stricto sensu* which subjects are embodied in the political plurality—hence the inclusion of semi-physical entities—but on *how* these subjects are included in the plurality. Their inclusion is eminently an act of the living, performed through a continuous re-enacting and re-living, to keep the past constantly present and alive in the temporality of the *djorson*.

### 5.2.2 Temporality

The concept of temporality underneath that of *djorson* is a phenomenon encompassing several normative dimensions, among which the local understanding of *tchon*. To disentangle the Bissau-Guinean concept of temporality, it is necessary to discern the aliveness of the past, as the latter is not simply remembered or cherished. The past is part of the present through social-cultural acts reproducing in a new format what was or happened in the past. Beside bringing the dead ancestors into the present as alive and co-temporal entities, past-centred time is responsible for a conception of human-made temporality that is cyclical, a continuum in reiteration (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Mudimbe, 1988; Rettová, 2016; Tempels, 1959).

Still, to define a distinctive concept of African temporality is a painstaking task. First, there is no clear-cut distinction between West and African conceptions of temporality; both are immersed in a type of intra-heterogeneity that gives rise to a scenario as complex as it is varied. Second, the assumption of non-linearity in the temporal dimension is not an African creation insofar as the same conception belongs to other world societies outside the Sub-Saharan continent, and even to segments of western societies (Rettová, 2016).

When dealing with normativity we should consider that time is an intellectual construction (Rettová, 2016), created by and shared among members of a society, later turned into an established theoretical model guiding gnosis. Therefore, the reification of such concepts in people's daily acts and speech is representative of a certain mode of making sense of the surrounding reality.

Attentive and objective observation during fieldwork is a potent aid in unriddling the idea of time. A general feature underlying all the interviews was an increased ease in talking about the past rather than about the present. Questions and statements relating to past events or moments of past existence usually were met with answers that were extensive if not always

clear or straightforward. By contrast, discussing matters connected to the future would generate nebulous replies, short answers, and very vague responses. An emblematic example is the reply of Cacheu's *regulo*, Fode Dede Andrade, who said “*Ah, este é futuro, não se sabe ainda!*”<sup>142</sup> when asked who was next in line to occupy the seat of *regulo*.<sup>143</sup> While the observation is, evidently, preliminary and premature,<sup>144</sup> it pinpoints a conception of time that discards the future as an eventual possibility, though it relies on the past as grounding for the present.

To re-enact and re-live past occurrences is coincident with the construction of a human-made and human-dependent temporality. In other words, what has already been is conceived to be part of what is, insofar as time is actualised through human actions and experience (Rettová, 2016). By repeating *ad infinitum* mythological events from a close or distant past, time compresses, and the past becomes present as enacted in the lived life of individuals and communities. Furthermore, according to John Mbiti, time is man-made: the outcome of human activities is the creation, reproduction or re-enactment of the past. According to the analysis of the Kenyan-born scholar, the power of humans over time is enough to constitute a commonly agreed-upon system to quantify time and memorialise epochs.<sup>145</sup> Instead of using the Gregorian calendar, people tend to refer to epochs, specific occurrences, or phenomena to indicate a specific moment in the time continuum. Therefore, time is not only created and reproduced by humans, but is ontologically constituted by events (Mbiti, [1969] 1990).

In Bissau-Guinean Kriol, the use of human acts as temporal references is not a common means of marking time. People usually frame events according to natural phenomena, above all the dry and the rainy seasons. As such, the expressions “*antes di tchuba*” or “*dipus di tchuba*” (before the rain, or after the rain) are frequently used to refer to epoch of the year. Still, the ancient past is used as a frame of reference as a primordial model that indicates the beginning of time, which reiterates and repeats throughout the following generations. According to the customs of the Mancanha and Pepel ethnic groups, a chief should be from one of the sacred

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<sup>142</sup> “Ah, this is future, there is still no way to know!” From the semi-structured interview with Fodé “Dedé” Andrade, Cacheu, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>143</sup> Local-traditional authorities like a *regulo* are chosen from within members of a specific family, called *djaghra*, therefore it is possible to know who the next eligible *regulo* will be from an early age. Moreover, the answer provided contrasts sharply with what has been stated so far, emphasising how Fodé “Dedé” Andrade had been taught the *regulo*'s duties since childhood, hence long before being officially appointed for the office. Interview with Fodé “Dedé” Andrade, Cacheu, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>144</sup> It would be desirable to complement this finding with a more extensive and in-depth participant observation of daily speech. Given the constraints posed to the research design, the endeavour is worthy a separate study.

<sup>145</sup> The analysis of John Mbiti relies on the use of language people make, critics pinpoint on his construction of African idea of time (Nganang, 2007; Rettová, 2016).

*tchon* (now the villages of Bassare and Bijimita, respectfully), the first place where the group's founding fathers settled, to be rightfully endowed with power and authority to rule over the land (Fonseca, 1997; Jao, 1989; Nanque, 2017a, 2017b).<sup>146</sup>

Due to the need to connect to past occurrences and people to make sense of the present, temporality is not thought of as a linear continuum but as a cycle, given the ontological relevance of what *was* on what it *is* (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Menkiti, 2004b). The cyclic conceptualisation of time contrasts with the concept of temporality in the west, where time is a progressive continuum that emphasises the present as its foundational moment. The centrality of the present grounds the Eurocentric epistemological stance; that is, it sets the ground for those who are living in a current epoch to give themselves the right to judge others, in different times and spaces (L. R. Gordon, 2008, p. 205; Mudimbe, 1988).

Contrarywise, the African conception of time does not endow the present with such strength and authority. In the African *Weltanschauung*, temporality comprises a long past and a present, with virtually no future, based upon a phenomenological calendar dependent on the creative power of human agency (Mbiti, [1969] 1990). In this sense, the relevance of the past is ontological since it gives individuals with a way to read the present. Consequently, there is no space for time without human action, and the infinite yet unknowable possibilities of the future are embedded in the constraining cycle of past and present re-action.

Framed as it is, past-centred temporality accords different relevance to time phases. The past is posited as a long epoch and provides the grounds necessary to construct the present. Therefore, the present is no more than a mere moment of experience, the intersection of temporality bridging two forms of absence, one belonging to the past (what was) and one belonging to the future (what will be) (L. R. Gordon, 2008, pp. 239–240; Gyekye, 1995). The future, instead, represents a form of time that has not yet materialised; it is a mere potential dimension in which time might develop. As observed by Rettová (2016), the centrality of the past leaves so little space for the future that the latter becomes virtually non-existent.

As events, acts, and experiences of the present strongly rely on what was, the way of making sense of the surrounding world, or people's mode of knowing (Mudimbe, 1988), relies on an epistemology of return (Rettová, 2016). The epistemic use of the past is evident and expressed in several and differentiated ways, mostly visible when connected to the use of

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<sup>146</sup> Interview with Gil in Caheu, February 10<sup>th</sup> 2019; interview with Nemésio in Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup> 2019; interview with Pedro da Silva in Quinhamel, November 28<sup>th</sup> 2016.

language. As one of the few samples available of written indigenous philosophy, *lato sensu*, popular tales are of great value. As reported in Pinto Bull's masterpiece *Crioulo da Guiné-Bissau: Sabedoria e Filosofia* (1989), the teller tends to confer greater authority on the story by connecting it to a cherished past,<sup>147</sup> referring to a hypothetical and distant time when people and animals coexisted. Since the "long gone" is directly linked to people's present life, in the form of generalised ethical principles, it enjoys an undisputed magnificence. As such, this era lends mastery to the telling of tales.

The ontological weight of the past can be easily recognised in daily speech, which focuses on past occurrences, stressing and repeating over and over the same narrative. This repetition does not aim to provide an explanatory cause but is rather an expository stance: by revealing the chain of events, the teller aims to provide support and truth to what is said. On my second day in Catió (February 19<sup>th</sup>, 2019), in the Tombali region, Tio Sembé and I were trying to organise a *djumbai* (meeting) for the following day. We encountered countless problems, ranging from technical issues (people would not answer our radio calls) to lack of assistance (the people we were to meet were either late or did not show up at all). Whenever we ran into an acquaintance in the street, Tio Sembé would start to recall the complete series of events to explain our situation. Ergo, the past has a normative, explicative function, and it constitutes the solid grounds for any discourse, narrative, claim or explication, with little or no regard for the future dimension.

These relationships with time are directly mirrored in visions of human life, thought of as a cyclic reiteration of the past within the same continuum. The most visible social representation of this conception is the idea underlying the importance of marriage and birth, since the two acts are forms of reiterating the past in the present. A person who does not marry faces social and familiar reprobation and is socially prevented from reaching the status of adulthood. This point was made crystal clear by Nemésio, one of my youngest interviewees, who had just broken his engagement: "*Você não deve ficar na casa dos pais até morrer, este para nos é muito feio, lamentável. Você tem que sair de lá para ir habitar numa outra casa.*"<sup>148</sup> The

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<sup>147</sup> The link to the ancient past is reported in the tales through paraphrasis opening the tale or inserted in the text. The paraphrasis refer to how a specific character, being an elder or an animal, would report the story that is about to be told. Some examples include "*garandi kuma*" (as the elder says), "*ko kuma*" (as the chimps says), "*kakur di mangu conta*" (as the mongoose says), "*galiña di mato kuma*" (as the chicken says) (Pinto Bull, 1989).

<sup>148</sup> "You should not stay in the household of your parents till the time of death, this for us is ugly, deplorable. You ought to get out of there to go live in another house." Nemésio is referring to the fact that an individual moves out of his parents' when starting their own family, therefore the association between house and family. Interview with Nemésio, Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

relevance of marriage is tightly linked to the procreative burden befalling a married couple, since, when they move to a new house, they ought to start a family rich in offspring.

The minimal family unit is endowed with a primordial function; that is, to ensure cohesion along with being responsible for the survival and continuation of the *djorson* (Nanque, 2017b). Sexual intercourse assumes a different significance when occurring within marital relations or outside them. The birth of a new life from a married woman represents the renewal of the connection with the symbiotic bond to the broad *djorson*. Birth is the celebration of the synergy intertwining the entities of the *physikon* with the living community living in the condition of semi-physicality. To belong to the *djorson* entails the inherent duty and responsibility of ensuring its existence through the anthropomorphic reification of the kinship (i.e., giving birth to descendants). In turn, a new life on earth is charged with continuing and reproducing the kinship and the family. Responsibility for caretaking then falls on the *djorson* as a whole.<sup>149</sup> Birth symbolises repetition and the continuity of tradition, the reiteration of the past under the strict rules of the cyclic continuum (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Menkiti, 1984).

Since time is reiteration (Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Menkiti, 1984), the momentum of temporality is not forward, back backward, as one constantly looks toward one's own past. Different from western, linear conception—where time constantly moves forward and tries to build an unforeseeable future—, African and Bissau-Guinean gnosis accord little relevance to the time flow. Any anxiety about living in the present and advancing as much as possible seeking to reach the future is absent, since one tends toward what *was* instead. It is commonplace that “time in Africa belongs to a different dimension,” and that dimension resemble stillness, to a foreigner, since the past comprises the present.

Scholars (L. R. Gordon, 2008; Gyekye, 1997; Mbiti, [1969] 1990; Menkiti, 1984; Mudimbe, 1988; Rettová, 2016; Tempels, 1959) from different origins and theoretical background argue that African temporality is a concept that privileges the past as an epistemological and ontological ground. The past is therefore put to epistemological ends, such as the explanation of present occurrences and experiences. The deep reliance on the past makes African epistemology generally more inquisitive regarding the reason (the *why*) than the modes of

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<sup>149</sup> The participants to the *djumbai* in Catió referred that it is a duty of (the members of the) *djorson* to take care of orphans; to raise the offspring is a duty shared in communal practices (e.g., appointing one care-taker for children of several families to respond to labour needs), but it is inherent in the duty to perpetuate the *djorson*. From the *djumbai* in Catió, Febrary 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

occurrence (the *how*) (Sogolo, 1993, p. 103).<sup>150</sup> Moreover, it stresses the relevance of life experience as a condition for knowledge and wisdom.

The latter are characteristics associated with the image of the elders. In many ways people show their respect and deference to elder people; I can recount countless cases observed during fieldwork. What is stated in the popular sayings collected by Benjamin Pinto Bull (1989) is archetypal. I would like to recall two sayings specifically to pinpoint elders' knowledge, which are “*Garandi i puti na mesinhu*,”<sup>151</sup> meaning that wisdom and knowledge of the elders ought to be respected, and “*Garandi k'jungutu ta ma odja lunju di ke meninu k'sikidu*”<sup>152</sup> (Pinto Bull, 1989). The popular sayings denote the respected status of *garandi* (elders) who are considered the holders of deeper knowledge and wisdom, as well as moral examples due to the experience accumulated in their longer lives.

Therefore, the longer the life experience, the greater the wisdom and knowledge one develops.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, the sphere of the experienceable is not limited to the boundaries of the physical reality. During one of the interviews, my interlocutor affirmed, “*Nós somos como crianças*,”<sup>154</sup> to express his inability to talk about indigenous politics and the ancient past. The people inhabiting earth can only achieve little knowledge on matters that pass beyond their lived existence. Those with broader knowledge are the ones who experience past occurrences, ergo, the ancestors, and the founding fathers of the kinship.

The reference to grandfathers (*dona*, in Kriol) and ancestors is common when talking about the inheritance of capabilities or skills, mostly when talking with *curandeiros*.<sup>155</sup> The constant revitalisation of the past conveys the idea that the latter is a constitutive element of

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<sup>150</sup> Godwin Sogolo explains the differences among epistemological approaches through the example of how to discern a case of murder or suicide. Where western science would investigate how a person died, their injuries, the weapon used, and the cause of death, thereby trying to explain, control, and predict the occurrence through analysis, African science might emphasise how the events take place in the meaningfulness of the context; that is, it would seek the teleology of a person's death, including and beyond materiality (Sogolo, 1993, p. 103).

<sup>151</sup> Elders are jars of treatment.

<sup>152</sup> An elder sitting sees further than a standing child.

<sup>153</sup> Prolonged life experience is not a consequential determinant of being *garandi*, however, since the latter encompass the conditions of morality. To achieve the status of *garandi* one should possess morally good qualities, in absolute and relative terms. Therefore not all elders are *garandi*, nor all *garandi* are elders; there are individuals that, due to the knowledge and wisdom they hold, along with their exceptional moral behaviour, are called *garandi* notwithstanding their age, as reported in the interview with Pedro da Silva (Quinhamel, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016) and in the Djumbai in Jemberem (February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

<sup>154</sup> “We are like children.” Djumbai in Catió, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>155</sup> Of the nine *curandeiros* (traditional healer) interviewed, eight declared that they had inherited their knowledge of indigenous treatment from their grandfathers or from another relative. As referred to by Djon, among his sibling he was anointed in the family, or *gerason*, “*Amim ki fica, ke herdado*” (“it got me, I inherited”). Interview conducted in Farim, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019). Also, in the case of *djambakos*, two of the interviewees reported that they were not “*apanhados*” (chosen by *irân*) but that they inherited the semi-physical capability from a relative.

the present and of those who are living it. According to Pepel cosmology, past and tradition are accountable in one's endowment of consciousness, because one descends from one's ancestors (Nanque, 2017a, 2017b).<sup>156</sup>

On the level of the plurality, a similar role is played by *chefes de tabanca* and *regulos*; the maintenance of tradition and past in the contemporaneity is possible for the political deeds they are called to perform. Ascribing meaning to contemporary political phenomena comes via figurative and imaginative resources of the past, in the light of the understandabilities of all occurrences through the reading lenses of the primordial past of the plurality (Mbiti, [1969] 1990).

Through periodic political-religious ceremonies, indigenous political chiefs are responsible for repeating, re-enacting, and renewing the foundational roots of the ethnical group, according to the myth surrounding events of the distant past (Nanque, 2017a, 2017b). In Cacheu, traditional Manjaco land, “*cada ano fazemos essa cerimónia, as mulheres levam comida, os homens bebidas.*”<sup>157</sup> The Pernal ceremony is a yearly libation-rite to re-live the resistance of the locals against the attempted invasion by the Manjaco ethnic group at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The narrative grounding the origins of a people, or of a *djorson*, often refers to the act of “*sinta*” (from the Portuguese term, *sentar*, to sit), directly linked to the mythological past. The term “*sinta*”, or “*sentar*,” is used in Kriol with two distinct meanings. First, it indicates the decision-making process according to indigenous customary rules, thus through consensus reached among the overall population. It also means to settle, to take possession of a land, to build a household, and to possess enough land (*bolanha*) to crop.

The acquisition of land to satisfy minimal needs of survival, that is, to own land to plant with rice, defines the ontological relevance of *tchon*. The land a family or a *djorson* own is vital, hence it cannot be sold. “*Terreno sempre fica. Fica sempre. E a bolanha também fica. Não se*

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<sup>156</sup> Moreover, studies conducted by Ifeanyi Menkiti and Lewis R. Gordon within the theoretical frame of African philosophy, advanced the proposition that past is not only a necessary condition for consciousness but it is also a requirement for the achievement of personhood (L. R. Gordon, 2008), due to the relevance of the community to a person's gathering of moral excellence (Menkiti, 1984). Moral or quasi-moral qualities building up the good of the individual are acquired through life-long learning and through the reiteration of tradition. Although the discovery or attainment of (moral) excellence is constitutive of being, the public showcase of these qualities is considered to be beneficial to the community in general (L. R. Gordon, 2008).

<sup>157</sup> “Every year we do this ceremony, the women prepare food, the men bring drinks.” From the interview with Fodé “Dedé” Andrade, *regulo* of Cacheu, held on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019, in Cacheu.

*vende. Bolanha não se vende, se aluga,*<sup>158</sup> to phrase a local *regulo* in Plack (Quinhamel, Bimbo region). Land and rice-fields belong to the families or the community, in which case they are administered by the *regulo*. The local-traditional authority might allow them to be rented to those in need, however would never sell them to other families or to the state. The land has the same importance as the house because “*kil se kau.*”<sup>159</sup> Whoever owns the house enjoys rights of property on the land and cannot be dispossessed.

It may happen that people attach the origin of the family *tchon* to recent times, no longer than a few generations ago, as the Bijagós Djon did. In his accounts, the *tchon* where he and his *primo-irmão* (close cousin) Carlos Adriano stay was acquired by their grandfathers, their *dona*. Historical accuracies and myth mingle in the story of the two cousins, who tell me that when their grandfather arrived in the Tombali region they had to negotiate the land with the local Nalu ethnical group and with their *irân*.<sup>160</sup> By and large, the origins of a *tchon* are due to migrations, wars, and bargaining. People would move because of their need of *bolanha* (rice fields), clashing against local ethnic groups before reaching an agreement satisfactory to both parties and settling. Still, not all land could be conquered. It is generally assumed that *irân* owns land, which acquires a character of sacredness. These *kau sagradu* (sacred house), located in the wild, are home to shrines and *fanado*, due to their inviolability by humans.

The practice of buying or renting the *tchon* from *irân* is not unique to the two cousins’ case, although usually references to land bargains with the spirits are in a more distant time. In the case of the Pepel ethnical group, brother Nanque remarks that the myth of the origins of the *tchon* pictures the founding fathers negotiating with *irân*. The latter were forced to pay for the land in human lives, a sacrifice that is remembered and symbolically renewed in present times (Nanque, 2017a).<sup>161</sup> The price paid provides grounds for the symbiotic link between the individuals and the *tchon*, an unbreakable bond that will make a Bissau-Guinean return to the land of his fathers, to hold office or to respond to the needs of the *djorson*.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> “The land always stays. It stays always. And the rice-field also stays. It is not for selling. Rice-fields are not for selling, they are to rent.” From the interview with the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel), anonymous. February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>159</sup> “That is his house.” *Idem*.

<sup>160</sup> Interview with Djon and Carlos Adriano, Farim, February 17<sup>th</sup>? 2019

<sup>161</sup> According to the myth, when Minkaw, the Pepel’s founding father, arrived in the region he had to negotiate the settlement of the land with its ancient owner, *irân*, who asked to be paid in human lives. The sacrifice of the first Pepel is today still remembered and honoured (Nanque, 2017a).

<sup>162</sup> The symbiotic relationship underneath the individual and the *djorson* is rich in mutual obligation since one cannot ignore the call from the land: “*Você tem que voltar a Guiné-Bissau. A sua geração é uma geração que se chama Pepel. [...] Tenho que sair daquela casa e ir onde está a minha origem, onde eu devo ir. Mais cedo ou mais tarde eu devo ir para lá*” (you have to go back to Guinea-Bissau. Your kin is called Pepel [...] I have to



Moreover, the origins of the *tchon* are responsible for the moment of creation of the *djorsons* within the ethnic groups, defined by the territorial frontiers of where a family, united by a common ancestor, settled, or “*sinta*.” This primordial settlement of the founding fathers is nowadays represented in the sacredness of the *kau* (household) where the *regulo* “sits.” Hence, local-traditional authorities cannot occupy any of the households, for they are responsible for keeping alive the atemporal bond to the *djorson*, bridging past and present. The primeval act of “*sinta*” not only provides the borders between different lands, such as, e.g., Biombo, Thor and Bijimita among the Pepel, but from it comes the names of the *djorsons* embodied by an ethnic group.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, the beginning of the *tchon* represent the beginning of the human plurality, on the one hand, and the beginning of temporality, on the other hand, for the primordial act of land possession establishes the bedrocks for temporal references in cyclical, human-made time.

The Bissau-Guinean, as well as the broader African, concept of temporality therefore grounds the *a priori* category-concepts necessary to untangle the boundaries of the political in indigenous political power. The above discussion suggests that, on the one hand, time, as a normative dimension, intertwines with the political subjects. Insofar as the *djorson* entails, by acts and by ontology, physical and semi-physical entities within the living community, the political community is posited to exist on an atemporal continuum. For its sacredness, the *tchon* is the signifier of the symbiotic communion existing between the living and the dead, of the co-substantiality bonding the individual to the *djorson*. The two are co-extensive and co-essential, and their relationship rests on ties of mutual interdependence.

On the other hand, the chronological dimension merges with the spatial as the primordial past is mythologically connected to the act of land appropriation, “*sinta*,” performed by the founding fathers. Thus, the *tchon* epitomises the absolute source of power for indigenous authorities (*régulo*, *chefe de tabanca*, *chefe de familia*) and ritual specialists (*djambakus*,

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leave that house and go where my origins are, I have to go. Sooner or later, I must go there). Furthermore, Fodé “Dedé” Andrade recalls how he had to assume the burden of becoming *regulo*, under the threat of incurring health risks if he ignored his socio-political responsibilities to stay in Portugal to pursue a career as football player: “*Hora ki saude ka ten e i na punta e falo pa bai pa su povo e volta bu terra [...] kusa di terra, tene ki volta pa terra pa ba subi*” (When health was lacking, I asked, and I was told to go to your people, go back to your country [...] things of the land, I had to return to assume the title).

<sup>163</sup> Antonio, *omi garandi*, refers to the dynasties of Kta, Piss and Biorgh among the Pepel (interview conducted in Quinhamel on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019). His account is corroborated by what is recounted in brother Nanque’s volume on the origin of Pepel land (Nanque, 2017a). The same applies to land and *djorson* division among the Mancanha (Fonseca, 1997; Jao, 1989).

*darmadur, balobeiro*). Along with the forthcoming analysis, these two dimensions are inherently relevant to unriddling political power and to discerning how the limits of sovereignty are framed.

### 5.3 Ego, Alter, intersubjectivity

These concepts constituting, in part, Bissau-Guinean indigenous ontology reveal the interconnectedness of political power with local specificities. Power, while not a merely political phenomenon, is neither a normative concept nor a metaphysical phenomenon. Establishing the foundations for the political, it represents a *relational* occurrence. Without a plurality of individuals, power would otherwise remain a pure, indeterminate concept—an existent missing the existing thus never coming into existence (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987).

The dependency binding human plurality and political power is twofold. On the one side, political power cannot manifest without a human community. In this sense, the solitary individual lives in a *pre-political* life condition, while political existence is, instead, the condition of living life in the plurality, a life lived according to human standards (Arendt, 1958). According to Hannah Arendt, the constitution of an organised human community is the sufficient and creational act of political power as such: “power springs up whenever people get together and act in concert” (Arendt, 1958, p. 200). Nevertheless, it is questionable if the common action (that is, the act of constituting a togetherness) *per se* represents not only the *conditio sine qua non*, but also the essence *per quam* to suffice political power, or if the inherent character of the latter derives from something else beyond commonality *simpliciter* (Han, [2005] 2019).

On the other hand, the *possibility* for the constituency of power among humans engenders a differentiation between an a- or pre-political state of bare life (*zōē*) and the eminently political human existence (*bíos*). The distinction between bare and human life leads us back to the Greek philosophy of the classics, and the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle.<sup>164</sup> Throughout time, these have been evoked and translated according to the epoch’s metaphysics. Distancing itself

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<sup>164</sup> The distinction then made was sustained by anthropological tenets organised hierarchically. The differentiation was due to the higher or lower status accorded to different realms of life; the *bíos politicon* was regarded with utter prominence (Agamben, 1995; Arendt, 1958).

from the Enlightenment inquiry into the state of nature and the inherent good or bad essence<sup>165</sup> of humankind, contemporary philosophical investigation dwells on the condition of being human (Arendt, 1958), or living a life in the state of humanness, in plurality. In this regard, the inquiry turns not on ontological, metaphysical, or normative characters of humanness but on *political humanness*.

Broadly speaking, political theory postulates that humans' inner sociability drives them to seek communal life (Fukuyama, 2011). Because human life in plurality demands political organisation (Arendt, 1958), humans would tend to organise life among themselves *politically*, hence establishing a relational network infused with power. In such human plurality, power becomes political, and establishes the *bios politicon* as the authentic and autonomous mode of human life—the explicit realm of human actions, praxis, and human affairs. Ergo, to live a life according to human essence in the political plurality proffers a clear distinction between the realm of the *politicon* and bare life (Agamben, 1995, 2003; Arendt, 1958).

The separation between bare and political humanness is not derived from inherent attributes of power but it is built upon the structuring of relationships among individuals (between an *ego* and *alter*), eventually constituting the essence framing the relations between individuals and community (the plurality). Individuals represent the end, and not the means, on which political power is pegged. Hence, features, patterns, and configurations of power are derived from, and observable in, the relational manifestation implicit in political power. In this regard, political theory represents a theoretical exposé of the interactions between *ego* and *alter* constituting the foundational tenets of the broader political phenomenon. The reduction of the political to the interaction between *ego* and *alter* is a theoretical synthesis epitomising the grounds of political configurations; that is, of functions and structure of the *politicon*.

The departing premises of political theory, and of political philosophy, understand that *ego* relates to *alter* on the basis of power; that is, power underpins any relations occurring between *ego* and *alter*.<sup>166</sup> The political epitomises the *ego-alter* process as pluralistic political structures. Nevertheless, inclusion within the political plurality is tied to engagement in the *ego-alter* relational scheme, which determines the limits of power's sovereignty, beside dictating the characters' defining political power.

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<sup>165</sup> The inquiry into the essence of human nature originated, with contrasting views, in the works of Enlightenment thinkers including Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, and David Hume.

<sup>166</sup> See Agamben, 1995; Bond & Ciekawy, 2001; Han, [2010] 2012; [2005] 2019; and Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; [1974] 1991.

The power relations occurring between *ego* and *alter* do not represent, as in communitarianist theorisations of personhood, a normative or a metaphysical account; neither should it be understood as a depiction of “social individual,” pitting organicist against individualistic premises, nor as a philosophical understanding of Heideggerian being-into-the-world, or a process of self-recognition (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; Ricoeur, 1992). As an inherent and constitutive part of political power, the *ego* epitomises the foundational principles of political humanness, ordering how one relates to others, to the plurality. Therefore, the relational bonds created determine the limits of the *societas generis humana*, of the *human* kind of life, of the human life condition, of life in the plurality.

### 5.3.1 Framing power relations: Immunological and dialogical paradigms

In “*Was ist Macht?*”, Byung-Chul Han thoroughly analyses the concept of power, considering logic, semantics, metaphysics, politics, and ethics. Regarding political power specifically, he departs from Arendt’s theorisations to affirm that power is not a phenomenon belonging primarily to togetherness. Political power does not emerge from the engagement in common action; power is, rather, the manifestation of self (*ego*) only in presence of an against (Han, [2005] 2019, pp. 70–71). In other words, political power emerges when a differentiating inside-outside power structure exists. What Han elucidates in his book is nothing less than the sustaining principles of political theory canons. Accordingly, as political power is the phenomenon *par excellence* epitomising the immunological differentiation of *ego* and *alter*, at the level of the plurality, power engendered by opposition gives rise to the political realm.

Herein, political power emerges as the outcome of causal relations underpinned in the Hobbesian adversarial model (Luhmann, 1990). Notwithstanding, as recalled by African philosophers (Wiredu, 1996), comparative political theorists (Euben, 1997), as well as other scholars (Han, [2005] 2019), the complexity of political power cannot be reduce to the univocal scheme of causal relations. Since the inquiry into the political and political power is a universally human dilemma, the variety of resultant postulations depend on cultural and social specificities. In other words, the multifaceted character of power turns political theory canons contentious.

The forthcoming paragraphs do not pretend to a depiction of a brand new account of political power. The aim of this study is, instead, to rethink political power through new reading

lenses to complement the existing theoretical models. The analysis ultimately aims to understand the characteristics of power as a relational phenomenon in the Bissau-Guinean scenario, as part of the broader African context.

Definitions of political power often refer to power as a relation, where a subject A is capable of making a subject B act according to A's will, whether such act was or was not compliant with B's own will (Bobbio, 1989; Han, [2005] 2019; A. Moreira, 1993). In other words, a causal scheme combines the strength of the Hobbesian premises with the Nietzschean strength of an rational *ego*: the relation between *ego* and *alter* epitomises the exercise and imposition of the first over the latter. In such a scheme, political power assumes a *polemical*<sup>167</sup> character (Marder, 2010; Schmitt, [1932] 2009), inherently implying struggle and antagonism as foundational characters of the political.

Accordingly, tenets of western political thought assume the opposition *ego-alter* grounded on individualistic premises as the *conditio per quam* of political unity. The recognition of the other granted by the use of reason and Cartesian logic pinpoints the agency of the individual *qua* individual. Due to sociocentric claims of power, the coming-to-light of differentiation results in inevitably abortive attempts to annihilate who and what is different. The binomial antagonism *ego-alter* reproduces in the plurality an endless opposition defining association and dissociations, inside and outside, friend and enemy, *Freund* and *Feind* (Freund, 1965; Schmitt, [1932] 2009).

Political theorisations conceive the causal relation of power in complementarity with generally accepted notions of humanness<sup>168</sup> underpinned by the *ego-alter* relation. As *ego*

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<sup>167</sup> Polemical, from the Greek *polemos*, signifies war or bellicose.

<sup>168</sup> Derived from western philosophy and gnosis, accepted tenets on humanness understand Man as a rational and dual being. The conception is twofold. The position of departure is epistemological and rationalistic, shaping the idea of the world and the perception of reality, along with subsequent moral and ethical stances. A lodestar in the western ontology of humanness is the Cartesian *egological* shift (Bongmba, 2001), through which one becomes aware of oneself as a being existing in time and space and therefore capable of existing as the same being in different time and space (Locke, [1690] 2014 [1689]). Ergo, one possesses a reflexive awareness of being self-aware. The self-standing, self-reliant *ego* is a transcendental entity since it has perspective on the physical reality yet it shares no identity with it nor is it subdued by the laws of the empirical world (Kant, [1797] 1991 [1797]). This means that the autonomous *ego* is immanent and transcends empirical reality and the conditions of time and space. Autonomy of the *ego* is thereby confirmed by its first freedom, this being the ability to come into existence, bridging an existent and an existing (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987) within the *ego*. Through reason and self-consciousness, *ego* breaks transcendence to be within the immanence of the present.

Secondly, the reason-based conception of humanness is entrenched in the duality of human beings, thus beings indivisibly composed of a body (the empirical element) and a mind (the rational element). While the latter is the quintessence of humanness, distinguishing features of humankind, marking a cleavage between a deified Man and animals, the former is a physical reality subjected to the biological rules of life and death, ruled by natural instincts. That is, men have and are a body (Habermas, 2003, p. 50). To have a body is the result of the capacity of assuming an objective attitude toward the fact of having a body, while to be a body is a primary mode of experience by

recognises *alter* exists, such existence is the ultimate reason sustaining the presence of *ego* itself (Ricoeur, 1992). Hence, it is *alter* that states the limits of *ego*, as the latter lives an existence of unbreachable monadic solitude (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; [1974] 1991).<sup>169</sup> As Emmanuel Levinas puts it, there is no escape from one's existential solitude, since "inasmuch as I am, I am a monad" (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987, p. 42). *Alter* is thus absolutely unknown and out of the reach of *ego*, inasmuch as the latter holds within itself the sufficient conditions to come into existence. The relational process affirms and strengthens the sufficiency and freedom of *ego*, as *alter* merely reflects *ego*, who returns to itself (Han, [2005] 2019).

According to western epistemology, *ego* is an entity of the present, the reification of an existing that comes into existence, chained to the materiality of the self (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987). The existing and the existent are not anchored in the past, nor are they projected onto the unforeseeable future; they are an active part of the *present*, the only chronological frame where encountering, experiencing, and knowing are possible. Ergo, the temporal frame of political power is epitomised by the time of the present, the actuality of which provides the context for action, the form of the common political act.

The above irreducible opposition of *ego* and *alter* provides the telos for the relational frame occurring at the level of the political plurality. The strength of the *ego-alter* polarity engenders and sustains the boundaries of the political sphere. The characterisation of political power as a relation underpinned by adversity and opposition structures a political configuration under the rule of the *Freund-Feind* dichotomy (Freund, 1965; Schmitt, [1932] 2009).

Therefore, this coupling of association-dissociation epitomises the *Leitmotiv* of political power, as well as a category-concept of the political. Moved by ethnocentric allegations of power underpinned by an immunological paradigm (Han, 2014), power relations produce the *ego*'s endless, ineffectual attempts to annihilate *alter*. Ergo, the power relations pegging *ego* to *alter* presuppose an immunological paradigm (Han, 2014), that creates a continuum where *ego* and *alter* are entrenched in an unbounded antagonism.

Political power so devised is free from teleological bonds, yet it frames a political life directed to the affirmation of *ego*. The agency, centrality, and power that *ego* is endowed with

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which the subjectivity of one's human life lives. Both aspects are indeed mutually-sufficient and necessary conditions for the attainment of humanness and the inherent entitlement of the right to life (Singer, 1994).

<sup>169</sup> According to the French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas, any face-to-face encounter between *ego* and *alter* is forever elusive, as the two are subjects. As such, they cannot be internalised or absorbed as knowable objects (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; [1974] 1991). Prevented from reaching one another, the intersubjective interactions between *ego* and *alter* are constrained to mutual exclusion.

unveils the individualistic, ego-centred tenets beneath the immunological political order. The Cartesian *cogito* confirms the autonomy, freedom, and self-sufficiency of the individual. Likewise, consequent theorisations have laid the groundwork for a political order that accords primacy to the individual, granting rights and freedoms, above all else. In this respect, modern nationalism emblematises the *beau ideal* of individualism, since in this political ideology individuals are conceptualised as the essential and primary unit of the overall system (Agamben, 1995).

By and large, it is fallacious to regard the above characterisation of political power universally valid. On the one hand, the individualistic premises it rests on find no correlate in the variety of social organisations ordering human life in the plurality. The relevance and centrality the community is entitled with in organicist system contrasts sharply with the Cartesian *ego* foreseen in the Hobbesian premises. The solitude of *ego* inherent to the monadic individual finds no place in communo-centric systems. On the other hand, the characterisation of power relation as the outcome of causality and adversity between a subject A (*ego*) and a subject B (*alter*) is too reductionist and simplistic to portray the complexity of power.

Political power is a phenomenon deeply rooted in inner traits of humanness, ergo in the condition of human life. Political power cannot exist without a togetherness of individuals yoking together, even if one lives one's life in existential solitude. That is, the condition of plurality represents first and foremost the *conditio sine qua non* of the political, the essence of its existence and the condition for political power (Arendt, 1958; [1967] 1995). Still, political power does not arise from any form of human gathering in orderly fashion. Rather, it presupposes a specifically chosen form of ordering and organisation, guaranteeing the inherent freedom of the individuals comprising the *bios politicon*.

For these reasons, the political sphere is given precedence over other forms of power, over other human activities, over the diverse forms of animal grouping. Subsequently, as the plurality is constituted by human beings, the capability of instituting a *bios politicon* implies the peculiarity and relevance of human capabilities, namely the capacity for abstraction, reasoning (Fukuyama, 2011), and language (Agamben, 1995; Levinas, [1974] 1991). To possess these capabilities not only lays the foundations for political powers but also results in the differentiation between *zōē* and *bios*.

Western political theory maintains the rational ego as the grounding basis establishing *zōē* and *bios* as foundational principles featuring and defining political power. The knot of the matter lies in the *ego*'s confinement in an existential monadic solitude. Because *ego* is tightly

entrenched with the self - the link chaining ego to materiality (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987), *alter* stays in an ontological opposition to the former, thus confirming its existence (Ricoeur, 1992) and creating its space of existence, freedom and knowledge (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987; [1974] 1991). There is no possibility of knowledge between *ego-self* and *alter*, since the former uses reason as an instrument of light, enjoying and absorbing, including within oneself the other in the process of knowing (Levinas, [1974] 1991). For this reason, *ego-self* is an entity of the present, whilst intersubjective relationships belong to the realm of the future, the absolutely unknowable (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987), out of the grasp of the light of the ego.

Nevertheless, the face-to-face relationship is made possible through the bridging tool of language. Language breaks the incomparable unicity at the ground zero of *ego*, that which does not identify with no-self (Levinas, [1974] 1991), not even with oneself (Ricoeur, 1992), since communication charts reciprocal limitations and delimitations. The rationale of the cognition between *ego* and *alter* reifies the fundamental aim of language (Levinas, [1974] 1991), propelled by *ego*'s commitment toward *alter*. Communication epitomises the grounding basis of *ego* recognition, and differentiation of self, through confrontation with *alter* (Agamben, 1995; Habermas, [1981] 1984; Levinas, [1946/7] 1987). Being the point at which *ego* and *alter* articulate, the *logos* is coincident with the foundational roots of the *polis*, of the *bios politicon*. Thereby, the power relation underpinning dialogical political power is one of *existential proximity* between the involved subjects.

The relevance of language is embodied in centuries of political practices, and of political theorisations, transcending time and space. In the view of Hannah Arendt, language intertwines with action, cooccurring in the creation of political power *qua* phenomenon of the human plurality. Language, and speech, require action to be effective, otherwise they would remain a mere potentiality of the togetherness. Nevertheless, language inherently entails a form of action itself, performed in the manner of speech. As action (intended as contemplation, stillness, politics) is regarded of the highest relevance in the hierarchy of human existence, it requires language to articulate and order the acts commonly undertaken by the plurality (Arendt, 1958). Therefore, language epitomises the political means to articulate the life of the individuals in the plurality, while actions confirm the speaker's truth (Arendt, 1958). In contrast, violence, brute force, or the incapacity for language are confined to the a- or pre-political *zōē*.

Nevertheless, the categories *zōē* and *bios* grounded in *logos* as a foundational principle for political power is no less problematic. The concerns I refer to do not dismiss Arendt's formulations, but rather review them in the light of Foucauldian conceptions of biopower and



biopolitics practices. In this regard, the analysis of Giorgio Agamben is particularly enlightening. Agamben argues that *zōē* and *bíos* do not determine the character of political power because they do not stand in an antagonistic binomial (ergo engendering a differentiation between political and bare life), but they are part of the same unity (Agamben, 1995). The grounding reason of the critique lies in the fact that the dialogical aspect of the plurality is upheld in the inherent communicativeness of mankind. Hence, rather than distinguishing and featuring political power, language brings the *bíos politicon* into non-political, bare life.

As language binds political power to the biological nature of human beings, it engenders the engagement of *zōē* and *bíos* in the biopower. The former appears as an ontological inclusion in the latter, due to the inherent human capability for language, independent of whether being is plural or solitary. Furthermore, political power assumes control over the production of a biological body, thanks to the bridging tool provided by language. In this sense, the original political act is the birth of a new individual. The character is assumed not due to the capability for action or the change any new and unique political subject brings (Arendt, 1958), but is due to the coming into existence of a new citizen, rather than a mere human being (Agamben, 1995).

The search for the character of political power remains unresolved, as the phenomenon has no univocal manifestations. The causal-adversarial, along with the dialogical models of power, rest on individualistic premises. Still, political theory formulations also assume non-individualistic bases as bedrocks of political power. Distancing themselves from the above theorisations, cosmopolitanism and the capabilitarian approach depart from human capabilities as bedrocks for political power. Above all, inherent human sentiments are taken to be the basis for fraternity and plurality (Nussbaum, 2013), thus justifying a commitment to reciprocity among fellow humans and the consequential relational responsibilities binding *ego* and *alter*. Similarly, the political project developed by the philosophical school of Ubuntu turns on human inner vitality and capability for communion<sup>170</sup> (Metz, 2012a, 2012b, 2014) as grounds to establish political power. Underpinned by a humanistic ethical telos, these theories assume not the centrality of *ego* but its interconnectedness with *alter*.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> The capability for communion, or communal life, is defined by Thaddeus Metz as the mingling of solidarity with one's fellow men, and identity with and in the community (Metz, 2012a).

<sup>171</sup> In the book chapter "Ego in traditional political power of Guinea-Bissau: A challenge to cosmopolitanism?" (in A. Kasanda & M. Hrubec [2021], *Africa in a Multilateral World. Afropolitan Dilemmas*. Routledge) I discuss at length the *ego-alter* relation characterising the political theories of cosmopolitanism, Afropolitanism, capabilitarianism, and communitarianism.

To dismiss the standing of *ego* as an isolated unit moved uniquely by interest in self-affirmation against or through the other deeply impacts the characterisation of political power. Unencumbered by the characters of *logos* and of immunological opposition, the interconnect- edness of *ego* and *alter* frames political power as *continuity* underpinned in *intersubjective* relations.

### 5.3.2 A plural and past-centred *ego*

As discussed in the previous section, power is an essentially relational phenomenon, which inherent character depends on the relation binding *ego* and *alter*. In organicist, or community-oriented social and political systems, the latter's relation discards the ego-cogito as- sumptions prizing individualism, giving preference to the community and intersubjectivity, which bonds *ego* in a continuum to *alter*. To theorise the character of continuity as an inner feature of political power has implications for the polity. Prior to engaging with such an inquiry (that is, to unveil institutionalisation and structuring of political power configurations, to understand the continuity underneath political power) it is necessary to discern the underlying type of *ego-alter* relation.

According to Han, the continuity of power is due to an interiorisation of what is external to one (Han, [2005] 2019, p. 45). The Korean-born scholar rejects the idea of unknowability of *alter* but embraces the (theoretical) possibility of a reciprocal interaction between *ego* and *alter*, which engenders an interwoven net of relations. Hence, the multiple relations among the sub- jects originate those binds of continuity embodying *ego* and *alter*, and *ego* within the larger *polis*. Herein what connects *ego* to the other subjects is a relationship underpinned by media- tion, causing a network of reciprocal interdependencies between *ego* and *alter* (Han, [2005] 2019). In other words, the established relation is not one of dominance, submission, or incor- poration, nor of self-reflection. *Ego* relates to *alter* on the basis of compromise, inasmuch as the two remain in an equal position toward one another. *Alter* does not produce an act of active or passive acceptance or acknowledgement of *ego* but is itself an autonomous source of power. Ergo, *ego* and *alter* are a reciprocal source and cause of power, for “every power space is a continuum of a self that maintains itself against another” (Han, [2005] 2019, p. 16).

The premises on the intertwined *ego-alter* relation are given by political power's character of continuity, The engendered relational network is constituted by *interdependency* – insofar as one is responsible for the other's power – and of *subjectivity* – since one maintains one's own individuality, cancelled out by neither the other nor by the plurality. Therefore, the relational space considered falls under the description of *intersubjectivity*.

Before moving forward, we should clear up any doubts over the concept of intersubjectivity, and the conflicting usage communitarianism makes of it. As recalled elsewhere in this dissertation (§2.3), the theories of communitarianism are generally poor on eminently political implications; they have, so far, granted little attention to political studies and theory. In this sense, communitarianism does not present a clear or coherent conceptualisation of political power or of power's foundational principles. Nevertheless, the discipline at large assumes the notion of intersubjectivity as equivalent to community's prioritisation, hence a sufficient premise to dispatch the element of individuality.

In communitarianism postulates, inasmuch as everyone ought to inter-be or to be interconnected to everything else in the world, the immanence of *ego* is not constrained to a monadic self, but appears in a relational ontology, as *interbeing* (Jung, 1989, 2002). The interconnectedness of the ego also has been given the name of *beingness together* (Menkiti, 2004b), or being with the other, for one recognises the source of one's own humanity in the others, once reaching self-awareness. According to Ifeanyi Menkiti, in the awareness of one's own humanity, *ego* finds the internal (supposedly, self-)assurance that there exist no grounds to claim one's existence in the absence of *alter*. The encounter of *ego* and *alter* is grounded in a dialogical clash of crisscrossed, different experiences and stories, carrying the ontological weight of the past (Menkiti, 2004b, p. 324). As it encompasses past, present, and future, language brings with it an ontological and moral commonwealth between *ego* and *alter*. Therefore, *ego* finds its immanence in an extended self (Mbiti, 1990), inexistent in the absence of a surrounding plurality. Also, scholars postulate *ego* as a subject entirely inclined toward or for the other, thus a *being-for-others* (Mudimbe, 1988).

It is my opinion that communitarianism gets rid too easily of *ego*'s subjectivity in the relational scheme.<sup>172</sup> To avoid such a conceptual trap, I aim to apply the above notion of subjectivity, starting from Han's considerations, and tie it to the communitarian-organicist

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<sup>172</sup> It would be wrong to synthesise all communitarian theory under one undifferentiated spectrum. To cite but one, I would indicate the studies of Motsamai Molefe on the characters of individualism inherent in organicist systems (Molefe, 2017b, 2017a, 2018b, 2019).

understanding of human beings' corporate existence (Menkiti, 2004a). That is, in accordance with African and Bissau-Guinean *Weltanschauungen*, I here consider the ontological weight of communal life in *ego-alter* relations, keeping in mind the persistence of subjectivity in the intersubjective space. The relevance of the plurality does not override one's subjectivity, nor does it abolish the individual as a unicity.

Overall, in African ontology, *ego* relations presuppose the abandonment of the ego-centred standpoint to leave space for a communitarian ethos. The latter does not erase subjectivity but engages *ego* in constant intersubjective relations. Consequently, *ego* is not conceived of as an entity confined to a space of existential solitude, as in western thought. The chaining of *ego* to materiality and otherness is a plural phenomenon that requires a harmonious completeness granted by *alter* and plurality. Hence, in intersubjectivity, *ego* is not *for* the other, not against the *alter*, but it presupposes a contingent inter-existence with *alter* and plurality, enabling an *intermonadic* becoming (Bongmba, 2006). *Ego* and *alter* are interrelated and inter-articulated in reciprocal self-problematizing (Luhmann, 1990).

Emmanuel Kifon Bongmba thoroughly exposes the scheme of intersubjective relationships framed within African *Weltanschauung*. Starting from the concepts of witchcraft and community in Cameroon, the author interprets intersubjectivity as the outcome of *ego*'s interactions with the other as part of one's own constituting activity (Bongmba, 2001, 2006). *Ego* does not interact with *alter* and the surrounding world as objects *simpliciter*, but it pairs with others in actively constituting activity. Such a relational scheme makes *ego* and *alter* compatible whilst preserving their primordial space. As such, the relation of intersubjectivity induces the primordial organism, *ego*, to promote and preserve subjectivity as radical difference (Bongmba, 2006, p. 137), capable of pairing yet beyond neglect and appropriation. In other words, the intersubjective space invoked by *ego* and *alter* finds its dimension in an ongoing dialectic between subject and community (Bongmba, 2001), an endless, constant formulation and negotiation of the individual in the togetherness underpinned by the subjects' interconnectivity.

The intersubjective status between *ego* and *alter* discards the presence of *alter* as an *alter-ego*, for the subjects maintain their own radical difference with no possibility of mirroring or absorbing one another. By contrast, the relation poses a continuum of interconnectedness that includes in the intersubjective space the manifold radical differences of the comprised subjects. In this sense, continuity is established between *ego* and *alter*, through the middle term

of the plurality: as *ego* stays in inter-existence to the plurality, *alter* stays in inter-existence to the plurality. **Hence, *ego* stands at the plurality (the “we”) as the plurality stays at *alter*.**

In this sense, it is meaningful to affirm that *ego* (I) appears as “we from a different perspective” (Gbadegesin, 2003). The inclusiveness and interrelatedness in the plurality cause a switching in the sense of self, blurring the boundaries between *ego* and plurality. Beyond and prior to political manifestations, the use of language is evidence of mingling.<sup>173</sup> People tend to use the first person singular (“I”) and the first-person plural (“we”) pronouns interchangeably in their talks; the choice of pronoun reveals complicates, subconscious political valences. The switch is no peculiar of specific topics or talks, but is rather pervasive on any sphere of language, concerning one’s tastes to one’s decisions.

In addition, *ego* tends to be prone and open to plurality and *alter*. In one’s daily life, outward projection is given great importance. *Ego* reaches out of itself, toward *alter* and plurality, as a prolongation of itself in the space of “we.” In other words, one’s space and time for introspection is mingled with the sharing of one’s thoughts and experiences. The idea I am trying to articulate is not foreign to any western-raised person who has travelled to or lived or researched in Africa: there is, generally speaking, a void of moments of silence or solitude, generally considered abnormal, while constant interaction and company are the norm. The outward projection of one’s introspection does not automatically erase one’s capability for self-reflection; yet it attests to the fundamental function of the intersubjective space.

The *ego-alter* reciprocal encounter is marked by an ongoing process of mutual recognition epitomised in the *mantenhas* (greetings) exchanged by people. *Mantenhas* are a conversation that does not occupy much time or involve a deep involvement in one’s business. Nevertheless, it is considered impolite not to greet somebody, a friend, a family member, or an acquaintance, when paths cross. *Mantenhas* assumes the character of obligation, or almost so, when they involve elders; if one does not to pay a visit if nearby, it is considered very rude, and somehow a lack of respect. In other words, the commonality and frequency of greetings is due to awareness and recognition of reciprocal presence and the existence of the binding relational links. It epitomises an action of intersubjectivity in people’s daily interactions.

In order to maintain the continuity constituting intersubjectivity, the equal (and asymmetrical) relations between *ego*, *alter*, and plurality are grounded in a partnership of

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<sup>173</sup> Although my records lack specific questions related to this matter, due to the length of the interviews, and time availability of my interviewees, the constant non-participant observation was particularly useful to gathering data on the matter.

cooperation (Han, [2010] 2012; [2005] 2019). Based on the equality of *ego* and *alter*, cooperation presupposes an equal commitment to one another and to the plurality. In this sense, cooperation is easily recognisable in acts of practical altruism, proper to and beyond political power. These are particularly evident in moments of dire necessity, or harsher situations. For example, one of my acquaintances on Quinhamel (Biombo region) instructed me about how people would take care of you when in need: “*Here you can survive even three-four months without any salary. [...] People are going to let you live at their house and share their food.*”<sup>174</sup> However, one must be aware of the others’ needs; that is, one ought to consider their thereeness-for-me. In other words, to abuse what others are willing to share is considered morally bad, a cause of shame and dishonour.<sup>175</sup>

These acts of practical altruism need no big gesture yet are indicative of a way of thinking that goes beyond oneself to involve *alter* and plurality.<sup>176</sup> As one’s concern moves beyond *ego*, along with the normality of engaging with the plurality as one’s continuum, it engenders a process of *thinking plurally*, thus of thinking for and beyond oneself. To think plurally is not intended as a form of satisfying greater needs. Rather, it indicates the transposition of *ego* onto the plurality, due to the inherent character of continuity power is endowed with.

In political terms, intersubjectivity is notably evident regarding land ownership and division. Generally, each household of the *regulado* is entitled to a piece of land (*bolanha*) to grow crops (mostly rice). Although there exists no customary provision of a mandatory character, it is common to divide with or rent part of the fields to those finding themselves in times of need. When a man lacks land to cultivate, following the recommendations of the elders, the council of the *regulado* meets and deliberates upon which or how much land to lend to “*o nosso irmão que quer trabalhar,*” “*uma pessoa que está na tabanca mas não tem possibilidade de ter posse de terra,*” although “[...] *não tem obrigação de falar, temos que fazer aí.*”<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Informal talk with Papadou Dju, Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>175</sup> Informal talk with Papadou Dju, Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019. Although, the idea ought not to be overestimated or generalised, as one should understand that there are limits on what to ask to or expect from others. In the opinion of Papadou, to abuse other’s hospitality or food is a cause of shame, a sign of one’s failure in life: “*you see, people would be welcoming and sharing anyhow, but I would feel ashamed. [...] I would feel ashamed, I did not want to do it.*”

<sup>176</sup> During fieldwork in 2019, I found myself travelling from Jemberem to Catió on public transport. Frankly, the journey was terrible: so much bouncing and bumps, a lot of dust due to unpaved roads, and two mechanical breakdowns. In a situation where all the passengers were hungry but mostly thirsty, a middle-aged woman took care of everybody by buying water and fruit and sharing them with all present, before anybody could ask for it.

<sup>177</sup> “our brother who wants to work”, “a person who is in the village but cannot afford owning land”, although “[...] no discussion is mandatory, we have to act.” Djumbai in Catió, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019, and semi-structured interview with Baakuran, *curandeiro*, in Farim, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019. A similar reference was stated by the *regulo* of Plack, in Quinhamel. The latter and the elders in the *djumbai* pointed out the role of the *regulo*. As stated during

Also, traditional medicine responds to patterns of intersubjective relations. As the interviewees stated during the *djumbai* in Jemberem, the local *curandeiros* empowered their healing capacities by grouping together. One healer may not be able to treat a specific illness since one has knowledge or capability within a limited area. In consideration of the interests of the patient, a *curandeiro* might look for another *curandeiro* who could help solving the problem. In Jemberem, the local healers' community sorted the problem creating an association of *curandeiros*, since one “*não pode receber qualquer doente para tratar sozinho.*”<sup>178</sup> To join different individuals' unique capabilities together to foster them as a whole is the recognition of the inherent interconnectedness of one in the togetherness.

Relying only on the examples from fieldwork mentioned above, one cannot efficiently determine whether these acts were due to a genuine intersubjectivity bonding *ego*, *alter*, and plurality or to material and technical needs posing constraints on one's actions. It is undeniable that the reliance on forms of societal or communal action tends to be higher the scarcer the resources. Perhaps, in response to these critiques, it is useful to consider the participation and empathy in feelings of joy and sorrow rather than practical actions. Not only is the participation in funerals, weddings, and births a matter of the plurality, not of the single individual, but so too is the assumption of guilt or responsibility for misdemeanours befalling the community and not merely on the wrongdoer.<sup>179</sup> The moral behaviour of individuals is a matter involving all the community, especially those in charge of moral education; hence, the indigenous political committee, the *regulo*, and the elders.<sup>180</sup>

The engagement in activities, feelings, and needs beyond one's own further attests to the interwoven character of the subjects involved in the plurality, who think plurally. Ergo, the continuity of power enacts in an intersubjective space of asymmetries, although void of hierarchies, as *ego* and *alter* are equals. Due to the blurred boundaries of the togetherness separating *ego* and plurality, and the commitment to an ontological and existential interrelatedness in

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the *djumbai*: “*O regulo é comunicado, o regulo convoca toda a tabanca, perguntando quem tem possibilidade de dar, quem dá a sua terra àquela pessoa que não tem, assim pessoa é atribuída posse de terra*” (It is told to the *regulo*, and the *regulo* summons the whole *tabanca* to ask who has the means to help and provide the landless person with a portion of land, thus a person is granted land).

<sup>178</sup> “Since one cannot attend any patient and treat them on one's own.” Camará during the *Djumbai* in Jemberem, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019. The association comprises different institutionalised religious and political figures, including imams, *muros*, *djambakos*, *regulo*, *curandeiro*, and catholic priests, hence demonstrating the inherent link between medical treatment and religious-political officials and their powers.

<sup>179</sup> According to what is reported in customary law, compiled by the Faculdade de Direito de Bissau and INEP, penal sanctions can be transmitted to family members as part of the immediate family or of the kinship. The authors remark on the commonness of such a practice, particularly among the Balanta ethnic group (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012).

<sup>180</sup> From the focus group during the *djumbai* in Jemberem, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

*ego* and in *alter*, the locus of *ipsocentric* power (Han, [2005] 2019) is encountered in the plurality—in the relational space of intersubjectivity engendered by the *ego-alter* encounter.

#### 5.4 Grounds for *zōé* and *bíos* in Guinea-Bissau

How does *ego* carry on political relations and interactions in organicist political pluralities? To answer this question, the above-framed theorisations have considered positions within political theory, intertwined with political philosophy, mingling ideas from the canons, with communitarian formulations. The preliminary conclusions drawn from this theoretical exercise show that the dichotomy *ego-alter* based upon an adversarial-immunological model does not fit organicist political systems. Different theories (cosmopolitanism, Afropolitanism, and the capabilitarian approach, to cite but a few), along with the Africanist communitarianism, pinpoint the crucial role of the community (the togetherness) in the shaping of power relations. Therefore, to understand the interplay of *ego* and *alter* in organicist pluralities, prominence should be given to the space of intersubjectivity binding the political subjects.

Still, the relation of *ego* and *alter* is embedded in cultural particularity dependent on the local *gnosis* (Mudimbe, 1988). It not sufficient to consider grounds of reciprocity, intersubjectivity, and interconnectedness in the discernment of a polity's foundations. Doing so, one is liable to fall into the normativeness of what *ought* to be, of undertaking an eminently philosophical analysis. The aim of this study is, instead, to conduct an analytical inductive-deductive study in political theory, undergirded by data from a specific setting, Guinea-Bissau.

The forthcoming postulations take as their starting point the concepts of intersubjectivity and interconnectedness of the political subjects. The latter apply in an African context largely characterised by organicist or communitarian social organisation. Nevertheless, the focus of this chapter is to unveil how *ego* and *alter* relate in Bissau-Guinean indigenous political power. Since intersubjectivity is complementary to the notion of power as relational continuity, I make recourse to the case of the spirit-child, or *criança-irân*.

The latter represents a disruption to the harmony of the social order and a threat to the overall community. Such premises are adduced as sufficient reasons for the child's disposability and liminality. Under this light, the *criança-irân* epitomises the lenses through which is



possible to understand political power. I argue that the case of the spirit-child constitutes a disruption to the continuity of power, since they are dual beings excluded from the plurality's patterns of temporality. That is, the understanding of the *criança-irân* is inherently connected to the ontological conceptions of political subjects (and *djorson*) and of time (and *tchon*), as previously discussed.

The three notions—spirit-child, *djorson*, and temporality—form the conceptual framework necessary to identify the boundaries of *zōē* and *bíos* in the selected scenario, the indigenous political polity in Guinea-Bissau.

#### 5.4.1 From the ritual infanticide to political power

Recalling Kierkegaard (Han, [2005] 2019, p. 62), the sovereignty of power is not revealed by normality but from the exception. In this dissertation I am applying the Popperian law of falsification of a (scientific) theory: one exception confirms the rule, as it suffices to prove that the generalisation inherent in the rule is not universally valid. In this sense, I aim to use the case of the *criança-irân*, the spirit-child, to understand how the interaction between *ego* and *alter* is framed in Guinea-Bissau indigenous political power. The *criança-irân* are cast out of the political plurality due to their ontological nature, being spirits in human flesh. The spirit-children epitomise the exception to the *ego-alter* intersubjective relations, therefore casting doubt on the frames and boundaries of the relational space.

To clarify the matter, it is necessary to consider the contribution from specific, local ontology, along with its interactions with the characters of power and the boundaries of the political plurality, the *bíos*. Recalling what has already been noted about intersubjective *ego-alter* relations and the continuity of power, the locus of the political lays in the plurality, or rather in the community or togetherness of individuals. According to the ontological elements of Bissau-Guinean epistemology, the political community stretches beyond the limits of the physical realm to include, or to assume the existence and interactions of, semi-physical entities within the physical reality. Moreover, this political community is grounded in the past as its central moment of temporality. Yet the political community is in its essence atemporal, insofar as it supposes the inclusion in the *bíos* of beings disentangled from the *physikon*, whose nature ranges from dead ancestors to spirits, according to local religious and ethnic specificities.

Nevertheless, the boundaries of the political plurality cast the *criança-irân* in the space of exclusion as being simultaneously spirit and child. The exclusion of these babies is not only the outcome of cosmological beliefs, but an inner signifier of local specificities in the understanding of the *ego-alter* relationship. A baby regarded as a *criança-irân* is generally viewed as different from the other babies and a threat to the community; inevitably, people point out that their dissimilarity is due to their lack of human nature.

In the view of the women I interviewed in Quinhamel (Biombo region, mostly belonging to the Pepel or Balanta ethnical group), the mother appreciates first-hand the nature of the baby when breastfeeding. If the infant is *irân*, she will feel cold.<sup>181</sup> Moreover, *criança-irân* are regarded as more likely to avoid engaging in interactions with their peers, including other children or adults. Their self-isolation from sociality is assumed to intensify as the infant grows up. Also, the threat the spirit-child represents to the mother, the family, and the overall community amplifies as time goes by; therefore, “*leba meninu ao mar*” (to take the baby to the sea, meaning to perform the ritual infanticide) is considered a form of self- and community-defence.

The *criança-irân* constitutes a danger also to the healers who would try to perform any treatment. The *curandeiros* I spoke to revealed how fewer and fewer people are available or able to perform the ritual, due to the preparatory work required for oneself and one’s household and family to be protected from *irân*’s vengeance.<sup>182</sup> On the one hand, to refuse to perform the ritual protects the healers from legal responsibilities if they confirm they are carrying on the practice. On the other hand, the hybridisation of (post-)modernity and globalisation has kicked in, weakening indigenous knowledge. The exceptional powers traditional healers are endowed with are regarded to be less powerful or more corrupted than in the past, so that nowadays they are less capable of recognising a *criança-irân* from a *pekadur* (human person) when they meet one.

The spirit-children are denied their human nature in favour of an unclear status. Some say they are a snake, a boa constrictor, the incarnation of *irân cego*.<sup>183</sup> In light of their different, non-human nature, their death is faced with no grief, tears, or mourning.<sup>184</sup> The disappearance

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<sup>181</sup> Structured interview with pregnant women and mothers in Quinhamel, October–December 2016.

<sup>182</sup> Semi-structured interviews with *curandeiros* and *djambakos*, in Jemberem, Cacheu, Catio, Buba. Quinhamel, February 2019.

<sup>183</sup> Structured interview with pregnant women and mothers in Quinhamel, October–December 2016.

<sup>184</sup> On the subject of parents’ and mothers’ affection for children and spirit-children in Guinea-Bissau, see the masterpiece of Jónína Einarsdóttir, *Tired of Weeping: Mother Love, Child Death and Poverty in Guinea-Bissau* (Einarsdóttir, 2004b).

of a *criança-irân* is not a death, but simply a spirit returning its own dimension. So, a mother is forbidden to cry, because the creature was not a baby, it was not her baby;<sup>185</sup> she would not cry, because she knew it was *irân*. In the case that she mourns as if she had lost a child, *irân* would know it and come back again in her future pregnancies.<sup>186</sup>

The case of the *criança-irân* does not depend uniquely on the beliefs of local animist cosmology but expands beyond the religious patterns, inherently part of the normative understanding of the political order and political subjects in the indigenous polity of Guinea-Bissau. For this reason I find the case relevant and central to the understanding of the concept of political power in this setting.

The case of the *criança-irân* represents the inclusionary-exclusion (Agamben, 1995) from the political realm. The spirit-children are deemed outside the normative order of the political plurality, ergo they are not rightful political subjects. The *criança-irân* are those elements excluded from the *bíos*. Nevertheless, the exclusion as established through customary norms determines the inclusion: the spirit-child is included in the normative order as the figure of the exception. In other words, to assume their exclusion consequently implies their inclusion in the system as they epitomise the reification of liminality. In sum, their political and legal status is that of *homines sacri*—unkillable yet sacrificable beings (Agamben, 1995; Mbembe, 2003). Given the unique ontological and normative configuration, it is not difficult to see that aptness of the *criança-irân* as a frame through which to read boundaries and characters of political power in indigenous polity of Guinea-Bissau.

The exclusion of the *criança-irân* is, at a first sight, due to the physically discordant characters the spirit-children possess. Many people will also refer to extremely quiet behaviour not expected from a baby that young, or to physical impairments, often concerning the development of motor skills (walking and standing, e.g.). Furthermore, the *criança-irân* are said to have flaming eyes that shine in the darkness, a foaming or drooling mouth, and a big head which they are unable to keep up straight.<sup>187</sup> The spirit-child is also often endowed with skills exceeding the range of human capabilities, such being able to transform into an animal, or to

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<sup>185</sup> Testimonio interview with Fernando Fé, next to Escola Jão XXIII, Bissauzinho (Biombo region), on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>186</sup> Structured interview with pregnant women and mothers in Quinhamel, October-December 2016.

<sup>187</sup> Beyond the recent studies compiled by Jónína Einarsdóttir (2004) and FEC (Gonçalves, 2015), the anthropological studies of António Carreira and Rogado Fernando Quintino offer a thorough account of reasons explaining the *criança-irân* phenomenon. Although produced under the colonial regime, and dating to the mid-twentieth century, they remain a detailed account of the occurrence and connected beliefs (Carreira, 1961, 1971b, 1971a; Quintino, 1949b, 1949a).

be able to fly, to disappear, or move at an unusual speed from one place to another. Although such characteristics are also attributed to ritual specialists (§5.2.1), when connected to the spirit-child they are regarded as evil. The notion of *criança-irân* is often associated with the devil, spirits, and *irân*. The last association does not imply any inherently good or bad character for the baby, since *irân* itself is an almighty entity responsible for good and bad occurrences alike. In some cases, the spirit-child is regarded to be the sign of great luck, and their “extra” capabilities are said to be venerated by the elders.<sup>188</sup>

The phenomenon of *criança-irân* would be badly served by the reading-lenses of organicism, seeing the phenomenon in terms of a system prioritising solely group rights and duties against the preservation of individual rights. Accordingly, the ritual infanticide practice is not performed due to concerns over family or community safety *simpliciter*. Regardless of the degree of organicism or communitarianism guiding a social system, the inner drive of the moral system would remain individualistic in character (Molefe, 2017b, 2017a), since the ultimate subject and aim of the (moral) act is the moral agent itself. Ergo, one would direct and choose one’s actions thinking of oneself as the final recipient. In this sense, the community fails to attain an overarching relevance above that of the individual.

Moreover, the space of intersubjectivity is not postulated as a monolithic oneness (M. O. Eze, 2008) dissolving one’s uniqueness or radical difference. The intersubjective plurality entails an interwoven network of connectedness binding indissolubly *ego*, *alter*, and the togetherness. Considering the blurred boundaries between physical reality and metaphysics, the plurality disentangles itself from any ontological function<sup>189</sup> or relevance. It holds an eminently normative function, which is to provide continuity upon which *ego* frames itself and builds relations with *alter*. The relational space null neither *ego*’s nor *alter*’s subjectivity but rather foster the maintenance of the subjects’ own radical difference, and therefore their rights as individuals, along with mutual obligations, duties, and group rights.

The *criança-irân* represent a threat to social order and harmony (Eirnasdóttir, 2004b, 2004a, 2005); as a menace they should be disposed of. Still, although the belief holds strong, and is shared by a vast majority of the population, ritual infanticide seems to enjoy less favour. On the one hand, people tend to reply positively to questions regarding the existence of spirit-

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<sup>188</sup> Questionnaire submitted to members of the Parlamento Nacional Infantil (PNI), Quinhamel, December 01<sup>st</sup>, 2016.

<sup>189</sup> The ontological function of the community is assumed by radical (Menkiti, 1984, 2004a) and moderate (Gyekye, 1997; Gyekye & Wiredu, 1992) communitarianist theories of personhood that postulate the community as the necessary means for the existence of human life, and for one’s realisation of personhood.

children; however, not as many positive answers are recorded when questions cover infanticide. Broadly speaking, people are aware of the prohibitions (Penal Code, art.110, e.g.) and of principles related to human rights. There are people who refuse to accept the existence of the *criança-irân* and defend their rights to live as any other human being. Not infrequently a mother will not accept that a baby born from her, a human mother, could be no less than human.

The practice of ritual infanticide, rather than the belief itself, is generally talked about as something of the past. “*Ba le aki ki ta fasido amim nka sibi ki ta fasido gos*,”<sup>190</sup> Djon told me when talking in the backyard of his house. The practice belongs to other times, it is “*kusa di tradison*” (something of the tradition). Bissau-Guinean national independence operated as a threshold, separating the “traditional” past from the “modern” present. In the newly independent state of Guinea-Bissau little space was left for *praticas tradicionais nefastas* (harmful traditional practices), which tended to be hidden or otherwise suppressed.

Nevertheless, today the belief in the spirit-child is registered throughout the country, as well as among people of different ethnic and religious background.<sup>191</sup> The fundamentals supporting the belief will however be of a different nature, leading us to assume the interrelatedness of principles of political power. Rather than being an element against the maintenance of social order and harmony, the *criança-irân* represent a disruption to the normative structure of the political.

The spirit-child’s exclusion from the *bios politicon* is due to their ontological nature, as they are understood being the “wrong” type of being. Mostly, people do not refer to the *criança-irân* by this name but rather use a vast array of substituting paraphrases, such as *menino ki ta padidu diritu* (the baby who was not born well), or *meninu ku cabesa garandi* (the baby with a big head, probably in consideration of the high number of macrocephaly cases), *criansa ki ta bai* (the baby who left).

The last one is particularly frequent when talking about the ritual practice, or about the destiny of these infants. People refer to them as babies who will leave or disappear, if not by human action, out of their own will. It is normal that one day they will not be any longer within the human community, as they are creatures who belong to the other world. As such, they are forsaken by the community, and the *djorson*: “[djorson] *ki ta fala kuma [...] si ka pekadur, ka*

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<sup>190</sup> “That this that was done, I do not know if it is practiced today.” Semi-structured interview with Djon, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>191</sup> Due to time and material constrains, I could not execute an extensive collection of data as desirable to show the sharing patterns of the belief. However, the study published by FEC in 2015 (Gonçalves, 2015) provides a creditable reference.

*misti*.”<sup>192</sup> Hence, the orderliness of their departure further attests to their exclusion from the human and the political plurality.

In the opinion of ritual specialists, *irân* cannot have children with humans. Rather, *irân* has its own children, who are not born by mating with human beings. “*Serpente ki entral, ghoutro entral e tas botado, ma nunca irân pade fidju. Irân su fidju a parte,*”<sup>193</sup> the *djambakos* Omi Masa explains to me in Cacheu. The reproductive mismatch widens the gap distancing *irân*, a semi-physical entity, from the *criança-irân*, and clearly casts the two in differentiated ontological categories. The spirit is entitled the right to be included in the political plurality comprising physical and semi-physical entities, whereas the spirit-child is not, since it is neither this nor that, not human and not spirit, but a hybrid being.

The *criança-irân*, as spirit-children, are beings composed of a physical part, the body, and a meta- or semi-physical part, the spirit. In this sense, they are a type of dualistic entity. Due to this dualism, they pose a disruption to the continuity of power and of time: being a spiritual entity encased in human flesh, they represent an atemporal entity which opposes the past-ward time continuum sustaining the (atemporal) political community.

In light of their atemporal nature, the *criança-irân* could never possibly belong to the political plurality. The spirit-child does not hold much ontological weight in past stories, myths, and experiences. They do not belong to the ontological time (the past, what has already been) of a plurality and therefore are excluded from the network of relations constituting political power. Because *ego-alter* relatedness is anchored in the common past that brings the being for, with, and through its chronological reality, it creates an atemporal understanding that transcendently binds physical, semi-, and metaphysical entities and egos.

The *ego-alter* encounter suffers under the conditionality imposed by the centrality and reiteration of the past. The past-centric temporality tightly links the establishment of *ego*'s relational power connections, thus the structuring features of the *bíos politicon*, to the past and the *djorson*. The *criança-irân* eludes the relational scheme since their dualistic nature prevents their belonging to the chronological continuity of the political plurality, and consequential recognition as political subjects.

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<sup>192</sup> “The *djorson* says that [...]. If s/he is not human, does not want him/her.” *Djumbai* in Catió, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>193</sup> “The snake goes in [her], the other goes in, and is inside, but *irân* never gives birth to offspring. *Irân* has its own children.” Semi-structured interview with Omi Masa, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Through their inclusionary-exclusion, the *criança-irân* demonstrate the boundaries of political power and of the political plurality. In other words, due to the exception they represent, the spirit-child delineates political power in Bissau-Guinean indigenous thought: the *ego-djorson* bond.

#### 5.4.2 Ego and Djorson

*Ego* and *djorson* create and sustain the political plurality, the *bíos politicon* in the Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity. In other words, the binomial *ego-djorson*, featuring continuity in power relations, embodies the category-concept of indigenous political power. The latter seals the boundaries of the political *bíos* and gives prominence to intersubjectivity, hence shaping foundational principles, functions, structure, and features and apparatuses of power. The totality of power results from the relational encounter of *ego* and *alter*, chained by the bonds coupling *ego* and *djorson*.

In the Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity, the encounter of *ego* and *alter*, further bonding *ego* and *djorson*, does not have dialogical roots. As previously discussed, studies of biopolitics and biopower reject the *logos* as the *conditio per quam* of political power. Nevertheless, the role of language is not rejected *in toto*, since the inner relevance of speech holds true in many political practices, such as consensus. Moreover, in African polities at large, *logos* and orality are accorded high value, to the extent that most political practices are performed orally, in a dialogical manner. Moreover, and not only in the African scenario, the importance of language constitutes a foundational condition to uphold the distinction between a bare and a political life, between *zōé* and *bíos*.

The inner character of power eludes the formulations of the institutionalised language. As Martin Buber observed, the ultimate function of *logos* is to unveil an ontological reality: the ontological opposition between the primordial subjects, the *I* and the *Thou* (Buber, [1923] 1999). The intersubjectivity generated by the *ego-alter* encounter creates an intermediate space dissembling its subjects into an indefinite, unlimited centre. The value and existence of the plurality bars *logos* from its function, due to the apophasis of the institutionalised language (Levinas, [1974] 1991). Hence, language is not a sufficient ontological tool for the constitution of the political sphere.

Discarding *logos* as the foundation of the *ego-alter* encounter, it is tempting to explain the coupling on operative ontological grounds. It is my opinion that the moment of intersubjectivity engendered by the encounter between *alter* and *ego* can be deduced from the analysis of the ontological elements of political subjects and time, the bedrocks for further discernment of political power and power relations. In light of the inner connection between those concepts and their implications on political power, I now revisit what has previously been stated (§5.2.2).

My starting point is the theory of temporality of Emmanuel Levinas. According to the French philosopher, the encounter between *ego* and *alter* poses the condition for the realisation of temporality. Time ultimately defines the frame for the *ego* and *alter* relationship. That is, according to Levinas, *ego* and *alter* cannot reach a face to face encounter because of the boundaries posed by mutual unknowability; as such the frame for their encounter is contingent on the future (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987). In other words, the encounter *ego-alter* takes place merely in an utterly unforeseeable time. In this sense, intersubjectivity incarnates the configuration, the realisation of time (Levinas, [1946/7] 1987), while the *gnosis* of temporality shapes the possibility and the moment of the *ego-alter* encounter.

In the African *Weltanschauung* at large, and Bissau-Guinean ontology specifically, the assumed centre of temporality is the *past*. Because the prevalent direction of time is past-ward, political power is pinned on the past. The connection to the past is an inherent character of the political community. The latter is atemporal, due to the interaction with semi-physical entities, yet with an eye on the past—the ontological, epistemological stance guiding and constructing the present. The idea of the future cannot be assumed to be represented as a moment of otherness. In other words, the temporal frame for the *ego-alter* encounter is located in the past.

From the conceptualisation of time, it is possible to deduce the moment of temporality framing the dimension for the encounter of *ego* and *alter*. The interaction among political subjects is not determined by a reliance on the Cartesian *ego cogito*, or on one's existential doubt determined to seek otherness. Such relation necessarily relies on the unknowability of the future since it is directed toward revealing not an *alter* but an *alter-ego*. Instead, Bissau-Guinean *gnosis* understands that the *ego-alter* encounter belongs to the space of intersubjectivity. Therein, the subjects' relations do not occur in the sphere of the present—a moment of mere ineffability—but are tightly bound to the past. The ipsocentric power of the plurality reside in the past. The relation linking *ego*, *alter*, and the plurality is rooted in and through what has been, in the foundational and explanatory moment of what was.



Ontological weight and the re-enactment of the past epitomise an epistemology making sense of the present. Since the past is the necessary ontological and normative moment (the what as constitutive of what is), of necessity it contains the moment of *ego* and *alter*'s intersubjective relations. Furthermore, time is the element defining the idea of space (*tchon*) and the *djorson*. The atemporal political community is united in the bond, honour, and burden of preserving in the present stories, experiences, and knowledge of the past. Ergo, in the notion of temporality lies the intimate, deep-rooted bond between *ego* and *djorson*. The *djorson* is structured upon the centrality of a past-looking time; today prominence is given to the foundational myths. The *djorson* comprises the living and semi-physical atemporal community perpetuating throughout time without necessarily being time. Through re-enactment and reiteration, the past stays alive in the present.

The combination of an indispensable past and the central role of the *djorson* in constituting bonds of power among physical and semi-physical subjects engenders a bond tightly linking the *djorson* to *ego*. The emerging political plurality is the signifier of the co-substantiality binding *ego* to *djorson* and vice versa. Insofar as *ego* relies on the *djorson* as the basis for power relations, and therefore for the institution of a *bíos politicon*, the plurality exists in an atemporal dimension where power relations are maintained. Hence, *ego* and *djorson* are co-extensive and co-essential, and their relationship rests on ties of mutual interdependence (Nanque, 2017a, 2017b).

The individual has duties and obligations to the *djorson* they belong to, since all political subjects are intertwined in a complex network of interdependencies and cooperation. Broadly speaking, elders and dead ancestors serve as guardians of the all-comprising harmony, starting with individuals' respect for moral and customary norms. All those who belong to the political community ought to, firstly, respect tradition, and secondly, to preserve and continue the *djorson* through marriage and reproduction. The generation of a new life to the *djorson* epitomises an act of care and dedication to the plurality, directed to the preservation of the commonality and of the *bíos politicon* bonding individuals. In turn, the togetherness constituted by the *djorson* provides intersubjective space, satisfying the intersubjective needs of *ego*, hence representing the inter-existence to *ego*.

The interwoven relational power so structured presupposes intersubjectivity and interconnectedness, along with cooperation, as grounding premises for the individual-to-community (*ego-plurality-alter*) relationship. Therefore, the relational link cannot be formed as an overarching homogenisation, melding *ego*'s subjectivities into a uniform oneness with those

of all the members of the community (Eze, 2008). As *ego* and *alter* rely on one another as mutual and independent sources of power, the relation underpinning *ego* and *djorson* maintains such characters, hence the enhancement and preservation of oneness and subjectivity of the comprised subjects.

The nature of the *djorson* is that of a multifaceted aggregate of individualities, of *ego* and *alter*; the togetherness lays the grounds for the elevation of an isolated *ego* to a political *ego*, bonded in power relations, comprised in the political, the *human*, realm of life. Once again, it is through an exception that reality appears most clearly: the deviation to the norm aids us in understanding what constitutes normality. In customary gnosis, the relevance of the interconnectedness constitutive of the political unity is conveyed by proverbs that emphasise social and moral solidarity,<sup>194</sup> on the one hand, and the misery of aloneness, on the other. The importance of being one in the togetherness is such that one of the worst forms of punishment is to be sent away from the community. The punishment is usually used on to recidivist offenders who commit moral transgressions, misdemeanours, or legal felony, applied by legally empowered community councils (Couto, 2010; Departamento Da Edição, 1979; Faculdade De Direito De Bissau & Instituto Nacional De Estudos E Pesquisa, 2012; Pinto Bull, 1989).<sup>195</sup>

Other sources from which to deduce the intertwinement of *ego* and *djorson* are customary justice and traditional ritual practice. Per the former, consensual justice is mostly administered by the elder people of a community, who reunite at public meetings to dispense their sentences or admonitions. Guilt is an individual phenomenon, for which every individual is responsible and for which they themselves would suffer the consequences of the punishment (often involving whipping or other corporal punishment). However, the shame that results from misdemeanours or morally deplorable acts is contingent on overall community acknowledgement of the events, which may involve the family and the relatives, thus constituting a much bigger burden for the offender.<sup>196</sup> Traditional rituals, related to local animist cosmology, take

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<sup>194</sup> Among many proverbs, Pinto Bull reports the following that are particularly significant to convey the moral lesson on solidarity: “*bianda di caleiro ka tene dono*” (the food still in the pot has no owner); “*ke k’basau iagu so bu ferga corpu pa i limpu*” (one hand washes the other) (Pinto Bull, 1989).

<sup>195</sup> Bissau-Guinean tradition reports the tale of three evil brothers, who do not restrain from committing bad deeds notwithstanding the mortally negative consequences. As a form of punishment, one survivor of the three villains is transformed into a hyena, thereby exiled from the village of humans (Pinto Bull, 1989). Beyond the indissoluble link between the individual and the community, the tale shows the inherent link bridging morality to humanness, more specifically to personhood.

<sup>196</sup> My interviewees referred several times to the moral weight one must sustain when facing customary trials, since the knowledge of the community enhances one’s shame. They endorsed and stressed the idea that the shame was higher the more elder members of the family were present at the trial. This idea was emphasised especially during the focus group (*djumbai*) in Jemberem (February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019) and in the semi-structured interview with António (Quinhamel, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

on the bond *ego-djorson* insofar as one's connection to *irân* does not involve only one, but the all family.<sup>197</sup>

The referred-to examples show the inherent link of co-substantiality bonding *ego* and *djorson*. Being the factual representations, or the reification, of this inner connection, customary law, ritual practices, and exile demonstrate easily how the relation *ego-djorson* operates in the institutionalised political order. Therefore, political acts ought to refer to the founding principle of continuity shaping power to result in effective and meaningful institutionalisation.

By and large, the relation underpinning the *djorson* and *ego* creates the boundaries of political power, thus uncoupling the human existence encased in the *bíos* and the bare life of the *zōé*. The *djorson*, the essence of the plurality, sustains *ego*. Likewise, *ego* is bonded to *alter* and to the plurality by means of recognition and patterns of human belonging. Ergo, the intersubjective space in Bissau-Guinean indigenous political power comprises interconnected and mutual dependencies. The political space of the plurality is responsible for providing individuals with a role and a position within the larger group, signifier of belonging to the *djorson* and the togetherness. Maintaining one's radical difference (Bongmba, 2006), in the political space one is given a social identity (Matolino, 2014, 2018b), comprising the role one plays in the society, the consequent expectations such role generates among peers, and the duties one ought to fulfil.

The atemporal and semi-physical dimension of the *djorson* embodies the merging of the sacred notion of land (the *tchon*) and of the past-centred temporality. As the *djorson* lays the foundations for the constitution of a political unity, the symbiotic communion between plurality and *ego* ought to bring with it reciprocal, solemn obligations. The latter are mirrored in power relations, underpinned by continuity. In other words, the plurality (or *djorson*) enables *ego* to form relations while maintaining its radical difference (one's subjectivity) and preventing fusion into a monolithic oneness.

Still, the co-substantiality underlying *ego* and *djorson* requires that a person is assigned a role, along with the consequential duties, in the plurality. If one is a father, the other members of the plurality would expect one to behave accordingly, and to perform communal duties attached to the role of a father, such as sustaining the family by providing food and money. Changeable throughout a lifetime, one always occupies a role within the broader scheme of the

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<sup>197</sup> *Irân* would seek vengeance on all family members in case of non-compliance with one's ritual duties, or if one does not meet the terms of a contract stipulated with the spirit.

*djorson*. Accordingly, role attribution creates a situation of hyper-personality, due to which one maintains and holds one's unique character, while one is also supposed and expected to act or behave according to the role one occupies.

## 5.5 Concluding notes

The understanding of power as a relational phenomenon underpins the discernment of power relations inextricably binding *ego* to *alter*, and therefore the interwoven connections of the plurality. The net of interconnectedness marks the boundaries of political power, hence of the human condition of life, the *bíos*, versus bare life (*zōē*).

Broadly speaking, organicist polities and societies discard individualism and the underlying assumptions of human nature, along with the relational ties between *ego* and *alter*. The latter are conceived mostly as examples of a causal or adversarial phenomenon. However, such a relational scheme is not sufficient for the creation of complex power, nor does the *logos* embody the rationale of the political as a condition of human life. Holistic, organicist, or communitarian systems tend to accord greater relevance to the community as primary subject and source of power within the polity.

Nevertheless, the continuity of power contracting *ego* and *alter* in a network of cooperation does not imply the priority of the togetherness over the other subjects. The continuity of power presupposes the existence of equal subjects in an equal yet asymmetrical space of inter-subjectivity.

In the scenario of Guinea-Bissau, the relation *ego-alter* is made evident by a case of exception, the *criança-irân*. Their inclusionary-exclusion from the political plurality is due to being a hybrid entity, simultaneously a human being and a spirit. By no means are they entitled to belonging within the category of political subjects, for they lack any connection to the *djorson*. They are outsiders of a community that is deeply rooted in past-centred ontology. Their exclusion is ontological and normative, depriving them of the relational process that constitutes the political plurality.

Being spirit encased within human flesh, the *criança-irân* belong neither to the human world nor to that of the *djorson*. Their liminality is grounded in an essential, existential incapacity to enjoy membership in the political plurality. Their exceptionality marks the patterns

underlying *ego-alter* power relations conceived in Bissau-Guinean indigenous political power. Seen through ontological reading lenses attuned to the specificities of local conceptions of temporality and political subjects, the *bíos politicon* appears as an atemporal community pinned to kinship, the *djorson*, and a past-ward temporality, grounded in the sacredness of the *tchon*.

The continuity of power underlying *ego*, plurality, and *alter*, intersubjectivity, binds *ego* to *djorson* and vice-versa. The latter is the category-concept that sustains the political plurality, the institution of a *bíos* against a *zōē* in Guinea-Bissau indigenous political power.



## 6 *Nomoi* of Political Power in Guinea-Bissau

Building on the inferences made in the previous chapter, I discuss here the inflection of the category-concept *ego-djorson* on political power configurations. The binomial epitomises the analytical background upon which *nomoi* of political power are charted. As such, I begin with the category-concept to untangle the institutionalisation and structuring of power configurations. In other words, I intend to reflect and articulate how the intersubjective, past-centred relation embodied in *ego-djorson* weighs on the legal and spatial but mostly political ordering of the polity. Therefore, I intend to discern how the *nomos* of political power in Bissau-Guinean indigenous political power, framed in the informal, customary institutions of the indigenous polity, coexist with the *nomos* of the state within one political space.

The chapter is not a normative account of what a Bissau-Guinean (or an African) indigenous polity ought to be; it does not try to determine the “best” mode of governance and polity organisation nor chart an anthropological analysis of existing indigenous powers. Rather, I discuss the phenomenon of the *nomoi* of power in Guinea-Bissau, beginning with indigenous political power and polity as coexistent with the state. I take an interpretative approach, using inductive (beginning with inferences made via observations, behaviours, talks, interviews, conceptual-theoretical organisation and systematisation of communal and elders’ knowledge) coupled with deductive methods (a solid theoretical background).

The concept of the *nomos* of power is a cherished concept in political theory. Nonetheless, contemporary understanding often pinpoints its legal character over its original meaning in the Greek world. In the Hellenic sense, the term referred primarily to the spatial dimension of power, realised through the appropriation, division, and distribution of land (Schmitt, [1950] 2006). These days, however, this meaning remains in use merely in disciplines such as political geography. I aim to take into consideration the concept of *nomos* as an analytical tool to discern the indigenous polity in an African scenario.

By and large, in the pre-colonial sub-Saharan continent, territorialisation of power did not occur through the establishment of land borders alone, but the “mastering of space depended on the control of human beings” (Mbembe, [2013] 2018, p. 99). Therefore, the frontiers of a political power would stretch as far as where the population resides, since borders were human

rather than spatial. The imposition of sovereignty on the members of a society, not on a territory, determined the territorialisation of power.

With no pretence to dismissing the relevance of land and territory, I emphasise the relevance of the human factor in the institution of the *nomos* of power. According to Bissau-Guinean ontology, one bears a co-existential bond not only with one's ancestors but also with the land (*tchon*) one belongs to. The inhabiting of a land—that is, the foundation of a politically organised society on a certain tract of land—provides it with defining characters and subtracts it from the indistinguishability of the (non-human) wilderness. The past-centric ontology reiterates one's embeddedness in people (ancestors, kinship, ethnic group) and land.

Such deep, ontological connection between the individual, the *djorson*, and the *tchon* shapes the presence and organisation of political power and therefore the spatialisation of the political *nomos*. The political assumes a power configuration in which Man is the indispensable element, ordering the polity upon the power relations of *ego*, *alter*, and the plurality. Hence, to discern the *nomos* of Bissau-Guinean indigenous power, and the *nomoi* of Guinea-Bissau, the analysis works from the underlying principles sustaining institutionalised political relations between individuals and the community.

Undeniably, theorisations produced by scholars of Afro-communitarianism weigh on my own speculations. Still, communitarianism's understanding of this relationship rooted in the concept of personhood *simpliciter* forms a set of tautological assumptions. Furthermore, the notion of personhood does not suffice to discern the foundations of political life in Guinea-Bissau (§2.3). To avoid these biases, I take into my analysis the category-concept *ego-djorson* to unveil how the *ego-alter* relationship crystallises into instituted forms of political power.

My endeavour in theoretical, interpretative understanding finds its roots in a phenomenon operating in the *physikon*. Thus, to conjugate *theoria* and *praxis*, I unravel the reification of the *ego-alter* power relations through institutions of power. These epitomise the crystallisation of the theoretical plurality in a political, operating community, embracing living human beings along with semi-physical entities. Authorities like the *regulo*, the councils (*baraca*, *djumbai*), along with the role played by the elders, essentially shape not only governing practices, but the political order of the overall polity.



The *telos* of atemporal community, intersubjectivity promotes cooperation and reciprocity alongside preservation of subjectivity. These relations enhance the individual and the plurality one is interconnected with. Discarding the rational-legalistic model embodied in the concept of representativity and majoritarian democracy,<sup>198</sup> the indigenous polity establishes a governing system ruled by the politics of consensus. The latter accords primacy to compromise and adjustment of individual interests through participatory political practices. A key element resides in the individuals' commitment to peace and union in the community, thought to be the absolute rationale of politics.

For the time being, however, the political *nomos* of endogenous power has to deal with the post-colonial political legacy. Driven by an inherent institutional resilience, on the one hand, and by the diverging forces of a pluralistic political space on the other, the *nomos* of the indigenous polity and the *nomos* of the state coexist. Together, they give rise to a condition of pluralistic political powers within a single political space. Yet, in light of the differing foundational principles sustaining the *Ordnung* (ordering) of power, the two *nomoi* resist being linked.

The state and endogenous powers create a pluralistic political system intersecting on several levels, ranging from legal orders to authorities and competencies and to the organisation of the territory. The duality charts discrepancies along with similarities of the two, insofar as existing structures and institutions adapt to new patterns, albeit without structural reorganisation. Hence, the discernment of *nomoi* of power in Guinea-Bissau passes through the analysis of reciprocal influence between the state and indigenous polity. Before engaging with speculations over possible or theoretical bridging of the two polities (§7), I here discuss how the *nomoi* of power impact the foundational principles of the indigenous *nomos*.

## 6.1 From *ego-djorson* to political configuration

As noted, the *nomos* of power entails patterns of power relations according to which individuals within a political community relate to one another. The *nomos*—that is, the

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<sup>198</sup> In this regard, I borrow the understanding of Kwasi Wiredu on majoritarian democracy as a form of political system where political parties engage in fierce competition aimed at gaining and controlling power (Wiredu, 2007, p. 308).

reification of the relational phenomenon political power represents—can be analysed in the legal and spatial dimension, as the literature often remarks, yet also in the underpinning social ordering (*Ordnung*) in the roots of the political plurality.

This section frames the *nomos* of indigenous political power in Guinea-Bissau starting from the *ego-djorson* category-concept. The inductive theoretical exposé is supported by deductions from fieldwork. In other words, the method used here combines inductive and deductive mechanisms to disentangle principles of power underpinning the political polity, starting with the relation between individuals and community.

First, it engages with speculations from political theory to discuss the approach adopted by western canons and communitarianism. I argue that neither of the two is apt to analyse the matter, insofar as the former is highly reliant on individualistic premises, giving precedence to the reasoning subject, whereas the latter is stuck in the conundrum generated by the normative and metaphysical conceptions of personhood. With no pretences to questioning the validity of these theories, my speculations aim instead to complement the debate. To do so, I take into consideration the features that the category-concept *ego-djorson* consequentially produces in the political sphere. I argue that great relevance should be accorded to the ontological concepts of the past, semi-physicality, and intersubjectivity. These elements complement the existing debate inasmuch as they provide the missing piece of the puzzle: the ultimate and solid foundations underpinning the rationale of the intersubjective polity.

I nevertheless acknowledge that my theorisations are embedded in the specific context of analysis—that of indigenous political power in Guinea-Bissau. On the one hand, the contextual dependency raises the risk of narrowmindedness in my theoretical formulations, which might lack the capacity for generalisation. It is, however, my opinion that such a critique is easily dismissed in light of the continuity within sub-Saharan ontology (although it would be preposterous to advance any thoughts on the matter at this point, since this discussion requires in-depth analysis itself). On the other hand, the contextualisation of the phenomenon enriches and strengthens my theorising with the validity of *praxis*. Thus, to confirm the theoretical speculations, I make use of inductions starting from the data gathered through fieldwork.

### 6.1.1 Notes on the social contract and Afro-communitarianism

This section aims to examine the category-concept *ego-djorson* in terms of political configurations. As power relations shape the interactions among *ego*, *alter*, and the plurality, these relations constitute solid grounds from which to deduce the broader characteristics on which political power orders the polity. Via the characteristics of power—an essentially relational phenomenon—and intersubjective relations, then, we see how power is displayed in a contextualised crystallisation.

As previously discussed, African ontology discards western-derived assumptions over individualism. The single individual, whose autonomy, freedom, and rights are considered sacrosanct in western thought, not only constitutes the basis for modern forms of government but embodies the grounding principles of western political theory. The autonomous, self-sufficient individual constantly opposes itself to the alterity of the outer world. Relating to *alter* as an enemy, *ego* requires some forms of overarching regulatory mechanism for the establishment of social and political relations. According to the fathers of western political theory, namely Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, humans living in a state of nature would resort to a common agreement to rule socio-political life, epitomised in the all-binding social contract.

Therefore, the decision to give up part of one's freedoms to comply with political norms and promote civil and political rights for the whole group is underpinned by the capacity for reason with which the subject is endowed. Reason enables the subject to recognise the other as equal to oneself, and to rationalise one's deterministic choice to join the social contract. One's use of reason guarantees freedom and autonomy within the political system. The subsequently formed polity is responsible for protecting individuals' integrity and dignity, along with fostering the flourishing of the community.

The system of laws and rights established through the social contract is thus assumed not as the best way but as *the* way to institute a political community. In this regard, my concern is with the alleged universality implicit within such an assumption. On the one hand, the postulate of contractualism suffers from philosophical partialism and parochialism, which make the social contract a *racial* contract instead (Mills, 1997).

On the other hand, the social contract is modelled on individualistic premises, by which individuals would naturally seek to attain selfish goals if they could. Although, a similar assumption might be meaningless if the state of nature were assumed to be an inherently organicist or intersubjective arena. Also, it is questionable whether the legalistic basis underlying the social contract represents the only means toward the creation of a polity, or whether the bonds of fraternity, communion, and solidarity form sufficient grounds for a socio-ethnic community. Taking into consideration the diversity characterising political configurations and polities, the universality of the social contract as necessary grounds for the political order does not hold. Contractualist formulations epitomise one facet in the prism of political power.

Assuming that the social contract does not constitute the only or the necessary basis for the institutionalisation of political power and the ordering of power relations in the *societas generis humana*, then the question arises regarding the threshold for the foundation of political power. Said otherwise, the crux of the matter is which are the foundations that can provide sufficient principles to support the order dictated by political power in a social group. To discern on which patterns a political configuration is ordered, we need to consider the sort of *ego-alter* relations shaping power.

The impossibility of leading an individualistic life, circumscribed by atomic solitude, in sub-Saharan social formations is an idea conveyed by not one but many disciplines. Scholars understand that, in the African *Weltanschauung*, social life is an ineluctable constant, so that one's sociability and interconnectedness with others are pervasive even of the so-called state of nature (Chemhuru, 2017; Gyekye, 2003). Said otherwise, the propensity for social life is naturally part of human essence, hence the commitment toward one another stretches beyond legal regulations, but is dictated by the quintessence of being human. Social relations are not contingent but necessary to one's life, insofar as one does not join the community by free choice but rather one is born within it. Ergo, communal life is not optional; one cannot, must not live in isolation from other human beings (Gyekye, 2003, p. 300).

The Afro-communitarianist understanding of the relations between individual and community discards the Hobbesian assumption on human nature that frame humans as *homo homini lupus*. Admittedly, no political order or moral system is entirely individualistic or totally organicist. In spite of rejecting a monadic conception of human nature, individualism is present in sub-Saharan *Weltanschauung*. Yet African thought envisages a mechanism to counteract individualistic or selfish tendencies within the community. According to Munamatu

Chemhuru, the inherent hierarchy of society effectively regulates possible anarchic tendencies (Chemhuru, 2017). As the ontological relevance of life experience accords greater importance to the elders, it engenders a self-regulating system where youngsters respect and obey the word of the older people, maintaining order in the society. As such, the resulting community is not a mere assembly of atomised units but an organic, collectively fused *we* (Menkiti, 1984). Socio-political organisation rests on commonality and communion of kinship, values and beliefs (Ikuenobe, 2017b). In this sense, sub-Saharan thought generally assumes communitarianism as defining basic traits of relations among humankind.

In this light, humans take on the characters of primarily social beings, oriented toward the maintenance of social harmony. In the words of Michael O. Eze, what defines a humanised life is “living in self-expressing works of love and effort to create harmonious relationships in the community and the world beyond” (M. O. Eze, 2008, p. 91). Hence, the commitment to peaceful coexistence works as a primary drive in *ego*’s relations toward *alter*, as well as compensating for individualism and preventing selfishness tendencies.

Afro-communitarian theorisations start from premises that articulate the inherent interconnectedness and need for sociability of the human person as a means to deducing the order of the polity. These theories do not outline a detailed theoretical exposition of political ideas but rather constitute a comprehensive moral-political theory. In other words, assuming that morality works as grounding rationale for individuals’ behaviour, moral grounds satisfy the conditions for ordering of the polity. Besides, the centrality of morality is justified by the understanding of personhood—loadstar of Afro-communitarian theory.

By and large, communitarian scholars agree on morality as a basis for political order. That is, *ego* is not an atomised entity living in monadic solitude but is primarily driven to *alter* as the co-occurring source of *ego*’s own self-ness. The individual is ontologically compelled to care for the other and would prioritise a system of duties (rather than rights) for the protection and promotion of human dignity and integrity.<sup>199</sup> The existence and recognition of one’s rights engenders one’s duties, ultimately focusing on the rights of the agent as moral patient (Molefe, 2017b). As commonality is focused on preserving the well-being of each and every individual, one acts through communitarian means to secure individualistic ends (Molefe, 2017b, 2017a).

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<sup>199</sup> The other-oriented mode of life justifies the mode of governance by consensus. The latter operates as the result of the willingness of the people involved to find a compromise and their commitment toward one another (Matolino, 2018a; Molefe, 2017b, 2018b; Wiredu, 2001, 2007).

In order to protect one's rights—or well-being—one ought primarily to contribute to the humanity of others (Molefe, 2017b), since all human beings have in common some basic needs and interests.<sup>200</sup>

In such normative understanding, individuals hold relational autonomy, insofar as one's autonomy and dignity are relational to others (Ikuenobe, 2015). In order to foster one's life quality, it is indispensable for one to care for others within the network of mutual dependencies. The consideration of the larger community is unavoidable to attach meaningfulness to one's autonomy and freedom. Thereby, the rationale pinning individual rights and autonomy lies above a substratum of reciprocal solidarity.

This morality of duty (Metz, 2012a, 2012b; Molefe, 2018b, 2018a) is yoked to an essentially humanistic ethics—an ethical system which rationale grounds chiefly in humanistic values (Tschaepe, 2015). One need not resort to a higher or metaphysical source to justify one's deeds (whether that is a god, divine law, or the reasoned choice to be part of an overarching social contract) because the justification for one's actions is inherent in the final goal of preserving the community per se, inasmuch as the latter is, in turn, responsible for the flourishing of the individual. According to Thaddeus Metz, the morality of the African polity is rooted in solidarity and belonging (understood as the opposite of being in opposition) as sufficient grounds for commonality; or, as he identifies it, the ability for communion (Metz, 2012b, 2012a). The South-African philosopher further adduces that the basis for the institution of the polity is inherent in individuals' interconnectedness.

Beside the mechanism of cooperation and reciprocity as devised by Metz, underlying principles for a humanistic ethics appeal to different elements, ranging from emotions (such as generosity and compassion) to the welfarist commitment to the well-being of the individual and the community. According to the latter, well-being is the ultimate stance underpinning one's action toward the group (Gyekye, 2003; Menkiti, 2004a; Metz, 2012a) and therefore accounts for individuals' commitment to the maintenance of the existing order, along with compliance with (political) rules and norms. In other words, the driving force of one's action is the achievement and maintenance of individual and communal well-being (Gyekye, 2003)

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<sup>200</sup> This notion is exemplified in popular culture by the Ghanaian image of a crocodile with two heads and one stomach: although the two heads might discord on how, where, or when to get food, they share the final aim of satisfying their hunger, due to their one stomach.

since there is coincidence of the basic interests of all persons, which organically form the common good.

The community as a whole—the togetherness—is the locus of the common good. As such, it holds relevance for the total well-being or complete realisation of the individual. The community is thought of as the realm providing the all-important conditions not only of human existence, since humans ontologically seek a societal existence (Chemhuru, 2017; Gyekye, 2003), but mostly of the attainment of personhood, namely the fulfilment of one’s major moral and existential goal, one’s moral and human growth.

Communitarianism recognises the interdependence between individual and community. In this reciprocity, it appears that the community, as the space enabling one to attain or to express one’s personhood, is invested with absolute relevance. Put otherwise, the community embodies the necessary frame enabling individuals to make ontological progress and achieve moral growth. The community defines moral actions and establishes the criteria to which one should conform in order to be a person (Ahiauzu, 2001).<sup>201</sup> Thereby, to endow the community with ontological primacy over the individual is theoretically plausible (Molefe, 2017a) or even assumed (Gyekye, 2003) (§2.3).

By and large, one’s commitment toward the togetherness attests to an awareness of the fact that one’s moral and political actions reflect beyond oneself, on the community. Ergo, one would tend to act accordingly to promote both personal and communal well-being and integrity. The responsibility one ought to have toward the plurality does not entail the priority of the individual nor of the community, since the two are not radically opposed in the sense of priority but engaged in contemporary formation (M. O. Eze, 2008).

Those theories holding that the community takes precedence over the individual are fallacious insofar as they lack robust theoretical foundations. In part, this theoretical fragility is due to the approach adopted to discern the relation between individual and community. To

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<sup>201</sup> The radical and moderate standpoint differ slightly over individual capacity for self-reflection and self-evaluation. Inasmuch as both accord little relevance to individual rights (Matolino, 2014, 2018b), moderate communitarianism accords the individual greater capacity for autonomy, choice, and self-evaluation. That is, one is not a passive subject but is capable of autonomous use of reflection, therefore able to accept or rebut values dominant in one’s community (Ahiauzu, 2001; Gyekye, 2003).

take the (normative or metaphysical) notion of personhood as a departing premises for the analysis could be misleading. The reason for this is twofold.

First, the understanding of issues pertinent to political theory is not grounded in concepts such as political power or sovereignty. Rather, its core lies uniquely in the attribution, of attainment of, or capacity for personhood. In this sense, it sees an evident coincidence between the political sphere and personhood and the social realm. To combine the two concepts might give rise to discriminatory patterns against all those who are not allowed full personhood (Horsthemke, 2018; Manzini, 2018). Therefore, caution is mandatory when dealing with Africa indigenous conceptions of personhood, community, and power.

Second, these communitarian formulations postulate the primacy of the community in ontological terms because the existence of the togetherness is assumed as a necessary part of human essence and natural orientations. Hence, the primacy of the community assumes a totalising character, insofar as it establishes the morally-legally ordained realm of the *bíos (politicon)* and the bare *zōē*. The overarching ontology of the togetherness pre-empts the assumption of any individualistic, pre-political condition. As such, the interconnectedness and other-oriented relations underpinned by mutual dependencies constituting the political *nomos* in sub-Saharan thought cancel out the necessity of the social contract for the institution of power in the polity.

#### 6.1.2 Grounds of the polity in Guinea-Bissau indigenous power

Bissau-Guinean indigenous power furthers the assumptions about the unique character of power configurations in the African scenarios. Here, the tenets postulated by communitarianism couple with local ontology's specificities. The bonds of interconnectedness among individuals frame a plurality charted on intersubjectivity, along with atemporal commonality. Once again, the case under analysis bucks the hypothesis of the social contract as a necessary basis for instituted political power.

In the plurality ruled by intersubjective power relation, there are no grounds to postulate a state of nature reigned by anarchy, inhabited by inherently violent, evil beings. Those who



do not belong to the interwoven net of relations included in the *bíos politicon* are relegated to live a life in the solitude of bare life. The outer condition to the polity is not postulated as individualistic anarchy but as non-humanised life, deprived of political action and power—a life in isolation from intersubjectivity.

Thereby, the *nomos* of power is defined by the plurality, reified in the *djorson* (the latter, as category-concept, embodies at the same time the notions of atemporal political community, past-centred ontology, co-existentiality between *ego* and one's past and kinship, along with sacredness of the land, or *tchon*), which constitutes the threshold for the institution of political power. The past-centred *ego* commits and relates to others in compliance with the sovereignty dictated by political power. The motive for the *bíos politicon* lies not in a social contract stipulated to leave behind a pre-political condition. Rather, it lies in the plurality, intertwined with the *djorson*. Sovereign of the *bíos*, political power is capable of discriminating on the basis of inclusion or exclusion in the plurality, namely on the political relations of cooperation inherent in intersubjectivity.

The Bissau-Guinean indigenous *nomos* is founded on intersubjectivity and plurality, yet its characters are defined by the centrality of the past and by the interrelatedness of *ego*. As it revolves around the past and the plurality, *ego* per se does not pursue an atomic affirmation of itself or of its rights. Rather, *ego* pursues the affirmation of itself within the community, and therefore in intersubjectivity. The *ego-djorson* unavoidably and deeply binds subject to past, together with the past of the plurality. Thus, the threshold of political institutionalisation in a political community is implicit in the *djorson*, in intersubjectivity, in the past-centred, atemporal plurality.

The time continuum of the plurality orders power, inasmuch as the former is endowed sufficient normative strength to determine the basis for the crystallisation of power relations in the form of a polity. In contrast to the political order, any pre-political “state of nature” seems to be non-existent in Bissau-Guinean ontology. As human life is lived by engaging in intersubjective relations, outside of the *bíos politicon* one would exist in an apolitical condition coincident with non-humanity. Because human beings naturally seek after and engage with socio-political relations, the essence of humanness is not consistent with a conception of an individualistic, isolated life, devoid of social life and political order. This understanding of the political *nomos* enhances the distinction between *zōḗ* and *bíos* as foundational characters of the political, beyond the canons of western thought.

To ground the diverseness between nude to political life in the basis of the intersubjective plurality, and therefore in the underpinning *ego-djorson* category-concept, strengthens the notion of biopower as an inherent characteristic of political power (Agamben, 1995, 2003; Foucault, 1977; Mbembe, 2003; [2016] 2019).<sup>202</sup> To inextricably bind political power to biopower has further theoretical implications.

On the one hand, insofar as an apolitical condition is consistent with non-humanity, power affirms sovereignty over all meaningful spheres of human existence, above all life and death. As there exists no possibility for human or humanised life to exist outside the polity, then political power casts a totalising frame of sovereign authority on the very essence of one's existence, from its beginning (birth) to its end (death).

On the other hand, the character of biopower confirms the secularism of Bissau-Guinean indigenous power. Biopower rebuts those assumptions that define the Bissau-Guinean (and African, at large) endogenous political sphere as inherently interwoven with cosmology, or dependent on metaphysical sources. Still, the concept of biopower operating in Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity differs from how the notion is conceptualised in western literature. In light of the local ontology of physicality and materiality, biopower extends to the realm of extra-corporality, or semi-physicality. In other words, the units composing the plurality are diverse subjects whose physical materiality is a non-essential requirement. As political power is co-extensive with the political plurality, and the political plurality extends beyond the limits of the *physikon*, then the boundaries of political biopower stretch accordingly to the boundaries of physical and temporal dimensions. Nonetheless, biopower is grounded in a secular, purely human relational phenomena, eluding any dependency to cosmology. The reciprocal independence of cosmology and political power is embodied in the liminality of the *criança-irân*.

The spirit-child is an exception to the order of the polity, epitomising the Roman Empire's figure of the Homo Sacer (Agamben, 1995), a being that cannot be killed yet is sacrificial. By virtue of the fact that they do not belong to the human plurality, the *criança-irân* cannot be sentenced to death according to customary penal law.<sup>203</sup> They are included in the political

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<sup>202</sup> This assumption departs from Foucauldian notion of biopower and on the studies of Giorgio Agamben, who maintains that the distinction between *zōē* and *bíos*, tantamount to biopower, epitomises the foundational category of political power in modernity. In contrast, from the analysis of Bissau-Guinean political power, it is here argued that political power possesses intrinsic traits of biopower, as the latter is not an established configuration of western modernity alone.

<sup>203</sup> Customary law mentions the ritual infanticide of the spirit-children merely as an exception to provision on murder and infanticide. Then customary norms of the Balanta, Manjaco, Mancanha, and Pepel ethnical groups

merely due to their exclusion from it. Thus, the spirit-child holds a status of inclusionary-exclusion.

In light of its hybrid essence, being a spirit inside human flesh, the *criança-irân* is said to belong to a purely metaphysical dimension: the other world. Over such entities and the dimension of the other world, the political power constituted in the *societa generis humana* has no power, nor does it have any relations with it. Therefore, given these limitations, the hypothesis that indigenous political power mingles with cosmology and metaphysics is discarded.

Political power in the indigenous polity relies on humanistic foundations, which obey a context-specific ontology of temporality and physicality. The departing premises for power are anchored in the category-concept of the political, the binomial *ego-djorson*. As the notion frames a space of intersubjectivity, comprising physical along with semi-physical entities, engendering a space of commonality oriented toward the past, the foundational grounds, the ordering principle of the polity is, *de facto*, the plurality. *Nomos* of power, the plurality aggregates and organises individuals according to intersubjective relations of cooperation.

These formulations do not state the primacy of the community or affirm a plurality naturally ruled by harmonious relations. With regard to the former, the equal standing of individuals and community is ensured on the basis of intersubjectivity, which requires the maintenance of oneness and *ego*'s radical difference, along with the autonomy of the subject (capability for self-reflection). As articulated in the previous chapter, in Bissau-Guinean indigenous power, the category-concept for the political is the binomial *ego-djorson* which inextricably interconnects *ego* and *djorson* with the past. As this forms the limits and the boundaries for the institutions of political plurality, at the same times it attests to the maintenance of *ego* within it, because individuals' actions and attitudes are ultimately individualistic in aim (directed toward the self). The individualistic morality in the intersubjective polity confirms the maintenance of one's unicity or radical difference.<sup>204</sup>

*Ego* has responsibility toward one's past and toward the *djorson* and to the plurality, since *ego*, and *alter* are concatenated in intersubjectivity. *Ego* and *alter* are part of the political

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explicitly affirms that the definition of infanticide and murder does not apply to those babies who are not deemed human (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012).

<sup>204</sup> E. K. Bongmba identifies one's unicity as one's subjectivity, which cannot be nullified; it is not comprised in nor equated to others or the togetherness. Hence, it represents one's radical, unbridgeable difference (Bongmba, 2006, p. 137).

plurality, in which the *locus* of power resides. In light of the reciprocal inter-existence of *ego* and *alter*, inasmuch as one is a unit of the intersubjective plurality, one is simultaneously a means and an end. This also confirms that one's actions are communitarian in practice, due to the consciousness of this inter-existence and the commitment toward *djorson* and the plurality.

However, what is postulated does not affirm nor depict a plurality devoid of conflict. In fact, dissent and discordancy are deemed a necessary basis for the polity, as they represent the bedrocks for consensus. The tendency to discordance is compensated by, on the one hand, solidarity and cooperation (traits inherent in power relations of intersubjectivity) and, on the other hand, by identity with and belonging to community. These features are embodied in the concept of *djorson*, which merges one's own existence and past with the existence and past of the plurality.

In sum, the *nomos* of political power in the Guinea-Bissau indigenous polity is located in the plurality. Not only in the *ego-alter* or in the *djorson* as separate entities but in the intersubjective, atemporal space they form altogether. The order of the polity corroborates the autonomy and independency of *ego* as well as one's interconnectedness with an atemporal, semi-physical community. This *nomos* does not guarantee the lack of individualistic actions; instead, it attests to one's commitment toward reinforcing and strengthening the interests of the plurality. Thus, the institution of a polity shapes a political configuration where the power of authorities such as *regulos* and *chefes de tabanca* coexist with community councils ruled by participatory, consensual politics.

## 6.2 Nomos of the indigenous polity

In the previous section, I discussed how the plurality represents the *nomos* of the indigenous polity in Guinea-Bissau, and how from these basic grounds it is possible to discern and to understand the crystallisation of political power into institutions regulating political life. Having discarded the rational-legalistic basis of the (western) social contract, then the consequential polity configurations (nation, state, citizenry) ought also to be reappraised. In Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity, the *bios politicon* constitutes a non-state polity; a political community grounded in intersubjectivity. The indigenous polity crystallises and institutionalises the

relations anchored on *ego-plurality-alter* into customary law, institutions and authorities, hence making of simpler power relations a systematised political configuration. In the indigenous polity, two institutions mainly embody political authority. These are the traditional chief (the *regulo*), and the councils (*djumbai*, *baraca di comunidade* or *baraca di fanado*), based on governance by consensus.

The first translates the concepts of *djorson*, *tchon*, and past-centric temporality into political terms. The *regulo* possesses and represents the inherent, ontological, existential, and political link to the founding fathers, and to the *gerason*;<sup>205</sup> he<sup>206</sup> is generally regarded to be the highest authority in the indigenous polity<sup>207</sup> as he is the guarantee of land and survival. The political authority of the *regulo* does not imply that the community is sealed by boundaries of ethnic belonging. The chief, according to endogenous thought, embodies in institutionalised and anthropomorphised forms the foundational concept underpinning power sources, relations, and legitimacy. As such, it is a concept open to generalisation, and adaptable to a variety of scenarios. For example, a similar authority appears in the horizontal society of the Balanta, where no such thing as an authoritative chief exists.

Likewise, in belonging to the political plurality in Bissau-Guinea indigenous polity transcends ethnic identities. In this regard, the rationale underlying the communal councils (*djumbai*, *baraca*) shed some light. These assemblies epitomise the essential character of commonality, characterising the political at large in the sub-Saharan arena (Chabal & Daloz, 1999, 2003). They constitute the expression of the relations of intersubjectivity underpinning power, as they operate through participatory politics and governance by consensus.

The political councils enable the expression of the individual as political subject by creating the conditions for the realisation of power relations that propel one's unicity, along with the recognition of one's ontological interrelatedness to the plurality. That is, one is committed to the group since the relational dimension of *ego* collates with one's own existential and vital interests. As the plurality constitutes the necessary links binding *ego* and *alter*, and power relations, so too one commits to fostering peace and union within the polity. In the political arena,

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<sup>205</sup> Kinship, or *djorson*. Also spelled *gerason*.

<sup>206</sup> I use the masculine pronoun when referring to the *regulo* since the office is usually held by men.

<sup>207</sup> The *regulo* is considered to be the highest authority in political system of the majority of Bissau-Guinean ethnic groups, although there are discrepancies and differences. In predominantly Muslim groups, *regulo* and imam coexist and the religious authority might be granted higher authority than the *regulo*. In the Balanta horizontal society there are no chiefs.

this is made possible through the participatory, consensus-based institutions of the *djumbai* and the *baraca* (*di fanado, di comunidade*).

### 6.2.1 Ethnic specificities: Balanta and Felupe

The analysis does not apply uniformly to all ethnic groups forming the Bissau-Guinean populational and cultural heterogeneity. Conscious of the limits of a dissertation, this study did not undertake to analyse the traditions and specificities of eminently Islamic or Islamicised ethnicities (e.g., the Fula). This methodological and analytical choice has already been discussed (§4.1.2). However, among the ethnic groups under consideration, the case of the Balanta and of the Felupe clearly diverges from the others.

The Felupe appear as the most individualistic-oriented ethnic group in Guinea-Bissau, having lost many battles against the Portuguese coloniser due to lack of cohesion and coordinated strategy among kinships. They are organised in a several autonomous communities, which occasionally unify at times of crisis (Djaló, 2012, p. 53). There is a chief of the village, who is also entitled the full powers of a religious authority. Nonetheless, the societal and political structure of the Felupe changed as a result of colonial administration, establishing three *regulados* (of Ingoré, Sendengal and Cajande) in the *tchon di Felupe* (Djaló, 2012, p. 54).

Even though they share much of their history, culture, and tradition with other fellow ethnicities, the social order of the Balanta follows a horizontal structuring. Territoriality of power is extended and uniform, as no *regulado* divides the *tchon* (Djaló, 2012, pp. 46–47). There are, in fact, no *regulos*, and this authority is instead exercised by the *chefes de tabanca*. Representatives of the *tabanca*'s population, they are individuals “*ki tene forsa*.”<sup>208</sup> The empowered individuals need to have performed the rite of *fanado*, a lengthy ceremony symbolising one's growth, the beginning of adulthood, and the full entitlement of rights and duties within the political community.<sup>209</sup> Overall, the Balanta's *chefe de tabanca* resembles, in

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<sup>208</sup> “Who has strength.” It is not clear what sort of strength the Balanta interviewee was referring to, as she did not specify further. From the *djumbai* in Catió, on February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>209</sup> Only men undergo the *fanado* ceremony; women are instructed on adult life wisdom by the elders at the time of menarche. The complete entitlement of rights and duties is opposed to the condition of being children, whose voice is said to possess less power and strength, in consideration of their young age and lack of life experience.

principles and essence, much more the figure of *regulo* than that of *chefe de tabanca*, as the latter is framed in the thought of other ethnic groups.

On the one hand, as they belong to selected families, Balanta chiefs defy the character of the authority of the *regulo*. By and large, to possess the authority of the *regulo* it is only necessary to have descended from a designated *djorson* (or *djaghra*). Pertaining to a specific family-kinship is mandatory in light of the necessary interconnectedness with the past, the *tchon* and the *djorson*. That considered, a similar requirement is imposed on the *chefes de tabanca* in the Balanta's endogenous political order. The latter belongs to families (or *djorson*) of the founding fathers and is appointed by consensus, confirmed through a ritual ceremony involving the *irân* of the *tabanca* (Djaló, 2012, p. 46; Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012, p. 14).

On the other hand, this *modus operandi* for the appointment of Balanta's *chefes de tabanca* distances them from the customary norms operating in other ethnic groups. The *chefes de tabanca* are generally appointed due to inheritance, by blood, of the position, or by decision of the community, or because of certain skills and capabilities (Faculdade De Direito De Bissau & Instituto Nacional De Estudos E Pesquisa, 2012).

The *omi* and *mindjer garandi* present in the *djumbai* in Catió emphasised the absence of any specific requirement or rule determining who or how to obtain the position, which can be assumed by “*kem ki tchiga primeiro lá ke sinta lá.*”<sup>210</sup> If the head of the family dies, the position can be filled by a woman. The *chefe de tabanca* may belong to any *djorson*, since the position does not hold ties to a mythological past, nor to founding fathers. Therefore, they usually stay in a lower position relative to the *regulo* and have authority merely in the *tabanca*.

Balanta chiefs nevertheless share no competencies or powers with the *regulos*. As the ethnic group's social organisation is horizontal, there is no higher or maximum authority whom they obey. Therefore, the *chefes de tabanca* play neither a symbolic nor an effective political role. The “chiefs” are *de facto* representative of the people, as they voice their interests and concerns; they do not hold a higher moral responsibility toward the community than the other individuals. They are, however, the spokespersons of the councils.

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<sup>210</sup> “[T]he first one to arrive, will get the office.” In other words, the authority of the *chefe de tabanca* is attributed on the basis of first come, first served. *Djumbai* in Catió, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

## 6.2.2 *Regulo*

The *regulo* represents a steady link to the ontological past-centrism ruling the community and the political group. First and foremost, the figure or the *regulo* represents the connection to a mythical past, to the times of the creation of the *djorson* and of the broader ethnic group. This mythical past, *viz.*, the foundation of the *reino* or *regulado*,<sup>211</sup> is the key element not only in legitimising but also in interpreting the role and duties a *regulo* is called to fulfil. The founding fathers' act of settling in a geographical space is coterminous with the institution of the authority of the *regulo*.

Therefore, the act of conquering or occupying a land literally creates the *tchon*. Also, the assertion of ownership over a specific soil, formerly part of the wilderness, permitted the creation and the beginning of the *djorson*. The latter came into existence via the ethnic group that moved onto the new land. According to tradition, when a people (or ethnic group) arrived and settled in a land, they would not stick together but would divide into smaller units. These groups later begat the *djorson* forming the ethnic group.<sup>212</sup>

Hence, the importance with which the land is invested is due to the moment of settlement in which the *djorson* finds its own roots, its own beginning. Once again, the exception works as a solid means to verify the rule. Those *regulados* created in recent times by the state, as in the cases of Buba and Cacheu,<sup>213</sup> are not given the same importance or legitimacy as other *regulados* and *reinos*. Notwithstanding that these places represent rather populous cities relevant for business and commerce nowadays, they do not have any mythological tie to the past.

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<sup>211</sup> The *regulado* is broader, as it includes all the territories of an ethnic group, without distinction among families, kinship, or *djorson*. For example, when we refer to the *regulado* Pepel, it includes all land and people belonging to the Pepel ethnic group. The higher *regulo* governs over this territory. Instead, the *reino* entails the territory and people of a *djorson*. For example, among the Pepel, there are the *Reino di Thor*, *Reino di Bijimita*, *Reino di Piss*. Each of the three is a *djorson djaghra*, however scholars also use them interchangeably (Djaló, 2012).

<sup>212</sup> From the Djumbai in Catió, on February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>213</sup> Buba was proclaimed a *regulado* during the presidency of Kumba Yala (2000-2003), while in the region of Cacheu, the highest political authority used to sit in Bassarel, according to tradition. However, arrangements of endogenous political divisions had begun already during the colonial occupation of the Portuguese, in the 1800s.



In people’s minds, they do not embody an epicentre of the *reino* because they are simpler *tabancas*. They are not cities but simply villages.

Through the conquering and occupation of land, the past evoked by tradition gives rise to a double tie of the roots of the *djorson* and the ownership of a space. The foundational moment is reified in the action of the founding fathers, who either occupied or negotiated the land from the inhabiting spirits owning it (Nanque, 2017a), or conquered it battling against the populations who were already inhabiting that space.<sup>214</sup>

Once the group settled in a specific space, they would gain total ownership over the land. Other people would not use or settle in that area without asking permission: “*ka pudi bai na terreno di outro djorson sin nka contal, ka pudi bai fassi utru kusa la sin nka contal.*”<sup>215</sup> Today, in light of increased fluidity, higher intra-national migration fluxes, and mingling among people of ethnic groups, these borders are blurred. Still, the roots of tradition are visible in figures of speech, such as “*tchon di*” (*tchon di Nalu, tchon di Pepel, tchon di Balanta*, and so on). Each of them identifies a region; it is possible to locate each *tchon* on a map, as the land of whoever, according to tradition, occupied or conquered it.

Notably, from the analysis of the interviews, there appears a recurrent use of the term “*sinta*” to refer to ethnicities or families’ settlement in a specific location. As previously discussed, the term is used to refer to when one settles down and/or builds a house (§5.2.2). Likewise, it is used with regard to the founding fathers, in the mythological past, to signify the act of arriving and settling in, conquering or occupying a land. The act of “*sinta*,” in mythological terms, embodies the constitutive act bringing the *djorson* to life. The moment the ancestors took possession of a land is, according to tradition, coincident with the beginning of time; or, in other words, of the temporality constructed by human acts and events. In this sense, the spatial settlement epitomises also the foundational moment of the family-kinship, or *djorson*. The ontological past-centrism inextricably binds the concepts of temporality, *tchon*, and *djorson*, the effects of which are mirrored in the atemporal political authority of the *regulo*.

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<sup>214</sup> During the *djumbai* in Catió (February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019), the participants referred with stronger emphasis to the origin of the *tchon di Nalu*, the ethnic group to which, according to tradition, pertains the land in the southern Tombali region. It is said that, when the Nalu arrived in the region, the land was inhabited by different populations; they fought against them, and these withdrew to other regions (or to the islands, in the case of the Bijagós).

<sup>215</sup> “[Y]ou cannot go onto the land of another *djorson* without asking, you cannot do anything there without permission.” From the *Djumbai* in Catió, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

At the time of settling, the (ethnic) group followed the guide of a leader who later came to be the progenitor of the *regulo*, or the mythological founding father of the ethnicity and the *djorson*. As stated many times during the *djumbai* in Catió, behaviour in war was a highly prized quality in determining the appointment of the first chief. The leader was required to show, and to prove on the battlefield, that he was a brave warrior, never lacking courage to lead, protect, and provide for his people. Despite the reference to and the relevance of these qualities, the entitlement of *regulo* did not entail a sequential transposition throughout time. The detached selection of the chief impacts on the contemporary polity as it charts differences among the *djorson* constituting an ethnic group.

The office of the *regulo* is maintained throughout the generations called *djaghra*. It is said that “*djorson tchoma regulo*” (the kinship calls for the *regulo*). The *regulo* is not a position open to application, nor can any individual occupy the office. The title, along with the consequent authority, are inherited by belonging to a specific *djorson*; as people say, it is a “*governason di gerasons*”—a government of *djorson*.<sup>216</sup> Within the ethnic group, there are specific families (*djorson*) who enjoy the right and are duty-bound to occupy the position of *regulo*. The office is rotative since there is no direct inheritance from father to son. The title is passed down through indirect inheritance to ensure power sharing among different families within the ethnic group. Among the Pepel there are three *djorson* alternating on who assumes the highest political authority; in the Manjaco polity, there are two families. As a general rule, when the *regulo* dies, his successor is chosen from the *djorson* of the vice-*regulo*.<sup>217</sup>

In the highly-structured Pepel society, the people who belong to the *djorson djaghra* are also said to have been “*padidu na couro*.”<sup>218</sup> Belonging to a selected (*djaghra*) family (or *djorson*) is a mandatory requisite to be appointed as *regulo*, in consideration of the interconnection between the political office and its authority of *djorson*, *tchon*, and past. “*Eh, tem que ser da geração. Tem que ser na geração, não pode ser outra pessoa de fora, não, outra geração... Não pode ser pessoa alta, ou bonita, ou pessoa magra, ou gorda, não isso não funciona*

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<sup>216</sup> “[A] governance of kinships,” as reported by Júlio during the *Djumbai* in Catió. February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>217</sup> The *regulos* form, altogether, a structured institution, which obeys a hierarchical order. The latter is particularly manifest and strict among the Pepel. The hierarchy of the *regulos* foresees a higher *regulo* exerting power all over the extended *regulado* (which usually is coincident with the ethnic *tchon*), along with minor *regulos* who have power over smaller portions of land and groups of people.

<sup>218</sup> Literally translated, “born in leather.” The expression states that those who are born in the *djorson* are apt to cover the office of *regulo*. From the interview with António, *omi garandi*, in Quinhamel, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

*assim, tem que ser por gerason, e tem que ser por espírito daquele, daquele só di gerason, não é comum eh...*,”<sup>219</sup> remarks Dedé Andrade, *regulo* of Cacheu.

The position embodies the connection to the founding father and the creation of the *djorson*. In a way, the appointment only within selected families is a form of repeating and re-enacting the mythological roots of the political and perpetuating them through tradition. The relevance of the *djorson* in political terms is signified by the maintenance, within the *djaghra*, within the *couro*, of this political role.

As mentioned above, the concepts of *djorson*, *past*, and *tchon* are transferred onto the figure of the *regulo*. Beyond the ontological connection to a mythical past, this transposition emerges with clarity from the duties the *regulo* is called to perform. These revolve around a broad, general, superior goal, that is to ensure the well-being of the people in the *regulado*. “*Manter a saúde, a vida, é o trabalho que fazem os regulos*,”<sup>220</sup> strongly affirmed one of the *omi garandi* I interviewed. The *regulo* ought primarily to “*cuida di pekadur ki lá sta*,”<sup>221</sup> to ensure there will be no death, illnesses, or hunger amid the the population and to provide education and health. The *regulo* is responsible for the “*populason fica diritu*,”<sup>222</sup> or rather to allow for “[*a*] *população continu[e] a vivere em paz, viver bem*.”<sup>223</sup> Other accounts also mention that a good *regulo* ought to “*tira kansera di pobo*.”<sup>224</sup>

The power of the *regulo* conforms to two primary competencies: solving disputes and taking care of land-related matters. As with settling controversies, the *regulo* is called to solve a wide array of problems.<sup>225</sup> The *regulo* is the authority responsible for sorting land disputes,

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<sup>219</sup> “[E]h, it has to be in the generation. It has to be in the generation, it cannot be any outsider, cannot be, another generation... It cannot be a tall person, or pretty, or a slim person, or a fat one, no this does not work this way, it has to be by generations and it has to be according to the spirit of that one, of that one, only in the *gerason*, it is not common eh...”. From the semi-structured interview with Dedé Andrade. February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>220</sup> “Maintain health, life, that is the work the *regulos* do.” From the semi-structured interview with Baakuran, *curandeiro e omi garandi*. Farim, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>221</sup> “Take care of the people living there.” From the semi-structured interview with the *Regulo* of Plack. Quinhamel, February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>222</sup> “[T]he population being well and good,” From the semi-structured interview with the *Regulo* of Plack. Quinhamel, February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>223</sup> “[T]he population continues to live peacefully, living a good life.” From the semi-structured interview with António, *Omi garandi*. Quinhamel, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>224</sup> This expression is not reported in the interviews, since it came up during an informal conversation with a friend and colleague, Bissau-Guinean of origin, also pursuing his doctoral studies in political science at the moment.

<sup>225</sup> The competency of the *regulo* might be limited in the context of some felonies due to the current plural political, legal, and normative systems operating in the country. In case of serious crimes, such as killings, the *regulo* may delegate part of his judicial competence to the state.

inasmuch as “*questão da bolanha vai para o regulo*.”<sup>226</sup> That represents, in fact, the second and main role of the *regulo*—ensuring land distribution. In this sense, the power of the *regulo* is coincident with the political act of *Landnahme*, or land appropriation.

The *regulo* is the authority in charge of land. The power over the land, and the task of its distribution depend on belonging to the *djorson*, the same *djorson* that “*sinta*” (settled) in a geographical location. Therefore, the *regulo* needs to have a connection with the land (“*uma razão com o local*”).<sup>227</sup> It is an ancient duty passed down through generations: the *regulo* must preserve and guarantee land for people just as one’s ancestors provided land to inhabit to those by and for whom the formation and procreation of the *djorson* began. Hence, the ancient function of the *regulo*, from the founding fathers to the living ones, is the appropriation, the division and the redistribution of land.

“*Cada solo tem o seu dono; pertence ao regulo*”<sup>228</sup>: the ultimate owner of land and soil, the *regulo* holds authority over its distribution among and its use by the people. The approval of the *regulo* is mandatory to start construction; the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel) observes that one ought to first request permission from the *regulo* or one will not be successful in their aims.<sup>229</sup> As previously discussed, the *regulo* decides over land redistribution or land allowances to those in need (§5.2.2). Moreover, he has the authority to settle land disputes by establishing delimitations of property and households.

The Bissau-Guinean state formally acknowledges this competency of the *regulo* and the overall competency of endogenous authorities over land-related matters. According to posited state legislation, there is no *de jure* recognition of the endogenous political system. The recently implemented “*Lei da Terra*” (Law of the Land, 2018) brought an innovative character to Bissau-Guinean legislation as it introduces a mention of “*autoridade máxima tradicional*” (higher traditional authority) in its provisions.

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<sup>226</sup> “The matter of rice fields is the competency of the *regulo*”, referred António, pinpointing the *regulo*’s power on the matter, as it would not happen as straightforward with other misdemeanours, such as chicken, goat or cow thief. From the semi-structured interview with António, *omi garandi*; Quinhamel, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>227</sup> From the Djumbai in Catió. February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>228</sup> “Each soil has its owner; it belongs to the *regulo*.” From the semi-structured interview with the *Regulo* of Plack, Quinhamel, on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>229</sup> “[P]rimeiro contactar o *regulo*, senão você não vai conseguir.” The *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel) is referring to the hypothetical community’s willingness to start building a church, school, or hospital, hence emphasising that the consent of the *regulo* is necessary for any use of land, whether private to public. From the semi-structured interview with the *Regulo* of Plack, Quinhamel. February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

The long-awaited law pioneers, albeit in vague terms, the legal recognition of existing endogenous authority. Despite a lack of clarity over who those authorities are, it lays a cornerstone in Guinean records. Until the promulgation of the regulation in November 2018, the *regulo* was the only non-state authority the state acknowledged. *Regulos* were intended to be ordered hierarchically, in some cases manoeuvred by national institutions after independence to strengthen power over rural areas. This means that a broad range of authorities and powers were neglected or overridden on paper. The “*Lei da Terra*” (Lei da Terra, N 5/98, April 23rd 1998; Enacting Regulation November 19th 2018, n.d.) ultimately recognises not only the importance of the *regulo* and other endogenous authorities but also it frames their competencies over land issues in partnership to the state.

The interconnectedness between the authority of the *regulo* and land is evident not only in the goals of the political office but also in material matters. The *regulo* ought to respect a dress code, in which the colour red is the symbol of power. In some cases (often among the Pepel, Manjaco, and Mancanha) the *regulo* is required to live in a specific residence, household, or location. During the short stay in Cacheu (February 2019), my local contact-person, Cambraima, mentioned that the house of the *regulo* is located in the “*rua garandi*,” that is, one of the central avenues.<sup>230</sup>

In other cases, the transcendence of the past-engendered power materialises in symbols and instruments of power, inherited over generations. According to ethnic groups’ specificities, these symbolic connections to the past might forge a relation with cosmological power. They foster a condition of syncretism between the political power of the *regulo* and the actions of metaphysical and semi-physical entities such as *irâns*. This union manifests in symbolic objects pertaining to power, i.e., symbols and objects that *djambakoses* also possess, as they are said to hold the power of *irân*. These objects vary in shape, material, and dimension: Póś Cá (a minor *regulo* in Quinhamel) owned a necklace; Dedé Andrade (*regulo* of Cacheu) a larger wooden stick. These instruments are for very personal use, since they would only work for the *regulo* to whom they belong. Should another person operate them, the *irân* that possesses the instrument would recognise it, and therefore its powers would be null. These objects are an instrument of power, not the source of power *per se*.

Cambraima: É uma coisa como bastão de regulo...

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<sup>230</sup> In the same street is also the so-called “*kau di irân*” (house of *irân*).

Dedé: Tudo poder é ali... Tudo decision, sai dali... proteson, tudo!! [loud laughter]  
 Interviewer: Proteção de *irân*, também?  
 Dedé: Tem. Tem tudo, tudo...  
 Interviewer: Tem tudo aí...?  
 Dedé: Tem tudo ingredientes [laughs] Tudo o que é preciso!  
 Interviewer: E é só você que pode usar?  
 Dedé: Só! Mais ninguém...  
 Interviewer: Uso exclusivo, pessoal.<sup>231</sup>

As demonstrated by the words of Dedé Andrade, these objects symbolise the intermingling of political power with the cosmology-based power of *irân*, as occurring in certain ethnic groups. In fact, the description of the polity-cosmology link differs greatly among the interviewees, according to the ethnic group they belong to, so that there is no unanimity.<sup>232</sup>

Interviewees from some ethnic groups (Pepel, Manjaco, Mancanha, and Felupe) stated that the power of *irân* is necessary or even mandatory in the government of the *regulo*. In the view of Omi Masa, a Mancanha *djambakos*, “*regulo é irân porque é chefe da terra*”<sup>233</sup>: all power in the indigenous polity depends upon *irân*. The *regulo* is the representative of *irân*, or rather that *regulo* needs the protection and support of the semi-physical spirit to properly rule its people. Similarly, “[Nos] *Pepeis toda a administração, governadores, toda está ligado a irân*”<sup>234</sup>; in other words, the intertwining of political power and cosmological forces is deemed necessary for the *regulo* to possess the necessary strength and legitimacy to maintain his position.

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<sup>231</sup> Cambraima: It is something like the stick of the *regulos*...

Dedé: All power comes from there. All decisions come from there... protection, everything!

Interviewer: Protection of *irân* also?

Dedé: It has, has everything, everything...

Interviewer: It has everything in there...?

Dedé: It has all the ingredients [laughs] Everything that is needed!

Interviewer: And only you can use it?

Dedé: Only me! Nobody else...

Interviewer: An exclusive, personal use...

(From the semi-structured interview with Dedé Andrade. Cacheu, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019.)

<sup>232</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter (§5.2.1), endogenous Bissau-Guinean thought at large rebuts the idea of a cosmologically embedded political power. This does not imply a clear-cut separation between the religious and the political sphere, which intertwine more in some ethnic traditions than in others.

<sup>233</sup> “[R]*egulo* is *irân* because he owns the land.” From the semi-structured interview with Omi Masa, in Cacheu, on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>234</sup> “[A]mong the Pepel, all administration, governors, everything is connected to *irân*.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemesio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Also, the reference to *irân* promotes and reinforces the strength of legal provisions. The spirit embodies an authority capable of dispensing absolute punishment in when the law is breached. Beside fostering compliance with the *regulo*'s decisions and norms, *irân* is adduced to provide protection to the chief and to the *tabanca*. A *regulo* would seek physical and semi-physical protection, as stated during an interview in Quinhamel: “*segurança da cabeça... para proteger. O irân. Tem irân para todos os homens, para proteger.*”<sup>235</sup> The *djambakos* and *darmadur* I talked to also confirmed that their services can be used to protect or propitiate life in the *tabanca*. It is possible, according to Gil (a *darmadur* living in Cacheu), that a *regulo* is a *djambakos* or *darmadur* himself: “*nô pudi ser regulo, nô darma, nô chefe de tabanca ao mesmo tempo.*”<sup>236</sup> The positions are compatible and overlapping, as long as one fulfils all his duties, toward the population and toward *irân*.

This intermingling with cosmology is also relevant to the appointment of a new *regulo*, or when one is taking office. With regard to the second scenario, according to local-specific traditions, the *regulo* has to be appointed on a *tchon sagrado* or has to visit the *balobas* of the *regulado* when he takes office. The investiture of the new *regulo* consecrates the cosmological-political mingling, as the chief requests recognition and support from *irân* for the political duties he will be invested with. With regard to the former, the appeal to cosmological aid is due to the process of selection to determine who the next *regulo* will be; in some cases, it might be necessary to perform a divinatory ritual to confirm if the chosen individual is the one who should take office.

As previously discussed, there is no direct inheritance of the authority of *regulo*. The new chief has to belong to a selected *djorson* yet is selected by consensus. “[*A*] *sucessão do regulo não é automática, como o pai o regulo, o filho deve ser,*” Júlio summarised during the *djumbai* in Catió. “[*A*]s *gerações junta, tenta chegar um consenso*”<sup>237</sup> to determine who the succeeding *regulo* will be.

Among the Pepel, the decision falls not to the community but to a selected council—

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<sup>235</sup> “Security of the head... to protect. And *irâns*. There are *irâns* for all men, to protect.” The expression “security of the head” indicates a peculiar use of the word “head”, as noted in the previous chapter. It refers to the dimension of semi-physical capabilities. From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>236</sup> “[W]e can be *regulo*, we can *darma* [perform ritual ceremonies of libation], we can be *chefes de tabanca* at the same time.” Semi-structured interview with Gil, *darmadur*. Cacheu, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>237</sup> “[T]he succession of the *regulo* is not automatic, such as the father being *regulo*, so the son should be too [...] the kinships get together, try to reach a consensus.” Djumbai. Catió, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

“*uma associação de filhos de djaghras.*”<sup>238</sup> Nevertheless, some traditions complement or substitute the decision of the *gerasons* with a ritual ceremony (usually involving the sacrifice of a chicken to check its “eggs”).<sup>239</sup> The ceremony is a divinatory ritual to confirm if the selected individual is the one who should be given authority. In use mostly among the Pepel, Mancanha, and Bijagós (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012), the divinatory procedure intends to avoid discontent and prevent opposition to the newly seated chief.<sup>240</sup>

Moreover, a *regulo* might invoke the assistance of *irân* for propitiatory ceremonies. These are intended to promote and safeguard the well-being of the community, which is, as mentioned above, the first and foremost purpose of political power in Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity. The rationale of the ceremonies revolves around a commitment toward the actions of the founding fathers, reiterated in the present through rituals. For example, Dedé Andrade, *regulo* of Cacheu, yearly performs a libation ritual, the *Ceremonial do Pernal*. Although during our talks he downplayed the role of *irân* and *djambakos* in the power and rule of the *regulo*, he himself is the authority responsible for performing the ceremony. The *Ceremonial do Pernal* is a popular public ceremony where women bring food and men provide drinks to share with *irân*. The ceremony aims to ensure the pacific, harmonic coexistence of *irân* with the people inhabiting the land.

Overall, the ritual ceremonies the *regulo* performs aided by the semi-physical spirit aim to guarantee basic life conditions for the population. As the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel) notes, people ask for his propitiatory intervention at the beginning of rain season, to ask for a rich harvest for the year to come. When the dry season kicks off, the *regulo* is demanded for finalising the construction of traditional houses (usually when placing the roof or the ceilings).

In sum, assisted by *irân* or not, the *regulo* ensures all the necessary and sufficient conditions for the community and its people to live well, meaning, in its most basic understanding, to live in safe conditions, with food and a solid house, protected from external threats. Also, the *regulo* is held responsible for guaranteeing the population with food provisions. A *regulo*

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<sup>238</sup> “An association of sons of the *djaghra* kinships.” Semi-structured interview with Nemesio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>239</sup> The sacrifice of a chicken is performed to obtain a yes or no answer to a specific question, posed by a ritual specialist (*djambakos*). *Irân*’s response is “yes” if the ovaries are light; “no” if they are dark.

<sup>240</sup> From the semi-structured interview with Gil, *darmadur*. Cacheu, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019



regularly perform the ceremony of “*fitcha bolanha*” (literally meaning “to close the rice fields”) to prevent the rivers’ brackish water from entering the fields and endangering the crops.

The ceremony consecrates the connection between the *regulo* and the *tchon*; furthermore, it shows that the *regulo* is morally expected to provide for the people in his *tabanca*, *reino*, or *regulado* with food (or at least with the means necessary to generate food in the foreseeable future). As supporting the family is the duty, “*em África*,” of the “*homem que é homem*,”<sup>241</sup> the *regulo* should fulfil his moral obligations to the community.<sup>242</sup> Therefore, the rituals performed and, more broadly, the competences the *regulo* is endowed with, reflect the fulfilment of moral acts implicit to the moral profile of the endogenous chief.

To behave according to morally good standards is an essential requisite of maintaining authority as a *regulo*. The *regulo* ought to be a moral example, whose main commitment is the community’s well-being. In the view of Nemésio (Pepel), a *regulo* is ready to give his life in sacrifice for the good of the *tabanca*. Such commitment ought to show in the moral deeds he performs, therefore offering a moral example for all. Moral misbehaviour of the *regulo*, along with reiterating a morally wrong behaviour, is the one reason people might ask for the *regulo* to stand down from the office. The position of *regulo* is a life-long duty one cannot abdicate from, or refuse to accept, and death is the only means by which a *regulo* is discharged of his duties. Nevertheless, people may demand that a *regulo* stand down when his actions are manifestly against the interests of the community.

The possibility of a *regulo*’s “abdication” is influenced by ethnic specificities. According to customary laws, only among the Manjaco can the *regulo* renounce to or step down from the office, on the basis of moral incapacity, old age, or prolonged absence from the *regulado* (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012, p. 42). Likewise, the Manjaco seem to allow for the removal of the chief if he commits a barbarous felony clearly opposed to the interests of the community (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012, p. 42).

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<sup>241</sup> The duty, “in Africa, of the man who is a man.” From the informal conversation with Valdano, Manjaco. Quinhamel, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>242</sup> The newly appointed *regulo* would throw a *cerimonia di contentamento*, a celebration where he would offer plenty of food and drink, along with music and dancing—entertainment for the population to celebrate. As tradition prescribes, the wealth of the *regulo* is such that at these feasts each guest “[*bô*] *pudi come um baca intera so bô!*” (“can eat a whole cow to themselves”), as reported during the *djumbai* in Catió (February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019).

Still, what was stated during the *djumbai* in Catió (February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019) agrees in part with the literature. The participants, *omi* and *mindjer garandi* of different ethnic groups, explained that there are no grounds for the removal a *regulo* from office, beside physical or psychological impairments due to old age, or repeated morally wrong attitudes prejudicial to the *regulo*'s family and/or the community. As the removal of the *regulo* is an exceptional last resort, the structure of power in the polity is provided with compensatory mechanisms. People's complaints are usually directed to the elders (the *garandi*), who would then warn the *regulo* about discontent or advise him over changes in policies or behaviour.

The *regulo*'s observance of moral conduct and obligations toward the community is assumed as the bedrock for the moral attitude and order of the whole community. One of the interviewees actually questioned who would respect norms and laws if the *regulo* were not the first to obey them. “*Quem é o regulo? É o populason. Porque que você ser regulo, quem ninguém vai comportar com você, você é regulo?*”<sup>243</sup> A *regulo* who does not behave according to morality totally voids his credibility and legitimacy. As the *regulo* is seen as representing the sacredness inherent in the past, the *djorson*, the *tchon*, he ought to commit to them, and perpetuate them endlessly throughout time, by fostering the well-being, peace, and harmony of the community.

### 6.2.3 Councils, consensus, and elders

As introduced earlier in this chapter, the plurality, composed of intersubjective relations, constitutes the *nomos* of the polity. The thus-framed relational power finds no direct correspondence in the governance of the *regulo*, which is an office purely dependent upon patterns of temporality and *djorson*, along with land appropriation. Although the authority of the *regulo* is commonly depicted as the maximum power in the indigenous polity—the almighty chief—, his authority and power are only in part representative of the co-operational power relations underpinning the political plurality. Therefore, the coexistence of the *regulo*

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<sup>243</sup> “Who is *regulo*? He is the people. Because if you are *regulo*, nobody behaves toward you, are you a *regulo* [i.e., no one will question you]?” From the *djumbai* in Catió. February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

along with institutions of consensual and participatory politics (the *djumbai* and the *baraca*<sup>244</sup>) is explained by power relations and *nomos* of power.

For the political *nomos* shaped upon the plurality, relations of intersubjectivity form the political network binding one (*ego*) to the other (*alter*). When these relations among individuals crystallise in the institutionalised political sphere, the element of political intersubjectivity equally transcends and intertwines with the *djorson*. The *djorson* provides *ego* with the necessary link to atemporal political life (the *blos politicon*); however, the political relations and institutions established are an entirely, eminently *human* process, void of cosmological or apolitical (hence non-human) interferences. “*Se nós dizemos que temos baraca no mato... Não!! Baraca nós temos no nosso coração. Combinámos isso.*”<sup>245</sup>

The political is engendered by the communal councils, via human intent, and belongs solely to the domain of human agency. Political life is an act of the plurality. In this sense, as Chabal and Daloz have affirmed (Chabal & Daloz, 1999, 2003), in sub-Saharan scenarios the political is communal, motivated by commitment to one’s own self and to the plurality, on the grounds of intersubjective relations.

In the political, the intersubjective relations are framed as a polity of consensus. In this political configuration, teleology of power operates according to one overarching end; that is, to maintain the harmonic order of the plurality. That is the primary drive of governance, administration, and politics in the *tabanca*. The purpose does not imply any sort of blind commitment to the community or the primacy of a monolithic oneness. By contrast, to maintain the harmonic order signifies to foster peace and union in the togetherness, through the compromise of different opinions and interests of individual members.

Notably, “*tabanca*” is a noun indicating a collective person, a plurality of individuals, although people tend to slightly manipulate its semanticity and use it as a term for a singular, univocal entity. The use of language consecrates “*tabanca*,” interchanged with “*comunidade*” (community), as an almost biological entity, united and coherent. Such usage symbolises the

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<sup>244</sup> The terms *djumbai* and *baraca* (*di fanado, di comunidade*) are used interchangeably to refer to meetings, assembly, or councils. They differ slightly in meaning, as *djumbai* indicates also meetings of a different social or civic character, while the *baraca* have an eminently political connotation.

<sup>245</sup> “If we say that we have *baraca* (council) out of the community... No!! No. We have *baraca* in our hearts. We decided that.” From the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

relevance of union as a source of strength for individuals, and for the *tabanca*. In this regard, one of my acquaintances in Jemberem affirmed, “*nô djunti ki nô na tene forsa.*”<sup>246</sup>

However, the union of people is deemed meaningless when it lacks peace. The notion of “peace” in local epistemology identifies closely with harmony and compromise, bending individualistic tendencies in consideration of reciprocity and cooperation. Any union needs to be consensual and agreed upon by all people in order to maintain the harmonic order: “*é unidade, é unidade para fazer a paz na tabanca, para fazer a paz na comunidade.*”<sup>247</sup> Therefore, the terms *union* and *peace* epitomise the interlinked, foundational character of intersubjective politics.

Before speculating on the consensual governance ruling the indigenous polity, it is necessary to take a little step back, to first unriddle the elements co-occurring in the politics of intersubjectivity. The main institutions operating in the polity are (i) customary law, (ii) the elders, and (iii) the councils. The overarching politics by consensus guides them all.

Customary law has the basic function of maintaining peace, union, and harmony. The norms are not posited, written down, or systematised but transmitted orally down through the generations. Customary law persists beyond the time-continuum and is also created and regenerated *ex novo* in the community. Therefore, the law has a dual character of resilience and adaptability.

On the one hand, compliance with customary law responds to the need to promote unity and stronger bonds among the population. In order to do so, it is legitimate for those it applies to. In other words, people obey norms when in their interest to do so, although these are changeable according to time and space. Customary norms behave as a “living law” (Ehrlich, 1936; Griffiths, 1986); that is, law provisions exist through and because of those heeding them.

Dismissing the primacy of legislation over power configuration (Hayek, 1976), customary law is adaptable to changing circumstances. The adjustment is made possible by the law-making process, which involves the participatory and consensual governance of the *baraca* and *djumbai*. “*Regra di tabanca, ora ki bu misti fassi um plano ou um kusa la, hora, bu na*

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<sup>246</sup> “United, we have power.” Informal conversation with Saidu in Jemberem. February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>247</sup> “It is unity, it is unity to make peace in the *tabanca*, to make pace in the community.” From the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

*tchoma um ghoutro, abo sinta, abo dibati, akilo regras, la, pouco pouco tchiga um consenso – el i ki manda!*<sup>248</sup>”, says a *chefe de tabanca* during an interview. The absolute power of customary norms is due to the strength of the decision adopted, grounded in unity.

Moreover, in light of its proximity to people’s will, customary law assumes prominence over state law; “*o que manda aqui é a lei daqui, não pode trazer a lei de Bissau.*”<sup>249</sup> Regardless of official recognition, a *regulo* went as far as saying, “*o Estado sabe ki aki i lei di tchon.*”<sup>250</sup> The rule of local, ethnic, and communal law over positive law is aided by the inherent legitimacy granted by including customary norms within tradition. Whereas people are aware of posited codes and the relative legal provisions, they strongly rely on customary law, because “*as pessoas sabem, conhecem as leis, o que tem mais força é a tradição.*”<sup>251</sup>

On the other hand, norms are learnt through experience; that is, they are not taught directly but learned through living. It is common for people to deem customary norms to be coincident with culture and tradition<sup>252</sup> and see them as forming an indivisible consonance, the “*lei universal da tradição.*”<sup>253</sup> As such, laws ought to be obeyed: “*Lei... eu respeito. Respeito, é a minha tradição, a minha cultura.*”<sup>254</sup> Therefore, laws acquire a transcendental aspect, since they are necessarily included in one’s substratum, enabling the socialisation process.

The unavoidable acknowledgment of customary norms is due to one’s primary education and initiation into life in the community, further reinforced by their application to life in the *tabanca*. Thus, the prescriptions of tradition are observed in communal and individual life

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<sup>248</sup> “Rules of the *tabanca*, when you want to make a plan, or anything else there, when, you call one another, you sit, you debate, those rules, there, little by little you reach a consensus – that is what rules!” From the semi-structured interview with Djamba. Farim (Jemberem), February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>249</sup> “What governs here is the law from here, you cannot bring the law of Bissau,” referring to posited state law. From the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>250</sup> The state knows here [applies] customary law.” (From the semi-structured interview with the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel). February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019. The *regulo* made his statement when the interview turned to the topic of land distribution. Nevertheless, what he infers is questionable in consideration of the intermingling of state and customary justice. According to the *omi* and *mindjer garandi* at the *djumbai* in Catió, nowadays traditional justice uses milder punishment than it did in the past. This is said to be caused by acknowledgement of the punishment foreseen by posited law as well as the obligation to inform the state of customary trials and sentences.

<sup>251</sup> From the informal conversation with Bacar Bassi Djassi. Buba, February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019.

<sup>252</sup> Depending on ethnic specificities, the mingling of tradition with customary law might involve the power of *irân* over the latter. Among the Pepel, the application of law is administered at the shrines, e.g., the *balobas*.

<sup>253</sup> “The universal law of tradition.” From the semi-structured interview with the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel). February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>254</sup> “Law... I respect [it]. I respect [it], it is my tradition, my culture.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

and transmitted over time. In this sense, customary law appears as an immutable trait of tradition, echoes of immutability and stability.

The tenets of customary law are guarded by a selected category of individuals, the elders (or *garandi*). Being the guardians of the customary law, the *garandi* are also considered a warrant for the ontological and political harmonic order ruling the society. They are responsible not only for the preservation of customary norms, since “*esta aqui [customary law] fica com os anciões,*”<sup>255</sup> but also compliance with social and moral values among members of the *tabanca*.

Invested with moral, social and political responsibilities, the *garandi* fulfil essential functions within the *tabanca*, the *reino*, and the *regulado*. Hence, belonging to the category of elder comes with certain requirements.<sup>256</sup> From an ontological perspective, age and life experience are highly esteemed, as it is assumed that one acquires more knowledge and wisdom the longer one lives.<sup>257</sup> Still, age may be not enough; one might be required to perform specific ceremonies or rituals to be shown the secrets protected by the elders: “*há leis, há regras que para você conhecer, você tem que ir lá, tem que fazer aqueles cerimónias, você vê, você conhece, se você não vai, não...*”<sup>258</sup> Therefore, the *garandi* constitute a selective and selected category.

They warrant the social and moral order of the polity by presiding over the councils. Their supervision over the process of consensual governance enables them to control the observation of customary norms, along with the preservation and transmission of law over time. The *garandi* might also meet separately from the overall community, in their own assemblies. “*Que ninguém que não participam naquela reunião, não pode violar, não tem voz naquela [a decisão de quem] chamamos omi mais velho.*”<sup>259</sup> The decisions they take are absolute, an obligation for people in the community.

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<sup>255</sup> “This one [customary law] stays with the elders.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>256</sup> Being a *garandi* is not determined by gender or biological age, according to the data gathered.

<sup>257</sup> Today this assumption is under challenge, insofar as the relevance of life experience has to face the increasing importance of education. Being able to read and write have come to be considered a constitutive part of one’s wisdom.

<sup>258</sup> “There are rules, there are rules that for you to know, you have to go there, you have to perform those ceremonies, you see, you know, if you do not go, you do not...” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>259</sup> “That nobody who does not participate in those meetings, one cannot breach, one has no voice over [the decision of] those we call elders.” *Djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Too, the political duties of the *garandi* extend to the authority of the *regulo*, whom they must advise. The elders constitute, so to say, an advisory board, or “*contradison*,” for the traditional chief, helping him keep a righteous government. As referred to during the *djumbai* in Catió, “*os garandi ficam como guardiões do regulo para o aconselhar, para ele não ter erros [...] aconselhar de vez em quando se mostrar que entra caminho errado, para não entrar noutra.*”<sup>260</sup> A *regulo* cannot govern without the aid of counsellors, “*não pode faltar. Conselheiro não pode faltar nunca na casa do regulo,*”<sup>261</sup> this being the *garandi*, since “*ele [o regulo] escolhe um anciões da tabanca, eles têm, têm sabedoria. Escolhe anciões para ajudá-lo.*”<sup>262</sup> While the authority of the traditional chief is due to the ontological, mythical connection to past, *djorson*, and *tchon*, his government is sustained in co-participation with the elders, whom he summons and “*fassi reunion com eles, assim que funciona.*”<sup>263</sup>

Nevertheless, the authority of the government of the *tabanca* is given primarily to the councils, called *djumbai*, *baraca di fanado*, or *baraca di comunidade*. These hold power over moral, legal, and, principally, political matters. For the ancient role in the political plurality, the participation to the councils might be restricted to “*pekadur ki tene ouvido,*” “*pekadur ki tene fala,*”<sup>264</sup> meaning people whose words are charged with evocative and invocative power (Nanque, 2017a, 2017b). This power is endowed to all individuals who have reached adulthood and/or moral maturity, hence the participation in *djumbai* and *baraca* might be restricted to those who “*tene papia.*”<sup>265</sup>

<sup>260</sup> “The elders stay as guards of the *regulo*, to advise him, so he will not do wrong [...], advise him every now and then, when he seems to go down the wrong path, not to enter another [wrong] one.” Júlio synthetised the opinion of the *garandi* in the *djumbai* in Catió. February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>261</sup> “An advisor can’t be missing. Advisors can never be missing from the *regulo*’s house.” From the semi-structured interview with the *regulo* of Plack, Quinhamel. February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>262</sup> “[H]e [the *regulo*] chooses some elders from the *tabanca*, they have, have wisdom. He chooses elders to help him.” From the semi-structured interview with the *regulo* of Plack, Quinhamel. February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>263</sup> “[They] have a meeting with them, that is how it works.” Semi-structured interview with António, *omi garandi*. Quinhamel, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>264</sup> “Person who has hearing,” “person who has words, or speech.”

<sup>265</sup> “[We] have speech.” From the *djumbai* in Catió. February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019. The condition on which one might participate in the councils does not form a strict discriminatory pattern, however it precludes morally unprepared individuals from joining the political process. Individuals of this sort are ones who persist in morally wrong behaviour, but most of all those who are not considered adults. The achievement of adulthood, and moral maturity, lacks clear definition, as it is defined by age and the performance of ritual ceremonies, such as the *fanado*. Furthermore, children are excluded from the councils as they are not bestowed the same moral status as that of an adult. Children are still growing and developing their morality, which is not yet fully constituted. Therefore, their words have less weight than those of the elders (Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento, 2011). Also, customary law reports that people with physical impairments or mental disabilities cannot take charge as *regulo* or *chefe de tabanca* (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012). Whether they can participate in community councils or are forbidden to do so is not explicitly stated.

Assemblies might involve only “*élites, elites que estão lá é que debatem os assuntos,*” elites in this case being the elders.<sup>266</sup> The *garandi* are thought to report individual wills and opinions, as stated during the *djumbai* in Jemberem: “*que que eu diz? Esse que omi garandi fala. Que que eu também diz? Esse que omi garandi também fala.*”<sup>267</sup> Thus, the elders seem to work as representatives of the people in the community, functioning like a selected political class. Still, these apparently representative political practices (the *baraca*) are matched by the *djumbai*—larger, more inclusive meetings that allow the whole adult population to participate.

*Baraca* and *djumbai* are the political institutions responsible for the application of moral, social and legal customary law. The abidance to norms is pursued through mutual observation and reprobation, not only from the councils but from the overall community. When a crime is committed, the council restores order or applies punishment through a “*justiça di irmandade, di fassi concertason di djenti. E bin sinta e fassi acerto.*”<sup>268</sup> Thus, the justice applied in the community also follows the rules of participative governance by consensus.

Governed by consensual and participatory governance, *baraca* and *djumbai* embody, in fact, the real *locus* of power, the expression of the foundational *nomos* of the political power, i.e., the plurality. The centrality of the councils in political power sheds light on the figure of the *regulo*, an authority with limited political power. The political office of the *regulo* transposes the interconnection *ego-djorson* anchored on past-centric ontology, which provides the underpinning rationale for the relation between *ego-alter* and therefore for the constitution of the plurality. Still, the *regulo* does not hold great effective or governing political power in the community.

The *regulo* must obey customary law like any other member of the *tabanca* or *reinado*; he does not stand above legal provisions, nor is he the top legislator like western sovereigns who represent the *nomos basileus* of the political. The Bissau-Guinean endogenous chief has the absolute duty to observe legal and moral norms, if only to provide an example for the governed: “*bu ka na disciplina [...] si bu i primeiro ki na viola, e bu viola lei, kil ki na seta kil la?*”

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<sup>266</sup> “Elites, the elites who are there debate the matter.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>267</sup> “What did I say? The elder says that. What else did I say? The elder says that also.” From the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>268</sup> “Justice of brotherhood, of people’s agreement. We come to sit and find agreement.” From the semi-structured interview with Mamadou Djakhra Camará. Buba, February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019.



[...] *primero ki da exemplo i abo. Pa nô ki sta ba, no sigui na bo, na bo pe.*”<sup>269</sup> In consideration of the *regulo*’s moral obligations toward the past and the *djorson*, he also ought to behave as a moral role model for the community.

The *regulo* responds to the elders, *baraca*, and *djumbai*, who help guide his actions and behaviour. The *garandi* in the *djumbai* in Catió articulated clearly that elders and councils give the *regulo* power to govern, and therefore can deprive him of it if one repeatedly misbehaves. The *garandi* do not merely help the chief govern or provide a check and balances system. Rather, elders, *baraca*, and *djumbai* steer political power. The *regulo* represents no more than a spokesperson, or a chairman, for the political process developed within the councils. In other words, the *regulo* epitomises an instrument of the consensus engendered within *baraca* and *djumbai*. The latter are the home of the governing process, where decision-making, policies, and norms are discussed, agreed, and promulgated.

Operating in autonomy from other political authorities (*regulo*, *chefe de tabanca*, or even imam), the councils (*djumbai* and *baraca*) are the core of the political. As a matter of fact, they constitute the one power operating in the *tabanca*, ordered by relations of cooperation and coordination: “*estamos tudo coordenado. Já tomámos única lei! Que vai existir na tabanca.*”<sup>270</sup> Maintaining power relations grounded in unity, harmony, and cooperation, the consensual polity reproduces the working basis of intersubjectivity. Intersubjective politics enhance the plurality as primary political *nomos*, where *ego*’s unicity is preserved along with willingness to compromise as the means to achieve union and peace in the community.

*Djumbai* and *baraca* rest on a participatory form of politics. Notwithstanding the longstanding and ontological relevance of the elders, the politics of consensus does not coincide with canonical politics of representativity, nor does it provide for the delegation of political decisions to chosen *aristoi*.<sup>271</sup> Indigenous polity in Guinea-Bissau promotes participation and harmonisation as bedrock traits of the political.

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<sup>269</sup> “You are not the disciplinarian [...] if you are the first one breaching the law, who would accept it? [...] the role model is you. So that we here, we follow you, we walk on your footsteps.” From the semi-structured interview with Gil, djambakos, in Cacheu. February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>270</sup> “We are all coordinated. Yet we approved the one law! That exists in the *tabanca*.” As reported during the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>271</sup> According to Aristotelianism, the political process should be delegated to a select category of individuals, chosen upon their knowledge, wisdom, and rationality. Broadly speaking, Aristotle identified this category in the figure of the philosophers, whose proficiency with Reason would guarantee the Good of all the polis.

The councils epitomise the expression and compromise of all interests, reifying the most apt political configuration for power relations of intersubjectivity. In such polity, there reigns the politics of consensus, which essentially combines two actions: “*sinta*” and “*papia*” (in European Portuguese, “*conversa*” or “*debate*”). “[B]u na tchoma um ghoutro, abo sinta [...] *nô sinta ali, pa conversal [...] sintam, discutir um coisa que é bom para tabanca,*”<sup>272</sup> observes Djamba, a *chefe de tabanca* in the Tombali region.

Here again the term *sinta* appears, albeit with a new connotation,<sup>273</sup> that being “to group together, create an assembly.” The term articulates the concept of a political meeting, or council. In essence, this is the Arendtian political action, an action of the plurality coordinated through *logos*. Hence, the necessity of yoking the grouping action with orality and dialogical practices, expressed in *Kriol* as “*papia*,” “*conbersa*” (“*nô sinta, bo conbersa*”<sup>274</sup>), or in the Portuguese borrowed term “*debater*” (“*sentá e debate*”<sup>275</sup>).

As thoroughly stated in the literature, African cultures are largely oral cultures. The ancient relevance of orality in the sub-Saharan context impacts the polity. All ethnic groups in Guinea-Bissau have their own laws and norms, even constitutions. However, they are not written “*mas tem na cabeça*.”<sup>276</sup> Orality is an unconditional element of the endogenous political practices, which are essentially dialogical.

These constitute the roots of consensus, which is an ongoing process presupposing the existence of dissent, inherent in the substantial differences of one’s unicity, or radical difference. Said otherwise, dialogical practices represent the means to convey one’s view, opinions and interests in the plurality. Ergo, for the politics of consensus to operate, one’s capacity for self-reflection and evaluation will be permanently operative. This is in accordance with the roots of intersubjectivity, as they presuppose the maintenance of subjectivity, or one’s radical

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<sup>272</sup> “You call one another, you sit [...] we sit there, to converse [...] They sit, to discuss what is good for the *tabanca*.” Semi-structured interview with Djamba, *chefe de tabanca*. Jemberem, February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>273</sup> As discussed in the previous chapters, “*sinta*” refers to two situations: when one decides to settle down and build a house, start a family (and hence comply with the ontological duty of continuing the *djorson* through offspring), and to the foundational act of the settling fathers, who conquered a land and settled there, taking possession of the *tchon*.

<sup>274</sup> “We sit, you talk.” Semi-structured interview with the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel). February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>275</sup> “Sit and debate.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel, February, 2019. During our talks, Nemésio expressed that consensus is preferable to litigations or being subject to state legislation, mostly when the matter under discussion is land and determination of property, as compelled by posited law. He believed the best thing is to sit together, discuss, and find an agreement that satisfies both parties, then present it to state authorities for legalisation, yet avoiding their direct involvement in the decision-making process.

<sup>276</sup> “But they have them in the head.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio. Quinhamel February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

difference, in the communal political space. As articulated by Kwasi Wiredu (2001, 2007), the politics of consensus does not presuppose the annihilation of one's opinion but mitigates individualistic tendencies because of the propensity to cooperate with one another. The willingness to work harmonically along with others, while maintaining one's own subjectivity, is induced from intersubjective relations, whereas the plurality embodies the necessary link to all power relations, the necessary term engendering the interconnectedness bonding *ego* and *alter*.

#### 6.2.4 The rationale of consensus

Insofar as the polity relies on one's radical, subjective difference, the key element for the politics of consensus resides in the rationale compelling individuals' commitment to the plurality, fostering willingness to compromise. Drawing from the literature, plausible arguments adduced for the process of consensus are as many as the scholars working on the topic. The moral-political theorisations of Afro-communitarian adopt two standpoints, one moral and one procedural, to approach the matter.

With regard to the procedural view, scholars' postulates diverge over the predominance or interplay of rational and circumstantial elements for the purpose of reaching consensus in the community. In other words, the debate turns on the character of rationality in the consensus process. According to Kwasi Wiredu, the production of consensus draws from communal consciousness as individuals recognise among themselves a commonality of interests (Matolino, 2016; Wiredu, 2001, 2007). Still, such conjecture is hardly sustainable in the growing complexity of African societies, characterised by spatial extensiveness and structural heterogeneity at the local and national level. Among the panoply of individuals composing the no-longer horizontal society, commonality of interests is hardly recognisable, nor is it achievable (Matolino, 2016). Thereby, scholars have countered the fragilities in Wiredu's theory by assuming the interplay of rational and non-rational factors in consensus-making (Ani, 2014), or simply focusing purely on the relevance of sociological elements, with little or no contribution of reason (Ani, 2018).

The procedural approach, whether grounded in rational or non-rational processes, shares the assumption that the decisions reached through consensus enjoy higher feasibility,

since they are performative, rather than absolute, moral outcomes (Wiredu, 2007). Therefore, the usefulness of consensus decision-making rests on the general acknowledgement that the adjustment of individual will is a “common necessity for something to be done” (Wiredu, 2001, p. 173). This represents the best possible outcome in relative terms; that is, as the best way to act in specific, circumstantial situations.

On the other hand, the moral approach to the politics of consensus pinpoints the relevance of morality to forge willingness to consensus and compromise. In light of the *other-oriented* mode of life (Molefe, 2018b), one embraces the rule of the morality of duty as a means to preserve one’s own dignity, rights, self-awareness, and self-reflection (Molefe, 2018b). Therefore, one possesses an inner tendency toward agreement and compromise with others for one’s and the community’s sake. The moral standpoint further posits that the morality-rooted drive lacks nothing in feasibility, as it constitutes a solid trait inherent in human disposition. Ultimately, the underpinning rationale of consensus and compromise lies in individuals’ willingness to foster harmony in the community (Wiredu, 2001, p. 174).

The threefold socio-political complexity of post-colonial African polities offers a limited means to confirm these hypotheses, insofar as the existence of the nation-state and majoritarian democracy impact political behaviour and commitment at all levels. However, from the gathered data it is possible to extrapolate on the rationale for consensus in the indigenous polity. Along with emphasising union as a source of strength and power for the *tabanca*, the interviewees oftentimes speak of political consensus as “*consenso di paz*” or “*justiça di irmandade*.” The inferred traits depict a political process that does not sacrifice individual will but promotes communion of different interests, adjusted to reach overall agreed-upon decisions. “*Consenso que sai da baraca de fanado, será consenso di paz*,”<sup>277</sup> people unanimously reported during the *djumbai* in Jemberem.

As such, the accommodation of the interests and individualistic tendencies of each is due to individuals’ willingness to foster peace, and harmony in the *tabanca*, in the name of “*irmandade*” (brotherhood) among people. The term “*irmandade*” conveys the rationale underneath consensus, the reason compelling people to engage with consensual politics. The recognition of overall interconnectedness enables and promotes the willingness to adjust and

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<sup>277</sup> “The consensus decided in the *baraca di fanado* will be a consensus of peace.” From the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

the faith in consensus as the most apt political practice for the community. “*Sintam, discutir um coisa, que é muito bom para a tabanca [...] tem que se fazer assim! Porque esse é o bom, esse é bom para a tabanca!*”<sup>278</sup> To place trust in consensus as political practice therefore implies an active role of each individual. The consensus does not entail one’s blind acceptance or conformity to policies and decisions. Rather, it relies on one’s autonomous, independent choice and commitment to political practices to enhance harmony in the community.

In this sense, the politics of consensus epitomises the preferential political process and configuration to accommodate relations of intersubjectivity and the political *nomos* of plurality. It promotes power relations of cooperation, along with the mutual recognition and respect of the subjects, passing through the plurality. Besides, tradition pins the legitimacy of consensus and councils to the mythical past. “*I existiba akil kusa, ma djenti ki ka teneba escola kil tempo, djenti teneba garandi experiênciã! E ta conseguiba contrala la atraves di convocação. Próprio kil figura mas garandi di cada etnia e ta teneba um tempo ke ta contra na um locais [...] e nô fala, i baraca di fanado.*”<sup>279</sup> The *garandi*, *regulo*, and *chefes de tabanca* participating in the *djumbai* (Jemberem) locate the roots of the political practice by consensus to the times the founding fathers settled on the land. Hence, the need for consensus arose because the spatially-lodged *djorson* ought to order and configure relations of power within and among the communities.

Perfectly encapsulating intersubjective power relations, the polity governed by consensus offers higher adaptability and the versatility to face changing circumstances. By providing performative outcomes, the policy and decision-making machinery can adjust to the present time with ease, to meet the needs of those involved in the political matters. Also, the politics of consensus fosters inclusiveness; the political *nomos* grounded in the plurality cherishes subjectivity along with interconnectedness, against monolithic oneness. Elias Kifon Bongmba (2006) refers to this character of intersubjective politics as a celebration of diversity. The order of the polity not only transcends past foundations but welcomes heterogeneity of any sort (from gender, to religion, to ethnicity and nationality), since it accommodates differences in opinions and interests in politics, later transposed onto political governance.

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<sup>278</sup> “[They] sit, discuss a thing, that is very good for the *tabanca* [...] it has to be so! Because that is good, that is good for the *tabanca*.” From the semi-structured interview with Djamba. Farim (Jemberem), February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>279</sup> “It existed that thing, but people were not educated at that time, people had great experience! And could control them through assembly. The one elder in each ethnic group and there was a time that they meet in a location [...] and we call it, it is *baraca di fanado*.” Quote from the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Nonetheless, the polity of consensus raises conceptual and theoretical concerns. Firstly, the performative aspect of consensus is adduced as a source of increased feasibility for consensual practices in politics. When the bedrocks of consensual politics aim for a higher moral or quasi-moral goal (e.g., fostering union, peace, harmony in the community), a decision-making process willing to suit finite ends might discriminate against some or be prejudicial toward specific values. Moreover, an exclusively performative political system pre-empts any teleological function of the polity or of the subjects involved. Even if loosely defined, political actions and governance in the indigenous polity are orchestrated under a set of moral tenets (e.g., fostering harmony in the community) and as such cannot be merely performative.

My second concern arose from a discussion during the *djumbai* in Catió, as the *garandi* mentioned that lack of commitment to, or acceptance of, the agreed consensus implies being ousted from the community. Insofar as intersubjective politics promotes inclusiveness, to normatively negate the possibility of lack of adjustment would be problematic. As logically the existence of opposition cannot occur, those not in agreement with the consensus are simply, necessarily excluded from the community. Considering that no space is allowed for opposition<sup>280</sup> or abstention, then the question is whether it is really possible to accommodate all differences.

From the aforementioned stems my reservation about the “democratic” character attributed to consensus. In order to assess this, one ought to adopt an essentialist definition of democracy, hence focusing on the principles and theoretical core constituting the concept of democracy.<sup>281</sup> If we consider, in a minimalist definition, the foundational, necessary principles of democracy to be equality, liberty, and social justice (Agulanna & Osimiri, 2017), these might have been granted to all people in small-sized, pre-colonial societies.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the same is identifiable today. Wiredu’s “democracy by consensus” (Wiredu, 2001, 2007), a political theory starting from the premises of Afro-communitarianism, suggests an “authentically African” theory of democracy, devoid of

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<sup>280</sup> Bernard Matolino (2013) criticises the role of opposition and the democratic character of democracy by consensus. Dennis Masaka (2019) discusses how Wiredu’s no-party polity conflates with one-party regimes, as interconnected outcomes of consensual policy-making.

<sup>281</sup> The essentialist definition of democracy is preferred to a procedural approach. While the latter pinpoints that procedures and political processes constitute the inner trait of democracy (and therefore constitute a valid threshold to confirm whether a political system is democratic or not), the essentialist standpoint places emphasis on the underpinning principles, which can be promoted through a variety of procedures, including and beyond those of liberal, majoritarian democracy.

political parties, of winners and losers.<sup>282</sup> Devised primarily from features of pre-colonial sub-Saharan societies, the theoretical proposal risks losing its democratic character in contemporaneity due to the inherent difficulties in safeguarding and promoting equality, liberty, and social justice in heterogenous, extended society the same way they were granted to decentralised societies.

Under the pressure of increasing migration fluxes, urbanisation, and globalisation, societies have grown in number and spatial extension; endogenous forms of politics have adapted to conform with the new challenges. The polity of consensus has to co-exist, in essence and in practice, with other *nomoi* of power, within the defined national space, along with other international phenomena. These matters are discussed in the next section.

### 6.3 Nomoi of power: a pluralistic political space

Within the political space of Guinea-Bissau, the political power ordering the indigenous polity is by far not the only ruling political power. Sustained by customs, and legitimated by the population, indigenous political power merely represents an informal political power existing along with the instituted state, organised in a semi-presidential political system. The pluralistic political reality characterising Guinea-Bissau is no exception, as the coexistence of political powers is typical of many African states. Such a condition, where more than one political power is ruling within the same political space, leads to a pluralistic condition in which multiple political powers co-occur.

Prior to looking into the coexistence of these political powers, a short elucidation is in order. What has so far been described is an interpretative analysis of a political phenomenon. The inductive-deductive method used strongly relies on oral knowledge and tradition as a privileged means through which to discern and understand the underpinning principles of indigenous power. The inferences presented depict the essence and foundation of the political power endogenous to Bissau-Guinean communities. These principles, already devised in pre-colonial

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<sup>282</sup> In this regard, see Wiredu, K. (2007). Democracy by consensus: Some conceptual considerations. *Socialism and Democracy*, 21(3), 155–170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08854300701599882>.

societies, have nowadays to put up with new challenges and changed scenarios. Beyond the structural disruption (Menkiti, 2001) caused by colonial occupation, the indigenous polity, institutions, and authorities had to deal with post-colonial social transformation as well as other international and transnational forces and processes, such as higher migration fluxes, urbanisation, and globalisation.

The sudden, and somehow forced, entrance into so-called modernity brought with it the appearance of the state in the sub-Saharan context. *Nomos* of sovereignty, configuration of the political *par excellence*, the state imposed through colonial administration was maintained and appropriated by national leaders in the aftermath of independence. Sealing the political space under state borders, autonomously ruled by the people under the principle of self-determination, the African state fostered the foundation of *nomoi* of power.

As discussed in the previous sections, the *nomos* of power concerns how political power is ordered. The concept is not necessarily or exclusively grounded in spatial determinism but exemplifies the crystallised ordering of power within a society, the organised power relations occurring in the socio-political sphere. Therefore, to talk about *nomoi* of power indicates different orders of power relations, institutionalised within the political configuration. Differences concern not only spatial distribution of power, as much as the foundational principles underpinning power.

### 6.3.1 Foundational characters of the *nomoi* of power

Literature abounds with definitions and characterisations of the state in Africa. Studies have pinpointed characters of civic society (Kasanda, 2018), of the network of involved actors, often pinpointing corruption and the personalisation of power, or the slightly asymmetric system of mutual dependency engaging corporate political agents (Bayart, 2003; Chabal, 1986, 1992; Hyden, 2013), of the folded complexity of contemporary African societies (Appiah, 1992; Balandier, 1972; Chabal, 1992; E. C. Eze, 1997), or of the political regimes implemented (Hyden, 2013; Kasanda, 2018; Kiros, 2000; Martin, 2012).



By and large, scholars have emphasised the fragility of the modern state in Africa. In the case of Guinea-Bissau specifically, political analysts have depicted the state as an “unstable economy of power” (Bordonaro, 2009, p. 37) while other scholars have stated that the Bissau-Guinean state is an empty shell (Chabal & Daloz, 1999), a vacuous space (Chabal, 1996), the eminent source of the “stable instability” (Vigh, 2009, p. 145) and turmoil agitating the country. Thus, the ideal stage for the criminalisation of power (Bayart et al., 1999) and the foundation of the first narco-state in the African continent (Ceesay, 2016; Chabal & Green, 2016; Massey, 2016; Shaw & Gomes, 2020).<sup>283</sup>

I do not intend to discuss these definitions, the validity of which is beyond doubt, but rather consider the principles behind these analyses. When they intend to study the state, scholars more or less directly resort to the canons of political theory, the analytical and theoretical means to understand an entity created and nurtured within a settled philosophical tradition. This methodological choice is justified inasmuch as the political organisation of the state was adopted from outsiders (people, societies, and philosophies who did not directly participate nor collaborate in the definition of the modern state), as were the principles underpinning the state. In other words, the state brings with it a set of ordering principles to which any state is “constrained conceptually by its [the modern state’s] normative, empirical, and discursive confines” (El Amine, 2016, p. 103).

The state in Africa is no exception to the rule. As modernity broke upon the sub-Saharan continent, so did the modern state. Social, institutional, and cultural changes announced the inevitable take-over of the modern state, corollary of the bureaucratisation, centralisation, and territorialisation processes (El Amine, 2016). Whether functional or dysfunctional in its implementation, the state brought along an underpinning set of principles and ordering directives from which it cannot be disassociated.

Instituted by the Treaty of Westphalia, then consecrated theoretically in the Enlightenment’s formulation of the social contract, the modern state epitomises the *nomos* of political modernity. The one and only bearer of sovereignty, the modern state holds a monopoly on political power and sway over the citizens. Nevertheless, the latter comprise the necessary

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<sup>283</sup> The definition of narco-state is, in this as in all cases, highly controversial, insofar there are no clear-cut parameters to determine what constitutes a narco-state. According to M. Shaw and A. Gomes, the intersection of politics and transnational organised crime can better be defined as “an elite protection network for drug trafficking” (Shaw & Gomes, 2020, p. 20).

rational and biological unit constituting the nation (Agamben, 1995, 2003), engendering and sustaining state sovereignty through the abandonment of the state of nature to enter the social contract. The state is, in essence, a legalistic, rational-based political institution, underpinned in monadic conception of human nature.

Analysis and critiques of the performances of the state as political system aside, the state embodies, *de facto*, the most apt political configuration for the social demands of modernity. The governance of the state not only responds to the needs inherent in the processes of urbanisation, industrialisation, universal education, and so on, but also the state is a “part and parcel of the international order that sustains it” (El Amine, 2016, p. 106). Notwithstanding recognition of the interplay among state and non-state actors, the state remains the primary actor in the international arena.

As mentioned, the state departs from nation and citizens, whose primacy as individual, reason-grounded subject is promoted through a system of rights. Among these, singular importance is accorded to political and civil rights, necessary to sustain a political system grounded in representativity and accountability. The impersonality inherent in the vote each citizen casts—for an individual with whom the voter is generally not personally acquainted but who ought to represent their interests—ensures the primacy of legalistic, bureaucratised politics. Thereby, the political regime best suited to the state is a liberal majoritarian democracy. Promoting representation and indirect participation in the political process, liberal democracy ensures that the voice and interests of the governed are heard, while enhancing the overarching sovereignty of the legal person of the state. Following the dictates of the rule of law and constitution, teleology of the state abandons morality to place faith in the will of the body politics, i.e., the majority. Majoritarian democracy is, moreover, founded on a binary, where winners rule and losers (the opposition) oppose factional use of power.

Nevertheless, liberal majoritarian democracy has been vastly criticised as *not* the most apt form of government for African states (Agulanna & Osimiri, 2017; Ake, 2000; Ikuenobe, 2017a; Menkiti, 2001, 2018; Teffo, 2004; Wiredu, 2001, 2007) (§2.2). Inasmuch as these critiques are not the focus of these pages, they arise from a general concern over liberal majoritarian democracy and the state. The latter are deemed a mismatch to indigenous power, and to the underpinning power relations. The state not only fails to account for indigenous power but differs from it in substance and in principle. The divergence begets, in Guinea-Bissau, as in African countries at large, the condition of political pluralism, i.e., the *nomoi* of power. The

pluralism is due to the fact that the state *nomos* and the endogenous *nomos* of power are expression of political power via differing orders.

The presence of the *nomoi* attests to and is engendered by the strength and resilience of the indigenous polity. Regardless of decades (or, at times, centuries) of coexistence alongside the modern state, the principles ordering power in the indigenous polity did not absorb the configurations of modernity (the state), with its consequent package of principles and organisation, but maintained its own. In the previous section, I delineated the main features of the indigenous polity in Guinea-Bissau; before discussing a specific case, however, it is worth noting that there are general, salient principles that distinguish the *nomos* of the state from the *nomos* of power endogenous to African polities.

Firstly, in the two *nomoi*, the subjects constituting the political plurality are conceptualised in antithetical terms. On the one hand, the state conceives of the individuals as citizens, atomic units of the political community, wherein bonds to the *societas generis humana* are due to legal provisions rooted in rationality. On the other hand, African conceptions of power foresee individuals as interconnected to an atemporal community, whereas the togetherness is intrinsically linked to solidarity and interrelations (Ikuenobe, 2015, 2017a). Because the distinguishability of power is framed by the differing relations of power underpinning political institutions, the resultant political systems diverge. Once again, at the centre of the debate is the notion of human nature, the premise upon which the foundation of power relations is postulated. The state privileges an individualistic, monadic *ego*, in opposition to *alter*, against the co-operational relations underpinned in intersubjectivity, characteristic of African conceptions.

Secondly, and somehow even more substantially, the *nomoi* differ in their foundational principles. Liberal democracy works on the basis of the majoritarian principle, which produces an adversarial political model. This form of governance is ultimately grounded in the contraposition *ego-alter*, as mirrored in the political sphere. This parallelism exists too in the terms of political majority (the government) and minority (the opposition). In essence, majoritarian democracy entails the juxtaposition of opposing parties, rooted in the irreconcilability of individuals' interests, resulting in an endless scramble for power and undermining of the other.

Per contra, “the adversarial politics that is the hallmark of Western-style multiparty systems of democracy is rather foreign to African political culture” (Teffo, 2004, p. 445). Grounded in the participatory politics of consensus, African political thought prizes

intersubjective relations, routing the political process toward the achievement of compromise and harmony. Disregarding an adversarial model of winners and losers, African endogenous political power tends toward participatory politics, the outcome of which ought to incorporate the opinions of the whole. The overarching goal of consensus politics is to foster harmony and cohesion within the group, in an all-inclusive political space that does not countenance the presence of opposing parties or of the unilateral accumulation of power.

### 6.3.2 Nomoi and normative pluralism

As noted, the indigenous polity is, in fact and in principle, resilient. However, it would be naïve to assume that pre-colonial notions and concepts of political power endure immutably throughout time. Insofar as the endogenous polity coexists with the state, the continuous interaction of the two *nomoi* produces effects on both sides. The coexistence of the political powers does not engender a radical restructuring of the principles underpinning political power and power relations. In this sense, the two *nomoi* remain distinguished orders of political power whose foundational differences are irreconcilable in essence. Thereby, they preserve their own radical difference, preventing any ultimate synthesis.

Nevertheless, reorganisation and adaptation have occurred in both *nomoi*. In the next chapter, I discuss at length the impact of African endogenous political principles on the state—the so-called process of the Africanisation of power (Chabal, 1992, 1996). In this section I focus on the effects that the state, along with modernity and contemporaneity, post-colonial processes and transnational forces, has had on the indigenous polity in Guinea-Bissau.

The reciprocal implications between the state and the Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity leads to a condition of normative pluralism. The latter refers to the interactions of different political powers on several levels, bridging legal aspects and authorities and institutions, the formal and the performative scenarios (Santos, 2003). In the case under consideration, the impacts of the *nomoi* are particularly evident in terms of legal and institutional pluralism. Regrettably, with regard to the first, the literature offers poor resources to elaborate a clear framework (Araújo, 2008; Faculdade de Direito de Bissau & Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 2012). Also, as this is an essay in political theory, an eminently legalistic approach goes beyond

the aims of the analysis. In keeping with the discussion heretofore, the analysis focuses on indigenous institutions of power, namely the renewed power of indigenous authorities.

The challenges and changes posed to *regulos* and *chefes de tabanca* (as well as imams) do not come solely from the ongoing interaction with the state. Social and cultural processes inherent in modernisation and globalisation weigh heavily on how people consider authority, power, and the legitimacy of these figures. The interviewees' accounts of the contemporary role of *regulo* vary according to interethnic and intergenerational variables. Younger interviewees insist on the resilience and strength of tradition, a living, immutable heritage, that does not suffer the changes of time. Instead, older people recall that the authority of *regulo* was stronger before the PAIGC led the foundation of the state. They complain about how the *regulo* nowadays is not legitimated or respected as he used to be.<sup>284</sup>

Overall, in the view of my interlocutors, what is opposed is a rich past and a poor present. The contemporary economic system also threatens the authority of the *regulo* by reducing his economic power. Capitalism and liberal economics jeopardise the wealth a *regulo* possessed in the past. Also, this lack of financial means may lead to difficulties and constraints brought about by the bureaucratic and administrative state apparatus. Dedé Andrade recalls that, once upon a time, people used to pay tribute to the *regulo*, who would possess substantial wealth with which he could provide for his people. Nowadays, though, it works the other way around: people struggling financially ask the *regulo* to support them.<sup>285</sup>

By and large, the presence of the state poses limits to the power of *regulos* and *chefes de tabancas*, who are relegated to operate in the sphere of informality, within the boundaries of a second state (Scheye, 2009) subsidiary to the formal state.<sup>286</sup> The informal second state abets the state in providing public services to the population and is bestowed competences and

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<sup>284</sup> This complaint was voiced with singular emphasis by António, an *omi garandi* Pepel living in Quinhamel. He stated that nowadays people do not obey the word of their *regulo*, especially the youngsters, nor do they respect their elders. Moreover, the power of the *regulo* has been underplayed by state, political parties, and politicians since independence. From the semi-structured interview conducted in Quinhamel. February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>285</sup> Semi-structured interview. Cacheu, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>286</sup> The designation of “second state” is, in the case of Guinea-Bissau, at the very least ambiguous, as it is not clear whether it refers to indigenous power, or whether it could apply to the state, which lacks the means, resources, structural, institutional capacity, as well as the legitimacy to effectively rule the country. However, these conjectures offer enough material to be developed in a separate study.

duties usually prerogative of state sovereignty.<sup>287</sup> Other times, the indigenous authority is maintained beside the newly ordained state one, or the two offices happen to merge in one figure.

The current institutional double system, where state and indigenous authorities coexist, is due to the attempts of the former Portuguese colonial power to break into the ranks of the indigenous polity. Nevertheless, these were rarely successful (Nóbrega, 2003; Nóbrega, 2015). Thus, colonial administration opted to reformulate or create *ex novo* structures of endogenous power. For example, the institution of *regulados* among the Felupe was imposed by the colonial government (Djaló, 2012).

Following in the steps of the Portuguese administration, the early government of the PAIGC supported the maintenance or creation of local *comité de tabanca* (state authority) next to the endogenous *chefe de tabanca*. These offices are syncretic, in fact, since they have parallel functions and roles. While in some cases the overlap of authority results in a harmonious check and balances system, in other cases a harsh climate of constant clashes is generated by the incompatibility between overlapping rulers. During our meeting in Farim, Djon (*chefe de tabanca*) and Carlos Adriano (*comité de tabanca*) revealed that they jointly govern over the local population, because they are “*primos irmãos*” (close cousins) and they get along very well.<sup>288</sup> However, they also acknowledge that the interaction between *chefe* and *comité de tabanca* is not always so amiable.

Conflicts and difficulties arise because of personal incompatibilities, or of crude fights for power. The coequality in the governance of indigenous and state authorities runs according to personalistic and local-specific patterns, as factual administration of power mismatch with formal provisions. At the state level there lacks any conflict-solving systems due to the void of *de jure* delineation of local-traditional hierarchies, responsibilities, and jurisdictions. The ethnic heterogeneity of Guinea-Bissau’s population gives rise to a panoply of customs and traditions according to ethnicity and religious orientation, aggravating difficulties surrounding institutional and normative pluralism.

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<sup>287</sup> Eric Scheye refers, among others, to justice and security. Unable to deliver these services autonomously, the state delegates or contracts out such duties to non-state networks and authorities (Scheye, 2009). For example, in Rwanda the endogenous *gacaca* courts were given significant responsibility in administering justice following the genocide in 1994 (Graness, 2017).

<sup>288</sup> From the semi-structured interview in Farim, on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

For the time being, the only indigenous authority clearly recognised by the state is the *regulo*; imams, a constant presence in Muslim or Islamised groups, are not dealt with by the state as religious-political authorities but merely as religious ones. In sum, the absence of formal recognition by the state creates an uneven system without clear rules or organisational norms.

Nonetheless, normative pluralism impacts legitimacy and competencies of the indigenous authorities. On the one hand, *regulos* and *chefes de tabanca* are deeply aware of the authority of the state, which limits their traditional competencies along with customary law prescriptions. One case among many, the state hinders the *regulo*'s jurisdiction over murder or similar crimes committed within his *reino* or *regulado*. This power is prescribed by tradition, yet is not part of contemporary customs, since the chief would delegate the case to authorities of the state. These appear to engage with the indigenous polity, representing a court of appeal connected to, or in continuity with, customary courts.

On the other hand, endogenous authorities face pressure from political parties to mobilise voters. The indigenous authorities, mostly the *regulo*, enjoy great legitimacy and support among the population, in light of their ontological, political, and moral role. As such, they can easily influence the preference of their *regulado* toward a certain politician or party, should they wish to do so. Especially during electoral campaigns, the *regulos* are visited by local and state politicians, who make promises to the chief and the population in order to gain as many votes as possible. Nevertheless, the *regulos* mistrust promises made during electoral campaigns as valueless “*papia di noiti*.”<sup>289</sup>

Besides, liberal majoritarian democracy and political parties threaten the political legitimacy of the *regulo*. People become so acquainted with the existence and presence of the state, that at times they overlap the two sorts of powers within one univocal political system. In such a view, the *regulo* (along with the other indigenous authorities) is transmuted into a piece of

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<sup>289</sup> “*Pudi bin lá até di noiti, ku fala i pui palabra, e no i ka pui palabra, pabia ki bu odjo bu odjo na nha odjo, no papia di noiti, ka puidi.*” The *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel) equates the conversations with politicians running in the campaign with “nighttime talks,” when one cannot look another in the eyes and see the worth of their words. From the semi-structured interview in Plack (Quinhamel). February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

the complexity of the post-colonial state, a buffer between the community and the state, since “*regulo é poder de Estado*” but also “*regulo é a população*.”<sup>290</sup>

This metamorphosis does not change, in essence, the political office held by the endogenous chief. Inasmuch as he might be deemed part of, or overlapping with, the manifold political system of the post-colonial state, the *regulo* cannot, by ontological, moral, political implications, merge with it. The indigenous chiefs interact with the state, yet their authority should respect the dictates of tradition and customary norms, as well as the intersubjective relations under that authority. Thus, a *regulo* ought to provide a buffer from the community to the state, a means of connecting one to another, yet he should not be involved in state politics. Above all, the *regulo* should not belong to any political party, since “*ki se ka fia, nka sta nakil partidu*.”<sup>291</sup>

The *regulo* is supposed and expected to be representative of all the community over who he rules, with no discrimination on any basis, whether ethnic belonging, political standpoint, or political parties’ affiliation. The endogenous authority is obligated to equally represent the community as a whole, thus the interests of each subject composing the intersubjective plurality. The absolute moral goal in the personal and political actions of the *regulo* is the protection and promotion of the well-being for all the community, as “*normalmente, regulo, el I mamé de tudu djenti*.” Therefore, “*regulo ka devi di tene partidu. Regulo deve di abrassa tuuuuuudu partidu*.”<sup>292</sup> When one belongs to a political party one tends to prefer or to voice just the view of those who belong to the same political party, neglecting the others. Such behaviour would promote factionalism and division, preventing the *regulo* from being an effective representative of the whole political community.

#### 6.4 Concluding notes

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<sup>290</sup> “*Regulo* is a power of the state, but above all *regulo* is the people.” From the *djumbai* in Jemberem. February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>291</sup> “[N]obody would trust [one] who is in a political party.” From the semi-structured interview with the *regulo* of Plack (Quinhamel). February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>292</sup> “Normally the *regulo* is the mother of all people [...] *regulo* should not belong to any political party. *Regulo* should embrace aaaaaaall political parties.” From the semi-structured interview with Mamadou Djakhra Camará. Buba, February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019.



This chapter offered an interpretative approach to the *nomoi* of political power in Guinea-Bissau. The analysis framed above did not engage in depth with definitions of the state in Africa, which represents a controversial issue in the literature, due to the unique characters the state assumes in the sub-Saharan context. Instead, it focused on the principles underpinning power, in the state but mostly in the indigenous polity. The indigenous political structures are resilient, in part because of the normative and ontological strength of these institutions, in part because of the continuance of endogenous power relations based on past-centric ontology, intersubjectivity, and cooperation. Embedded within local ontology and *Weltanschauung*, relations of power cannot easily be repatterned or eradicated.

Coexisting within one political space, the indigenous polity is ordered upon foundational principles that deeply differ from those that underly the state. Thus, they constitute not a *nomos* but a *nomoi* of power. Within the singular political space, the two political orders interact and impact one another. The influence of the state over indigenous power is a phenomenon chiefly categorised as normative pluralism, which receives much attention in the past decades from different disciplines, from ethnography and anthropology to political science. Following dominant narratives, the process gained visibility when approached via the dominant perspective of the canons. On the contrary, how principles of African endogenous political power operate on the state is a rather novel topic.

Investigation of the characters of the indigenous political in Africa has found appreciation in disciplines such as comparative political theory and African (political) philosophy (Agulanna & Osimiri, 2017; Menkiti, 2001, 2002, 2018; Metz, 2014; Molefe, 2016; Ramose, 1999; Teffo, 2004). Still, at the time of writing, the literature offers only a partial overview on the phenomenon as the matter has been widely considered by political philosophy but has not yet received much attention from political theory. Furthermore, the Lusophone context of the Países Africanos de Língua Portuguesa (PALOPs) has remained an outsider to the debate, constrained to features of local-specific realities (such as those of the Igbo, Akan, or Bantu people) making up the “African” reality.

Nevertheless, the process of the Africanisation of power is common to most African states and realities; it deserves a multifaceted analysis comprising several focused observations to produce any sort of comprehensive generalisations. “Africanisation” refers not to a mere metabolisation of the state (Chabal, 1986) in the African context, but to theoretical and political-practical attempts to bring features and principles underpinning endogenous political power

to operate in the state. In other words, the process of Africanisation seeks to integrate the indigenous with state power, to produce a truly African political system, in accordance with worldviews and power relations native to the sub-Saharan.

In the next chapter I investigate how this process operates in Guinea-Bissau through the reading lenses of the *criança-irân* practice. In light of the response to the ritual infanticide practice, the analysis aims to discern how the *nomoi* impact foundational principles of political power in Guinea-Bissau. As will be discussed, the co-existence of the *nomoi* corroborates the process of the Africanisation of power. On the one hand, the latter provides an explanatory stance to the “stable instability” (Vigh, 2009, p. 145) shattering the Bissau-Guinean state. On the other hand, the process of Africanisation constitutes the bedrocks of any theoretical proposal of renewal or “innovative reconstruction”(Teffo, 2004, p. 445) of state politics.



## 7 *Loci of Power: Africanisation and Asymmetries in Bissau-Guinean Plural Political Configurations*

### 7.1 Power is a locational phenomenon

The theorisations put forward in this chapter put the tenets of indigenous political power identified in the previous chapters in contact with Bissau-Guinean state political configurations as a way of locating power. As mentioned, contemporary political configurations in Guinea-Bissau, as well as in many other African states, are affected by the bidirectional process of the Africanisation of power. On the one hand, the presence of the state has influenced the structures and dynamics of endogenous powers. Under the pressure of internal and exogenous forces, the latter has changed and adapted to better respond to modern configurations and populational demands. Nevertheless, such changes do not seem to have affected the underpinning principles of indigenous powers. On the other hand, the Africanisation of power refers to a process of appropriation or endogenisation of the political model of the state according to their own, African tenets. In other words, the concept of Africanisation refers to the adaptation or restructuration of the (neo-)liberal, democratic state in the sub-Saharan region to conform to local specificities. Patrick Chabal (1992) sees the process of Africanisation as the creation of a genuine African political order, one that seeks to respond to internal expectations over the legitimacy of rule. Hence, the Africanisation of power consists, in this view, in a step forward from the “digestion” or mere adoption of colonial political legacies.

Moreover, the process of Africanisation of power has been read by scholars as part of the process of decolonisation. Firstly, to “Africanise” is understood as an idea going hand-in-hand with African nationalism, a means to reinforce the strength of the claims to self-determination and the legitimate appropriation of political institutions toward self-government in accordance with endogenous political principles (Mbembe, 2015). Secondly, the action of Africanisation was given a more subtle, deeper function challenging the structures of power: the liberative appropriation of means of knowledge and expression directed toward the assertion of African identity and values. Political Africanisation is hence one facet of a larger *liberative* project, grounded, in the opinion of the philosopher Ngugi wa Thiong’o, in the relevance of language and one’s mother tongue. Therefore, to “Africanise” is to “see ourselves clearly in relationship to ourselves and to other selves in the world” (Thiong’o, 1986). Lastly, the process of Africanisation propelled African and Africanist scholars to elaborate political theories that

envisage a reformulation of the political order, departing from the revitalisation of indigenous values and knowledge in a contemporary understanding. Among these, probably the most notorious project is the non-party polity devised by Kwasi Wiredu, discussed elsewhere in this thesis (§2.2; §6.2.4).

In these pages, I identify the concept of Africanisation in Guinea-Bissau as a process involving two orders of the polity, that of the state and that of indigenous power, which influence one another in their reciprocal interactions. Particularly, the focus here falls on the peculiar character of the political configuration of the state in Guinea-Bissau. The analysis aims to discern whether any principles and tenets of the indigenous polity are maintained in or influence the underpinnings of the state.

The case of the spirit-children, the *criança-irân*, is once more called into question to shed light on the political. By calling attention to power as it traverses the political configurations of the Bissau-Guinean political pluralistic space, the spirit-children phenomenon becomes a term of reference with deep political significance. That is, the belief in the existence of non-human babies, along with the conceived *normality* of their disappearance, connotes a polity ordered on its own definitions of humanness and political subjecthood. The *criança-irân* is a theoretical means that allows the analysis to deepen its understanding of the underpinning principles ordering the Bissau-Guinean state.

The notion of “Africanised” power in the state of Guinea-Bissau indicates a strict intermingling with the principles ordering indigenous power. Yet state and indigenous powers are generally conceived as dichotomous in common people speech and understanding. The modern, western, democratic, and bureaucracy-run state is opposed to “traditional,” communitarian indigenous powers. Along with engendering diverging cathexis in the people, the distinction draws on the distinguishability of institutions, norms, and laws. In this sense, there arises the need for the state to recognise and formalise indigenous authorities, along with indigenous legal systems.

I do not deny the differences between the distinctive *modi operandi* of these powers, nor the distinct institutional organisation that characterises each configuration. Rather, I suggest that beyond institutional separateness, indigenous powers and the state are not opposite terms, for in them operate similar conceptions of political relations. Indigenous power nevertheless possesses political institutions better suited to express and perform the sort of political practices and governance these relations call for, while the state in Guinea-Bissau consists of a hybrid

system ill-conceived to meet political expectation or satisfy the requirements of a legal, bureaucratic, modern state.

As such, the mingling of principles within the state corresponds to its inability to perform its duties so that characterisations such as “weak” and “fragile” are imputed to the state of Guinea-Bissau. This mingling, moreover, lays the groundwork for the proliferation of the misuses of state institutions and resources that the literature unapologetically indexes as corruption, clientelism, patrimonialism, and the criminalisation of the state. In sum, the Bissau-Guinean process of Africanisation has also played a role in creating the governmental and political instability that has characterised the country’s political system for decades.

Lastly, in this chapter I argue that “Africanised” power is responsible for defining the *locus* of power in the hybrid political configuration. In determining authority, modes of governance, and legitimation, the fulcra of power depend on ongoing political relations and an understanding of the polity. According to a bottom-up logic, the patterns steering power relations among individuals and in the community comprehensively indicate the *locus* or *loci* of power in Guinea-Bissau.

## 7.2 The state: a reading through the lenses of the *criança-irân* phenomenon

Over the years, the state of Guinea-Bissau has adopted different political orders. From the socialistic post-independence state of the late 1970s, following the rise to power of “Nino” Vieira the political system shifted toward an authoritarian regime, where the PAIGC political party was coincident with the whole state. The opening to political pluralism and free elections in 1994 turned a political page in the country’s history, culminating in the 1998-9 civil war, and the recurrent instability that has unfolded since then. At first glance, it would seem as if the implementation of a liberal state, ruled under the principles of majoritarian democracy, represented the determinant cause of political turmoil, for which Guinea-Bissau has been labelled as “weak,” “fragile,” “failed” or even a “narco” state (Chabal & Green, 2016; Einarsdóttir, 2011; Forrest, 2016; Kohl, 2016; Nóbrega, 2003; Rudebeck, 2001; Shaw & Gomes, 2020).

One of the objectives of this chapter is to discuss the connection between the so-called fragilities of the Bissau-Guinean state and its political configuration. Yet the analysis here is neither a phenomenological nor historical account of the state; it does not seek to account for

the variations of the one-party state, the democratic, multi-party state, or the “failed” or “narco” state. The core of the analysis are the ordering principles underpinning the state, conveyed by the political system it adopts. Guinea-Bissau, being a semi-presidential democracy where governments are constituted through the will of the majority as expressed in free and fair elections, ought formally to respond to the tenets of liberal, majoritarian democracy. That is, the state should espouse doctrines of liberalism that are, broadly speaking, grounded in individualism and the protection of individuals’ freedoms and rights (Ajei, 2016). These are the tenets that are seen, at least on paper, to apply to the Bissau-Guinean state and to order its political configuration.

Oversimplified as it may appear, especially given the abundance of analysis of the state in sub-Saharan Africa, this perspective is necessary to (and, I hope, justified by) my analytical ends. As mentioned, the discussion aims to discern whether the principles underpinning indigenous political power affect or persist in the political order of the state. Such principles appear particularly evident when juxtaposed with the configuration of the state *de jure*, as modelled on tenets of the liberal state and majoritarian democracy.

In unveiling how the interplay between indigenous and state political concepts, the case of spirit-children is illuminating. As revealed in previous chapters, these babies represent an exception in the order of the indigenous polity—a hybrid subject outcast from the boundaries of *djorson*, *tchon*, past reiteration and intersubjectivity, not belonging to the semi- or physical realm. The liminality of the *criança-irân* defines the boundaries of the indigenous polity, while it is representative of a peculiar ordering of political relations.

The normalised existence of spirit-children (or the belief that wills them into existence) suggests political relations that justify the existence of this *homo sacer* figure in the first place. The *criança-irân* is then taken up as a marker of political relations characteristic of the indigenous polity, with its consequential set of political principles and underpinnings. To corroborate the existence of this belief, my analysis starts by analysing the posture of the state toward the ritual of infanticide, a posture conveyed through legal norms, institutional responses, and the implementation of policies and legislation. Confronted with a generalised attitude of inertia and silence around the practice of the infanticide, the state seems to reject it as a phenomenon belonging exclusively to the sphere of tradition. My field research nevertheless shows widespread knowledge of the belief, which deepens the gap between public moral and individual values, at once producing an ambiguous syncretism in state agents and catalyzing the process of the Africanisation of power.

### 7.2.1 Attitude and response on the spirit-child belief

The ritual infanticide of the *criança-irân* is covered by an aura of mystery, myth, and tales that prevent it from being spoken about in daily conversation. People generally frown upon such talk and even avoid pronouncing the name of spirit-children, preferring instead the euphemistic “baby who was not born right” (“*kil mininu ki ka padidu diritu*”). My questions about the ritual were often met with nervous laughter, both in rural and in urban settings. Nevertheless, the existence of the phenomenon is widely acknowledged by the population in general, regardless of one’s religious orientation,<sup>293</sup> as well as by academics, civil society, state officials, and politicians alike. Among my interviewees, there was not one single person who did not know who or what the combination of the two words depicts.

The recognition of the existence of spirit-children is confirmed by the core legal instruments of the country, even if the phenomenon is not explicitly referred to. At article 110, the Penal Code (Código Penal da Guiné-Bissau, 1994) of Guinea-Bissau condemns the killing of infants (just as it condemns the termination of any adult human life), regardless of the cultural or ritual reasons for the infanticide or who commits the felony. Yet although the provision implies an applicable legal punishment, very few cases have been sentenced. The heavy and slow bureaucratic machine running state justice prevents the few trials that have gotten underway from ever reaching any conclusion. As such, we are left with a scarcity of legal documents that can attest to the judicial understanding of the ritual infanticide, besides the vague outlawing seen in the Penal Code.

Transcending the limits of formal sources, the belief and the existence of the practice is commonly acknowledged within the state. Moreover, without any prompting whatsoever, many interviewees linked spirit-children with children born with disabilities. As Rui da Fonseca, a sociologist, noted: “[...] *se a criança nascer com deformações, as famílias matam. As famílias matam. Estes que estás a chamar que é crianças-irân.*”<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> For a more comprehensive account on the existence of the belief and ritual of the *criança-irân*, the 2015 study conducted by FEC (Gonçalves, 2015) offers data gathered from the whole country, with diversified ethnical, religious and social sample groups (§3.3.1).

<sup>294</sup> “[...] if the baby is born with malformations, the families would kill [him/her]. Would kill [him/her]. These that you are mentioning that are *criança-irân*.” From the online semi-structured interview with Rui da Fonseca, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.



The same interviewee observed that the practice is presently performed in all regions of Guinea-Bissau, with more frequency than in the past. Having no official data gathered at different times to allow such a comparison, Rui's view remains an opinion, in contrast to those of the other interviewees. Although knowledge of the belief is common to all Bissau-Guineans, there is no such consensus about the incidence of the practice over time and space. Interestingly, only representatives of NGOs stated that the practice is nowadays performed throughout the national territory, including Bissau, even if "*tem a sua predominância em algumas regiões.*"<sup>295</sup>

The phenomenon of spirit-children is linked to the animist cosmology native to several ethnical groups; the areas that constitute these groups' *tchon*, where they still compose most of the resident population, are collated with the administrative regions where there is a higher incidence of the practice. By and large, a direct connection is drawn between ritual infanticide and animist beliefs, relegating the practice eminently to the sphere of religiosity. Academics nevertheless dispute this understanding. Mamadou Jao, who himself worked on the ritual of infanticide among the Mancanha ethnical group,<sup>296</sup> calls us to consider a deeper and more complex understanding of the individual. Jao's view implies that not all subjects who resort to ritual testing for *criança-irân* are conscious of the death of a human being; the infanticide might, in fact, occur without them being aware of their actions as being infanticidal. He adds, "*então a questão que se coloca é se as pessoas têm consciência de que estão a fazer desaparecer um ser humano, ou se estão a fazer desaparecer aquele que se chama de irân. Porque o irân já não é ser humano, para eles.*"<sup>297</sup>

Fodé Mané has reiterated the phenomenon of a belief in the disappearance of a spirit as being divisible from the fact of its encasement within a living, human body. The local perception of the *criança-irân* as a hybrid entity, a spirit in human flesh, deprives the infanticide of the intention to kill a human life, emphasises Fodé Mané. The existence of the practice, then, should be read in light of the specific understanding of human life prevalent in the community.

In contrast, the reading offered by state officials reports a shallower understanding of the phenomenon, butting up against the anthropological relativism of academics. None of the

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<sup>295</sup> "[...] it is prevalent in some regions." From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>296</sup> See the previously cited paper in Soronda, "Código Penal, Infanticídio Ritual E Rejeição: A Prova Do Rio".

<sup>297</sup> "So, the question is if people are conscious that they are making a human being go away, or if they are chasing away what they call *irân*. Because *irân* already is not a human being, according to them." From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

interviewees denied the existence of the practice, unlike I was told by a UN official during an informal talk in November 2016<sup>298</sup>; however, all referred to the decreasing trend of the practice, due to different sorts of reasons. On the one hand, the Chief Executive on Political Power, Alsana Negado, strongly affirmed that vigorous public awareness campaigns against the performance of the ritual promoted by the state aided in reducing incidences of the ritual. He added, “*tendo em conta a luta do estado para acabar com este fenómeno, por isso está a diminuir cada vez.*”<sup>299</sup>

On the other hand, the phenomenon “*já vai caindo em desuso, vai caindo em desatualidade,*” being a problem “*reconduzido a zonas recônditas.*”<sup>300</sup> Hence, spirit-children and ritual infanticide appear as phenomena exclusive to those zones of difficult access in the country, where the state is little or not at all present. The limited sovereignty of the state implies that these remote areas are under the sway of other, “traditional” powers; everything that happens with relation to the ritual belongs to the spheres of the “community,” of the “traditional.” In other words, the category of the “traditional” where the ritual is inserted, portrays a cultural and value system characterised by its stillness, with no permeability to change. Within it, “*há comunidade que pensam que aquilo é uma realidade de acordo com a tradição deles.*”<sup>301</sup>

Thus, according to state officials, the *criança-irân* is depicted as a phenomenon existing nowadays only in the absence of state control. The diminishing incidence of infanticide is not only due to the actions undertaken by the state but can be traced to the existence of its sovereignty. One interviewee remarked that the practice is still in use because many childbirths occur at home; because of the difficulties in registering new-borns (one among many being the scarcity of offices in the rural areas, so that parents have to walk several kilometres to reach the closest registry point), the undocumented infant constitutes a life that is easier to dispose of. In contrast, if more babies were born at the hospital, their disappearance would not be such an effortless matter, since their birth would be, even minimally, documented. The merest presence of state authority would therefore suffice to protect the babies, to offer them more than bare life.

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<sup>298</sup> I was then informed that the lack of official information on the phenomenon was due to the state’s unwillingness to officially recognise the existence of the ritual infanticide today.

<sup>299</sup> “Considering the fight from the state to extinguish this phenomenon, that why it is disappearing little by little.” From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>300</sup> “is already disused, it is behind time” being a problem “circumscribed to remote areas” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>301</sup> “there are communities that think that that is a reality according to their tradition”. From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

Be that as it may, the character of myth surrounding the *criança-irân* inhibits a general recognition of the belief in and the existence of the ritual from becoming part of official statements or public policies. Because it is considered taboo, an act belonging to the realm of *feitiçaria* (witchcraft, sorcery), it is believed that talking about it brings misfortune, and therefore *criança-irân* is not readily discussed among the population. “[P]orque é mito, é tabu aqui, todo mundo acredita que é uma crença, então [...] é um assunto que não é muito falado,”<sup>302</sup>, emphasises Vladimir Sano, president of the Federation of the Association for People with Disabilities of Guinea-Bissau (FAPD-GB).

The posture of the state toward the phenomenon resembles the broader attitudes of its citizens. Beyond being little spoken about, the *criança-irân* is not generally included among those traditional practices considered harmful to the psycho-physical integrity of the individual denounced by human rights activists and NGOs. Among these, there counts female genital mutilation (FGM), early and/or forced marriage, against both of which the Bissau-Guinean state has taken a strong stand and supported extensive campaigns to create awareness of the dangers these practices pose to children’s health. Yet ritual infanticide, which involves the sacrifice of the spirit-child, is condemned by the state only implicitly, as the state condemns all practices harming human dignity, physical and psychological integrity of the individual:

*“pelo menos publicamente, mas é um assunto que, que mesmo na discussão sobre as práticas nefastas, criança-irân ... eh... é pouco, é pouco discutido, que está pouco, espécie de tabu, que... que quase não surge nas discussões. Mas se integramos a prática no, no, na categoria global de práticas nefastas, a vida do homem, a vida da mulher, então podemos dizer que é condenada.”*<sup>303</sup>

The commitment to create awareness and the fight against the practice, which has led to its reduction, as referred to by Alsana Negado, does not correspond to reality, as the silence around the phenomenon is mirrored by the relative lack of action taken to confront it. On the one hand, the mystery surrounding the ritual, along with the little information available on the infanticide, hinder the state from taking action.

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<sup>302</sup> “[B]ecause it is a myth, it is taboo here, everybody beliefs that is it a belief, hence [...] there are not many conversations about it.” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>303</sup> “[A]t least publicly, but it is a matter that, that even in discussions about harmful practices, *criança-irân*... eh... it is hardly, it is hardly discussed, it is a little, kind of a taboo, that... that almost never comes up in conversation. But if we integrate the practice in, in, in the broader category of harmful practices, man’s life, woman’s life, then we can say it is condemned.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

“[O] Estado.. o Estado não reage porque não tem informações. Ou faz... faz-se de não saber. Faz-se de não saber. Mas eu acho que ele não tem informações. Não tem informações. Ou tem, não quer, não quer revelá-las. São duas coisas. Mas para mim, eu acho que não tem informações neste sentido. Sabe que existe o fenómeno, mas não se sabe quantas são mortas, por dia, por mês, não se sabe exatamente o que se está a passar sobre este assunto.”<sup>304</sup>

Rarely reported to the police, the scarce cases reported in official records often are denounced by NGOs, civil society, or associations promoting the rights of people with disabilities and rights of children. When the state is informed, it is already too late to act and save the infant, due to the slow response of state institutions.<sup>305</sup> The sluggish state reaction is in part due to the nature of the bureaucratic system, which ends up so tangled up in itself that it hampers the resolution of administrative and judicial matters alike, as Fodé Mané reminds us. The costs and length of judicial trials, along with bureaucratic burdens, interfere with finishing the process and pursuing punishments for the felony.

Further, because the state does not exert, *de facto*, its sovereignty, and is not present everywhere in the country, the gap between the government in Bissau and communities in the countryside is difficult to bridge. In its current manifestation, the state is a highly centralised entity with little centripetal power; the hierarchy of the executive power resembles more an administrative structure, that nonetheless loses touch with the central government at the level of the provinces. The *comité* operating in the *tabanca* alongside the indigenous powers of *regulo* and *chefe de tabanca* have little or no direct links to Bissau’s government. Hence, the network of the executive power is effectively resourceless and void of efficiency in its furthest reaches, preventing officials from enforcing protective laws. As Olívio Pereira, Secretary

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<sup>304</sup> “[T]he state... the state does not react because it doesn’t have information. Or... or it makes out it doesn’t know. It make out it doesn’t know. But I think it doesn’t have the information. It has no information. Or it has, but does not want to reveal it. There are two options. But, in my opinion, I believe it does not have any information on the matter. It knows the phenomenon exists, but it does not know how many [children] are killed per day, per month, it is not known exactly what is going on with this matter.” From the online semi-structured interview with Rui Da Fonseca. November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>305</sup> Vladimir Sano, during the semi-structured interview (November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020), eagerly pinpoints the failure in state response, saying “[...] *pode saber se existe uma criança aqui nesta casa. Passam dois meses já não existe, não vai encontrar aquela criança lá, não existe lá, ninguém pode dar explicação, ninguém procura saber, ninguém faz... nada. Já foi levado na floresta, ou deixado no mar, e ninguém responsabiliza por isso. Estado? Deve assumir, deve criar mecanismo forte para a condenação destes infratores, deste tipo de atos.*” (“It might be known that a baby [*criança-irân*] exists here, in this house. Two months go by, s/he does not exist anymore, you will not find that baby there, s/he does not exist there, nobody can explain. Nobody wants to know, nobody does... anything. S/he was already taken to the forest, or abandoned to the sea, and nobody takes responsibility for this. The state? It should take responsibility and create strong mechanisms to condemn those who commit these sorts of acts.”)

General of the President of the Council of Ministries, notes: “*o governo central não tem o controlo absoluto sobre as extensões, sobre toda a extensão do território. O que acontece lá na tabanca, até o poder central saber isso, já é tarde.*”<sup>306</sup>

Beside these difficulties, the state lacks the means to implement laws and policies for protection of children who are not considered human. Even when regulations, by which the state assumes a posture of condemnation toward the practice, have been approved by parliament, their implementation remains scarce, as the state does not effectively rule or exist outside the urban (Bissau) environments. “[É] *um posicionamento no papel, volto a dizer, não é que o Estado não tenha tomado já medidas, etc., há diplomas aprovados a nível da Assembleia [Nacional Popular], mas o mecanismo de controle da sua implementação na prática, da sua execução na prática, nas zonas de risco, e porque são zonas recônditas, esse mecanismo de controle é que não existe. A lei existe. Agora, a aplicação da lei, quem é que vai controlar isto?*”<sup>307</sup> The position of the state thus remains just a condemnation on paper.

Other interviewees, instead, strongly question the willingness of the state to adopt any protection policies or plans of action against the *criança-irân* ritual infanticide. Adducing on the one hand the lack of political stability, on the other hand they complain that the state position with regard to the phenomenon is too weak, whether in terms of legal punishments, plans of action, or political will, because “*o que falta é uma vontade politica, o que falta é, digamos, um plano de Estado.*”<sup>308</sup> Stuck between the limits of its sovereignty over the realm of the “traditional” where the infanticide takes place and a scarcity of political will to draft and implement effective plans of action, the state remains inert on the *criança-irân* phenomenon.

### 7.2.2 Continuity of political relations transcending political differences

State inertia does not depend solely on the willingness of the state. In part, it is activated by the state’s powerlessness over the performance of the practice, which is considered to be

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<sup>306</sup> “The central government does not have absolute control over all extensions, over all territorial extensions. What goes on there in the *tabanca*, by the time the central power knows, it is late already.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>307</sup> “[It is] a posture on paper, I repeat, it is not that the state has not adopted any measures, etcetera, there are decrees approved by the [National Popular] Assembly, but the control mechanism of its implementation in practice, in the high-risk areas, and as they are remote areas, this control mechanism does not exist. The law exists. But, the application of the law, who will have control over this?” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>308</sup> “[W]hat is missed is political will, what is missing is, so to say, a state plan.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

the final decision of the family or the community. The alleged non-human baby, perceived as a threat to the mother's life and a danger to the survival and flourishing of the overall community, should undergo the ritual test to determine his or her true nature; that is, whether the child is human or a spirit. Due to the ominous character attributed to them, these babies are sometimes kept from others' sight, so that the existence of the disabled child is little known outside of the family or the community.<sup>309</sup> Even if the guidance provided by dead ancestors or other ancestral spirits is also said to be taken into consideration at times, the parents, the family, or the community take complete responsibility for choosing to perform the ritual.

The process of the decision is an intimate matter, where opposing views are heard. It does not involve any institutional, official, or political authority.

*“[H]á toda uma questão ali, de, de... de evidência. A saber como isso, como é que isso funciona. Se a pessoa, se esta criança é ou não, é bem-vinda, se a criança é possuída, se a criança foi enviada por um espírito maligno, para causar mal a sociedade, ou se a criança é também enviada para comer os pais, ou a sociedade. Portanto esta decisão muitas vezes é tomada sem o conhecimento nem o consentimento do estado.”<sup>310</sup>*

The intimate, family-related character of the decision over the fate of the *criança-irân* precludes the intervention of authorities, whether the state or the *regulos*. Since spirit-children are beings cast out of the polity, not belonging to the political order of intersubjectivity held together by the bonds of *djorson*, *tchon* and past-ward temporality, their disappearance constitutes part of the regular order of thing, a *normality* not exceeding the norms that regulate life in togetherness. The parents' or the community's decision to dispose of the infant is a choice that cannot be questioned by the political authority. *“Normalmente, a família desfaz da criança*

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<sup>309</sup> The words of Fatumata Djau Baldé (semi-structured interview conducted on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020) are particularly illuminating with regard to the secrecy surrounding spirit-babies and their disappearance. She reports: “[S]ão crianças... só ele sai assim de repente e vai embora, eh, sem se despedir. Então a criança-irân é aquela que é escondida dentro da casa, mesmo na comunidade, nem muitas pessoas sabem que ela existe. Então por isso é que quando levam para fazer aquela cerimónia em que ela é feita desaparecer, fica aí e ninguém sabe. [...] porque normalmente, tradicionalmente, tipo daquele caso não deveria chegar a polícia. É se esconder para que ninguém saiba que aquilo aconteceu.” (“[They a]re children... s/he just leaves, all of a sudden, and goes away, eh, without saying goodbye. Then, the *criança-irân* is that [baby] that is hidden inside the home, right in the community, not many people know that s/he exists. Then, that is why that when they take him/her to perform that ceremony in which s/he is made go away, s/he stays there and nobody knows [...] because, normally, traditionally, that sort of occurrence should not reach the police. It is hidden so that nobody knows what happened.”)

<sup>310</sup> “[T]here i]s an all issue there, of, of... of evidence. To know how this, how that works, if the person, if this child is or not, s/he is welcome, if the child is possessed, if the child was sent from a malign spirit, to cause harm in society, or if the child was also sent to eat its parents, or the society. Hence, this decision many times is taken without knowledge or approval by the state.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

*mesmo ao nascimento. Matam-no, abandonam-no, ... e, pronto. Mas, portanto, não pode ser, o regulo pode não estar de acordo, mas também não tem muita coisa a dizer. Não tem muita coisa a dizer.*”<sup>311</sup>

Grounded on the principles of *djorson*, *tchon* and past-ward temporality, the indigenous power finds itself at a crossroads. On the one hand, the legal position of the state is clear: any act of infanticide, or ritual infanticide, is a crime, punished by law. The population, the *garandi*, *regulos* and other indigenous authorities are aware of the prohibition; hence, the increasing secrecy, “*dentro do segredo da comunidade*,”<sup>312</sup> about the performance of the practice, along with the mystic taboo covering it under a veil of silence. Furthermore, aware of the legal prohibition, people nowadays “*estão a tomar mais cuidados em fazer e estão a fazer mais à escondida*.”<sup>313</sup>

On the other hand, indigenous powers are sought for neither consultation nor approval of the ritual infanticide, and they can do little but deal with the consequences of a done deed. As representative of the ordering of the polity, *regulos*, *chefes de tabanca* and *garandi* are themselves embedded in an understanding of the polity where the disappearance of the liminal spirit-children is an element of normality. As such, they defend and allow the performance of the ritual infanticide, not only in the name of culture, but also to foster their legitimacy among the population. “[*E*stas criança-irân, [they] acreditam que são irâns! Então devem ser afastados senão vão fazer mal a sociedade. Quando é assim, o poder tradicional [...] querem ter o apoio da população para que se diga que eles é que defendem, a população. Porque esta posição do poder tradicional depende sempre da legitimidade que tem.”<sup>314 315</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> “Normally, the family gets rid of the child right after birth. [They] kill him/her or abandon him/her... and that is it. But, then, it’s not right. The *regulo* can be not in agreement, but there is not much he can say. There is not much he can say.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>312</sup> “[W]ithin the community’s secrets.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>313</sup> “[A]re more careful in performing the practice and are keeping the ritual in the quiet.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mária Vitória Correia, on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020.

<sup>314</sup> “[T]his *criança-irân*, [they] believe they are *irâns*! They, they must be removed, otherwise they will harm the society. When it is so, the traditional power [...] they want to hold support in the population so that it will be said that they do, they defend the population. Because this position in the traditional power always depends on the legitimacy it is endowed with.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané (November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020).

<sup>315</sup> Nevertheless, during the interview, the professor at the Law Faculty of the University of Bissau, denied that the position of indigenous leaders on the ritual infanticide of the *criança-irân* was univocal. There are leaders who interact and work alongside with NGOs to protect the life of spirit-children, creating a collaborative network with the aim to find disabled babies in their families at the time of birth and to take them to foster houses and institutions.

Other times, the allowance granted by indigenous authorities translates into a more active role in the practice, according to Vladimir Sano of FAPD-GB. “*O posicionamento da própria, dos poderes tradicionais, muitas das vezes, são eles que são chamados para tratar daqueles rituais. Então eles também são cúmplices. São cúmplices. Participam. Concorrem, com o infanticídio.*”<sup>316</sup> As an individual can represent both the political and religious authority, especially in eminently animist ethnic groups, indigenous leaders are called to perform the ritual test to determine the humanness of the infant, hence playing a more relevant part in the elimination of the babies.

Considering the strong influence of semi-physical entities in the political affairs of the community, as in the Pepel communities, indigenous authorities become involved in the practice or authorise the realisation of infanticide to avoid questioning the decision of the ancestral spirits, transmitted by the elders. “*O consentimento que consiste, é não... é não fazer frente a decisão ou a vontade dos espíritos ancestrais. Portanto, muitas vezes não quer fazer frente, acaba por aceitar aquilo que é dito, ou ditado pelos anciões, eh, com recomendação dos espíritos ancestrais. Que ninguém quer, numa, numa comunidade fazer face... fazer face a decisão dos ancestrais.*”<sup>317</sup> *Regulos* and *chefes de tabanca* agree to the ritual in order to avoid confronting those who carry the weight of the past, the relevance and reiteration of the order of the polity.

Therefore, the tolerance showed by indigenous authorities contains a twofold message. A public show of support or approval for the practice is hindered due to the legal provisions against infanticide proclaimed by the state of Guinea-Bissau. Yet the ritual is not banned or condemned because the belief in *criança-irân* constitutes part of the order of the polity, a liminal case the normalcy of which is a constitutive part of indigenous political thought. As such, indigenous powers “*não declaram assim, público, ou seja, publicamente de concordar, mas de certa maneira dão liberdade secretamente para que esta pratica tenha lugar,*”<sup>318</sup> firmly

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<sup>316</sup> “The posture of the, of the traditional powers, oftentimes, they themselves are called to perform those rituals. Hence, they all are accomplices. They are accomplices. They participate. They partake in the ritual of infanticide.” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>317</sup> “[A]n approval that consist in, it is not... it is not to oppose the decision or will of the ancestral spirits. So often they don’t want to oppose, in the end it is accepted what is said, or imposed by the elders, eh, with a recommendation from the ancestral spirits. Because nobody wants, in, in a community, to oppose... to oppose the decision of the ancestors.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>318</sup> “[They] do not declare it so, publicly, or rather, publicly, their agreement, but somehow they secretly accord liberty so that this practice can happen.” From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.



establishing a policy of tolerance of the ritual. Interwoven with silence and taboo, they allow for the existence of the ritual even while no word is spoken about it.

The position of the Bissau-Guinean state over the disappearance of spirit-children overlaps with and reveals stark differences with that of indigenous powers. While the latter display a generalised tolerance of the practice, the state responds with silence and inertia. In the two political configurations, the belief and practice of the *criança-irân* is a taboo element, whose existence is undeniable yet is neither confirmed, approved, nor condemned. But while the fundamental motives diverge, their outcomes do not. Different from other cultural and ritual practices, spirit-children are not a question open to be mentioned or discussed by these powers. The matter is a grey area, surrounded by myth and taboo. Tolerance and inertia find a common denominator in the silence surrounding the practice. State and indigenous authorities refrain from taking it up, so that the topic “*está fora da mesa*”<sup>319</sup> as well in discussions concerning the formal recognition of indigenous authorities.<sup>320</sup>

Insofar as the position of indigenous powers conforms to the tenets of political thought and the foundations of the political plurality (defined as an intersubjective togetherness of individuals, united under the bonds of the *djorson*, the *tchon* and a past-oriented temporality), that of the state does not correspond to the grounding principles of a liberal state, or to its correlative notions of individualism. This discrepancy sheds light on the continuity of indigenous thought within the state; in other words, the *criança-irân* provide a reading lens into the process of the Africanisation of power occurring in the state of Guinea-Bissau.

We cannot presume that state inaction means that Africanised Bissau-Guinean state powers see the acceptance of spirit-children as part of the normal order of the polity to the degree that indigenous powers do. However, state inaction suggests that individualism, putatively the cornerstone of the liberal state, along with its corollary of power relations regulating *ego-alter* interactions, and the political ramifications of the notions of individual and community, have little or no importance to the principles underpinning the state. As such, the very foundations of the order of the state, the adversarial, immunological order regulating the

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<sup>319</sup> “[I]t is off the table.” From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>320</sup> To this date, there is no formal nor *de jure* recognition of indigenous (or traditional) authorities in Guinea-Bissau. Alsana Negado, Chief Executive of Local Powers at the Ministry for Territorial Administration and Local Power, refers that he and his team are working on a project of recognition of the so-called “traditional” authorities. The project, only a draft at this stage, seeks to promote cooperation and, partially, to integrate the formal and the informal justice systems. To this end, it also requires a formalisation of indigenous authorities according to the canons of the state. The legal draft is discussed in more details in §7.4.2.

relational space among political subjects, embrace syncretism, mixing its own conceptions of political relations and humanness with local, indigenous conceptions of the same.

Such syncretism, where “*ainda, há mistura entre o tradicional e o dito moderno*”<sup>321</sup> is expressed in the ambivalence guiding not only the state’s attitude to the phenomenon, but also state’s officials and agents. Principles and values asserted by the state in its constitutive acts, conditioning and steering the job performance of politicians as much as other officials, police forces, lawyers, or judges, sharply contrast with those of the indigenous realm. Individuals are torn between “multiple identities,” as Mamadou Jao defines them, ending up in “[*aqueles*] *situações ambíguas em que as pessoas podem assumir comportamentos diferentes em função do espaço, dos espaços onde se encontram.*”<sup>322</sup> The choice to conform to one (state principles) or the other (indigenous, as well as cultural or religious tenets) is up to the individual.

Examining the conduct of state agents gives rise to considerations of the performance of the state. As Fatumata Baldé, former minister for several governments, makes clear,

*“quem implementa a lei e não condena quem a viola, então não está a cumprir com o seu papel de agente de estado [...] eu posso ter a minha tradição e a minha cultura enquanto ser humano Fatumata que eu sou. Mas quando sou funcionaria, quando sou, se sou uma juíza, um magistrado público, sou um polícia, quando esses casos chegam ao meu conhecimento eu devo trabalhar no sentido de conduzir a justiça e prometer que a justiça seja feita ate se chegar a condenação.”*<sup>323 324</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> “[T]here is still mixing between the traditional and the so-called modern.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>322</sup> “[Those] ambiguous situations in which people can take on different behaviours according to the space, to the place where they are.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>323</sup> “who implements the law and does not condemn who breach it, then s/he is not complying with one’s duty as state’s agent [...] I can have my tradition and my culture as human being Fatumata that I am. But when I am an officer, when I am, if I am a judge, a public magistrate, I am a policeman, when I am informed about these cases I have to work with the aim to make justice and promise that justice will be guiding me until reaching a sentence.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé, on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>324</sup> Her voice is not alone, as Fodé Mané (online semi-structured interview, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020) adds “*eu já vi advogados que vão entrar para o julgamento, tem que levantar ainda as becas para pôr algum amuleto, antes de ir para o julgamento [laugh] está a ver...não estão a funcionar com critérios científicos. Ainda acreditam que podem ganhar justiça por causa daquilo... advogados, formados, eh! A fazer aquilo*” (“I already saw lawyers entering a trial, they still have to lift up their cloths to put some charm, before going for the trial [laugh] see... they are not working according to scientific criteria, they believe still that they can with in the legal system because of that [the charm]... educated lawyers, eh! Doing that”). Nonetheless, the interviewees pinpoint that the intertwining of “traditional” and “modern” characters is a temporary situation, due to the “*geração de transição*” (as defined by Fodé Mané) that is now abandoning the “tradition” to embrace scientific criteria. The syncretism in values and principles is due to give ways to the promises of “modernity”, detaching individuals from the premises of indigenous values.

What remains of (exogenous) state values is a question open to consideration, and beyond the scope of my inquiry.

The process of Africanisation includes many and different facets, some more and others less overt. Still, the Africanisation of power in Guinea-Bissau as analysed here will not be a springboard to debate over some of the more pragmatic practices, such as those aimed at increasing politicians' power, legitimacy, or popularity at the polls, in other words the appropriation by élites of local, cultural, and political values to their own advantage. Rather, this study engages with the principles of political power with the intention of debating the continuity of political relations from the indigenous realm to that of the state, with the final aim being to reveal the *loci* of political power(s) in Guinea-Bissau.

### 7.3 The Africanised state of Guinea Bissau

Until now, we have inferred a continuity of political relations forming the bedrocks for the Africanisation of power in Guinea-Bissau. Additionally, such a statement is sharply in contrast to an institutional, legal, and normative differentiation between state and indigenous powers. While the former is the formal political authority steering, protecting, and representing the Bissau-Guinean people, indigenous powers coexist as a “second state” (Scheye, 2009), an entity auxiliar to or surrogate for the state.

Their coexistence within a single, formal space of sovereignty produces an “Africanised” political space. That is, *prima facie*, state and indigenous powers remain in a reciprocal, dichotomous relation to one another. The two political configurations possess their own authorities, norms, rules, and political apparatuses. This makes them, in fact, two distinguished political entities. Relations and exchanges between state and indigenous powers are characterised by attempted formalisation and high informality. Even if there lacks any *de jure* recognition of Bissau-Guinean indigenous authorities, their political role and relevance is acknowledged by the state, through the acts of authorities and politicians. “[A]s próprias autoridades do Estado, do direito positivo, reconhecem, vou dizer, informalmente ou formalmente, conforme o... Marca com presença na tomada de posse do regulo. A marcarem presença na tomada de posse dum determinado regulo, o próprio estado está a reconhecer a legitimidade, a legalidade deste

*poder*”<sup>325</sup>; likewise, indigenous authorities “*neste caso [regulo’s empowerment], agora convidam o governo local*”<sup>326</sup> to join.

The distinguishability between the two is furthered by the conceptualisation each has for the other. Indigenous authority stands outside of speech and discussions about the two powers, distancing itself as well from how it is perceived and evaluated. This understanding is extrapolated deductively from the interviews gathered during fieldwork, mainly from those conducted with indigenous authorities, academics, state officials, and representatives of state-related NGOs. Constituting a sample limited in its extension and participants, the quality of the statements given is given additional weight, considered as representative of broader, generalised conceptions among people. From their explicit and implicit commentaries, it appears that state and indigenous powers are linked, respectively, to modernity and tradition. And while the former is sought, as the necessary means to development, the latter is cherished and respected.

General evaluation and opinion of the political orders differs, as discussed in length in the next section. Conceptions of the state present more discontinuities and discrepancies than those of indigenous power. It seems contradictory that, insofar as the state is accepted and prized in theory, the state of Guinea-Bissau is in fact regarded poorly, ridden with internal power struggles, characterised as dysfunctional and deemed non-existent in relation to its citizens. Interestingly, it is also remarked that the state, run by a system based on multiple political parties and (free) elections, shows greater instability and constant crisis, while indigenous powers where the title of *regulo* and *chefe de tabanca* are inherited are characterised as stable.

Conceptualisations of state and indigenous powers convey two distinct political configurations. Nevertheless, political thought and political relations transcend institutional differentiation, so that normative categories of the polity reject any clear distinguishability. In other words, the intersubjective character of the polity is not confined to the indigenous sphere, to the *tabancas* or to the *regulados*. Inasmuch as endogenous political tenets are pervasive in formal politics, the state strategically seeks them through collaborations or the incorporation of indigenous institutions. The prevalence of extant intersubjective political relations

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<sup>325</sup> “State authorities, authorities of positive law, they recognise, I would say, informally or formally, according to... they signal it, being present in the ceremony when a *regulo* is taking office. Being present when a *regulo* takes office, the state itself is recognising the legitimacy, the legality of such power.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>326</sup> “[I]n that case [when the *regulo* takes office] they invite the local government.” From the semi-structured interview with Nemésio Santim Ié. Quinhamel, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

characterises the Bissau-Guinean Africanisation of power, blending the state configuration with characters of the endogenous, political order.

Last, the “Africanised,” hybrid state of Guinea-Bissau, diverging from endogenous political relations in its formal configurations and *modus operandi*, appears ill-placed to successfully serve the political expectations of its people and is inhibited from achieving legitimacy. Incapable of conforming to the requirements of liberal democracy, the state is ravaged by misuse of power and misappropriation of resources. Thus, being a political configuration detached from fundamental political relations, the state triggers a condition of chronic turmoil, or “stable instability” (Vigh, 2009) that has characterised the country during the last decades.

### 7.3.1 The dichotomy of state and indigenous powers

The continuity of political relations and the intermingling of principles ordering the polity so far deduced seem to stand in contrast to the *de facto* existence of indigenous power and the state as two autonomous, independent political orders coexistent within one political space. In this analysis I do not aim to state the distinguishability that characterises the two sorts of powers in terms of authorities, institutions, norms, and modes of governing; these have been dealt with elsewhere in the literature (Carvalho, 2000, 2004; Fernandes, 1993; Jao, 1996; A. O. C. Monteiro, 2013; Temudo, 2009). What is relevant here is the dichotomous relationship of the two powers as it manifests in people’s speech and understanding.

State and indigenous powers are conceived not merely as different governments, so to speak, but stand as signifiers of deeper, broader conceptions of politics, life in society, and even culture. The idea of the state brings with it the weight of “modernity,” of which it is the highest representative. Modernity, in this sense, conveys the idea of a functional political system, capable of satisfying the needs of its population and efficiently providing basic public services, such as education and health care. “[P]rimeira função do Estado, é isso: garantir a soberania, do seu território, criar bens e serviços para o seu população, e... pronto. Legislar-se para regulamentar as questões, a sociedade, para que haja justiça, para que haja educação, para que haja saúde e bem-estar para a população. Que são funções e atribuições que um

*estado deve desempenhar.*”<sup>327</sup> Moreover, people overall take the state as the one means necessary to promote and achieve the long-awaited, long-promised (economic) development.

Conception of indigenous powers plays a relevant role in this depiction of the state, as “*o poder tradicional, eh... contrapõe-se a um poder moderno.*”<sup>328</sup> The local, endogenous authorities, and the corollary set of institutions, stand for “tradition” and communitarian life. As the state is taken to coincide with broader geographical extensions and populational representativity, indigenous powers are local and ethno-specific; they exert their power in the *tabanca* or, eventually, in the *regulado*. “*Nas tabancas [...] ainda continuamos com a vida tradicional comunitária, a própria comunidade que resolve os seus problemas.*”<sup>329</sup>

The state, instead, is regarded as responsible for the life of all and any individuals in Guinea-Bissau, being its duty to “*velar pelo respeito, a dignidade da pessoa humana [...] o estado tem que falar pelo desenvolvimento, da integridade e pela defesa e proteção dos próprios seres humanos.*”<sup>330</sup> The duty of the state is not limited to preserving and protecting the bare life of the citizens, but it ought to mark its presence “*de varias formas, na segurança, na prestação de serviços sociais como saúde, educação e noutros aspetos, assim, de desenvolvimento.*”<sup>331</sup> Hence, the state is given the burden of protecting people and ensuring the “*bem-estar da população,*”<sup>332</sup> along with promoting the flourishing of society, bettering economic, social, and political life in the country. As such, the state is highly desired.

By contrast, indigenous powers are “*poderes secularmente pré-estabelecidos na Guiné-Bissau,*”<sup>333</sup> resilient next to the modern state instituted with the unilateral declaration of

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<sup>327</sup> “[T]he primary purpose of the state is this: to guarantee the sovereignty, of its territory, to create goods and services for its population and... hence. To legislate in order to regularise the situations, the society, so to have justice, so to have education, so to have health and well-being for the population. These are the attribution and duties a state should cover.” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>328</sup> “[T]he traditional power, eh... counterbalances a modern power.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November, 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>329</sup> “In the inner country [*tabancas*] [...] there is still the traditional communitarian life, the community itself that solves its own problems.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>330</sup> “[T]o guard the respect, the dignity of the human person [...] the state should talk for the development, for the integrity and for the defence and protection of the human beings.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé. Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>331</sup> “[It marks its presence] in several ways, on security, on providing social services like health, education, and other aspects, so, of development.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>332</sup> “[W]ell-being of the population,” from the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020. The primacy of people’s well-being as state duty was pinpointed, more or less explicitly, by all the interviewees.

<sup>333</sup> “[P]ower anciently pre-established in Guinea-Bissau,” from the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

independence in 1973. They are not called for, per se, yet they elicit respect, love and even fear among the people.<sup>334</sup> *Regulos* and *chefes de tabanca* are part of tradition, part of the imaginary of “*nossa Guiné*,” an expression that carries with it the deep affection people feel for the nation and its diverse peoples. Contrary to the state, desired as a synonym of modernity and development, indigenous power belongs to endogenous cultural, social, and political settings and is deeply rooted in people’s thought, “*um poder que vem da nossa realidade ancestral*.”<sup>335</sup>

Moreover, indigenous powers enjoy widespread legitimacy among the population. According to Fodé Mané, notwithstanding the decades-long presence of the state, indigenous powers continue to be “*muito resilientes, a serem muito reconhecidos*,”<sup>336</sup> in part due to cultural reasons, in part due to the relevance of the past in the politics of the present, as João Có relates: “*continua a haver, continua a haver um respeito dentro das comunidades tradicionais e religiosas, um respeito ancestral, dependendo de que tipo de sociedade estamos a falar*.”<sup>337</sup> Nevertheless, some complain that the respect paid to indigenous powers is due to fear, the “*receio ou temor [...] a pessoa do líder*,”<sup>338</sup> or by the character of their politics, which leaves little space for freedom of choice and silences individual will.<sup>339</sup>

The preference accorded by the population to indigenous powers demonstrates their resilience despite the hardships of existing coterminously with the state. Indigenous authorities are generally preferred as they are “*mais próximo da população, [são] muito mais acessíveis, e [têm] mais eficiência e eficácia*.”<sup>340</sup> Not only do the long-standing values underpinning the community corroborate the legitimacy and authority of the *regulo*, but indigenous chiefs are

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<sup>334</sup> Among the interviewees, Fatumata Djau Baldé refers of the effect of modernisation and democratisation on indigenous power. She pinpoints how multi-party democracy has led to questioning the leadership of the *regulo* and elders and unveiled, in some cases, a political domination ridden with fear and the inhibition of free speech in some communities. From the semi-structured interview, conducted on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>335</sup> “[A] power that comes from our ancestral reality.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>336</sup> “[V]ery resilient, being highly recognised,” from the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>337</sup> “[T]here continues to be, there continues to exist a respect within the traditional and religious communities, an ancestral respect, depending on which sort of society we are talking about.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>338</sup> “[D]read or fear [...] of the person who is in charge.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>339</sup> Among the interviewees, Fatumata Djau Baldé calls for caution when dealing with indigenous powers and authorities as she notes that their rules do not allow much space for the individual to disagree with chiefs’ decisions or with the social, political, moral, and cultural norms of the community. In other words, her report suggests that in the indigenous polity, the individual stays in a subordinate position to the community, much like that discussed in the proposition of (radical) communitarianism (Ahiauzu, 2001; Ikuenobe, 2015, 2017b, 2018; Menkiti, 1984, 2004a).

<sup>340</sup> “[C]loser to the population, [they are] much more accessible, [they possess] more efficiency and effectiveness.” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

also strong authorities because they are accountable and accessible to their population. Indigenous authorities effectively act as a caretaker for the community, since being “*poder tradicional, tens que comportar com a tua comunidade.*”<sup>341</sup> *Regulos* and *chefes de tabanca* ought to show a moral commitment to the people, for that is the role befalling them from the tenets that join the present, the past and the *djorson* (§6.2.2). Their political role is rooted in the reiteration and maintenance of past acts bonding people and land in a harmonic political unit.

Legitimate representatives of a political *modus* operating in consensus, indigenous authorities epitomise political means expressing the voice of the plurality. The political core of the polity resides in relational community, in the bonds of intersubjectivity entwining all the members of the togetherness. Therefore, these relations, and all relations foundational to the community, are the primary concern in the government of a *regulo*. To attend to people’s needs and to enhance the flourishing of the (political) bonds enlacing them all constitute the inalienable responsibilities of the indigenous authorities.

The close bonds among indigenous authorities and the community are relevant not only at the local level, but also at the broader, national level. Because “*são eles [indigenous authorities] que.... eles que orientam ainda as sociedades,*”<sup>342</sup> their political role transcends the boundaries of the *tabanca* or of the *regulo* in collaboration with the state. Recognised as “ethnic” or “traditional” representatives, over the years, “*o estado aproveitou aquilo bem,*”<sup>343</sup> to promote and implement governmental policies or adopt measures. Thus, state and indigenous powers have been informally cooperating for decades in Guinea-Bissau.

The rationale underpinning such collaboration lays in the weaknesses of a state that, above all, is not present or existent throughout the geographical extensions of the country and has resorted to indigenous powers as considerable aids toward state consolidation<sup>344</sup> Whereas some analysts affirm that the state merely exist in the urban centres (Forrest, 2003), all interviewees reported that the presence of the state is limited or null in many areas of Guinea-Bissau, especially in the farther zone to which access is difficult; “*há zonas da Guiné-Bissau*

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<sup>341</sup> “[T]raditional power, one has to behave toward the community.” From the semi-structured interview with Dedé Andrade. Cacheu, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>342</sup> “[It] is they [indigenous authorities] who.... They who still guide the societies.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>343</sup> “[T]he state has made good use of it,” from the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>344</sup> “*ajudar bastante na consolidação de Estado,*” from the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.



*onde o estado não existe*”<sup>345</sup> repeated not one but many of the interviewees. Moreover, the constant political crises and turmoil has left state institutions in tatters, juxtaposing a stark reality of broken promises of development grounded in offering education and health. Its non-existence, the lack of basic services further leads to state trivialisation in the eye of the population: “*ah, o estado, qual estado? Qual escola, não há escola. Qual hospital, não há hospital. [...] quando o órgão não cumpre com o seu papel básico, acaba por não existir pelas pessoas.*”<sup>346</sup>

The conception of the state as an efficient piece of machinery aimed at bettering people’s lives sharply opposes the idea of the state that exists today in Guinea-Bissau. The Bissau-Guinean state is a stage for the fight for power, where actors engage with one another along “*cores da camisola política*”<sup>347</sup>; aligning with one or the other political party makes ideologies appear as mere tools to the factional appropriation and securing of power, as “*atores, sobretudo administrativos e governantes, [...] servem-se mais da administração, do que eles, eles mesmo servirem os cidadãos.*”<sup>348</sup>

Given its personalistic misuse of power, the political elite elicits little sympathetic response from the population. It is thought that the politician, because of the foreign education they received, as well as the pressure of their own private interests, has forgotten “how we live here, what we need and what we demand from them.”<sup>349</sup> Instead, what the population demands for are leaders who “*tene pena di populason, de canseira di Guiné[-Bissau], ki tene pena di si canseira ke na doja, ke tene visão, tene i na protesta lundju, e na odja projeto e tene bom programa, i tene bom programa pa terra li, pa terra bai diante.*”<sup>350</sup> The fragilities of the state,

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<sup>345</sup> “[T]here are areas of Guinea-Bissau where the state does not exist.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>346</sup> “[A]h the state, which state? Which school, there is no school. Which hospital, there is no hospital [...] when an institution does not meet its basic duties, it ends up not existing to the people.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé. Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>347</sup> “[C]olours of political shirt [i.e., according to political inclination],” from the online semi-structured interview with Rui da Fonseca, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>348</sup> “[A]gents, mostly administrative and governing ones, [...] they employ the administrative machinery to serve themselves more than how they serve the citizens.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>349</sup> From the *djumbai* in Jemberem, on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>350</sup> “[C]are about the population, who see the difficulties of Guinea(-Bissau), who care for people’s hardships, who have vision [a political project], that will take us far, and we can see the project, and [have] a good plan, [have] a good plan for the land [country] there, for the country to move forward.” From the semi-structured interview with Mamadou Camara, in Buba (February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019).

and the abuse of power operated by political actors render the formal democracy a dysfunctional political system, failing expectations, losing legitimacy and authenticity of power.<sup>351</sup>

By and large, the democratic state appears conceived of as an expression of *political malaise*, a characterisation strengthened by the notion of instability that accompanies Bissau-Guinean governments and institutions. In other words, a political system where several political parties confront one another in open, free, and just elections, appears to have provoked endless crises in the state, intensifying egotistic abuse of power and worsening life conditions for the overall population. Critiques of majoritarian democracy as the onset of turmoil rests on two intermingled factors: the foreignness of liberal democracy values, and the scramble for power inherent in adversarial politics.

On the one hand, state and government instability is confronted by the stability (and resilience) that characterises indigenous power, for “*há maiores estabilidade a nível de exercício do poder tradicional, em relação ao contexto democrático.*”<sup>352</sup> The endurance of indigenous authority depends on the hereditary character of its power, passed down through selected kinship lines (*dhjagra*), or “*passado de geração em geração e assim sucessivamente.*”<sup>353</sup> The ancestral lines of succession are tied to collective knowledge and respect for the past, the *djorson*, and the *tchon*; they prevent skirmishes among contestants for appropriation of power. “*As coisas estão bem claras, aí não há, não há muita confusão, quando é respeitada, quando são respeitadas as regras, não é, da assunção ao poder. Por isso mesmo aí é um poder mais estável, neste, neste ponto de vista.*”<sup>354</sup>

Moreover, methods of the attribution of power (hereditary succession among kinships) appear to play a corroborating role in the stability of indigenous powers. The key factor ensuring the stability of the *regulo*, elders, and *chefes de tabanca* resides in the endogeneity of the system’s moral, social and political underpinnings. “[H]á regras de jogo, toda a gente, toda a gente reconhece e toda a gente respeita, e sobretudo porque as pessoas aí a maior parte dos

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<sup>351</sup> Ifeanyi Menkiti refers to a proverb from the Kingdom of Onitsha, on the river Niger, that reflects the consideration of leaders and political institutions dignity: “*A na azo eze azo*” (or “*A da azo eze azo*”), translated to English as “grand fighting belittles the dignity of politicians” (Menkiti, 2018).

<sup>352</sup> “[T]here is more stability at the level of traditional power governments, than in the democratic context.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>353</sup> “[H]anded down from generation to generation, and so on successively.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé. Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>354</sup> “Things are crystal clear, there there is not, there is not much confusion, when it is observed, when the rules are observed, that is, for assuming power. Because of this it is a more stable power, from this standpoint.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

*membros da comunidade já incorpora estes valores. Então estes valores são aceites, são valores, são valores que são entendidos como valores da comunidade.”*<sup>355</sup>

The stability of indigenous powers is granted by interiorisation and acceptance, from individuals, of certain political values that originated within and with the political plurality. These political ideas are regarded as proper to the community—guarded and respected, besides being known and evident to all. In contrast, the tenets that underpin the state’s liberal democracy are not “*intrínsecos as pessoas, então é vistos... São valores externos que as pessoas, por conveniência recorrem para poder estar no poder [...] no estado moderno as pessoas funcionam com valores que não são seus.*”<sup>356</sup>

On the other hand, the system of politics that opposes a majority (winners) and a minority or opposition (losers) is assumed to be responsible for the factionalism, antagonism and personal abuse of power. That is, a political system ruled by one section of the political elite makes the latter prone to scuffling with opposing parties, such that the goal is not to govern but to secure control over power and resources.<sup>357</sup> Majoritarian democracy epitomises a form of adversarial politics, endlessly reproducing the inevitable opposition of parties, *ego* and *alter*. The existence of the two (or more) parties is necessary to the functioning of the political system, guaranteeing freedom of expression in the democracy. Yet their juxtaposition causes spiralling dysfunctionalities in a polity grounded on intersubjective political relations.

The destabilising effect caused by elections and national politics also influences the indigenous sphere, where, in recent years, struggles over rights to indigenous titles have arisen. These contests have been more common in those *regulados* or *tabancas* of recent or state creation, or where indigenous leaders were eliminated during the first years of independence.<sup>358</sup> Where uncertainties arise over succession, the struggle over power starts, resembling the

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<sup>355</sup> “[There] are rules of the game, everybody, everybody recognises, and everybody obeys, and mostly because people there, most of members of the community already interiorised these values. Then, these values are accepted. They are values, they are values that are understood as belonging to the community.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>356</sup> “[I]ntrinsic to people, so they are seen as... they are external values to which people, out of convenience, resort to be able to hold power [...] in the modern state people operate with values that are not theirs.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>357</sup> Regarding understanding the antagonism in majoritarian democracy, the words of Kwasi Wiredu are especially worth noting. According to the Ghanaian scholar, a political system based on political parties (the party he calls party<sub>3</sub>) is keen to generate rivalries and competition in the political arena, exacerbating the discrimination between the excluded (losers) and included (winners) parties (Wiredu, 2001, 2007). Therefore, a political system grounded in political competition often “degenerates into opposition for the sake of opposition” (Ramose, 1992, p. 75).

<sup>358</sup> In the first years of the PAIGC government, local and indigenous powers were not seen in a positive light, and the government employed rather aggressive policies against them, leading to many *regulos* being murdered. (See Fernandes, 1993; Jao, 1996).

characters of opposition characterising state politics: “*conflito entre poderes tradicionais. Porque? Por causa da influência política. Isso é que processa crise às autoridade tradicionais.*”<sup>359</sup>

Rendered shallow by the exogeneity of the underlying concepts and values, the race among political parties in Guinea-Bissau resembles a corporate product campaign. Void of truthful political ideologies, the presidential campaign and legislative elections alike do not present much substance as regards their agenda should they be elected. “[U]ma pessoa não está no poder porque tem um projeto, porque tem um programa bem elaborado que as pessoas compreendem bem. Muitas das vezes o eleitor mesmo não, não, não vê, a governação neste ângulo de programa de projetos de políticos. Muitas vezes são outros fatores que influenciam a escolha de, dum governante.”<sup>360</sup>

Aware of the influence of indigenous authorities and of the strength of endogenous political ideas, political actors often abandon the grounds of ideological politics and resort to economic or other factors to gain votes. “*Aí há o fator identitário, o fator regionalista, outros fatores que não aqueles tradicionais, normalmente que deveriam ser, funcionar para a escolha dum governante. [...] questão de voto étnico, voto religiosos voto... são coisas ainda que são evidentes.*”<sup>361</sup> Religion, ethnicity, and kinship are not the only factors employed to acquire the broad support of the electorate; rather, economic and military elements are also part of the equation.

Communities are often lured with the promise of building or renewing infrastructures, such as roads, schools, or hospitals, or with other sorts of economic aids. As a *regulo* in Quinhamel recalled, the words of politicians are words lost in the darkness of the night (“*papia di noiti*”, §6.3.2), as their commitment ends as soon as the electoral campaign is over. Votes sold outside political or ideological allegiances, observes Fodé Mané, bring little accountability, since “*você elegendo uma pessoa, na base étnica, ou na base de compra de consciência, não*

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<sup>359</sup> “[C]onflict among traditional powers. Why? Because of political influence. This causes crises among the traditional authorities.” From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>360</sup> “A person does stay in office because they have a project, because they have a well-structured governing program, that people clearly understand. Many times, the voters themselves do not, not, not, do not see the government from this perspective, of program and political projects. Many times, there are other elements that influence the choice of, of a politician.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>361</sup> “There is the identity, regionalism, and others, beyond the traditional ones, normally they should be, they should steer the choice of a politician. [...] the issue of ethnical vote, religious vote... they are things yet very evident.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

*tem obrigação a, a.... a prestar.*”<sup>362</sup> Nonetheless, the military forces are a powerful ally in the political battlefield.

As in many African states, the liberation movement that led Guinea-Bissau to independence afterward became a political party, rather *the* ruling party, in the newly autonomous state. In the transition to the formalised, institutionalised vestments of political party, the liberation movement had to review the structure and *modus operandi* of the political association (Hyden, 2013). Among these, the question of secrecy and the use of violence as legitimate means stand out as problematic issues. The case of PAIGC represents a textbook example, both during the one-party rule of Nino Vieira (himself a general and a war veteran) and later in the democratic pluralism. The interference of the army forces (FARP, *Forças Armadas Revolucionárias do Povo*) in politics has been constant throughout the last decades, and FARP has taken it upon themselves to act as watchdog for government and politics (Ceesay, 2016; Forrest, 2016; Ostheimer, 2001).

Therefore, due to the state origins embedded in the liberation struggle and the repeated presence of FARP in politics, the use of violence has emerged as a quasi-legitimate means to hold on or to access power. Strong allegiances and the support of the military is hence the guarantee of holding political posts while the army is responsible for maintaining the *status quo* of powers. Therefore, “*a força são usadas mais de identidades religiosas, afinidade religiosa, ou tribais. Porque há desequilíbrio em termos de FARP, então se você tiver apoio de grupos majoritários, nomeadamente das FARP, então, pelo menos na chefia, já pode esta legitimidade, legitimidade da força. Mas ali... o que legitima hoje é a legitimação da força.*”<sup>363</sup>

By and large, the idealisation of the state as the political institution responsible for bringing “modernity” and development strongly contrasts the reality of a perceived dysfunctional entity, trivialised by people accustomed to the constant instability of the state and its governments. Nevertheless, the awareness of its own fragilities lead the state to seek collaboration, aid, and support from the strength the indigenous power is endowed with. The informal recognition and cooperation between the two political orders reveals that, beyond the dichotomous conceptualisation of the two, a continuity links state to indigenous power.

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<sup>362</sup> “[E]lecting a person on an ethnical basis, or upon buying votes, there is no obligatoriness to, to... govern.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>363</sup> “[T]he military is used more, more than identities, religions, religious affinities, or tribal, because there are unbalances within the FARP, hence if you own support from majoritarian groups, namely from FARP, then, at least in the management, one reaches this legitimacy, legitimacy of violence. But there... what legitimise today is the legitimacy of violence.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

### 7.3.2 Bridging the two ends

As suggested in the previous section, the recurrent, although informal, cooperation between the state and indigenous powers cooccurs to strengthen the continuity existing between the two political orders. The mutual engagement in different policy and administrative areas not only reveals patterns of normative pluralism but also blurs the conceptual differentiations between the two political orders, giving rise to a continuum of powers. On its own side, the state portrays indigenous power, synthesised in the figure of indigenous authorities, as an extension of the state in the *tabancas*. Due to the difficulties for the state to be an effective presence over all the country, “*é este poder tradicional que continua a ser a extensão do estado nas zonas recônditas do país.*”<sup>364</sup>

The overlap of geo-political and/or administrative partition bonds the two political orders into one composite political asset. It is arguable whether such approach from the state does not merely constitute a corollary to the recognition of indigenous authorities’ legitimacy and power. To present indigenous institutions as a branch of the apparatus of state political authorities and administration enhances the thesis that the state seeks strength by acquiring some of the character of the indigenous polity. In other words, the reliance on and allegiance to indigenous powers attests to the prevalence of intersubjective political relations, better expressed and satisfied via endogenous political institutions.

This reading corresponds to indigenous authorities’ claim of belonging to the state. “[*R*]egulo, líderes religiosos e regulos também, poder político. Então ouvia um regulo a dizer que eles se consideram membros plenos de estado da Guiné-Bissau. Quer dizer, que eles veem-se como elementos do aparato do estado.”<sup>365</sup> This statement from Mamadou Jao comes from his recent experience seeing several indigenous political (and religious) authorities discussing and claiming to be formal elements of the state. “[*H*]á uma, uma certa exigência, digamos

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<sup>364</sup> “[I]t is this traditional power that continues to be an extension of the state in the remote areas of the country.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>365</sup> “[*R*]egulo, religious leaders and regulos, also the political power. Then, I heard a *regulo* saying that they consider themselves as full members of the Bissau-Guinean state. In other words, that they see themselves as elements of the state apparatus.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

*assim, entre aspas, do dito poder tradicional, sobretudo o poder político tradicional, só regulos, que estão a pedir um reconhecimento, um reconhecimento do estado.*”<sup>366</sup>

The formal systematisation sought by indigenous powers emphasises how the state and indigenous powers are enlaced in a structured continuity in which the two political orders mingle, above and beyond mere collaboration. In this regard, the words expressed by a participant in the *djumbai* in Jemberem are particularly enlightening: “*o regulo é a população, regulo é o estado.*”<sup>367</sup> In such conceptualisation, the *regulo* appears as the legitimate representative of indigenous power – one individual standing for the population, for the *djorson*, for the *tchon* – and as the last, peripheral unit of the state machinery.

Therefore, as conceived and expressed, there is not merely coexistence and cooperation between the state and indigenous powers but also a continuity between the two, one that interweaves state and indigenous powers, thus giving rise to a hybrid political configuration intermingling the two polities. The emergence of the hybrid configuration results from historical contingencies yet aspires to go beyond exogenous constraints. Guinea-Bissau is “*46 anos, 46 anos [old]... e é uma idade duma pessoa, é uma idade de juventude, é uma fase de construção de homem, então a Guiné-Bissau está neste processo de construção.*”<sup>368</sup>

The construction of a parallelism between the age of the state and that of a person is not new to the literature on African politics and the African state (see Menkiti, 2018). The metaphor is remarkably meaningful in the context, for the importance that age has in one’s accumulation of knowledge, experience, wisdom, and moral capabilities alike in all African philosophies (Gyekye, 1995; Gyekye & Wiredu, 1992; Ikuenobe, 2018; Menkiti, 1984; Metz, 2012a, 2015). Like a young person still seeking their path in life, when the state of Guinea-Bissau was born, at independence “*invés de se adaptar, não. Foi-se logo pela [...] cópia do modelo semipresidencialista português, de democracia direta e universal.*”<sup>369</sup> The young state

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<sup>366</sup> “[T]here is a, a certain ‘claim,’ let’s say, of the so-called traditional power, mostly the traditional political power, only *regulos*, that are asking for recognition, recognition by the state.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>367</sup> “[T]he *regulo* is the population, the *regulo* is the state,” from the *djumbai* in Jemberem, on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>368</sup> “46 years, 46 years [old]... and it is the age of a person, it is an age of youth, it is a phase of self-construction, hence Guinea-Bissau is going through this process of construction.” From the online semi-structured interview with Vladimir Sano, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>369</sup> “[I]nstead of adapting, no, it went straight to [...] a copy of the semi-presidential Portuguese model, of universal and direct democracy.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

seems to be put to stand next to children or *blufo*, individuals who lack enough cognitive and moral skills to autonomously steer their own existence.<sup>370</sup>

The almost half a century of existence of the Bissau-Guinean state has brought it knowledge, however. Tattered by civil war and *coups d'état*, labelled “narco-state,” not to mention the characterisation of the state as “weak” or “failed,” Guinea-Bissau came to be disillusioned with political models imported or imposed from the outside. Much like an adult pursuing moral maturity, the state of Guinea-Bissau today “*é um estado a procura de identidade, própria,*”<sup>371</sup> in which it can accommodate the state along with endogenous political conceptualisations. Hence state and indigenous powers do not merely coexist in parallel as multiple powers within one single political space but rather mutually penetrate and mingle with one another, a political experiment in hybridity.

The interweaving of state and indigenous powers forms a *sui generis* power configuration, where the state is Africanised, and the indigenous power is captured in a move toward *statalisation*. As the analysis of the *criança-irân* infanticide pinpoints, in the state sphere, space is left for the maintenance of indigenous notions of humanness and the polity. Along with inertia as concerns the phenomenon of spirit-children, the political principles underlying the state recognise and give importance to the sort of political, intersubjective relations grounding the indigenous polity. Insofar as politics is locational, that is, driven by local-specific interpretations of reality (Hyden, 2013, p. 49), the Bissau-Guinean process of Africanisation is steered by the strength and resilience of *gnosis* and an ontology based in convention. These occur to form the locational, prevalent conceptualisation of political power as an eminently relational phenomenon grounded in intersubjectivity.

The relevance of endogenous understanding to the bedrocks of political power is beyond question. As Godwin Sogolo (1993) clearly puts it, traditions perform functions without which the society in question would not survive. Firmly established through time, the *gnosis* inherent in endogenous modes of thinking has no need to provide reasons or moral principles to justify culture, social, and political order. In other words, these modes pre-empt the need to

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<sup>370</sup> The term *blufo* refers to an individual who has failed to achieve moral and cognitive maturity; notwithstanding their age, this individual will always be spoken to and treated as a child. In this sense, the figure of the *blufo* coincides with that of an individual in an original, pre-social, and pre-political position, for whom living in a surrounding sociopolitical environment will provide the cognitive and moral growth necessary to be endowed with moral maturity or, according to communitarianism, also personhood (Gyekye, 1995; Hallen, 2015; Menkiti, 2004a).

<sup>371</sup> “[I]t is a state seeking its own identity.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.



persuade others about why the order of things is as it is, while granting a minimal level of internal disagreement, necessary to respect individuals' capacity for self-reflection (Ahiauzu, 2001). Such conceptualisation moulds political relations bonding individuals, as well as their crystallisation into political institutions.

The endogenous, or traditional, *gnosis* discards the boundaries posed by institutional polarisation because it transcends institutional or normative differentiation. Nonetheless, as João Có opines, “*não se pode pensar um Estado sem pensar os costumes do país, sem pensar as tradições do país.*”<sup>372</sup> The mode of thinking endogenous to a people cannot be detached from that people, regardless of the political institutions imposed on it. Hence, the intersubjective political relations underpinning indigenous political power, grounded in local *gnosis* and ontology, derived from a local, endogenous conceptualisation of time, people and polity, persist beyond *regulo*, elders, *djumbai*, *baracas*, and *tabancas*, to penetrate into the state. Political power remains, in Bissau-Guinean political configurations, a relational phenomenon.

### 7.3.3 Hybrid state: an explanatory stance for Bissau-Guinean “stable instability”

The process of the Africanisation of power in Guinea-Bissau makes of the state a hybrid configuration of political power. Conflating intersubjective political relations in a system apt to embrace ego-centred, adversarial relation, it disregard both the requirements of modern, liberal democratic states as well as the *modus operandi* of the indigenous polity. The state, originally built upon an exogenous, imported model, appears ill-placed to serve intersubjective political relations, or to correspond to political expectations.

Due to its foundations and origins, the state is denied the possibility of achieving legitimacy like that endowed to indigenous powers. While intersubjective relations transcend political institutions, the grounds for their rationale do not. The Bissau-Guinean state arose from the struggle for independence, from the fight against foreign occupation, and through a commitment to the principle of self-determination, calling on an as-yet non-existent “nation” to rise up and fight for freedom. However, these gestures are, like the state of Guinea-Bissau, only about fifty years-old at the time of writing, making of the nation an entity younger than many people constituting it. There lacks a communion to past, land, and people, grounding tenets

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<sup>372</sup> “[W]e cannot think of a state without considering the customs of the country, without considering the traditions of the country.” From the online semi-structured interview with João Có, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

that bond the political community with which one identifies. Said otherwise, the nation and the state are still weak and young entities, lacking the legitimacy and relevance that *djorson*, *tchon* and the past are given.

Propelled by the creation of the state rather than romantic or nationalist unifying ideals, the nation of Guinea-Bissau has not been able to provide a community with which individuals might identify. In the literature, this scenario is often referred to as an issue of allegiances, wherein ethnic, local, or kinship ties keep proving stronger than state or nation ones (Hyden, 2013; Menkiti, 2018; Wiredu, 2001) (§2.2). Moreover, the more numerous the ethnic groups, the weaker the ties between individuals and the state. Pluri-ethnicity is a sensitive topic in many contemporary African states, since the overarching political systems aim to contain their variations in one single political unit. Solutions range from fostering pluralism to promoting a minimal common reference for coexistence, avoiding attempts to reduce distinctiveness.<sup>373</sup>

In Guinea-Bissau, the coexistence of multiple ethnic groups within the state not only generates discrepancies and asymmetries in political, religious, and social terms but also voids the legitimating grounds of the state. The absence of past, along with the absence of endogenous roots grounding state origins in elements of the polity, such as *djorson* and *tchon*, preclude the young, exogenous political configuration from attaining the political legitimation necessary to substitute or subsidise that of indigenous powers.

Nonetheless, detachment of the state from endogenous political relations is further emphasised by modes of governing that dismiss political compromises to enhance adversarial politics. Ruled by a majoritarian democracy, the state accords preference to a polity governed by the rule of the majority, side-lining other opinions and minority as losers of the elections. As previously mentioned, Bissau-Guinean people do not always look favourably on democratic rule, seeing it as concomitant to politicians' personal antagonism and state instability. Moreover, the absence of external assessment and accountability deprives state and governments of normative legitimacy (L. R. Gordon, 2008, p. 232).

However, the point here is not to conduct an evaluation of majoritarian democracy or an assessment of democratic performance in Guinea-Bissau. Majoritarian democracy, intended

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<sup>373</sup> Among African scholars, Ideanyi Menkiti's depiction of a pluri-ethnic, African managerial state is noteworthy. Menkiti grounds his proposal in a Rawlsian philosophy of justice, hence suggesting a managerial state void of moral power, since "the less ethical or cultural beliefs are brought to the political table as the right order of things, the better" (p.9). The managerial state is represented as a great public services corporation, entrusted exclusively with well-delineated tasks. In Menkiti's words, "if the African state succeeds in maintaining security, providing infrastructure, and facilitating trade, if it could understand itself as being an agent, in good faith, of these three things, then it functions would have been well served" (Menkiti, 2002; Trzciński, 2010).

as a winners-against-losers game for power played by political parties, has often proved inefficient, inapt, or dysfunctional in many an African reality (Ajei, 2016; Matolino, 2018a; Oduor, 2019; Osabu-kle, 1997; Wiredu, 2001, 2007) (§2.2), as it is in Guinea-Bissau. Detached from local, endogenous understanding of political relations and consequent political practices, the adversarial politics inherent in the majoritarian model fails to meet expectations of political power and authorities, thereby diminishing the authenticity of that power and the legitimacy the state is endowed with.

The mismatch between political conceptualisations and the configuration of the state, operating according to the canons of liberal majoritarian democracy, represents one of the causes of permanent turmoil and instability. In other words, the Bissau-Guinean process of the Africanisation of power offers an explanation of the governmental and political instability that has characterised the country's political system for decades. The fuzzy interplay of endogenous principles with liberal state apparatuses corresponds to the state's inability to perform its duties.

Detached from endogenous political relations, and endowed little legitimacy, the state appears as an empty shell, a set of institutions set up upon “*valores externos que as pessoas, por conveniência recorrem para poder estar no poder.*”<sup>374</sup> Hence, abuses and misuses of state power appear as a direct outcome of the exogeneity of the tenets underpinning the state and of the unexamined prevalent power relations. In fact, to promote a politics oriented toward the citizens it would be necessary to “*des-partidar, ou seja, eliminar o elemento partido*”<sup>375</sup> from the political scenario. Political parties are not conceived of as evil entities *per se* but the use that is made of them is condemned by the population. Political parties are seen as the symbol, or the path to, personal appropriation of power, resources, or wealth, for oneself or one's acolytes. They are a means to “*fazer a vida*” (“make a living”), or rather to secure a stable source of income despite one's occupation. Moreover, the pernicious effect of political parties results in personal antagonism and enhanced factionalism, fracturing the country and plunging it into repeated *coups d'état* aimed at controlling power.

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<sup>374</sup> “[E]xternal values to which people resort out of convenience, in order to hold on power.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>375</sup> “[D]e-party, that is, eliminate the [political] party element,” from the online semi-structured interview with Rui da Fonseca, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

#### 7.4 Locating *loci* of power in Guinea-Bissau

In the previous section, we noted that Bissau-Guinean endogenous power relations, firmly rooted in intersubjectivity, transcend institutional differentiation, such that their maintenance is solid in all spheres of political power notwithstanding the existing dichotomy between the state and indigenous powers. This continuity forms a hybrid or Africanised political configuration, consisting of an interweave of intersubjective relations in an institutional frame seeped in alterity and adversial politics.

The character of political relations is highly relevant to the discussion of hybridity in Bissau-Guinean political configurations since these intersubjective relations point to the centres where power resides—the *locus* or *loci* of power. Whereas the *nomos* epitomises the crystallisation of power into defined political institutions, norms, and *modus operandi* for decision-making, thus providing a normative frame for the rationale of power, to locate the fulcrum of the polity, political relations point to specific *loci*. The political pluralism inherent in Guinea-Bissau compels us to consider not a *locus* but *loci* of power, an intersecting state *locus* and indigenous *locus* in the hybrid political configuration. In other words, power is located at certain intersections intrinsic to conceptualisations of the polity.

The *loci* of power emerge from their conformity to existent and prevalent power relations. The order underpinning the liberal state is structured upon a central unit, the individual, and democracy recognises the *locus* of power as parcelled-out in each citizen. The individual as rational subject is responsible to the polity, since one actively, deliberatively, and creatively participates in the body politics. However, rationality also endows the individual with capacity for reflection and freedoms, such as the freedom of choice. Contractualist tradition finds in such freedom the preference for constituting a political order constructed upon a legally binding agreement.

The so-called social contract, a moral, political and social, as well as economic and epistemological, theory (Mills, 1997) solidifies the primacy of legal basis in the western political *nomos*. The polity itself originates from the devising of a treaty regulating life in society, pinpointing the pivotal role of man's rationality in drafting such norms and rules. The conceptualisation of man comes closer to that of a deified entity, as one stands above the natural, metaphysical, or theological order of things and take upon oneself responsibility and craftsmanship to mould the political order. Moreover, as the stature of man raises high above animal life, the rule of law gains in importance as the centrepiece of the polity, potentially subtending man's

position in the order of things. Positive laws command the normative, institutional, legal, and political order of the *societas generis humana*.

In the canons of political thought (largely coincident with liberal political thought), legality epitomises the *locus* of power, strengthening the *nomos* of modernity through rules and directives regulating the modes and means of politics, as well as patterns of representativity and accountability. While pinpointing the essential role of the individual, both as the signatory to the social contract (hence engendering and empowering legality), and as the central political subject (the voter expressing rational choice to elect a representative elite), the centrality of legality is constantly secured and perpetuated. Even in Foucauldian or Agambenian theorisations of biopolitics, the *locus* of power assumes the inner grounding basis of legality: the political exerts power over bare life, over the *zōē*, in light of the capacity of power to *rule* over it.

Furthermore, the legal basis of power extends to the notion of legitimacy, anchoring the latter's definition to the tripartite concepts of legality, consent, and belief (Beetham, 1991). Departing from the Weberian stance of legitimacy as the result of maintenance of a domination-dominated order sustained by the interiorisation or acceptance of such relation as legitimate, liberal theory complements the notion with the concepts of legality and consent. More than simply corroborating any belief, the basis or rationale of which are neither observable nor quantifiable, the two added elements enhance the active role of individuals (as supporters, opposers, and constituents) and the importance of the rule of law.

By and large, the Bissau-Guinean state maintains some distance from the canons of the liberal state of western modernity. Therefore, to understand the *locus* of power in Guinea-Bissau, researchers ought to adopt a comprehensive perspective, to create bridgework between institutional frames and endogenous political conceptualisations. As mentioned, the centre-piece of power is a corollary notion of theoretical moral and political conceptualisation, linking the individual to the polity, be that the community (*tabanca*) or the state. Revealing these *loci* is a painstaking enterprise when taking into consideration indigenous power, characterised by continuity between and homogeneity of thought and political institutions, politics, and decision-making structures.

Nonetheless, indigenous power is today a location-driven polity whose domain is limited to the geographical extension of the village or region domain. Yet these parcels are not isolated units, but exist alongside one another in the country, and are infused into the state, an inclusive unifying structure. In the state, there arise a hybrid model that mixes an exogenous

model with endogenous conceptualisation, hence making the Bissau-Guinean (and African states overall) a modern state not grounded on the paradigm of legality as basis of power.

The independence from a legal base is justified because political power finds its grounding element in representing and satisfying underlying political relations. The latter represent the essential element to consider in investigating the crux of power. As discussed, in Guinea-Bissau endogenous conceptualisations, the grounds of the polity and political power are intersubjective relations, fostering the relevance of the interlinking element between *ego* and *alter*, building an indigenous polity united by the bonds of *tchon*, *djorson*, and past-oriented temporality. Additionally, the phenomenon of spirit-children shows the persistence of such political relations beyond the indigenous polity. As such, conforming to intersubjective political relations, political power in Guinea-Bissau constitutes a relational phenomenon, equating and embracing individuals, the community, and the bonds among them. The centrepiece of this hybrid politic lays in the relational network linking any *ego* to any *alter*.

In organicist epistemological and ontological settings, the *locus* of power cannot coincide with the individual, with the notion of an atomised monad, a single unit. These do not constitute the basis of power, hence authority and legitimacy cannot stem from them. As previously analysed (§5.3.2), the grounds of the indigenous polity are constituted by a trifold relation, spelled out as *ego-plurality-alter*. In other words, the relations of this polity illustrate the absolute relational character of power.

To maintain and foster this network (embracing, at once, the single members, the community they make up, and the relations occurring among them) is the main prerogative of a legitimated power endowed with authority. Responding to intersubjective relations therefore compels the polity and political authorities to not only protect one's own life and dignity but to care for one's quality of life. Caring for the quality of life refers not to material wealth but to the promotion of one's well-being and intersubjective space, as human relationships are ends in themselves and not mere means. In this sense, Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity envisages a system where intersubjective relations are safeguarded through communal participation in policies and decision-making, as well as a collective responsibility for education, work, and child-rearing. Growth, flourishing, and well-being of one represent, by symbiosis, the growth, flourishing, and well-being of all, as the contribution of a subject fosters relational ties of the community. Thus, emphasis is given not merely to the individuals, or to the community, but the relations among them are accorded equal importance.

The South-African scholar Thaddeus Metz identifies a “state that cares for the quality of life of citizens or residents” as a political power that adheres to a moral-political theory of communion (Metz, 2017, p. 120). Considering positions garnered from several sub-Saharan philosophical traditions, Metz identifies several commonalities: the relevance of the relational sphere; identity (people sharing a way of life); and solidarity (benefitting each other, mutual aid, positive oriented emotions). The combination of identity and solidarity constitutes the notion of communion, the rationale for a “variety of salient practices amongst indigenous sub-Saharan peoples [...] as recurrent search for consensus in decision-making; inclination towards reconciliation when responding to wrongdoing; tendency to hold land in common and to avoid great inequalities of wealth” (Metz, 2017, p. 120).

Where a political power joins the ideals of identity and solidarity you get a political configuration fostering a human relational space, hence in compliance with intersubjective political relations. Any such a polity ought to accord priority to relational power; that is, to the medium connecting *ego* and *alter*, being this middle term, the relational “we,” i.e., a state or a community (*tabanca*). Therefore, this political configuration embodies *loci* of power, and not one *locus*, because the centrepiece of power is parcelled out in and among the community, dispersed in the relational, intersubjective space among *egos* and *alters*.

The pluralistic *loci* blueprint this political configuration as a *relational* political configuration, in which political power is given the burden and honour of fostering relational bonds; in other words, it becomes the *we* mediating *ego* and *alter* in the togetherness. In Guinea-Bissau, the relational *loci* of power bring about the realisation of endogenous political relations of intersubjectivity in the country’s hybrid, Africanised political configuration, containing state and indigenous powers.

By and large, intersubjective political relations are transcendental to institutionalised political configuration and determine the *loci* of power. The latter impact the configuration of the state, its duties and *modus operandi*. One of the interviewees, Fatumata, suggested that, in seeking legitimation by the population, the state should “*aproveitar desta parte boa da tradição e da cultura, para poder... enriquecer, e poder reforçá-lo.*”<sup>376</sup> The revitalisation of tradition

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<sup>376</sup> “[M]ake good use of this good sides of tradition [and of culture, to... enrich and strengthen itself.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé (Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020). Fatumata cited, as an example, the sort of communal education given to children. She considered how, according to tradition, all adults were responsible for the up-bringing of a child and would not refrain from teaching or scolding any youngster in the community, thus ultimately contributing to the moral growth of the community. She contrasted such reality with state-mandated school education, in which, she said, many teachers have little or no motivation for their profession and would often take advantage of their students rather than fostering a passion for studying.

and indigenous values is thus deemed essential for a power to be responsible for guaranteeing people's quality of life. As will be discussed in more detail in the next section, the appropriation or the integration of indigenous political structures represent, to the state, a way to acquire legitimacy and strength.

#### 7.4.1 Modernising toward a relational state

In the process of Africanisation of power, the use or appropriation of endogenous moral, social and political theories, values and means plays a key role. These can be deployed strategically with the aim of gaining or strengthening power by those actors who would otherwise have limited reach. National leaders of Guinea-Bissau have long appealed to the symbolic capital of religion with a view to fostering support in the population, or to gaining the confidence of selected political or military elites.<sup>377</sup> On the other hand, the appropriation of the endogenous political *gnosis* within the state is likely to enhance the intermingling among exogenous and endogenous, national, and local power configurations—foreseeing the genesis of a hybrid yet articulated political configuration.

The literature abounds with references to state and political power in Africa that would go beyond a mere “digestion” of the colonial order (Chabal, 1992). Leaders of the anti-colonial struggle strenuously defended the need to revisit the political system of their country on the basis of internal values anchored in the notions of communalism, kinship, and solidarity. As Goran Hyden notes, one of the priorities at the time of independence in many African states was the restoration of politics, so that pre-colonial values would prevail (Hyden, 2013, p. 28). Undoubtedly influenced by the political scenario of its time, African socialism represents an attempt at bridging the exogenous model of the state – established under the colonial order and imposed by the formal rules of the *Jus Publicum Europaeum* – with endogenous political ideals.

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<sup>377</sup> On strategies and dynamics used among the Bissau-Guinean political elite to secure power, see Álvaro Nóbrega, *A luta pelo poder na Guiné-Bissau* (2003). Also, I briefly engaged with analysing the deployment of symbolic capital in state politics, mainly taking into consideration how presidents have made religion part of the political culture, hence a means to strengthen their power and legitimacy. The analysis is available in a published paper: Favarato, C. (2018). A Religião Tradicional Na Cultura Política Da Guiné-Bissau. *JANUS NET E-Journal of International Relation*, 2(9). <https://doi.org/10.26619/1647-7251.9.2.7>.



The rationale underpinning the “return to the source” advocated by Amílcar Cabral is grounded in the indiscernibility of praxis and theory; or, in other words, in the inescapable connection between political models and their realisations. To this end, in the twenty-first century, scholars have approached the matter of endogenous political thought and the state in a new fashion. Along with extensive critiques of the liberal state and majoritarian democracy (Ajei, 2016; Matolino, 2018a; Oduor, 2019; Osabu-kle, 1997; Teffo, 2004), from the ranks of African political philosophers have arisen proposals for a democracy by consensus and a no-party state (Wiredu, 2001, 2007). Dismissing the adversarial political means of majoritarian democracy as an expression of individualism and utter alterity, the consensual mode of democracy imagines a polity that combines the institutional frame of the state, with the tenets of the indigenous polity and politics.<sup>378</sup>

By and large, the proposals discussed within academia have remained purely theoretical, coldly handled by politicians and governments and little known to the population. Still, they have impacted African states. Having achieved independence only in 1974, the state of Guinea-Bissau is one of the youngest states of the sub-Saharan continent. In its still ongoing process of construction, navigating between historical and cultural legacies, along with external conditionalities, the state has long been “*a procura de identidade, própria.*”<sup>379</sup> Structural fragilities and institutional dysfunctions have fostered discontent with political parties, democracy, and the state and paved the way for the project of state modernisation.

The so-called “modernisation” is not a government-oriented political strategy, but it is a loosely defined political goal, sought-after by diverse political agents, traversing political ideologies. There seems to be quite an agreement among political parties, officials of the state, NGOs’ representatives, and civil society regarding the need to “modernise” the state, yet arrangements based on such understanding are lacking. Fatumata Djau Baldé, who served in office for several PAIGC governments beginning in the 2000s, recalls that she once was in charge of the Ministry for Modernisation of the State (*Ministério de Modernização de Estado*), yet the same disappeared in the succeeding legislature.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>378</sup> The theoretical project of Kwasi Wiredu has already been discussed elsewhere in this thesis (§6.2.4) and will not be dealt with again at length here.

<sup>379</sup> “[S]eeking its own identity,” from the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>380</sup> From the semi-structured interview, conducted on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

Nevertheless, all parties concur that the process moves beyond material issues, for the “*modernização começa na, no, nas pessoas, no comportamento, nas atitudes, nos valores.*”<sup>381</sup> The main aims inherent in the modernisation of the Bissau-Guinean state are to promote increasing proximity between the state and the population and to better people’s quality of life. Also, the project aims to generate the means and conditions necessary for the state to foster responsiveness to people’s problems. Overall, the aspirations inherent to the project of modernisation would counteract the political *malaise* affecting the political elite, government, and administration. A misuse of power that has reduced the state’s polity to an arena run by a nakedly ambitious scramble for acquisition and maintenance of power and distanced the “under construction” state from a deluded population: “*a população está com pressa de ver quem resolver o seu problema. E não será resolvido, porque i kurri atrás de promessas.*”<sup>382</sup>

To unriddle Bissau-Guinean state modernisation, a consideration of the understanding of modernity and modernisation is in order. The paradigm of modernity often takes into account diatopic terms of analysis and places along perpendicular axes, as North-South, East-West. This connotes a set of normative ideas, along with institutional characteristics, political configurations (the modern state), and the material means that would best serve them (El Amine, 2016). Moreover, the understanding of modernity as synonym of the west (and the western state), showcased in the phenomena of bureaucratisation, centralisation and industrialisation, is but one reading.

Modernity represents a label devoid of chrono-spatial significance or of cultural or philosophical bonds; hence, the term adapts and conforms to the different understandings of what modernity comes to signify. If, as suggested by Thaddeus Metz, one were to take communion as a basic value of modernity and development, rather than democratic performance or economic gains, then the expression of modernity would consist in “the level of integration of people in their natural and spiritual environments, in the quality of their relationships with the society around them” (Metz, 2017; N’Dione & et al., 1997, p. 369). Therefore, the greater the “capacity to integrate and ‘include’ the greatest number of people, the more modern a country” (Metz, 2017). Modernisations depicts a process that seeks to promote closeness and caring for and among the people.

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<sup>381</sup> “[M]odernisation starts in, in, with the people, in behaviour, attitudes, values.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>382</sup> “[T]he population is in a hurry to see who will solve their problem. And it will not be solved, because they run after empty promises.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

The process of state modernisation in Guinea-Bissau seems to overlap with such considerations, as it evokes the state's effort to foster national community, closer to and present for all its members, whether they are citizens or simply residents. Therefore, the project is coincident with the features, responsibilities, and duties of a relational polity; that is, a political entity entrusted to safeguard people's lives and to care for the quality of their interwoven existences. The modernisation of the state cooccurs in the Africanisation of power insofar as it promotes the strength of a relational entity, effective and in conformity with the intersubjective power relations binding Bissau-Guinean political subjects.

The path toward modernisation implies the transposition of endogenous political values from the indigenous realm onto the institutional and normative frame of the state. Endogenous conception of the individual and the community ought to be reconstructed and incorporated in the national political order (Chabal, 1992). Such appropriation does not invoke a narrative of return nor an attempt to re-enact political institutions of a cherished past in the contemporary scenario. The adherence to endogenous tenets suggests, instead, a reproduction of Bissau-Guinean inner values rather than the reproduction of bygone societies. As Kwame Nkrumah states, "Africa must recapture not the structure of the 'traditional African society' but its spirit" (Nkrumah, 1964). Rather than a "replication of traditional African societal structures (an impossible exercise)," African societies and political orders ought to "recapture their values (a worthy and feasible enterprise)" (Žák, 2016, p. 153). Therefore, the revitalisation of these aspects of "tradition" represents a functional means for the state seeking to revisit its own, existing model.

The resilience of the indigenous powers represents a powerful ally in this effort. "[E]stas instabilidades não destruíram o tecido social. Porque há outras formas sociais de exercício do poder político, de coesão social,"<sup>383</sup> that preserve intact their power and legitimacy, anchored in stable and comprehensive cultural, moral, and political thought. Furthermore, there exist "*muitos poderes legítimos, eu diria se calhar mais legítimos que o próprio estado moderno.*"<sup>384</sup> The strength of endogenous conceptions constitutes an opportunity from

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<sup>383</sup> "[T]hese instabilities did not destroy the social structure. Because there are other forms to exercise political power, and [other forms of] social cohesion." From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>384</sup> "[M]any legitimated powers, I would say, even more legitimated that the modern state." From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

which to acquire knowledge to “*revisitar os diferentes modelos para se encontrar o modelo que é funcional para o estado.*”<sup>385</sup>

The modernisation of the state does not merely entail the appropriation of indigenous concepts into the model of the state, thus attempting to create of a divergent configuration one new, hybrid model. The expected outcome of the Africanised modernity of power and politics is intended, rather, to bridge the gap between the exogeneity of the modern, liberal state, and the endogenous conception of political power. It aims to foster authenticity and legitimacy of power, and to bring the role the state is called on to play closer to conceptions of power and political relations, along with the expectations of the population. In sum, the process of modernisation of the state in Guinea-Bissau aspires to make of the Africanised power a common identity that is a coherently articulated political configuration.

The underpinning rationale of this process lies in a general willingness to contrast the pernicious effect that pluralistic democracy and majoritarian governance have brought to the country’s governments. Many of the interviewees pointed to the personalistic use of power and the dependence of the political sphere on military forces, that has recurrently led to *coups d’état* in the last decades. Nevertheless, they pinpoint increasing factionalism and rampant mismanagement as the main issues to tackle, among political parties but mostly in the public administration. Therefore, “*a modernização de Estado é o estado a fortalecer as instituições públicas. [...] é preciso reforçar as instituições públicas. É precisar des-partidar, ou seja, eliminar o elemento partido. [...] Dentro das instituições, deixar de, de nomear as pessoas por cores de camisolas políticas,*”<sup>386</sup> “*porque eu conheço fulano ou meu partido trazer.*”<sup>387</sup>

Through the creation and strict implementation of “*mecanismos de acesso à administração pública numa forma igualitária para todos,*”<sup>388</sup> the state’s gradual process of reform toward a functional, political model is expected to strengthen a national community available to and at the service of all citizens and residents, committed to improving people’s quality of life. “[O] estado moderno é o estado que iria criar as condições [...] para que as pessoas, se

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<sup>385</sup> “[R]evisit the different models to find the one model that is functional for the state.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>386</sup> “[T]he modernisation of the state is the state, it is to strengthen public institutions, [...] it is necessary to strengthen public institutions. It is necessary to dis-party, that is, to eliminate the [political] party element. [...] from within the institutions, stop to, to nominate people according to the colour of their political shirt.” From the online semi-structured interview with Rui da Fonseca, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>387</sup> “[B]ecause I know so-and-so or my [political] party brings me in.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé. Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>388</sup> “Egalitarian mechanisms for admission into the public administration,” from the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé. Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

*sintam felizes com os serviços que lhes prestam.*”<sup>389</sup> An inherent goal of the process of modernisation is to shorten the distance between the state and people.

As previously discussed, the power of the Bissau-Guinean state is said to be limited to the urban spheres (Forrest, 2003, 2016) or even to be lacking in many areas of the country, especially in those where infrastructures offer poor access and connections. As recalled by the *garandi* during the *djumbai* in Jemberem (Tombali region, southern Guinea-Bissau), “*há muito descuide para nos. [...] Descuida, anos nunca i lembrado...*”<sup>390,391</sup> The process of modernisation seeks to contrast the centripetal forces that drove the centralisation of state power in the capital city of Bissau. “[A] *modernização do Estado, na minha perspetiva, é permitir que o Estado possa marcar a sua presença em toda a extensão do território nacional, inclusivamente nas zonas mais recônditas.*”<sup>392</sup>

#### 7.4.2 Formalisation of indigenous authorities

The decentralisation of state power represents an issue of debate in Bissau-Guinean politics. Proposals intended to broaden the reach of the state differ among politicians, political parties, and organisations of the civil society. On the one hand are claims for the creation of local or autarchic extensions of the governments, directly controlled by the state. These would replace the state-appointed *comité de tabanca*, local authorities created in the early days of state independence—a “*colaborador direto do estado.*”<sup>393</sup> However, even if these days “*comité é partido*”<sup>394</sup> and selected according to the winning party, oftentimes the local authority works

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<sup>389</sup> “[T]he modern state is a state that creates the grounds [...] so that people, feel satisfied with the services they are offered.” From the semi-structured interview with Fatumata Baldé. Lisbon, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>390</sup> “[W]e are neglected. [...] Neglect, we are never remembered...” from the *djumbai* in Jemberem, on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>391</sup> Jemberem and the nearby *tabancas*, located within a natural park, are an example of the countryside areas served by poor infrastructure. The only road leading to Jemberem is unpaved and lacks maintenance; it is so uneven that it might take vehicles hours, or days during rain season, to complete the twenty-something kilometres from the main road.

<sup>392</sup> “[T]he modernisation of state, in my opinion, is [T]o enable the state to establish its presence over all the national territory, including in the most remote areas.” From the online semi-structured interview with Olívio Pereira, on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>393</sup> “[D]irect collaborator of the state”; from the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>394</sup> “[C]omité belongs to a political party”; from the *djumbai* in Jemberem, on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

alongside and in collaboration with the *chefe de tabanca*, as is the case of cousins Djon and Adriano (Farim, Tombali region).

Conversely, it is argued that indigenous authorities have a key role to play in bringing state and citizens closer together. In consideration of the strength and legitimacy that *regulo* and *chefe de tabanca*, along with *imam* and other religious authorities, are endowed with, the power they hold could be profitably spent in widening the sphere of action of the state. In other words, indigenous authorities would operate as autarchic authorities, rather than creating *ex novo* local political officials. However, this would require the state to formally recognise or to institutionalise *de jure* Bissau-Guinean indigenous authorities.

As evinced in the literature, the integration of indigenous authorities into the state system is viewed poorly by officials and academics. One of the central concerns is the putative obstacle to development and strengthening of democracy that indigenous authorities represent (Mohmand, 2015). Along with inherent differences and local peculiarities throughout regions composing the extended African continent, there is little unanimity over the democratic character of pre-colonial African societies at large, and of contemporary indigenous powers<sup>395</sup> (Kiros, 2000; Martin, 2012) (§2.2). The issue is highly contentious, and it requires researchers to cautiously approach the democratic characters of indigenous powers in Africa with regard to localisms and through a comprehensive notion of democracy, which exceeds the canons of western liberal democracy.

The literature also debates the possibilities for structured relations between the state and indigenous authorities (Hyden, 2013; Kiros, 2000; Martin, 2012; Menkiti, 2001; Wiredu, 2001). Ifeanyi Menkiti stresses the benefits inherent in the re-structuring of the African state order as a pluralistic political entity, hierarchically organised to avoid structural discontinuities (Menkiti, 2018). In Menkiti's theoretical exposé, the African state constitutes a multi-ethnic

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<sup>395</sup> The collections of Teodros Kiros (2000) and of Martin Guy (2012) on African political thought present a broad perspective on the democratic character of Africa's indigenous polity. On the one hand, the tribal political ideology, deemed the most authentic African political thought, is characterised by tribal solidarity (prizing kinship) and a monarchical tendency, insofar as authority is personalised and sacralised. This tendency is further fostered by social ostentation and the quest for royal historic identity, rooted in the sacrality of the past and ancestry. Lastly, elders epitomise not merely wise figures (according to the sage tradition), but withhold knowledge from people, offering mere indoctrination; this would make the consensus mode of governance a system of control and coercion rather than a participative decision-making process (Mazrui, 2000). Still, the decentralisation of political authority, peaceful methods for conflict resolutions, and the minimal ethnical competition inherent to institutionalised political succession, emphasise the democratic character of pre-colonial and contemporary indigenous African polities. The latter is enhanced by a check-and-balances system involving chiefs and elders. Also, common participation in politics is ensured through village assembly, ruled by oral, coagent customs, changeable as they are constantly under public scrutiny and debate (Martin, 2012, pp. 11–14). See also the debate previously reported in this dissertation, §2.2.

political entity, or rather a single state where several nations coexist. Such a pluri-nationalistic state is problematic because the *locus* of sovereignty is lost. If the nation is the sovereign entity, and the state the embodiment or representation of the nation, a mere representation of sovereignty, then a multi-ethnic or multi-nations state is due to face endless claims over internal sovereignty (Menkiti, 2018, pp. 295–297). As such, the African state should be reconceptualised and restructured from the current order to constitute a single political entity placed in a pluralistic society wherein indigenous powers act as legitimate representatives of their people (or “nation”) and as a buffer between the overbearing state and the individual (Menkiti, 2001, 2002).

The approach adopted in Guinea-Bissau vis-à-vis indigenous authorities appears consistent with Menkiti’s position. As previously noted, in the vacuum of formal recognition, political parties, politicians, and state officials alike acknowledge their power and pay respect to their legitimacy, participating in formal ceremonies. Furthermore, indigenous authorities are, although not unanimously, already regarded as an extension of state power in the country’s most remote zones. The state informally employs indigenous powers institutions and authorities to strengthen its power and domain over the country’s geographical territory.

In the last years, the debate over the formal recognition of indigenous authorities has intensified. On the one side, indigenous and religious authorities’ demands for officialisation have increased, partly in response to higher economic pressure or to impoverished legitimacy.<sup>396</sup> On the other hand, the state understands that “*o envolvimento do poder tradicional vai ajudar muito do desenvolvimento, no avanço,*”<sup>397</sup> because it would “*permitir a própria comunidade sentir a presença do estado. Vai permitir o estado acompanhar a preocupação do seu povo, de perto. E, a partir de lá, vai gerar uma confiança entre ambas, entre ambos, quer estado assim como a própria comunidade.*”<sup>398</sup>

By and large, the recognition *de jure* of indigenous powers serves a broad range of purposes. First, it generates greater proximity between the state and citizens (or residents),

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<sup>396</sup> Among the interviewees, Fodé “Dedé” Andrade remarks that nowadays people do not pay due respect or make offerings to the *regulo* as they used to. Fatumata Djau Baldé adds that these days people are generally less likely to accept community-based work under the rule of the *regulo* as they prefer to seek an employment with salary. Along with the economical factor, the forces of globalisation, internet and social media have weakened the legitimacy and respect formerly paid to the *regulos*.

<sup>397</sup> “[T]o involve traditional power will greatly help to develop, to move forward,” from the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>398</sup> “[E]nable the community to feel the presence of the state. It will enable the state to be aware of its people worries, from up close. And, starting from this, it will engender trust, between both, in the state and in the community alike.” From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

fostering power and legitimacy of Bissau's government, through peripheral and/or external agents. Second, it encompasses the dichotomy dividing state and indigenous power and fills the void of legitimated political voices at the crux of state fragility and negotiation of tradition. Third, the legal draft (Guerreiro & Pires, 2020) aims to move beyond recognition to engage in a process of integration of indigenous authorities.<sup>399</sup> By resorting to indigenous powers' *modus operandi* as collaborator to the state, the draft promotes a pluralistic political configuration grounded in intersubjective political relations. As Elias Kifon Bongmba notes, intersubjectivity constitutes the premise for plurality and heterogeneity, as it fosters the coexistence of different political visions and respect for differences (Bongmba, 2006). In the intersubjective polity, there is greater power-sharing in the governance system, as the relational system embraces and bridges a heterogeneity of voices, transcending levels of governance and the gap between government and people (Bongmba, 2006).

The project of indigenous powers' integration into the state thus epitomises a relevant step in the process of state modernisation. The institutionalisation of indigenous authorities in the formal political configuration confirms that, in the hybrid, Africanised, state model of Guinea-Bissau, the attainment and strengthening of relational power is being sought; a polity that cares for the quality of life of the citizens and safeguards the maintenance of the interwoven network of relations—the relational collectivity that links *ego* to *alter*. State reliance on indigenous polity and political institutions grounded in intersubjective, political relation epitomises the overlapping understanding of relational power with modernisation, a process that intends to “*melhorar o funcionamento do próprio estado, tendo em conta a, o apoio que pode dar ao próprio estado para facilitar a sua tarefa no que diz respeito ao cumprimento daquilo que é a missão dum estado democraticamente constituído.*”<sup>400</sup>

Nevertheless, the legal recognition of indigenous authorities is not devoid of problems. So far, the process of recognition has not made much progress and remains only a draft circulating among political groups. The only legal reference available is contained in the *Lei da*

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<sup>399</sup> The draft on legal recognition of indigenous authorities sets different stages on the relations between the former and the state, which cooccur in the historical development of these relations. Departing from the one-party state indifference and antagonism, the second stage sees relations of informal collaboration and tolerance, that being the current stage of relations. The next steps foresee (a) recognition of indigenous authorities and informal collaboration; (b) regulations of authorities and relations; and (c) integration of indigenous authorities in the state apparatus (Guerreiro & Pires, 2020). In consideration of the overarching posture of the state and its underlying principles, the final stage of this legal project manifests an inherently assimilationist character.

<sup>400</sup> “[I]mprove the function of the state itself, considering the, the support the state can give itself in easing its task of succeeding in the mission of a democratically constituted state.” From the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.



*Terra* (Lei Da Terra, N 5/98, April 23rd 1998; Enacting Regulation November 19th 2018, n.d.), where there appears a vague reference to “*autoridade máxima tradicional*” (higher traditional authority), with no further specifications. The more extensive draft for recognition is itself limited, as it serves primarily judicial and legal ends. To this end, the draft juxtaposes the rule of law under the state with indigenous norms, giving primacy to the former with the final aim of finding “*um ponto de convergência para melhor regularmos o poder tradicional no seu todo.*”<sup>401</sup> Rather than acting as an entity *super partes*, by seeking to bring together divergent parties into a minimum moral agreement (as the Rawlsian African state suggested by Menkiti, (Menkiti, 2002; Trzciński, 2010)) the state of Guinea-Bissau tasks itself with bringing indigenous legal standards to state rule of law, within a hierarchically organised system.

Such a position, however, contradicts other aspects of the draft, since, from the state, no position is taken on appointment, selection, succession, legitimacy, or power of the indigenous authority. The draft states that “*autoridade tradicional*” is considered any person legitimated in accordance with the “*usos e costumes*” (traditions and customs) of each community, which also determine any eventual hierarchies of power. While pertinent to the foreseen hierarchical system of collaboration, the avoidance of mingling tenets of indigenous polity with those of the state approach merely denotes their resilience and strength.

Lastly, from the formal recognition of indigenous authorities arises deep-seated uncertainty over the compatibility of indigenous political office with state office. In other words, it is questioned whether the indigenous and the state political configurations can coexist or overlap, or if the latter would prevail over the former. The recognition of indigenous authorities epitomises, for some, a step toward assimilationism, for which, when indigenous authorities “*passarem a ser estrutura, uma parte do aparelho de estado, se calhar vão deixar de ser, de desempenhar aquela função de poder tradicional que lhe é atribuído.*”<sup>402</sup> The issue is both bottom-up, as chiefs risk losing legitimacy on the basis of indigenous tenets, thus distancing themselves further from the intersubjective polity bound by *djorson*, *tchon*, and re-enacting of the past, and also top-down, as “*poder tradicional. Então ... já deixa de ser tradicional. quando é a lei a reconhecê-lo.*”<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> “[A] point of convergence [for us] to better regulate all traditional power,” from the online semi-structured interview with Alsana Negado, on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020.

<sup>402</sup> “[T]urn into a piece of the structure, part of the state apparatus, maybe they will cease being, exercising that duty of traditional power they are endowed with.” From the online semi-structured interview with Mamadou Jao, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>403</sup> “[T]raditional power. Then... it ceases being traditional when it is law that empowers it.” From the online semi-structured interview with Fodé Mané, on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

The proposal for recognition of indigenous authorities is one of many steps in the project of modernisation in Guinea-Bissau. Insofar as it represents an effective and pivotal role in bridging political relations into a comprehensive and widely articulated, hybrid political configuration, it raises controversies. Importantly, it challenges the compatibility of the exogenous and endogenous political configurations and whether they might eventually merge in a unified and pluralistic institutional system free of “indigenous” and “state” characterisations.

## 7.5 Concluding notes

This chapter has discussed the process of the Africanisation of power in Guinea-Bissau, guided by the final aim of revealing the *loci* of power. Taking into consideration the bi-directionality of the process of Africanisation – which affects both indigenous as well as state power’s principles and configuration – the analysis sought first and foremost to investigate the continuance of indigenous political tenets within the state. To this end, the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* provided an apt reading-lens. The generalised knowledge of the belief, and even of the existence and contemporaneity of the practice, among state officials, yet the atrophied inertia of state institutions, demonstrates similarities in state and indigenous political responses to the phenomenon. Inasmuch as no causal connection can be inferred from such scant evidence, the reaction of the state alludes to the intermingling with endogenous principles of humanness and polity (according to which the *criança-irân* is inherently part of the political order, through its liminality). The ambivalence of many state agents further strengthens this continuity with indigenous political thought.

Despite the dichotomous characterisation of state and indigenous powers, with the former deemed synonymous with modernity and development and the latter with tradition, the analysis carried out through the *criança-irân* phenomenon shows that in state and indigenous power alike conceptions of humanness and political relations prevail. Grounded in the endogeneity and interiorisation of political ideals and values, intersubjective political relations characterise both political configurations. On the one hand, the state recognises indigenous political authorities and institutions as better places to serve these political relations and attempts to construct informal cooperation. On the other hand, the mismatch among prevalent political relations and power conceptualisations and the political configuration of the state bolsters state

dysfunctionality and recurrent crisis – the referred-to “stable instability” (Vigh, 2009) featuring in the country’s politics in the last decades.

The gap separating the state, formally ruled by the principles of adversarial political and majoritarian democracy, and the political expectations of the population, grounded in intersubjectivity, provides the rationale for the process of state modernisation. Set out to contrast the factional fight for power in the Bissau-Guinean political (and military) élite, modernisation seeks to foster a state closer to its people; a more functional state capable of solving people’s problems. Hence, the modernised state would operate as a nation-wide community providing and securing the quality of life of citizens and residents. In other words, the state would act as a relational political entity, fostering authenticity and legitimating its power.

The consequences of modernisation as the path to a relational polity come with many issues open to debate. Among these, the recognition of indigenous authorities, either as collaborators or as an integrated part of the state, is already being discussed. On the theoretical side, the process of modernisation pushes researchers to consider whether the indigenous polity represents the consequential or inevitable political framing of intersubjective political relations, or whether other hybrid configurations constitute an apt political frame as well.

In other words, what path should be taken in the search for a definition of a Bissau-Guinean mode of governance, for the strengthening of a state “*com identidade própria*” (“with its own identity”)? If the indigenous polity epitomises the genuinely Bissau-Guinean political configuration, should it, from *modus operandi* to institutions and authorities, be transferred to the state level? As mentioned above, it is unreasonable to conceive of a transposition of indigenous polity and policymaking onto the state, given the structural and institutional difference that would stop it from functioning. Nonetheless, endogenous values and political thought constitute a pillar in the ongoing structuring of the Bissau-Guinean state. Taking them into account in the *nomos* of the state would not only foster legitimacy and authenticity of state power but would also provide a self-determined identity for the *tchon di Cabral*.



## Conclusions

The objective of this study has been to analyse principles and configurations of political power in Guinea-Bissau through the *criança-irân* phenomenon. To this purpose, the analysis took endogenous understanding and political thought as fundamental to the discernment of contemporary principles and configurations of the political in this western African country. The rationale for this choice lies in the particularity that inevitably characterises spatialised, chronologically established expressions of the political. On the one hand, this choice rebukes the universalistic pretences of the canons and fosters the distinctiveness of politics. On the other hand, the conceptual framework attests to the political as a universal, human phenomenon that is pluralistic in its articulations.

In consideration of these premises, the interpretive analysis has focused on foundational notions and category-concepts underpinning the political. Because concepts depend on culture and philosophy, theorisations of the canons are not comprehensive with regard to the context under analysis. These limitations in fact buttress the epistemological and ontological imperative to first articulate grounding concepts upon which to unfold the analysis of the political.

As discussed, the notion of humanness is pivotal in constituting a conceptual architecture to shed light on power. The understanding of the concept of humanness—in political terms, the sort of life enabling one to constitute and participate in the *societas generis humana*—is the basic premise from which further concepts and understanding can be deduced. Centuries-old inquiries within political theory and philosophy seal the bond between the notion of human (as well as those of individual and person) and consequent theorisations of the political.

Bissau-Guinean gnosis discards the idea that humanness is either a biological given or a universal, uncontested notion. The existence of the *criança-irân* (spirit-child) highlights the grounds for the concept of humanness, according to endogenous political thought. Furthermore, it demands a reconsideration of the foundations and boundaries of the *bios politicon* in the indigenous polity. The thorough interpretative analysis of the *criança-irân* phenomenon reveals the grounds, the rationale, the character, and the limits of the indigenous polity. Moreover, as a signifier of a deeper and wider epistemological and ontological political order, it sheds light on the intersections between the indigenous sphere and the state. The spirit-child, a distinctive aspect of the local notion of humanness, represents an essential phenomenon

enabling a clearer view on the normative, ontological, and epistemological dimensions of the political in Guinea-Bissau.

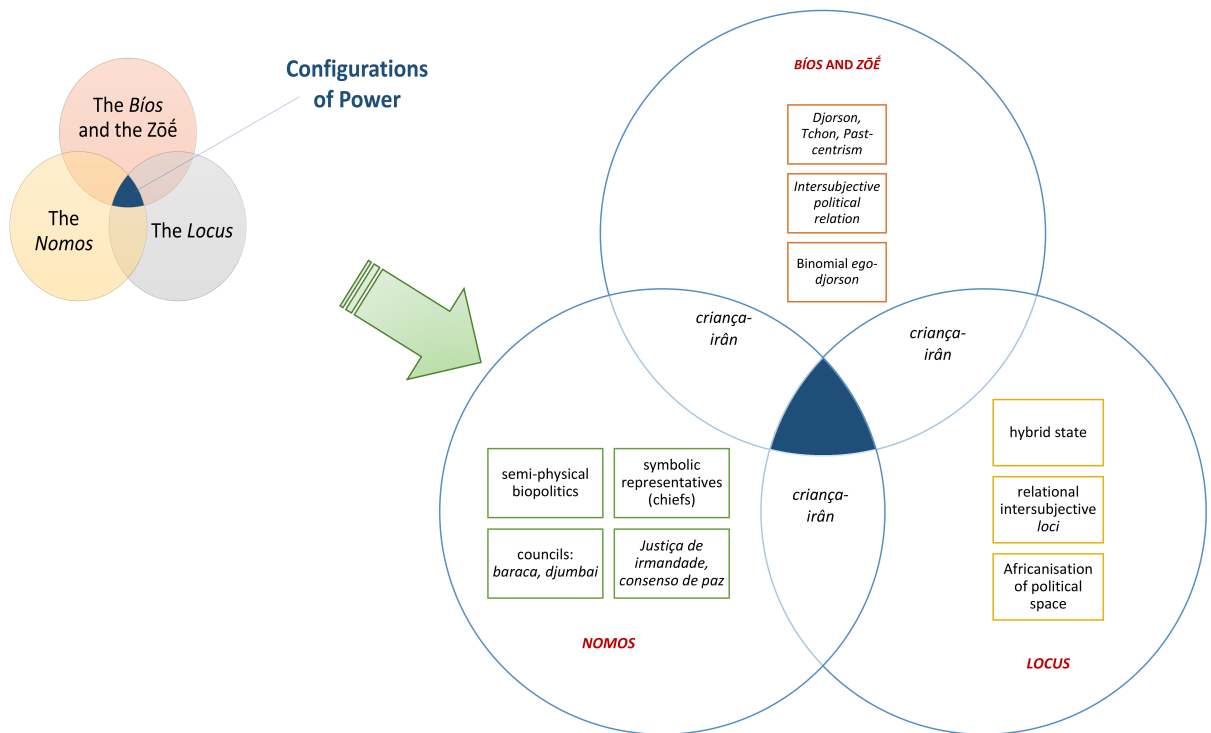
These findings rest on several perspectives discussed at length in the previous chapters; they represent the insights this study hopes to put forward. Prior to discussing the results of the analysis, we should restate that the conceptual framework and analytical model devised were instrumental to developing the analysis and to reaching these results. These instruments of analysis were not only a means but an end in themselves—specifically, the analytical model, considering its broader applicability, beyond the case of Guinea-Bissau, constitutes one the thesis’ main contributions.

The model comprises three broad categories that are universally inherent to the phenomenon of the political—the *bíos* and the *zōē*, the *nomos* and the *locus*. This frame allowed me to discern local-specific articulations of the political and truly enabled the pursuit of the objectives of the study. Further, given that they are inextricably essential to all configurations of the political, the three categories avoid the risk of an embedded parochialism.

The analytical model was formulated with the Bissau-Guinean context in mind to answer to the following question: What are the pluralistic configurations and principles of political power highlighted by the phenomenon of the *criança-irân* in contemporary Guinea-Bissau? Within this frame, the phenomenon of the spirit-children was the means to placing the conceptual framework within a deontologically robust structure. The *criança-irân* provided the basis for the analytical model and yet became a constitutive element of it, as the phenomenon intersects with the three conceptual components. In other words, the category-concepts represent the structuring core of the analytical model, complemented by the selected phenomenon.

The following figure presents the analytical model as applied to the study. In the top left corner is the devised analytical model; on the right, the model summarizes the analysis of political power configurations and principles in Guinea-Bissau.

Figure 5: Visual synthesis of the analytical model applied to the selected context of Guinea-Bissau



Source: draft by the author

The phenomenon of *criança-irân* complements the analytical model. For its exceptionality and liminality in Bissau-Guinean endogenous conceptualisation of the polity, the spirit-children represents an instrumentalisation of the theoretical analysis, as the phenomenon reveals the grounds of the political. In other words, the *criança-irân*, through the disclosure of intersubjective relations of power, allows us to discern foundational category-concepts of Bissau-Guinean indigenous polity.

The following paragraphs discuss the main contributions of this thesis to political science, to political theory, and to African and Comparative political theory. The study used inductive-deductive analysis to determine that **political relations native and extant in Guinea-Bissau are relational and intersubjective in essence**. These relations ground down in the inter-existence of *ego* and *alter*, rather than on the self-sufficiency and atomism of *ego*. Instead of engendering relations of opposition and antagonism among monadic individuals, in organicist scenarios *ego* and *alter* rely on cooperation and continuity. *Ego* is not bound to itself but exists in inter-existence throughout the relational space. In this intersubjective space, *ego* maintains its own subjectivity, or its radical difference, in the continuum of interconnectedness.

Insofar as intersubjectivity and power relations constitute an extensive debate in the literature, the analysis moved beyond a critical discussion of the scholarship to discern these relations in the specific context of Guinea-Bissau. The intersubjective, normative relations of *ego* and *alter* were complemented by local endogenous notions of humanness and temporality, expressed in the creole terms *djorson* and *tchon*. Bissau-Guinean *Weltanschauung* conceives of a past-centred temporality, which inextricably binds the sacredness of the land to the mythological act of the founding fathers. This act epitomises not only the origins of the past, or of time itself, but also the origins of the *djorson* (the kindred, roughly translated). Therefore, the notion of humanness comprises the spatial, chronological, and human dimensions, stretching the boundaries of the *bíos politicon* to comprise physical and semi-physical entities, encompassing living entities as well as ancestors and even spirits (*irân*), at times.

The hybrid status of the *criança-irân*, a spirit embodied in human flesh (yet which belongs entirely to the metaphysical realm) reveals several features of the indigenous polity. On the one hand, this status validates the **secular character of indigenous power: the *bíos politicon*, the human realm of political life, excludes the spirit-children because of their metaphysical nature**, limiting intersubjective relationality to human subjects in the physical or semi-physical spheres. The acceptance of ancestors or spirits in the *bíos* does not depend on the cosmological inclusiveness of the political but is rather due to a non-dualistic understanding of reality. Said otherwise, to conceive of humans and the natural world in unitary terms calls for a redefinition of the *physikon*, without challenging the inherently secular, human-related essence of political power.

On the other hand, the *criança-irân* substantiates the category-concept sealing the boundaries of the *bíos politicon* in Bissau-Guinean endogenous political thought: the binomial *ego-djorson*. The indigenous polity comprises living and dead members of the kinship, hence constituting an a-temporal community that sites the foundations for *ego* and *alter* relations in a commonly shared past. Hence, the *criança-irân* are excluded from the political community because they are metaphysical beings void of relations to the past-centred relationality, i.e., to the *djorson* or to the *tchon*. Constituting the liminal element of inclusionary exclusion, the *criança-irân* reveals that the ***conditio per quam* grounding the political is embodied in the category-concept *ego-djorson***.

This grounding notion of *ego-djorson* holds several implications regarding the crystallization of power principles into political institutions. Individuals' co-existentiality with the *djorson* and the centrality of the past in human and natural reality leaves the role held by the *regulo*



(chief) to be read as purely symbolic. The *regulo* epitomises the connection with the kinship's land (the *tchon*) and with the origins of the *djorson*. Rather than an eminently governmental post, the function of the chief is to protect and to foster the bonds and grounds of the polity.

Politics, decision-making, justice, and governance steered by conventions and morality are the prerogatives of the elders and of the councils—the *djumbai* and the *baraca*. The constituency of councils is transversal to *djorson* or ethnical lines, such that **the councils are the expression of ego and alter inter-existence in the intersubjective space of participatory politics, ruled by dialogical practices**. Underpinned by the rationale of *consenso di paz* or *justiça di irmandade*, the politics of *djumbai* and *baraca* are formed through discussion and compromise of people's wills and opinions, which tend to converge in the name of brotherhood or harmony in the community.

The **politics of consensus** is part of most sub-Saharan endogenous conceptions of polity, local specifics aside. The preference for consensus in many pre-colonial societies is widely attested to in the literature, where the democratic character of this polity is heavily debated. The polity of consensus challenges the notion of representativity, avouching a shift from formal to substantial representation; it evokes modes of direct democracy and dialogical political practices. In Chapter 7, issues of representativity, opposition, and marginalisation were briefly discussed.

As mentioned, the *criança-irân* phenomenon sheds light not only on the foundational principles of the indigenous polity but also epitomises a signifier of endogenous political conceptions. Through the lens of the spirit-children phenomenon, it is possible to unriddle the intermingling of state and indigenous powers, impacted by the **bi-directional process of the Africanisation of power**. I have argued that, even if the indigenous polity has remodelled its institutional assets on the state structure, its underpinning principles have not been much affected. The pluralistic *nomoi*—the normative, human, institutional, spatial, and legal organisation of political power—triggered a redefinition of the *regulos*' position vis-à-vis the community and the state. However, it did not upset the grounding tenets of their power or authority, nor did it hinder the legitimacy of *djumbai* and *baraca*.

*Per contra*, the ongoing process of Africanisation upheaves the bedrocks of the state, turning it into a political configuration undergoing a transformative phase. **The state appears as a hybrid, composite entity, where several loci of power are entrenched** and exogenous configurations intermingle with endogenous principles. The analysis has exposed how the state, ordered upon the liberal order of majoritarian democracy (presupposing individualistic tenets)

leaves space for endogenous conceptions of humanness. Largely aware of the existence and the inner significance of the belief, the state responds with generalised inertia to the ritual practice. This posture discords with legal provisions, with universalised notions of humanness, and with the individualism underpinning the state model adopted in Guinea-Bissau. Still, the state and the indigenous powers differ in their reception of the spirit-children, since the second shows general tolerance of the practice and normalises the belief as a constitutive element of the endogenous political order.

State inertia emphasises the **acceptance of endogenous notions of humanness and the individual**, manifesting the transcendence of power relations beyond institutional differentiation. This continuity is also evident in the relations enlacing the two orders of power, insofar as the state (centralised and restricted to the urban space) often resorts to indigenous powers as peripheral means to its sovereignty. This strengthens the legitimacy of intersubjective governance as apt representation of extant political relations.

Bissau-Guinean political configurations constitute a **form of political hybridism, where principles and configurations of power diverge because of the endurance of intersubjective political relations regardless of the institutional frame**. The mismatch constitutes part of the grounding reasons underneath the recurrent turmoil that has shattered the country in the last decades. The political elite abused exogenous political values to promote personal interests, leaving no doubt that the exogeneity of state tenets played and plays a role in the country's political instability. Also, people's interiorisation of endogenous political tenets, authentically representative of extant relations of power, thwarts the legitimacy of state institutions and the functioning of multi-party democracy.

This thesis contributes to the existing debate emphasising the so-called project of state modernisation as an ongoing mechanism of the hybrid state. The process of modernisation aims, broadly speaking, to extend state sovereignty over all the national territory and population, to enhance proximity between individuals/citizens and the state, and promotes state powers as a political means to embody intersubjective political relations.

A political institution capable of fostering the intersubjective relational space and caring for people's quality of life requires that the centrepiece of power be dislodged from individual self-sufficiency as a grounding unit of the political. Instead, it should fix its *locus* in the plurality, in the relational, intersubjective space that binds and composes each individual. The indigenous community epitomises a political entity of this sort, maintaining and fostering the

network of relations necessary for *ego* and *alter* inter-existences, hence for one's quality of life as intersubjective subject.

As the **modernisation of the state overlaps with raising the intersubjective relational space to the level of the national polity**, it finds a powerful ally in the indigenous powers. The legal recognition of indigenous authorities by the state is therefore an essential component of the modernisation process. Further objectives motivate the recognition: to engender an integrated political system, on the one hand and to centripetally expand state power through indigenous political institutions on the other. Therefore, modernisation not only corroborates the process of Africanisation but also provokes the statalisation of indigenous authorities.

As the project of modernisation remains, at the time of writing, loosely defined, so it has been considered. As developments of modernisation and Africanisation continue to unfold in Guinea-Bissau, many questions remain to be answered.

In addition to the merely preliminary consideration of the process of modernisation, data insufficient to an exhaustive analysis as well as constraints posed by the goals of the research make this thesis a premise for broader inquiry. For this reason, the following lines presents areas and issues that should be the object of further research by political scientists and theorists.

The applicability of the analytical model to contexts other than Guinea-Bissau ought to be tested and assessed. As previously mentioned, the analytical model draws on three category-concepts—the *bíos* and the *zōē*, the *nomos*, and the *locus*—unavoidably inherent to any manifestation of the political. Hence, I suggest that the analytical model can be applied to analytical and empirical research in contexts diametrically distant from Guinea-Bissau, in the global south or in the global north.

To assume the binomial of *ego* and *djorson* as foundations for the *bíos politicon* comes with implications regarding concepts of belonging and identity, the notion of the individual, and the bonds between individual and community. These foundations challenge cherished notions of political theory—those concerning the rights and freedom of the individual, for example. Admittedly, the depth of this conception, and the reverberations it provokes within broader postulates in political theory and philosophy, were not fully satisfied by the discussion provided here. Further research triangulating political science, political anthropology, and African philosophy could turn the preliminary contribution offered here into a more substantial contribution to the disciplines.

Theoretical and analytical research is necessary to investigate the maintenance of endogenous tenets of humanness in the configuration of the state. The Bissau-Guinean concept of humanness does not oppose any basic moral concern over the safeguarding of human dignity, since the past-centred, semi-physical boundaries established by the category-concept *ego-djor-son* are not essentially discriminative or prejudicial with regard to psychophysical integrity. Concerns arise when considering exceptions to the notion of humanness, such as the *criança-irân*. A polity that accepts the spirit-children as inherent to the normal political order appears controversial to generalised notions of humanness, to conceptions of human rights, and to doctrines protecting human dignity. In this sense, to affirm the transposition or acceptance of Bissau-Guinean indigenous notions of humanness to or by the state dimension is problematic.

Nonetheless, the *criança-irân* are a constitutive element of the notion of humanness, yet not the *conditio sine qua non* of the *bíos politicon*. In other words, the order of the indigenous polity, rooted in past-ward temporality, kinship, land, and intersubjective relations among *ego*, the plurality, and *alter*, would suffice even should the *criança-irân* phenomenon (belief and practice) cease to exist. The peculiar status of *homo sacer* makes the spirit-child a preferential theoretical support that reveals, instead, the *conditio per quam* of the polity and its underpinning principles.

In this regard, questions arise on whether the *criança-irân* is an isolated phenomenon in Bissau-Guinean political thought, or if similar notions of humanness exist, in sub-Saharan Africa as elsewhere. Discerning these conceptualisations sheds light on political configurations, however they reveal mainly tenets and rationales of political thought. These bases are essential theoretical grounds to studying political paradigms and configurations beyond the canons or liberal democracy. Further research and broader analysis, perhaps also considering a comparative perspective, are recommended.

The applicability, or desirability, of multi-party, majoritarian democracy in Africa is a highly contested issue that has sparked a lively debate in academia. It is beyond doubt that a plurality of systems of democracy exist and that representative majoritarian democracy constitutes but one of them. Its impracticability in the communitarian sub-Saharan scenario has been vastly documented, discussed, contested, and reaffirmed. Critiques range from theoretical and practical inconsistencies of liberal theories underpinning majoritarian democracy to the unfeasibility of adversarial politics in a context governed by intersubjective relations and the tendency toward political compromise and consensus. The unapologetic dismissal of liberal democracy counterbalances the appraisal of democracy by consensus, and the revisiting of indigenous

political systems as models for state politics—hailed as the cure for the African political malaise. It is an uncanny truth to determine if the political instability that swayed Guinea-Bissau could be solved by rejecting the exogenous governance of liberal majoritarian democracy. Moreover, the polity of consensus is often adduced as a viable foundation for a “genuinely African” model of democracy.

Deeper investigation of consensus as a theory or model of democracy is recommended. The present discussion has not been able to address the philosophical project of the democracy by consensus as much as desired, since this study is anchored in political theory and the analytical, interpretative understanding of a currently occurring phenomenon. Additional research and analysis should engage (1) with the possible contributions from the case under examination to the literature, (2) with the capability of the polity of consensus to satisfy a broader system of governance and (3) with the epistemological challenges to paradigms and theories of democracy. Contemporary configurations of indigenous power, in Guinea-Bissau as elsewhere, offer a pivotal analytical and empirical instrument to this inquiry, in both political science and (African) political theory. Along with many considerations over the democratic character of African polities, the requisites and foundations of democracy *per se* are called into question. Among others, what are the basic principles that a political configuration must satisfy to be deemed democratic.

The Africanisation impacting the political sphere is also noteworthy and requires more attention. It is debatable if the recognition of indigenous authorities in Guinea-Bissau will not simply pave the way to integrationism and assimilationism. Besides the current attempts of indigenous authorities and institutions to serve the factionalised scramble to secure power among political parties, the recognition of *regulo* and *chefe de tabanca* hampers the maintenance of the indigenous normative political order. The project of modernisation will fail in its basic aims if it misconceives core indigenous political institutions and *modus operandi*, that is the *djumbai*, *baraca*, and the *consenso di paz*. The existence, formation, and modes of reformulating endogenous political expectations in the Guinea-Bissau state and governments requires additional research and a broader spectrum of analysis. Further reflection on and analysis of these matters are in order, requiring more fieldwork to complement theoretical notions and hypotheses with on-the-ground data.

Further research into the notion of humanness in the sub-Saharan context is also recommended. On the one hand, humanness complements the existing *corpus* of studies on personhood. Bearing in mind that the notions of humanness and personhood are blurred, as languages

and translations conflate them in a single term, this study has articulated that the concept of personhood alone is not comprehensive or sufficient to analyse the phenomenon of the *criança-irân*. Therefore, recalling African diversity and heterogeneity, the notion of humanness might prove a fruitful complement to the debate on personhood and the moral-political theorisations of Afro-communitarianism.

On the other hand, studies to corroborate the sub-Saharan concept of humanness represent an epistemological, normative, and ontological imperative to further engage with grounding notions of political theory, and to contribute with endogenous insights to the growing scholarship of African and comparative political theory. The theoretical enlargement constitutes a key element to interpreting the political sphere in Africa today, to making sense of governmental policies and citizens' actions, and to better understanding the politics of the dynamic sub-Saharan region.

In conclusion, I recapitulate in brief the contributions of this thesis, articulated throughout the previous pages:

Political power in Guinea-Bissau crystallises in a composite, hybrid political configuration, comprehensive of plural *nomoi* and *loci*, bridging and inter-penetrating state and indigenous powers. Intersubjective political relations, grounded in *ego* inter-existence (the yoke of *ego* and *alter* through the relational space of the a-temporal community), determine the principles of political power, due to their relevance and transcendence of institutional differentiation. In the indigenous polity, intersubjectivity establishes the boundaries of the polity, epitomised in the category-concept *ego-djorson*, and defines the *modus operandi* for governing and decision-making—the participatory politics of consensus. In the state, intersubjectivity pinpoints the gap between extant power relations and the institutional frames of power that corroborate the recurrent political turmoil. Overall, intersubjectivity is representative of the ongoing process of the Africanisation of power, or, in other words, of the ongoing blending of the exogenous and endogenous tenets and configurations that today constitute the Bissau-Guinean political sphere.



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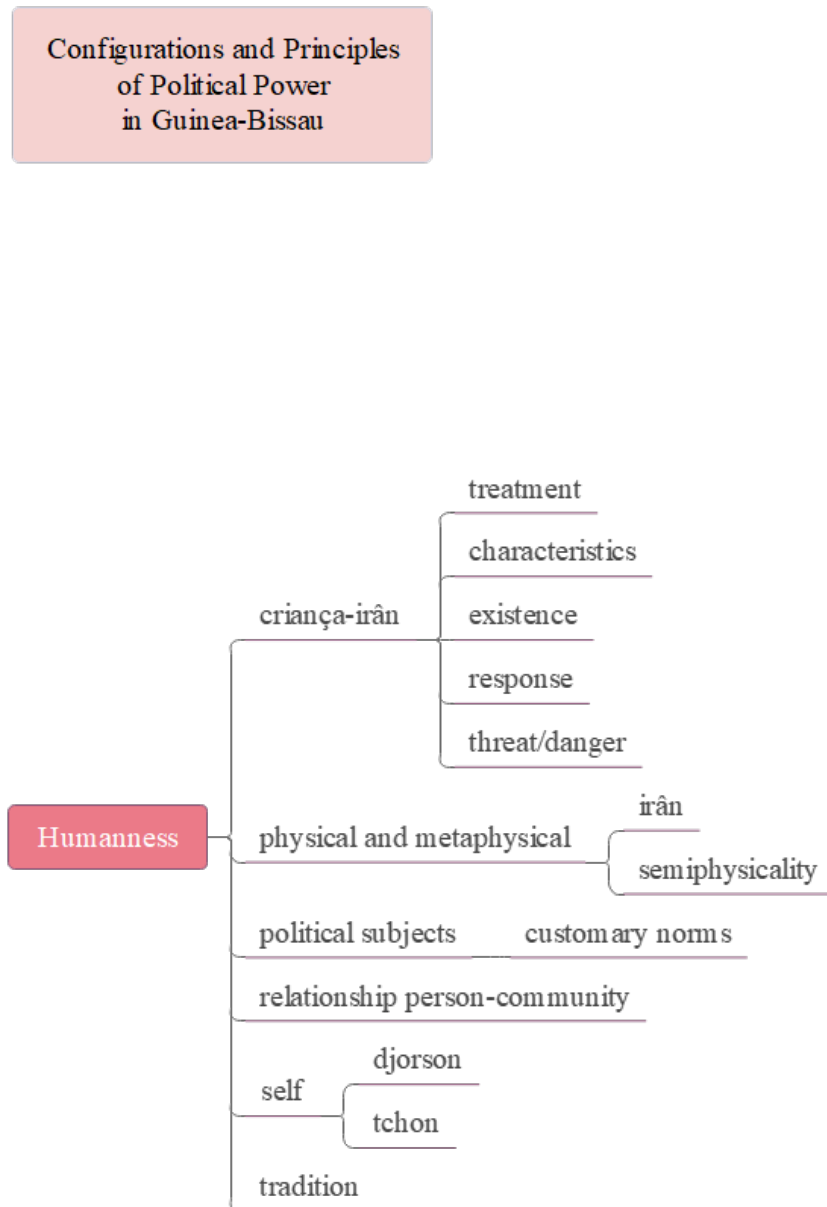
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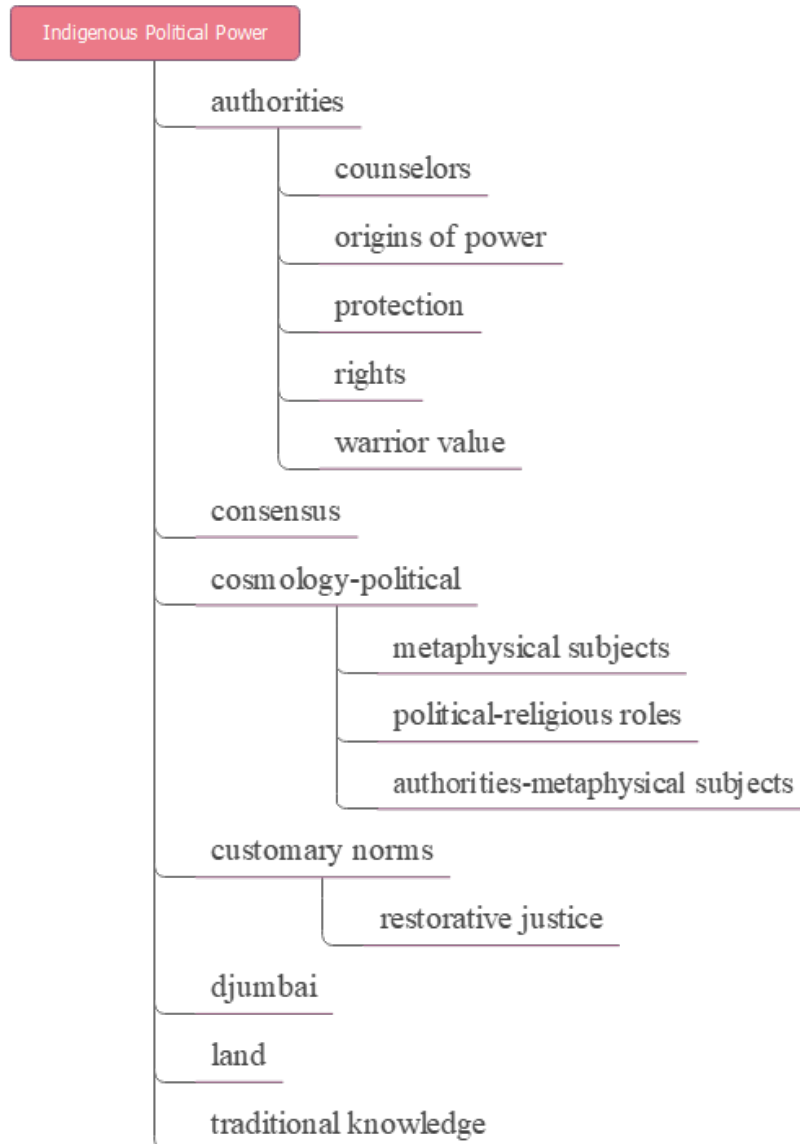


## Annexes

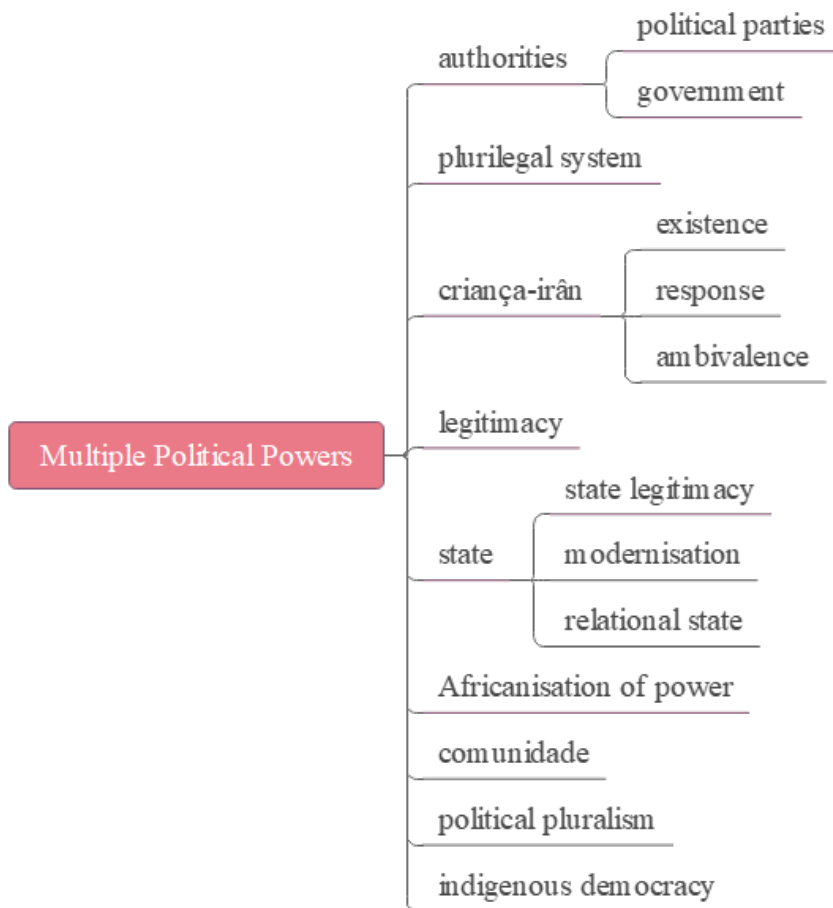
## I. Encoding used for thematic content analysis enlarged



## Configurations and Principles of Political Power in Guinea-Bissau



Configurations and Principles  
of Political Power  
in Guinea-Bissau



## II. Translation of tables 1; 2

<b>In your opinion, what is <i>irân</i>?</b>	<i>Irân</i> is that we call a devil, who has power to harm any person who depends on him to solve one's troubles	<i>Irân</i> is a demon	<i>Irân</i> in my opinion is first of god's creatures but nowadays it became a great enemy to god so he became a great devil	<i>Irân</i> is the devil	In Pepel culture <i>irân</i> is the second god	<i>Irân</i> is a god worshipped by the unfaithful	I don't know. But I always heard that <i>irân</i> exists but to accept this I really cannot
<b><i>Irân</i> is good or evil?</b>	Truly speaking I know that <i>irân</i> never is good it always tries to allure people, to maintain his evil power	<i>Irân</i> is evil	<i>Irân</i> to me is not good because he is thirsty [willing] to make humans be like it, as we know already it is evil that is why I do not accept <i>irân</i>	It is not good <i>irân</i> is evil	<i>Irân</i> is good in Pepel culture because the Pepel say that <i>irân</i> helps them or asks death or illness and it helps providing luck	<i>Irân</i> is good to those who worship it, it is evil to those who do not trust it	According to my grandparents they say it is very evil

<b>What is <i>criança-irân</i>?</b>	To me there is no <i>criança-irân</i> because many times children are born with disabilities because of lack of medical cares, it can be the mother had some other illness and gave it to the baby during pregnancy or at labour	A <i>criança-irân</i> is the child who does not walk very early or does not speak, we say in this case is <i>irân</i> but otherwise s/he is not <i>irân</i>	The <i>criança-irân</i> to people is a myth but only a myth sometimes these children become really <i>irân</i> , because we see many times these children who are taken by the parents to the sea so that child goes to the sea	<i>Criança-irân</i> does not exist, people say the <i>criança-irân</i> to me <i>criança-irân</i> do not exist	<i>Criança-irân</i> is that child who is [-] and for this reason the elder ones consider that this child is <i>irân</i>	<i>Criança-irân</i> are those children who are salles who is not famous to those who adore it or those who were born with an admirable thing that elders never saw	But truly speaking there exist child <i>irân</i> it seems the child starts to do some unpleasant deed, older age and does not walk
<b>Do or did you know any child considered <i>irân</i>?</b>	I know	Yes I know some children considered <i>irân</i>	Yes you [I] know some children considered <i>irân</i> here in the <i>setor</i> (province), but nowadays some of those <i>irân</i> return are children	I do not know any <i>criança-irân</i>	Yes some children considered <i>irân</i> you [I] know	No	Yes: in Bissau at the function there existed a child but as the time went s/he lost her/his life
<b>What do you think about children with disabilities?</b>	To me these children are normal children, sadly they can get sick and they were born with physical or mental issues, it is important to give them adequate medical treatment	My opinion about children with disabilities [they] should be respected at any time	I think that disability comes from nature they are wished for but if it happens is because of god and in human life anywhere in the world	My opinion is that parents should take care if this disabled bay if who govern has the means to make a shelter for these babies	My opinion about children with disabilities [they] need cares and love for their well-being	My opinion about children with disabilities, they are those children who are ashamed because they do not think they are like the others	Children with disabilities should be treated with care and love of every day

### III. Bissau-Guinean Kriol glossary

Kriol	Português	English
Banbul	Trazer os filhos às costas	Carry the baby on the back, with a cloth
Bideira	Vendedora de rua	Street seller; trading women
Bolanha	Arrozais	Rice fields
Bulidures	Arteiros, malvados	Wicked, villain
Ceru	cheiro	Smell
Ditanda / dita	Deitar	Lay down
Djilas	Vendedores nómadas, parte duma rede descentralizada e sem conexões fixas	Mobile traders, part of decentralized and unbounded networks
Djiresa	Esperteza	Cleverness, smartness
Kansera	Trabalho, cansaço	Work, tiredness
Kapli	Escapular	To slip away
Kirida	Namorado	Boy/girlfriend
Kiru	Esperto	Smart, clever, foxy
Koitadesa	pobreza	Poverty
Kunbosas	Coesposas	Co-wife co-wives
Labradur	Lavrador	Farmer
Lebri	Coelho	Rabbit
Lubu	Hiena	Hyena
Manjuandadi	Orgulho e força masculino, traço cultural	Pride and strength of men (culture)
Matchu	Menino, irmão	Male, brother
Mesinho / Gri-Gri / Rabada	Medicina ou tratamento dito tradicional, amarrado ao braço ou na cintura	Traditional medicine or healing, hang to arm or waist
Montiadur	Caçador	Hunter
Muru	Ritualista muçulmano	Muslim ritual specialist
Murundade	Serviços espirituais, trabalhos de <i>muru</i>	Spiritual services, job of <i>muru</i>
Noiba nobu	Esposa mais nova	Youngest wife
Ospri	Hóspede	Guest
Osprindadi	Hospitalidade	Hospitality
Padidu	Nascido, dado à luz	To be born
Pauteru	Adivinho, feiticeiro	Soothsayer; wizard; sorcerer
Rikiti	Cutucar / apanhar (alguém)	Catch, running after somebody
Santchu	Macaco	Monkey
Sinta	Ficar	To stay

Surne	Trabalho casual, provisório	Casual, temporary work
Susu	Sujo	Dirty
Susu korson	Antipático, não hospitaleiro, não amigável, “coração sujo”	Unfriendly, nasty
Tarafe	Tarrafe, mangue, pântano	Swamp, marsh



## IV. Informed consent form

### CONSENTIMENTO INFORMADO

Nome do entrevistado:

O presente estudo surge no âmbito da tese da investigadora Claudia Favarato, apresentada para a conclusão do doutoramento em Ciência Política no Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas (ISCSP). A tese, titulada *A Political Reading of Humanness. Criança-irã's impact on Power configurations in Guinea Bissau* é orientada por a prof.a Andrea Sofia da Cruz Valente (ISCSP), o prof. Álvaro Nóbrega (ISCSP) e a prof.a Alena Rettová (SOAS/Universität Bayreuth). O objetivo principal da tese é investigar princípios e configurações de poder político na Guiné-Bissau, tendo em consideração as interações entre poderes endógenos e o Estado, pelas lentes de leitura do fenómeno da *criança-irã*.

O entrevistado pode contactar a investigadora caso pretenda colocar questões, comentários ou tenha duvidas acerca do estudo que está a ser desenvolvido.

A participação do entrevistado consta duma entrevista individual e semiestruturada, que poderá durar de trinta até sessenta minutos. Não existem riscos significativos associados à participação no estudo.

A participação neste estudo é estritamente **voluntária**. O entrevistado pode decidir participar ou menos, ou sair do estudo em qualquer momento, sem ter de prestar qualquer justificação por isso. Além de voluntária, a participação do entrevistado poderá ainda ser **anónima** e **confidencial**, se esta for a escolha do entrevistado. Em qualquer caso, não serão divulgados dados pessoais do entrevistados além o nome do próprio.

Os dados recolhidos neste estudo destina-se unicamente a elaboração da tese de doutoramento acima referida e produções académicas relacionadas com a própria.

Face a estas informações  aceito  não aceito participar no estudo.

Face a estas informações  aceito  não aceito ser identificado no estudo.

Data e assinatura

## V. Guidelines of interviews

### Topic: Identification of self (A)

Respondents: *omi garandi, balobeiros e djambakos*

Informal conversation

Non-structured interview

De onde vêm as almas?

O que acontece a alma quando uma pessoa morre?

Uma pessoa pode viver sem alma?

Há pessoas que nascem sem alma?

As almas podem voltar a este mundo, ou existem aqui uma vez só?

Qual é o mundo dos irâns?

Como os irâns comunicam com as pessoas?

[O que os irâns e os antepassados fazem para a tabanca e para as pessoas que aí moram?]

[O regulo manda com o auxílio / conselho do irân, ou pela sua vontade?]

O que é que faz um homem garandi?

Quem cuida da educação moral dos mais novos?

Como / quando um individuo pode ser considerado adulto e maduro?

Os membros da tabanca têm deveres para com os outros membros?

Uma pessoa pode viver sozinha, sem ninguém? [Há pessoas que moram sozinhas, fora da tabanca e da comunidade, da família, sem filhos? É possível dizer que vivem uma vida boa e enriquecedora?]

As crianças-irân são um perigo?

### Topic: Indigenous Political Power (B)

Respondents: *omi garandi, regulos, curandeiros, djambakos, balobeiros*

Non-structured interview

Informal conversation

Quem, como uma pessoa manda na tabanca?

Que, manda no regulado pode ser destituído? Por quem e como?

Alguém ajuda o régulo? Curandeiros, balobeiros, djambakos também mandam?

Mulheres também são régulos ou curandeiras, djambakos, balobeiras?

Idade de quem manda

Todas as pessoas da tabanca participam na política?

É bom / um dever as pessoas da tabanca ajudarem-se?

Quem vive na tabanca?

O que é que irans e antepassados fazem para a tabanca e para as pessoas que vivem na tabanca?

Como funciona o regulado?

É importante ter o apoio de iran para mandar na tabanca?

O que iran e antepassados fazem para a vida na tabanca? Como?

Omi garandi, antepassados e irans ajudam o régulo/AT em pensar nas leis?

Todas as leis do regulado aplicam-se a todos? As leis do regulado aplicam-se a todos?

Como e quem conhece as leis do regulado?

São mais importantes as leis do regulado ou as leis de Estado?

Porque as decisões tomadas pelo régulo/CT/anciões são importantes?

O que acontece a quem não as respeita?

Quem é o Estado?  
Confias nos políticos do Estado?  
Os régulos podem trabalhar junto com o Estado da guine Bissau na ANP? Como?  
AT fazem algo para as pessoas que o Estado não faz?  
É membro de algum partido político? Porque?  
Diferenças entre mandar na tabanca e mandar no/pelo Estado: há?

**Topic: Criança-irân (C)**

**Respondents:** Elders, ritual specialists (*curandeiros, djamabkoses, balobeiros*), traditional authorities (*régulo* and *chefe de tabanca*)

Semi-structured interview

Você consegue reconhecer as crianças chamadas de menino di irân?  
É perigoso tratar esse tipo de crianças?  
É preciso ter muito poder para poder fazer o tratamento?  
As crianças-irân representam um perigo?  
Você consegue tratar esses meninos?  
Como acontecem casos dessas crianças? Irân pode ter filhos?  
Quem leva para você os meninos para fazer o tratamento ou o ritual?

Há formas de prevenção de doença e morte das crianças?  
Irân pode causar a morte das crianças?  
Conhece criança *ki ka sta diritu*, porque mexeu com irân?  
Há formas de tratar e curar um menino de irân?  
O que é um *menino di irân*?  
Os *meninos di irân* são um perigo para a mãe, a família, todos?

**Topic: State, indigenous powers and criança-irân phenomenon (D)**

**Respondents:** state officials, academic, NGOs and civil society representative

Structured interview

O Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense, órgão legítimo soberano e democrático. Concorda? Quais as funções do Estado e das suas instituições?  
Quais fatores legitimam atores e partidos políticos a governar?  
Fala-se muito em “modernização de Estado”. Como considera que este projeto possa produzir ou trazer bem-estar para a população?  
Também ouve-se muito falar em poderes tradicionais e religiosos. Na sua opinião, quem são os poderes tradicionais (e religiosos) hoje?  
Eles trabalham em conjunto com o Estado? Trata-se de cooperação formalizada ou informal?  
O poder tradicional não aparenta sofrer tantas crises como os governos de Estado. Porque, na sua opinião?  
O poder tradicional tem caracteres democráticos?  
Como considera o posicionamento de poderes tradicionais e religiosos em casos como o das chamadas *crianças-irân*?  
A crença na existência das crianças-espírito é partilhada pela população, no geral? Considera que o fenómeno está a acontecer, ou é algo do passado? Onde é praticado? Por quem?  
E o posicionamento do Estado perante o fenómeno das chamadas *crianças-irân*?

## Fieldwork conducted in 2016

### Pregnant and Puerperal women

Semi-structured interview

Name and age of the mother

Where do you live?

With who?

How many people live in your house?

How many people are there in your family?

Do all the members of your family live together?

Do you live with the dad of your baby?

Is the father of the baby your husband?

Does the father of the baby have other wives or other children?

Is this your first pregnancy or do you already have any children?

How did you find out you were pregnant?

Had you planned your pregnancy?

How did you feel when you found out you were pregnant?

Who did you tell first?

How did your family react when they got the new?

Did you celebrate?

Will you celebrate the baby's birth?

How?

Which is the strongest feeling you felt during pregnancy (fatigue, happiness, burden, love, ...)?

How many children would you like to have?

Where would you prefer to give birth to your baby (home, hospital, ...)?

Who will/does the baby live with?

Who will take/takes care of the baby?

Who will be/is responsible for the baby's education/health/feeding/bathing?

How important do you consider grandparents and parents' siblings (aunts and uncles) in children educating process?

Would you leave your baby or your children for a period of time (fosterage) with a relative to reach your own goals or mind your business (studying, working, marriage)?

Which are the main characteristic of a healthy child?

When do you expect your baby to be independent or not in constant need of a caretaker? (walk, feed himself, bathing, ...)

Till which age would you carry your child on your back?

Which age shall a baby start to talk?

Who chose or will choose the baby's name?

Does it have a specific meaning?

When will the baby be given a name?

Is there a (traditional, Papel) ceremony for name giving?

Will you baptize your baby (at the Catholic church)?

Which is the major cause of children's disease (lack of care, spirits, animals' disease, bacteria, viruses)?

How would you prevent or protect your child from getting sick?

How would you treat your sick baby?

Who would you ask for help (family's elders, ritualists, doctors at the hospital)?

Do you trust more traditional medicines or Western medicine?

Have any of your children die?

Did you do a funeral for him/her (at the church, *toca-tchoro*, ...)?  
Who/what do you appoint as responsible for a child's death?  
Do you know or had any children born disabled, retarded or with physical abnormalities?  
Who should take care of such a child?  
How should they be treated?  
If a disabled, retarded or physically deformed child die, what would you point as the main cause of his/her death?  
Does that death deserve a proper funeral?  
Are they human?

### **Reception of regarded spirit children (*crianças-irân*) by orphanage or human rights associations**

Semi-structured interview

What is the name of the centre/association?  
What is the aim of the centre/association?  
What is your role in the centre/association?  
In which areas of the country is the centre/association active?  
How does the population get to know about the centre/association?  
How many children is the centre/association taking care of at the moment?  
Has the number of children brought to the centre/association increased or lowered in the last five years?  
On average, how old are the children brought to the centre/association?  
Who usually take the children to the centre/association?  
What time of the day children are mostly like to be brought at the centre/association?  
Which are on average the reasons given by who brings the child to the centre/association? (it was hard to take care of the baby, economic difficulties, the baby is “unemployable”, the baby is dangerous or is a threat, his/her mother has many kids to take care of already)  
Are you given any contact of the biological family?  
Is the biological family willing to keep any contact with the baby?  
Do you provide or suggest any plan of reintegration of the baby in the biological family or in his/her community?  
How are the children you receive like? Do they usually have any sickness, mental retard or are they physically disabled?  
Who take care of those children at the centre/association?  
Which institution are in charge to take care of the abandoned children (orphanage, nuns, SOS villages, fosterage in other families, State centres, etc)?  
Which kind of treatment are they given?  
Do your centre/association promote any action of awareness and sensitization among the local population about children's abandonment, disabilities and handicaps, treatment of illnesses, prenatal care?  
How can the abandonment of this children be linked to *crianças-irân* phenomenon?  
Do people ever refer to the avoidance of ritual infanticide as a reason to leave with baby with the centre/association?  
What is your opinion about this occurrence?  
What do you think about Irân?

### ***Criança-irân's families***

Judgment sample

*Testimonio* technique

## Appendixes

## **I. Transcripts of interviews (2016; 2019; 2020)**

## 1. Interviews from fieldwork 2016

Semi-structured Interview with Biam Djamila, psychologist at Orphanage Casa Bambaram, Quelele, Bissau

October, 17<sup>th</sup> 2016

Casa Bambaram is an Orphanage situated in Quelele, in the outskirts of Bissau. 59 children are hosted there; 12 of them were brought to the house because regarded as CI and they were life threatened.

The orphanage is run by catholic nuns (Guinean, Portuguese and South American – Colombia); there works also Guinean doctors, social assistants and psychologist, along with Guinean mistresses who take care of the children.

The psychologist showed me the charter of 12 children who were brought to the orphanage because regarded as CI or devil children.

DJAMILA Ela indicou esta patologia que podemos [...] pensávamos que era autismo

ME Mm

D Mas parece que tem problemas... De audição. Ela move e tais, mas nas características dela parece mais autismo

ME Ok

D Mas chegou aqui porque foi considerada como uma CI. Acho que já A Filipa falou contigo sobre este sentido; já quando nasce uma criança com alguma anomalia já é considerada Irân, mesmo com um atraso psicomotor já como CI porque não... Adquiriu aquelas aquisições durante as etapas, né? O caso dela é assim

ME Mas o fato dela ter entrado na estrutura para a salvaguarda da sua vida foi mesmo declarado pela mãe...?

D Sim sim claro, não, tem a família e a mãe. Para prevenir, porque realmente já trataram de... Matar a criança, porque consideravam que é Irân. Como fazem já planos destes atentados, alguma pessoa da família pede à casa Bambaram ao fim de salvaguardar porque se ele ficasse na família vai ser...

ME Isso acaba com o ritual e com o fim da criança

D Sim sim

ME Neste caso os fatores de risco são os tios maternos... Aliás, as tias maternas e os protetores são os pais. Também a mãe tinha problemas de atraso... Retardo mental.

D Sim, tem atraso mental a mãe.

[...]

ME É comum serem os pais a entregar a criança?

D As vezes, com outras crianças não são os pais mesmo, pode ser um tio, ou um conhecido, como esta foi entregue pela policia porque... Eeh, eles encontraram a criança numa casa de, como posso dizer, bruxo, djambakus, encarregue de fazer este ritual para matar esta criança. Ela foi resgatada pelo instituto de mulher e criança, trouxeram a criança e... Então, a entrada desse [?] Que tira a menina cá, que tive de entrar. E esta também foi resgatada por uma senhora. Ela bem não tem nada, tem só atraso psicomotorio, como, não, não é psicomotro, é de crescimento, como nanismo, né? A criança foi considerada também um Irân. E no momento que se estava a fazer este ritual, foi uma senhora, resgatou a criança, sim, e ficou com ela, eles...



ME Tentaram agredi-la?

D Sim, também depois como não podia cuidar desta criança porque tem os seus filhos, trouxe-a para Casa Bambaram.

[...]

ME Motivo de entrada: a criança é considerada do diabo e corre risco de vida. É órfã de pai e mãe

D Sim porque faleceu a mãe primeiro, depois ficou com o pai

ME No parto?

D Não, depois faleceu, acho depois de um ou dois anos, depois ficou com o pai. Como o pai faleceu, ela foi entregue a tia. Então a tia faleceu, disseram que a culpa é dela, que...

ME Fazer os outros falecerem

D Sim

ME Esta senhora já tinha doze filhos.. Doze são bastantes. Uma pergunta: todos estes casos que estão aqui na mesa [*pointing at the charts*] são todas crianças que chegaram aqui doentes ou são todas crianças que chegaram aqui porque há uma qualquer ligação com a questão de eles serem CI?

D Sim aquelas que estão aqui não é porque..... É doentes porque é doentes, mas o motivo de entrada precisamente é que foi considerada CI

ME Há outras crianças que chegaram aqui doentes mas que não foram consideradas como CI?

D Não, temos crianças algumas não chegaram aqui porque são doentes, chegaram porque são órfãs. Não, ...Os outros que também chegaram porque são..

ME Mas fisicamente os órfãos não tem problemas deste tipo?

D Não... Os que têm alguma deficiência, e entram na Casa porque consideradas de CI na família. Os resto não, porque são normais, ou entre aspas “normais”. Porque dantes quando nascia uma criança gémia também pensava que é normal mas agora já isso [?] Que... Criança com deficiência

ME Sim estou a ver...

D Emiliano é epilético. Ele também é considerado CI, como há ataques frequentes..

ME Sim aqui está, ataque frequentes..

ARTURO Portanto das 59 crianças, só este é que são... são onze, né?

D Sim... Não, me parece que são doze que são casos de mais moderados. Já reinserimos dois casos também que é a comunidade mesmo que considera a criança que é Irân, mas a família, não, mas devido a esta influência, toveram que levar a criança, ficou na Casa um ano, dois anos, depois fizemos este trabalho com a família e já foi mais, um pouco mais aceiteada e reinserimos estas crianças. São duas crianças que estão nessa situação...

ME Duas entre todas é....

D Sim é pouco, é...

ME Sim, mas pelo menos é alguma coisa. Foi abandonado pela mãe adolescente, mas foi a avó paterna que o levou a um curandeiro e lhe subministrou um veneno

D Sim, é D

ME A curandeira de nerus. Entrada em Casa Bambaram

D Aqui é a irmã.. Que parece que a irmã... Que [?] Entrar.. Ela não explicou aquilo.Sim.. Tratando também... E o outro também que entrou aqui e tentaram envenenar... Tentaram envenenar uma duas ou três vezes com veneno de rato, mas não conseguiram, uma coisa de duas ou três vezes

ME Coitado

D Mãe adolescente

ME Ele já é adolescente?

D A mãe, a mãe é adolescente...

ME Estas crianças, em média, quantos anos têm quando chegam aqui? São bebés, são crianças, ..?

D Depende, algumas chegam com dois anos, um ano e meio.. E ficam aqui até não sabemos quando

ME Aqui temos no “motivo de entrada”: “A criança é considerada do Irão... Razões: falta de não ter condições para a salvaguarda e a educação ...

D Esta é uma declaração sempre que pedimos que eles vão entregar aqui a criança

ME Foi o pai mesmo que entregou a criança..

D Último caso é que é o caso daquela criança, M, que já foi negada pela própria mãe, já a mãe não quer pegar a criança, não quer mais nada, porque dizem que se ela ficasse com aquela criança ela não poderia ter mais filhos porque é primeiro filho dela... Esta criança tem menos de dois....

ME Ah, era um bebé ainda..

D Não, já tem dois anos

ME Ah ok, foi um mal entendido. Sim casos mesmo... e as famílias, dum forma geral, costumam não deixam um contato com estas crianças, apesar destas duas que depois foram reintegradas?

D Não há algumas que aparecem, mas que é só os pais, só os pais que visitam as crianças, o resto da família não

ME Imagino, aqueles casos em que os pais para salvaguarda dos filhos entregaram-nos aqui..

D As vezes o resto da família não sabe onde está a criança, porque têm medo, se eles souberes o que poderiam fazer se souberem onde está a criança

ME Portanto, o entregue das crianças aqui é feito nas tintas, todo à escondida?

D Em alguns casos..

ME Seja durante o dia, seja pela noite?

D Não, entram sempre do dia, das 16hs pelas 18hs, alguns chegam as 18hs ou 18hs30, mas não aceitam dizer a família que a criança está aqui para a privacidade, por isso também nós não aceitamos que saiam estas imagens das crianças que estão cá, ao fim de mantermos..

ME Claro, questão de privacidade e de segurança deles...

D Tivemos um caso, há pouco tempo... chegou pai e a mãe saiam com a criança. Afinal, depois que ele teve a ver que a criança estava aqui, queria tentar alguma coisa com a criança, aqui na casa... Mas como temos um poucos de limites nas visitas, ele entrou e de repente saiu. Quando chamamos para ele, a mãe da criança, a mãe falou que a criança devia... O filho dela estava cá... E ficamos assim, bem alertados... agora temos uma entrada um pouco restringida..

ME Sim claro, por razões de segurança

D Sim, com muitas crianças não temos problemas, porque são boas, algumas têm um problema mental, não falam com desconhecido, com as nossas crianças não temos problemas

ME Sim por este aspeto torna-se mais fácil, são isoladas em si deste problema... e os pais, quando é que podem visitar as crianças? Quando querem?

D Quando querem

ME Todos os dias..

D Não, antes era todos os dias, mas sabes, os guineenses não sabem os horários para visitarem, as vezes sabem as vezes não sabem, ficou só aos domingo, para ter mais segurança e mais de que.. E um pouco mais controlada

ME Sim também para as crianças, estar sempre a ver pessoas, estas vão, vêm, algumas vêm, outras não.. Ficam com mais confusão..

D Só no domingo, das 8hs da manha até 17hs da tarde

ME E estes dois casos de reintegração nas famílias, como é que foram?

D Aaahi, primeiro foi difícil, mas felizmente, foram um sucesso, depois eles de três em três meses vão lá, visitar a criança sem avisar as familiares, chegamos para ver se realmente está adaptando e se está bem, integrado no ambiente familiar e na comunidade. Mas... estas duas crianças, sim... Foram completamente reintegradas.

ME A criança foi considerada Diabo... Denuncia atrasos mentais.. Algumas destas crianças têm problemas de doenças físicas, ou....?

D É... Vamos do atraso mental devido à [? 13'48''], mas é mais raro; muitas destas crianças têm paralise cerebral, mas não podemos afirmar diagnostico porque não temos nada para fazer este tipo de diagnostico. Damos o diagnostico através das caraterísticas. A maioria tem um problema físico muito grave, maioria.. Como essa já tem seis anos e fica...

ARTURO Mas isso acontece porque o parto é mal feito?

D Sim, quando, muitas das vezes quando chegam depois para fazerem a visita, a entrevista, damos conta que é um parto é malfeito

ME Feito em casa, por uma pessoa qualquer..

D Outras passaram três dias, quatro dias no processo do parto.. Quando a criança que nasce não reage, e muitas das vezes não dão tempo para que estas crianças, não deixam nem um pouco.. Alguns passam um dia sem comer sem nada... Isso é feito... Uma das causas.. A criança... É Irân

ME Neste caso era a avó que estava a fazer pressão na família para eliminar a criança argumentando que “não é pekadur”

D Sim, é... É Irân. Conheço a criança, mesmo que tinham umm... Um brasileiro que queria que esta criança saísse daqui para for reinserida na família e ele ia cobrir todas as despesas. Falamos com o pai e a mãe e afinal..

ARTURO Não quiseram..

D Não quiseram, porque ficaram com medo. Antes viviam sozinhos, mas o trabalho do... Do pai mudou e ficou na casa do avô. É mais difícil rejeitar... Mas julga porque quer salvarguardar esta criança. Ele é professor, por isso ele, a mulher faleceu, ele não sabe o que poderia acontecer na sua ausência. Faz como questão de se.. Tratamos de ver como podemos reinserir esta criança, já vimos que não temos possibilidades, ela vai ficar aqui até, até quando..

ME Aqui diz que o menino “começou a ter ataques no momento do parto, depois foi-lhe tirada a sujidade que tinha engolido”. O que isso quer dizer?

D Não deve ser, que depois do parto ele começou a dar ataques

ME Sim, dar ataques...

D Sim, Começou a dar ataques... deve ser como... acho que a nascer... Pode fazer necessidade no ventre e depois engolir. Acho que é isso, e depois tinha-se que tirar isso...

ME O bebe não gatinha nem anda, não tem sentido de equilíbrio, ?Não descorda, não [consequente? 16'54''] a avó está a fazer pressão sobre os pais porque seja eliminado fisicamente. Lamentam também falta de meios financeiros para poderem cuidar do menino, a criança vive com os pais na casa dos avós.... E quando chegam aqui, quem é que trata destas crianças? Quer dizer, a vossa equipa, é o assistente social, é você que é psicóloga, e há médicos também, e enfermeiros?

D Sim temos medico, um fisioterapeuta e enfermeiros

ME Portanto, tudo o apoio medico que é preciso

D Só uma criança que estava aqui mas já era reinserida, portanto [?]. Ela já está meio... Percebe? Que deixaram ela que sofre no momento de.. De determinada altura, ao fim de ter esta possibilidade de fazer fisioterapia, mas uma semana atrás ela voltou de novo para Lisboa, porque realmente os pais têm condições e ela pode fazer... Agora ela voltou.. Na casa.

ME Sim, e ficará para fazer os tratamentos

D A diferença que tem a Casa Bambaram e outras casa de acolhimento é que, verdadeiramente, é quase a única casa que mais aceita destas crianças, porque temos um jardim aqui inclusivo assim mesmo que elas não andam, não falam muitas das vezes, levamos para o jardim. Há casos, mas é difícil trabalhar com estas crianças

ME Sim são crianças complicadas, também é difícil interagir com estas crianças, porque quando tens dificuldade em aperceber se eles estão a ouvir, não estão a ouvir, torna mais complicado..

D Mas esta de... Ouvir as vezes tentamos de fazer, mas só, quase todas as crianças vêm e oiçam normal, chamamo-las e começam a buscar, falamos com elas, mas essa aqui reralmente não foi, foi toda, a criança, não sabemos quais foram as áreas que foram afeitadas

ME Estas crianças, pronto, sobretudo as que chegaram aqui mais tarde, lembram algo do que aconteceu com a família, como era antes delas chegarem aqui, ou já vinham que não lembram?

D Essas crianças? Se nós lembramos da família...

ME Não, não, não, são as crianças mesmo

D Acho que não porque a maioria destas crianças não fala, depois quando vamos para.. Vamos lá ao berço, podes ver, a maioria desta criança não fala, tirando Virginia que é normal, mas com... Eles... Há uma aqui que também é uma coisa... Tem nanismo, acho que não é nada... é anormal, mas

ME Sim, mais é um defeito mais... Fisico do que psicológico

D Os outros não falam. Quando chegam a idade de dois anos, mas nada... Nada. Apesar que alguns reconhecem os pais quando chegam. Como... Aquela rapazinho, criança faz.. Ele sente isso, seus pais... Quando chega no ponto e vão, é triste, ele chora, chora muito, fica todo o resto do dia triste

ME Claro a ver os pais irem-se embora...

D Mas eles não deixam...

A Portanto, os outros casos?

D Sim.. Resta uma

ME Aqui as crianças depois ficam todas juntas?

D Sim

ME Mas pronto para eles é tudo tranquilo, não têm problema de interação uns com os outros?

D Não, deixamos que ficassem juntas

ME O que você acha da crença de CI? É muito espalhada, é só aqui nesta zona, só entre algumas etnias ou é um fenómeno bastante geral?

D Não, em Gb é duma forma geral, é geral. Aqui até, estas crianças que temos muitos não são de Bissau, sim são de outras partes, uns de Bafarim, outros de.. Mansoa, aqui temos um caso até de Cacheu

A Ou Bolama, Fula, Bambadinca..

D Não, não de lá não. Já que temos como...[?], parece uma pessoa já... Com essa... São da igreja, muitas das vezes são por eles que mandam estas casos para à casa Bambaram. Alguém não tem conhecimento da existência da Casa... Então que fazem, é só... Matar estas crianças e ficar assim, mas são coisas de muito tempo é assim, geralmente, na Guiné é assim

ME São ideia difíceis para mudar..

D É difícil, é isso.. Muito difícil

A mas isso acontece mais nos [ANIMISTAS] ou em todas as religiões, mesmo incluindo a religião muçulmana?

D Quase todas...

A todas, é mesmo geral..

D É, geralmente é assim, sobretudo nas tabacas é assim, independentemente da religião. Por haver crianças com paralise... De Bolama, eram de religião muçulmanos... e aquela que reinserimos ? Era de religião muçulmana, mas as vezes os muçulmanos são um pouco mais.. Tolerantes neste sentido, pensam mais que não devem tirar a vida, mas animistas realmente é mais frequente com animistas..

ME Sim, eles têm um concepção diferente da..

D Sim

ME Desta questão de vida e alma. Outra pergunta até... Menos profissional: qual é a sua opinião sobre isso?

D Em termos profissionais tenho que dizer que não aceito, que não acredito que uma pessoa que.. Pode ser tu, devido à minha profissão, é difícil acreditar... tenho aqui.. Por isso faço.. Umas formações frequente com as amas, porque as vezes temos essa não conhecem a mentalidade que estas crianças são... Assim trabalhamos lá com todos, assim porque estas crianças, isso é... Ficam mais perto a estas crianças, dando carinho. A princípio ficavam um pouco mais distantes, afastadas, porque ainda tinham este mito que... são Irân. É um trabalho feito, por muito tempo, com elas... Ao fim de... Ajudar...

ME Mas está a dar bons resultados

D Sim, aqui está a dar resultados, já é tratados como crianças normal, antes deixavam estas crianças nos berços, até que chegasse outro da casa a dizer “vamos tirar estas crianças”, e perguntar porque fazia e todo, foi um trabalho difícil. Apesar que é traumatizador, quando eu vi estas crianças pela primeira vez... eu estudei em Cuba, quando estava no meu quinto ano de psicologia especial fui numa casa desta fui... passei dois dias sem comer, não queria nada, sem dormir, só a chorar porque nunca vi estas crianças daqui... afinal existem, mas como matam estas crianças nunca vi uma criança com deficiência assim. Primeira vez que vi uma criança desta era em Cuba... foi difícil para mim, em Cuba, muito difícil, foi um choque

ME Pois, você já estava nos estudos da faculdade...

D Reagi mal, até que fizeram um processo para mim... Mas... Porque não podia reger estas...mas, é normal, eu nunca vi estas crianças, como posso ajudar aí? Mas já como estava no quinto ano.. Trataram... E depois fui... Fez a diferença. Mas um choque, claramente, fiquei a chorar a chorar a chorar, e a Professora, que é?, não vai entrar mais? Passei assim dois dias, não podia dormir, fui até a casa da minha amiga, foi difícil..

[some babiesy comes]

ME Olá!

D Ele é orfão da mãe..

ME Como as pessoas chegam a ter conhecimento da Casa e para depois pensarem em entregar aqui...?

D Através dos centros de nutrição que temos espalhados no país

ME E são centros mais locais, pequeninos?

D Sim, centros de.. Temos, devem parecer, sempre se ficam perto de... As irmãs da igreja católica, trabalha com ele. Por exemplo no caso de gémeos, se uma criança, se a mãe morre, então ficam aí a pedir esmola para estas crianças. E também quando vão ao centro para [?] Oferecem ele... Aí, quando vêem estas crianças, eles não conhecem o problema, ele também é neste...

Interview with Fatumata Baldé, chief of Comité Nacional para a Abolição das Práticas Tradicionais Nefastas, December 20th 2016

Fatumata Baldé is chief director of a Guinean committee, Comité Nacional para a Abolição das Práticas Tradicionais Nefastas, which aim is to put an end to traditional practices regarded harmful and unrespectful of HR, such as FGM or ritual infanticide.

ME: Gostava de falar de qual é o conhecimento da senhora sobre a questão das CI na Guin-Bissau.

FATUMATA: Muito obrigada. Relativamente a que se chama na Guiné-Bissau de CI são práticas que já não existem estamos e que eu os pais eu ouvi falar quando ainda era criança. Hoje já sou adulta e ainda continuo a ouvir mas já em um número bastante reduzido. Ehm são práticas que são praticadas etnicamente que nascem por algumas deformação eehhm e que em certas comunidades são detidas como crianças que não são normais.

ME: Sim

F: E que como crianças também não são normais e que poderão sobretudo trazer um mal para as famílias onde acho eu há más. E é por isso que há todos uns rituais tradicionais de fazer ehm desaparecer este.. Esta criança. Bom. Pelo que eu tenho conhecimento é uma prática que existe maioritariamente em comunidade de etnia Balanta, Mandinga, mas também existe um foco que nós referentes nos outros grupos, mas maioritariamente existe na etnia Balanta. Como eu disse é uma forma tradicional, é uma [...] À beira do mar ela morre ela não sei o que e todos vão se escondem e depois dizem que como a criança é Irân, Irân vai para a água e depois a criança desaparece e depois que levaram a criança para este ritual saem de lá mas não podem olhar para trás porque olhando para trás a criança pode percebi-los e isso para entender porque preferencialmente não olham para trás porque se olharem para trás vão encontrar a criança.

ME: Esatamente

F: No sítio onde a deixaram e se deixam a criança lá, põem-na à beira do rio obviamente a água, enchente, leva a criança..

ME: Claro

F: A criança acaba por morrer e aí dizem que a criança foi, comeu os ovos, comeu, porque Irân alimenta-se de ovo cru e não sei que mais; então a criança é levada até lá e acaba por morrer. Mas eu conheço que, como eu disse, são práticas que acontecem naquela altura porque sobretudo porque as famílias tinham medo e as pessoas não têm conhecimento não têm a informação de que também os seres humanos podem nascer de várias formas dependendo da circunstância e da situação em que ela foi concebida. Hoje - é [nos ostante] do problema é quanto ela própria pode haver por causa da incompatibilidade dos pais não sei que.

ME: Também há carência de cuidados prenatais

F: .... Em qualquer outro país neste sentido, neste sentido não há acompanhamento da vida ou de vez em quando a criança nasce, nasce com todos aqueles problemas. É falta de conhecimento, falta de informação. Hoje em dia na GB a prática ainda continua sim, ela continua, ela continua como eu disse em número reduzido porque hoje na GB a questão dos DH é uma questão essencial. [?] Tratados, existem hoje em dia várias organizações que trabalham num sentido de formarem as pessoas nas comunidades a terem a noção que são DH e da necessidade e dever de respeitar os DH. Daí que hoje em dia quando acontece uma situação dessa são denunciados. E os pais destas crianças são levado até a justiça para responderem daquilo que estão a fazer. Isso está a ganhar ponto cada dia mais e as pessoas estão a [?] Informações sobre estas situações e está a fazê-la diminuir. Mas como eu disse não acabou na totalidade porque... Porque como sabe na Gb há uma taxa muito elevada de analfabetismo

Me: Sim

F: Quanto mais nós afastamos do centro da cidade a educação torna-se cada vez mais escassa eehh... a comunidade quanto mais ela está mais longe, se entrar nela também fica mais isolada no seu canto e tem mais a tendência de poder continuar com aquelas práticas que lá está são, é tradição é cultura ficam mais agarradas a eles e ficam nos cantos deles a, ficam nos cantos práticas que hoje em dia já são condenadas por lei e também por

outras formas de bem estar e de se viver nas comunidades. Mas isso faz que a prática ainda está a continuar, mas ehhh... pronto, está obviamente a diminuir.

ME: Mas a senhora acha que.. Pronto agora esta prática é condenada por lei, porque por lei é proibido este tipo de prática e há certo tipo de punição, as pessoa tem que ir para a cadeia e tudo isso. Mas há mesmo uma denuncia por parte das pessoas de quem cometeu essa prática ou as pessoas ficam nas tintas e ninguém vai denunciar a polícia?

F: Não, hoje em dia denunciam-se sim, hoje em dia há denúncias. Mmm o problema que se põe é que as pessoas que denunciam não querem andar a [?]. Baste saber que foram eles a denunciarem, e isto as vezes que dificulta a investigação por parte da PJ e também até por parte do Ministério deleguem. Porque uma pessoa denuncia e na hora que se chega lá as vezes escondem-se e não se sabe como se pode ficar, até a própria pessoa que cometeu o crime é pessoa que obviamente o denunciou, as pessoas ficam com medo dum repressão ao nível da própria comunidade porque como se ainda não ganharam consenso que estas pessoas hoje em dia são questões dos DH que ninguém pode retirar a vida, cada uma que veio a este mundo, independentemente da forma como ela veio ao mundo, eh?, deficiente ou não, ela deve ser deixada viver a sua vida até o último momento que Deus assinhou o [?] Então não ganhando as pessoas a consciência, quem denunciar estão na mesma comunidade e é perseguido pelas próprias comunidades, eles estão nisso ainda, o que está a criar o problema. Mas a denúncias existem e as denúncias fazem os trabalhos deles para os trazerem à casa da justiça, mas, como eu disse, o que dificulta tudo isso é a própria compreensão das pessoas, dentro das comunidades, sobre o que são direitos, porque hoje em dia...

ME: Vi o caso duma senhora.. Senhora, era uma rapariga na verdade, tinha 18, 19 anos, bastante novinha. Ela tinha uma filha com dois anos e ela tinha um atraso mental. Ela tinha dificuldades em andar, fala muito pouco tem dificuldade em se segurar, em se mexer bem, ... Tem dificuldades. Mas ela recusou assumir que a sua criança fosse espírito; para ela é uma criança que tem dificuldades mas é a sua criança..

F: É isso.

ME: Ela é deixada totalmente sozinha, ostracizada pela comunidade. Ninguém ajuda-a. Ela tem que fazer tudo sozinha porque ninguém quer tocar a criança

F: É isso, precisamente... Porque a tradição e a cultura continuam ainda a falar muito alto, eh?, e os nossos casos devidos sobretudo, como eu disse, a um nível de formação, de conhecimento que as pessoas têm em relação a certas matérias

ME: Sim

F: Como por exemplo este caso de crianças que são ditas que são espíritos, são Irân, são não sei o que, são, é falta ainda de formação de informação suficiente para as pessoas puderem também abandonar aquelas práticas. Então, está-se a fazer como eu disse, um trabalho de educação e informação em [outras] comunidades a este respeito, mas é preciso que as questões de DH, como costumamos dizer, seja obviamente tida com mais rigor e maior responsabilidade sobretudo utilizando umas das formas que nós achamos de as pessoas começarem a compreenderem estas questões sobretudo que têm a ver com a vida humana, e a questão da introdução destes aspetos nos planos escolares

ME: Sim

F: Eh não sei, isto nas escolas normais, mas até e sobretudo nas escolas de formação de técnicos de saúde, porque aaahh a ideia e a palavra nunca é [?] Sendo ela enfermeira, parteira ou medico tem, é detida muito, no núcleo das comunidades; por exemplo, o doutor é que disse, não sei que, o doutor é que disse, então nós temos que respeitar o que os doutores nos disserem, os doutores é que sabem o que é bom e o que é mau para nós. E isso é, estas questões devem ser introduzidas nos curriculuns de formação das escolas e puderem essas por exemplo, as parteiras, enfermeiras, que fazem por exemplo as sessões de acolhimento familiar ou de educação, a coisa a nasciência de acompanhamento das mães, das mães com criança, puderem também começar a falar sobre estas questões. Porque aí vai aparecer uma mãe com uma criança que acaba de nascer deste circunstâncias, mas quando ouve o que a parteira ou o medico está a dizer em relação àquela criança, ela vai ter mais frorça de resistir na comunidade para que o seu filho ou a sua filha não seja submetido àquela tortura que o pode conduzir à morte. Mas não tendo ela aquela formação ficando ela sozinha no meio daquela tradição daquela cultura em que cada

um vai dizer, não o teu filho é isso, faça isso, tem que fazer isso, faça isso, se ela não for forte, irá entrar pelo mesmo caminho mas é preciso que ela tenha suporte para isso. Outras formas que podemos fazer é também as organizações que também trabalham nestas temáticas que conseguiram meios de puderem chegar àquelas localidades de encontrarem formas sobretudo de sinalizar através do centro de saúde e também as vezes como não são todas as crianças que nascem nos centros de saúde e nos hospitais mas as crianças nascem em casa, mas se puderem conhecerem junto dos grupos comunitários influentes ou dos líderes tradicionais os líderes religiosos que existem nas comunidades, iriam sinalizar de que numa família nasceu uma criança naquela situação porque as organizações possam entrar em contacto com a família e puderem encontrar mecanismos de apoiar. Porque aquela mãe...

ME: Eu também tinha uma dúvida...

F: Porque..

ME: Quando tive aí em Quinhamel verifiquei que no hospital eram sobretudo as irmãs que trabalhavam. E as pessoas, sim, iam para o hospital, faziam o que as irmãs diziam, tomavam os comprimidos e tudo, mas a distância de compreensão cultural entre as pessoas e as irmãs é enorme.

F: É isso

ME: E isso não é só pelas pessoas, mas também pelas próprias irmãs, porque a preparação das irmãs na cultura da GB é muito fraca, há aí grandes falhas e isso não proporciona ajuda nenhuma.

F: É isso que estava a dizer sobre estas questões serem introduzidas nos centros de formação nas escolas de formação, para eles também deterem esta informação e saberem que existe isso e muito se pode [trancar] logo que a questão apareça mas para quem não consegue ir até o hospital, está lá na tabanca, são os régulos que estiverem formados, eh?, se o centro de saúde comunitário está lá com enfermeiras formadas perto da tabanca, eh?, eeee o seu [?] do jovem e das mulheres e outros estiverem informados, poderiam também dar uma contribuição, uma sinalização, e um possível acompanhamento que se poderá depois fazer se calhar proteger aquela criança e não sair. Muitas das vezes as irmãs eehhh evitam a entrar em choques com as comunidades. Por isso elas as vezes evitam de tratar estes assuntos que são ligados à tradição e a cultura.

ME: Muitas vezes mesmo não querem nem conhecer a tradição...

F: Não não, não querem, porque não querem criar choques com a própria comunidade e daí que as irmãs estão lá para ajudarem socialmente as comunidades mas sobretudo estão lá também para levarem uma mensagem religiosa. E elas querem a aderência da população, daí que não querem entrarem em choque com aquela população porque entrando em choque com aquela população então irão diminuir a presença de, naquelas áreas dos que vão aderir à religião delas. Então imagina com tudo isso, não entram...

ME: Esatamente

F: Por isso é que quem entra neste trabalho são as organizações da sociedade civil que estão a nível local e que estão a trabalhar [?] As pessoas têm aí um ingresso sem serem partidários, religiosos ou outro, mas sendo...

ME: Ou seja, eles não têm outro interesse próprio...

F: É isso mesmo [...] Feminino da comunidade quer dizer que entram neste trabalho, mas os outros não, os outros não, [...]

ME: Porque depois vão a perder..

F: É isso, é isso

ME: A senhora acha que é possível pensar em num desaparecimento desta prática mantendo a cultura, quer dizer muitas vezes as práticas culturais tradicionais são ligadas a um determinado sentido da cultura e é difícil pensar em eliminar uma prática sem mudar a cultura que está atrás disso.

F: Não, eu penso que depende de que cultura se está a falar. Agora, isso de CI eehh... eu acho que é possível que seja condenado apesar da cultura e a tradição de os que a praticam. Eu penso que sim. Porque apesar de existir maioritariamente no alvo de certas comunidades, mas é uma prática de que há casos em todas as comunidades

ME: Sim.



F: Quase todas que têm crianças daquele jeito levam-nas.

ME: Mas isso aconteceu em qualquer parte do mundo...

F: Eh, é isso.

ME: Em várias altura da história isso aconteceu.

F: E aí que eu penso que é uma prática que pode ser abandonada sem influenciar e sem mudar uma coisa ou outra da cultura. Depende sempre, repito, da educação da informação e da formação das comunidades. A relação a essa prática...

ME: A senhora acha que o aumentar e o diminuir desta prática também está relacionado com o nível de desenvolvimento económico dum país? Porque, por exemplo, o que eu vi várias vezes, sobretudo com os rapazes do PNI, era que quem deveria tratar de e cuidar de as crianças com deficiência são os governantes, são, é o Estado, são os ministros, são outras pessoas com mais possibilidades. Onde... A senhora acha que se houvesse mais estruturas tipo a Casa Emanuel, a Casa Bambaran, isso proporcionaria para um desaparecimento mais fácil da prática?

F: Penso que sim, que se houver uma maior implicação do próprio Estado em si em tratamento de questões deste género, sim. Eu penso que as crianças associam, como eu estava a falar, em sinalização, pelos regulos, chefes das tabanca, líderes religiosos e outros na comunidades, estas mães deveriam estar convencidas para [...] E deveriam estar a receberem apoios tanto em termos de saúde educacional e outros para poderem acompanhar a criança. Até uma certa idade. E chegando a essa idade podiam até deixar aquela criança no [?] Se a criança continuar a precisar de cuidados especiais requerem ter conhecimento dos tratamentos desses casos de cuidados especiais para conhecerem e aperceber que realmente uma mãe por exemplo que tem esta criança não corre risco dentro um, na casa dos pais ou outros, mas isso não poderia continuar com a sua crença e estar a levá-lo, um momento ao outro para um centro especializado, para os acompanhamentos necessários e voltar normalmente com a criança em casa, mas crianças que se vem jogada, a estar no meio em que poderá correr o risco de ser obviamente eliminado fisicamente por causa desta tradição devia haver um centro onde haviam-de, poderiam estar e eram acompanhados. Obviamente isto tem a ver com o nível de desenvolvimento do próprio país e o desenvolvimento acho que não está afastando muito das situações de cada país.

ME: Sim

F: As prerogativas são muitas e não se consegue resolver nem um aqui nem outro aí e vai-se tentando alinhar, como dizemos na GB, tentando fazer um pouco em cada um dos sítios e não resolver o problema em geral. Eu penso que na realidade o desenvolvimento social e económico do país tem a ver sim com tudo isso.

ME: Portanto, também o nível de desenvolvimento económico, as possibilidades das próprias pessoas, condicionam e proporcionam o permanecer desta prática, não é só uma questão cultural

F: Não, não é só. Também é uma questão cultural, mas também é uma questão económica porque há pessoas também que são contratadas. Por exemplo, se eu tiver uma criança naquela situação, não sou eu que levo a criança a fazer desaparecer.

ME: Sim.

F: Há uma certa cerimónia que é feita e há alguém que é responsável por isso. E esta pessoa, obviamente, é lá, ganha alguma coisa com isso.

ME: Claro.

F: Então, como ganha alguma coisa com isso, vai querer que a prática continue.

ME: Como é com todas as questões de cerimónia.

F: É isso, mesmo, também nas outras cerimónias, então, como eu disse, estas pessoas também prestam sempre e poder-se fazer um trabalho junto com eles. Que não são pessoas difíceis de identificar junto das diferentes comunidades, portanto as pessoas podem, que livram dos Irâns que fazem cerimónias, não sei que não sei que, são pessoas conhecidas, e então como fazer, como trabalhar com estas pessoas no sentido de saber se vocês podem continuar com a tradição, com a cultura, mas tratando-se de tirar a vida a uma criança, a uma pessoa, eh, chegará um momento de obviamente, acabarmos com isso. Ma como eu disse, não havendo um grande [?] E envolvimento

do estado nestas questões, portando havendo estas questões deveria haver uma legislação a dizer que não só os pais que conduziram o filho à esta situação é que deveriam ser criminalizados, mas como também a própria pessoa que faz. Esta é a questão. Porque aí havendo já uma criminalização de ambas as partes, então aí também ia contribuir, obviamente pouco a pouco para o abandonar estas práticas.

ME: Claro porque assim não somente os pais é que são mesmo culpados.

F: Isso.

ME: A culpa é entre todas as pessoas que participaram neste ato.

F: É isso.

ME: Pronto a questão dos pais também é uma questão complicada porque as vezes, pelo que eu vi e apercebi, é que muitos pais sentem muito afeto, muito amor para aquela criança e para eles próprios é uma pena chegarem a essa conclusão. Mas a pressão social é tão forte que afinal eles desistem porque se tiver aí sempre muitas pessoas, que os deixam sozinhos, ostracizados, como o caso daquela rapariga, que agora está aí... Sem recursos, porque ela não conseguiu acabar os estudos, não tem outro apoio a não ser o apoio do pai, portanto ela está mesmo sem recursos. E isso leva... Faz que as pessoas sejam quase obrigadas a tomar esta escolha. Porque há poucas possibilidades.

F: Mmmm. Porque há poucas possibilidades mas também porque a forma de convivência nas nossas comunidades é que as pessoas não vivem isoladas, uma mulher e o filho. Vivem sobretudo...

ME: Sim.

F: Em família. E mesmo sendo filho meu, a decisão sobre a criança não depende esatamente só do pai e da mãe.

ME: Não.

F: A decisão é tomada pela toda a família, que compreende os avós, os tios, as tias, os primos... Vivem-se numa forma em que a decisão é colegial. Cada decisão é mesmo ainda legal. Entanto, tudo isso, para uma pessoa não cair nisso, a pessoa precisa ser mesmo forte, muito forte para não deixar cair nisso. Então isso é também a dificuldade que os dois pais têm em perceberem obviamente fugendo aquela área aquela situação. Tendo em conta este pormenor [...].

ME: Sim. O que estava a achar é que também há um certo relacionamento entre esta prática e a questão do casamento forçado, e do casamento precoce, sobretudo. Porque muitas vezes, se uma menina for muito jovem, já ter filhos numa idade ainda... Antes de madurecer, se uma menina tiver filhos com doze, catorze anos, ela não está preparada para ter um filho, até o próprio corpo tem dificuldades em proporcionar o nascimento numa criança e uma menina com aquela idade, mãe, se tiver uma criança com deficiência, não tem uma vontade e uma força para poder proteger e salvaguardar a sua criança.

F: Mmm isso, quer dizer, uma criança com aquela idade não está em condições de decidir nada sobre ela mesmo, quanto mais para o filho que vai ter.

ME: Pois è, esatamente.

F: Aí, quando ela tem um filho, ela está neste casamento que, que é forçado, e ela está lá, mas só faz o que os outros dizem. Se disserem, pronto fazer isso e isso, isso é que tem de ser feito. Ela não tem como dizer não, é minha filha não sei que, em cima de tudo, muitas destas crianças que são dadas em casamentos forçado aos doze, treze anos, que escola, que escolaridade que esta criança pode ter, lá naquela comunidade para ter informações suficientes de poder recusar a isso? Não tem. Então, e tendo em conta aquelas circunstancias de como elas vivem, então faz esatamente como que, se nascer uma criança daquelas situação naquele tipo de casamento, obviamente que a criança é levada e é feito o que sobretudo, os familiares e o marido perceberem... Seria que fazer com aquela criança.

ME: Sim.

F: E ela não terá maneira de não ou de opor-se aquela decisão. Você não está em condições de [?] para isso.

ME: De forma alguma. Esta questão do casamento precoce e casamento forçado, foram uns que me disseram que não é uma questão tradicional. Quer dizer, antigamente não era assim. Como é que as coisas....?

F: Na verdade, o que tradicional é o casamento forçado.

ME: Ou seja, já combinado.

F: Mmm. Casamento foçado sempre existiu.

ME: Como casamento forçado, a senhora está a falar dum casamento combinado pelos pais?

F: É isso, onde vamos pelos pais em que a própria menina em causa, ela, ela não é perguntada nada, não é, a sua opinião não é tida em conta.

ME: Sim.

F: Isso desde os primeiros [?], mesmo cá na Europa, e nos outros, antigamente foi sempre assim. Os pais são que decidem. Aguarda. [????] Como a menina que ficava na sua casa até quase os seios caírem porque significa que é uma pessoa já formada, de dezoito anos e que pode ir em casamento. Mas ultimamente o que está a acontecer? Os pais, como nós falamos relativamente a esta questão, o que eles nos dizem. O uso de nós darmos as nossas filhas cedo em casamento tem algumas explicações porque primeiro porque na escola deixaram-na para mais tempo, elas depois forem escolarizadas, recusam ouvirem o que nós dizemos. Obviamente, porque as meninas já vão adquirir conhecimento, sabem que têm direitos, sabem que devem, elas sabem que têm direito de escolher o seu parceiro e recusam ao casamentos forçados que os pais dão.

ME: E também depois crescem, desenvolvem uma vontade própria mais forte.

F: E elas vão querer fazer muitas outras coisas por, por querem continuar a estudar, podem ter uma [?] Porque os pais não.... Por outro lado, nos dizem que damos agora em casamento porque senão ficavam grávidas. Porque hoje em dia também temos uma taxa de grávida... De gravidez precoce. Então os pais dizem vocês dizem para não obrigar ao casamento e depois elas ficam grávidas! E isso....

ME: Em relação a esta taxa de gravidez precoce, é devida a uma falta de sistema contraceptivo? O que é que...?

F: Não.

ME: Quer dizer, esta taxa aumentou nos últimos anos, ou já era uma questão comum?

F: A taxa aumentou nos últimos anos, não é uma questão de falta de contraceptivos, mas é uma questão de falta de informação sobre utilização de contraceptivos. Contraceptivos existem.

ME: Sim

F: Quem for no centro de saúde tem este serviço que são gratuitos, mas o problema é a própria falta de informação. Eeehhhh nem todos os sítios têm centro de saúde. Algumas meninas estão lá no centro de saúde e hoje em dia, a questão é a falta da educação sexual dentro da própria família. Porque tradicionalmente os pais não falam com os filhos relativamente as questões sexuais.

ME: É uma questão taboo.

F: É uma questão que é taboo, que não é discutida, por parte das próprias famílias. E hoje em dia eeehhh o sexo passou a ser iniciado muito mais cedo do que dantes. Por uma, por várias razões...

ME: Sim. Mas este também é um efeito da globalização.

F: É isso.

ME: Porque antigamente, também nas culturas católicas, o sexo não era aceite antes do casamento. Agora já...

F: Não só católicas, em todas as culturas! Ninguém tinha relações sexuais antes do casamento

ME: Agora, a questão é se banalizou

F: Eeh, a questão se banalizou muito, o sexo começou a ser muito mais aberto as meninas começaram a fazer sexo muito cedo e sem informação e sem proteção e fez com que... Ficam grávidas. É o que está lá a acontecer e os pais acham que por isso, uma forma de contornar isso, é dar as filhas cedo em casamento, pronto, ficando grávidas é uma vergonha para os pais, e para a família, é uma deshonra familiar e tudo isso, então é por

isso que estão a dar as crianças mais cedo em casamento. Então estes dois fatores estão a jogar muito fortemente em cima dessa prevalência elevada da taxa dos casamentos infântis. Eehh.... [?]

ME: Eu vi, quando estava aí, em Quinhamel, estive aí a fazer umas entrevistas com as mulheres que iam a consulta da gravida, no hospital, portanto aproveitava daqueles dias da consulta para ntervistar e falar mais com estas mulheres, porque pronto estão numa condição da sua vida em que estão mais perto já a ter relação com os meninos, crianças, tudo isso. E algumas delas até não lembravam qual idade tinham quando casaram. Algumas diziam "pronto, eu sempre fiquei com o meu marido desde que era criança", e que... As mesmas história, são quase incríveis, uma criança, o que se lembra da sua vida é sempre ter vivido com o marido , desde que tinha quatro, cinco anos.

F: Não, quando dizem criança é.... Temos lá uma idade... Não não se vai viver com o marido logo tradicionalmente na GB.

ME: Mmm

F: Ninguém vai viver com o marido a partir de quatro anos, isso não dá, isso nunca temos.

ME: Ok. Então era uma percepção errada delas...

F: É uma forma delas.... É uma forma delas falarem, mas com quatro, cinco anos, ninguém na GB vai viver, é verdade, temos muito que mudar na GB que dá a criança em casamento mas... Não, não dá nesta idade. Acontece que... Elas já são educadas, quando estão a recordar das coisas já sabem que têm, mmm, um rapaz a qual foram prometidas. Portanto, foram prometidas a alguém, e... Acho que, até chegarem a idade propícia, é que são dadas. Hoje em dia esta forma de prometer alguma noiva.. Já, já não temos. Já não temos. E se prometer quando a criança vai, quando a criança nasce, já vem a família do marido para ver como é a menina, então eu vi pegar um [vito] para o meu filho, para não sei que, hoje em dia já não temos isso. Havia dantes, agora não, não temos, mas são depois dadas... Muito, muito novas em casamento. Por evitar tudo isso, de ficarem grávidas, de depois não obedecerem aos pais eehhh... de estarem mais a pensar na escola e outros.

ME: E a relação entre educação e direitos humanos. No sistema de ensino da GB, há alguma norma para todas as escolas cumprirem o programa escolar?

F: Não. Que eu saiba, ainda não.

ME: Há uma grande variedade de [?] escolas públicas, escolas privadas, etc...

F: Sim agora os tipos de escolas... Existem escolas eehh... que já falam dessas questões. Mas oficialmente, univocamente que dirige as escolas para falar de direitos humanos não, nunca não existe. Pelo menos, que eu saiba ainda não existe este documento. E nós.. O que temos estado a fazer, no quadro não só do Comité para o Abandono das Práticas Tradicionais nefastas, mas também de outras organizações que trabalham na área dos DH, é fazer com que isso aconteça, com mais coisas tentamos que aconteça o que.... A partir da escola pública, a partir do próprio governo e produzido manuais escolares, material didático que já contenham esta tematica.

ME: Sim.

F: A partir daí é que se pode obrigar as escolas, porque senão tu não vais obrigar as escolas a falar duma coisa que eles não têm, não sabem como fazer. Quanto... Tem que ser o Estado a promover, a preparar tudo isso para depois puderem chegar a esse ponto de falar obrigatoriamente sobre este questão, mas eeh...h DH é uma questão, esta, a própria palavra tem dimensão de direito humanos encontrará uma obra supostamente [?] a dizer o que significa, nunca fala-se muito disso na GB em termos de organizações e sociedade civil e outros fala-se, mas tudo o.. Não.

ME: Fala-se fala-se muito

F: Sim

ME: Eu ouvi... E depois há sempre uma reação muito forte cada vez que as pessoas ouvem que alguém está a pesquisar ou investigar alguma coisa em relação aos DH, há uma reação muito forte. Eeh.... é mesmo, a primeira coisa que aparece e transpare

F: Mmm. Eu acho isso sim. Que temos muita... A informação ainda não chegou ao ponto que nós queremos. Mas aos poucos, a população está a aprender noções sobre DH. Sobretudo tratando-se dos centros urbanos.

ME: Sim.

F: Quase em todos os centros urbanos, se eu falar sobre questões dos DH, encontrarei respostas junto das populações. Em Bissau, Bafata, Gabu, Bulama, São Domingos, Cacheu... Certas local... A questão dos DH, a população sabe do que se está a falar.

ME: A senhora não acha que, tal como acontece com outras religiões pode-se criar uma situação de sincretismo entre conhecimento sobre DH e as questões tradicionais que as pessoas aprenderam já em anos e anos de vida? Por exemplo, o que eu reparei, sobretudo na região de Biombo, pronto, é a região que cheguei a conhecer melhor, as pessoas viviam numa situação de forte sincretismo, nomeadamente entre crença animista e católicas, protestantes, ou evangélicas, mas conseguem juntar as duas situações, ou as dois grupos de crenças a coniver em si. O que cria uma situação de confusão...

F: Não, não cria! É que ninguém [?] fala. Apesar de existirem várias religiões, sempre as pessoas conviveram com todas as religiões juntas. Da mesma forma que encontra crianças de várias religiões a conviverem juntas, assim também encontra adultos da mesma religião, não temos este problema na GB.

ME: Sim.

F: Eeehhh se há uma coisa dos DH que é respeitado na GB é a liberdade religiosa. Podemos estar na mesma casa, cada um a aproveitar da sua religião. Nós não temos este problema na GB. E, por exemplo, veja agora, estamos em casa com a Estrela de Natal. E todos vêm comemorar!

ME: Qualquer religião que seja...

F: Mesmo muçulmanos, qualquer religião que seja! Todos comemoramos. Nós se há uma coisa dos DH que conseguimos ganhar bem, e encarar e interiorizar é a nossa questão da liberdade religiosa. Muito bem, nós não temos problemas neste sentido. As vezes, por exemplo, há uma cerimónia, eu acompanho. Falei se alguém, um amigo, uma pessoa que eu conheço da religião católica, eu sou muçulmana, vou lá, vou à igreja, entro na igreja, assisto à missa, levanto-me, sinto-me, quando vejo que é para levantar levanto-me, quando é para sentar, me sinto, não sei rezar, não sei fazer aquelas coisa, mas eu faço tudo o que elas fazem. Se morre um muçulmano, na GB, lá vão os cristianos a irem para a mesquita, acompanhar o corpo para a reza... Nós não temos este problema na GB. E isso vem desde criança. Daí que crianças de várias religiões a, a conviver nessa situação não há problema nenhum. Como.. Isso... Porque...

ME: O que é ótimo.

F: Ensina aos adultos a viverem nessa situação, ninguém [...?]

ME: Isso é muito bom.

F: Muito bom, isso sim.

ME: Eh, a melhor coisa.

F: Eh, é a melhor coisa que temos, é muito bom, a melhor coisa que temos. Por exemplo, temos por exemplo, um exemplo agradável, como isto, o exemplo da Mansoa. Mansoa tem religião católica, grande, boa forte, e tem o presidente da União Nacional Muçulmano da GB que também vive em Mansoa, e uma escola corânica grande e um Imam lá que faz isso... Eeehhhh... Quando tem as atividades deles, a nível religioso, outro, islâmico, vão lá para a igreja católica fazer, porque a igreja católica tem salão grande, tem um sítio onde se pode rezar muitas pessoas, vão na igreja católica. Vê?

ME: Pelo menos há...

F: Na GB quando temos aqueles encontros anual de muçulmano, de Gambia, que se reza à noite até de manhã, não sei o que, vem o padre católico a assistir. E fica lá. E o padre é dada palavra, a falar, no meio dos muçulmanos, que observam, eu penso, se é uma coisa boa que nós temos, é isso, é um exemplo que poderia também, para vocês que vão por exemplo a pesquisa e outras coisas na GB, podiam também trazer estes bons exemplos da GB para fora.

ME: Sim.

F: Para ver como é que duas religiões que não são parte do mesmo mundo, nem se compreendem.

ME: Esatamente.

F: São contraditório, vivem tão juntas. E se entedem tão bem. Na rádio católica, que é a rádio Sol Mansi, que é um rádio Católico na Gb, há um programa, de de de religião de muçulmanos... Tem [?] De muçulmanos, eh? Só por ver como é que é a convivência da Gb, uma convivência que poderia ser exportada também.

ME: Sim.

F: Sim?

ME: E que seria preciso mesmo exportarmos, sobretudo, agora, que é uma altura de grande intolerância.

F: É não é? Deveria ser exportado em outras parte para mostrar, para todos, os muçulmanos e isso é aquilo e não sei o que, mas nós no temos isso. O muçulmano está aqui dentro, por isso, se nós saíamos juntos, ninguém olhava para dizer que os muçulmanos são aquele Estado.

ME: Não.

F: Ninguém pode saber. Ninguém na mesma forma mística, não sei... Não, nem, nem, nem a ser de longe. Por exemplo dantes na Gb, vestia-se roupa grande, africana, que sabiam de loja de roupa africana, dantes só os muçulmanos usavam. Os outros não eam muçulmanos, as mulheres só se usavam vestidos, saias, coisas assim. E tu usava o pano, este grande [buço] eram muçulmanos. Mas hoje em dia, chegas em Bissau para o vestuário, não sabe quem é que está a ter um muçumano

ME: Não não dá para reconhecer...

F: Não dá para reconhecer! Porque eu sou muçulmano, gosto de usar as minhas calças e os meus calções. Eu posso, mantendo o fds, eu uso o meu [?] Com um calção curto e vou à minha vida. Mas eu sou muçulmana! E encontro, que eu saio, encontro, eeehhh, uma [...] Com roupa grande, tem um chão com pano, lenço amarrado e tudo, mas é... É cristão, está a ver?. Então, esta eu acho que é uma coisa que é muito positivo, e que obviamente isso não interrompe, não cria confusão nenhuma para, para as crianças e, pelo contrário, ajuda às crianças a aprenderem a conviverem juntos, agora cada um siga a sua forma de ser, os seus sentimentos, o seu caminho que vier a escolher. É isso, ajuda muito, muito mesmo. Também ajuda na formação pessoal, ajuda na formação de cada um... Mesmo, ajuda na vida toda para as pessoas se aperceberem de forma que dá para viverem melhor. desta forma as pessoas conseguem viver uma vida de outro forma, conviver em paz.

ME: E quais são as práticas nefastas em que o Comité e a senhora se concentram? Quais são consideradas práticas nefastas?

F: Olha, práticas nefastas são todas as práticas que são nocivas da nossa saúde. Apesar destes que já estamos a falar, que é aqui, são também práticas nefastas. Nós combatemos essencialmente as que são mais visíveis de hoje em dia e cada dia também estamos a descobrir de novas. É stando dentro das comunidades que vamos descobrindo outras, outras práticas. Combatemos sobretudo a prática da mutilação genital feminina, o trabalho infantil e [...] A não escolarização, mesmo entre raparigas, a violência domestica, o sistema tradicional de herança, eeehhh, beh são outras formas e tradições de herança, formamos criança talibé eeehhh as violações sexuais entre outras práticas estas são as parte que mais, todo dia, combatemos por serem as mais, as mais visíveis, são estas aqui...

ME: E, uma vez falei com uma senhora das UN, e ela disse-me que o paradigma de... Que as UN seguem nas suas atividades na Gb, como em outros países, é que cada vez que uma cultura contraria ou não cumpre com os DH, tal como enunciados nas cartas internacionais, dada cultura tem que mudar para se conformar com os DH enunciados. A senhora o que é que acha disso?

F: Então, eu penso que... Eu penso que isso depende. Depende da maneira em que, por exemplo, eeehhh, quando falamos por exemplo da MGF, eeehh, é uma, não é, para mim, é uma tradição. Eh? É uma tradição. Eeehh, bom. É verdade que para se conformar com os DH esta prática deve ser tolerada, mas é verdade que não é só uma questão de, por exemplo, acabar com a mutilação genital feminina, é também uma questão da saúde pessoal e da saúde reprodutiva.

ME: Sim.

F: Então, se [...] ela obviamente deve ser, deve ser abandonada. Obviamente que temos esse, esse problema, dia a dia como eu disse, estamos a trabalhar na convivência, estamos descobrindo cada vez mais culturas que violam DH. E são culturas que violam estes direitos, a verdade é que so difíceis a serem abandonadas, mas é necessários educar para o seu abandono. É necessário educar para o seu abandono. Por isso é que estas questão dos DH deve-se começar, desde agora, e ser introduzidas na escola. Porque um jovem, criança, é o homem de amanhã. Se ele já conhece os DH, provavelmente quando será adulto e quer constituir a sua família, não teremos depois que tentar mudar a [figura] dele. É ele mesmo que antecipadamente na sua cabeça já tem as coisas todas no lugar. Não irá aceitar isso porque irá ver essa coisa como uma questão de não respeito dos DH e ela está [...] Está educada para respeitar os DH

ME: Sim

F: Eh. E quando ves uma coisa que acha justa e [voa] para aquilo

ME: Assim não se vai a contrariar algo que a pessoa acha ser bom [para ninguém escolher isso]

## Interview to Padre Michael Daniels, priest of Quinhamel Catholic Mission

Padre Michael Daniels has been living in Guinea Bissau for about twelve years, during eight of which was the catholic bishop of the capital city, Bissau. He is also the founder of *Comissão Paz e Justiça*, which aim is to promote knowledge and respect for HR

ME: La mia ricerca si concentra su questa questione dei bambini che non sono considerati bambini, quindi perché culturalmente, tradizionalmente, eticamente, ontologicamente, tutte le ragioni d'essere, non sono considerati come delle persone umane, ma sono considerati spiriti, e quindi come spiriti non hanno gli stessi diritti che si danno ad un bambino, quindi hanno un altro tipo, diverso tipo di cure, di affetto, di considerazione, diverso tipo di trattamento, ed anche una diversa tristezza quando poi se ne vanno, le persone non piangono, non diventano tristi allo stesso modo quando "allontanano" questo bambino, quando lo portano al fiume. Molte volte quello che ho sentito dire é che addirittura le famiglie si sentono alleviate dall'essere riusciti a liberare la famiglia da questo spirito. Visto che lei ormai é qua da tanti anni, sono più di dieci anni che é qua, e che nelle tante iniziative che ha fatto ha avuto la possibilità di entrare in contatto sia con famiglie che hanno avuto bambini che stavano bene, sani, che sono riusciti ad andare a scuola, formarsi, ma anche è entrato in contatto con tante famiglie che hanno avuto vari tipi di problemi. Problemi come abbiamo visto anche la settimana scorsa, come la signora col parto gemellare a cui uno dei bambini è morto a causa del malfunzionamento dell'ospedale; un'altra signora, sempre morta di parto a causa di un altro malfunzionamento dell'ospedale e ritardi; quindi, situazioni già ne ha viste tante. Volevo quindi chiederle qual'è la sua esperienza in questa realtà.

FREI MICHAEL: Beh la prima cosa é che, ci confrontiamo su dei valori di riferimento che creano le visioni come si sono strutturati in ciascuno di noi, nazionalmente, quindi per zone di provenienza e la storia che queste storie di provenienza, dove le persone abitano, ha avuto nei secoli e millenni. Quindi, io porto ovviamente, nelle mie espressioni qui di seguito, una lettura quindi che parte da me rispetto esattamente a quello che trovo ed ho trovato. E, una prima cosa è che, evidentemente, quello che possono essere considerate e chiamate sul pannello di fondo di alcuni diritti umani in genere - dico alcuni perché anche qui purtroppo il concetto a volte é plastico in riferimento ad alcuni Paesi che non hanno acquisito un modo di comportarsi e di rispettare dei diritti, tra cui però le persone sono chiamate anche a dei doveri, e in altri Paesi non é così. Questo é il primo grado di distinzione. E allora dico: cosa é che struttura delle pratiche nefaste per alcune persone in altri Paesi, dove invece non é considerato così localmente, qui in Guinea Bissau. Tipo il centro dell'argomento. Perlomeno, per alcune persone o categorie di persone, che categorie qui significa, può essere una pratica a volte legata o a una religiosità, religione o religiosità, o semplicemente a volte a gruppi etnici, e/o trasversale a una di queste realtà. Come mai si struttura? Eh, io son convinto che la conclusione di certe pratiche é legata a quelli che sono innanzitutto, dal punto di vista antropologico, innanzitutto alla conclusione dell'interpretazione dei miti ancestrali sul bene e il male e le forme che affliggono la persona umana, come fronteggiare una persona che ha il tal fenomeno che si manifesta, e la conclusione di ciascuno è frutto di un percorso. Ecco qui io pongo quello che io chiamo gli scarti di civiltà.

ME: mmm

FM: In questo senso, con scarti di civiltà non voglio dire che qualcuno è inferiore o superiore, ma sono i livelli che io considero di interiorizzazione dei valori più alti: la vita, il rispetto della vita, la considerazione delle persone umane in toto, con diritti e doveri anche quando viene al mondo con, come le chiamiamo oggi, diverse abilità. Invece che solo disabilità. Non ha scelto lui, etc, ed a volte é stata prodotta addirittura questa disabilità, qui da pratiche, mal pratiche qui alla nascita. Allora cosa dire. Qui si struttura sulla visione che una persona ha di quel male o di quel limite o di quel fenomeno che affligge un bambino, o in questo caso una creatura, per cui si accorgono, ossia quello che loro gli attribuiscono uno spirito, tanto per essere semplici, animato da qualcosa oltre alle sembianze umane che ha, e quindi l'unico modo per combatterlo che ha è ricorrere a delle pratiche che poi, come si sono strutturate degli studi del modo con cui le persone lidano nella ricerca che lei avrà fatto sul terreno di a cosa rispondono, perché portano il bimbo là, vicino all'acqua e ci mettono delle cose, l'uovo etc e queste cose qua. Ogni cosa ha un significato. Di solito lo spiegano ognuno a modo suo, io lascio a ogni civiltà spiegarlo. Io commento solo della mia sensibilità, ovviamente. Però io questiono perché da un lato è vero e io sono contrario a



questa pratica, ma lo sono contrario anche da noi dove in realtà se noi con le diagnosi prenatali sapessimo che una persona nascesse con delle diverse abilità, e qui entra in contraddizione, quindi, anche il mondo da cui proveniamo noi, noi ci arroghiamo il diritto di eliminare la persona ancora nel ventre materno perchè ci é scomodo vederlo nascere e poi veniamo magari ad accusare che di qua fanno la pratica nefasta, ma non consideriamo nefasta la nostra di eliminare...

ME: No, perchè la nostra è scientifica e quindi ...

FM: Eh, e allora io mi domando: ma non è quello. La questione è che la persona ha un unico percorso obbligatorio per poter nascere. Parte da un ventre di qualcuno che lo ha portato ed esce come esce. A volte, ripeto, purtroppo, qui si è una colpa che la scarsa formazione alla nascita, come si maneggia un bambino fin dalla nascita, la neonatalità etc, produce a volte dei danni che non c'erano, erano evitabili, irreversibili, al bimbo, e dopo gli si attribuisce che il bambino che è nato con dei problemi, è uno spirito etc etc; quando siamo stati a volte noi uomini a produrglielo semplicemente per scarsa pratica buona e eccetera, che si apprende in una buona prassi infermieristica, però andando a scuola. Ecco, quindi lo scarto di civiltà è dovuto, ad esempio, all'ignoranza dei beni dei saperi delle conoscenze che si trasmettono nelle scuole, adeguate, frequentando. Ora, qui ritorno al discorso: le civiltà rimaste molto arcaiche usano pratiche anche, a volte, di questo tipo. Ecco, allora qui è considerato un bene la scolarizzazione che porta anche però le conoscenze che fanno concludere diversamente i percorsi con i saperi che si possiedono, sarebbe un percorso per me auspicabile, la scuola per tutti, dove ci sono grosse fette di popolazione, di persone che vivono qui, anche dentro questo villaggio grosso, cittadina come possiamo chiamarla, ma che vivono arcaicamente, lo si vede, basta fare due passi fuori da questa porta. Ecco vivono con questa mentalità e se la portano anche nella città grande come la capitale e se la portano anche quando migrano a volte all'estero, alcune pratiche nefaste... ecco e che cosa è che fa la persone. Perchè va in giro con quella base di valori con cui lei si è strutturata e giudica il mondo e le cose. Notare questo e cambiare questo tipo di giudizio conclusivo sui fenomeni dove tu concludi però facendo delle pratiche, però ripeto, noi consideriamo nefaste, sul fenomeno applicato qui in Guinea e ovunque lo si applica, ecco, eh... io lo considero in negativo, però sto parlando anche come Frate Michael anche con la mia religiosità, considero negativo anche il giudicarlo se fosse una civiltà come quella europea, scientifica, puramente solo razionalista, che fa riferimento, perchè anche là del resto, alla fin fine il motivo delle diagnosi precoci servono solo per dire che un figlio così non lo voglio, insomma non lo vogliamo nè prima della nascita nè dopo la nascita. La conclusione è che due civiltà che hanno percorsi magari le origini simili, e quasi uguali, che poi si sono distanziati nei millenni, però alla fine, arriviamo per paradosso che gli estremi si toccano.

ME: esatto.

FM: Ecco, per cui io questo lo dico, in un mondo rotondo, una sfera, se noi andiamo in direzioni opposte partendo dallo stesso punto, facciamo il giro ci reincontriamo. Questo sta avvenendo per tanti fenomeni, non solo questo, ben altro, un bel po' di cose, la pedofilia, è un pedofilo da noi uno che si unisce con qualcuno con qualcuno sotto i 18 anni, bisogna vedere le circostanze, è vero, le leggi, bisogna andarle a vedere, abbiamo famosi anche casi in Italia, eccetera eccetera, però pedofilia in una città dove qui partoriscono ancora, 14, 13, 15 anni, e se un europeo venisse qua e facesse quello che vuol fare con una persona dove è abituata a far sesso sotto i 18 anni è pedofilia o no? Qual è il termine di confronto quando la cultura tutto sommato, vede accetta succede, nessuno commenta e basta. Al massimo concludono che, sì, chi è un po' più sviluppato, forse, a livello di concetti, dice ma il valore in gioco è che tu ti perdi la bellezza di poter chiudere un ciclo scolastico che ti può aprire qualche conoscenza in più, possibilità in più di sviluppare altro che non sia solo spazzare la veranda, cucinare obbligatoriamente e andare a prendere l'acqua tutti i giorni e fare i figli e basta e questo è, il ruolo imposto da una visione della società, e magari la donna non ha nessun altro ruolo possibile mentre il ragazzo per quanto ha messo al mondo la creatura può scappare da questi impegni perchè può anche addirittura andare a fare figli con altri e non assumersi neanche quelli che ha messo al mondo. Ma, per noi è pedofilia, se lo facciamo dalle nostre parti eccetera eccetera, per cui in ogni caso noi arrogheremo la questione dell'aborto, che si fa anche qua eventualmente, per chi desidera, ma ritorno a ripetere: qua non è pedofilia. Nessuno dice, se ne parla quando si, abbiamo strati più educati e maggiori, si sta cercando di importare la visione che la persona ha delle tappe nella vita e meglio che prima sviluppi quello che sviluppano tutto il complesso che fa la persona umana, eccetera, però ecco ancora una volta, ripeto perchè abbiamo persone che vengono dall'estero, non necessariamente europee o dal mondo occidentale, come si dice, che è anche un concetto errato, tra l'altro, perchè in una sfera tutti hanno qualcuno a

occidente. E dobbiamo cominciare a modificare le terminologie, però in genere, qui comunque, qui si unisce, dico, è molto difficile a volte parlare anche di questo, volendo dare anche un giudizio morale sul fenomeno. La cosa più corretta è dire che ognuno si assume le sue, beh io sono profondamente contrario in questo momento come frate Michael, evidentemente, a questa pratica, ho accompagnato dei casi per evitare l'eliminazione dei bimbi nel passato perché considero un infanticidio, semplicemente, come lo considero anche nel ventre di una persona. Distinguo a volte, per dei casi, le situazioni, eccetera, però ecco, comunque lo considero un infanticidio. E.. è coinciso con l'implementazione per rafforzare l'idea che uccidere questi bambini considerati posseduti da delle presenze animate di altro mondo insomma invisibili ma che comunque possono agire sul corpo di questi bimbi, ecco, con l'aumento di questa sensibilizzazione, come si dice, nella testa delle persone con programmi radio, con cercare con qualche legge di, anche se è ben da verificare anche cosa c'è scritto in materia ecco sui diritti dei bambini eccetera ecco l'inizio di sentire che la polizia lo Stato inizia a punire chi si rendesse responsabile di tali pratiche ha portato forse qualche persona più sensibile, questo è un punto a favore nel caso del mio giudizio sulla questione, qualche donna che aveva sentito che volevano sacrificare il loro bimbo ehhh... Quel bimbo nella cerchia familiare e loro non volevano, hanno portato a portare questi casi nelle mie mani ed io ad accompagnare il processo fino alla brigata criminale per il minore, per i bambini che la polizia giudiziaria ha e guarda caso due casi nell'arco di un mese, vorrei dire più o meno se non ricordo male, e questo quando ero a Bissau, oltre quattro anni fa, tra i cinque ed i sei anni fa mi sono capitati due casi così diretti che ho accompagnato ecco ehh... E credo quindi che una delle risposte se volessimo considerarlo considerandolo come una pratica negativa, per me, e per chi così lo considera, è sicuramente un lavoro che deve essere fatto sulla base della bontà o della malignità, ma che si basa in questo caso sulle conoscenze delle cose ecco qui a volte spiegare che è qui se ci si basa su una scientificità della conoscenza che è un conoscere non unico non necessariamente preciso su tutto ma in questo caso spiega semplicemnete perchè una persona è nata così piuttosto che così e che non è una questione di spiriti ecco perchè bisogna pensare all'origine alla bontà di ogni persona questa è la visione mia personale che è della Chiesa nessuno nasce cattivo o inficiato da del male se non è un male come lo possiamo considerare di natura fisica biologica, non si è scelto, ma quella non dipende dal bambino, eh, e quindi attribuirgli un male che non è suo è scorretto fin dall'origine. Ecco è una scelta che noi facciamo ed è un'attribuzione che noi facciamo e non è corretta ecco perchè cosa distingue un bambino nato con una diversa abilità da uno che nasce sano e dopo diventa il dittatore di turno che fa venti milioni di morti, chi è più sano. Io ripeto sempre queste frasi per esser molto tagliente su quando noi decidiamo e qui ritorno anche sul nostro caso che parlano di aborti e altre pratiche adesso che stanno avanzando adesso con le conoscenze eccetera; io lo chiamo il mondo elettromeccanico e tecnologico pertanto Europa USA Australia i Paesi e così via, Svezia, Paesi nordici, eccetera Canada, dove si propongono un sacco di pratiche a piacere nostro di chiuqnue come vuole, qualunque legge, ecco io non sono assolutamente a favore di una società che vuole A ed il contrario di A perchè vuol dire non avere nessun riferimento etico, ecco e quando non si vuole nessun riferimento etico siamo dei bizzosi dei capricciosi che decidono qualunque cosa vogliono e la legiferano, anche questo è contrario alla visione della Chiesa, ma poi dico, direttamente, ci sono dei principi che non possono essere toccati, perchè anche uccidere una persona allora quando è nata può essere semplicemente un aborto ritardato, semplicemente. Un adulto di 50 anni se io gli sparo adesso e gli dico perchè sei nato con una cosa che ripugna socialmente e [?] non lo abbiamo fatto quando avevi pochi mesi, settimane perchè lo dice la legge.

[phone call]

FM: Ecco quindi ripeto a me non piacciono i concetti imperialismo di valore, iper-relativisti che però non hanno il coraggio di andare fino in fondo con le scelte, cioè nella definizione delle scelte. Abbiamo voluto l'aborto, si è lasciato votare liberamente il popolo, benissimo. Adesso vogliamo i figli in tutti i modi possibili però. È un'altra delle questioni. Però vogliamo poterli eliminare quando ci piace però vogliamo anche averli in tutte le forme possibii quando vogliamo no? e stiamo creando dei ventri surrogati perchè c'è la [vista] perchè intorno ci sono i soldi, si può pagarli, in India ci sono migliaia di donne in attesa che si presentano come le mucche, che io sono veterinario, alcune si prendono esterne di qua però queste considerate che dan tanto latte, se incrociano, il germa, lo sperma di qua e fecondiamo questa magari ci viene fuori che un'unione che dà ambas, l'aspetto c'è, cioè stiamo facendo un mercato anche degli uteri di fatto eccetera eccetera perchè, perchè si guadagna due, tre quattro, cinquemila dollari a parto perchè si assumono i rischi tutto sommato e noi copriamo con queste magari frasi ecco

il fatto che una persona si assume però tutti i rischi effettivamente bisogna dare la compensazione giusta, perchè se morisse, c'è il rischio, c'è. Mah semplicemente io potrei dire, mah invece che volere un figlio che ti accorgi che alla fine non è neanche tuo, perchè non puoi semplicemente adottare le migliaia, i milioni..

ME: Ce ne sono tantissimi di bambini che sono nati e non hanno avuto fortuna..

FM: Anche qui quelli che danno alla luce continuiamo a parlarne, abbiamo detto all'inizio dell'intervista, che ce ne sono che muoiono un sacco di mamme, ed in altri Paesi, perchè non vi prendete questi? Facilitiamo piuttosto le leggi e per quello si può permettere di adottare dentro dei limiti sani e basta, dico, no, piuttosto che lasciare un sacco di lasciati esattamente abbandonati a della povertà peggiori che non si sono scelte perchè non dare già invece che spendere diecimila, cinquanta, sessantamila dollari, dipendendo da dove eccetera che vogliono in quelle cifre lì, che sono i soldi per poterlo allevare per tutta una vita e dargli una dignità ad uno che già esiste che non avrà mai quella possibilità e nasce in mezzo al fango eccetera eccetera

[phone call]

FM: Ecco, quindi ritorno alla lettura di questo fenomeno antropologico, cioè va letto negli usi e costumi di un popolo, quindi anche le valenze sociali o no, e bisogna farsi delle domande, si vedono portatori di deficienza. Però bisognerebbe anche qui fare uno studio statistico su quelli che sono arrivati portatori di deficienza e disabilità o diverse abilità da adulti e che percorso hanno avuto, sono diventati dopo e quindi hanno avuto una storia di "normalità" semplicemente e poi per qualche motivo sono andati fuori di testa, come e perchè. Uno. Qui ci sono delle malattie che comunque anche con febbri alte possono portare uno fuori di testa.

ME: si.

FM: quindi ci vogliono uno studio...

ME: si anche una malformazione fisica, psicologica..

FM: Esatto, ecco. Allora per quello è interessante lo studio per capire perchè non tutti sono stati eliminati, poi chi come perchè eccetera ecco perchè e poi appunto perchè comunque siamo qui, come probabilmente in altri posti hanno le loro interpretazioni queste persone, come le avevano nell'antica Grecia, eccetera eccetera, e se andiamo a vedere...

ME: antica Grecia, in Europa, nell'area anglofona...

FM: Tutto così, durante la 2GM, sotto il nazismo eccetera eccetera, bisogna vedere un po' ecco come sono interpretati ehh... Perchè oggi a distanza di settantanni la Germania che sembra un forte polo trainante di certe idee ed economia anche di questi valori di cui parliamo eccetera, però non ci si può scordare che ha - a livello di settantanni fa era quella che produceva quelli che facevano gli esperimenti anche sui portatori di deficienti considerati assolutamente inutili inefficienti per il regime nazional-socialista, ok e quindi...

ME: E quindi venivano eliminati..

FM: Come a distanza di settantanni possono pretendere magari qualcosa magari andando in giro per il mondo. Ecco perchè dico ci vuole sempre una certa prudenza nella valutazione etica. Qui io uso quello che da sempre la Chiesa dice, e che ha dovuto anche lei apprendere e imparare nella sua antropologia cristiana, che ogni essere comunque viene al mondo e non fa una scelta quando viene, è quella esiste, e credo che ci sono anche tanti portatori di disabilità che hanno, sono stati delle grandissime gioie anche nella mia esperienza personale con famiglie, in Italia e sono stati contentissimi di avere quei figli per morti, prima di arrivare all'anzianità eccetera, ecco portatrici di quelle disabilità ma senza aver dovuto essere sopresse, per esempio. Ecco se non avremmo dovuto sopprimere anche dico Beethoven che è morto...

ME: Si perchè...

FM: Quasi isolato dal mondo, ma la musica una volta conosciuta e memorizzata come suono interiore ha permesso che producesse ancora della bella musica fino alla morte. Ecco, in quel suo isolamento totale. Ecco, no... e quindi ecco un qualcosa viene sempre da chiunque, ecco, io ho imparato questo, anche se richiede attenzioni, cure...

ME: Diverse, speciali, oppure, ...

FM: Può essere considerato una persona inutile e/o altro conforme ogni, ogni, ogni nazione ecco i suoi usi e costumi interpreta queste persone, ecco.

ME: Secondo la sua opinione, dopo quello che ha visto negli ultimi anni stando qua, in tutto questo mondo della Guiné che sta cambiando molto, perchè ci sono tante cose che stanno cambiando oltre all'indipendenza, che è stata 40 anni fa, quindi poi cambiamenti di governo, la guerra, golpes de estado, al di là della situazione politica, però anche la società un po' alla volta sta cambiando. Cambiamenti interni perchè i giovani si spostano di più, poi la possibilità che ha dato di vedere le cose in interet, programmi in televisione, un po alla volta sono tutte cose che mescolano due mondi, mondo esterno e mondo interno e causano dei cambiamenti in quello che le persone fanno, vedono e credono. Tutto questo mondo di credenze e valor tradizionali lei vede che sta, c'è un cambiamento o le cose rimangono sotto sotto le stesse?

FM: No ecco, per due motivi, primo..

ME: Poco cambiamento?

FM: Eh si. Ritorno a quello che è stato detto prima. Primo perchè la richiesta di introdurre nelle legislazioni nazionali quello che è considerato un avanzo di civiltà nel far propri certi valori di rispetto al... sulla persona, sul bimbo eccetera eccetera viene principalmente dai paesi elettromeccanici, dell'emisfero nord mediterraneo del mondo, diciamo subito, nord america, ecco alias, US e sopra, perchè Nord America va su da Panama, ecco ma tanto per dircelo ecco che anche nel Sud del mondo comunque ci sta l'Australia, per cui parlo di una certa cultura, sono questi i Paesi che predominano nel fare, aver fatto entrare una concezione della vita verso i Paesi tradizionalmente chiamati in Via di Sviluppo o Sud del mondo, ma che in verità non corrisponde molto perchè più della metà del mondo popolato vive sopra l'equatore che definisce il Nord ed il Sud del mondo. anche qui continuiamo a sbagliare i concetti. Ecco quindi anche l'Africa stessa la metà vive sopra l'equatore perciò...

ME: Esatto

FM: Ecco, solo per dare un'idea. Per cui però la questione è che perchè i media non hanno un grossissimo impatto se non relativo, si ma relativo ripeto, perchè, perchè bisogna prima di tutto che ci sia una assunzione da parte di un governo realmente che questi sono dei valori ma come le persone che compongono un governo sono le stesse persone che vengono da quella popolazione, da quella civiltà, che visione hanno? Vestire giacca e cravatta per essere i parlamentari non vuol dire essere assolutamente perchè io sono in giacca e cravatta rappresento il modello da cui arrivo alla giacca e cravatta che noi produciamo come i Paesi nostri. Noi automaticamente riversiamo dei valori in una persona che veste o possiede... invece non corrisponde assolutamente. Avere un sacco di tecnologia in mano e vestire come persone che viene, che hanno prodotto queste cose e che vengono da un'altra civiltà non vuol dire che io ho assunto e evuto e ho, dico, automaticamente...

ME: Non ho interiorizzato...

FM: Esatto. E per cui ci vuole un lavoro mooolto graduale e poi non possiamo neanche essere maestri di granchè di valori umani in questo senso da far legiferare e implementare in altre nazioni come queste perchè, perchè in Europa quanto spazio hanno i diversamente abili in televisione? Diciamoci la verità. Per arrivare alla giornata per i Dawn perchè si riesca a dare un po' di visibilità, ma diciamo la verità, quanti hanno spazio in tutti i programmi che noi facciamo? Continuiamo a proporre sempre i vip, i belli di turno, la procacciona bellissima per attirare fare audience e poi vedere come va a finire chi vincerà. Perchè non lo facciamo un Grande Fratello con conqu, sei Dawn a eliminarsi uno all'altro?

ME: I programmi che riguardano persone con disabilità o differenti capacità sono quei programmi che dicono "ah coitadinho! mah guarda lui è riuscito..."

FM: È questa la verità! per cui dire solo se guardiamo un minuto poi ci inteneriamo un momentino però ci scordiamo che abbiamo nella nostra legislazione se quel bimbo lì che stiamo guardando oggi come giovane adulto in un programma televisivo io l'avessi avuto in pancia mia da piccolo io avrei detto no alla sua esistenza. Quindi ritorno a quello che ho detto siamo in un sacco di contraddizioni e non possiamo più esportare delle leggi perchè sono leggi che nascono in Paesi che vengono in contraddizione. O siamo univooci e seri nell'esportare tutta una visione del mondo o non lo siamo. Ecco perchè si fa fatica qua, perchè noi abbiamo dei messaggi contraddittori

anche da noi dove i media stessi ed i mezzi di comunicazione non danno grande spazio a questi casi che qui vengono sacrificati. Questa è la verità. È molto difficile. Ecco perchè dico, la globalizzazione dei mezzi di comunicazione, della circolazione delle persone e del know-how sta diventando molto complicata perchè c'è un mondo talmente frammentarizzato anche in tutti gli altri posti mentre almeno qui è abbastanza univoco o sono dei fannulloni totali o sono dei bugiardi e hanno le loro grandi virtù la loro civiltà da Adamo ed Eva semplice. Ci sono cose buone e meno buone difficili da interpretare rispetto a noi. Mi domando quale è più virtuoso come modello di impostazione? Se togliamo gli indicatori sulla povertà generale con cui, sì, certo, malattie, la scolarizzazione, un certo grado di igiene e salute, la condizione un po' dignitosa delle case che danno sicurezza eccetera, ma se tiriamo via queste cose qua, chi è che realmente, tornano le grandi cose, vive un po' meglio eccetera, questa è una pratica nefasta per non chiamare pratica nefasta le nostre legalizzate eccetera eccetera. È molto difficile un giudizio. Io lo dico perchè, perchè mi porto un valore univoco e non negoziabile come Fra Michael e anche come visione religiosa, là e qua ecco perchè adesso parlo così in quello che qualcuno può chiamare radicalismo. Non non è radicalismo semplicemente sono coerente con una linea ed una visione non negoziabile dei valori della vita. Ci sono persone che mettono, che fanno un estremo relativismo e vorrebbero portare qua e indicare qualcosa. È impossibile perchè neanche tu a casa tua...

ME: Hai una visione..

FM: Un cammino unico che ha, brava, che hai messo A al contrario di A nella tua legge, come vuoi poter insegnare che qua A è buono quando poi da te hai anche il contrario di A? E come puoi insegnare che eliminare uno dopo che può essere nato visto che comunque può essere considerato anche, ripeto, un aborto tardivo, semplicemente è un modello che uno può interpretare come si può applicare. E quindi non diventa più infanticidio ma è possibile semplicemente perchè è scomodo semplicemente vedere farlo.

ME: Perchè per noi...

FM: Perchè una persona nata e non vedere una non nata sta qui la grande differenza.

ME: Solo perchè abbiamo una concezione di.. identifichiamo e oggettiviamo le due cose in modo diverso perchè allora, questo lo vedo, venuto fuori da là, c'è questa tappa discriminatoria tra il prima ed il dopo. Ma..

[someone knocks at the door. Frei Michael tells him to come later - no fassi intervista, no na papia]

ME: Ma niente e nessuno vuol dire che se succede prima o succede dopo sia più o meno grave, ci sia più o meno vita.

FM: Sì, io poi ripeto sempre anche di abortisti, lascio il dialogo aperto solo su rarissimi casi, ma così da considerare semplicemente per questioni proprio di violenza forte fisica che eccetera, ma nessuno può discutere perchè alla fine tutti vediamo nascere da una cellula uovo fecondata, qualcuno che decida non possiamo essere ciò che possiamo essere adesso, adulti usciti parlati senzienti quello che siamo se non passiamo per quelle tappe prime. Per cui non si può scindere un essere da ciò che è prima dopo perchè ha un percorso unico nella vita da cui non si può prescindere. Sono discussioni che dico un relativismo veramente anche meschino, bugiardo che non vuole parlare dei fondamenti delle cose, ripeto, per giustificare semplicemente degli appetiti così come si chiamano perchè mi piace ed io decido così. Allora io ripeto così creiamo un mostro. Un domani si alza qualcuno che decide che l'aborto si può fare anche a qualunque momento della vita dopo che si è nati. Prendere pistole e l'idea più forte di turno che domani a livello di Stato applica ciò che crede ed inizia ad uccidere per categoria le persone che non gli piace. I negri, quelli coi capelli rossi, tutti quelli delle tal religione, lo fa, tutti quelli del tal partito politico, lo fa punto e basta. La storia di oggi, bisogna stare molto attenti, ecco perchè dico sulla base di quali valori anche purtroppo si fa oggi giorno sarà molto difficile fare delle ricerche sulla base di quali valori si sta a chi proponiamo anche dei frutti di che tipo di eehh... assistenze, come si dice in portoghese, mm.... di audience, di popolo di nazione, che è talmente frammentato e va a leggere i dati interpretare oggi è molto difficile.

ME: Sì

FM: Molto frammentato, nello stesso segno delle UN ci sono diverse posizioni. Le stesse missioni delle UN nel mondo a volte fanno fiasco per delle modalità diverse di agire di fare eccetera, e far fatica a rafforzare le idee

lei stessa a volte, di essere lo *chapeu* di certi valori nei consensi delle nazioni. Ecco un po per cui ci vorrebbe molta più coerenza all'origine dei valori. La UDHR è una base minima, ci sono altre dichiarazioni tutte un po...

ME: Su cui anche si concorda poco tante volte.

FM: Sì, poi ci sono delle dichiarazioni sui diritti dei bambini eccetera, e alcuni altri protocolli, così ratificati più o meno proposti che però non c'è univocità nelle diverse azioni. Ecco, e io dico semplicemente è una pratica negativa che va trasformata da dentro, cioè stando qua, in mezzo alle persone e lavorandoci e cercando di far capire la bontà e la negatività di una cosa. E allora mi dirà, ma in base a che? e io dico: noi ci siamo, stiamo parlandoci, perché un'altra persona non deve avere il diritto di esistere? E se qualcuno mette in dubbio l'esistenza io gli ripropongo allora, ha diritto di esistere una persona che è senziente, sana fra virgolette, mentalmente, eccetera e poi fa quello che vuole e una che invece è molto più inoffensiva e tranquilla anche se la devi imboccare tutti i giorni però non fa nessuna strage e ti aiuta a sapere cosa è la cura e la reciprocità di qualcun altro perché nessuno viene al mondo da solo, comunque e per cui è una scuola di cura anche per tutta la vita che lui avrà, perché anche tu lo avrai con te, non lo so, come fosse molto superficiale, io sulla base di questi valori, io dico: mi butto in gioco e propongo le cose. Ma se mi propone qualcosa di altamente contraddittorio, no. Per cui. Ecco, così.

October, 20th 2016

I interviewed Mr. Laudolino as chief director of the AMIC – Associação dos Amigos das Crianças, which is a Guinea born and run association who aim to promote the respect for human and, more specifically, children rights. In the past 25 years, AMIC has been active on diverse matters: children forced marriage, children abandonment and children exploitation. Besides intervention in the most severe cases, the Association promotes awareness of children rights.

LAUDOLINO: Na Guiné-Bissau, como deve calcular, portanto é um fenómeno que atravessa diferentes culturas e diferentes sociedades; toda a cultura e toda a sociedade guineense. Portanto trata esta questão da base dos seus usos... e costumes. Há diferentes casos quando falamos de CI. Há casos, por exemplo, que, as crianças cujas mães faleceram durante o parto. Estas crianças mesmo sendo crianças normais, normais fisicamente, são consideradas maus espíritos, ou seja, Irãs, como nós dizemos.

ME: Sim, porque causaram a mãe falecer.

L: Pois, dizem que ele é portador de mau espírito, portanto foi ela a causa da morte da mãe e como tal tem que voltar de onde saiu. [...] Portanto a criança é abandonada, é deixada a sua sorte ou as vezes é entregue a uma pessoa não sei se já tem esta informação, é uma pessoa idosa, na comunidade ou na aldeia, que nós chamamos, vulgarmente, tabanca. Esta senhora que vai tomar conta dela durante todo o ritual fúnebre da mãe. Não é bem curada. Não é bem cuidada. Quer dizer, tem uma morte lenta; tem uma morte lenta devido à falta de cuidado. Isto...

ME: Portanto a morte é causada pela carência de cuidado, que causa a morte da criança...

L: Sim, portanto, não é porque ela é liquidada assim, fisicamente, neste caso, é falta de cuidado; não é alimentada.

ME: Sim, é homicídio passivo

L: Passivo, pois, uma pessoa de terceira idade, não é? Tenta lhe dar peito, mas não sai nada. Portanto, é só uma questão de tempo porque a criança morra. Isto sobretudo na etnia, é frequente na etnia Pepel, Manjaco e as vezes Mancanha também. Nós tivemos um caso, foi em 1995, nós estávamos numa conferência regional em Biombo, sobre a problemática da criança, vi que, recebemos a denuncia, portanto, faleceu esta mãe no parto e a criança se encontrava sem cuidados. Fomos ao local, quando nos aproximamos à criança, fomos prontamente avisados: “ah, tomem cuidado, porque esta criança não é normal, é Irân!”. Portadora de mau espírito. “E caso vocês a tocarem a responsabilidade é vossa, não é nossa”. Eu peguei na criança, entretanto levantei a criança e pronto, começamos a [?] e estava com um meu colega na altura, um assistente...

ME: As pessoas nem tocam a criança?

L: Não tocam, não tocam, as pessoas têm medo.

ME: Portanto fica logo afastada?

L: Afastada, muito afastada, muitas vezes é entregue à uma pessoa de terceira idade, já velha, né... [?] para cá. Eu, quando aproximei da criança, começaram a dizer: “Ah, o senhor que é de Bissau, no sabe, está a mexer com uma CI”. Portanto, a criança ia-me passar a má sorte. Eu disse “Não, é uma criança normal, o problema é vosso.” Levantei a criança, ninguém queria ficar com a criança, tivemos que trazê-la a Bissau e o meu colega pediu-me para a levar para casa, levou-a a casa e entregou-a à sua esposa. A sua esposa cuidou dela, durante uma semana, duas semanas, quase um mês, voltamos no local. Voltamos ao local, nem se quer queriam saber, não

queriam saber mais da criança, tivemos que voltar com esta criança para Bissau. E passaram dois, três meses, cinco meses, a mulher, a esposa do meu colega, começou a desenvolver um certo afeto, um carinho para esta criança, pediu a criança para adoção. Arranjamos um advogado que de fato acompanhou a família na altura e conseguimos fazer adotar esta criança. A criança vive neste momento no Canadá com a família e depois de muito tempo a criança veio, acho que foi depois dos dois anos pelo menos e começou a fazer perguntas, queria falar com ela e ela respondeu assim: “Tu papá e parle francês como mim!”. Mais os menos, como os pais são trabalhadores sociais estavam preparados porque uma família branca, não é?, tendo um filho negro, preto, obviamente ia chegar o momento em que ela ia questionar a questão dos pais dela, portanto a família estava muito bem preparada para este desafio e para a resposta a dar à criança. Este, é um caso, não?, há mais, há vários casos na etnia Papeis, Manjaco e Mancanha, sobretudo, pronto há outros casos das crianças que nascem com a trissomia 21. Estas também são consideradas CI. normalmente, há cerimónias tradicionais que realizam para se despachar destas crianças porque no fundo, bom, por além de serem consideradas Irãs, no nível social a situação é muito [DISAVE]L é um bocado, pega todo o tempo, todos os esforços da família para cuidar da criança. Nós sabemos que em África, normalmente, as famílias têm filhos, muito, numeroso, portanto em vez de concentrar todos os esforços para uma criança, preferem despachar. E as chamam CI e levam à beira do rio, na prática, no uso, não é?, com ovos ou farinha, organizam estas cerimónias. Pegam a criança à beira do rio, do mar, quando as águas estão baixas, quando o mar enche, a maré sobe, a sua força pode levar uma pessoa, adulta, quanto mais uma criança. A corrente leva a criança e eles dizem que o mau espírito foi-se. A forma de liquidar, exterminar, portanto, estas crianças ditas CI. Mas não só com as crianças que têm a trissomia 21, que nós chamamos vulgarmente a crianças mongoloides, mas também há crianças, isto acontece com crianças que nascem com deficiência, grave, não só, físicas, mentais também. Existem muitas, porque não existem as pessoas, mas a sociedade resolve o problema desta forma. Uma das formas é esta, prontamente. Mas também há crianças que têm a paralis cerebral, portanto, são consideradas CI. Não sei se teve a possibilidade de visitar a Casa bambaram...

ME: Sim

L: Ai há muitas destas crianças, cada caso é uma história única, muitas delas foram rejeitadas pelas famílias. Há caso duma criança que rejeitaram por três, quatro familiares, pelo menos, porque, qual é a história? Cada familiar que a acolhe, morre. E portanto, ela foi considerada.... Doente.... ela ficou abandonada e encontrou abrigo na Casa Bambaram. Antigamente, outro fenómeno, mas que agora, não é corrente; quer dizer, os gémeos. Sobretudo na etnia Balanta. A etnia Balanta considera parto normal uma criança; duas crianças, três crianças, já é anormal.

ME: Porque é considerada anormal?

L: Porque... para eles, o parto normal é só uma criança. Quando há duas já, não é normal.

ME: Portanto, uma é humana e a outra é espírito...

L: Portanto, faz-se a cerimónia. Depende da etnia, para ver qual é a criança normal, qual é anormal, entendeu? Na etnia Pepel levam panelas de barro, colocam-nas ao lume, cada panela corresponde a uma criança. A panela que partir primeiro significa que esta criança é que é mau espírito e tem que ser lançada. Aconteceu com a minha avó paterna, a mãe do meu pai; eram gémeos, da etnia Balanta, ela foi lançada ao pé de uma térmita e depois... mas quando lançam, depois ficam escondidos para ver que vai ser, se vai morrer ou se um animal vai devorá-la, ou se eventualmente um passageiro, um caçador que vai encontrá-la, ficam mesmo a vigiá-la.

ME: O que acontece se alguém encontrar esta criança?

L: Deixam. Não fazem seguimento. Foi o caso da minha avó, foi um caçador que a encontrou, de uma etnia Pepel e que tinha também uma filha de quase da sua idade, ela tomava peito e foi esta senhora que criou a minha avó. Entretanto, a filha do caçador, que tomava peito com a minha avó, morreu. E a minha avó foi posta no lar da família. Portanto, como se... não sei se tem esta informação, a etnia Pepel é matriarcal, e o leite materno, quer dizer, é como se fosse sangue. Tomar peito de uma senhora Pepel significa que tu és considerado Pepel. Há uma cerimónia desta criança [?]. Foi o que aconteceu com a minha avó, mesmo que o sangue é de etnia Balanta, né?, naturalmente de etnia Balanta, mas viveu socialmente com pessoal da etnia Pepel. Mas, conseguiu seguir com o caçador que a tinha recuperada, e só depois, muitos anos depois que a família começou a ter contactos com a família do caçador. Tentaram trazê-la à verdade, portanto, saiu que tinham lançado esta criança na altura. [...] Algumas destas práticas persistem até agora, relativamente a este aspeto da trissomia 21, as crianças que têm a paralis cerebral



cerebral e as crianças que nascerem com deficiências graves, motória e psíquicas. Portanto, é um fenómeno que persiste. Nós já... não é a mesma coisa para os gémeos, os gémeos agora nascem, são considerados normais e vivem, levam uma vida normal.

ME: Isto em qualquer etnia?

L: Sim, mas o caso dos gémeos era sobretudo ligado à prática Balanta, da etnia Balanta. Mas no caso das crianças com trissomia 21, paralise cerebral e com deficiências graves portanto são... Foram práticas transversais à todas as culturas. No nível da legislação [...] nós, como defensores dos direitos humanos, achamos que estas crianças deviam ter medidas de proteção especiais. São crianças deficientes, são crianças vulneráveis. Mas o que acontece na nossa legislação é que as penas para estas práticas são muito ligeiras e são considerados crimes privilegiados. As penas são muito ligeiras, encorajam às práticas...

ME: Sim não criam um deterrente contra estas práticas

[...]

L: A Guiné-Bissau é um país signatário da Convenção das UN sobre os direitos da criança e da ACWCR. A Carta Africana é um documento mais explícito e taxativo quanto as práticas tradicionais. Portanto são práticas já banidas, só que, no nível, a Guiné-Bissau não conseguiu fazer ainda um trabalho importante que é de domesticação destes instrumentos internacionais; ou seja, não conseguem, tentam fazer uma revisão da nossa legislação interna com vista a harmonizar o espírito das convenções internacionais assinadas pelo país em matéria de direitos das crianças. Esta harmonização deveria pelo menos fazer desaparecer algumas leis que ainda tem disposições contrária ao espírito das convenções internacionais com a nossa legislação interna, sobretudo quando, em relação ao crime do infanticídio, este crime é um dos crimes privilegiados e isso persiste na nossa legislação. E outras, que não têm nada a ver com o caso de infanticídio, o caso da violação homossexual, o caso de abuso sexual, o caso de... cujo me referia, na nossa legislação.

ME: Ao lado da falta de harmonização entre o direito internacional e o direito interno, também há uma falta de legitimidade entre o que as pessoas acreditam, crenças e pensamentos comuns, e o que é a lei do Estado? Sabemos que uma pessoa molda os seus comportamentos e as suas atitudes na base das próprias crenças e princípios, ter uma lei não é suficiente para prevenir o crime acontecer. É preciso interiorizar o princípio duma lei para cumprir com esta.

L: Acho que.... A legislação existe. Embora, acho que... favorece a perpetuação de tais crimes. Mas também os nossos usos, não diria costumes - que são práticas sociais reiteradas com valor de lei - que nós fazemos de acordo com a nossa sociedade, mas acho também que... embora a lei não é tao favorável à eliminação destas práticas, por não existir também infraestruturas sociais para atender casos de crianças deficientes, neste caso, a sociedade encontrara outros mecanismos. Ma onde está o problema? Para aliviar o sofrimento das mães, encobriu-se nesta capa de usos, que alegam que estas crianças são mau espirito. [...] Não é porque não nascem muitas crianças com a trissomia 21, ou não nascem muitas crianças com paralise cerebral, mas estas crianças são simplesmente exterminadas e a legislação favorece. Digamos, não foi feito este trabalho, de harmonização. Mesmo, aí no meu bairro, a lado da minha casa, há uma menina, a Wilma, que se pensava que era trissomia 21, mas agora que ela cresceu, entendeu-se que... nada disso. Ela nasceu com deficiências físicas, com cabeça enorme, com problemas de locomoção; ela foi vitima de três, quatro tentativas de eliminação. Eu soube desta menina, minha vizinha, 50 metros, eu nunca tinha informação da sua existência, só depois da quarta tentativa por um vizinho que me falou nisso. Quando comecei a me aproximar desta criança, a vida desta criança mudou, completamente. Eu ia busca-la, para a trazer na minha casa durante os fins-de-semana, tentei aproximá-la, agora está com... quanto anos? 10 anos. Eu a pus na escola, os familiares acham que a Wilma é inútil, é uma pessoa que incomoda, imobiliza toda a energia da família; o pai, por causa dela, os pais se separaram. Agora, a avó que toma conta dela, mas a avó também agora faz a sua vida para ganhar a sua vida, para a sobrevivência, mas acha que a Wilma imobiliza, imobiliza. Ainda hoje de manhã falei com a avó dela. E ela a suplicar-me para que eu encontre uma solução para o acolhimento, digamos assim, institucional, da Wilma, porque ela já não aguenta mais. Mas primeiro, isto é um facto, estas crianças representam um custo extremamente enorme para a família, portanto preferem despachá-las.

ME: Quem foi na família que tentou matar a criança?

L: Porque considera, o pai achava que ela era normal, mas a mãe era da etnia Balanta. Os familiares, quando vinham pressionavam o pai que esta criança não é normal, é Irân, que se continuar em casa vai tramar todos, vai minar a vida, e agora os pais já se separaram, a avó não consegue fazer a sua vida, ia sair para comprar e vender, e... não isso, a nível social, esta é a menina que são capazes até de matar, o pai, a avó, os familiares. Há muitas histórias que se dizem; dizem que durante a noite, como há uns que têm olhos enormes, há uns que dizem “não, os olhos brilham durante a noite, à noite emitem luzes, à noite têm outra forma, de serpente”, há muitas coisas que se dizem em relação a isso. Portanto, ela escapou-se, finalmente, mas há muitos que não conseguem escapar e a sociedade, de fato, encontra solução para as liquidar e para tirar, ao mesmo tempo, o sofrimento das mães e cobrindo sob o fato que elas são Irâns, esta é a explicação.

ME: Há uma falta de instituições que cuidem estas crianças?

L: Não há. Na Guiné-Bissau praticamente não existem pessoas especializadas. Alguns centros de acolhimentos... A SOS não acolhe crianças deficientes. Algumas casas, por exemplo, Casa Emanuel, sim, acolhe diferentes categorias, órfãos, [?] social, crianças afetadas por VIH. Na Guiné-Bissau, se formos ver, só há dois centros, a Casa Bambaram e a Casa Emanuel, mas que não são centro especializados

ME: E os dois estão aqui em Bissau, não há outros no resto do país?

L: Não, não há. São os únicos dois, que nem se quer são centros especializados, mas que acabam por servir e acolher estas crianças. Há relatos de queixas da Casa Emanuel, porque funcionários a internos, maltrataram, chegaram a maltratar algumas das vítimas. Com Casa Emanuel houve relatos. Com Casa Bambaram, o outro centro, não, não houve. [...] Também há casos de crianças que não andam, não andam ainda com três, quatro ou cinco anos. Tive o meu tio, agora já faleceu, segundo as estórias, ele andou com cinco anos, se não fosse pelo meu avô paterno, ele não estaria vivo; todo o mundo achava que ele era Irân. Mas como, uma criança com cinco anos, falava tudo e sabia de tudo, mas não andava, só andava de gatas, gatinhava ou arrastava....

ME: Todas as crianças que não respeitam as etapas do crescimento...

L: Sim, todas as que não estão nos standards, nos padrões, podem ser consideradas CI. Eu penso que também os que têm problema motórios, estas crianças também, são consideradas CI.

ME: Também crianças com anomalias físicas?

L: Sim, aparentes, graves. São estas que a sociedade considera CI.

ME: A vossa associação já trabalhou casos destas crianças?

L: Sim, alguns casos. [...] O nosso trabalho consiste na sensibilização e dar as informações adequadas sobre as crianças deficientes

ME: Como é feito este vosso trabalho de sensibilização?

L: Temos... há diferentes formas de conhecer estes deficientes com não deficientes. Nós temos um grupo teatral muito forte, alias, tentamos sempre de diversificar a nossa metodologia de sensibilização que usamos, programas radiofónicos, teatro radiofónico, interativo, fizemos .... Brochuras, banda desenhadas, fazemos, tivemos publicados o que crianças normais e deficientes têm feito, para contar as suas próprias histórias, quem escreveu, quem não conseguia escrever podia desenhar, este é o livro “Vozes de nós”. E também nós em cada região criamos um grupo teatral, de intervenção, que realiza obras de sensibilização para a população, sobre diferentes vertentes. Atualmente há um grupo de animação, Os Netos de Bambim, que foi criado pela AMIC, que está a fazer aqui aquela animação, publica, que é para nós, o mais excelente vetor de passagem de informação, de sensibilização, sobre diferentes temas. [...] porque nós achamos que a lei é importante, mas não é tudo. Porque esta questão tem a ver com usos, com as práticas sociais e são, digamos, fatores muito enraizados, têm raízes sociais nisso, tem que haver atos de sensibilização constante. Fazemos advocacia porque a sensibilização seja incluída no sistema educativo, nas escolas, porque as crianças são o nosso futuro e são um fator decisivo para uma mudança de mentalidade. [...] diferenciamos a nossa metodologia de sensibilização também em consideração da população, que pela maioria é uma população pobre, há analfabetas, portanto teatro, danças, programas radiofónicos, programas interativos radiofónicos, há cartazes, há banda desenhadas, temos vários instrumentos de sensibilização aqui. É só assim que conseguimos atingir as pessoas.[..] Esta questão da diversidade cultural... sim nós respeitamos a diversidade cultural. Para nós a cultura é sempre positiva, mas são as práticas culturais que são

negativas. Os usos que são negativos. Portanto nós temos que agir nos aspetos negativos para proporcionar mudanças de mentalidades. E mostrando que de facto, os valores humanos são universais; portanto, a universalidade dos Direitos Humanos. Na Guiné-Bissau, seja na Guiné-Bissau, em Portugal, na China, em Bangladesh, somos todos seres humanos e todos mesmo valor, pronto. Uma criança, portanto, é um ser humano vulnerável. Por isso, por além dos DH existem convenções específicas das crianças para garantir uma melhor proteção destas crianças e estas convenções têm que ser respeitadas. E nós fazemos tudo o que for possível, já há muito tempo, para que a nossa legislação nacional seja revisitada e harmonizada com a internacional, mas pelo menos estamos já num processo. O processo agora está a ser liderado pela Comissão de Justiça, houve já tentativas de concluir, mas [?]. O UNICEF é que está a financiar este processo que vai culminar com... nós na consulta dizemos que, claro, este processo gostaríamos que seja culminado com um código de proteção de criança, onde toda a legislação que não respeita os direitos das crianças, seja elencada neste código e este código que veia a ser objeto de difusão e de sensibilização, a nível nacional.

ME eu sou uma estudante da ulisboa, do ISCSP, e estou aqui na Gb agora porque estou a fazer esta pesquisa em questões relacionadas com a cultura Pepel. Pois, o que estou a tentar pesquisar é a relação entre a cultura Pepel e a implementação dos DH, mas, pelo que eu acho é imprescindível e fundamental primeiro conhecer o ambiente de trabalho para depois poder ver qual é que é a situação e [?] Uma coisas que são contrárias a qualque padrão, se este padrão faz sentido nesta situação, um bocado... Tudo, para depois dizer alguma e qualquer outra coisa. Primeiro, eu acho essencial conhecer...

[...]

ME Então, o que gostava de pergutar-lhe primeiro era uma apresentação da cultura Pepel e este ambiente que estou a tentar aperceber e trabalhar. O senhor disse que é experto de cultura Pepel

PEDRO Bom... Eeeh sabe que os Pepeis têm cultura muito vasta..

ME Sim

P Para saber isso, é preciso conhecer a etapas, do início, dos primeiro rei, até o fim da história, da cultura Pepel. Bom. Segundo a história e a cultura Pepel que a senhora disse, que as antiguidades e os antepassados, diz que os Pepeis sempre tem tchon que se chama [?] No Sul do país. Isso já... Uns oito séculos atrás. Aaaahhh para pensar desse século, de por que 500 ano atrás.. Mínimo era quanto isso, 500 anos atrás

ME Ok

P Então os Pepeis sai de lá dirigindo para uma zona com um rio, que estou a dizer que é o rio Mansoa. Mas teve um cruzamento, que [não havia/navio], que a língua Pepeis diz QUENTANA. QUENTANA significa que, contrário desse rio, [?]. Dirigiu diretamente verso Mansoa, salta noutra região, que é Bula... E região de Oio, não é?

ME Sim

P Marcou também no, no norte do país. Ficou lá certo momento, deu só um, um Irân, que fica lá este Irân chamado OPEGHE, OPEGHE. Ficou durante x tempo saiu da lá, travessou este rio e utro rio, rio [Couvá].

ME Sim

P Total, coseguiu sair de lá, se alogiou na ilha que é Ponta Cabral.

ME Sim

P Aquela ilha de Ponta Cabral hoje se costuma chamar [MIHJ, MIHJ] e que significa que ooooouuu..uma zona isoladas. Então fiou durante um tempo um homem que, um homem que chamav... Nome [Bial] e o homem que descbriu a tabanca que é Bijimita, são Bijimita, só uma tabanca di cultura di etnia Pepeis. Na verdade dos Pepeis, para os Pepeis gerações por gerações, Bijimita é a MA grá, a mãe gande para as gerações dos Pepeis. Então saiu de lá, aquele homem fica lá eh? São, o nome dele as pessoas sabem como knundalá, e KNUNDALA ficou lá, então mandou um homem depois chegar a [MPALA-MPALA] que descobriu outra zonas, esta zona, a parte [?] Então mandou dois irmãos grandes da casa para acompanhar para a [?] De Bissau que ele começou e agora é de retribuir. Até chegar e disse, olha: vai até o final do vosso lugar, onde nós vamos as divisões e ele pude começar lá para a frente. Sabe onde uma viatura apanhou acidente ontem?

ME Sim

P Antes, depois de lá, há uma divisões Ponta Goia, aquel divisões, e é aquela divisões entre Bijimita com Thor. Aqui são Thor, Quinhamel, o lugar dos Pepeis é Thor.

ME Ok

P Porque foi chamado Quinhamel, porque um português chegou aqui, foi para a praia e então disse que aquele ar puro, disse aqui é mel, aqui é mel. Então, bapteza Quinhamel, bapteza o próprio nome Quinhamel. Então

e ele continuamos a dirigir, marcar o terreno até chegou lá numa zona, de reino Thor, é uma divisão entre Biombo... Lá naquele dia nós fomos lá para a final de campeonato, terminamos ao mato, há uma mata, depois di [...] O final entre thor com o.. O Biombo

ME Ok

P Então Biombo ia-se continuando e ficou lá. Disse então, a partir de já não vou continuar mais. Se ver aquela região de Biombo, antigamente era uma ilhas, era uma zona de ilhas. Então chegou lá... Ao x tempo surgiu mais o nome, parece que ouvi a sua [?] ----[*african name, not able to write it*] ao rádio comentado, que corisponde com o rádio sol mansi. Mandou dispor da notícias com rádio.. Bom, com rádio nacional. Então, depois pareceu um homem, foi salvado com o nome de [HGERPA] e ele chegou e encontrou com o homem que chamam MPALNMPALAN, com o irmão mais velho dele, PPEGIEP. Perguntou então, aquela zona que ficou, quem é que está lá? Disse não, ninguém não está lá. Mas há um homem, primeiro homi que chegou lá mas não foi cumprimentar porque quem chegou primeiro aquela zona sem passar, não cumprimenta não faz nada. E continua a andar também, mas ela... Ele simplesmente, ele foi para casar, o DJAMAS?. Ele foi para casar os irmãos, não foi lá para fazer um trabalho. Então depois de chegar aí, pá, ele começou a.... A... A marçar aquele mato, matando aquelas matas e ia para a frente. Se o [?] Quer, aquele pequen.. Há um Irân, um do mais garandi na região de Biombo. Só isso é que controla lá. Ninguém, não é um individuo, era só ele com aquele Irân. Ele voltou e ficou com jovem que se chama BLIBLI. Então aos algures começamos a regressar para lá. Então chegou muito, muito [?] Das pessoas, mesmo os Pepeis d Biombo, mas algum, mais alguns de aí, por isso é uma relação de todos os Pepeis. E outros expandiram para Bissau. Sabe que Bissau, Bissau é dos Pepeis

ME Sim, é a terra, o tchon dos Pepeis

P Sim terra Pepeis. Bissau é terra dos Pepeis. Então outro expandia para Bissau e outro expandia para Prabis e outro para Safim. E assim expandeu os Pepeis, mas para... Eu conheço Pepeis, Bijimita, é o mais sagrado no termo da cultura dos Pepeis.

ME Que é mesmo o alvo, o berço

P Sim, sim. Então, e pois, os Pepeis têm vários, porque o... Viu daquele pessoa com um macão vermelho, outro com um macão brancas, tem duas coisas, que é mesmo idênticas, mas tão diferentes. E outra, quando regulos ou dono, quer dizer regulos, não é possa amar sua mulher, si costuma usar aquela manta vermelha com aquela rede vermelhas, mas também Katandei também usa isso. O que é que significa Katar, katandeira? Sabe que antigamente as pessoas faz crime, são criminosos, pegam pessoas com a galinha, levam aquele a Irân então nisso aconteceu, aconteceu com pessoas cultas, mas não tem, não tem fácil, então quando tem estas pessoas na caminho [...] Foi o que, vai fazer cerimonia. Leva fazer cerimonia. Leva fazer cerimonia. Então, depois de surgimento de... O [faro] OFARO é um regulo que [calduçara?] Naquela região de Biombo, que [calduça] naquela zona de Biombo. Então OFARO disse não, cada qual deve pensa para si. Se eu fez o mal para alguém, este mal vai voltar para mim. Eu vou pagar isso com a minha família. Dividimos de gerações em gerações. É por isso há sete de gerações de serviço. Tem gerações DJAGRAS, BASSO, BAIGHA, BATA, BASSURU, BASSAFUNTÈ. São sete gerações Pepeis. Então se eu sou gerações dos Pepeis e você é... Eu, eu sou geração do BASSOUR, e você são geração dos BASSAFUNTÈ, mas se eu fosse bater acima aquele, o quer matar, vai sair dum.. De pagamento. O que significa... Vai se uma coisa que deve pagar. Pagar o que? A minha família que deve ir lá para apagar o fogo, para pagar aquela crimonhia ou aquela malfeitoria que o malfator ou a famxília faz ou fez, e deve ser voltado porque.. A mãe está montando outro a dizer o que... Eeehh... O mãe... Ostuma-se dizer que [?] Este [?] Significa raízes da sua avó, avó toda dono de... Avó, avó dos avós, não é?

ME Portanto, bisavó

P È! Então mas a sua filha mais... A sua filha femia, é? Foi casada em Biombo. E outra foi casada em Portugal. Então é por isso, quando as pessoas se pega a que é CABAZ, há diferente escolhas. Há outra pessoas vermelhos com cabelos como si, caiu aí, mas o pai dela é português e o outro é italiano, mas quando precisa da razão para casar, a sua razão não pode ficar lá. Uma pessoa deve voltar cá para tornar aquele cimitério, para não perder. Comçar a matar, matar, matar... Mas sabia... Você... A vossa ? Vai acabar .

ME Então, mesmo que eu esteja.. Suponendo que seja parte duma geração Pepel. Mesmo que eu esteja no estrangeiro, casada com pessoas do estrangeiro, ...

P Pois, a sua mãe é Pepel, mas o seu pai é português

ME Ok

P Ou então o pai é... Como se diz... É brasileira, ou pode ser americana, mas outras. Mas... Sabe que os Pepeis tem aquele parte de onde recebem leite da mãe. É mais sagrado de tudo, Pepeis. São mais sagradas. Quando vier um principio daquele leiti, isso significa que vai morrer. Então esta geração significa que os velhos, lutaram, alcançaram, pode ser lá em estrangeiros... Vai começar fazer... Ah? Aquela.. Massacrar as pessoas. Matar. Matar. Agora... Começar a matar pessoas. Então, se há pessoas que estão lá que com este próprio usos e costumes dos Pepeis, ela pode andar no local de djambacus de outras pessoas, mas deste não. Esta aqui, a mãe dela não é portuguesa, a avó dela não é português, não é português puro. Mas a geração dela é de Bissau. Da Gb. Então, quando ele volta para cá, para saber o que, o que é que passa com ele, vai saber que a avó dela é, de geração.. Ela.. Ela também são Pepeis. É por isso.. Quando faz uma coisa de... Trazer uma menina com mais ou menos de cinco ou sete anos para cumprir aquela cerimonia, quando cumprem aquela cerimonia, são na época chuvosa, quando chega um pouco de chuva, no mês de maio para abril, aguenta a mãe e ela pode chegar aqui e fazer aquela cerimonia, dois meses e voltar. Não... As pessoas podem estudar, podem fazer tudo, mas qual segundo momento ele deve voltar acá para fazer aquela cerimonia. Então, este nos Pepeis são mais sagradas

ME Ok

P São mais sagradas

ME Porque se uma pessoa não fazer esta cerimonia

P Vai morrer

ME Há desgraças..

P Há desgraças para a família, há desgraças, e você mesmo..

ME Mesmo, vai passar de mim para as outras pessoas

P É assim

ME Não é limitado à própria pessoa..

P Quando sei, se sai daqui e vai voltar para a sua filha e sua filha vai dar um ou mais outras pessoas mais fêmeias, mais quando quando a fêmeia vai chegar o momento para dar luz também vai passar para lá. Assim matamos até a geração toda vai acabar. Mas se descobrimos isso [clap hands] não tem mais problema. E outra problema é se. Nós dizemos TOCAR SOBRE. TOCAR SOBRE..nós.... Significa o que? Eu homenajo alguém que faleceu. E não homenajo. Por exemplo, quando a sua... Nós costuma dizer CUNNOS, são religiosos, é? Quando chega o momento, a designação [MISSADOU] outro também, nós dizemos uma senhora homenajar com outro queridos. De homenagem. Se não faz... não vai organizar essa cerimonia, tem também as suas consequência. Todo aquilo que você fez tem consequência. O casamento, o que é que surge o casamento? O casamento há só o ganho do [?] Casar, nós Pepeis, aquele casamento de cerimonia, de uso e culturas

ME Sim

P Quando contamos [?] Quer filho é o casamento. Mas o homem muito feio, o homem muito feio, nunca rapariga gosta deste homem. Fica lá quantos anos, desculpa eh, nunca tem relações com qualquer raparigas, mas ele precisa, como homem, mas com quem que ele vai casar para além ter mais? Não. Mas o homem é trabalhador. Trabalha muito. Então, pede trabalhar, ajudar um amigo mais velho, trabalha, trabalha, para muito tempo, para muitos anos com o homem, a um dia o homem se chamou. Chamou essa pessoa, disse olha eu vou lhe dar a minha filha para casar, mas se casamento que vai fazer deve ser casamento oterna, até fim da vossa vida.

ME Eterna...

P Significa definitivamente, que vai ficar definitivamente

ME Não pode ser... Não pode ser acabado..

P ... Não. Acabado como? Pode acabar, mas chega momento quando morre, eu choro para ele deve voltar... Esta mulher deve guardar para minha casa, para fazer aquea cerimonia, de reconhecimento que tu casou comigo sou homem.

ME Ok

P Então e ele conseguiu fazer esse cerimonia. Então o homem para ele, a pessoa que tem a mulher, que tem a esposa há muito tempo, e outro não tempo. Mas depois fazer esta cerimonia, a esposa dela, mal respeitou o casamento, ela [usou?] Aquela outra. Então, a esposa fica liberada. Não.. Porque... Como é que as relações tem mais o aspeto da relação nossa? Diputado aquele uso sagrados, ela não pode fugir de homem. Se ela fugir de homem, ela vai morrer. Está a perceber?

ME Sim

P Então é algo que começamos

ME Quem é que faz morrer a mulher num caso deste...?

P Eeehhhh... Há duas coisas mais importantes. Sabe que os Pepeis quando chega o momento leva a rapariga para Irân.. Irân. As Irân levam um cão ou uma cabra sem [CORTAL] e aquel.. [PANEL] você viu?

ME Sim

P Quando cortamo isso significa que a [BADANTA] de duas pessoas foi cortada [?] Não pode acabar de qualquer maneira com o homem, que é... É... Uma que é [intimidá]... É o [intimidá] da pessoas. Olha, então, se eu saiu... Ou não quero deste homem, mas eu volto sair daquilo vou namorar com outras pessoas. Recusa o casamento. Vou para outro lado que é casado com outra pessoa. Morre. E aqui que a rapariga tem medo de sair da porta do casamento.

ME Sim

P Então o homem fica continuado. Trabalha, como tua... Trabalha para a casa e a mulher que rispita este próprio homem, respita aquele homem que [?] Saiu.então... Isso.. é... de aquela cerimonia. Então é por isso que uma pessoa volta a favor daquela cerimonia de casamento. Surgi uns casamentos

Está a gravar'

ME Sim, sim

P E outro... Tem outras situações, dos Pepeis. São os Pepeis aqueles caçadas, aqueles nós costumam dizer que é TUMBA. Aaaahhhh... No Land, na-naquele dia que cooo o.... Não... Pensou é feticreira não sei porque.. É aquela TUMBA ?[not understandable] cai..cai com aquela senheta, né? É a tumba dos Pepeis, mais não é que os Pepeis que costuma isso. Fazer aquela cerimonia, nós faz cerimonia cansaré

ME Isso é o nome?

P Sim. O-uh aquela cerimonia diz CANSARÉ. Essa cerimonia sai do felupe. Então o felupe tem esta cerimonia, o manjaca tem outra cerimonia tra-tra-trazer para o próprio local, para a sua cultura. Então, os Pepeis também. Aquela cerimonia do-do-dos felupe, manjaca, foi trazida para o manjaca e depois os Pepeis. Então quando chega momento para fazer uma ce-ce-cerebração desta cerimonia, tem impedir para impedir para fazer esta cerimonia. Então, tooooda as zonas, vamos encontrar, só aquele baraca é cansaré. Fazer o que? Cantar, dançar durante uma, ser oficiada as mães, tem grados naquela barca, mostra, nunca foi lá... Bom é uma coisa, foi conservada por usos, não é? Nós CASSOU também quando dizer que oferecer aquele momento si-si costuma oferecer, mas quando chega o momento de aquela cerimonia tem que direito a oferecer [açores]. Porque [?] É direito a usos. Bom para nós que somos crentes, não é?, duma religião diferente, mas que não há um que existe porque nós já for. Já foi aquela geração para outras gerções. Ou, aaahhh... Saiu duma cultura e voltou duma outra cultura para ver como a senhora vive. Porque se chegando, chegando, chegasse aí.. Então chega momento e votou. Então, nesta cerimonia tão os tipos malvados que pensam que estão a fazer mal para outras pessoas, todos tem medo de fazer mal às crianças. Todos tem mal... Ser invejosos, né?, invejar as pessoas. Significa todos devem ter amor a outros. Eh? A parte [NEGABI].... Ee.... Todos já estão no momento, estão amigos, não há brincar com alguém, não há eterna conversa de mal com alguém, vai ser amigos, familiares. Então é cerimonia que os Pepeis costuma chamar é CANSARÉ. E também tem outra cerimonia aahhh... Quando uma pessoa [EISH?] Nós dizemos que a alma foi.. Foi.. Que morrei, já faleceu. Mas eles sabe que se ? Este momento pode morrer um morto que não é dele. Mas hega momento, tem de voltar sair noutra pessoa, a sua voz noutra pessoas, mas que não, eu morreu por causa motivo tal.

ME Portanto a indicar qual que foi a causa... A causa da sua morte

P Eehhh.. Qual que foi a causa.. De...ddo-dodo morto, o que aconteceu comigo, então aí passa a ser..

ME Fala pela boca duma outra pessoa..

P Eeh, fala pela boca de outras pessoas.

ME Sim

P Então se tem dito disso foi lá... Eu quero saber da minha vida. Qual, como é que a minha vida está. E ele também começamos a [EMBAFAR] A o que está por trás, ao... Ao... Dinheiro, ou DJANFAN, mas outras coisas, uma colher com estas pessoas, com esta geração e gerações, então é daqui que vai fazer e não deve fazer isso. Se fazer, morre. Todas culturas Pepeis há vantag... Há desvantagens. Por exemplo: eu consigo. Se eu poder casar, tenho filho e você é da minha geração a minha família não pode dizer que vocês não são Pepeis. Porque você é italiana. Não. Porque nós casámos, não tem mais a diferença de-de-de etnia.. Etnia Itália.. Etnia Itália não, se-se... Se um, se você não ser a minha etnia, porque eu trouxe para cá, para casa? Eu trouxe para casa para ser família. Então os Pepeis faz isso para acabar com a discriminação das raças. Esta dificuldade não, não tem os Pepeis. Se eu casou com você, neste mesma, hoje, a partir da hoje e amanhã, é da [as minhas é suas]. A minha filha... Nós temos, são nossa geração. Se ela, pode fazer até.. Fazer... Pode... Quando chega o momento da [?], ela pode ir na casa da minha família, pertence à..não, diz que não, esta é, são [DANACOS], não, DANACOS como, se fala isso morre. Porque eu tenho direito como você. Meu pai Djan ele é Pepel, e a mãe dele é que é portuguesa, ela trabalhndo em italiano. Mas a mãe dele neste momento é casado com os Pepeis e ela mesmo é Pepeis eles são dos Pepeis, eles gozam com o homem dele e acabou. Nenhum pode falar nada que ele tem problema de... Direito que o pai tem é aquele direito. Se fala mal com esta pessoa que morreu ele fica. A sua filha fica, o seu filho fica lá. Então tem mais puder

ME Sim

P E em cima de todos os pepeis que pertence aquela geração do homem. E acabou. Os pepeis fez isso para eliminação e discriminação das raças. Não tem cá nós Pepeis.não tem. E outras situações, nós dizemos que..

ME Antes de irmos para frente, uma pergunta sobre uma coisa. Antes estava a de falar das pessoa que morreram por uma caus e depois volta para indicar qual é que foi a causa da sua morte. E.. Quem é que fala, com quem é que ela fala a coisa, pode ser uma pessoa qualquer ou há algumas pessoas com qual.. O espírito da pessoa morta pode falar a sua causa da morte?

P Não, por exemplo, se eu mesmo que faleceu, mas nós casámos e eu faleci, mas fica há muito tempo e muito espírito, há de ver que você ficou lá não tem quem me vai dar de comer. Há outra coisa. Não tem quem me vai dar de comer como eu consigo... Eu pode voltar para ti. Para dar aquele que der ou onde que vai ter mais pouco para comer. Quando fez, traz aquele cabaz, aquele dinheiro eu beneficio da casa e eu também pode sair na outra pessoa meu amigos ou a minha família gerações, quando saio [ÈOHNGNE] devo lembrar da minha família, ou eu deve lavar do meu filho porque ele ficou lá um tempo guardando o comer.ou não, outro é qualquer homem, qualquer pessoa que gosta, depende

ME Ok

P Percebiu?

ME Sim

P Esta parte. Qual é a outra questão?

ME Eehhh.. Por exemplo. A questão do casamento. Se uma pessoa que não for Pepel casa com um pepel, automaticamente torna-se parte da família Pepel, mesmo que seja duma outra nacionalidade ou duma outra etnia?

P Sabe porque que os Pepeis faz isso?

ME Antes estava a dizer para acabar com a discriminação entre as raças

P Acabar com a discriminação

ME Pois, teria uma pergunta. Por exemplo, se uma pessoa de etnia Pepel casar com uma pessoa de etnia Manjaco, por exemplo, o homem é Pepel e a mulher Manjaco, os filhos que eles têm são Pepel ou Manjaco?



P A mulher... A mulher... A mulher quando são Pepeis, são Manjaco.

ME Porque é que são Manjaco?

P Porque... Irân mesmo... E [?] e Allah, usa aquela mulher as gerações, a gerações dela mesmo ou ela mesmo pertence a própria gerações de Manjaco. Mas quando ela foi casado com o homem Pepeis, ela mesmo sempre, sempre é Pepeis. Porque? E outra pessoa pode dizer que é Manjaco, mas quem pertence à gerações, o homem que casou com aquele Manjaco não tem poder de dizer que olha esta pessoa ser Manjaco, o problema conflito, diz que nãoooo! Porque sabe que as mulheres quando chega um certo momento começamos a.. Aquela quer dar mal fala..mal..mal-mal-mal palavra, está bem? É uma [pala INDIGITA?] Então, e é isso, para nós é um sagrado. Não, vocês não são Pepeis. Vocês é Manjaco, porque que vocês diz que eu sou Manjaco?

ME Pode ser algo do sujeito..

P Porque.. Aah, queria discriminar! Porque o momento.. Ah, o seu filho, ou a filha da filha dela, ou o filho dela, não pode fazer uma coisa que é dos Pepeis. É a discriminação. De fundo, seria aquela, aquela, aquela armas...

ME Alguém mesmo fisicamente vai matar ou porque o morrer logo...?

P Não, há... Por puder, se calhar. Porque aquele que foi preparado, que.. Já foi preparado há muito tempo, já foi preparado.. Sabe porque? Aquele nós dizemos andar, cabaz

ME Sim

P Sabe que significa andara a cabaz?

ME Não

P Èèèèhhhh...iihhh... Não costuma dizer como peregrinação. Santo de meca. Ou peregrinação de profeta Mohamet. Eh, como se diz... Jesus Cristo, a anunciar que vem... Que... Ia fazer uma peregrinação, adoração e todas outras coisas. Então tudo aquilo que nós ensinamos gerações por gerações, gerações por gerações, gerações por gerações. Então eu foi casar consigo. Então o que que eu passo? E você tem que.. E eu pega na mão. A [entrandar] aquele local de si, o lugar sagrado. Porque já você está a formar etnias para a minha etnias, a minha geração. Mas não significa que é para minha gerações, mas também há etnias continuam a ser, você conhece Manjacas, mas também próprio a cultura de gerações em gerações é para mim. Percebeu? Pois.. É.. Não pode dizer que não... O Pepeis costuma dizer isso por si e cá. A escravatura. Está a ver uma pessoas, está cá, não pode discriminar uma pessoa, quer dizer você vai trazer isso para escravatura. Porque não conhece [?? - *not understabdable*] por exemplo, se eu ou você casou agora, mesmo, que é que você conheceu? Eu não conheci ninguém. Quem que você conhece é o teu marido, com a família dela. Ou a família dele, acabou. Não é isso? Mas se a minha família começar a discriminar, ele vai morrer. Porque.. Quem trouxe.. E a família é que trouxe isso

[...]

Nós devemos abraçar isso , para todo o nosso geração e mais nada. Mas se a minha família começar a discriminar discriminar discriminar, há que qualquer conflito de discrimino não, você são itaiano, você são italiano, então, por este eu pergunto: se você trazer isso para escravatura, através de gerações porque estou a discriminar, porque? É.. É... É um regulo Pepeis que fez, definitivamente, ninguém pode fazer isso. A discriminação entre os Pepeis? Não há.

ME Então é a mesma força do cabaz que vai fazer com que uma pessoa morra se tiver a...?

P Eh aquele cabaz quando começamos a andar, há um lugar que nós dizemos por exemplo eehh. Como por exemplo, igreja. Quando começamos a fazer aquela peregrinação até chegar aquele lugar santo, todo enjoelam, não é?, porque Deus e o outro, e... Iam [impilar] e iam fazer orações. Nós pode chegar também lá, enjoelar, beber aquela água sagrada. Quando aquele beber aquela água sagradas e você comigo vai ver aquelas águas sagradas, mas se eu mesmo, disse que não são mesmo igual. Mas, mas , andar àquele cabaz, nos encontramos. Eeh, mas o que é que aconteceu? O que é que estiu a ver agora? Já falou, já falou como que a minha que nós não somos mesmo iguais. Mas voltou da mesma igreja mesmo. Então, ao fim como é que.. Alí que vai ficar. Morre aquela [?]. Pessoa leva aquele corpo, cadavere, para a sua [??]

ME Assim, de repente, uma pessoa está viva e...

P Mesmoa a hora, aquilo é de repente!

ME E não pode ser morta?

P No meio da cerimonia, você morreu porque já falou isso. Falou isso em casa...

ME Uma pessoa falou essa coisa [finger snap]..

P Se falou esta coisa lá em casa, mas ao momento de andar aquele cabaz.. Eu consigo que encontramos lá, mesmo, naquela cerimonia sagrada, e vou morrer. Porque eu, eu que [?] a minha morte. Não é você. Eu você me vai condenar a andar mais, até não puder mais do que... Que é uma coisa que você fez, independentemente. Olhe.. Para viar uns etnias pepeis, por exemplo, as danças, tem gerações por gerações. Porque.. Para ver muito bem tem aquele.. Chama... Presidenti, regulos. São os reis, não é? Tem aqueles submissos. Os regulos tem presidentes de assembleias. Por exemplo, aqui.. Aqui em... Thor. Reino Thor quem é o regulo principal é DJOT. Mas também quem dá posse ao Djos? É o... O... O dono de Bissua. Ou seja.. Ele... Significa que, ele que é presidente de assembleia. Quanto [ajuda ?? - not understandable] a tomar posse, me vai dar posse, é o mesmo rei, o regulo, nos costumes dos Pepeis. São coisas própria, estão dentro da cultura moderna. Com a cultura moderna. Então, para ver muito bem, a cultura moderna eehhh... Foi... Eehhh.. A cultura tradicional foi transferir para a cultura moder.. Moderna. Se vai, se vamos ver o presidente da republica tem PM, tem presidente de assembleia, assim tem aquele ministro, subministro segretario de estado, funcionarios gerais... Assim è que os Pepeis fazem, que faz.

ME Sim, é a mesma estrutura.

P São estrutura. Eu tenho a referência.

ME Isso não muda.

P Não muda. Nunca muda nos Pepeis. Se quero mudar hoje, amanhã não posso porque já tem uma constituição da República, eehh.. De-de-de cultura, uma constituição de cultura, que nunca muda. Pode dizer que há umas alterações, na assmebleia, alterações a um artigo porque por exemplo, ee..., o artigo 4 da Constituição da República da Gb... Que diz que.. Aaahh... Ninguém não pode fazer o golpe aqui na República, significa que há um golpe de Estado, tem aquele pena maior, a pena de morte. Mas foi acabad com ele, e custou, continua a fazer isso porque, antes a independência e depois, depois de independência faz isso, mas agora [?]. Diz que... Já se tem outra visão. Então se nós continuamos isso, vai acabar. Então, altera esta para mudança da Constituição da República, aquele artigo 4. De pena de morte. Assim também os tal como a coesão da República, a coesão das áreas Pepeis nunca morre, continua ao fim. Deve respeitar herarquia, até base da própria geração das culturas. Está a perceber?

ME Sim há um padrão que nunca muda, não pode mudar, mas a reacção, o mesmo padrão, fica na mesma

P Fica na mesma, nunca muda. São continuados e tem vários aspetos fundamental de raparigas. Os homem.. Os homem tem casamento. Nos Pepeis nunca dança, costuma dizer CONSUNDÈ. CONSUNDÉ não é dos Pepeis. É dos Balantas.

ME Ok

P Mas os Pepeis adoptaram por herdade dos Balantas, doáram isso, face a cultura dos Pepeis. Mas os Pepeis são aquela... Os Pepeis o que costuma fazer? Os Pepeis, a cultura deles para dizer, é bom aquele CANSARÉ, do casamento e o só, e também tradicionalista, tradicionalistas, não é? Os Pepeis, o que a maioria deles na Gb são pescadores. A maioria dos pepeis são aquele que tira, tira a [sangue] do vinho, são, o que costumamos dizer, curtador de tchebém. È [ ASEKVA] do vinho. Eehh.. Maioria dos Pepeis, são, a maioria deles na Gb, são tecno, tessidores do panos, artificial. São Pepeis. A maioria dos Pepeis são [enfereidos], fazer aquele ferro de arame laborado. Só de Pepeis. Sempr.. Se encontrar uma pessoa que tem palma di rei.. Manjaca faz isso, mas maior, maioria de pessoas que faz isso, os Pepeis. Eles. Os pepeis. Agora os pepeis para ser pescadores, todos os pepeis és pescadores, maioria vai ficar sem terra, ?? No mercado.

ME Eles são maioria mesmo..

P Maioria mesmo

ME Tal força

P Maioria da força que tem esta cultura. Agora, Bissau eehhhh... Bissau é terra.. E três.. De filho... De [Pepel name], que foi para Bissau. E aí que começamos a ter maiorias, porque Bissau é umas ilhas, umas ilhas,

são locais dos Pepeis. Há uma guerra, os Pepeis tem uma guerra de pacificação de 1915. Sabe porque é que foi baptizado o nome de Biombo? Porque... Quer saber isso?

ME Sim

P Biombo naquela altura...eeehhh... São uns, uns etnias... São radical. Nunca disse [AMIN, BAISAR, BAISAR BRAÇO], não são radical. São as etnias que faz aquelas armas, de tradição, como fulas, né?, faz agora, eles também faz isso. Faz as espadas da guerra

ME Portanto é combater e lutar até a morte

P Lutar sim

ME Sem aceitar..

P É por isso, se andar toda, até... Durante vinte ano que ele vai encontrar com cavalos, nunca houve aqui. Sabe porque que nós resiste? Eu vou explicar. A guerra de pacificação de 1915 foi uma guerra intensa..

ME O teixeira Pinto, não é?

P Antes de chegar o Teixeira Pinto, e era guerra [PEPEL - *unkown wirtten*]. Era consumo de MURU, de prazo, aquele estado maior, dava conflito, sabe que, que tudo era, era dos pepeis. E os Pepeis aquele couro de, de... Corno, de vacas.. Chegarem brancos para se.. Nós dizemos para chegar aqui fazer a civilizações dos pretos. Então e eles chegou, então primeiro entrega aquele couro da vaca. Se quer medir o terreno para construir muro deve ser aquele couro deve medir todo as campos da muro, então, os portugueses pegaram aqueles tesouras, cortus tudo, os poucos como fio, exemplo não?; cortaram pouco pouco até enganamos aquele couro. Então pegam naquele couro da vaca e mediram como as corta. Então os pepeis naquela altura. Então os pepeis naquela altura pegamos a lavar aquele PEDRES, então todos [?]. Foi estado naquela altura a fazer aquele trabalho. Então foi uma guerra e os etnia, e todas as etnias guerra contra os Pepeis. Porque Pepeis disse que era que tem cidade. Sim? Então os Pepeis começaram a fazer, a matar, matar pessoas. Matando a muitas pessoas até que é que passa, matando muitas pessoas, então, chegou momento e ele voltou. Para cá. Então, os os os próprios Fulas disse que não e ele deve ser si-se-segundo dos brancos. Ele deve ser segundo do brancos. Antes chegar o Teixeira Pinto, a [PEPEL *name f the battle - unknown written*]. Daquele curto, mais dauqele dia, morre outras pessoas, o Teixera Pinto eehhhhh.. E mais. E vou continuar a isto. Então, quando mandar ahhh... Naquela altura os brancos, nós dizemos são portugueses, andava zona por zona, setor por setor, [city], ele disse, não não quero guerra, quero paz. Foi para Safim, Safim disse não quer guerra, quero só, quero paz, vim para cá, Bijimita disse quero guerra, não quero, quero só paz.. Chegou aqui no Reino Thor disse não não quero guerra quero paz, então deslocou para lá, último tabanca, a não tem nome de Biombo, então chegou lá e perguntou, você o que quer? Diz que nós, com a língua dele [PEPEL], nós somos os Pepel de Biombo. Sabe que tem Pepel Biombo, tem Pepel Thor, tem Pepel de Bijimita, tem Pepel de Safim, tem Pepel de Prabis e tem Pepel de Bissau. Está a perceber'

ME Sim

P Então, e ele, que era un homem chamado KANANDÉ, mandar aquele chufa, não é?, esse é do [?]. Que ele tem mandado na altura, para ir ser aquela aquela cabra para apanhar. Aquela cabra significa que aquele rebanhos, nós disso dizer CONHI, crioulo, couro, não é?, aquela rebanho de cabras, fazer tuuuuuuuuuuuuudo que o pepel costuma quando, ficamos só com o [?]. Até um certo momento, pega isso mão aqui, aquele couro para nos, para os pepeis são os rebanhos do reis. São rebanhos reis. Então ele fica, pela mão grande, nós costuma dizer COMBO, não é?, dos Balanta, da mesma raiz dos Balanta, manda chamar à foz. Então ele chegou lá e prendeu a gala aquelas cabras e trazer e matar a fim daquele português. Então, tira aquele rebanho tudo ele falou com a língua Pepel: [pepel], na língua aquele significa que, leva aquele rebanho para mala e isto não rebata [??]. Então ele ligou isso, e é amarrado depois do fim de amarrar e ele perguntou, o que que significa isso? Disse, olha, vou te falar o vosso chefe lá em Bissau, ou lá naquela zona de.... Diz que o nós queremos é guerra. Porque os macacos não podem sair de mato para pedir pessoas GADO e aí passou-se a guerra dos Pepeis contra os portugueses. Mas a guerra muito intensa, de 1915, a guerra de pacificação.

ME Foi uma guerra mesmo cruel.

P Então surgiu esta guerra, surgiu esta guerra, até os Pepeis conseguir dominarem aqueles portugueses, dominar, dominou aquela guerra, não existe terrorismo naquele tempo, são o colonialismo, então consegui

dominar aquela guerra e ele sabe quem sabe, é diferente quem no sabe, então disse que não, então siga o fim desta guerra e fogo.nós terminamos esta guerra, agora nós vai conhecer a vossa entrada. Ele não sabia de que... Eles estavam a mobilizar.porque quem sabe é diferente de quem não. Quem não tem, quem não tem a escola são diferente. Então ele mobilizam e então ele diz que não, terminou a guerra. [pepel] prendemos todas aquela materia, juntamos num só sítio, com tudo o material memso e juntamos num lugar fechado. A noite chegou um novo barco com materal segredo, então chegaram a prender as raparigas, bonitas, aí que saiu 150 Pepeis para a zona do..mmm... Moçambique, São Tomé, São Tomé

ME Foram deportados?

P Eh.. Deportados 150 pepeis e por isso lá há pessoas que falam crioulo mais.. 150 Pepeis, manda lá e outro leva para outras áreas, raparigas novas, entregamos a uns Fulas, leva para a sua zona. Então isso depois prendeu aquele INKANDÉ... Ele tent.. Permis a INKANANDÉ e... Dá o tiro, [?], dá o tiro, não conseguiu. Não conseguiu sair, não conseguiu sair de aquele val pequenos, não. Não conseguiu. Só saiu água... Aaa... Da bota de armas, não conseguiu sair. Então ele ficou até chegar o momento disse que, olha para me matar não era fácil porque eles já colaram colas, então meteram esse homem dentro da colas, o que ficas até aqui, mas não conseguiu tirar, não, só a água que saiu na boca de armas e disse que para me matar vai dar de comando... Tal. E aí que ele conseguiu morrer. Mas se eu morrer há pessoas pequenos que vai dirigir essa terra. Então e ele conseguiu matar, baptizaram com nome de Biombo por causa daquela guerra de pacificação de 1915. Agora os Pepesis de Biombo são Pepeis resistentes, são Pepeis de Biombo. Agora significa Pepeis de Biombo, agora que baptizou com nome de Biombo. Então nessa guerra aí que surgiu aaahhh... Aquele mensagem política de '59. Tal agosto '59. Aquele [?] De *mobilitazon*, aí que surgiu nesta guerra que surgiu, aí que surgiu nessa provocação de 3 de agosto de 1959, por causa deste profundo cenário, de funcionários, de Cais de Pdjigiti. Para [?] as reivindicações do direito dele, foi massacrado por causa desses reivindicações e aí que surgiu ese, por causa desse, de guerra de pacificação dos epeis surgiu também mesmo mas quem que reivindicou esta pátria? Então, mais pPepeis que estão lá a trabalhar. 300 e tal, 300 e tal total, são 200 são os Pepeis que era também os Pepeis que trabalham no porto naquela altura reivindicaram que não, e eles queriam aumentar mais salário. No tempo, repressão e foram massacrados. Então aí surgiu, massaro de Pdjigiti até surgiu a faida de mobilização 19 setembro de '68, 19.. 1956 por causa da fundação do PAICG, até surgiu 1963 a, a guerra de libertação nacional.

ME Depois organizou-se ortanto o movimento..

P Está? Até aqui percebeu muito bem?

ME Sim

P Sim, assim que surgiu a guerra da Gb, por causa daquel voz do INKANDÉ, que diz que uma pessoa é pequeno e ele que vai dirigir essa terra. Saiu tudo gerações de cultura Pepeis, tudo daquele que sou naquele momento, são gerações de cultura pepeis. Agora, Pepel abre a porta para todas as pessoas podem entrar em Bissau, por nós somos *irmons*, como família, somos amigos. Aí que surgiu agora BIS-SAU. Depois surgir Bissau, porque é que tem nome Bissau? O de aquele altura os Pepeis estavam a pescar, chegou aquele barco, barco, bote, nós dizemos barco ou bote, então perguntou, aqui é onde?, e ee não sabia a língua, disse NDO KE SAU, eu sou Pepel, significa, que vi, caminho de, disse que bissau significa "eu sou pepel". Na linguagem dela, Sau significa pepel. Agora, ele voltou perguntar mais, ele não apercebe a linguagem, diz, NKDKO GHINHA - eu sou preto. Agora significa GB. [repeat pepel] eu sou preto. [repeat pepel] eu sou preto. GB. Aí que suriu o nome de Bissau.

ME Não fazia mesmo ideia

P Então, são vários, se eu peguei explicar tuuudo, de gerações de gerações dos Pepeis, nós vai ficar três dias cotinuativos para a explicação disso. Te algumas coisas que nós devias resgatar mais, mas no fundo, parece que sim, que mais sagrados, até mais profundidade disso, [.....] Porque até os Pepeis mesmo tem uma linguagem de chamar as coisas, como os pepeis chamam vitelo, como é que chama cabra, como é que chama o Cão, os animais, não é?

ME Sim é consoante a língua

P Cada um animais tem a sua gerações. Macaco, tem a gerações.. O lobo tem a gerações. Ooooo.. Sapo, tem a gerações. Toooooo são gerações... Os Pepeis fiz as gerações dos animais, mas primeiro é as gerações dos Pepeis. Percebeu? Se quer, pergunta alguma pessoa, e vai dizer assim

ME As pessoas sabem

P Há outra pessoa que sabe, há outra pessoa que não sabe. Estou olhando que no momento que estou a dar aqui aquela programa de cultura dos Pepeis, e outra são que já tem 60, 60 e tal anos, estão a procura de mim. Como é que eu sabia de onde que sai com uma história que muitas pessoas mais velhos não sabiam isso? Eu comecei a mostrar etapa por etapa, há muitas pessoas, até trazer galinhas, para me oferecer. O trabalho que estou a fazer neste momento, que ? Não consigo fazer isso, é por isso a maioria dos Pepeis, Pepeis da Gb, gerações de Pepeis aqui na região de Biombo, se nós contamos 4 como diz, fala que aah, oooh, este é para que, eles são mais velhos todos sabem que estão cá, porque eles sabem muito, chegam as pessoas. Cerimonia funebre, funerárias tem a suas etapas. Velhos, quem arde, os balobeiros, tem as suas idades de fazer aquela cerimonia de funebre. [?] porque que tem que [?]. Por causa de cerimonia que ele fez até chegar ser regulo. No outro dia, eu vou explicar isso. Quem é balobeiros, tem a tia dele, por causa que tem aquele cerimonia, aquele mal cumprimento grande.. Porque é acontece ? Tem dias disso. Porque é que tem esse dia para cerimonia funebre? Funeral [...] Quem não tem nada disso, tem a sua data limitando. Se morre hoje, amanhã, quando será. Mas aquele outro, é muito tempo. Porque a outra parte, quando o regulo morre aquele que fica doente tres ou quatro dias sem [lavar]. E ele pega aquele couro aqui que é preto e tirar tudo se quer vermelho, como por exemplo quando um porco, carne né?, quando numa cerimonia, num festa, quando matar as cabras vai tirar aquele rebanho para ficar [?]. Agora, quando o regulo morre, vai tirar aquele couro preto. Todos, ele fica vermelho como? Mesmo. Você sabe porque ele diz que é regulodo nè? Mas o que que passa mais? Naquele couro e ele vai pegar uma forinha, pilar o arroz até ficar um mais... Tão faz farinha, pega isso e ? Se pergunta aquele que vão ver o corpo, eles diz que ele é mais regulo, mais poderosos. Quando fazia cerimonia funerária, vai tocar uma mesa, um pano, o arroz, antigamente pode uma pessoas virgens que não conhecia o homem, ser enterrada com... Pensar de que... Se eu morrer aí, eu vou sair no outro lado com tudo aquilo que eu tenho lá.

ME Portanto, para o outro mundo.

P Eheh. Assim que surgiu. Mas agora, mudamos as pessoas que foi enterrado juntamente com o regulos..

ME E esta outra pessoa é enterrada viva...?

P De vida, sim. Tem a vida memso. Dá tudo do momento que vai equipar com aquele contas, tudo, como se for noivo, não é? Por lá, por um mesa, por uma cadela, água, lanternas, aguardente, água, arroz, todo deve estar lá! Então, pega aquela porta, fica lá, sabe que uma pessoa daquela forma pode chegar até uma certa altura, pode, e morre, mas se ele pensava que, no ele vão com, com o regulo, vão sair no outro lado

ME Portanto..

P Enquanto o desenvolvimento da ciência, que desenvolve, acho que se estava a fazer aquilo que não é bom. Até chegar o desenvolvimento da ciência mudou. Agora, é galo.

ME Ok

P Gado. Mesmo que seja uma pessoa, é galo. Quando fica um enterrado, deve pôr aquele galo, galo, não é galinha, mas é galo, dentro da cova, juntamente com o regulo. Significa que aquele galo quando durgir o sol e ele cantar para o regulo saber que vai amanhecer o sol,.... Eheheh. São muitas coisas que eu aprendi com o meu pai e que aprendi com um a outra pessoa mais velho que aprendeu por mim mesmo, pela minha cabeça.

ME Sim, eu tinha duas perguntas. Uma era mesmo esta como é que você conseguiu ter tudo este enorme conhecimento sobre a cultura pepel?

P Como?

ME [repeat]

P Bom. Eu lembro que quando nasci, estou a pensar... Mas porque que os Pepeis não tem história? Mas porque que os Pepeis não escreve a história? Mas nós temos, porque nós temos aaahhh... Imperialistas, impérios, não é? Mas porque grandes impérios, estão cá. Vou falar em Imperio Songhai, Imperio Ghana, Imperio Agatar, Imperio ?, Imperio Pepel é que não tem lugar na historia, mas tem sabe que os pepeis costumam estudar tem uma história como a escola corânico? Do Fulas... E a casa mais pequeno, quem tem 3-4 casas tem a sua escola, portanto... Mas por causa do trabalho Pepeis, do tanto trabalho Pepeis, não tem tempo para sentar e ensinar aquela escola. Então a história para próprio, a história... O gato apanhou o lobo, o lobo apanhou o lobo, esse é que então

muda a leitura, a escola dos Pepeis [?] Para a escola. Então, depois chegou um momento, porque sabe que eu sou, a minha profissão é... Atifical. Fazer aquele pano, desenhá-la a sua cara, a tirar meio como o que estão aqui com olhos, com cabelos mesmo, é trazer linhas com panos, com camisolas, todo podem fazer isso, até igual. E voltou, eu sou oooooaahhh a família dos pescadores. E a pesca faz tudo. Eu sou familiar também.. Eu sou daquele que tira sangue de vinhos, como costuma dizer FURAVINHO, né? que eu sou uma pessoa que faz tudo, então, ficou na, na 2, 3, 8 anos sem nada... Porque este trabalho. Porque, vale estudar, porque? Há um dia, quando morre, vai ter arrependimento, por causa da escola. Eu comecei a estudar [.... Quando tive o meu estudo, dirige diretamente ao [?] para fazer curs basilar de educação. Então depois de termino deste curso de história que eu fiz, então eu volto entrar numa, numa ciencia.. Em Bissau, meios de publicason, fazer o curso intensivo de jornalismo. Então, quando termino curso de jornalismo fez coisa horrível, voltei para coisa di *mediason* na [São João]. Depois de termino curso di *licienciason*, curso médio, mas como é que pode ficar assim? Então é para ir para fazer o curso superior e por isso que voltou para fazer licenciatura de ciência da educação. Mas isto apenas quando termina ciência da educação e quer fazer direito e aí que vai doutoramento e mestrado. E isso começou a pensar a fazer história, começamos a pensar fazer um livros, fez livro de [?], meu primeiro livro, mas com um caminho que eu tenho. A maioria dos professores aqui manda alunos fazer a pesquisa na minha mão. Pergunta aos professores na escola, pergunta na escola, ele sabem muito bem. E vai dizer que, olha aquele rapaz, ele é de cabeça. Então, bom, cada qual tem a sua agregário, né?, tem [??]. Algun pessoa mais velhos que eu não sabia como que eu sai com esta história, que é história que as pessoas nun.... Há um regulo de Thor, há um dias estou a falar sobre questão de história e ele mandou dele vir também para ir ao mato lá, eu disse não, se ele quer ele é que procura para mim. Não é ? Problema dele. Ele deslocou até cá, mandou umas pessoas me chamar, eu penso que eu sou uma pessoa mais velho, quando chegou, chega, sentu todo dum lado e perguntou, então ele não chegou ainda?, ele se voltou para ver. Quem é que fala de história e cultura Pepel?, perguntou-me. Mas como é que saiu, donde que saiu com esta sabedoria? Eu disse que há duas coisas para o homem, quando nascer significa que cada qual tem o seu dominio, a sua sabedoria. Agora aqui não sei, se vem da geração dos pais, se vien desta da geração de eu mesmo, não sei. Mas que Deus criou-me assim. E por isso que as pessoas quando encontrou comigo admira. Há outra, tenho certeza, é uma adoração para mim. Não, eu disse não sou profeta. Mintam eu não sou, não sou um homem sábio, mas também, é ajuda de Deus, parece que ajudou-me. Eu vou dar mais um ? Para responder mais à segunda questões. [.....] E outra questões

ME Pronto, aaaa..... A outra questão era uma questão bem diferente. Antes, no começo da explicação, falou que quando os Pepeis ficaram aí na Bijimita, encontraram aí um Irân muito grande.

P É PIQUE, Biombo

ME Ok, PIQUE, desculpa. Ee... Queria... A minha questão era mesmo sobre Irân. O Irân era algo que os Pepeis já tinham em si, na sua própria cultura quando chegaram aqui, é algo próprio dos Pepeis, é algo que os Pepeis aprenderam de outro lado..? Porque como você sabe, todos os povos sempre tiveram um tipo de religião, de crença, seja qual for o nome com que as pessoas chamam isso. Eu vou chamar religião para simplificar, mas todos os povos, desde o Império do Ghana, os Antigos Grégos, os Romanos, os Egípcios, Maya, Aztecos, todos tinham uma religião, um sistema de crença, o que queria saber era mesmo se o sistema de crença dos Pepeis, portanto também o Irân, nasceram na cultura Pepel ou se nasceram pelo contato dos Pepeis com outras culturas. Porque, por exemplo, agora se nós formos ver a questão da Europa, agora a maioria dos países da Europa fala que são católicos ou mesmo que a maioria da população é católica, mas antigamente não era assim. Depois da conquista da Palestina é que saíram, foram para Roma e de Roma que se espalharam, mas não foi uma religião própria daqueles povos, houve uma grande migração. Portanto eu queria saber mesmo alguma coisa nesta questão, relativamente este aspeto

P Bah... Eeehh.. Eu percebo muito bem. Sabe que aquele tempo o homem que descobriu para ver quando chegou o certo momento ele não morre. Voo assim, até agora, nem sei de onde o enterramos, a sepultura guarda-se. Significa-se trabalha com cabeça. Trabalha com o poder natural dele e prende mesmo as pessoas pode dizer como o Irân. As pessoas já... E estas pessoas depois fizeram com medo de Irân, porque vão dizer, veram muito bem, se vai perguntar que [pepel], donde está a sua sepultura... Não, nunca vi. Mas ele, ele quem descobriu Thor. A sepultura do próprio do homem de Bijimita para perguntar donde é que é sepultado, ninguém sabe de onde foi, vão... Para água. Se um [GIRAPÁ?] Está assim também. E ele ter colocado porque o Irân já está, porque o contato de Irân e significa que... Irân já existia há muito tempo. Mas segundo a história, Irân já existiu há muito tempo

ME Mas segundo a história...?

P Segundo a história. Este Irân já viviu mil séculos, não é? Antes do aparecimentos de Jesus Cristo, Não é? Irân já vivia há muito tempo por causa de matá-los, como todos aquele maus, como [?], que costuma fazer isso. Então, foi assim, até o Irân disse estão lá há muito tempo. Se estava há muito tempo, mas até quando, mesmo está lá até agora, este é um mar grande naquele rio, aquele mar, estão lá mais, mas e isso só, só pelos Irâns que estão lá. Mas se ele chegou lá, tem contato com ele. Por causa por causa de poder. Se calhar... Aquele podia ser ganado, não vi.. Não... Não é uma pessoa. Não é um ser humano, mas também o Irâ. Então nós dizemos, o Irân de PIQUE. Então os Pepeis sempre anda, de aquela altura, anda com Irân, porque aquele poder que ele tem, trae fom.. Como a defesa dos pepeis. Tem o Irân que traz, que trouxe. É uma defesa de geração em gerações, cada geração tem etapa. É por isso trazer um Irân fica na zona de Bula, há que vai [BIQUIMI?], zona de Bula. Então ficou aquela [OPEJA? - *pepel*] lá aquele Irân [OPEJA? - *pepel*], ela geração dos Pepeis fica lá. Até agra as pessoas ir a lá para fazer aquela *katandeira*, aquele instrumento tradicional, siga lá. Os Pepeis costumam sempre naquela altura, andam com Irân não é ele que está em forma tra, tra forma de Irân não, Irân já existiu, mas e ele estão a inimigar.. Por exemplo, eu comigo, que você comigo não somos amigos, não é? Então você chegou aí, o que vais fazer? Tu vai procurar quem vai brigar consigo. Para ?. Agora, se, se quer ser meu parceiro do conhecimento. Se quer conhecer alguma coisa que eu pergunto, por causa de que, por causa de aquele poder [SATANASS - *pepel*]. Então e ele è como a bussola, né?, de orientação. Percebeu?

ME Percebi

P E como bussola dá orientação, junta Oeste, Sul-Oeste, então ele orienta. Há como e que por isso que aaahh... Gerações dos Pepeis, tradições dos Pepeis sempre estão ligados com Irân. Nunca fuge, à regulas. Agora, como nós já convertimos noutra religião, nós, convertimos noutra religião, para nós não tem a validade.

ME Assim o Irân vai desaparecendo, se...

P Pronto para nós, para eles não podemos meter TEFÛ, TEFÛ, não, não está ligado com Irân. Mas quando e eu hoje abandonar a igreja vou morrer. Porque o irân está em cima de mim. Em cima da minha caminho. Poque eu sou, eu sou creente e a minha família são quem? Como é que pode ser isso? Pode abandonar? Se nós todos fomos convertidos para Islão, que é uma religião, agora escapou, mas se sozinho saiu daquele caminho para outro caminho. Mas a minha família ficou lá para adora. Será que a minha família não vai ser penalizadas? Não é penalizada por causa de mim, porque.. Eu que amava aquele Irân não quero nada com ele, agora ele voltou para minha família. Sempre os Pepeis tem aquele contato.. Eh? Sabe que os Pepeis tem sempre os contato com os , sempre com... Eu, eu manter a orientação dos Pepeis. Sempre está aí.

ME Qual é que é a forma do Irân? Irân pode ser... Uma estatua, pode ser pessoa, pode ser alguma força invisível, pode ser um animal, pode ser tudo isso...?

P Maah, aaahh... Com as pessoas que tem que ver. Conhece [?] e outro costuma dizer que é Irân e a comenos. E outro Irân diz que outra vez que Irân.... Como serpente não é? Tem lá, tem lá, tem lá especie da cobre, mas também uma parte da garganta é o ser humano. Agora... Quem viu.. Nunca, mas também

ME E se uma pessoa quiser fazer uma cerimonia do Irân, há algo que usa-se como símbolo do Irân...?

P Boh, para os, os, os.. Antigamente, os antigamente, quando iam faezr uma cerimonia, ter contacto com Irân, falar com ele, com Irân. Poder que ele tem. Mas agora não é todos pessoas. Tem certo momento quando chega num local sabia que Irân não está aqu, ele já foi passear, comer... Quando voltou, sabe que aquele Irân voltou, já estão aqui. Pronto... Mas agora não é porque não é.. Só.. Pelo poder. Eu lembro aahhheehhh.. O meu pai veio aqui e eu era mais pequenos. Eu tenha esta colher. E eu tenho esta colher porque aquilo é que é. Quando as pessoas eehh quando conhece apena o que quer dominar nossa casa, eu sou defensor de TIRAKA, tudo, alma e as pessoas escondiam na torre [?] para não ir morrer. Então eu sempre [.....] Então e assim eu sempre o amigo de salvar a vida das pessoas. E ele per, quem, assistiu continua até a morte, sempre carinho com as pessoas, a minha vida que vai acabar. E ele para ir aquele poder tradicional até eu agora nunca ouvi um [?]

ME Então... Tirou.

P Tirou tudo por esse poder. Agora eu se... Se eu tem este poder tem então vai ser [...] Poder [...] Ajuda [...] O meu estudo. Agora se falou só de que não tem... Tem. Aquele contudo o seu Império quando estou a falar a pessoa diz não eu não tenho cabeça. Não.

ME Nunca é possível tirar este poder?

P Sim.

ME Pode-se..?

P Pode-se.

ME A pessoa pode recusar isso e...

P Não não não vai saber, não vai saber. Se o teu pai está em vida e sabe como é que faz isso. Até pode co... Até pode convidar comer uma comida, comer uma comida de cerimonia. Aquele comida foi.. Foi... Preparadas..eh?

ME Não?

P Não, eu penso que.. Que.. A comida com leite, o leite com.. Ooohh a comida de milho preto, com leite, com lití, com siti, então sabe que as pessoas quando dizer isso, sabe? O espírito há, fica lá, o que, quando apanhas isso, o poder perde-se. Assim. Eu...eeeh.. A pessoas que são, que colocou durante que eu sabia, que saiu com esta história, Deus que indicou-me. Deus que indicou-me. E até agora... Há muitas coisas que eu faz ou fala com mais velhos... Sabe que tem tribunal dos Pepeis, sabe isso?

ME Que tem...?

P Tribunal dos Pepeis.

ME Ouvi falar laguma coisa...

P Ouvi de tribunal dos Pepeis?

ME Só ouvi dizer que há um tribunal, mas não sei mais nada disso

P O tribunal dos Pepeis... Ehehe! É um tribunal quando entra nunca sai, até o fim da morte, nós diz até acabá! É *baloba*. É *baloba*. Que é tribunal dos Pepeis. É por isso que Pepeis faz toda coisa como fosse eehhh a tradição moderna. Mas a tradição moderna, foi, quando foi julgados fica.. A-a-há anos, o prisão perpetua. É pena de p-p-p-risão perpetua. Fica, nunca sai, quando morre, a família fica. Quando morre, a família fica. Até a vossa descendência acabou.

ME Não há hipótese mesmo de sair daí...

P Não não não. São mais perigo [?]. Qualquer coisa que você quer fazer, eu vou lá, explicar. Qualquer coisa que você quer fazer, deve explicar depois isso. ão pode fazer sem explicar. Faz uma falha.. Já sabe. É isso que nós diz tribunal dos pepeis. Tirbunal quando ir lá nunca fica prisão perpetua com todos seus família que você tem. Ou a sua família pode enterrar com garantia de nunca realizar no qual não converter noutra religião e eles estão no vosso caminho. Mesmo andar, mesmo patamar mesmo, mesmo crenças,...

ME Sem fim



October, 18th 2016

There are three reasons why I interviewed the professor Fodé Mané: as a university teacher, he is an expert in penal law and has a deep knowledge of Guinean penal code; he is an active member of the association Observatório dos Direitos; after his parents and siblings had died when he was young, he was accused of being a devil's child, but his grandparents (Muslims) took care of him and he had not to undergo any test or ritual as a proof of his humanness.

ME Tinha diferentes coisas para perguntar ao Professor. Por um lado, gostaria de falar desta questão do direito e do código [artigo] sobre o infanticídio ritual e a questão da culpabilidade; por outro lado, gostaria de falar da sua experiência pessoal e do seu papel como ativista no Observatório.

PFM Começamos pelo Código.

[...]

ME Este Código foi aprovado em 1993?

PFM 1993. Foi uma revisão do Código antigo, mas na verdade, deixaram a maior parte do Código. Quase todo o processo teve algumas revisões. Portanto, o Código Penal foi proposto uma revisão, no modelo [?], mas não passou.

ME Portanto estes artigos sobre infanticídio e homicídio são ainda do Código antigo.

PFM Sim, claro. Continuara. Como eu disse, o Código antigo foi revisto em 1993, não tinha infanticídio.

ME Ah, não tinha mesmo?

PFM Sim, o Código antigo era um código de 1800 e tal, era um código... Fala-se de código viciado porque vigorou durante a época colonial, era um código muito antigo.

ME Portanto, até 1993 estava sempre em vigor o Código de 1883...?

PFM Sim sim. Normalmente nós tivemos uma lei, Lei Setembro 1973, n.71 que diz que toda a legislação portuguesa em vigor no território, mantinha em vigor, a não ser que fosse contrária à Constituição. Pensou-se que no Estado novo não vai haver o [secundário] do que num período curto fazer muitas novas leis. Então, tem que haver a continuidade e evitar o vazio, então manteve-se toda a legislação portu... Ainda hoje estamos a usar o... Código Civil português. Agora foi editado, mas é o Código Civil português, esta é a edição com os nossos comentários e a nossa coordenação.

ME Mas basicamente é o mesmo código...

PFM Sim, é o mesmo sim. Mas este é de 1967... O Código Civil está de 1976 [?], mais de cem anos; já foi objeto de muitas discussões e estamos a atualizar.

ME Claro, há muitas coisas que mudaram, já não faria sentido.

PFM Sim... há alguns crimes que não estavam na época, porque também... E há crimes que já não são mais, portanto não é aplicável. Por exemplo, a bigamia... Por exemplo, a bigamia era crime. Com a nova disposição, a bigamia não pode ser considerada crime até era crime só da mulher.

ME Pois! Isso faz pouco sentido.

PFM Na verdade alguns que, já havia algumas que não faziam sentido. O infanticídio... Portanto foi introduzido, como por exemplo... Nós cremos que.. Dentro... Depende das populações, furto de vacas, que não

estava, mas que entrou, as queimadas fora da época, há uma preocupação com o ambiente; estas foram novas medidas adotadas.

ME Esta questão de infanticídio... ouvi muitas pessoas, por algumas coisas que eu li, o governo recusa a existência desta prática, mas está inserida no Código penal!

PFM O governo recusa...?!

ME Pelo menos, quando... Quando falei com o pessoal do UNICEF e do UN disseram-me que todas as recomendações feitas pelas UNICEF foram recusadas pelo governo, porque não havia provas de acontecimento desta prática

PFM Não há provas??

ME Foi o que me disseram do UNICEF....

PFM Não sei quem é do UNICEF, mas não trabalham isto. Eu trabalhei isto nos últimos anos, ao lado das pessoas, ehh... Quem luta para isso e também mesmo aquelas que partilham fazem muito, tudo às escondidas. Mas antes era normal. Era uma cerimónia. Dizia-se que era... era... O espírito.. Para acalmar. Mas agora ninguém fala, porque o infanticídio é crime, é crime. Agora ninguém vai dizer que isso aconteceu.

ME Sim, claro.

PFM Porque aquilo em todos os grupos étnicos, existe, o infanticídio ritual, porque as pessoas não ehh.. Têm conhecimento de que pode haver... Mal.. Ehh.. Malformação das pessoas.

ME Sim, e logo acham que a criança...

PFM Sim, e nunca há campanhas disto. Há crianças que foram.... Vai à Casa Emanuel. Há lá uma criança até pouco tempo tentamos... Responsabilizar os seus pais. Porque as vezes há dois prazos iihh ehh... Para a mãe, para essa que recusou amamentar a criança até quase que falecesse; e depois foi internado, criado e assim. Mas na Casa Emanuel também não tem nenhuma educação hereditária. E todas crianças, mas a partir de um momento... Todas as pessoas que vão lá para adotar uma criança, escolhem as que estão em condições físicas melhores

ME Claro, porque para os pais adotivos que depois terão de cuidar da criança é mais fácil tratar duma criança...

PFM Mas isso nunca acontece. Então, aquela criança ficou lá, mas é uma criança muito irrequieta. Cria problemas mesmo em tudo. Repara, ele ficou chato. E queria, queria... devolvê-la, mas a mãe recusou. Mas pelo menos, vai visitá-la. E depois, claro, se calhar, a situação teremos que mediar. Mas aquilo, se a criança tivesse nascido e continuasse na mão dos pais, iam creer, dizer, que é um Irân, um espírito maligno

ME Portanto, ia para... o ritual...

PFM Matavam! E.. Porque.. Não dizem quem foi fazê-lo. Dizem que foi a trovoadas, e há homens que dizem que fazem especialista que dizem que fazem aquela cerimónia para os fazer voltar, e principalmente durante a época das chuvas. Como é que eles fazem? Para tentar... Vou ver... Fazer as coisas [?] Dizem por exemplo que foi um vento que levou, trovoadas veio não sei o que, aquele dia e tal, aquele dia por exemplo, não era preciso, por exemplo o trabalho da mulher, porque você sabe, na época da chuva, chove, de maio até novembro; se um dia está carregado, a água vai pôr-se, a chuva [?], portanto... Como eles também, um bocadinho, conhecem muito a meteorologia da Gb, sabem que pode chover, então isso. Se existem...

ME Existem sim

PFM Existem! Isto é infanticídio ritual

ME Existem sim. Por exemplo, ontem tive na Casa bambaram, e a psicóloga que aí trabalha mostrou-me umas pastas compiladas no momento de entrada das crianças e nas mesmas declarações das razões de entrada das crianças os pais eram que diziam “é pela salvaguarda da criança, ou é porque a criança é um diabo, ou é por causa que...”. Portanto, são os mesmos pais que nos papeis oficiais declaram isso!

PFM Não, isso... Sabes que estas organizações como UNICEF as vezes são pessoas... que trabalham somente em termos superficiais, sem convenção. Eu soube que muitas vezes.. Aceitavam só para manter os financiamentos, e alguma coisa, a maioria, você vê que... A coisa... Não está nada por exemplo, se você vai trabalhar com um

membro do governo que se está a discutir o plano anual de trabalho, normalmente o UNICEF disponibiliza, mas o ministério [?]. O ministério tem que escolher qual... Quais são as suas prioridades. O ministério por exemplo quer alguma coisa que vai sustentar o seu trabalho lá! Então ele tira parte do dinheiro. Se você recebe uma pesquisa para outra coisas ligada as crianças .... Eles por exemplo, arranquemos uma campanha de registo a não ser que... Tudo o que é mais mediático, depois dá resultado. E... Também o governador, o político quer que.. Não quer que vai dizer... Não este não é importante. Mas isso acontece. Nós sabemos deste problema.

ME Sim

PFM Neste momento, eu que vou lendo o manual daquela forma de justiça que eles.. Consideramos...

[...]

ME Que você... Que o Professor saiba, há vários casos que passaram pela PJ ou pessoas que foram para o juízo por causa do crime de infanticídio, foram muitos os julgados?

PFM Não, muito pouco. Porque como... Tem a ver com a tradição... os próprios pais acham que foram desviados pelo mau espírito. Porque há uma pressão da sociedade... Se você tiver um filho daquele dentro da casa... as nossas casas não são como.. Hoje estamos a dizer [?] Uma mulher e os filhos; são famílias, numerosas, você está com a mãe, o pai, o tio, o cunhado e por aí fora, e quando ter um filho daquele começam a arranjar... Desculpas, a dizer que era a mãe que não fazia isto, e o pai que tem não sei o que, que não fez aquela cerimonia, você começa a ser culpado, porque cometeu eehh.. Alguma coisa que fez com que aquele espírito vier daquela forma. Então, quando reunir todas as condições para fazer aquela cerimonia, para dar aqueles homens fazer aquela cerimonia, os djambakus, levam e tiram... Você paga que estes homens porque pedem-se coisas para a cerimonia. Você sente-se aliviado. E quem vai fazer queixa? Você, o pai a mãe, também sentiram que alguém lhe fez favor, tiveram a pressão... Da... Sociedade. Então, é mais fácil para os pais levar para... e mesmo nós, antes da discussão, porque o infanticídio ritual, quando foi introduzido no Código Penal na revisão deste Código estava um senhor português, o Augusto Silva Dias... Deve ter o seu...

ME Sim

PFM Da Faculdade de Direito que iam discutir e organizar... Mas não tomar a criminalização como mmm [vagar a soltar, 13'35'' – 13'38''] de direito. O que se vai fazer, sensibilizar, envolver estas associações de deficientes para mostrarem de que... Uma deficiência na formação não é um castigo de deus e que aquelas crianças podem ser muito validas. Os próprios deficientes começaram a mostrar que as suas aptidões, isso... Criaram associações, escolas e tudo que.. Começaram a encorajar alguns pais, mas estas organizações não chegam lá em todo o lado. Chegam nos centros isolados.. Mas lá... Que isolamento para isso, as pessoas se quer nem sabem se existe o Estado

ME Sim, esta população fica logo muito distante, abstrato e uma coisa...

PFM Sim muito mesmo. E estas informações não chegam até aí. Quando houver uma casa daquela.. Ou como que [?] Como as pessoas estão num [?] Tradicional, lá surge a interpretação que elas fazem da cena quando nem uma escola nem um hospital nem lá, um.. Sinal de Estado. E vivem lá. Que... Dá [?] Suas guerras. E quando que... Essas crian:as ninguém tem a noção da dimensão. Eeehhh o que dizem... Quando sente-se um [?] Longe, normalmente os pais levam, tem esperança do que, por vezes uma criança se demorar a andar, a aprender andar, pode levar dois-três anos e então levam lá, faz a fisioterapia, tudo para ela poder andar. Ou mesmo não andando, mas pode ter alguém, andar[?]

ME sim mas pronto, pelo menos é alguma forma de ajudar e arranjar este processo, mesmo que seja mais demorado...

PFM é mais deorado, sim. Então o que acontece é que há muita... O resultado que [?] Conselho, não se delega a...comissão. O lugar do tribunal... Há poucos casos, e, no momento, o único caso assim de infanticídio que depois prenderam o homem foi em Gabu, já não me lembro bem dos anos. O homem confessou ter... Feito cerimonia de oito casos em que... Mas, em que segundo ele acha que há [DIVIOLLO]-? Os pais. Tinham um fardo, tentam sepultar o filho, mas o filho não... Aconteceu durante toda a vida, ma ele... Então foi fazer aquele ? Mas porque alguém discordou, principalmente a mãe, não estava, nem se conformou, mas o pai criou uma alteração e a criança foi tirada.. Então... Eeehhh... Quando o homem preparou para matar aquilo, então, as pessoas vão,

chegam num determinado lugar, ficam, ele é que vai sozinho, faz aquela cerimonia em que o Irân... Ele vai para razão de.. [morrer?] E ninguém pode ver! Então este pessoa escondeu..

ME sim, claro porque em todas as práticas rituais, há aqueles taboos pelo quais as pessoas não podem...

PFM sim. Passou... Quando os outros voltaram, ele... Escondeu. O homem chegou a ver que ninguém viu... Foi arranjar um pau, para dar a crianca na cabeça e matar, então.. Porque normalmente também é duro, na lama, se você enterrar alguma coisa, basta encher a maré e baixar o vestiço para... Também com... E ele quando estava a preparar para dar, a pessoa gritou: não faça isso! Afinal é assim que você faz! Então foi caluniada, estiveram naquele rio, vai pegar a criança e esta pessoa nem vim então quando chegaram em [?], falou com as pessoas, começou a denunciar aquele, que vos [?]. Não é verdade, assim é que ele faz. Entretanto chegou a polícia e o homem acabou por confessar. Só que quando você vê que... A própria família é pressionada e que criam dificuldades lá, á mãe, vem a meio, ou junto á justiça, [?] Temos perigo do homem, ele não foi que, que arranjou o [palito] para dar á crianca.. Agora estamos com medo de sermos detidos, então [?] Perde substância. Por isso, casos de justiça há muito poucos. Eu me lembro só deste. Mas há casos que deram em conflitos e trouxe separação dos casais. Porque por vezes não... A mãe anda de noite, e por isso é que... A culpa é sempre da mãe, sempre.

ME ou seja, foi por algo que ela fez

PFM sim sim. Quando ela, depois, verdadeiramente está a sofrer.

ME sim, sim porque pronto.. Quando é que chegou a ideia de incluir o infanticídio? Foi pela comissão de... Que estava a rever o Código...?

PFM sim, é a Comissão. [...] E uma que houve foi passada por eles para mmm.. Os [?] Porque, aquela situação e a Faculdade também, na altura, porque '91 é que a Faculdade formalmente foi constituída, começar de '89. Eeh..deste, [?] Começaram a pesquisa, que isso, se você, um dos primeiros protocolos da cidade de [?] Foi com a Gb. Para que... Estudar direito costumeiro e tudo, aqui.. Para [?] Que, perceber, que era estudante da faculdade, mas era aqui vista, na Gb

[...]

PFM então a faculdade foi umas das instituições a propor estas novas formas de... De [?] O Código tem muito apoio da faculdade, técnico, porque havia poucos juristas na altura e os que estavam, nem todos eles especialistas em direito penal. As pessoas iam mais pa um... [?] E a pressão política, não há frutividade, vamos pôr... Aah, e esta coisa, mas tem que haver uma lógica, tem que haver base técnico-científica. Então, foi a faculdade que esteve, que teve a sessoria, mmm... Do processo de [...] Mas teve apoio de uma agência americana que funcionava chamada TIPS. Eles dá apoio ao investimento e principalmente no comércio. Tu tem também o sistema judiciário estável lá, o impresarial, do comércio e economia não pode desenvolver sem a justiça. Então eles apoiaram... Financiaram aquele conjunto de visões que você fez e presidiu a criação dos tribunais dos setores, cá havia tudo aquilo e aqui na faculdade é se deu formação as pessoas. Um que apoiar... O negócio feito por essa agência americana que havia de.. Mais a parte técnica, foi auxiliada pela faculdade e depois havia um gabinete com o Ministério da Justiça que que também assumi. E depois de cerca um ano de trabalho, levou para [?] E o texto comunicado. Repara que não foi [?] Porque na altura entendeu-se que, devido a necessidade e a qualidade também do nosso parlamento, na altura, quando o parlamento estava em transição sim o parlamento estava em transição, não dava para [?] Deputados [...] Seguiu o conselho maior[?] Porque por isso a autorização legoslativa do parlamento [...] Estava o Presidente e o parlamento entregou ao governo para vigilar. Então, por isso que a reforma é decreto lei.

ME ah, foi por isso..

PFM mmm. [...] É um decreto lei, decreto lei pode [?] N.93 Código penal. Então é aquela necessidade, porque quando houve aquel, aquela autorização do parlamento tinha uma força de lei.

ME e por isso que tomou esta forma. Muito bom. E, pronto, o que eu gostava de sabe agora era mais sobre a questão da, da associação, que é a Liga dos Direitos..

PFM não, o Observatório dos Direitos. A Liga, trabalhamos em conjunto, mas só que na Liga, como estava a dizer e até se ouve que, que...[...] Vamos para uma missão em [*not understood place in Guinea*], do dia 1 a 5, mas eu, o Marcelo, um representante da Liga e uma representança de rede jornalistas, vão só para [?] Capital. [...]

Trabalhamos em conjunto, mas porque isso dá para vir, move mais a sensibilidade das pessoas. Quando houver uma coisa, trabalhamos juntos. A nível da Liga, por vezes aparecem pessoas assim, quem de nós [?] Tem a ver com a cultura e a mentalidade, trabalhamos mais em sensibilização. A MGF, estas coisas, trabalhamos várias sensibilização e deixamos a parte eehhh...repress, para dizer, a parte da repressão para os aparados judiciais, mas as vezes, quando [?], assistimos a um caso de violação, um caso de extrema... Pode ser que os pais, não querem que a criança seja... Morta. Mas não denunciar... Têm medo. Nós assumimos. Por exemplo, há uma organização que assume, que ela que apresenta a queixa cedo e faz tudo

ME então não são os pais mesmo que assumem [...] E não se expõem à qualquer crítica pela sociedade e são vocês como associação

PFM .... Vem contra nós, com os pais, mas sabemos quem está atrás e é uma forma já de..

ME é mesmo uma forma de mascarar esta questão para..

PFM sim. Então insistimos que as vezes quando uma criança está para ser retirada, para lá de uma casa, quase sempre aquilo vier para [?] O pai crear [?] Mas poucas situações era o pai mesmo que quer a criança ser levada. Porque há [?] De alguma pressão e fazem denúncia. Se você falar com.. Com... O pessoal da Casa Bambaram [...] Se sabia por exemplo uma criança como este caso, começou na tabanca, até chegar, vais ver histórias interessantes. Nisso. Não é tão simples assim.

ME e vocês, como associação, como é que conseguem intervir nas tabancas e nestes planos de sensibilização?

PFM nós normalmente temos, a fazer ativistas... Em muitas partes. E estes ativistas.. Por exemplo, onde não está o Estado eehh...se [?] Puderam denunciar, se tiverem conhecimento logo... Por isso que eles estão e têm uma cobertura, somos nós aqui. Somos nós que utilizamos muito a comunicação social, temos facilidade de acesso. Por exemplo, se houver um caso e você chegar na porta do supremo tribunal, por exemplo [presidente governo ??] Não quer falar, fica aflito. Se há uma outra situação que quer denunciar, se estiver aí num ministério, mesmo fica aflito. Ainda se ouvir o presidente da Liga, é outro aspeto. Mas sabe, são pessoa que mandaram lá, nunca iam pedir têm uma situação que pior [?] Então você enjou-se de ir lá falar. O que eles não conseguem fazemos o chegar. Então ele é que... Atuamos a rença deles.

ME portanto a vossa associação é ativa em todo o território nacional?

PFM sim, isso também dizemos. Nós chegamos onde o Estado não chega, porque aproveitamos das associações de defesa de [?] Para haver uma... Associação de auto-cultores, se fazer para... O da plataforma da ONG, a sua ativistas não participaram para dar um tema, uma formação, um seminário, ou uma conferência sobre.. Por exemplo, igualdade de gênero. Nós somos associação de auto-cultores. Mas nessas eehh... Conferência regional já não vão ter a noção sobre os direito da criança. Então acabam para ter alguma sensibilidade, eles têm conhecimento, mas se limitam a área da pessoa, pessoalmente, faz chegar essa notícia. Então, por causa disso, não por existência de estruturas da própria organização, por causa da rede, consideramos se calhar para... Abrangência, em termos relacional.

ME e a formação do ativistas é feita em seminários, encontros...?

PFM sim, há encontros, conferências, ... Costumamos dizer DJUMBAI, com [?] De manter informados, de apresentar alguma coisa ao vivos e eles por vezes, aproveitam destas situações e nós nunca desprezamos. Podemos ir, por exemplo, à uma cabaça se estiver não sei o que, e às eleições. Começámos por apresentar a questão de saúde, por exemplo MGF e outra... Estas coisa. Você escuta a pessoa e até toma nota e faz tudo [na minha mente].mas hátrês semanas, o terceiro [?] Informaram-me, mas quem são os [?]. Esta é [...] A conformação da Constituição. Mas ele mostrou, estava a negar aquele furto. Negar. Mas ele não [?] Uma justiça gerida pela autoridade. Quer dizer... A pessoa não foi apanhada a fazer o furto, mas a autoridade [??] E imprisonar a pessoa sabendo que a pessoa tem antecedentes do furto. E daí emprisonar a pessoa para fazer calar qualquer [?], por causa do [?] Estava a perder

ME isso é um grande abuso

PFM as pessoas não têm acesso com o comissário, nacional, comissário de, comissário geral, eehhh foi trasferida até o Castigo.

ME pronto, uma situação desta..

PFM mas aqui não tem nada a ver diretamente com aquele nosso ponto focal. Para a Comissão preparar para a reconciliação, porque a rede de mediadores que nós temos

ME e como é que funciona esta rede de mediadores?

PFM não... Está, está-se a criar, formalmente ainda não existe. Eehh... Há pessoas que informalmente fazem este papel de mediação porque mediação é uma coisa um pouco [?]. A pessoa, a sua experiência de tudo, sabe que...

ME sim, é mais uma questão de experiência pessoal e de atitude do que algo que se aprende

PFM eu pessoalmente, a minha área de trabalho, de pesquisa, a minha tese é sobre dominação. Então, presto atenção a estas pessoas, quando estamos... Que ele prometeu incentivar. Iniciativa.. Isso

ME sim, isso faz tudo o sentido. O neste caso está...

PFM neste momento, eehh, parece que a Liga e alguma organização de mulheres estão mesmo dar formação, de mulheres mediadoras, porque vamos agora apostar... Na [moda], a nível ocidental. Porque agora a mediação, a intervenção das mulheres, mediação na gestão dos conflitos e tudo.. Então, mesmo abriu-se uma aula de formação e algumas pessoas [?]. Eu já dei formação a um projeto por via de... Mulher força de paz, mulher força de paz, que era financiado por UN. Que já foi desativado, serviço olandesa [?] Nacional, que depois de transformou... Dei formação, às mulheres em termos de mediação.

ME e.. Foi bom, teve um certo resultado?

PFM não, normalmente elas, elas mesmo, ao aperceberem, dizem "isso já fazia", onde estou, porque há um momento destas formações que nós fazemos uma experiência de andar com... Casos práticos, deste estudados ou testemunhas. Há pessoas que [?] As pessoas dizem, olha, ouve o meu [?] Tenho alguma [?] De como um dia podia fazer melhor, então você dá sugestões e elas continuam. Mas até lá, uma pessoa já fazia

ME sim, pronto, um aperfeiçoamento mais do que uma mudança mesmo de estratégias

PFM sim, porque há mediação, segundo a minha conclusão, é o que faz quando [tenhamos] na paz social. Há muita mediação, mas há dois tipos de mediação. Você chega numa comunidade, por exemplo, por causa da minha formação, dado que há sempre um projeto, foi ver e estudar como é que fazem a mediação. Não tem [?]. No fim... A estudar.. Como é que as pessoas se tornam mediadoras? Porque vi que as pessoas que tinha como pessoa-chave... A formação, você tem que identificar uma pessoa-chave com nas comunidade que você vai seguir. Estas pessoas ficam formalmente mediando. Mas há.. As pessoas que não são conhecidas, que nós fomos dizer que [?] Duma forma digo... Silenciosa, secreta, sem ostentar. Temos, por exemplo, na zona há uma população de [?], por 17 km de Babadinca e havia um dele que é alejado à um pé e por isso não anda muito. Pela sua idade não anda muito. Por coincidência, eu estava a cumprimentar, falar com as pessoas, vi a descobrir aquela mulher... Então, ela quase há dois-três anos assistia, vamos em tabanca, ganhava oportunidade porque ela sempre estava em casa, levava colas, essas coisas... Até que toda a rede, as informações de [?] Estavam [?] Com ela. Mas não era chefe de tabanca, não era nada. Era sim mesmo uma pessoa que tinha vivido um drama, o marido faleceu, os filhos foram [...] Então estive a viver lá, com um filho perto, mulher e tudo. Ela que.. Até.. Eu dizia uma coisa interessante, por exemplo, que fulano tal não é filho do fulano tal. A mulher quem a engravidou de verdade foi o fulano tal.. Mas depois surgido isso, tantemos mediar e a coisa ficou assim resolvida. A situação claramente tem isso problema, ela, mas vocês tranquilos, foi feito... Foi aqui que eu chorei. Vê? Mas não é aquela que ostenta, não mostra.

ME portanto fica mais.. Mais nas tintas...

PFM isso

ME e isso dá para ela ter um papel também mais fundo que..

PFM e isto é que... Estas mulheres, primeiro, que criam por... Por zonas, eram casadas, não estão preparadas para a promoção das mulheres. Portanto... Eehhh. Quando uma mulher torna com um poder económico, tem esta possibilidade de argumentar, ver outras coisas, poder discutir com o marido, dar uma opinião, alguns homens não estão preparados para isso porque uma das situações culturais a mulher deve ser que ser sempre submissa. O Islão diz mesmo que o casamento é a submissão.

ME da mulher ao homem.

PFM sim da mulher. Então, as mulheres vêem... Têm esta situação. Você tem que também fazer a punhada a não confrontar-se com o marido, senão como lidar com o marido.

ME então é mesmo uma estratégia para se desenvolver, mas ficar.

PFM não...nada.. Mas como mostrar ao marido que não fica má pelo fato da mulher...

ME sim, porque senão fica logo uma chatice entre um e o outro e a acaba..

PFM sim para não desacorajar os outros homens, para não deixar... Há um caso escrevi mesmo na minha tese, que é um caso raro, nasceu em Cacheu porque... Uma mulher queria acabar com os casamentos são os familiares dela que não concedem. O nosso filho vai casar com a vossa filha, então vocês mostram ter [?] A nossa família e nós também queremos acordar... Por exemplo, é um contato mais entre famílias, não havia que negociar, aqui... Entre as pessoas. Há uma que casou com... Normalmente as famílias têm boas relações e para manter o casamento o [?] É manter a segurança, por vezes a menina é preparada desde sempre que vai casar com aquela pessoa de tal família e acaba por criar este... Estar preparada a pessoa também está preparada. Quando este casamento o problema dá que... Apesar de não negociar, mas a pessoa criou esta.. Ehm, naquele caso, a mulher quando esteve preparou-se para aquele casamento, as familiares também como, davam-se muito bem e gostavam... Prepararam aquele casamento com muita coisa, ajuda dos familiares, aquele te vai fazer dinheirinho, te vai dar camas, de forma ela... Quando chegou, também como já se tratava de um marido como namorados antes de casarem porque já sabiam, deram-se muito bem. A mulher quando chegou a ter aquele dinheiro, começou a fazer negócio. Este negócio começou a render conforme o negócio estar a render, está a aumentar. Por exemplo, ia vender no mercado local, depois passou a... A levar para Bambadinca. Bambadinca e já lá vai para [Guinean city] na zona de fronteira

ME sim portanto está a ir sempre mais longe...

PFM sim. Mas comprava coisas boas para o marido, o marido já vestia melhor que alguns homens lá da tabanca, que o a mulher dizia, a casa era de palha, foi por os vizinhos arranjar e ficou melhor. Então, isso criou problemas na tabanca, mas em vez de alguns começarem a dizer que.. Não sei... Que dana inventaram das suas para não [ver] mais vezes aquilo que as mulheres fazem, dormem com os outros homem, fazem aquilo, quase de... E depois, como houve, se a mulher for provar aquilo, precisa de três dias em cada semana em que tem que ausentar. Porque a feira é um dia, tem que ir um dia antes e depois de vender, comprar e vira o dia seguinte. São três dias. Antes, fazia compras em casa, cuidava da criança, preparava a comida, tudo... Até ia arranjar ou limpava, coisas que a mulher fazia antes... Começaram a dizer... Gozaram com ele, o homem que foi casado, em vez de casar a mulher, a mulher casou o homem, ele faz isso, faz aquilo, até ele... Ah, dizer, homem, na nossa tabanca, quem tiver uma mulher é solteiro. O homem ainda resistiu. Tiveram que tipo oferecer-lhe se cumpriva aquele ritual, e quando o fazer, tinha que fazer cerimónia de casamento. Qual é o dinheiro que ele tinha? O dinheiro da mulher. A mulher disse, vais casar, mas não com o meu dinheiro, porque ela era... O dinheiro trazia, trabalhava e fazia.. Perguntou ao marido, vais casar com que dinheiro? Não tenho este dinheiro [?], este dinheiro é o dinheiro. Eu que trabalho, eu que te dou, como... Não, mas eu não autorizo.. Começou o conflito. Deve casar, mas não é com aquele dinheiro, começou aquilo que era uma relação tão olinda, começou a haver problemas. Quem é que arranjou aquele problema? A comunidade. É a comunidade que não estava preparada. Mas aquela mulher que estava a dizer resolveu aquele problema. O que é que aconteceu? Em vez de ser aquela mulher só a ir, muitas mulheres da tabanca já começavam a alternar, fazer o dia de negócio, produzir, criar associações de autcontrolo, os velhotes, tiveram um projeto de fazer ajudas com... E aquele mudou para trás. No espaço de três anos já havia poucas casas de palha. Uma pessoa sentada, conseguiu resolver aquilo... O que é que ela fez? Trocou um [?] Filhos que emigraram, manda-lhe o dinheiro e ela não tem muitas necessidades é já velha, senta, não faz nunca... Cria uma poupança. O que ela fez? Chamou o homem, disse que você não é justo, e a mulher dizer, você fazer o casamento de outra mulher com o dinheiro trabalhado desta mulher. E não fica bem. Mas se aceitar eu te empresto o dinheiro. Você faz casamento mas depois vais trabalhar, não vais trabalhar assim, tens que fazer isto, a outra mulher que vem também tem que trabalhar. Tentou mediar desta vez e....entre o homem a mulher e a segunda eehhhh...

ME tentou mediar entre os três...

PFM e aí que começar a fazer o negócio de distribuir os outros homens, razão pela qual começaram a reivindicar, também que eles, os homens já não têm...proveitam os resultados da vida dela, os seus filhos já vão para a escola [?], logo, e começaram a trabalhar os outros homens e a testar como o outro fez

ME a mulher teve um papel muito importante nisso porque sem a intervenção dela se calhar ia ficar tudo uma grande confusão e ia...

PFM [...]Muita confusão... [...] A mulher [...] Preferia... [?] Porque ela é sustentável e tinha alguma autonomia financeira...pudia ficar sozinha ou podia casar com um outro homem.

ME sim ela ia conseguir na boa, não havia problemas com isso

PFM exato. Ela.. Viu também... Esta era uma solução, vamos encontrar outras soluções. Então mesmo nesta questões de... Estas práticas culturais muito enraizadas, a punição, a lei como Estado, não deve entrar naturalmente, a lei quando a situação é integrada, você aplica, no caso de infanticídio, mesmo no caso de MGF... Há muita violações como antes, nenhuma parte a cumprir pena de prisão.. Foram dadas, foram presos uma semana, duas semanas, depois deixares... Ou seja, não tem castigo a cumprir. Se voltar a praticar ou tiver conhecimento de alguém a praticar mesmo em Bissau, vais para a cadeia, então isso começa a dar reforço. Mas então assim o problema existe. Não posso apontar hoje, dizer onde aconteceu um caso, mas o que é que acontece. Você tem que [?] Tem uma criança.. Com malformada. De repente não tem a criança.

ME é importante.... Sabe-se que algo aconteceu com aquela criança

PFM aconteceu. Agora qual é o... [?] No ambiente rural... Que não sabe que isso acontece.

ME sim, toda a gente sabe

PFM toda a gente. Sabe. Talvez a senhora ou a pessoa vai dizer que é que não sabe

ME é provável.. Face a uma estrangeira é provável que..

PFM então, talvez, na conversa com o governante, ou estão a discutir isso ou como canalizar os fundos, e... Não vão... Dizem que não existe! Mas outra realidade é um fenómeno que ainda usa. E você repara. [?] O problema é necessário também alguma lei de nível internacional, desde que... Se não houver isto, as pessoas continuarão a sofrer e os ativistas continuarão sem meios, para puder chegar e salvar estas pessoas. A nossa organização usa objetivos [?], dizemos, até casa com [?] Para jovens raparigas violadas ou que foram submetidas a casamento forçado. Mas não [atende], porque o nosso ativista devido uma campanha que fizemos, explorar os [?], sempre recebe denúncias até algumas meninas que vão fugir, vão para a casa dele

ME quem é que os denuncia, são os pais, ou outras pessoas...?

PFM não ela ou outras pessoas... Ou a própria meninas que são retiradas de escola por vez para ir a um casamento forçado, fuge, quer estudar, quer.. Não... O homem, por vezes, aqui foi retirada uma mulher [...] De anos 16, teria que casar com um homem de 50, o homem [?], foi longe, depois aquilo que fez é muita violência para a submeter aquele casamento e ter relação. Daí... Agora com os conhecimentos e as informações fazem violência. Ou fuge. Nós já sabemos isso. A nossa casa de Mansoa, de Nhaccra aqui, de... Farim. Recebemos isso constantemente. [tendia a vir ansiedade no coração] porque tenho colaborado em quatro casos de violência de menores.

ME são muitos

PFM eu ando a.. Fazer denúncia para aquilo, para que não é o meu trabalho, eu [?], mas como tenho cadeira de deputado, então estou mesmo lá com [?] Em frente, quando haver um casos desse porque os outro advogados que vivem só de advocacia vão cobrar, que é por isso que não sou da advocacia e então já sou quase membro da sociedade civil, neste aspeto.

ME e nos... Nos casos de CI como é que a vossa associação consegue intervir na.. Pronto, se há um caso suspeito? Sabem porque os pais vos contactam...

PFM quando há um caso de... Normalmente... Faleceu uma senhora com que trabalhávamos muito na zona de Gabu. Dona Joanita. Faleceu a este ano, mas fez um ano, [...] Não me lembro já do número, faleceu a outubro do ano passado. Dona Joanita é uma ativista. Antigo dissidente, logo, vai arrancar a polícia e a política... Ou alguns



[superiores ] que... Tem conhecimento, furta a criança, entregando-a à Joanita. Ela já tem contatos com as irmãs católicas ou com SOS de Gabu, que um centro onde a criança estudarem

ME portanto começa a haver também um movimento de recusa por parte dos familiares e dos pais, deste próprio ritual, isso efeito de sensibilização está a começar mesmo a dar... Um qualquer efeito porque depois as pessoas começam a recusar... Não dar as crianças..

PFM sim sim claro [...] O que acontece... Para confortarem a sociedade arranjam uma empresa alternativa. Por exemplo, uma das últimas crianças que está na SOS até hoje não é do centro, mas hoje há uma etnia [...] Em Gabu, Mansoa. Eles... Se a mulher falecer no parto, a culpa já é da criança. Por vezes, deitam a criança. Agora não deitam, mas quando a Joanita teve conhecimento de a mulher falecer no parto, ele estava a sair com o corpo da mulher e a criança para levar para a tabanca, foi, alguém alertou, foi como uma pessoa foi assitir... Um funeral, toda cerimonia. Depois tempo, como o pai já o tinha conhecido falou com ele, e o pai [...] Dito: olha, foge, vai ficar num determinato sítio onde leva a criança e você não vai ter cerimonia de cerimonia... E assim foi que o homem mesmo fez. Trouxe a criança e... Entrou na SOS. [...] Fazendo aquele exemplo aí foi utilizado, a criança já está a seis anos na SOS, a criança pode.. Como adoção, realmente é difícil, mas aparece uma pessoa que quer ficar com a criança, como a mãe, [?] For homem está entregue, com criança, fica, auida, regista como.. Para nós, que já somos juristas... Interessa-nos mais salvara criança do que cumprir a lei, seguir aquele processo ouvir..agora os pais se ...saber que.. A criança ia morrer cedo

ME sim, isso é, melhor a salvaguarda da criança do que estar aí a cumprir com a lei. Muitas vezes a lei não está mesmo a ver qual é o maior interesse da criança no nível prático, formal, deste tipo

PFM ormalmente, a nível de associações dos ativistas lidamos com... Essa nossa experiência, essa nossa rede, e boa colaboração também que existe com as autoridades. A polícia, embora de vez em quando choquiamos sobre uma coisa e outra, mas quando há prioridade de colaborarem connosco, não são.. A atitude deles.. Eehhh... Colaboram, pronto

[...]

ME eeeh, ah estava a pensar nos ativistas! Nunca encontrou algum problema em relação à outra parte da comunidade? Quer dizer, como estas pessoas, Joanita, era?, que elas, pronto, se os pais tinham uma referência de ir para lá, contactá-la, tirar daí a criança e tal...

[...]

ME pronto, como era conhecido que ela podia ajudar na salvaguarda da criança, não tinha problemas em relação aos outros mesmos...?

PFM tinha, tinha vários problemas. Só que... Isto é preciso corajem, a convicção... E uma vez caia e [fulano tal] tinha a dar como neste caso exatamente... Mas tinha a ver com a questão de MGF. Que saíram [?] A queimar a sua casa, organizaram-se.. Alguém foi informar o [?] Para ir [?] A sua casa... Ela disse, vou sair daqui e ficar tão tranquila, e quando ligavamos tentava-se perguntar, mas ela fica onde? Conhece esta gente? É preciso confrontá-los para saberem que estão a ligar com uma pessoa que tem corajem. Nós alertamos o comissário da polícia, do posto, mandou as pessoas para irem...eehhh.. E os que estavam [?]. Mas foram várias vezes. As crianças..até ameaçaram fazer mal, que.... Mal... No sentido tradicional de tudo... Fazer ela [maleta?] Por isso dizemos quando ficar velho, como ativista, quem podemos ter na região de Gabu? Como.. Como a Joanina. Realmente, de um tempo vamos tentar arranjar... Mas ... As vezes as pessoas que denunciam... Porque as vezes é preciso sair de Bafata ou de ... Para ir no interior. Mas ela ia diretamente, confrontá-la... E depois toda a gente veio a tomá-la como... Como uma colaboradora.porque neste caso você pode não estar de acordo com ela, mas noutro também ela ajudou a resolver aquilo que você não podia. Você... Falou já com o pessoal da AMIC?

ME falei.

[...]

ME tenho uma pergunta mais pessoal... Porque no outro dia o professor disse que... Também o professor era.. Tinha tido uma questão pessoal desse caso de CI... Ou não foi, eu malentendi...?

PFM não não eu não era CI. Não, fui daqueles orfãos, porque... A CI... Normalmente é interpretação do mau espírito, mas vem só com malformação. ...entre os Balanta, os gémeos, o mais pequeno era... Deitado. [...] Era o mal, a própria mulher protege eehh era malvista.

ME aconteceu alguma ou...?

PFM sim sim quanto mais a criança, por exemplo no meu caso, quando eu nasci, um mês depois faleceu o meu pai. Eehhh.. Como, com seis anos faleceu a minha mãe. Os meus irmãos todos faleceram. Fiquei sozinho. Nós estávamos sete irmãs, seis faleceram. Então na comunidade isso era visto.. Não era visto.. Que aquela pessoa tem a cabeça suja como dizem, não é um bom espírito, que matou toda a gente para ficar sozinho. Se fosse novo, até podia [?] Não conhece, mas se fosse noutra grupo... Você podia ser [?] Que não é assim tão agradável. Mas também há aproveitamento, dizem, que não, afinal é um grande espírito, que vem, por exemplo, em Bambadingas, dizem que normalmente aqueles que ficam assim são grandes espíritos cada um que leva uma coisa para você conhecer. No outro é o contrário

ME algo perigoso

PFM desagradável, sim. Felizmente, na minha comunidade... Eehh.... Não existia isto. A minha avó disse que... Tinha presentimento que... Para a minha mãe as coisas podiam andar mal. Por isso o casamento da minha mãe não se fez a festa. E veio dar a tempo... Porque... Dizem que é aquilo que estávamos a ter. Depois os meus avós [?] Conhecer. O.... Quer dizer, os mesmos avós já eram [?]. Quando tradicionalmente o meu grupo lá tinha só 200 anos de amizade, só que a minha família tinha linhagem há umas três gerações para trás. Assim... Então isso ajudou, porque o Islão vê isso tudo como... Predestinado. Predestinado. Islão não aceita infanticídio, por va que.. Não é castigo. É algo que.. Está a acontecer normalmente/humanamente. Por exemplo, você vê.. Se for pobre em algum sítio, você vá à mesquita na sexta-feira, vê muito deficientes na porta, ou pessoas que têm gémeos, os muçulmanos oferecem muitas esmolas à essas pessoas, porque creem que é um dever de Deus, lhe dera, ajudar estas pessoas, você vê só... Todas as mesquitas, passa mesmo antes e vê uns pobres, ajoelhados, pessoas que estão a pedir esmola, encontram-se sempre, os muçulmanos oferecem, muita esmola. Agora como estava a dizer há um novo tipo de infanticídio, que não tinha sido levado em conta, devido a esta influência da escola islâmica. É só dizer que se o filho nascer sem que a mãe... De uma mãe solteira.. É um filho de pecado, e em algumas tabancas, algumas casas não deixam entrar com aquele fiho e a menina por vezes é pressionada, a menina é pressionada e acaba por... Deitar a criança

ME a mesma mãe...?

PFM a dona Joanita sabia muito destas crianças. ... Tem a haver com... Uma enfermeira, que eu mesmo envolvi a [?] A criança, que ficou um ano, e a criança está hospedada num jardim [de dificuldade] de angolano. Há uma [?] E tem uma criança do género. Quem foi que lhe arranjou aí?

[...]

PFM mesmo, ao nível de projeto desta natureza [activism] não apoia.

ME sim, portanto logo fica-se sem fundos e sem recursos

PFM trabalhamos, todos.. As casas de acolhimento... É que... AMIC tem casa de acolhimento para pessoas, crianças vitimas de algo... Eu acho que já a partir de.. Crianças adolescentes. Acho que talvez poucos investidores interessam-se deste tema... Isso..não interessa. É estudar a criança. Também alguma tipo de ser, muitos quando você apresentar finalmente vão ter conhecimento. Outros que têm conhecimento não têm noção da dimensão. Depois nem atraiu-me. Você não vende isto muito aos organismo internacionais para ter financiamentos. A não ser para... Concursos académico, de a pessoa prever.. Um trabalho científico e depois pode ser chamado como especialistas para um consultoria para outra coisa, quando isso é muito importante em termos de conhecimento da mentalidade.. De conhecer a mentalidade.

ME isso é que é preciso. E vocês como associação nunca interagem com curandeiros, djambacus, ...? Não conseguem?

PFM não. Não pessoalmente... Com eles. Eehhh trabalhamos muito porque... Não só com curandeiros, mas porque são pessoas que mediam

ME pronto porque são pessoas...

PFM são mediadores. E são as pessoas que têm um conhecimento não estilizado, por exemplo podem ajudar a resolver os problemas.

ME sim, também como mediadores eles têm uma qualquer autoridade nestas comunidades, portanto conseguem..

PFM sim, claramente como eles como mediadores. E aproveitamos mostrar que algumas coisa, que eles mesmo sabem que é mentira. [é andar para isso]

ME portanto, eles mesmo mostram essa coisa...

PFM por exemplo, alguém me faz mal a mim, ou [?] Uma determinada prática, mede, o outro faz um mede diferente, esta é a violência, dizemos, de aqueles curandeiros. Explicar isso, você vai entender o que ele que.. Mostra que ele que.. [??]

ME portanto, demistificação um aos outros e começa depois a cair tudo... E eles aceitam discutir as suas próprias ideia? As pessoas aceitam demistificar um o outro?

PFM aceitam, claro que aceitam. Aceitam até chegando o ponto de convencer que aquilo que ele faz tem fundamentos, tem base. Por isso é que é um método prefiro de pesquisa é a observação participante, eu gosto de... Questionar ou preencher ou falar com alguém e tomar notas, como você faz. Quando chego, faço resumo do que é que é essencial dessa nossa conversa [...]. Eu não fui CI, mas fui orfão muito cedo.

ME e isso foi que levou problemas..

PFM isso, orfão... Não..não é muito aceite em outras comunidades. Nem toda a gente da família. Só que para islão, orfão deve ser muito protegido. Você encontra muitos estudantes do Corão, dos [?], que manda as pessoas cuidarem dos orfãos, em começo o que é isto, eu comecei numa família muçulmana e a minha família também tem ajudado como [?] A receber gémios. Foram rejeitados, porque na nossa zona, na tabanca de onde eu sou originário.. Sempre há, tem uma prática... Ao pé da estrada via a nossa [?] Ao pé da bolanha, que é atrás, ficaram os Balantas. Os balantas não aceitava gémios. Então trazia para as nossas casa. Como é que fazia: se entre saída de tabanca, deixa a criança lá, a primeira pessoas que encontra, leva, porque já sabe... Foram os balantas que... Por vezes há... Vamos fazer aquela cerimonia de... Tirar a criança. E as pessoas já sabem simbolicamente é posto, a pessoa pega, mas há uma intenção de entregar à pessoa, só que não... Não fazem isso normalmente. Metem no chão, a pessoa levanta, o menino está salvo

ME sim, pronto, parece assim uma forma mais de ritual do que um...

PFM isso aconteceu muitas vezes na nossa tabanca, naquela zona de.... Há muitas crianças destas... Até a coisa engraçada, você vê, irmãos, gémios, que depois cresceram, um diz que è daquela etnia e outro diz que é de outra etnia, de religiões diferentes [?]. Acho isso muito engraçado! Há um caso de um [...] Foi a minha tia que.. Você vê este muçulmano, com camisas grandes, isto tudo... O [?] Mas isso são gémios mesmo, realmente. Só que cresceram em meios diferentes e têm um aspeto iferente. Mas há muitos destes. Só que hoje acaba-se por se conhecer filhos que são tratados como primos e... Até hoje os balantas têm gémios. Por causa disso também... E os trabalhos que foram feitos. Porque no tempo [?] Aquilo era crime. Deitar a criança. Portanto isso ajudou...

ME portanto, havia uma forte repressão desta coisa..? E.... Há casos de albinos também?

PFM não. Aqui ouvimos isso. Que os albinos são perseguidos em outros países, até tive um colega que fez uma tese sobre isto. No Senegal, Ghambia, Gb, Guiné Conakry... Os albinos são vistos como seres... Como nas outras, aquilo não. São coisas que a nossa gente.. Não acompanhamos. Em Benin, Niger, noutros países são perseguidos, portanto são [?] Para determinados rituais. Aqui não. Há muitas práticas que hoje não existem. Mas há aqueles que para nós não... Por exemplo, antigamente, ouvi dizer, se um regulo falecer, tem que ser sepultado com, com uma jovem... Dizemos, jovem, viva.

ME enterrados

PFM sim, enterrados. Ma isso... Nem os nossos pais tem notícias disso

ME sim, portanto é uma coisa já muito mais antiga. Ainda bem que ficou.. Que deixou de ser... Mas.. Na sua opinião, este fenomeno é mais coum onde o Estado não chega e nas cidade isso é ainda possível que aconteça, as crianças serem deitadas, ou é muito difícil?

PFM eu acho que.. Há pessoas que também... Acontece onde não há muita sensibilização, informação.

ME ou seja, informação passa sobretudo por associações e ativistas..

PFM quando as pessoas têm já.. Conhecem um veiculo para cuidar da sensibilização da informação..

ME mas o próprio Estado não passa este.. Estas informações ou passa...?

PFM não, tem que dizer que não, o Estado não passa. O Estado não passa porque tem um Ministério da solidariedade que ajuda, mas não tem ações concretas, não conhece deste que estão a trabalhar, não conhece. Agora, só que, há um [?] Que existe, mesmo em Bissau... Há pessoas que [vivem], mas modo de vida é semelhante em todos os sítios. Não tem herança, e vivem como naquelas comunidades e fazem aí algumas cerimónias. Quando há [?] Não fazem aquele ritual de tirar a criança, aqui, mas fingem que vão fazer, vão viajar, visitar a família, levam a criança e depois... Deitam a criança, vem dizer que veio acontecer e faleceu, e não sabem. Algum sabem mesmo não era nenhum espírito, mas vê, desde que ele não vão-lhe servir, [...] Sacrificá-lo. Sacrificá-lo. Alguns sabem disso, que não fez nenhum má, mas é apenas uma criança que... Nunca, não há esperança de poder servir alguma coisa. Conhecem isso, mas não fazem em Bissau.

ME porque então as pessoas conhecem a prática, mas preferem fazê-la.. Fora da cidade

PFM porque Bissau não é assim tão urbana como se julga. Há centros, poucos, formas de vida muito tradicionais, muito... Eeehhhh, arcaicos, podemos dizer.

ME sim, portanto as ideias não mudam, a informação não chega até aí..

PFM sim, sim há pessoas que estão na cidade mas não têm... Conhecimentos.

ME estão fisicamente, mas não estão mesmo. Eehhh.. Última pergunta: na sua opinião, essa situação, está a melhorar? Vai se conseguir chegar a uma mudança de ideias, a sempre maior sensibilização, ou é uma luta contra moinhos à vento?

PFM não, vai agarrar depois com muita velocidade. Hoje, eu [?] Porque, já sabia que.. O [?] Educação não são na áreas de seres todos humanos. Depois, respeito pelos DH,... Está a.... O tema DH está muito... Em voga. É que..ações de deficientes têm estado a organizar-se e depois destes meses demonstrando que deficiente não significa ser inútil. Fazem coisas... E esibem, gostam, mostram que, não sabem andar, não consegue andar ou ter as duas mãos... Não consegue fazer nada, mas conseguem ler, conseguem fazer alguma coisa. Então encoraja-os que.. É até mostrar que não, não é pelo fato da criança ter os pés moles é questão de, é um Irân, não é, porque algumas vezes eles, [moleque], vai ser deitado, há ensino especial e a própria criança que não vê, é cega, que não pode, e há mesmo, por exemplo, na Rádio Sol Mansi, que é um programa posto por deficientes, todas as sextas-feiras. Para fora da deficiência, estas pessoas são vivas, mas eles apresentados pelos próprios deficientes. Mostra.. Que.. Pode... Vai aqui, que convida os colegas de revistas e tudo... Como existem umas rádios comunitárias. E a tendência é isto evoluir. Também como há uns casos como Casa Emanuel protege... Eu acho que, não digo que amanhã, depois de amanhã vai acabar, mas que não ficar com uma criança.. Eehh... Deficiente, hoje em dia por falta de internação ou [?] Ou outra, também [?], mas porque algumas pessoas não têm paciência, não tem espírito humano. Eehh.. Ficar com uma criança desta é super-[?]. Porque [?] Ter estas pessoas, nos países mais nas comunidades, umas escolas que..

ME é como em todo o lado, agora se as pessoas disserem que sim, isso nunca acabou verdadeiramente, mesmo que umas escolas ou ensino isso não é para ser racistas, que não há diferenças entre as pessoas, entre as culturas, isso sempre..

PFM sempre existe. Alias

ME há sempre umas pessoas que pensam, têm ideias mais... Malucas.

PFM sem dúvidas há. Mas numa forma geral a atitude das novas gerações já está..

ME não, o deficiente não é considerado.. Mau espírito. Ter filho deficiente não é um castigo.

PFM sim.. E portanto isso não leva logo a... A deitar a criança. Isso é bom

ME isso está a mudar de vez.

PFM em termos de DH há muitas coisas para fazer, por exemplo, grande evolução, muita evolução em termos de direitos de deficientes, de mulheres e criança, há muita evolução. Agora, nós que vivemos, podemos dizer, uma fase de transição, uma fase em que aquilo havia... A criança era visto como um homem pequeno. Portanto... E hoje aquilo em que estamos a assistir é vê-las... E que há muita coisa negativa. Até sabemosv analisar os nossos [?] Olha, isto não é racismo e tudo... Dizem que não, você está a exagerar, como é que uma pessoa pode fazer isso ao seu próprio filho, ou fazer uma coisa desta. Por pensar mais iremos compreender que o que impedes o resultado...

ME pronto, o tempo sempre leva muitas mudanças, por exemplo eu lembro-me de falar com a minha avó e ela dizer que quando era criança, quando um filho nascia com deficiência, ficava e casa, não is para escola, não recebia educação, nada. E isso era un 70 anos atrás, portanto não era assim muito tempo.

[...]

PFM o importante é que o educaodr [in school] esteja preparado

## 2 Interviews from fieldwork 2019

### 2.1 ABUBACAR MANÉ, COMITÉ NACIONAL DAS ELEIÇÕES (CNE)

Interviews sample 4

Guidelines D

February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Bissau

[crisis in the political parties, and electoral census 2018)

[AM] A tensão política se agravou ainda mais com processo de recenseamento eleitoral, no muito bem feito. Em comparação com os já realizados anteriormente, motivou muita desconfiança por parte de alguns partidos políticos, todo esse cenário agrava-se com o aproximar das eleições, deixando as organizações da sociedade civil (SC) mais preocupadas. e antecipando uma disputa mais cerrada e com pouca tolerância. Esses indicadores, mostram-se preocupantes porque a tensão política que se vive, não é só a nível dos partidos políticos, mas também para a própria sociedade civil em geral. Perante este fato, as organizações da SC tanto intervieram ou seja começaram a participaram na monitoramento do processo de recenseamento bem como na monitoramento no processo de eleição, tendo em conta as preocupações, tendo a afluência da, da partidos políticos (PP), que surgiram nos entendemos como já tinha dito, nos entendemos que com o aparecimento de novo PP, que surgiram, a partir de PAIGC, podemos dizer, porque nesse momento apareceu o MADEM, apareceram o MADEM, o MADEM e uma parte de PAIGC. Partido, grande partido, ou seja primeiro partido depois da independência que é o PAIGC. Então, o, dai depois de, de divergência a partir de, que tiveram a partir de eleição, ou seja desde, esse inicio a partir da altura que que da Assembleia, ou congresso do partido que não correu bem, e a partir dai, e começaram aquelas pequenas guerrinhas. Entretanto não entenderam e saiu, saiu um bloco de PP, de militantes de PP, que criaram aquele MADEM. E MADEM é uma força agora que faz frente ao PAIGC, como sabe quase as pessoas que estão lá são pessoas que conheceram muito bem o partido libertador, e ai também saíram com uma massa das pessoas, porque são eles que conheceram melhor, não melhor, mas conheceram muito bem o partido, e conheceram as estratégias que eles adotaram e que costuma adotar para ter maior, maior eleitorado. Portanto, neste momento, e como começaram depois de, depois de eles começaram a guerra de fricção, fricção com, tanto e, nesse momento se contam se contam 3 PP, 3 grandes PP. Aí começa, aí há muitas, muitas indicadores neste momento que indicam que provavelmente interesse dos três partis, ou seja PAIGC, MADEM e PRS, provavelmente, vai haver grande problema em termos de, em termos de quem ganha eleição, quem ganha eleição, porque se notarmos bem não vai haver maioria absoluta, não vai haver maioria absoluta.

[C] Pois, assim vai ser mais complicado...

AM] E aí.. ya. e aí para agente governar, qualquer partido para governar melhor tem que haver maioria absoluta, portanto, neste momento as eleições de acordo com a previsão que nos estamos a fazer, é que vai tornar muito grave, não perigoso, mas muito grave, muito grave, porque sob pena de continuarmos a mesma situação depois das eleições. Que neste momento, o que é que aconteceu, concretamente depois de, de quase o recenseamento. O recenseamento depois de o recenseamento depois de formação de novo governo pelo PSR e presidência da republica, a entidade responsável pela organização do recenseamento é, foi o Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiro. o Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros, quem é que nomeou o Ministro foi o Presidente da República, porque o Presidente da República que tem conta com os embaixadores, então foi ele que, foi a pessoa da sua confiança. Então, a embaixadas, os embaixadores também, também, foram pessoas de confiança do Presidente da República, e aí quando esse foram nomeados e a *administrason* territorial são parte do PAIGC, *administrason* territorial, e esses, já, Presidente da República, quase ele, esta no seu partido. PAIGC está no seu partido. Então quando ele tem [mumbling] tem aquele de Negócios Estrangeiro, e tem, tem embaixadas, secretarias esta de comunidades, que é uma das partes que esta sob tutela do Ministério de Negócios estrangeiro, e ele é do PAIGC. Dai, como, tem uma jogada muito difícil. Tem uma jogada muito difícil, tendo em conta que a secretaria de Estado não obedece a Negócios Estrangeiro, a Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros, tendo em conta que recenseamento é de

sua tutela, é de sua responsabilidade. secretaria de Estado e comunidade, ele é que responsabiliza pelo recenseamento, e ai, embaixadores também não obedecem a secretaria de Estado, a comunidade. eles respondem, obedecem a *administrason* Negócio Estrangeiro, a Ministro Negócios Estrangeiros, e esse não estão a falar a mesma língua.

[C] sim, estão muito desentendidos

[AM] Exato, então por isso complicou o recenseamento. Cada um esta a puxar por seu lado. Nós tivemos recenseamento correu, mesmo nesse momento tem um problema sério no GTAPE. GTAPE é Gabinete de Apoio Técnico de Processo Eleitoral. Entretanto nesse momento tem um desentendimento, um problema ai, porque quando o próprio, a própria pessoa que iniciou o recenseamento, e ele é fruto de, ele foi nomeado no, no Conselho de Ministro, foi nomeado pelo Conselho de Ministros, por despacho de Conselho de Ministros, e então neste momento quando ele estava doente, ele foi para fazer tratamento no estrangeiro a voltar encontrou, o Primeiro Ministro já tinha uma pessoa, uma outra pessoa, interinamente, e este quando voltar o Ministro, quando voltou do tratamento, nos se deram espaço para trabalhar e continuou aquele divergência, cada um faz, outro desfaz. Cada um faz, outro desfaz. Então, é só para mostrar, o, o desentendimento que houve, que originou para que o recenseamento não teve sucesso. O recenseamento não teve sucesso aqui, nem tao pouco no estrangeiro, porque por essas razoes. Então, o país está totalmente, porque todas esses partidos tem forca, tem os seus eleitorados, mesmo esse partido ultimo que surgiu, que MADEM,, tem seus eleitorados, porque eles não concordaram com a politica do partido, então não houve também cedência a nível de partido, que é para permitir um bom, um dialogo, porque segundo disseram, é que eles não concordaram, alias, votaram só, algumas pessoas só que foram testemunhados para votar o programa, os outros não [clattering] não foram testemunhados, por isso, ele decidiram sair, porque eles entenderam que foram minimizados, foram ignorados, não é. Então por isso, revoltaram. E saíram em grupo, em grosso. Então estas são razões que levaram porque não haja grande sucesso nesse recenseamento. No estivemos problemas sérios na Franca, eu que fui supervisor de recenseamento em Franca, em Paris, então por simples razão, porque a pessoa que está lá como embaixadora foi nomeado pelo, pelo Presidente da Republica, e foi nomeado pelo presidente da republica e ele estava, estava a responder somente, está a responder somente a, ao Ministério, ao Ministro de Negócios Estrangeiros, e o presidente da republica. entretanto e, o comunidade, secretario de Estado e comunidades, respondia também, ou seja, ele estava em sintonia, porque são, são mesmo, do mesmo partido, ele com Secretário de Estado, com Ministro de Administração Territorial. E eles assim são, eles, eles assim que é a comunicação. nos para irmos ao recenseamento fomos bloqueados, fomos bloqueados pelo, pelo Negócios Estrangeiros. Pelo Ministro de Negócios Estrangeiro. Porque? Porque, depois de GTAPE, fazer uma nota para dar conhecimento ao negocio estrangeiro de que vamos somos técnicos de GTAPE e vamos fazer recenseamento, ele pegou simplesmente aquele documento e indeferiu. apos ter indeferido isto, o Diretor Geral de GTAPE depois de ter conhecimento disto, da demora, não sei o que, ele voltou e foi ai, e ai que ele sabe que afinal havia um problema entre, Secretaria de Estado e comunidade com próprio Ministro de Negócios Estrangeiros e pegou, pediu nossos documentos que foram indeferidos sem alguma razão, sem alguma nota informando que foi indeferido por esta razão. E do DG de GTAPE pegou naquele documento e levou diretamente para Embaixada. Levou diretamente para Embaixada para obtenção de visto, para obtenção de visto, sem obedecer lá aquele burocracia, eh, então eles após termos conseguido os vistos, um dia de outro, lá, fomos para, para o local, para cada um foi para o seu país, onde vai fazer recenseamento. Então, e feito isto, próprio não havia *colaborason*, colaboração institucionais, como não há colaboração institucionais, cada um estava a puxar o seu lado, cada um estava a complicar o processo. Para tirar maior, maior proveito. Porque há que diga, há *quema*, há pessoa que estão a favor de realização de eleição, há aqueles que não estão, então quanto mais vai atrasar o processo, quanto mais vai atrasar o processo, eh, vai ser melhor por eles. Então, foi nessa logica que nos trabalhamos com maior dificuldade. os parceiros que iam pôr dinheiro para, e eles estão um, reticência, também, então somente ficam a falar, nós já depositámos dinheiro, nós já pusemos dinheiro na conta da, na conta do GTAPE, no assim, e pronto ficou a, ficamos assim. E isso também levou a um grande problema a nível do GTAPE, não tem dinheiro suficiente para pagar a, o..

[C] os salario..

[AM] exatamente.

[C] as pessoas que já fizeram o trabalho e ainda não receberam..

[AM] Há pessoa que não fizeram... há pessoas que fizeram que ainda não receberam, porque, porque... as pessoas local, aquelas que fizeram recenseamento aqui na Guiné, falta somente 17 dias, 17 dias, aquele período adicionais que mandaram. Mas diáspora, não receberam. Não receberam. Diáspora, recebera somente, o valor que foi concedido logo no início, quando eles vão. E aqueles momentos adicionais que provavelmente, qualquer coisa

como três meses, não receberam nada. Não receberam nada até dia 7 de Janeiro. Ficaram assim. E eles tinha um acordo, um acordo de todo processo, ai vem outro problema, tiveram um acordo com diáspora, ou seja com todos brigadistas, todos supervisores, tem um acordo de todo processo. iam pagar, um acordo, um contrato, de todo processo de recenseamento. E processo de recenseamento não terminou, substituíram, substituíram todas as pessoas que, todos supervisores da diáspora foram substituídos.

[C] Todos?

[AM] Sim, porque, porque eles estavam a reivindicar. Fizeram uma *revindication* de uma semana, não foram pagos, aliás não enviar dinheiro, estavam a reivindicar, porque eles estavam mal, estavam a reivindicar porque foram pago, e, e GTAPE, através de novo gabinete de, de Comité Interministerial, criado pelo, pelo próprio Ministro, pelo próprio PM, aquele, tornaram tipo as pessoas que estão a complicar processo. Por isso tem até nesse momento as pessoas tem duvida, tem duvida do comportamento, da atitude do próprio PM. Porque, se há uma instituição criada, que tem todas legitimidade de fazer o seu trabalho, então porque de criar um outro gabinete, de se, chamado Comité Interministerial, aquele Comité Interministerial quase vem substituir trabalhos de GTAPE, do Gabinete de Apoio Técnico, que é legítimo. Que é legítimo, que tem toda legitimidade de trabalhar.

[C] Oois, parece estar a usurpar o cargo do outro...

[AM] Exatamente[emphasis]. E aí, e estes, o PM fica somente a trabalhar com este, com este Comité Interministerial, são pessoas que estão lá da sua confiança, pessoas da sua confiança que estão lá. Então. E eles respeita, só respeita, só respeita palavra daquele Comité Interministerial, os outros já não...

[C] Esquece...

[AM] Esquece. Mesmo se, se por um, por um convite um trabalho que ele deve fazer com Comité, com GTAPE, ele convida, ele manda um convite a GTAPE, sem indicar o nome da pessoa. Eu estou a dizer isso porque depois tive conversa com próprio DG de GTAPE, foi ele que me diz isso, diz está lá, pronto, mas não esta hora agora a ser reconhecido pelo PM, e não sei o que, mas ele noa vai abandonar o cargo, porque as pessoas mesmo para novo, nova data de recenseamento, de reclamação, não foi assinado, não foi autorizado pelo próprio DG, foi autorizado pelo DG interino, na presença de DG. Foi ele que autorizou... aí tem problema. E o DG, o DG do GTAPE não tem conhecimento. Ele não tem conhecimento. Ele não autorizou, ele não mandou nada. Pronto, só depois que conversaram internamente, que... Pronto, aceite, não aceitou mas não teve, não teve como reclamar e ficou assim. Então, mesmo na, nesse momento, próprio diáspora, próprio diáspora já estão a recorrer a tribunal, já constituíram um, já constituíram um advogado, advogado para o, esse problema, porque eles estão a reivindicar seus dinheiro. Estão a reivindicar seu dinheiro. Portanto, só que eles não querem fazer barulho, querem levar coisas pacificamente. E aí tinham duas opções: primeira opção, é para esgotar o diálogo. E o diálogo já esgotou, e não tem, não sortiu nenhum efeito, então neste momento estão a constituir já o processo que é para, é para queixar, meter uma queixa, no no Ministério Público, para averiguar este processo. Então, e advogados já tem conhecimento de que todo dinheiro, que tinha sido prometido pelo PNUD já foi pago, já foi pago pelo, já foram pago a, a GTAPE.

[C] Sim, então já não está disponível.

[AM] E eles, e eles, disse que não sabem o que eles fazem, o que eles, eles fazem com o dinheiro. Já que não pagaram.

[C] Para onde é que foi esse dinheiro? para o que é que foi usado?

[AM] Exatamente. Isso é um problema. E aí, acho que até essa semana ainda, Ministério Público pode qualquer momento fazer como previdência cautelar. E isso é que nós estávamos a prever, que nós sabemos que é que vai acontecer. Entretanto, essas são maior obstáculos, maior obstáculo que pode traduzir num problema que nós não temos ainda, nós não temos ainda, problema imprevisíveis, problemas imprevisíveis. Situações imprevisíveis. Então, que estamos perante a, nesse momento, estamos mobilizados, enquanto organização da sociedade civil, GOCHA, n'GOCHA, GOCHA grupo de organizações da sociedade civil para eleição, tanto não sou obrigado a falar, mas de qualquer das formas, sou um de, sou um de coordenadores de estrutura, então em colaboração com ANEP, em colaboração com ANEP estamos a trabalhar verdadeiramente em sentido de formar os monitores, ter os monitores em todo o, todos regiões e esses vão fazer monitoramento de processo de recenseamento, como é que esta ainda, alias processo de eleição, como é que está indo, e ai vão, vão monitorar campanha eleitoral, educação cívica, e monitorar também as informações mediáticas, os médias, cobertura mediáticas. Porque como



sabe durante campanha eleitoral há comícios, tanto... há as pessoas, começam a falar um outro lado então o que que, as conversas, que, ele monitorizam as conversas dos candidatos, em termos de género, as mulheres falam não quais são as palavras que eles tiram, as palavras incendiárias, e que incitam violência e não, não sei que, agitação física, morais...

[C] Controlam o discurso que estão a usar

[AM] Que estão a usar, exatamente. Então aí, esses monitores vão, a ser espalhados em toda zona, que vão acompanhar esses trabalhos. Então, e, e incidentes, quais são incidentes que estão a acontecer, durante o processo...

[C] Uma coisa antes de irmos mais para frente: antes estava a dizer, explicou-me todas as dificuldades do processo de recenseamento. Se não erro, estava-me a dizer que houve queixas por parte dos partidos de oposição, além dos problemas internos.

[AM] Queixas dos partidos de oposição?

[C] Sim. Que o recenseamento não estava a ser feito de forma regular, por causa de alguma coisa que não estavam...

[AM] Houve queixa, houve queixa. Porque, há um que dizem que próprio GTAPE faziam seleção das pessoas e não concurso, mas isso não, isso não correspondia a verdade. Porque não faziam parte de nenhum partido, isso é mentira... eu não fazia parte de nenhum partido, como sabes, nós de acordo com o código de conduta que temos, está impedido as pessoas que fazem parte de sociedade civil a fazer a política. Entretanto, por isso quando partidos político diziam isso, eu para mim, não correspondia a verdade. Mas estes são alegações deles. Dizem que, próprios responsáveis pegaram seus familiares, quer dizer próprios responsáveis de GTAPE, pegaram nos seus familiares, e amigos, e não sei, e puseram para ir fazer recenseamento, e esses tinham orientações, orientações próprios do GTAPE para fazer o recenseamento mas para mim isso não correspondia a verdade, porque próprio sistema que a gente trabalhou nele, não permitia fazer fraude. O próprio sistema. O próprio software que...

[C] Como assim?

[AM] Sim, não permitia, porque está... talvez eles podiam fazer fraude. eles, que programar o computador, que podiam fazer fraude. Porque, é por isso embaixada, embaixada tinha, por exemplo, no caso concreto de embaixada França, ele reclamou de que no sistema não há, não estava nenhuma cidade, onde o Presidente da República assumiu compromisso, porque durante digressão de Presidente da República à França, e ele tinha assumido compromisso, alguns cidades, por exemplo caso de Marselha, ah, Marselha, e, Évron, Roanne, e, aí ele tinha assumido porque aquele, aquele cidade onde o Presidente da República faz o, tinha os seus familiares, e também são cidades onde há muito, muitos Manjacos. E o Presidente da República é Manjaco. E o, e o, a embaixadora, é Manjaca. Aqueles são, o seu bastião. E então ela estava a reclamar, estava a reclamar para que aqueles países foram introduzidos no sistema. E aí no sistema que nós trabalhámos, software que nós trabalhámos, havia três partes. Primeira parte que é de programação. Aí estava o GTAPE, ou seja, os técnicos informáticos do GTAPE, mais Nigéria, somente eles já, podiam trabalhar, somente eles faziam programação. Aí para nos trabalharmos no nosso campo, nós temos um código. E esse código só permitia fazer só introdução de dados. *Atualizason*, porque há pessoas que vinham com os seus cartões, que estavam no sistema de, no recenseamento passado. E aí, tu, introduzia somente aquele código, aparecia todos dados. Tu fazias somente introdução, alteração somente dum numero de, de, numero telefone. Mais nada. Então, novos dados, novas pessoas que você ia introduzir, você não conhece a pessoa, se é do partido A ou do partido B.

[C] Não dá para saber.

[AM] Onde é que, onde é que você vai fazer fraude? Não.. aquele é zero fraude. Fraude talvez, talvez, pode ser no sistema, no, no GTAPE. Talvez [emphasis]. Ou seja, na altura que eles fizeram a seleção de cidades onde as pessoas vão. Como sabe o PAIGC é que tem, tanto responsável do GTAPE, é do partido, é do PAIGC, talvez ai podem fazer alguma... mas eu tenho dúvida. Relativamente...

[C] Acha que não foi feita uma cobertura total?

[AM] Não.

[C] A nível nacional?

[AM] Ah, cobertura total de, de...

[C] Para o recenseamento, sim.

[AM] Não, não, não foram, não foi feito. Não foram feitos. Não foram feitos porque houve atraso, houve atraso mesmo do envio dos matérias, houve atraso do dinheiro para de, para que a gente possa trabalhar, menos com dignamente. É a razão pela qual as pessoas fizeram re... coiso, fizeram, razão pela qual as pessoas fizeram greve. Porque não havia dinheiro, nem para comer. Não havia dinheiro, nem para alugar espaço. Nem para deslocar, não havia dinheiro. Então as pessoas resolveram, forma de fazer, forma de fazer, para que esses, para que suas ideias foram ouvidas, fizeram, suspenderam, disseram somente greve, mas não, não é greve, não, não é greve. Mas, tu não tens nada para comer nem para pagar o espaço para trabalhar. Aí, suspendeu, simplesmente. E aí neste momento, eles estão a pegar nesse, na greve, como arma de, de poder fazer, de poder fazer, para sustentar ideia de não pagar. Porque eles fizeram greve. Porque eles fizeram a greve, porque... esse basicamente, nós em França, em França sem sequer 50% das pessoas foram recenseadas, nas eleições passadas, não atingimos. eleição passada somente em Paris aproximadamente 3.000 pessoas que foram recensear. Este, este ano, só em Paris. Tanto, aquele que nos fizemos neste ano, em Paris, em Paris, é 400 e tal aproximadamente 500 pessoa, aproximada... ano passada, na eleição passada foram 3.000 e qualquer coisa. Em Paris, esta ano nos fizemos aproximadamente 500 pessoas.

[C] Ou seja, 1/6 do que foi nas eleições passadas, muitas pessoas que não foram recenseadas.

[AM] Nas cidades, nas outras cidades que nos recenseamos, recenseamos, somente aquelas cidades já bem organizada. Porque a própria embaixadora já tinha feito contactos, na cidade onde Jomav tinha compromisso, ele já tinha feito contactos ali. E a nível de organizações de Manjaco, e essas são as pessoas que nós recenseámos em França.

[C] É uma seleção do eleitorado...

[AM] Exatamente! Nós não chegámos, tendo em conta a escassez, a insuficiência de meios, não conseguimos chegar a Marselha, quase Marselha, quase é segunda capital de França. Não conseguimos recensear aí. Não conseguimos ir a Leon, para recensear. Somente fizemos Lille, Évron, Mount-le-Jolie, e Paris.

[C] E mais nada.

[AM] Mais nada. Mais nada. E número total das pessoas que nós recenseámos em França, aproximadamente 900 pessoas. Aproximadamente 900 pessoas.

[C] E a população guineense que mora na França é muito, muito maior.

[AM] Estava previsto para recensear 8.000 pessoas. Que nós que, depois de chegarmos aí houve impedimento, impedimento grande parte próprio de embaixadora. Como já disse, ela disse que aquelas cidades devem ter incluídas, nós, quando, quando dissemos que não, não fomos nós responsáveis para fazer isso, mas você pode, em qualidade de embaixadora, pode entrar em contacto com Ministério de, de Administração Territorial pode entrar em contacto para fazer este trabalho. Disse não, não vai entrar em contacto. Nós devemos fazer aquilo senão não haver recenseamento em Franca. Digo para ele não, acho, acho que nós, assim não dá. Entra em contacto e aí se quiser número de telefone da, eu dou. Disse não. Aquele não é seu superior hierárquico. O seu superior hierárquico é o Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros, entretanto ele vai falar com Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiro, e estava a ouvir Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros. Ministérios de Negócios Estrangeiro acho que disse, Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros disse para ele, manter a sua posição, de suspender recenseamento até quando for, for introduzido no sistema. E aí o GTAPE disse não, eles também não são responsáveis para fazer introdução não, eles vão comunicar Nigéria que é para eles introduzirem, e comunicaram ou não, não sei. Mas certo é que ficaram assim, disseram-nos para continuar recenseamento até que Nigéria resolvesse esse problema. Então, a embaixada disse não, não vamos continuar. Então pegámos, aí vem desentendimento entre nós e a Embaixada, porque... tínhamos matérias aí depositados aí, nosso material de trabalho, estava aí depositado na Embaixada, pegámos naqueles material e fomos embora, para hotel onde residimos. E 5 minutos depois a Embaixadas mandaram as sessões para ir retirar-nos aquele materiais, mandaram polícias para retirar-nos o nosso material. Quando polícia chegaram, disseram, polícias, falámos com polícias, não esse material nos pertence, não é da Embaixada nós somos um gabinete independente. Feliz ou infelizmente nós viemos cá para trabalhar, mas como a nossa

Embaixada aqui entendemos que não podemos fazer trabalho sem — da Embaixada. Aliás, nós temos nosso credencial. Aí é nosso credencial é trabalhar, Embaixada tem somente que facilitar, tinha somente que criar condições para nós trabalharmos, mas nos impediu, não devia ser, não devia impedir-nos de, a nossa intervenção, disseram não aqueles materiais, aqueles materiais são materiais deles, não sei o que, pertence li pertence tal não sei que, nos recusamos com materiais. Polícias, nós conversámos com polícia, polícia re- três polícias, eles entenderam que nós é que temos razão e foram embora. Nós ficámos a trabalhar, mas como tínhamos materiais e, materiais que retirámos de Embaixada, não eram suficientes, materiais que nós retirámos da Embaixada não era suficiente, então aquele tinha, dentro três dias consumimos tudo. E a volta, foi, para voltarmos logo para pedirmos outro, resto do materiais, kit que nós deixámos na Embaixada e eles recusaram, dizem, agora ficámos a espera de Bissau para mandar material. Então, temos bloqueio em França, como em Guiné Conacri. Guiné Conacri também há pessoas que, há pessoa que está lá, é de confiança do Presidente da República, aí bloqueio também mesmo... A mesma história que nós enfrentámos em França, ele também, o nosso, o nosso supervisor aí passou. Portanto, processo de recenseamento na Guiné, começou mal, e provavelmente...

[C] Casos do mesmo género também aconteceram a nível nacional?

[AM] Eh, a nível nacional é, ano é muito visível, não é muito visível, mas aconteceu porque há pessoas que foram, roubados, há pessoas que foram roubados por, há pessoa que foram roubados, bah, não quero falar muito bem dessa história porque não tenho muita certeza, mas, mas, não não, houve pessoas disseram, houve pessoas que foram roubados urnas. Não urnas não, o kit. Yeah. foram roubado o kit porque, acho que, ei, acho que era bastião de outro partido e outros não, alias, disseram que estavam a mobilizar somente para fazer, para fazer recenseamento na, na, na cidade onde o PAIGC tinha mais militantes, mais, mais militantes, mais eleitores, então ai a outro, a outra parte que não estava satisfeita com isto, roubaram os kits.

[C] Para evitar que as pessoas fizessem recenseamento.

[AM] Sim, então este o, e há muitas coisas que foram ditas, e também, que, realmente de que, mas são políticos é que disseram, de que o PAIGC somente elegeu os locais, montaram os kits somente nos locais onde tem maiores números de eleitores. Há quem... falaram isto, porque nós antes de partirmos para, para, para a viagem, trabalhámos aqui. Já uma outra coisa que disseram que não correspondia a verdade, dizem que há pessoas, que são recenseadas, que são abrigadas, sobretudo brigada que eu tinha coordenada aqui, disseram que a brigada estava a que, a recensear pessoas com menor de idade. Mas isto não correspondia a verdade. Porque o próprio sistema...

[C] Sim, não permite fazer isso.

[AM] Não permite fazer isto. [laughs] Porque o sistema não permite fazer isto.

[C] Não porque eles vão mesmo...

[AM] Porque está programado, esta programado, exatamente, há programado a partir de 18 anos. Mesmo tendo, mesmo tendo, mesmo que vais completar 18 anos, não completados ainda, o sistema não entra, não entra no sistema. Isso é automático, então as pessoas que estão a falar, estes são pessoas ignorantes [emphasis] as pessoas estão, não sabem, não sabem, não têm este nível porque, a pessoa que falou isso, é o antigo, ele foi Ministro do Interior. O senhor Botche Candé. E foi ele que no seu, na sua, numa das suas - que disse isso. Ele falou disso, mas isso não correspondia a verdade. Basicamente são, são as situações que nós... de constrangimentos, neh?

[C] Ouvi dizer também que houve muita confusão antes das reclamações, porque muitas pessoas disseram que recensearam, mas depois que o nome não apareceu, então não estava claro se eles mesmo recensearam ou se foi um erro no sistema.

[AM] Eu, aí vem essa situação de, portanto eu até estava a ser, porque, aquele não aconteceu, aquele não aconteceu connosco. Quer dizer, eu não sei o que é que aconteceu realmente no sistema. Não sei o que aconteceu realmente no sistema, mas isso porque isso que diz mesmo. porque se eles pegaram os computadores que nos trouxemos, mesmo que fosse, se formos, se fosse no sistema, o que é que eles vão fazer? O que é que eles vão fazer? Eles vão pegar e vão fazer backup. Eles vão fazer backup. Se eles queriam recuperar mesmo esses dados, podiam voltar mesmo para o computador para ver. Eu sei, que, isso, estava completo no computador. Que os dados estava completo no computador. Salvo se eles tiravam tudo e meteram no coiso. No server... no server. Talvez isso, mas senão... isso não tem sentido. Mas mesmo em França aconteceu. Dizem que maioria das pessoas, seus nomes não saíram. Mas eu até estava a ser, não sei, estava a ser conduzido em erro, porque, há um dos, jovem que costuma

fazer direito, mm, um senhor nome Gervásio, eh, disse que, disse que, chamou atenção uma vez de que havia aqui um dos peritos, que foram trazido pelo, não sei, há uma pessoa que, tinha trazido aquele perito, e vieram para complicar o sistema, que para complicado o servidor. Aqui porque Ministério Público, não sei o tta-ta-ta-ta, portanto aqueles dois peritos estavam aqui, mas ele, mas ele mesmo disse que qualquer coisa que aconteceu, com, com, com isso, — la daquelas pessoas no tribunal. Eu, eu estava mesmo a refletir depois de começar a aparecer essa *situason*, começava mesmo a refletir nesse assunto, porque, são pessoas conhecida internacionalmente, eles são peritos em matéria informático, vieram cá complicar processo mesmo.

[C] sim.

[AM] Então... mas eu não sei, o que que, como é que está sendo conduzido este processo até então. Mas acho que, mas acho que já está corrigido esse erro, essa falha já está a corrigir, já está corrigido. Mas não é, não é, deve ser um problema aí no sistema, no, no server, no server, mas no computador que nos estávamos, estava tudo, tudo dado completo. Acho que, já está, já está corrigido essa situação, era, era simples, talvez um erro aí, uma falha... E mas que já está. já está arranjado. Basicamente, é isso que está a acontecer, eu penso que deve haver muita cautela. Nós estamos a olhar, enquanto sociedade civil também estamos a trabalhar na medida de prever, prevenir, certas situações porque o país está totalmente, totalmente baralhado. E a nós, quando se fala agora, quando se fala agora, num ambiente você deve tomar muita cautela porque, quando eu falava vou para a cá ver, porque podemos estar lá, há pessoas de outro partido, há pé, que outro de outro partido. Pequenas coisinhas, e nada, é um barulho, é um *badjuns*, então por isso as pessoas são muito limitadas nesses momento em termos de, quando começa um, um fan de por exemplo, de Domingo Simões Pereira, quando começa a falar um, um ambiente onde há fãs do coiso, ou seja do Baqueto, Baqueto MADEM ou do PRS, aí, e por isso as pessoas quando vão falar, por exemplo se numa organização da sociedade civil, então isso, vão tratar somente de forma como, a prever, prever como aí, mas não, discutir a política. Aí quando começa a discutir a política você, você vão atrapalhar. Menos se for a guerra, população está preparada. Guineenses estão hoje muito agressivo, muito agressivo [emphasis].

[C] Não, o clima está muito tenso.

[AM] Muita tensão. É por isso, eh, devemos trabalhar muito nesse sentido de, de, de, de sensibilizar as pessoas, sensibilizar as pessoas para evitar isso, porque senão vamos ter problema sério com o, vamos, pronto, vamos ter problemas, vai haver problemas mesmo. Até então, pessoas... nós não sabemos ainda como é que vai ficar isso, mas, porque imagina! Neste momento, neste momento, quando se vê a, num comício, num comício com Presidente República, não, num comício com, o coiso, como é que se diz, o MADEM, MADEM, foi ontem, há 2-3 dias atras, há 2 dias atras ele estava em Catió. Estava a dizer que há políticos que agora quando saem, saem com, com, com *contrada* de militares, de militares, bem armados. Ele estava a referir do Domingos Simões Pereira. Mas noutra dia, no aeroporto, no aeroporto também, nos vimos as pessoas, nos vimos as pessoas, grande numero de pessoas estava a escutar o coiso, antigo PM. Ora com seus fardamentos, mas bem armado. E o que é que pode acontecer? Será que vão aceitar os resultados? Aí cada um está armado.

[C] Pois, ai é que está a grande duvida.

[AM] Aí! Será que vão aceitar o resultados? E isso, e isso é... foi, foi noutra dia que nos fomos com Cambraima para ir procurar o, o, a outra, não sei, a sua colega...

[C] Magda.

[AM] A Magda, mesmo perguntando ela.. ele é, foi antigo PM. PM, Cicerou, chamado Cicerou, estava aí com segurança e com, farda que nunca vi. Estavam tudo armado. Mesmo Presidente da República não se escolta assim. E neste momento, estão a mostrar a força, cada partido, cada candidato, tem meios financeiro, meios materiais suficientes, onde é que saíram?

[C] pois, de repente...

[AM] De repentes...

[C] E não são só meios suficientes, são meios ate a mais!

[AM] Até a mais, a mais!

[C] Porque pelos vistos, pela opulência que eles estão a mostrar nesta campanha, pelos presentes que estão a oferecer o recurso financeiro não lhes falta.

[AM] Não falta. O PAIGC disseram, disseram olha não sei. Mas mandaram umas fotos. 3 aviões para, disseram do PAIGC. Onde é que saíram? Carros blindados.

[C] BMW, motocicletas...

[AM] Ya! Bicicletas tudo mais. Será que aquela é oferta? MADEM com quantidade de, de carros, não sei o que... até então vem ainda, a dizer, há um que disse que MADEM vai aparecer já com, com helicóptero, não sei que. É bom, eu duvido, não sei ele... mas, pronto, vamos trabalhar neste sentido. As pessoas estão totalmente divididas, mesmo uma casa, as pessoas aí, eu...

[C] Sim as ideias são muito diferenciadas.

[AM] E as pessoas vão ver aí, se as pessoas vão, como é que vão fazer...

[C] Mas quer dizer, o facto que cada um tem a sua ideia política, isso não é, isso é positivo.

[AM] Claro.

[C] Porque as pessoas pensam em quem querem votar.

[Am] Claro.

[C] Agora, o facto que os políticos venham ou menos a aceitarem o resultado das eleições, é outra questão.

[AM] Sim, porque mesmo não acreditam naquela assinatura de memorandum, código de conduta. Naquele... uma pessoa pode assinar, depois recusar.

[C] quer dizer, pode assinar e depois fazer o que quiser.

[AM] Sim. E isso, estamos assim... E aí, ninguém sabe o que é que vem, porque mesmo prometendo aquelas pessoas governarem, como é que vão pagar aqueles... porque, se, por exemplo, o PAIGC ganhar, o então o MADEM viesse ganhar, não vejo muito bem recurso do PRS, mas disseram também que tem, tem... então se um desse viesse a ganhar, como é que vão pagar, quando é que vamos sair dessa pobreza? Porque vão pagar! [emphais] Aquele é para pagar, não é uma oferta. Não é oferta. Aí talvez se aparecer qualquer partido pequeno que vai ganhar, eh, ok, mas vai tornar difícil para se reinar?

[C] E mesmo assim parece que os partidos pequenos não estejam a conseguir muitas coisas.

[AM] Claro, não vão conseguir.

[C] Quer dizer, eles vão conseguir alguns votos aqui na cidade, em Bissau, fora de Bissau não vão conseguir quase nada.

[AM] Não vão conseguir votar, mesmo se for, não vão conseguir...

[C] Mas são mesmo, coisinha pequenas.

[AM] Vão, vão conseguir... vai haver dispersão de voto. Claro. Mas tudo indica, mas tudo indica, mas tudo indica que o PAIGC pode ganhar. Mas é o MADEM pode ficar 2o o 3a posição, então, se assim for porque... MADEM e PAIGC já tinham, tradicionalmente, já tinham um pacto. Já tinham um pacto. E aí, podem continuar com este pacto, de casamento, fazer um casamento, eh, quando, porque aí é deputados, são deputados. Mas há quem diga, quem diga que, que o MADEM também está, está muito bem no terreno. Por somar deputados. e podem continuar aquele pacto...

[C] E daí criam a maioria.

[AM] E aí, vão complicar mais, vão complicar mais. E o país vai tornar, vai tornar, pior [emphasis] as condições, porque é isso que aconteceu! É o MADEM, é o MADEM com o coiso que esta no governo, é o MADEM com PRS que esta no governo. E como é que pode imaginar que isso pode passar, se eles continuam, se eles ganharem de novo? e se, e se, eles perderem não vai aceitar, não vão aceitar! Eu duvido, eu... não vão aceitar.

[C] De qualquer das formas, é um impasse.

[AM] É um impasse, é um impasse, o país vai continuar assim por muitos anos.

[C] quer dizer, espera-se muito que não, mas as previsões não são de todo positivas.

[AM] Também faço isso, mas, eh, é uma coisa de preocupar um pouco.

[C] Quer dizer, o que preocupa também, é como é que depois vai continuar a relação, mesmo que PRS e MADEN ganhem juntos, como é que isso vai por as relações com o Presidente da República.

[AM] Mas o, sim mas o, Presidente da República é MADEM, é PRS, Presidente da República é MADEM e PRS. Opôs, o maior, quer dizer há alvo para o Presidente da República, MADEM e PRS, o, é o PAIGC, o PAIGC, na pessoa do, do Domingos Simões Pereira. Ponto final. Por isso, PRS, aliás o Presidente da República não dá cara, está por trás de tudo isso, está por trás de tudo isso. Isso, isso você pode associar a situação que nós passámos em, em França, você vê a imagem do Presidente da República atrás, porque ele estava, ele, ela é embaixadora, estava a favor do Presidente da República, mas está também a favor de PRS. Aí, e foram e foram eles mesmo que votaram, porque nós para continuarmos a trabalhar, para continuarmos o recenseamento, tinham que, a embaixadora, a embaixadora comunicou todos os partidos políticos estiver, representantes de partido político local e analisaram o nosso plano e propuseram aquilo que é mais, eh, mais lhe interessa. Disse, então está aí o plano, nós vamos começar o recenseamento em Mount-del-Jolie, depois Évron, aí quando o país, Bissau, GTAPE não enviava dinheiro, ele avançou com o seu dinheiro, só para poder recensear aqueles dois cidades. Depois recensear, depois chegar a um consenso, o PAICG somente que tinha dito que não, não estava de acordo com, com aquele plano. Mas como maioria, estamos na democracia, essa palavra que ele usou, como estamos na democracia, portanto, concordaram. E, tanto MADEN, PRS e outro partido que estava lá e Embaixada disseram que concordaram para começar no coiso, no Mout-del-Jolie, Mount-lel-Jolie, Évron, Évron, é o pai do Jomav, é aí, é aí que passava todo tempo. é aquela Manjaqueria, que embaixador costuma, costuma dizer, aquela *Manjaqueria*.. ya. Aí, então, registámos. Registámos as pessoas aí, depois de terminarmos duas cidades, o recenseamento foi suspenso. Porque Bissau não mandou o dinheiro e nós, nós fomos somente, a fazer pequeno, pequeno recenseamento, porque já, já, como foram varias vezes interrompida recenseamento em Paris, portanto depois levámos, na altura que vamos continuar, já não havia pessoas. Estavam desmotivadas.

[C] Depois a pessoa quer continuar com a sua vida, não quer ficar aí a preocupar-se com o recenseamento durante um mês.

[AM] Exato! Aí, a pessoa vem, uma pessoa, duas pessoas, mas antes quando chegamos, eph! nós não podíamos, quase um dia, um dia, nos fazíamos 200, 200 pessoas. 150 pessoas, em três dias.

[C] Sim foi feito mesmo logo.

[AM] Sim, e constituiu justamente no período de férias também, vem constituído último momentos que começámos, recuperámos recenseamento alí no, na, no Paris, chegou o momento de férias de Natal, e fim do ano... e aí, cada vai a sua vida. Portanto, aí pouca aderência, basicamente. Mas basicamente, é problema maior é que, começou desde início. Quer dizer, desde momento de recenseamento, aí vem problema. Desde momento de, de criação de estrutura do GTAPE, na seleção, porque foram feitas poucas, poucas sensibilização para a gente também, vão a recenseamento, poucas, poucas sensibilização. Não faziam como antes. Dantes fazia com cartazes, com rádio, com, implicavam, implicavam muito rádio no, no coiso...

[C] Para as pessoas irem se recensear?

[AM ] Sim, mas este momento, este ano, foram uma coisa, alias, as comunicações quase zero.

[C] Quase nada.

[AM] Quase nada.

[C] E a educação cívica, houve maior sucesso?

[AM] Ah isso que estou a dizer! Educação cívica, educação cívica passou fraco, fraco em relação ao primeiro. Fraco [emphasis].

[C] Fraco...

[AM] Muito fraco... e aí tudo o que complicou também, porque, os materiais, os materiais também foram insuficientes, logo no início, imagina um dos bairros de, bairro, por exemplo, bairro militar que teve 13, conta com mais de 100.000 habitantes tinha somente primeiros dias 3 kit, 3. 3 kit. E aí, e queria, e queriam obedecer, e queriam obedecer, desculpa, quase não obedeceram a regra, como é a lei, que a lei, lei, lei eleitoral diz. Se alguém vai mudar de uma zona, um distrito, deve ter pelo menos 400, 400 eleitores. Mais aí a pessoa não completa isto, faz somente um dia, dois, dois dias, você passa para outra zona, aí com aqueles três, e fica trabalhar assim, até quando chegar kit, e reforçaram, quando, mesmo quando reforçaram aquele kit, quando você trabalha aqui, você não termina, não conclui a pessoa, o grupo que estão aí, você passa para outro, só para poder fazer, só para o bairro sentir que as pessoas estão a fazer recenseamento. E não está a atingir resultados. Isto, isto é grave.

[C] É. Isto é grave mesmo.

[AM] Em França, grande França, a pessoa vai somente, com um kit. Um kit.

[C] É impensável.

[AM] Para atender quantidade, milhões, milhares, mil, mil, mil pessoas...

[C] Sim, previsão de 8.000 pessoas e um kit só, é impensável.

[AM] É impensável...

[C] É impensável.

[AM] É impensável. Tudo correr logo no início de organização. Organização não, da, tomal, assim.. e vamos esperar o que vier.

[C] Pois, agora já, já não falta mais nada de que ver como é que vai correr.

[AM] Eh. As pessoa, o partido quando sai, aí, por exemplo, agora estão a medir a força...

[C] Agora é o momento de os partidos fazerem isso, não é nada estranho. Agora é mesmo a luta para quem consegue gritar mais alto. A questão está mais ou menos dentro das regras, mais ou menos a respeitar as regras, em termos de discursos, espaços, tempos, mais ou menos, estão aí, mas...

[AM] Eh basicamente isso que nós estamos a... nós, justamente por isso vamos iniciar a monitoramento de eleições. Amanhã vamos para, vamos espalhar, porque, também recebemos um **dotarde** que é para podermos terminarmos formação dos monitores. Entretanto já amanhã vamos, vamos deslocar, cada um vai para cidade onde vai dar formação de monitores, depois aí começar, porque eles deviam, já deviam começar a monitorar a campanha de eleitor, campanha eleitoral, aliás muito antes ainda deviam antes começar a monitorar educação cívica. Também eleitoral.

[C] Pois já há duas ou três semanas pelo menos.

[AM] Exato! Nas eleições passadas nós já tínhamos instalado tudo. Já estava a acompanhar tudo, como era como estava e aí, os políticos, eh, isso prometia para agente medir a tensão. Como é que vai ser. Mas infelizmente, só amanhã é que vamos começar a formação, e até então, nós, as pessoas não saíram. Amanhã, por exemplo eu vou para Bafata e Gabu, a outro que vai para Cacheu, outro vai para, para Buba e Tombali. E aí para começarmos.

[C] Melhor tarde que nunca, pelo menos.

[AM] Pelo menos, pelo menos, pelo menos. Isso, pronto... Porque vamos fazer formação e depois as pessoas vão começar a trabalhar, e aí temos, equipa de ANEP esta, esta tem, tem mais materiais, tem materiais su- para fazer trabalho, não sei, digital, não sei, desse *smart phone*, e vão trabalhar com esse, e nos da GOCHA nos temos gestão de telefone simples, as pessoas já vão ficar no, no, no gabinete, como é, *situation room*, vamos criar um gabinete assim. Aí as pessoas vão ligar para saber como é que são monitoramento, como é que está comportamento de partido no terreno, aí ele passa informação, aí você mete isto de acordo com indicadores, são 45 indicadores que nós temos, no plataforma do coiso, do ANEP. Você já tinha algum encontro com, com o Miguel não é? O Miguel já tinha informado?

[C] Sim sim.

[AM] Sobre isto...

[C] Já.

[AM] Eh, eles estão pesados... Extraordinários. Trabalhamos com ANEP, eh, com ANUOR, ANUOR, era um, mm pronto, mas pronto este ano é um *bagunsada*, não sei, porque...

[C] Atrasos e confusões.

[AM] Ya ya, é confusão, e confusão e vai! Acho dizem que, provérbio, há provérbio guineense que diz, “quando a tarde, tarde como se, felicidade a tarde, esta manhã que você começa saber”.

[C] Como é que é em crioulo?

[AM] *Si di tarde na sabi, ou noite, dia, se di dia na sabi, pa manha ta sibi. se dia na sabi pa manha bu ta sibi.*

[C] Logo de manha vai saber se o dia vai estar bom.

[AM] Exato [laughs]. Então, isso *eleison*, se vai, vai terminar bem, é logo no início. Início começou mal [emphasis], e até no meio hoje está mal, e vai continuar mal. Isso! Não senhora, eu ignoro, ignoro esses programas... Mas se acontecer o contrário, é realmente uma surpresa.

[C] Quer dizer, tomara que seja uma surpresa, seria a melhor coisa que acontecesse.

[AM] Basicamente isso, eh, não sei se tens algo ainda...

[C] Não era isso mesmo, e foi muito exaustivo.

[AM] Ya ya, porque, epah! Problemas, problemas aí, a pessoa quando começa a pensar, isto, não sei onde que vai terminar. Problema é que o país, o nosso, a situação política está complicada este país. Política. Políticos, políticos sobretudo. Mas no o que aconteceu aqui, neste Ministério roubado? O ministro, quando for o ministro de comércio, ou ministro de energia, com seus secretario de Estado, problema ministro! o ministro não pode gerar secretario de Estado. Porque ele é de outro partido. Ele é de outro partido, então é ministro de outro partido, então não pode gerar. Nem pode gerar o DG, porque é outro partido, mesmo estando a trabalhar mal, não podes!

[C] Sim, simplesmente não pode, não interessa quais sejam as situações ou as condições, não podem.

[AM] Não pode! Esse, esse...

[C] e mesmo assim...

[AM] E por isso é que é, talvez um partido deve ganhar com maioria absoluta, o que é impossível. E continuar na impossibilidade, vamos continuar assim!

[C] Pois assim não se vai para lado nenhum.

[AM] Sim! Distribuição... Distribuição...



[C] Tem as suas complicações.

[AM] Tem as suas complicações... As pessoas estão a sentar, e — bens, e o país está como está, ministério quase aqui, tudo está parado, pessoas não trabalham. Neste momento, todas as pessoas, atenção toda esta virada na política, quando ganharam começam a comer. Não é trabalhar, trabalhar não, começam a comer. Eh, é Bissau.



## 2.2 ANTÓNIO, OMI GARANDI

Interviews sample 1

guidelines B

February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Quinhamel

[Nemésio explaining what I am researching and what I will ask]

[C] Então é isso mesmo que o Nemésio estava a dizer. Eu estou a tentar fazer este trabalho, e a falar com pessoas, como o senhor, que já são pessoas mais *garandi* e tem esse conhecimento, para entender como é que funciona a estrutura, o poder político dos Pepeis, poder tradicional. O Nemésio estava a dizer-me que entre os Pepeis tem uma hierarquia e tem um régulo que esta acima dos outros. É assim mesmo?

[A] É assim.. sim.

[C] E os outros régulos? Quem é que são? São Régulos de...?

[A] É assim. Problema de... régulo que esta acima é régulo para ser régulo também, ele também candidata também para ser régulo. E tem também onde deve candidatar, depositar seu... confiança. então

[..]

[A] Então quer dizer... em Pepel tem um lugar, por exemplo na minha tabanca lá em Biombo, falando de Biombo, também porta-me, é assim... Então, temos *Sidja*. Em *Sidja* quem senta lá é filho de régulo nascido em... boa, nós dizemos de couro. Para ser alguém para sentar lá também tem um fidalgo. Um fidalgo é aquela pessoas que era filho de outro régulo que já antenado... está mesma coisa como sobre. É candidato, candidato para aquele lugar. Então tem aquele próprio nome de *Sidja*. Então lá, se sentar lá, não é qualquer, é filho dum régulo, como em português dizemos um príncipe, fidalgo, ou que. Ele é que senta naquele lugar. Então... para candidatar para ser régulo é preciso, como é que diz... que levar alguma coisa, por exemplo, em Biombo na tradição é vacas, não sei... tem que levar se é 2 se é 3 se é mais... quem dar mais, ele que é escolhido, esta a ver? Quem dá mais ele que é escolhido. Então, ganha e senta lí. Mas, pessoa que concorre também depois para ser régulo, ele tem *..vuir* lá candidatar, entregar, se é dinheiro, se é pano, se é mais vacas, mas aposta nas vacas, então, e senta li. E quando a pessoa consegue ganhar lá, aquela pessoa está aponta. Concorrem outros, mas se é *dhjagra*. Quem não é *dhjagra* não.

[C] *Dhjagra* é a geração dos régulos?

[A] A geração dos régulos... portanto nós temos *dhjagras*, temos [names of Pepel's *gersons*, kiinships], que esse não, mas quem é *dhjagra*, mas... *dhjagra* temos três dinastias, chamamos nós em português para dizer dinastia.

[C] E como que é que chamam as dinastias em pepel?

[A] Em Pepel... tem lugares. Chamam por nome do lugar, da área. quem senta é que *Kta*... aquele é *dhjagra* de *Kta*... *Kta* é uma zona, uma área. Quem está lá, é ele que é sentado. Por exemplo, como que Quinhamel aqui tem um régulo de Quinhamel. Então, *dhjagra* é assim. Tem *dhjagra* de *Kta*. Tem *dhjagra* de Piss, zona lá na Gorssi. Então tem mais... e tem *dhjagra* de Biorgh. Mas aquele de Piss era de Bolama, mas tem luta entre eles porque dividiram... Então Piss tem pior. E esse, são três em Biombo. Quando que está, chega a vez deles concorrem. Concorrem... e depois quem ganha é apontado e ele que é nomeado para ser régulo. Vai *caramuçar*, fazer aquele cerimónia, assim, então...vai, ele senta. Eles lá têm período. Se ele vier a morrer, então vai outro, não vai quem esta a mais! Por isso que eu disse dinastias. Vai Piss. Agora...

[C] ou seja, vai para a outra...

[A] Outra dinastia.

[C] Sim, tipo, roda entre as três.

[A] Entre as três, vai para Piss, como agora é Piss que está a reinar em Biombo. Piss, se vier a morrer esse régulo de Biombo não vai mais Piss, vai outra dinastia, que há. Está a ver? Então quem que Biorgh estava, se morrer voltar *Kta*, e entra. Está a ver? Só há três dinastias, por isso temos 3 dinastias, regulados. É um regulado, mas um é que tem período, todos candidatos para concorrer, *selectar*, todos que sentem que é régulo, ele candidata, para aquele alguém que eu disse, é filho desse, que tem um lugar lá. Ele é que nomeia.

[C] Então é somente um filho de régulo que vai nomear? É ele sozinho, ou são vários todos juntos?

[A] É um dos filhos de... aquele régulo, como *Sidja* em Biombo, aquele lugar é do filhos de régulo, *nô ta fala*, em crioulo, *i padidu na couru*. *Couru*, quer dizer filho próprio de régulo, antenados, ou que... qualquer que seja, mas que ele é um dele esse, concorre para aquele lugar, senta lá. Então régulo, quando ele senta lá mas se vier a morrer um outro régulo que está já, então os outros querem concorrer por a *reinansa*, tem que ir para aquela pessoa, tem que dar cada qualquer coisa, tem que dar vaca, pano, se é não sei, qual quantidade, quem paga, quem paga quem ele é que ganha! É nomeado, não vão na altura de, de se, de ir para o lugar a tropeça do régulo tem que fazer camurça, quer dizer que veste pano, qual coisa de lama, com farinha, sim e tal, percorrem, percorrem os lugares sagrados até chegarem em *Dorsa*, está lá o régulo. Então até chegar lá. Fica lá uns 6 dias, depois sai, depois arranjar um *barraca* pequeno, depois se tiver poder outro lá nós passa consultar de casa, de comitiva, se senta, e senta lá, é assim... Não é como aqui, como partido político, aqui concorrem... não. Concorrência é naquele lugar que estou a dizer. Quem ganha mais lá. A altura de ir o reinado é... só... é indicado, quem é apontado, é indicado. Então vai para la e régulo tem poder, mas se ele régulo tem elites.

Elites de terra. Conforme por exemplo este lugar que eu chamo *Kta*, tem *Quingh*, tem *Piss*, mas estes também têm os seus... seus elites de tabanca lá. Homens... Então, de moranças. Então, régulo quando precisa de aquele zona lá, sabe que está alguma coisa a se passar, se é de bem ou se é de má, ele fala com aquela pessoa que senta naquele lugar. Então, ele chama *omis garandi*, anciões... então elites que estão lá e fazem *reunion*. Senta com eles, e aí decidem. Sim, com *omis garandis*. Mas quando régulo quer também o outro assunto particular, só as pessoas, só os régulos que esta o *Piss* ou *Djongh*, com os seus conselheiros, reúne nos seus regulado, mas quando uma reunião acima, quer falar com um e mais, e mas... o régulo chama toda a população lá, e fazem a reunião com eles. É assim que funciona. Por exemplo senta em que está, mas tem aquele lá naquele casa, um ancião, elite, *homi garandi*, que é daquele zona. Ele comunica. Então tem um outro lá é assim, zona assim assim, assim, eles vem ai, e fazem a reunião com as chefes de casa *garandi*, então comunicam, falam, ele diz que assim, quero, assim, [de mim...mais farinhas] di deles, ele está a fazer bolanhas, mas sei o que, se é para cerimonia, se é para outra coisa, assim... ele vai para outro lugar assim... ou então chama ele la no régulo, no regulado lá, e conversa com eles e eles vão também submeter.

[C] Sim, portanto ou é ele que viaja dum lado ou outro, ou são eles que vão todos dum lado, e depois voltam.

[A] Voltam, e falam... se tem algumas, algumas dias, ou um problema qualquer, aquele régulo daquele zona... Então vai para o régulo, uma cerimónia, assim que fazem... portanto ali na Thor aquele li, aquele que está lá, aquele *dhjagra* de, de... *dhjagra* de *Dghoghri*. Mas é diferente. Antigamente era uma pessoa. Mas agora concorrem dois três quatro... mas antigamente era um escolhido.

[C] Então quando as pessoas concorrem, eles são, eles levam vacas, panos, e...

[A] E cana, e muitas coisas. Dinheiro, e...

[C] Mas tem alguma outra coisa que depois é considerada nesta luta? Por exemplo, se a pessoa é muito boa, se tem bom senso, se tem poderes *di cabessa*, este também é considerado?

[A] É considerado, uma pessoa não escolhe uma pessoa qualquer não. É uma pessoa que tem uma formação pessoal de idoneidade, de pretensão, então é que indicado, nunca pede a uma pessoa que sabe que não tem bom comportamento, não não é bom, não...

[C] Então tem de ser uma pessoa que possa dar o bom exemplo?

[A] Dá o bom exemplo... se é trabalhador. Se tem a verdade. Se, é assim, se é educado, ser capaz de ajudar no reinado... portanto, ele não é pessoa qualquer não.

[...]

[A] Não é qualquer pessoas, mas agora a coisa está de outra forma...

[C] Porque que está de outra forma agora?

[A] bôh...

[...]

[A] Porque política desse... na época colonial, estou a falar da época colonial, régulo se entende com aparelho de administração colonial, mas desde a independência, o partido que vem disse que o régulo não tem poder mais. Está a ver? E é um erro. Então passa, quem manda é o partido. E o partido tem os seus comités. E ele... Mas então, está a ver? Pensa que acaba? Régulo fica sem poder lá dentro, no fundo, de baixo? Não! se tem ainda a cultura deles, respeita o régulo, mas o régulo não funciona, não tem poder, não tem palavras mais diante da, dos políticos, do partido, já não tem. Portanto, presente... o comportamento é o presidente do comité de tabanca. Tal é... então, ele é que manda. Então a coisa esta assim.

[C] Então, o que o presidente do comité diz já vai para cima do poder do régulo?

[A] Vai para cima, passa para o Estado, assim, porque ele é intermediário do administrador, intermediário do governador, então régulo já não tem palavra. Mas se viram mais tarde naquela época... Nino... agora volta o poder ao régulo.

[C] Isso é o que o Nino dizia?

[A] É, mas deviam trabalhar juntamente com o comité, e era isso que deveriam dizer em princípio. Olha, há régulo, mas temos esta gente, este comité, você deve estar a olhar, não pode fazer as coisas sem eles. E eles também não podem fazer nada sem régulo. Então... mas chegaram, pronto. Destituíram tudo, pronto, ficou assim. Está a ver, está mal, voltamos lá... então camadas jovens de gente escapam tudo isso, comportam de maneira que... *omis garandis* da morança já não tem fala. Porque, não temos a morança, temos uma casa, e outra outra outra outra, que, mas, e eu sou *omi garandi* que mando lá. Depois, eu falo com filhos mais deles e eles estão juntos? Netos poucos, mas agora a palavra de *omi garandi* não está ouvido lá... diante de, a sociedade política de poder de que...

[C] Que eles não consideram isso importante...

[A] E os pais, isso agora também, já não tem... ah *nô na bai reunion di partido, nô na bai pionero, suma, kil di luta...* não vai aquele grupo pioneiro, fala *dhjagra*, assim... mesmo que tem um trabalho você fica assim. E vem a hora que quer... e as coisas, assim... nada. Agora está-se a recuperar nada, está a ver? Está sempre... sempre sem pernas para andar.

[C] Pois, mesmo sem pernas para andar.

[A] Lembro um padre fundador desta paróquia, padre Gentil, porque nós erámos lá, pois íamos li, nós que começámos a missão, ali era mato tudo, nós trabalhámos aí tudo... ele dizia sempre que autoridade como não tem régulo, mas já os Pepeis têm dois. Então, esta dividido, mas a cultura também, não vai calar. Porque régulo funciona como régulo lá, mas só que a voz dele não é ouvido. Ele tem coisas para fazer e faz, então coisa ficou assim. *Bu fala nunca tene fala pronto acabou.*

[C] Você acha que as pessoas não ficam a ouvir?

[A] Não sim porque... o régulo não tem voz. Ele quando precisa de alguém para falar ou transmitir o programa de governação ou outra coisa, fala só com comités. Não fala com régulo. Só depois desse tempo que disse, mínimo, eles voltam a dar mais poder ao régulo agora, mas já está assim. Sabe... disso, estragar para vir a construir de novo, não é fácil!

[C] Não, não funciona...

[A] Não, não é fácil. Estragar é rápido.

[C] E construir....

[A] Construir nada, é difícil!

[C] E se as pessoas tiverem por exemplo, um problema... sei lá, uma mulher tem problema com o marido e quer separar do marido, ela vai primeiro ao régulo, para resolver as coisas, ou vai no comité?

[A] Não... se, entre o casado homem e mulher tem problemas, são os pais que resolvem o problema. Que resolvem. Minha mãe, meu pai, minha família, teus pais, tua família, quando problema é grave, acontecem até brigas aquelas coisas, a mulher já não pode suportar, e volta a casa do pai, ela volta a casa do pai. Se eu quiser a minha mulher não nego só que há problemas e tais e assim, tenho que ir lá. Durante o tempo que está lá, eu que tenho que ir lá. Se não puder ir tenho que mandar uma pessoa de confiança, que preciso da minha mulher, mais e consulto o pai dela para me devolver. Então esta pessoa vou com ele. Se eu ir, se ou ouvir, se eu ter esta pessoa então vou com ele... está a falar preciso de coisa, assim, sentar, bom... vou falar, falo o que é que me leva até comportar assim e a mulher também fala também. Então os pais acham e aconselham. Aconselham. Então acha que deve deixar o filho com o tal. Então volta. Se ela sofre, é assim, assim, assim, dá conselho, este já é um respeito. Se não voltar para la, se não for para la, é porque não quero a minha mulher, então fica lá, fica lá, se encontrar outro homem, mas dantes não, antes disso não, e fica lá nesses meses, ou tais, mas tem que ouvir o marido, mas sempre quem resolve as coisas é dentro família. está a ver, é bonito? A mãe aconselha, ou o pai também aconselha, *nha pape pa kil marido di bu, na papia, ele na da*, ou na da outra pessoa assim de confiança. *ai na bai, misti nha mindjer, misti nha mindjer, sim sim tal tal kil kel é...* e problema, isto, se formos lá, conversamos, pronto, e os dois, já acabou a conversa, e esta, já se resolve... assim que resolve problema casado na tradição, está a ver? Mas... temos sempre uma pessoa acabar, temos, por exemplo estou a namorar contigo, mas quando devemos fazer casamento tenho que ir pedir os pais, mas se eu pedir eu vou la, levo e tenho conta do que devo dar, vinho, que, quer trazer... se porco, se cabra, o que é, tem cabra ou porco... porque desde a criança eles não conhece outra maneira ou religião como nos cristão. Então eles nos seus deus, nos seus *irâns*, eles que pedem lá, olha lá, ajuda a mim! Se esse vier, quando for grande vier a casar tenho que trazer tal coisa, o porco, e cabra, e tal quer outro assim... mas quando já tem idade já para casar, quem é que vai dar isso? Já lhe deu sou eu. O rapaz é que tem que dar...

Deve fazer... a lavagens. *Ta bai i laba. Ta bai pidi. Leba farinha, i cana, ke kanto kil ki é...* E festa, traz coisas para comer. Depois de regressar trago a minha *badjuda*. Depois *badjuda* casamento deste *djinti*. Casamento todo festa. Mas depois tem dias.... depois noivado. Você deve com o tio, vai para avó, vai para onde, toma lá, vai lá, ficar lá um 3-5 dias, lá outro lá, outro também toma... famílias. Toma. Está a ver? Você vai lá e toma e tal tal e tal, você fica come ganha comida já pronta a comer, de dia, três vezes ao dia, ficar assim a jantar, e depois sempre vem com a cana, e mostra que deve fazer assim. Outro também toma. Aquele é uma honra, é... como é que é? Então depois quando já quer acabar este período, então, há *knidu*. chamamos *knidu*, em Pepel... aquele *knidu* é um conselho como deve comportar com o marido no casamento. E os homens também vão com homens, jovem, noivo vai lá no mato. Também é um moral, conselho como deve portar com mulher...

[C] Também é feita a mesma coisa para as *badjudas*?

[A] As *badjudas* com mulheres...

[C] Então os dois...

[A] Por exemplo, eu casei, fiz uma festa de casamento, fiz, passei um vários famílias, festas, *tadake*, *amin* também tem dias assim, depois outro também toma sim e sim, mas acaba e esse período, e então, eles fazem aquele último, então chamamos *knidu*. Naquele *knidu* mulheres levam a noiva la, também, uma pessoa, homem, onde as mulheres estão com noiva, nenhum homem, nenhuma pessoa que é masculino, estrangeiro ao feminino, mulheres *garandis*, já vivem, sabem, vão lá morar, aconselhar. Lá é como fanado. Vão... você já é mulher, assim que deve comportar com o marido, não deve fazer assim, não deve de... e as pessoas, ensina. Lá. Segredos das mulheres, *onde ki pudi meti-la*.

[C] Fica lá!

[A] Ontem tem *ki sai, bo bai la!* Homem também, o marido, noivo também, vai com ele também no mato lá, de onde mulher também não passa lá. Dão também moral dele lá. Volta chega a noite, mas volta macho. Volta macho. Fica lá até fazer... se for 8-9. Horas, pode estar lá até meia noite, duas horas, tem coisas para comer lá, beber lá, também fazer... dorme lá, mas fazer lá, aconselhar o noivo. Mas isso não é só o noivo. As pessoas que casaram, que casam com mulher, são as únicas que podem ir lá. Mas imagina, eu já casei, já passei já fiz isso tudo, mas houver mais um outro casamento, depois do meu casamento eu posso comportar mal! Posso comportar mal com a minha mulher ou com outras pessoas *garandi* na casa, lá, se for lá, educam lá ... lá dão porradas, e aconselham você, assim assim assim. Dão lá. Eles têm um óleo de cana. Num casamento se você participar lá ...

[C] Estar atentos...

[A] Estar atentos, eh. A mulher também é assim, num casamento duma [...] se for que não está a comportar com um homem, também é assim, esta a ver... aconselham, não esta assim... assim que é a educação. No mundo Pepel. Se aceita, respeitar, se não tem respeito para os *garandi*, respeito para comportamento bom com o marido, para que, com as outras pessoas assim, matam, ninguém disse nada. Ou aconselham, mas se você não ouve e continua, oportunidade de outro casamento...

[C] Chegam aí a castigar...

[A] É assim. cultura. Portanto é assim. Mas não vão ao régulo. Vão lá, ao *omi garandi* aí na morança. Porque há, este... conselho. as pessoas *garandis*, luta entre outro lá, fora doutra morança, lá, este é problema, de conselho da tabanca ou que. Se não puder, já passa para o régulo, não... coisa de morança não. Acaba ali.

[c] Então, mas porque é que as pessoa vão a régulo, se tiver qual tipo de problemas? Sei lá, se alguém de uma outra morança aí perto roubou as minhas galinhas, eu vou....?

[A] Galinhas, galinhas da problemas mas antigamente este coisa não chega ao régulo. Problema de... posso pedir a uma pessoa uma cabra um porco ou assim, e não vier para pagar, se não pagar posso ir ao régulo, ou ir a outro chefe da tabanca ou da zona. Aí que é primeiro passo. Ainda dentro da morança. Mas se não ouvir, vais para comité ou chefe de tabanca ou que. Se este problema não for resolvido lá, é que passa para o régulo. Questão da bolanha vai para o régulo. Questão da bolanha. *Queston* da vaca, vai... Pode, primeira parte, passo é dentro da morança, na família, vai sempre dentro da morança, e depois, só, vai para o régulo.

[C] Então é difícil que estas questões vão até o comité? Não é o comité que trata de resolver isso...

[A] Não, porque o comité trata..., mas antes, o chefe da morança, o que no mundo Pepel a morança é constituída por 5 casa, ou 6 ou mais, morança *garandi*, mas o problema lá entre família, que resolvem... falam lá. Os vizinhos. Mas esta não está a ser ouvida, não está sendo resolvida, vai para o comité. Vai para comité. Comité, se não conseguir, vai para régulo. Régulo, se não conseguir vai para autoridade, vai para, comité, administrador, ou como agora tem polícia, vai para polícia, vai para tribunal, e assim assim assim... A questão de administração de coisa, de dentro do mundo Pepel acaba no régulo. Ele resolver, não há mais nada em diante, se dentro da morança a família, não é preciso ir mais adiante.

[C] Então logo que a questão consegue ser resolvida.

[A] Dentro da família da comunidade da...

[C] Não é preciso ir para além disso, ou seja, fica dentro da morança, se não conseguir é o régulo?

[A] Primeiro é na família, primeiro questão, se eu tiver com a minha mulher ou entre nos irmãos, eu com meu irmão, outra pessoa dentro da morança, é resolvida dentro da morança, dentro da casa. Depois se não conseguir é que vai entre, como que eu diz, entre casa da mulher e entre os pais, entre os pais, ou pronto, se continuar, se é por demais faz faz faz ah, a mulher vai para o pai. Fica lá. Se eu quiser a minha mulher ainda, penso nela, vou lá pedir. E lá também aconselham se voltar a... é capaz do régulo nega... tem aquela forma de ensinar lição também como eu diz... e acabou.

[C] E se eu tiver um irmão, que foi morto e eu quero justiça por esse irmão morto, eu vou....

[A] Pelo *pantado*, ou outra coisa...

[C] Por qualquer coisa, se as pessoas quiserem mal, ou fizeram alguma coisa, se foi pancada, se foi feito alguma coisa da cabeça, se foi... mas se alguém quiser, sim.

[A] Não, eles vão para a tradição porque, eles vão.... Por exemplo, na questão de feitiço, de... *malfeitorios*. Eles têm aquela cerimônia, com essa... como, eles sabem disso... ah! Antes eu fui a tirar a sorte, então sei que, sei que você que está por cima da minha mulher, ou minha família, ou meu filho ou o que, assim, então eles pegam galinha. Pegam galinha, vai lá, naquele seu *irân*. Pronunciar... se eu quero galinha, este testículo dele para ser parte preta. Se... oo... o outro pega, parte, limpo, claro. Se é preto é porque tem culpa. Se você é limpo, é porque é parte branca mostra que você é inocente. A galinha nos seus *irâns* é que justifica. As vezes não... é esse. As vezes para aquele autorização não é fácil. Mas, uma pessoa vai lá, diretamente queixar. Para homem *garandi*, irem naqueles *irâns*. Vai para régulo. Vai lá e resolve. Se não conseguir lá, passam para autoridade. Dantes *kel* autoridade la, na administração, comitê que tem lá, outro era para, autoridade la, o administrador, este passa para chefe de tabanca passa por administrador, e vai para polícia, onde... esse... depende onde quer ir.

[C] Entendi.

[A] Em caso de feitiço... por exemplo em Biombo, aconteceu este ano como, uma pessoa... morreu instantâneo. Assim, paragem, que... Um fato que... impensável. Morreu aí. Então puseram que há um rapaz lá que mal que eles consideram que não é boa pessoa. Então foram a polícia, nada é resolvido. Passaram para régulo, coisa não andou aí para frente, então, foram as pessoas lá em Biombo pegaram no homem à noite, espancaram, mataram-no. Corta garganta rompe barriga faz isso assim, nunca no mundo Pepel não há isso. Aquela coisa esta lá. Nunca assim, ficou assim. Romper barriga... tirar os ossos... isso aconteceu.

[C] Pareceu feito de maldade...

[A] Nunca... Maldade? Empresas que a gente vê, sim, nas fotos lá do tal de isso... Isso pode ser droga ou o que... então **amudeiram**. Até agora, ainda não foi resolvido. As coisas da justiça aí têm tempo demorado, gera outra coisa..., mas está lá. Mas quem que morreu assim? É verdade? Se que morreu por infarto, ou por outra coisa? Se não resolver isto passa, passa, mas como é que a gente vai acaba? A gente começa a ganhar coragem! Se eu não gosto de ti, tenho que levantar acusar dizer palmada, ou coisa assim, está a ver... situação do país como é que está. Justiça, demora...

[C] Demora demasiado....

[A] Demora demasiado...

[C] Até as pessoas cansam...

[A] Cansam, e faz como noutro..., mas vai resolver... se vê isto, esta tao mal. Régulo, reino Thor está aí. Como eu disse, pessoas candidatam. Era uma pessoa, mas agora 4 ou que mais. Um morreu, logo um ano depois o sobrinho dele, que era no Sul, foi, porque o tio morreu, ficou lá, qualquer coisa está ali... até os outros dizia, então se candidatar concorreremos todos 4, fomos lá sentar cada um constrói a sua casa sua... mas se um dele, perdeu a vida, pronto não pode candidatar mais! Fica três. Não pode. Porque a coisa fechou. Por exemplo, se vai fazer a eleição passa, outro vai fazer mais eleição, candidatar mais para ir? Não. Não. É assim. Mas como é que pode sobrinho candidatar, foi candidato... **camuçou**, e foi para lá, para o tio, na cabeça dele os outros que são culpados porque eles que mataram o homem... isso não é justiça. Não devo calda. Se autoridade aqui tem coisa na justiça... não. Mesmo candidato, tem que tirar! Não pode. Fica aquele três. Se outro não teve a sorte, pronto morrer, fica 2. Se outro morrer, pronto fica 1. Se um morrer acaba a dinastia. Outra que vai aparecer. Mas se um morre, e outro entra, assim complica só... assim, para o *fanado* eles todos concorreram quem é que vai ser a cabeça do fanado. Esta a ver? *Luta garandi! Luta garandi!* Guerra, com cada com outro. Mas, a autoridade...

[C] Não apareceu...

[A] Ainda tem aquele problema, até agora não esta resolvido... o *fanado* passou, tanto. Onde está a justiça?

[C] Falta.

[A] A administração territorial está um partido lá que tem a cabeça de que... não resolveu nada. Está a ver... mas tanta disso não, não é autoridade no mundo próprio, tradic... como a senhora, a menina está a perguntar, é lá no régulo, acaba.



[C] Sim, ele resolve.

[A] Nós, estamos no meio, com autoridade e com o mundo tradicional.

[C] E já houve régulos que pensaram se juntar com estas autoridades do Estado?

[A] Se pensam... não tem outra maneira. O Estado é Estado. Autoridade está lá, régulo é que... Régulo são pessoas de confiança do governo. Que tem o seus comités, que são pessoas de confiança, mas tem que trabalhar com o régulo, juntos... e autoridade é lei, tem polícia, tem ministérios públicos, tem tribunais, mas tem que fazer as justiça. Mas quando o poder tradicional em si quem manda agora é só o régulo, mas o régulo é que diz, é que deve ir dizer ‘passou isso’, e deve dar informações a população como que esta a passar a população, a gente, o seu reinado, então, o problema que ele não pode... tenta que não se meter autoridade. A coisa para ser assim é que deve funcionar. Mas não faz isso! Está lá, a coisa está a passar, fica pacifico. Porque não há autoridade nem no reinado da tradição nem na... ninguém respeita. Ninguém respeita. Porque, eu tenho que, se sou régulo, tenho que marcar a minha posição, e fazer justiça como deve de ser, e por isso se quem não obedecer, eu vou dar a lei passar a frente, ele vem aqui, mas tem que ver, porque já agora não existe autoridade. Quanto mais o régulo, você disse ontem que o régulo não tem poder, agora o régulo tem poder, agora como que o régulo vai ter poder? Está a ver, como é que as coisas, que somos a estar... Ah minha filha, como é que, está a ver... ele na altura que vem tem que dizer, olha não é assim!’, mas para concorre, mais tarde, mas, muito problema, está a ver... é problema. Régulo está lá, assim...

[C] E não há régulo que por exemplo se candidatam a ser deputados?

[A] A ser deputado? Não, não não ouvi ainda, mas disseram que o régulo mesmo a participar na poder de decisão... mas até aqui não vi re2gulos... Só quando precisam deles, convocam la, a escutar falar, só assim, só assim, régulo deve na maneira que disseram, era o régulo que régulo era participar como deputado, na... na ANP. Mas não vi...

[C] Isso ainda a acontecer...

[A] Não isso não aconteceu ainda. Eles agora como concorrem vem falar com o régulo para ajudar para ganhar o votos, querem coisas dão promessas...

[C] Porque assim os políticos esperam que depois...

[A] Dinheiros, prendas, assim...

[C] Porque os políticos esperam que os políticos depois falem com as pessoas, e vão dizer ‘ah, votem todos para fulano!’

[A] Mentira e tal para fulano, dinheiro e aí para lá, é dado, ... Mas alguém que vai para o, para votar no cabine, vai pensar... ninguém... sim...

[C] Sim, cada um tem a sua própria cabeça, cada um para pensar...

[A] Sim. Portanto autoridade não existe agora, não existe. Dantes existe. Quando é chamado para o régulo você sente. Isso é mais. Porque é muita coisa. Ele está lá só quando há choro, você vai contar, ah fulano morreu, e depois, deve dar um litro de cana e assim... a festa de choro, e não sei se é a perna da vaca, ou se é a vaca, aquele coisa, ou pano... então deve dar isso só... questão de bolanhas, que vão la para falar, falar mas.. as pessoas... nada.

[C] As pessoas já não dão o seu tributo ao régulo, de alguma forma?

[A] Eles não dão... dantes davam, mas agora não. Régulos só ganha naquela coisa de justiça, aquela coisa de... um, concorrer para herdar uma morança. ganha li... na festa de fanado. Toca-tchoro, aí. lá que ele ganha. Mas já as pessoa ganha pela mão dele, pronto eu não tem lá bolanha, você vai lá, pronto, quando costuma levar, lá que vai... dante antigamente, diz cada morança dava um balaz de arroz, um balaz de arroz, era antigamente... mas...

[C] Mas já não fazem isso...

[A] Não, já não fazem isso, mesmo antes de eu nascer isso já tinha acabado já... há muito tempo! Aí, como funciona... Régulo para candidatar quando um reinado cai, pessoa vai concorrer para aquele lugar. Hoje... ainda há mais! Era de ganha. Mas agora concorrem todos...

[...]

[A] Agora concorrem, mas antigamente em Biombo era uma pessoa. Outros concorreram, mas quem da mais ele é que é. Mas é pessoas já com idade já.

[C] Sim não é uma pessoa nova... ainda sem experiência da vida.

[A] Não, não sem experiência não....

[C] Não é possível, tem que ser alguém que saiba... Que tem algum conhecimento, alguma sabedoria, uma pessoa sabia...

[A] Maduro... moralmente, uma pessoa que... há pessoa, há pessoa aí... talvez. A coisa está ligado com política... Então... Você concorre la, concorre na... Governo...

[C] São dois prontos que... Estão em choque, um com o outro.

[A] Mas ali, para concorrer vida *kil* di antigamente qual que o vi, eles vão a **reuniar** a população de Thor, como por exemplo, tu representante, que chefe de tabanca, são ansiosos todos lá, e pessoa que candidatar e ele levanta. Mas se esse... se é, então... Se outro, eles também apontam. Então lá fazem eleição lá. Antes de independência, isso faziam. Seu posto. Então, mais... Houve, um *omi garandi*, mas ele que tem direito de fato, mas apareceu um jovem ainda, então ele apercebe português bem, autoridade colonial precisa de alguém que facilita.

[C] Esta comunicação...

[A] A comunicação. Então apontam aquele de... então *omi garandi* perdeu.

[C] Contra uma pessoa tão nova.

[A] Eh tão nova...

[C] E sem experiência...

[A] Sem experiência...

[C] Sem experiência mesmo da vida...

[A] Da vida. então ele está lá, assume assim mais uma **grave**, mas pronto, depois, mas ele é muito duro, violento, mas depois... mudou. Pronto. Agora..., mas... uma pessoa, mas é fidalgo, é filho do régulo, de *sessar*, é autoridade, pessoa capaz, tem respeito, moral, diante autoridade, fluente em português e isso tudo, mas, na tabanca, aqui, de Bijimita até Bissau até tudo lá todas terras feito para ele, morar... então... ele veio, então pronto. Agora, desta vez é pior. Pior... pior.

[C] Antes estava a falar que há uma cerimónia, quando o régulo toma posse...

[A] Sim, há cerimónia. Ele anda por aqueles, aqueles *balobas* de tradição. Ele passa ali. Quando toma posse la. Aquele *carmussa* para ir reinado sentar la, ele passa para esse caminho. Mas depois, ele a seguir, ele volta aquele caminho, fazer a sua cerimónia, a cabra e que, e outro...

[C] Em todas as *balobas* em que ele passa?

[A] Em todas as *balobas* em que ele passa, em que ele tem que passar, aquele é...

[C] E ele vai sozinho?

[A] Não, vai com os filhos. Com os conselheiros. Porque tem sempre conselheiro, para ter...

[C] Só um conselheiro?

[A] Um ou mais, mas conhecido sempre um. Conhecido, para se consultar... chefe de moranço, e de anciões, elites. E conversar, por a ideia, eles também, fazer reunion deles, e... era bom.

[C] E antigamente se as pessoas não estiverem satisfeitas com o régulo podiam protestar de alguma forma ou pedir para que ele fosse mandado embora?

[A] Não...

[C] Não, não havia hipótese?

[A] Não, tem sempre poder...

[C] Este não muda?

[A] Não muda. Não muda, mesmo eu, se eu não quer, na sua área, pode mandar aviso para eu sair fora.

[C] Vai, e vai embora.

[A] Eh, está a ver...., mas não é constante, não é nunca, é isso, há sempre injustiça, talvez dez sempre paga, carrega, carrega, as pessoas chateadas e vai... isso na justiça, a régulo pode mostrar que você não tem razão para si. Começa a delinear você a pessoa que é, começa a falar nos teus avos, de quem quem quem era sempre nome nome, e assim assim, você fica homiliado. Ele conhece tudo. Conhece. O meu pai, consciência vai mudar. Então ele aconselha só simplesmente, mas conhece. Mas se esta para homiliar, ele vai chamara os tios, os avos, eram assim. E tal...

[C] Vai mesmo homiliar...

[A] Mas ele sempre é respeitado. Há régulo que...

[C] Portanto é difícil que o régulo não seja uma boa pessoa também?

[A] Não não... porque quando a autoridade age tem de ter mão dura. Não vai bater. Mas pode bater, se mandar, a pessoa qualquer

[...]

[A] Então, se ele mandar isso, que faz isso lá, pegar uma noite e dar pancada, pronto... Régulo. Há tradição, cultural e *tchoro*... em termos religiosos, temos balobas, temos *cansaré*. Temos *irâns* de *fanado*, está a ver. Termos religiosos. Quando pessoas ensinam fazer cerimónia para própria conta, dono da moranço, faz assim assim assim, e eles fazem.

[C] O dono da moranço?

[A] A moranço tem dono da moranço por si, e quer fazer uma coisa convoca as pessoas, vizinhos, e não sei que, vão e fazem, as suas cerimónias assim. Se é *baloba*, bom, pronto, eles chamam defunto, é conversar, aquele é, é coisa individual já, mas coisas comum *irân* é usado para toda aquele gente lá daquela área para ir participar cada um, caneca o que o que para comprar alguma coisa que precisa sentar lá, e isso nessa parte... Mas como administração de bolanhas e outras questões assim, eles vão ver lá, mas se não conseguir vão para o régulo. O régulo que vai dar última palavra. Se não entender, passa por aqui, para autoridade. Mas como tem administrador lá. Administrador não faz justiça, agora é polícia! É ministério publico, eles passam por aí. É assim..

[C] O régulo também faz cerimónias como o chefe de moranço?

[A] Faz... as suas cerimónias. Por exemplo, dantes passava as tabancas, quando quer fazer cerimónias. Mas se compra cabra, quer, tem alguma coisa com cabra é que fazem cerimónia lá. Então ele passa li, com o filho, acaba

de ver uma cabra, vai mata lá, pronto, passa pronto... não come lá. Vai e deixa lá. As pessoas ficam lá e comem. E passa para outro sítio, e assim assim assim. Mas agora, isso não se faz. Porque as pessoas reivindicam ser vítimas, porque seu, a cabra dela, o que, então... então vai agora não faz isso, não faz isso. Ele faz se **tover** dele, dele próprio, mas não faz para a população. Porque eles reclamam. Revindicam. Para fazer persistir dinheiro da sua, pessoa através da sua pessoas, mas o régulo não vai fazer isso. Ele está a fazer cerimónia para todo mundo lá. Mas até qualquer cabra mata, e assim passa, até a cerimónia de vaca, não é com a vaca dele para fazer, é próprio sempre *tabanca* de morança, se eles... *kil grandis*. Para se associarem e fazer. O dono da *baloba ke ta lá*. Esse. Régulo é assim que funciona... mas, como que está na autoridade agora...

[C] O régulo também tem as suas leis para respeitar? Ou seja, na tradição Pepel há leis Pepeis?

[A] Não... isso não é, é através da educação, deve respeitar o régulo. O régulo deve respeitar... o régulo também sabe as linhas, até o poder dele onde acaba. E quando não chega agora fazer o que quer, porque há autoridade para lá riba, acima dele. Se pessoa não esta contente pode ir até lá cima queixar-se dele, pode armar nele... e agora. Mas dantes, quando não havia, no tempo antes de... colónias [...] Colónias, autoridade colónia, aconteceu posto de administrador, já não é assim. Já não é assim.

[C] Já as coisas mudaram...

[A] As coisas mudam...

[C] Agora com o Estado esta muito diferente.

[A] Está mais diante. Régulo não pode passar alem! Mas na tabanca, o régulo toda a gente deve de respeitar o régulo. Todos tem respeito. E ouvir a palavra. Mas, o régulo sabe também como ele comporta, tenta, não vai falar qualquer não, fala com o seus anciões elites de terra, se reparar que alguma coisa não esta a passar bem lá na tabanca dele, chama atenção. Para que cure logo... e era assim. Então ele para governar bem deve entender com elite, o régulo deve entender com elite de terra, que está lá, entender com a pessoas, entender com as pessoas, dar a liberdade de que que vai trazer beneficio de desenvolvimento da, do país, ou da sua tabanca, mas senta li só receber, receber, não, não da. Tem que promover e ajudar. Portanto preciso dum régulo agora que tem cabeça que lê! Que tem escola para poder participar na coisa.. Poder receber documentos e poder saber transmitir juntamente com o comité. Não vai saltar o comité. Comité agora está mas não funciona porque o comité não recebe nem nada. Mas coisas estão parados. Esta tudo parado. Não recebem. Tens só nomes só mais nada...

[C] Sim, é mais nada do que isso...

[A] Só nome... porque o comité que vai fazer coisa funcionar nem lá na tabanca, mas como ele é assim, tem....

[C] Pois, não é possível...

[A] Não é possível, coisas que estamos a ver hoje são ma, não existe autoridade.... Desculpa não temos, não existe. Pessoa sabe disto e por isso cada um vai fazer o que.... A justiça, pronto...

[C] Pois, fica quase um vazio...

[A] Um vazio... [...] governar... governar... Régulo deve ser algum, uma pessoa que... deve aparecer algum um presidente para dizer 'agora!' para candidatar para régulo tem que ser a pessoa que tem.. Quer dizer... régulo tem que ir à escola, fazer com que tem que haver a escola à noite, para os adultos, para ele subir. Não pode ficar uma pessoa que... não tem educação, não lê, não nada. Agora não. Se eu, se é amin, eu faria isso. Agora, você é régulo, já é *omi garandi*, mas teve escola para gente *garandi*. Você tem que ir à escola.

[C] Sim tem que aprender...

[A] Tem que aprender... mas ele não... fala assim...

[C] É importante, porque senão uma pessoa quase fica atras..

[A] Atras...

[C] E depois chegam umas pessoas novas que não tem experiencia mas tem educação, e já vão para cima. E isto também não é bom, dever-se-ia juntar as duas coisas, ter moral e ter educação...

[A] Régulo para participar nas lições de região di R?. Ou como numa assembleia assim, não pode saber nada, o que ele vai fazer lá, nada! Tem de ir à escola para poder participar lá. Infelizmente, mais nada. Assim...

[...]

[A] Régulo conheço eu, tal primeiro... foi quando era assim... ele veio, Inhande. Era da luta. Para, aquele régulo morreu, era aquele forte difícil, dizem que fugia para o mato sentar. Começa a dizer que o régulo morreu antes do coisa... Inhande. Depois veio Bulama. Que era pessoa civilizado. E que regeu na altura Bolama. Antigo capital daquele tempo... depois morreu, era homem trabalhador de bolanha, morreu, depois veio Talamouma, governo que pretendia régulo que trabalhador, que tem poder, isto de, isto de fazer, então — também era pessoa... tem autoridade posição, entende era rigoroso, depois a bolanha, ele é trabalhador, não falta nada de gente, assim, abrir a estrada talvez naquele tempo para os militar explanarem assim, cumprirem isso... mas é trabalhador é conhecido... mas ele manda e pessoa sai, fica lá. Participa. Depois morreu, outro... mas eles não, quando a independência, população manifestou que não gostava dele, até que reagiram até que foi... [..]

[A] Até que lê foi exonerado, tirado, perdeu o poder, entre o outro — que é aquele que ficou. Entrou o outro, — —, morrei, entrou o Plenande. Agora, morreu, agora, fica, voltou mais elw —, e fica todo, o poder a dinastia dele, chegou a vez dele, então aquele que estava atras não teve coragem de passar ele para afrente, ele voltou a governar mais a ser régulo mais, até o fim da sua vida, da vida dele, e entrou este Kasma que esta agora. E assim é....

[C] Ele ficou muito tempo...

[A] Eh, ele é outra dinastia, Piss... Eh, Piss acabar, e volta Kta... é assim. Isso pode recuperar, reinstituir, mas é preciso um administrador com cabeça, que saiba lidar com isso... mas todos jogam para interesse que não procura apanhar mais nada... Fazer a sua casa fazer a escola, vai li lá, veja ali... Safim. Prabis. 3 setores, Biombo. Prabis vai até Bor. Safim vai até Aeroporto, lá. Sim... aeroporto é de SAB, é região de Biombo., então na sede de região, quem é que esta ali? Que fica aí? Nada. Onde é o régulo?

[C] Não se sabe... Já que não esta ali nada, como é que dá para saber onde ele vai..?

[A] Não pode construir uma coisa para ter uma escola, onde ensino medio... ok

[C] Coisas essenciais, mas que deve de ser feitas como deve de ser.

[A] Nada, nada nada.

[C] Está a ver.. a sede da região está como está.

[...]

[A] Depois as pessoas vêm pedir o que....?

[...]

[A] Que a tabanca, o régulo na tabanca vai funcionar para as pessoas, sem o Estado, o Estado fica assim? Bolanhas, bolanhas caídas para todo o lado.... [..] O régulo tem poder, tem poder, mas esta assim...

[C] A situação é complicada...

[A] É complicada. Já não é a mesma situação que ele tinha, portanto régulo é assim.... portanto Bissá é que da, realça a reino de Thor. Biombo Sidja é que da poder ao reino de Biombo. Pessoas querem candidatar para reino, tem que ir lá, lá na Sidja, régulo a pessoa que pode... Mas quem está lá é dum, é filhos de régulo, porque não é todas as *geracons* não, pode ser alguém mas aquela pessoa que é filho que era filho de um régulo é que senta nesse lugar..

[C] Sim não não todos...

[A] Sim, e ele é que empossa o régulo. E o régulo tem também os seus conselheiros. Mas tem elites de tabanca, com que ele fala com eles. Pensando, em que de que... senta e faz reunião... senta e fala com chefe e representante de morança e assim assim... e era assim que a coisa funciona...

[...]

[A] Mas o contrário, neste tempo que passou, este *fanado*, esta aquele Bissa.... Que está, que conta verdade... ele foi punido neste *fanado*, desfrutado, --, porquê.. O régulo não está de acordo com ele. Está a ver a força, a força de onde que vez. Uma luta entre eles lá .... É más... imagina é a pessoa que não é, é que pode substituir o outro, mas a pessoa que da poder aos Régulos, você vai fazer o régulo não está contente com ele, porque se for que não é ele porque o tio, ele não tem direito... mesmo o régulo... Para ser a cabeça do *fanado* não era ele, tem outra pessoa de idade, de idade dele lá, ele tem... não ficou contente com ele, tam!!! Está a ver..... Mas o governo, uma pessoa o administrador territorial... está ali! Esconde.... Política entrou.

[C] Já está aí no meio a andar neste tudo...

[A] Estragou...

[C] Estragou mesmo as coisa, de tudo que já aí estava...

[...]



### 2.3 BAAKURAN, CURANDEIRO, FULA

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines C – A, B

February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019  
Farim

Mamadou translates the interview

[greetings]

[talks in Suus]

[...]

[Claudia] Queria saber mais sobre coisas tradicionais, se tiver disponibilidade a falar...

[suus]

[Mamadou] Ele disse para que... Deus abençoa você.

[C] Obrigada.. Então queria saber se era possível, se tinha disponibilidade para falar um bocado e me explicar mais algumas coisas... se puder.

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que está disposto, pode.

[C] Obrigada! Muito obrigada! Então, queria falar um bocado do seu trabalho, o que o senhor faz...

[Baakuran] Trabadjo.. Kal ki di trabadjo?

[C] Tratamentos?

[B] Tene [motorbike noise]

[suus]

[M] ele disse que normalmente trabalho de, ele tem só um pó, um planta que ele conseguiu curar com.. Mais de 13 doenças...

[C] 13?

[M] 13 doenças, com uma planta... se ele consegue isso, ele não importa de muitas ervas, o que isso combate normalmente, é aquele que ele faz, mas combate mais de 13 doenças..

[C] Quais são essas doenças?

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que, ele disse que.. As vezes porque que eles pesquisam as vezes sobre o, o... fazem dos tratamentos, por exemplo, há já muita gente que vem, como você —, perguntas pesquisadores, tentar saber o vida deles, como é que eles fazem, depois eles voltam e li voltam... e não há mais outra forma, outro meio de apoio sobre, de parte deles..

[C] Não entendi tudo.. O que?



[M] Ele disse que, normalmente eles fazem os curas tradicional, mas as vezes, gentes vem cá perguntar eles, eles como funcionam, mas afinal eles voltam para a seu zona, países, não tem nem um apoio para eles ou outras coisas..

[C] Para eles próprios aqui?

[M] mm-mm. A forma de conservar o mesinhu e outra coisas assim, mm.

[suus]

[...]

[M] Nome próprio pó que é ele diz que faz mas cura, mais de 13 doenças, nome dele *tamui*, nome das arvores *tamui*.

[C] Tamui.

[both] mmm

[C] E para quais doenças que isso funciona?

[suus]

[M] Primeiro, dores de dente..

[suus]

[M] Segundo, ouvido, orelha.

[B] Terceira, temperatura tene mas —*dji cundida*.

[C] Temperatura...

[M] Quando temperatura sobe para parte di cabeça..

[suus]

[M] E o dor de barriga..

[C] Sim

[M] Cura isso também...

[suus]

[M] Tene um *mesinhu* aqui dentro escritório.. *Tamui* — muito bom.

[suus]

[M] O dor de estômago..

[C] Também funciona..

[suus]

[M] Porque eu tem um limas — que estão a volta do estomago, quando aquele *mesinhu* ele vai limpar tooodo, estômago, estômago vai ser sem —

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que esse, nome desse *mesinhu ke ta muito*.. Se for de dores de músculos, joelhos, de rótula.. Você consumiu isso, ele vai reaa.. Ele vai limpar isso... depois, para ficar bem, se as vezes pior, mas se você começa a tomar hoje, antes de amanhã de manhã...

[C] Vai já estar melhor..

[M] Vai estar melhor...

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que o... esse *mesinhu*, se for que alguém tem dor de barriga... Pode dar mais tardar uns 10 minutos, ele vai começar a sentir... melhor. Ele vai começar a fazer as coisas. Vai acalmar totalmente..

[suus]

[M] O doença de asma também, asma... é muito — curativo de asma, porque as pessoas que tem mais doença de asma, ele não gosta muito de... [Nalu] não ele gosta mais de estar no sol em relason... [Nalu]... mmmm

[suus]

[...]

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que.. Se no caso de uma pessoa tem doença de.. Tifoide, ele combate isso também.

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que esse mesmo pó, que temui... se for que uma pessoa estava a sentir dor de corpo, todo parte e não pode explicar como é que ele está, ele vai dizer só corpo não está bem, meu corpo está todo com dor.. Quando ele vê isso, dentro de 4 horas de tempo, ele vai dizer alguma coisa de que esta melhor.

[C] Se tomar o pó..

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que ta esse *tamui*, faz um cura de esquentamento cronicado..

[C] O que é isso?

[M] esquentamento?

[C] Esquentamento é quando apanhas muito sol?

[M] Não não não!

[C] O que é que é?

[M] Esquentamento é um dor que tem um infeção.. Infeção de macho ou feminina.. Quando vai urinar vai sentir um.. Coisa... sim sim sim... é mais cronicado ainda, que não permite alguém xixi...mas quando ele faz isso..

[suus]

[M] Ele disse doença — parte masculino, mas as vezes é, apanha também a mulher.. Sim..

[suus]

[M] Este também faz o tratamento... é bom para a cura de...

[B] Febre amarela..

[M] Febre amarelo.. *Cural*...

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que esse, nboh. Há um temperatura que sobe de, em baixo de barriga, para subir para em cima.. Combate isso também.

[C] Isto também consegue..

[suus]

[M] Outra coisa também, no parte período, se a mulher tem alterações de período, ou foram duas três vezes ela não viu o período, menstrual, nada não aconteceu...se ele faz esse tipo farinha ele vai *farin* Esse.. E depois que ela consume, dentro daquele semana, pode haver alguma coisa.. Faz isso também..

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que o.. Quando alguém está entupido... e não ir a casa de banho, *forsissil* Também, fica sempre esse, então quando *farinhal* mesmo, com... para desentupir todo processo... mas depende da barriga, porque há barrigas que tem 5 minutos, 10 minutos, conforme... atrás de 10, vai sentir alguma reação.

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que *tamui*, *tamui* o muito bom para dores de corpo. Quando assim que, a diferença de corpo, — a parte desse, à tarde, antes que seja amanhã de manhã, não você vai prestar só de fazer o alimentação, a dor vai passar, certeza.. A dor vai acabar, e já está o processo todo, igualmente enfraquece..

[suus]

[M] Para esses tipos de doença, serve só para esses tipos.. Boh! Esse tipo de doença..

[C] E como é que aprendeu essas técnicas? Esse conhecimento? Foi alguém que ensinou?

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que o pai dele.. Tem nada de conhecimento desse tipo de trabalho.

[suus]

[M] Ele disse que eu vi só, ele faz esse trabalho, não viu, conhece ninguém ajuda e ensina esse trabalho esse..

[suus]

[M] Ele — muito fundamental.. Muito importante. Tem as *nobresis* Arranjar muitas ervas e trazer em casa, tem só uma *mesinhu*, mas é.. É um pó muito diferente..

[suus]

[M] Tem mais perguntas...?

[C] Já está.

[suus]

[C] Não, estou a brincar! Demorou muito tempo para desenvolver todo esse conhecimento?

[suus]

[M] Ele, ele demorou muito tempo, desde que ele nasceu tem muita experiência de fazer alguma coisa.. Fazer *fassi* sempre na sua vida, nunca começou a aprender.. Muito cedo.

[C] E uma pergunta, quando o senhor faz estes tratamentos também tem a ajuda de *irân* ou de orações para acompanhar o doente e para ajudá-lo?

[suus]

[M] É, sempre, é preciso...porque no o.. Esse é língua Suus. Mas preciso.. [...] Ele diz que normalmente nesse casos ele não trabalha com *irân*, ele faz a *orason*, alguém vem para pedir fazer algum trabalho e *fasi orason pedi* a Deus, para que Deus abençoa eles, e assim, é assim que ele faz..

[C] Então nunca trabalha com *irâns*?

[both] não, não..

[C] E o senhor é muçulmano?

[B] Sim..

[C] Pois aí tem a escrita em árabe, no papel.. E o senhor é *omi garandi*, é.

[B] Mm-mm

[C] E se for preciso que o comité de tabanca tem algum problema, ou não esta a portar-se bem, o senhor pode ajudá-lo?

[Suus]

[M] Ele disse que, o comité de tabanca tem sempre ajudar..

[C] Tem que ser ajudado..

[M] Porque todas as formas, antes, depois de ele ser o comité de tabanca, tem que ser o *conselho de garandis*, é o *garandis* que vai ensinar, *omi garandi* pode apoiar ele, a todos processos... é assim, isso tem que ser...

[C] Tem que estar aí..

[M] Mm-mm

[C] Então *omi garandis* são essenciais para ter uma tabanca que funcione bem.. Deve ser..

[M] sim sim sim, é isso.

[C] É importante que estejam aí mesmo.. E também se as pessoas tiverem algum problema, você pode resolver, problema dos vizinhos.. Tem sabedoria, conhecimento suficiente para poder ajudar as pessoas mais próximas?

[Suus]

[M] Disse que sim, tem que fazer isso.. Isso é o papel do *garandi*, o *omi garandi*... papel de *omi garandi*, controlar o processo da tabanca que não é mau.. Se uma pessoa tem erro, eles tem que chamar, fazer para resolver isso. Temos que estar muito.. Nós somos da mesma tabanca somos irmãos. Temos que — se algum fazer alguma coisa que não é bom, chama ele ou vai até ao.. Pai dele, ou mãe.. E diz, boh!, tem problema com seu filho, e não é problema com mau ou mau, mas é o que senti... tem assim um confusões.. Diz não eu não quero isso, porque eu como são provocação, trazem muito problemas, e ele não quer...

[C] Sim, traz mais problema do que resolve..

[M] Exatamente. O garandi, omi garandi, o chefe, qualquer chefe, poder o régulo ou o comité de tabanca, eles são do mesmo funson.. Esse é o seu trabalho! Construir o paz de que tem problema...

[C] *Omi garandi* basicamente ajuda no que possível na tabanca para que funcione, que são pessoa já que tem um conhecimento, tem experiência, são pessoas sabias.. Dão conselhos ao régulos, dão ouvido.. E, no tratamento que o senhor faz, com ajuda de Deus, e o tratamentos do mato, ele consegue tratar de doenças mais da alma ou só do corpo?

[...]

[Suus]

[M] Ele disse si depende do próprio pessoa que está doente. Porque há outras que tem forma, há um forma de estar, quando eles vier vai dizer, pode isso... se vai tratar somente de forma depende dele.. Mm.

[C] Ou seja, alguns dos casos, dependendo do tipo de doença, não é sempre possível..

[M] mm-mm

[C] E se uma pessoa fica mal da alma, e a alma morre, também a pessoa morre.. Tudo junto, o corpo não pode ficar aqui sem alma?

[Suus]

[M] Não não.. *Ka pudi ser..*

[Suss]

[M] Ele disse que quando *pekadur* tem alma, vai sempre a procura dum *mesinhu*. Mas quando alma sai..

[C] Não..

[M] Não vai, não vai importar...

[Suus]

[M] *Pronto, na obi.. I tchiu.. No ka pudi nega na outro, e anos... nona fassi esse ajuda..*

[Suus]

[C] Então estava a dizer que esse —..

[B] *Suma suma, djenti ki ta cai asin, boh!*, verdade um lado fica...

[M] Trombose..

[C] Sim

[B] *Se, se ka outro kusa, i na lanta. Na nome di Deus. Nboh. I ka ta faladu, tudo, mas se contra ajuda tem. Ajuda. Porque es tudo ta fasido com ajuda mas se ajuda ali da principal, se contra aquele sta na sociedade, di.. Nboh! Kinti kinti. I ten certos doentes, doentes sai.. Nboh. Ladja. Bu ka ta pudi fala kuma, amin ki fino ma di brancu. Nunca. Nos i ta ne kal. Brancus frente, pretos, tras. Mas se porque conhecimento asin i pouco pouco, bu kungsi kil tudo maneira tabanca ali, mas pá entra quarto di alguin, si reca pega, i fala kuma, na entra, bu ka pudi. Nboh. — Ta asin. Es.. Ke ta fassil.. Fassi nboh, se bu ka odja ajuda, apoio, .... Nada ka ten! Nada ka ten. Mas se contra, apoio ten próprio, i pui kansa ali, ba ta fassi, bu trabalho ali.. Se bu bin un mis, dos mis, tris mis, bu na contente. Mm. Ma.. Tamui, dentro di nha mesinhu tudo. É primeira.*

[C] Primeira coisa mesmo que resolve...

[B] *Sim, i primeira. Porque ninves? Ghoutro si contra i na — li. Si alguin sta la, tem mente la perto, bu na, bu na bata odjal di dos, se sta la perto na sta repara, és porque aqui força.. Kel ki na pui bu repara, esse i fulana, bu contra, bu comel e.. Bu i, bu pal-la. Boh, pangal, com certeza. La dja, kuma.. I ka brincadeira ki sta la.. I força próprio ki sta la. Boh, ki gas, ki ta sai lá na próprio, kil la si no ka fassi força, si bu ka misti, bu ka pudi. Bai ali ki manda, i kil força ki ta cura djenti, kil força ki ta cura orelha, ki força ki ta cura estomago, ki força ki ta cura dor de barriga, kil força ki ta caba temperatura.*

[C] *Es i tamui?*

[B] *Esse.. Esse i tamui*

[...]

[shows and explain *tamui*, the tradicional *mesinhu*]

[B] *Esse i cura di homem.. Esse, ta fica força, quando ta fica...*

[M] Quando homem não funciona bem... isso, da força...

[B] *Esse.. I tamui!*

[M] Esse que é o famoso pó!

[...]

[explains how *tamui* works in stomach cleaning]

[M] Não pode estar na casa de banho.. Por isso, tem que estar num próprio bacia, para ver qua a maldade que saiu de dentro.. Ya

[B] *Esse, i tamui.*

[...]

[B] *Esse ninguém, que patin nha pó. Ele ki manda. Nha fidjo na falau, kuma, és i ka di ninguém. Nha papé i curandeiro, nha mamé i curandeiro, [nghie]*

[..]

[B] *Mas... i ka kungsi esse. Mas graças a deus, — tchiu abre mon, i fala, i mesinhu. Si abo misti esse, suma bu misti, bu punta, bu na toma inda, bu na fassi inda asin... bai cural aí! Ora ki bu leba és, esse pequenino.. Bu leba esse pequenino, lebal la, bu ba odjal... bu omi i tene dor di barriga, toma um bocado i pui ali.*

[M] *Na iagu..*

[B] *I bibi, i caba sedu, pa i bin sinta, li kil li.. E falau bu bai toma ghoutro coisa, bu dal... bu misti matal!*

[M laughs]

[C] O que?!

[M] Ele disse se alguém não conhece muito bem esse *mesinhu*, por exemplo se você for comprar esse para levar para um alguém no, la na Portugal, ou Itália, porque ele tem um dor de barriga, porque nesse tem que tirar um pouco, por la no agua, mexer um pouco e beber isso. Se alguém que não sabe, ele disse que deu ele um coisa um veneno para matar ele..

[Baakuran laughs]

[M] Porque o reação, o reação...

[C] É tao forte..

[M] Porque ele tem que limpar todo o organismo dentro.. Todo organismo *tene* ser... você tem se afidar muito, a largar não vai ter mais resistência no momento..

[C] Nenhuma...

[M] Nenhum nenhum nenhum... antes que um hora, duas hora, o tempo vai espertar a hora, mas quando isso passa, vai ficar muito bem, porque a barriga, o estômago, todos estão.. Ficam limpo, sim. Mas no momento de trabalho, quando o mesinhu trabalha na barriga, isso será outro *complicasons*..

[laughters]

[M] Porque ele não passou isso... eu vi muita gente, quando eles estão... você quer matar-me! Porque... [laughs hard] *djenti* —

[B] *Nboh, i esse el... explicason di esse..*

[M] Porque eu nunca.. Nboh, eu não gosto de desse, beber esse..

[C] Não?

[M] [laughs] Eu fiquei desse *mesinhu*.. Quando eu precisa de *mesinhu* vai perguntar, o meu pai, esse é qual? Se esse é aquele outro, oh!... [laughs]

[B] *Boh.. I esse.. Esse ki kumpra, i ta cume awos pa amanhã, i ta bantal, um dia, dus, tris, quatro...*

[M] Porque não, não podes beber todos dias, tem que beber hoje, depois passam 2-3 dias, até que o corpo recupera força... depois.. Porque tem muita força, tem força.

[B] Esse.. Esse só que ten *explicason*..

[C] E esse dá para todas as doenças em que estava a falar antes...

[M] *Misti*.. Ele faz assim..

[B] *Sin ka tiral di si mostral.. Bu na... amin ki esse ki ta trabalha kel.. Bin gos gos, djenti kaba choman gos na Bissau, esse...*

[M] Porque ele prepara, ele faz esse e levam lá na Bissau. Na Bandim, alguns bairros la, em Bissau.. Ele tem uns clientes la, quando eles vão... as vezes quando ele sabe, se eles não são.. — Ele pode enviar para eles.

[C] Para Bissau?

[M] Mm.

[C] E depois as pessoas vendem por ele?

[B] *Es.. Omi fica — esse. E esse. Esse, kuma.. Piquinino. Tomal, no pui li, toma faca, no mete três bias, dipus faca, o pui li..*

[C] Na língua..

[B] *Mm. Bu toma iagu, bu kambal ta. Bu ta comel di suma, kunkutu?. Kadja.*

[M] Aquela coisa que você estava a perguntar ontem lá no Jemberem.. No momento que fomos lá no... lá no cacifo de mulher e Abubacar para trocar aquele dinheiro.. Você pergunta, esse é que? Disse, *kunkutu*. Ele disse que come com isso...

[B] Ya! T cume ta.. Esse. Se contra, amor, esse.

[..]

[C] Fassi só um bocadinho e já..

[both] sim sim!

[B] Esse... esse três bias, até 4. Es!

[C] *I limpa corpu tudo?*

[B] *Tuuudo, sai di li, te li. Tudo limpo. Tudo. Se contra kil midjer e fica e ka ta.. E ka fassin ki parte.. Deus ki da lin da parte, mas kil susidade ki é gordura ki sta na corpu, esse natural bic... boh! Deus vai abrir caminhu. Esse..*

[M] Esse faz limpeza geral do corpo.. Disseram-me.

[B] *Esse, i na sai pa boca e na sai pa li, tudo, e boh. Awos bu ka ta pudi fala nada, awos, dias, mas amanhã para manhã, 8h, eh na bin fassi pergunta pa sibi kuma ku passa ki, és... i mesinhu. La bu pudi sinta, bu da explicason, kuma ki passa bu esse. I caba? Não i ka caba. Bu na botal? Não, ka na botal.. Lo bu na tenel. Se bu bin odja agora outro tal tene — doença, bu pudi ta dal sem... [Suus] desse, desse ca. I ta contra, és.. Abo bu pudi bibi esse, um bocadinho.. Suma, warga.. Café. Bu pudi bibi, bu fica.. Se bibi essa hora, até pé i na fala... 8h. I caba dja. Boh, mas kumpu ta fica, mas lungu.. — Mas outro i ka ta interessa, outro ta tomal amanhã de — outro ta tomal treze dias. Susidade, kuma ki susidade fassi outro, esse ki na combati... ele ke manda, anos i fia di manda, mas di outro tal i fia di si.*

[M] Ele diz que ele faz, mas cada qual fia, também tem confiança no mesinhu..

[B] *Nó, i asin, boh!, mal liga na dentro di Bissau... curandeiro, curandeiro i sta la, ma sin entra, na papapa. Tudo i bata fala choman di Baankuran, choman di Bankuraan. Choman di Bankuraan, choman di Bankuraan. La, na bai curri.. Essa hora ta contra dja, sta na carro, na bai. Então, medicason i esse, i esse, i esse.. Outro tene força, outro asin fassi lavagem, i ka tene força, sim fassi lavagem toma esse e na contente...*

[C] Fica contente tchiu.. Claro!

[B] *Boh, mas se bu toma esse, bu ka fassi lavagem, e ta contral ke.. Ta fassi, suma nada.*

[C] Sim, primeiro tem que fazer lavagem.

[B] *Ya! Primeiro bu fassi lavagem, bu bin riba ne esse, e bu na contente! Porque no bu na caba tocal lisson, hora no... perto.. Bu na sibi dja. Enton, enton, bu ka, bu ka estaba li, e ka contra esse. Mas saúde.. Mansi dja.*

[C] E este aqui?

[B] Que?

[C] Este...

[B] *Esse... esse i el. Esse primeira, esse 2o.*

[C] Sim, então são juntos...

[M] Eles fazem mesma função... esse castanho e esse branco fazem mesma..

[B] *Porque esse é kinti, kinti kinti! Esse se bu tomal, só um hora di, di...*

[C] E vai ter.. Outro que é mesmo kinti kinti.

[B] Mm, es gos, mmm.



[C] E aqui tem mais tratamento di homens, não tem tratamento específico da mulheres, ou de gravidas?

[M] *aah! E na, kal li, ki na ka tratamento..* [Suus]

[Suus]

[B] *Kel i mas principal..* [Suus]

[...]

[M] Ele disse que faz isso, porque tem muitas formas de gravidez, e tem doença que acontece na momento de gravidez.. Há outros quando a mulher está na barriga.. Há outro pés que encham, isso... mãos, sim.. Ele faz isso também. Faz isso, *dipus..* Há outro, estamos ontem alguém que explicava disso, sobre da água quente, ou quando barriga, a mulher estava com barriga, então quando nasce criança vai ter pele *cansada* com por exemplo temperatura, ele faz isso, ele faz isso também. O, o alguém também de amanhã ou *antis*, alguém falava de parte de aborto.. Desse caso, sim hoje, também. *Pa ieba lá!* Ele faz isso também... ele faz isso..

[Suus]

[M] Ele fassi também um parte de, de.. O tratamento de um tipo de esquentamento, um esquentamento muito cronicado, isso provoca outros, por exemplo.. Deve pôr, ter no macho ou fêmea também, quando ele tem um infecção, quando eles tem um *relason* sexual, boh!, momento ele não vai ganhar mais coragem precisamente se ele ver ter mais oportunidade ele não vai, naquele mesmo dia, na semana não vai gostar mais de ter.. Relações. Mas ele faz isso também, podemos combater isso.. Ultrapassa mais rápido, ele faz isso também..

[C] E consegue dar também as crianças, a recém-nascidos tratamentos? Criança que nasce da *barriga quente*?

[Suus]

[B] .. *Amin fassi ainda tratamento di menino, toc ki tchiga di abu, bu sibi dja ku ba és, sta la. Boh, li ta falante di menino, la falante di menino ma cansado, mas di garandi, mas tudo igual doença. Mas menino ka na papia. I garandi na papia. Kusa la, diferenti i sta la, yo.. Nunda ki na sinti? I senta pa li, i parte, i parte, menino nka pudi indica.. Boh, la dja son pa bu tomal, dja na tudo lado, bu pudi bati la, até dia ki, ki pudi folga... mas garandi si vos indica outro lado sim, i la bom ki na bai pa fai ca. La ki na cura tambi. Teeeee dia ki na fal ka ta. Mas menino ki cansado, ou di, di mesinhu di preto ou di hospital, ou di, tudo igual, kil ki cansado ka cura, porque la, eh, se bu toma garandi cautela bu na cural uma kil san, bu na cercal, bu ma lu sal, oh! Nboh, i bibo, i morto...*

[M] Porque mais complicado tratamento di criança

[C] Sim, porque as crianças não dizem onde é que sentem dor, onde é que esta o problema..

[M] ya ya ya...

[C] Não conseguem dizer..

[M] Se ele tomou hoje o comprimido, ele não vai dizer amanhã, hoje é melhor, porque nboh, temos que pensar cuidar.. Temos que seguir comportamento dele.. *Aonti* ele não estava muito feliz, mas hoje, como começa a mexer, começa a comer alguma coisa, assim.. — no comportamento. Eles.. O primeiro coisa que eles começam mais a praticar nos meninos, meninos tratamento di menino, esse é coisa inicial, eles fazem.

[C] Esses últimos conseguem resolver e tratar aqueles casos que chama di *kil meninu que nasceu com defeitos*, ou que chama de *meninu di irân? Bu kungsi?*

[B] *Kil la tal... i ta fasido, kilta tan fasido, porque outro ta passi. I ka ta djunto.*

[C] .. *I ta parsi?*

[M] *I ka ta djunto..*

[C] Não entendi.

[M] Outro parece, mas não é mesmo.. Sabe que tem aparência mas não é mesmo.

[C] Sim que não se parece com os outros meninos, tem aparência diferente..

[M] Exato.. Sim sim

[B] *Bu na odja outro e larga, e larga corpu. E esse dja e na tras kuma.*

[M] Como há outros que não podem resistir tanto, sempre estão mole, alargado

[B] .. Sim a cabeça cai..

[M] Depois ele tira o papo na boca, tira o pão na boca...

[C] E baba?

[B] *Kil ki la sin, ki na baba asin, kil l ai padido quente.*

[B] Padido quente..

[B] *Nboh, i kin ki na trasu kuma, kil la i crissi, i kai ne.. Kil la i trabalho de irân. Li ki li, si bu pertal... bu odjal caminho. Mas kil ki na baba, i ta contra kil é esse... e falta, é falha de cuidado. Porque esse, outro ka ki segura, levanta esse. Se ka lebantadu, to akil crescil e u bin total e ka caba. La dja..*

[M] Problema.

[B] *I problema, porque i ka mu tu.. I ka te nesse papia. Kil ki ta fica i na ba ta baba.*

[C] Então quer dizer que há alguns que são de *irân* e outros que, por exemplo o problema de babar, é devido a problema da língua?

[M] Sim sim sim, o problema de babar tem a ver com língua... é um problema de.. Normalmente, quando a criança nasce, temos que fazer um, uns — ali, porque senão cola, porque esse as vezes cola.. Não pode se levantar.

[C] Sim, e dai...

[M] Tem que cortar... Sim, ele vai por um dedo por baixo da língua e ele vai levantar a língua... segurar logo quando a criança nasce para evitar [overlapping]

[M] ... até que foi maduro, é difícil, agora não pode, e cria lá problema disso. E tem lá que fazer um primeiros dias, primeiro dia..

[B] *Dia ka awos, amanhã comité, ka ta sinti duro, ma i bai e panha um sumana, dos sumana, bu panha kil la...*

[M] Vais ter co—

[B] *Outro ta fica até um mis.. Bai ki kil la gora te sinti...*

[M] *Kil dum mis*, mais complicado..

[C] Não, tem que ser logo...

[M] Mm tem que ser logo..

[C] E só nos casos das crianças que babam, e nas outras crianças? Que nasceram que esta diferente..

[B] *Kil ki ta baba, kil ki ta baba, não é? Bu sibi kil ki ta baba, ke kil ki nassi kuma, alguém livrou até sta mal, baba kil la i sai na.. I...*

[M] Porque há outros que babam só tirar o líquido *asin*, há outros que se fazem como um espuma de sabão, um — branco sai assim, yo, isso..

[B] *I na caba ca i, i na cai son, i ta — kuma, [overlapping] kil di baba, kil di dja.*

[M] Quando ele cai, não sai todo tempo, mas tem que ser volta dum virada, do cabeça, depois ele cai no chão, depois começa baba, e a gente como se vamos chamar *derruba cabeça... derruba cabeça*. Esse que faz o, esse faz parte di *irân*, que pega outro alguém ou menino ou assim. Se for até *garandi*, é assim.

[C] E tem tratamento por essas coisas, ou tem que ser resolvido com *irân*?

[B] Eh! O tratamento..

[C] Sim?

[B] *Mmm. I ta fassi. Porque la se contra, eh, curandeiro e odja, kil —, i contente, outro quente quente. Kal cural, mas kissu kuma, kissu kuma ki ta cural ki la. Akil ki baba, i ka ta cura kil la. Kil curandeiro ka ten. Kil curandeiro ka ten, ki fala essi, essi suma maneira ki ta baba sin, i na cural i na para baba, na! Bin comer o dinheiro...*

[C] Só come o dinheiro, e não faz o tratamento?

[B] *Na na, i contratal.. Tratamento i, boh!, i ba ta torto. Bu sibi tudu kusa, ki bu na caba dja, bu companheiro, pé limpo!! Pé limpo! Ah, abo na contente, bo companheiro na contente, kil ki bin buscal aí i na contente, abo ta contente. Mas si contra, abo na trabalha só um, maneira di odjar. Bu ka kungsi, bopah. I caba li. E és, e nassi verdade próprio ki sta la, porque esse, só padin pa n'tiral dinheiro, alguin ki kungsi, ki djubi na kungsi és, são pa n'tiral dinheiro e n'dal, pa eu pudi mostral nghesse. Então abo ta se bu misti na paga dinheiro, se bu misti pé—, bu paga dinheiro. Menos esse, esse, li eu dja n'na na tras, mas és tudo[emphasis]*

[C] Claro...

[B] *Esse próprio, i ka cansado, mas odja consulta di outro, presença di outro. Primeira i 150, consulta, depois 5, 5.000, 4.000, 500Fran. É mesinhu e ta cura 24h, bu sibi dja kuma bu, kuma bu noiti, bu ka na mansi asin amanhã. É mesinhu. E na força, mas si bu bai ka kungsi ele, és bai entra bal na bu sangue abo próprio na — e na puntal, kuma ku ianda, tol ki bu ianda si esse? Esse..*

[C] Sim. Mas esse, no caso daqueles meninos que são diferentes, não funciona com eles, não cura, não trata da doença deles?

[B] Kal, esse?

[C] Sim.

[B] Eheeh... meninos de...

[M] Não não, parece que esse, esse não pode curar esse. Aquele é outro tratamento...

[Suus]

[M] Não, com esse não.. É outro.

[B] *É esse, é esse... e ta ki la, si ta curado, kil sta curado. Outro ta lanta e fica diritu! Outro ne, bu na castiga kel, i ka na lanta. Bu na contra kil, e —muçulmano...*

[C] *Irân muçulmano..*

[B] Eh. Mm.

[M] *Kuma irân mau* [emphasis]. Que nunca..

[B] *Mau! Boh, i kil agora ka ta parar o rosto..*

[C] *Ki ka ta..?*

[M] *Ka ta para o rosto*. Não consegue ver você, porque, porque eles fazem isso, quando quem fazem isso tem que horar esse *irân* chamado de nome deve fazer isso, mas ele não vai atender..

[C] Não vai dar ouvido, não vai dar atenção...

[M] Mm, sim sim, exato, não vai dar atenção.. Não vai dar atenção.

[C] E isso é só um *irân* mau?

[M] Ya! Isso são *irâns* mas. Esse — mau! Mau mesmo.. Mau. Porque esse fazem tipo de mobilização, esses fazem tipo de *horacons* como que eles *panham* eles..

[C] Quem é que faz essas orações?

[M] As orações são eles que fazem esse tratamento sobre de, de, daquele... porque *irân*, o *sau*, pega outra entrada, aquele é para, ele quer transformar uma pessoa como *irân*.. Boh, eles fazem oração, essa - *gente di irân*, quando ele estão junto e falar com ele, eh! É preciso também ter cabeça. Aquele cabeça. E há — para um, para escrever alguns... não estavam *akil a nas*, na escrita *marabu* —(tem que estar na água?) — e que ele vai banhar com esse, esse *mesinhu* todo. Quando ele banha, *se irân bai lá*, não vai estar perto dele.. *Irân* não vai gostar ficar sempre, a próximo di.. Boh, se depois ele fica chateado, ele vai a ver já, eu vou sair - desse, porque ele usa uma coisa que eu não gosto...

[C] Então, vai sair e já vai embora... assim consegue se livrar..

[B] Mmm.

[M] Sim sim sim, eles conseguem fazer aqueles trabalho...

[C] E consegue fazer com qualquer... quer dizer, eles próprios a — os outros, afastam o *irân* de nos...?

[M] Sim sim, afastam.. Há outros *irâns* que muito difícil.. E por isso, nas passagens que nos fizemos ontem, e por isso que outro disse que eles agora não estão a fazer esse trabalho...

[C] Que *irâns* são difíceis...

[M] Ya, porque são *irâns* difíceis...

[C] Depois *irân* quer vingança..

[M] Ya, *di cansa*, e vai voltar contra você que estava a salvar a alma daquele outro, logo vai voltar, se ele não pode com você, ele vai ver o seu filho agora, vai voltar contra isso.. Logo, o problema vai ser la di você [laughs] isso sim acontece..

[C] E acaba por ter que fazer muito mais trabalhos para, proteção...

[M] Ya! Sim.. Para defender a sua própria cabeça que esta a fazer aquele trabalho, depois defender a sua família, porque se *irân* ficou inervado vai voltar contra você..

[C] Sim, não vai ser fácil... mas e nesse caso, daqueles que chamam *meninu di irân*, é porque foram apanhados por ele?

[M] Mmm, apanharam por *irân*.. Eles nascem. As vezes outros, outros sai... as vezes depende, há outros que dizem, no momento, problema de mulheres que lavam fora de hora.. For a noite.. *Bu sabe que irân* pode gostar

pessoa, aquele que tem um.. Tem um mais poder de ver, porque não é toda gente que consegue ver o *irân*, mas outra vê. *Irân* pode gostar de pessoa, pessoa também pode gostar de *irân*. Nesse caso, surge esse tipo disso, digamos, podemos encontrar a noite o mau vento, ou maneira forma de —maioria fazem o mau vento ooou, isso, encontrou com mau vento, esse aí quando encontrou com *irâns* maus. Ele vai largar um vento contra você para você não ver isso.. Pode ter mais problemas, tem que fazer tratamentos.

[C] Pois.. Não é fácil conseguir tirar o vento..

[M] Não, —

[C] E esses meninos que nascem assim, o senhor acha que são um perigo?

[Suus]

[B] *Kil la.. Trabalho de antigo. Kil é trabalho de antigo, mas gos, trabalho di antigo, ninguém dja djubi esse. Ghoutro ta padi e ba, botal. Eh. Mas gos, nboh. Des,desd,desvalorison i enton tudu sibi dja ki... não é irân. Aonti i sorte, mas ninguém ka pudi fassi tratamento di pekadur. Eh? Aonti. Mas awos.. Nada. Bu ka pudi pensa di kil sentido. Pa bu padi, deus i ka toma, — pa bu tomal u ba bota. Se mi ta fasido tentat, mas si li... nono, na ta fassi.*

[Suus]

[C] O que.. Desculpa, antes estavam a dizer alguma coisa que não entendi..

[M] Não ele disse que, esse não se faz. Agora só antigamente que a gente fazia isso...

[C] As pessoas faziam porque tinham medo, porque não gostavam...?

[M] Deve ser, deve ser isso, porque não é um bom, um bom figura.. Até que gémeo, estava a referir que, antigamente, se alguém padir um gémeos vai botar eles! [laughs in disbilief] porque eles tem que tipo de — desenvolvimento, a gente não tem conhecimentos desses próximos, é coiso novo, e boh!, eles *pensaba* que não —

[Suus]

[M] Mas agora agente perceberam as coisas, muito... tem que ser ser eu sei. É isso..

[Suus]

[...]

[C] Está a ensinar a alguém?

[M] Filho dele..

[C] Já começou a ensinar o seu conhecimento?

[M] ele outro aí..

[Suus]

[B] *Eeeh, sim. Esse ki bu djubi ali, esse toma pacie—*. [Suus]. *Abo próprio i fica contente, outro si na contente, abo dja bu na bacar — só. Abo, nos agora? Kil ki sta li? Fala menino, e bu sta la bu sta li, abo suma bu sta li pa bu na papia ku, bu na papia trasi, e sibi na kal local ki bu sta.. Ele ki manda e — pa menino fica paciência. Pa i tene paciência. Pa i ba ta fassil tudo conta. Esse i que.. Kel ki esse na bali? Amin na passa, awos e amanhã, dinheiro ka ten, se na bai, enton esse ki tchiga. I pubi sibi dja di esse, mas di outro até gora, nunde ki n'ta li, nka na sibi. Porque esse, se bu na — esse, bu ku sta —. Ten mente e ka ta punha?, bu ka na para, se bu na discansita, bu na fassi discanso, bu na pudi pila, bu pudi baa li. — ta discansa. Ma bu ka na ficado ariba di awos, pudi pila. Não. Ele ke manda, i cansado. Nboh. Si contra, abo gos u precisa dele.*

[...]

[B] *Sum pa ku calura, suma ki bu fassi sin, suma maneira que amin na bai asin, bu ka pudi anda..*

[M] Sabe que aprender qualquer coisa tem que estar calor, com calor porque não vai sentar só no varanda, *kau* fresco, não.. Tem que trabalhar, o corpo tem que estar molhado, cansado, isso...! O calor tem que estar aí, tem que limpar assim... no, no coisa de ensinar os filhos ele deve, eles... qual filhos que tem mais paciência. Ele vai saber esse... porque se *nô gos* não tem... porque tem que ir ao mato a procura dos ervas, raízes. Se você não tem agora a paciência de ir lá no mato, como é que vai a procura di..

[C] A procura e conhecer..

[M] Ya ya ya!

[C] É impossível..

[M] Ya é difícil. Qual é o fim, toda o filho dele que tem a paciência de procura de palha, ou raízes, ele vai ensinar, ele vai mostrar eles, porque, porque eles já conheceram todo o nome desse. As vezes se eles forem para Bissau, o medicamento que eles levaram acabou, ou está quase a acabar, antes, ele não quer ir aí, ele vai ligar criança, tem que procurar raiz di tal pó! O tabaco di tal pó, folha di tal pó, para mandar-me.. Eles vão a tirar, ele vão mandar para ele, é assim. Ou as vezes eles preparam esse tudo, e vão ali.. Mas depende de passagem de filho que pode fazer depois..

[C] Mas então, eles já estão..

[M] Ele estava a referir como você, porque você saia de Portugal, ou ainda você é de Itália. Mas você está em Portugal para saber uma coisa. Saiu de Portugal para tentar saber mais alguma coisa, se você não tinha paciência de vir cá, de andar como que fizemos de manhã, quantos quilómetros que anda2mos a pé, até lá ao fundo, porque você precisava de saber alguma coisa, senão você não a paciência, ah!, não quer nada, como é que vai saber isso.. Por isso ter a paciência.. Aquilo. Ter vontade das coisas, vai perseguir.

[C] Então tem que ter alguém que tem essa predisposição, e vontade de aprender..

[M] Ya ya.. Se tem vontade de aprender vai aprender rápido, ele vai mostrar também.

[C] E depois é um trabalho que fica pela vida toda?

[M] Eh da pela vida toda.. Porque normalmente a gente fazem isso principalmente quando idade dum homem e *bai*.. Ele faz muitos *mesinhos* para a gente, a gente já viram valor desses coisas.. Próprios tabanca vai começar a dizer os filhos dele, você tem que ser ensinar procurar aquele *mesinhu* de avô, o teu pai para ensinar, porque a pessoa não sabe, você, *i bai*, o pai vai viajar, o um dia ele vai ficar doente não pode fazer nada, não pode falar, não pode fazer nada, mas tem que aproveitar o momento que ele estão sano, firme para explicar você alguma coisa, um morte vem de repente..

[C] Sim, nunca dá para saber..

[M] Ya!

[C] Como é que as pessoas, as coisas estão...

[M] Por isso, depois, disse para dizer ao pai boh!, esse audiência que meu pai *fassiba* essa cura, mas afinal você não —porque não ensinava, não estava perto do pai, vai ficar como um — tanta — vai só dizer ah!, isso não é um livro que fica aqui dentro... [Laughs] isso não!! Fica lá no mato, tem que saber guardar o saber e o conhecimento local. Local. Esse saber local, exatamente..

[C] Então por isso que é importante os novos darem ouvido aos mais velhos?

[M] Claro!

[C] E posso fazer mais uma pergunta? E o régulo, quando o regulo e o comité de tabanca, ele tem que cumprir alguns deveres com as pessoas que estão aqui? Por ser u bom regulo? Ou seja, o que é que um regulo deveria fazer para as pessoas que estão na tabanca? Você é, você é um *omi garandi* um homem de experiência, conhece essas coisas... tem sabedoria.

[Suus]

[M] Ele diz que regulo, o *populason* quer que para que regulo tem um bom nome, é um bom regulo. Regulo também precisa de saber ele tem um bom *populason*. É isso, isso sempre essas coisas que deve ser. Mm, a pessoas não diz que vai para lá, oh vocês não, vocês não tem bom regulo, isso não é bom. *Populason* não vai tocar com isso. Mas quando *populason* diz ah, nós temos um bom regulo! Isso é um bom coisa.

[B] *I tene suma maneira ki bu pensi, se bu sta diritu, bu consigui tuuuudo kusa ku bu precisa de.. Ma se bu fica mau, o prejuda, opah! Se bu prejudica, então conta alguin ki nô companhal u ta, kil la mal* — [laughs] *kil la mal*

[M] Ele está a dar exemplo sobre de você.. Bom se você está aqui e não tem bom comportamento com as pessoas, ninguém também tem a vontade de falar com vós. Nem andar comigo também não vou gostar, eu vou virar. Ele não é bom pessoa, não gosto de andar isso. Então coisa vai ficar sempre.. Más.

[C] Sim, coisas não vão ficar boas.

[M] Eeh ya ya .. Alguém vai ficar ele não tem boa paciência de *falar ku bo*, ele vai dizer, — pode fazer pergunta, e dizer nboh ele não sabe nada, esse conheço três tratamentos dor de cabeça, dor de estomago dor de orelhas e acabou..

[C] Sim não ficaria a falar..

[M] Ya ya ya porque não quer falar...e por isso que *pekadur* tem que ser bom. Bom pessoa tem que ser bom, tem que ter bom comportamento. Se ter bom comportamento, vai ganhar, vai saber mais coisas que quer saber.. É isso.

[C] É preciso ter um bom comportamento com os outros e respeitá-los.. E o regulo também tem que dar...o regulo tem terrenos? O regulo tem bolanhas, e se precisar pode dar para as pessoas usarem para cultivar, para quem não tem?

[M] Claro, tem terreno, regulo tem terreno, mas regulo... [Suus]

[...]

[Suus]

[M] Nboh, funciona o seguinte. Não é obrigatório porque é do regulo, dizer não vocês vão ficar, porque no todo tabanca, no todo espaço há um família que ten um parte de terreno, outro família que tem um parte de terreno. Agora regulo não vai dizer — regulo podemos fazer, se há pessoa na tabanca que não há espaço para trabalhar, ele pode chamar *omi garandis*, *soma* aos donos de terrenos... e *papiam*. Temos um nosso irmão, que quer trabalhar. Vamos ajudar ele para ele conseguir um espaço também para trabalho, para ter um maneira de sobreviver. Ele vai fazer isso...

[C] Em vez de duas pessoas serem egoístas, ele já faz uma partilha mais justa..

[M] Sim sim, yaya.. E não tem obrigação de falar, temos que fazer aí!, no.. No regulado não é isso.

[C] Portanto não é obrigação..

[M] Yaya não é

[C] Ele da conselhos para que as coisas fiquem melhores...

[M] E se tem alguma coisa, ele não vai dizer, Mamadou oferece isso, ele vai, vai... ajuda, por favor, eu vou sim, eu vou dar ele

[...]

[C] Entendi.

[...]

[C] Pelo que você acha, a pessoa que esta no Comité [de Estado], que são nomeadas pelo Estado, ele consegue ter essa forma de se portar com o povo da mesma forma que regulo, comité de tabanca, ou não conseguem ter estas mesmas qualidades?

[Suus]

[B] Ah, comité, regulo, trabalho di Comité é trabalho di regulo, trabalho di regulo é trabalho di comité.

[C] É igual.. Então os dois conseguem fazem...

[B] *Sim, porque... se se eu cai na, se bin comité sempre choma regulo, e bin sinta e ba ta toma, sempre.. Boh, si cai na, regulo sempre choma comité, e bai sinta, pa i bata, tomal sempre. Bu sibi la, la dja i na fassi asin, balanco, comité ka misti ke cai. Regulo ke nka misti ke cai. Se regulo na cai, comité na fala kuma, não, não vai cair. Se comité na cai, regulo ta fala não, se contra i ka nha caminho, mas suma no sinta bo i ta conta la i diante deles, e palabra tan ke na discute, mas se ka la ten outro ideia kuma ki na fassi? Mm? Ka pudi fica? —*

[C] Claro...

[B] *Comité ka pudi sinta, regulo ka sinta...*

[C] Mas então, já que eles fazem o mesmo trabalho, não seria mais fácil ser a mesma pessoa a fazer as duas coisas?

[repeating]

[Suus]

[M] *Não não pudi porque ele não vai ter o testemunho, tem que ser um testemunho..*

[C] Ou seja, tem que haver uma outra pessoa.. Duas cabeças pensam diferente que uma só..

[B] Agora...

[M] É assim

[C] Mas acontece, há pessoas que são regulo e também querem ser no comité.. Há ou não há?

[...]



[Suus]

[M] Ele disse que antes havia, mas agora..

[C] Já não..

[M] Já não funciona. O regulo tem que fazer o papel do regulo, o comité tem que fazer funson di comité. O comité de tabanca tem que ajudar no seu poder de tabanca.

[C] Tem que ser duas coisas separadas, não se pode estar aí a misturar tudo.

[M] Yayaya isso estará só com — se quer ficar ele na pode fazer isso na governação, gente vai dizer não, mas como é que possível? Um pessoa tem dois cargos.. [overlapping] capacidade que algum ministro, pode ser, poder ser um ministro.. Quel é um capacidade, um intelecto só — mas dessa forma.. Há outros também [overlapping]

[C] Sim de forma geral combinar as duas coisas não da, não da, não da..

[M] Porque era.. Porque era problema, e a gente não gosta disso agora, acumular os cargos.. Isso causa muitos problemas, como no, como no.. Nas organizasons di trabalho, não da. Eles estão lá [overlapping] como é que um pessoa pode tomar um lugar....

[...]



2.4 Djamba, chefe de tabanca, and Mariama Cassamá, mindjer garandi

Interviews sample 3

Guidelines b

February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019  
Farim

Mamadou translates the interview

[Claudia] E o seu nome é...?

[Djamba] Djamba.

[C] Djamba. Claudia. Prazer.

[...]

[C] E meu nome é Claudia, eu sou uma estudante da universidade de Portugal, e estou aqui agora na Guiné porque queria conhecer mais algumas coisas sobre poderes tradicionais, por isso que estou aqui também falar consigo, se não se importa falarmos um bocadinho... sim, tudo claro?

[M] *I misti, i misti sibi di poder tradicional, suma abo i di tabanca.. Suma regulo, regulo, kusa tradicional ki djenti ta fassi e ta contra ke muito — sta... suma curandeiro, chefe tabanca, kil djentis, e suma bo i chefe di tabanca, i na bin puntal algum pergunta suma hora ke problema, suma problema ke ta consigui resolvi e ta contra i ka.. Bai ai noutro kau, ... kuma ki —*

[D] Está bem...

[C] Sim, então... já faz muito tempo que é chefe de tabanca?

[D] Mmmm

[C] Já faz muito tempo?

[D] *Mmm tarda um bocadinho...*

[C] Sim, uns anos já?

[M] Mais de um ano..

[C] Mais um ano...

[M] Quatro anos...

[C] E vai ficar *chefe de tabanca* até para sempre?

[D] Mmmm

[C] E como é que uma pessoa torna-se *chefe de tabanca*, como é que foi no seu caso?

[M] *I fala di bo, kuma di kal maneira ki... di consigui só... nomeason di chefe di tabanca...*

[D] *Eehhh, boh, amin, nha irmos garandi ki i chefe di tabanca. Suma nha irmos garandi, odja i tene ramos tchiiu.. I ka pudi continua e bin bin fala, bô gos. Suma nha irmosinho sta li, logo , kule na entro na iaconda, ke manda ser o chefe di tabanca. Na si conta ke manda entra, suma ele outro ramo e elis sta na antigo combatenti e ka pudi ser mas, chefe de tabanca.*

[C] Porque que antigo combatente *i ka pudi*?

[M] Porque ele tem muita responsabilidade, muitas ocupações. Muitas ocupações... por isso que ele disse que, *nboh*, ele não pode tene tener todas *ocupason*, resolve outros problemas assim, — seu irmão vai cuidar com o seus problemas..

[C] Ok.. Mas ele, o seu irmão ia ser chefe de tabanca porque as pessoas o escolheram, ou porquê?

[M] Boh, i..

[C] Também o pai era, ...?

[M] *I fala papia tambi ki bu irmon era chefe de tabanca, djenti escolhido ou bo papé ainda ke se...*

[D] *Eh, no papé que seluba chefe de tabanca, ali.. Suma kil abi faleci, gos amin bin bin toma, ki sai di la, logo bin bin pa senta nhá...*

[C] Então, é como uma coisa de herdança..

[M] Sim sim sim de herdança...

[D] Herdança, sim..

[C] De pai para o filho.. Então fica sempre dentro da mesma...

[M] Exato, da mesma família, sim... *bos*, quando acaba o pai, entra no filhos, e quando... e irmos dos, irmos de próprio... quando ele acaba, filhos deles também pode, ser — também. Quantas gerações desse acabo filho desse, toda hora la..

[D] *Ah, isso tambi ki sta di nha —/secretar também...*

[...]

[C] Pois, então é uma coisa que as pessoas vão herdando, certo? E sempre é o primeiro filho, ou é u dos filhos? Como é que é escolhido?

[M] *Boh, i sta na herdança, i fala kuma na kusa di herdança, i ta sedu 1o fidjo ou 2o fidjo, ou ke...?*

[D] *Na herdança, i kil la... i ta pudi ser no 1o fidjo. No 1o fidjo i ta certa. Ki ta sedu ele, amin sedu i 2o, fidjo... eh, assim ki fassi. Limé assim ki na cedu suma li ku t ne sin ki na sedu. Na outro lado i pudi di na outro kau i pudi mudal, ma suma li anos assim ki no andal ta*

[M] *Ghoutro hora ki ta sedu tambi, i ta kumi i pudi ser na 5 i di 5 irmos, i pudi ser di 2o irmos i pudi ser 4, mas... in caso di herdança, — sedu responsabilidade...*

[D] *Di kar.*

[M] *É bô. I ka ta, i ka tene paciência, i ku bo — [..] Um caso kil ki pui assim kusa di herdança kin fala boh no djubi kil outro mas...*

[C] Mas influente...

[M] Mas influente..

[C] É verdade que...

[M] Mas formalmente tem que ser o *indjó*, 1o macho garandi, ou 2o *ke misti*. Rapaz esse garandi.. Não.. Que muito intelectual, segundo *i ka misti*...

[C] Então tem que ser também uma pessoa que tem, tem capacidade, para conseguir... tem bom juízo, tem conhecimento...?

[both] sim sim... exato...

[C] Quais que são os deveres do chefe de tabanca? O que que o chefe de tabanca tem que fazer para com a população, para a tabanca?

[D] Mmmm, kuma? *Chefe de tabanca, kel ki ta fassi?*

[M] Mmm

[D] *Eh. Mbora, ghoutro trabalho sin sin, si anisado sin, i trabadjo ke na bai fasido, chefe de tabanca na choma djenti e na sinta ali, ou abo planeia maneira de trabalho de tabanca. Ele aqui tene — ou bu tene um problema, de família, assim, de — bo bai no e, pudi choma um outro pa sinta pa conversal, logo i ta caba dja nada. É assim ke cada ki trabalho di chefe de tabanca, dentro...*

[C] Mas tem algum dever para com a população, por exemplo, disponibilizar terreno para as pessoas cultivarem, ou outras coisas deste tipo?

[M] *I fala si contra bu ta fassi tambi.. Suma caso di terrenos, si tene problema di djenti —enton bu participa na... organiza djenti de ke kil terreno i assim, se tene djenti tene ki trabalhal, puntal...*

[D] *Eh boh, nos tudo ki ta fassi kil la... no ta fassi kil, no ta próprio ki no treva di.. Fassi kal, kil i mediason ki no fassi. Hora ku bo na tene djunta-djunta na problema di terreno, abo djenti di tabanca, bo na pudi bai, bo na senta keles la, bo bai na mato, bo fala eles kuma 'tal falano li ku na caba, — ku na caba', logo, cada kil na fica na si lado, bo ta pui rapatida? Na metade, é esse.*

[M] Boh, porque um dos fatores próprio di chefe de tabanca, porque que o chefe de tabanca não tem que ser o qualquer um...tene, ele — funda qualquer tabanca, porque ele conhece toodo rede

[C] Rede? Sim, ....

[M] Eles lhe oferecem gente quando alguém — como tomada de posse [...] é esse.

[C] Portanto o seu trabalho também está ligado a isso...

[M] Isso... *dipus* quando prepara o filhos próximo dele ou irmon dele, — também — aquela areia, porque tudo gente que sabe um regra di como por exemplo vem aqui, e problema di terreno...

[C] Sim, regras são regras que regem a vida da população..

[M] Sim sim sim...

[C] E como é que você conhece essas regras? Como é que o chefe de tabanca chega a conhecê-las?

[M] *I fala kuma, kuma ki bo ta... kunsigui fazer regras di tabanca, e kusas assim..*

[D] *Nboh, kil ki kaba di falar, assim... regra di tabanca, hora ku bu misti fassi u plano ou um kusa la, hora, bu na choma um outro, abo sinta, abo dibati, akilo regras la, pouco pouco tchiga um consenso. Ele ki mandal.... Ka, cada kal ka pui di si regra. Mmmm...*

[C] Como assim...?

[M] Normalmente, eles fazem um, coiso... sintam, discutir uma coisa, que é muito bom para a tabanca, porque o que mandam... podem que fassi... tem que se fazer assim. Porque esse é bom, esse é bom para a tabanca. É bom para o desenvolvimento de tabanca.

[C] E quem é que esta nestas reuniões? Quem é que participa? São todos, mulheres crianças, homens, casados, não casados, velhos...

[D] Todos, todos, participa...

[M] Todos participam...

[D] Mmm

[C] Todos tem possibilidade de dizer alguma coisa...

[Both] Sim sim, exato

[C] E estas reuniões são feitas onde?

[M] Ss vezes fazem... as vezes...

[C] Aqui, na casa?

[M] Sim, sim, também...

[C] Mas tem um sítio específico, ou é?

[D] Não não, kil é aí, em baixo de manga...

[C] E outras vezes, que estavas a dizer? Estavas a dizer que outras vezes...?

[M] Outras vezes ainda, eles fazem um *reunion* com regulo. O regulo são todo esse tabanca, a nível de setor, e ele — *reunion*, sendo comunicado para governo, de e, administração, do outro *organizason*, de o regulo também próprio tem um ideia de que ele vive no seu território, o regulado, tem que mudar fazer alguma coisa, e chama isso, eles fazem... depois quando eles acabam, todo regulo —, chefe de tabanca volta na casa dele, todo ele... boh, bai passar *informason* de que o regulo disse, dissemos assim, fazem *distribuson*, logo eles fazem passar mensagem...

[C] Portanto é como se tem o regulo, que esta acima, da indicações para vocês e vocês chefes de tabanca...

[M] Primeiro são eles nesse tabanca, tabanca de.. Regulo não pode passar no tal tabanca “ah fazemos isso!”, — tem que fazer o certo, população tem que fazer as coisas, assim assim assim...

[C] E esse regulo como é que é escolhido, como é que consegue ser esse regulo acima dos outros chefes de tabanca, é também por questões de herança, é porque ele pertence a uma gerason di regulos, como é que funciona?

[M] *I sta na punta sobre problema di regulo, i ta escolhido ou i ta herdado na maneira, i tene família próprio ki pertence regulado..*

[D] *Não, família... mmmm... i ta tene nô família, mmm. Suma ki na papia regulo di Cadic. Ali, aquele i di família, di gerson. Sim, — si papé bai, fidjo i sta, ka na ta sibi, kil ta bai si irmasinho i sta, kil tambi ta sibi tambi na reinansa... i assim... suma ki é di chefe de tabanca também, sintar di ki... regulo também sta. Ma suma regulo, ele ke, ele ele ke regulo chefe maximo, si ele convocar e manda chomal na, na Cadic no na vai pudi contal a nos akil mensagem ke no.. Ke no tisi pa casa, no bin pa senta, pa comunidade... eh, assim, que é.*

[C] Mas o regulo também é a mesma forma de ser escolhido? Esta sempre dentro da mesma gerason, e é sempre o primeiro filho, ou é de várias famílias, dentro da gerason?

[M] *Nboh, i fala, mesmo ke.. Suma, ki pudi escolhi dentro di gerason, suma kil processo di família, kuma ki ta, na primeiro ou, segundo...*

[D] *Se i ta pudjil? Na gerason ou i ta pudjil na família?*

[M] Mmm, i *pudi* dizer na *gerason*, porque pode ser próprio *kil família próprio ke pade filhos..*

[D] *Bon, amin mais ou menos, amin i parti di família... la ki, la ki mas sibi dele...*

[M] Não, é assim *ki ta fassi...*

[C] Família... e é sempre normalmente o 1º filho?

[M] Eh, se primeiro filho tem capacidade de, de fazer o regulo, senão... senão passa para o 2º, de forma também se ela não.. Outro! E assim...

[C] Quem é que avalia se estas pessoas tem capacidades? É feito pelos país, é feito pelos país, é feito por um comité, é feito pela população...?

[M] *Boh, ken ki... i fala nboh!, na na esse caso, na na bu família... — pó ba no murri, ba kil ki ta djubi pa falan nbo, es ki no ten ki bai kuni, es ki sta, es ki...*

[D] *I ten garandis tambi ki ten nomeado... ki ten aquel djorson tambi ki ten nomeado...*

[M] Nboh, a família daquele — daquele, há *garandi* la que sabe muito, kuma...

[C] Dentro da família.

[M] Sim sim, eles que descobrem.

[C] E eles conseguem...

[M] Sim. A fala na *djorson* quer dizer que pertence o regulado.. Ele vão avaliar eles, *kuma* capaz, — ele vai dizer, um nome.

[C] Portanto é um juízo que esta, vem dos homens *garandi...* e também, se um regulo tiver só filhas fêmeas, também um mulher que pode ocupar esta posição, ou mulher *ka pudi?*

[laughter]

[M] *Boh, i papia... i tene, si papé, um regulo i padido si fidja, depois i bin ka ten... si contra nenhum homem si contra mulher pudi ser regulo...*

[laughs]

[D] *Nunca i tchigado ouvil tambi!*

[laughter]

[D] *Nunca obil na nalu!! Nalu nka obi... i pudi ser, mas na outra região, maaaa... na Nalu i ka tchiga di obil. La na kul tulma kil ki ta fassi? Na Nalu kuma ke ta — ? Sobrinho o pudi toma, sobrinho...*

[M] *Ma ka ta bai diretamente e pa mindjer...*

[D] *Ah, ma ka ta bai diretamente pa midjer, porque se ka sin, ni na cabudo. Mindjer pudi toma-o*

[M] *No, porque amin nunca nboh, diz punta kuma um istoria asin...*

[D] Eh!!

[M] *Nka tchiga obi...*

[C] Então, mulher *ka pudi?*

[M] Mulher não pode.. *Ka ta fasido*

[D] *Ka ta fasido...*

[C] Não tem... capacidade para este —... antes, estava a falar das regras da tabanca, mas tem algumas coisas que o chefe de tabanca sabe, ou tem que aprender mais que as pessoas no geral? Quer dizer... se houver um problema aqui entre as pessoas, aqui um problema pequeno, pessoas que brigam e o chefe de tabanca vai ter que resolver isso... ele precisa de ter um maior conhecimento destas regras, de que as outras pessoas, ou... como é que é? Ou seja, como é que o chefe de tabanca aprende quais que são as leis?

[M] *I fala, si ten alguns problemas, suma kil ku — fácil fácil, kuma ke pro— li, bu ta tene leis pa pudi kungsi akil problema, si ten —*

[D] *Eh, boh.. Si ten um problema, duas pessoa tene problema na tabanca, bo na tchoma eles, sinta ku eles, no conversa, mas se é metade. Se kele ke tene culpa, ta falar kuma, ta falal kuma, i tene culpa. Logo, bu misti na.. — mas - bu tene culpa. Gos, ku no fassi? Gos, bu ceta bu culpa dja pa no caba ku kil problema li, no ka bo mata? No, obi mas i conversa, mas.. Pabia, bo tene bu culpa, bo tene problema, bo bo... bo tene culpa. Esse ta odja, conversa acabado, dja não quero, pa bu na sinta e conversa acabou, logo bo ta conta e no laça amizade, bo continual fassil, família...*

[M] *I tene... tene conselheiros também, tene gente garandi ki na tarda, porque no..*

[D] *Kume, naquele programa,*

[M] *Devido no... i kusa, i assim...*

[C] Então é dai.. E os conselheiros normalmente são sempre *omi garandis*?

[both] *A-ah, sim sim.*

[C] São pessoas já mais com conhecimento, com experiência, e são eles que ajudam, a fazer...?

[both] *mumbling in assent*

[C] E no momento de tomada de posse da... do chefe de tabanca, há alguma cerimónia, alguma coisa que se faz? Como é que isso é feito?

[M] *Mm, i fala kuma ct i toma posse i ta tene algum cerimonia, ou kil ki ta fassi...*

[D] *Não... não.. Chefe de tabanca assina cargo.. Sina dado, como, i na dado como chefe de tabanca, e na ta tchiga um cerimonia assim, suma cerimonia di regulo, kil i ka tchiga kil la, i na bin só na tabanca e fala kuma, nboh, gos, alguém ku na nomea pa chefe de tabanca, es ke ku no na nomea, populason tudo sinta, e fala kuma, nboh! Odja, este ki chefe de tabanca. Logo, conversa ta caba porque sibi — mas ki tchoma kuma chefe de tabanca. É alguém, é alguém di chefe de tabanca, el i ka ten mas ki ghoutro cerimonia, de regulo me ke tene cerimonia, pabia kil la nai na mato, kanta tempo, bo dita bo mansi la, mmm*

[C] E como é que funciona a cerimónia de regulo? Ele vai para o mato? Como é que é?

[D] *Garandis ki na bai la! Meninu ki meninu ka na bai la.... Meninu ka na bai la, garandi só ke na bai elis ki sibi.*

[C] Então regulo é *omi garandi*?

[D] *Mm-mmmm.*

[C] Mas eles fazem também cerimónia no mato?

[M] *depende, depende de cada etnia...*

[C] *Etnia, sim..*



[M] Um tem um cultura deles que eles fazem, então.. E tem uns como nos não.. Porque temos... são sítios só para isso, são problemas de — ele vão tomar o posse lá, depois saem em casa, e tem de irem na zona de mato para terminarem fazer um cerimónia li...

[C] Então vão aí com pessoas que tem mais poderes...

[M] Sim, mais poder, mais conhecimento... que conhecem aquelas regras assim...

[C] E dele é que vão, vão explicar como que é isso...

[M] Sim sim sim... Eles tem maneira de aconselhar [...] Regulo deve ser assim, regulo não deve ser assim, [...] Ensina ele lá no mato...

[C] E durante quanto tempo que eles fazem...?

[M] La? Não, não é tempo, só alguns horas.

[D] Mmmm

[C] Ah, só algumas horas?

[M] E lá no mato, e depois saem lá para casa. Mas oferta pode demorar dois, três dias...— di regulo, é assim...

[C] Demora bastante tempo... mas então o regulo aprende estas coisas com *os omi garandis*?

[M] *Omi garandi*...

[C] E entres chefe de tabanca e o regulo, o regulo tem que fazer alguma coisa para o chefe de tabanca, ou o chefe de tabanca podem dizer... sei lá, se o chefe de tabanca não esta feliz com o regulo, ele pode manifestar o seu descontentamento, ou não?

[D] *Claro, pudi... i pudi.*

[M] *I sta fala kuma hora regulo ke sta — bo chefe de tabanca pudi falar, nô regulo, bu fassi um kusa i ka ta diritu, i kuma, mmm*

[D] *Pudi, mm... bu pudi fassi.. Bo pudi fassi kil la. Pa ke, regulo ke ka na trabalha diritu, abo si.. Chefes de tabanca, bo pudi uni...*

[M] Segredo também...

[D] Eh..

[C] Como segredo?

[M] Segredo também, que eles tem.. Sobre o...

[C] No quarto??

[M] Tudo gente... tudo gente ... eles fazem, no segredo mesmo. Ele reúnem secretamente num *kau* aí..

[C] Ao seu lado..

[M] *I ta choma djenti... falal...*

[C] E é só falado?

[M] Para aconselhar o regulo, você que é mais em cima de nós, vos esta a fazer uma coisa que... eu não fico muito bem com isso, esta coisa.. Também o regulo pode fazer uma coisa *awos* que o chefe de tabanca não vai fazer... — [baby crying and covering voices]

[C] E por exemplo, quando é.. Essa é uma pergunta mais, assim, abstrata... o que é que seria, por exemplo, um comportamento mau do regulo?

[D] Ele...

[M] Ele não pode.. Ninguém pode — isso, mas... mas, não pode ser... depende de regulo, depende de cabeça, dele...

[C] Por exemplo, se ele não cuida das pessoas, se não...

[M] Nboh, eu nunca *obi* isso acontecer...

[C] Regulo sempre cuida..

[D] Regulo sempre cuida das pessoas... mm-mmm

[M] Sim sim sim

[C] E no Nalu, o regulo também faz cerimónia junto com outras coisas que eles fazem, por exemplo se vai para alguma tabanca e quer encontrar as pessoas, também fazem cerimónia, ou não se faz?

[M] Não não se faz... não só momento de cerimonia tomar empossamento e outro coisa... se ele quer visitar e fazem também ele vai ligar dizer, amanhã eu vou ei, *falar com abo di mantenha*... si t tem um problema, que eles querem ajuda, pode ajudar... é esse...

[C] Repete mais uma vez desculpa..

[M] Se a tabanca tem um — como cultura porque há tabanca que tem poder, apoiar outros e, a cerimónia assim. Ele diz nboh, pode passar no nosso — e nos fizemos alguns *mesinhos* tradicionais, podemos lavar corpo, e assim...

[C] E regulo também faz?

[M] Depende.. Depende, se...

[C] É o próprio regulo que faz essas coisas... o regulo tem que ter capacidade para fazer isso? Pois também faz partes dos saberes de regulo, das coisas que ele faz?

[both] Mm-mmm

[C] E o regulo normalmente casa, tem mulheres?

[D] Sim! Sim...

[...]

[C] E quando estava a falar antes das regras do regulado, e se acontecer alguma coisa, dentro da tabanca e dentro do regulado, propriamente... Quem é... chegam primeiro a lei do regulado ou a lei do Estado? Ou vai...

[M] Mmm, não o regulo, é rei do regulado próprio começa o comité, comité depois chefe de tabanca, se ultrapassa isso chefe de tabanca não pode, ele vai chamar o regulo... depois o regulo se ele também não pode, passa depois do regulo vai para nboh, agora desse não é não é da minha *competison*.

[D] Mm-mmm

[M] Na comunidade.. Ou na *administrason* territorial, para ver qual o problema. Eles vão aqui a falar com as tabancas, se eles não fazem a mal pessoa vai continuar em —

[..]

[C] Mas então, é uma coisa assim gradual... quer dizer, se o chefe de tabanca já tem capacidades e conhecimento para resolver, logo faz algo, se não conseguir é o regulo, se o regulo não conseguir, é para... administração territorial, ou alguma outra coisa..

[both] Sim, sim exatamente

[C] Mas normalmente o regulo consegue resolver as coisas...

[M] Claro, maioria...

[C] Maioria das coisas, quase tudo...

[D] Mm-mmm tudo...

[M] Maioria.. Porque há outros também que não concordam com ideias de regulo...

[D] O regulo, sim..!

[M] E se bu passar, bu passar processo aí em polícia judicial ou setor.. Oh! Regional. Ele disse — mas ninguém que sabe.

[C] Mas então.. Isso é porque as pessoas não estão felizes com o que o regulo decidiu?

[D] Depende!

[M] Depende.. Sabe como a gente... outro concorda com lei, eles não concordam com lei... sempre!

[C] Pois, uma pessoa continua a procura até chegar..

[M] Exatamente..

[C] ... ao resultado que mais gosta

[D] *I assim!*

[M] *I pudi — que outro djenti i tene processo no tribunal muitos anos... muitos anos! [laughs] porque o que ele quer, o processo não vai favorecer... depois kil outro... i fala mais juiz, vamos ver o processo... [laughs]*

[C] E regulo não, regulo é mais rápido de que o tribunal...

[M] Claro!!

[D] Exatamente...

[laughters]

[C] Não demora anos e anos, é mais fácil..

[D] Claro, sim sim.

[M] *Enton* outra coisa se encontra você cá um, um parte di seu — em termo *dakil* aí, *kel* mulheres que estão a falar assim... temos temos, matos assim...

[..]

[C] E se houver um estrangeiro a viver aqui, ele também tem que seguir todas as regras da tabanca? Sobre... no geral, tudo.

[D] Eh! Claro... *i la sigui.. I la sigui, i mas forte!*

[M] Porque ele não é um cidadão normal..

[C] Então é ainda mais forte que...

[m] Que normal..

[M] Porque não é tem que ser tudo, *akil* que um cidadão *fassi kuma um regulo*, ne... [...] mas se quer nós podemos ver porque pode pessoa querer sobreviver, fazer assim... outros que... — estrangeiros..

[C] Então é diferente, não é a mesma coisa..

[D] Diferente..

[M] Tem que cumprir um regras mas sempre sempre..

[C] Não pode sair...

[D] Não!

[M] Ele tem que cumprir sempre.

[C] Não tem como fugir disso..

[D] *Ma, ma lei, no na lei, solla nu sol ki sta li. No ka djunta kil ghoutro raço. Só na nu sol ki sta li.* [emphasis] *Famílias, só.. Sim.*

[C] E o chefe de tabanca ou o regulo também pode ser o candidato nas eleições por exemplo como deputado, ou não pode?

[D] *E, eh!.. Si bu misti, bu pudi!* Mmm.

[M] Quer dizer.. *Pudi*. Porque ele e esse regulo — segue, seu cidadão tem que... *i pudi*. Depende do consenso do regulo.

[C] Mas há pessoas que fazem isso?

[M] Ainda nunca, eu nunca vi, não vi isso... ainda nunca... porque eles são poderes tradicionais.. E ainda nunca já ouvi isso... diferença, porque quando é cidadão depois mas a gente nunca, não faz isso..

[C] Já, já tem poder tradicional..

[both] Sim sim sim..

[c] .. Já é bastante coisa. Não precisa também do outro, seria só mais trabalho!

[laughters]

[C] Mas depois vai votar nas eleições?

[D] Mmmm. Vota.

[C] E acha... porquê? Porque vai votar?

[M] *I punta pabia ki bu na vota..*

[D] *Pabia ki kuma.. Amin i fidji di tchon. I di Guiné-Bissau. Pa djubi resultado di Guiné-Bissau si no bai diante... mm. Es ku mandal no bai vota. Mm. Pa i sta bem, ki nha fidjos, kinha irmos garandi pudi sta diritu...*

[C] Sim, para ver se as coisas andam para frente...

[...]

[C] Mas acha que... a administração de e, a administração local, eles tem também a capacidade para mandar, ou não conseguem mandar... ter a mesma força, a mesma importância que o poder tradicional?

[D] De e? Eh...

[M] *I fala nboh, administrason suma ki djenti si setor se tene mas poder de mandar ou,*

[C] ... se não conseguem ter capacidade, não tem... conhecimento bom para conseguir mandar como um chefe de tabanca.

[D] Kil punta, nka percibi..

[M] *I fala, djenti di adminstrason kuma ki si coordena, si contra tene poder de manda pa li...*

[C] Se ten capacidade de mandar *ku populason*. Capacidade de fazer o bem para eles, como um chefe de tabanca...

[D] *Iiihhh.. Pudi manda, pudi fassi tambi bem di chefe de tabanca... se tene meio. Mas meio tambi má pouco tambi é, porque se a nô na si di padi cuitadu eles má se pobre di kel lado la!!*

[laughters]

[D] *I ka tene..*

[M] ... *di tradison... i ka tene...*

[D] *Amin nka tene móvel.. Bu ka mota... só imprista di comunidade, no bai fassi misson... assim...*

[M] Não tem meios...ele próprio, administrador não tem um meio, um mota...

[laughters]

[...]

[M] Ele disse que o chefe de tabanca pede o administração, administrador mota ou carro, para você saber como que esta! --- primeiro coisa que ele vai dizer é quantos meses eu não tenho nem salário.. Primeiro coisa é esse... administrador pode ficar 3, 4 meses sem receber nada...

[D] Nada, nada...

[C] Mau mesmo.. Como ele sobrevive sem receber nada?

[M] Eles — as vezes furta/— aquele fundos.. No nosso setor não há feiras, não há mais.. Pode ele vai cobrar o feira, ou que... esta maneira assim...

[C] Para arranjar alguma coisa... até as pessoas podem convidá-lo, partilham comida com ele...?

[M] Sim sim sim!

[D] Exatamente...

[C] Normalmente é uma pessoa daqui, não é alguém de fora?

[M]. Lá de um sítio, lá lá.. Lá nô, sé de setorial, às vezes, porque as vezes quando está lá eles procuram o, o *bolanha* la ou outra coisa, para poderem tudo que pretende... é necessário.... E *fassi* trabalho lá... porque todo mundo se conhece sabemos como é que esse funciona, *i é di Guiné-Bissau... i com toda esperança di ki kil nô...* —fácil/dizer morrer...

[C] Pois, sabemos como é que esta a situação, sabemos sabemos...

[...]

## 2.5 Mariama Cassamá, *mindjer garandi*

Interviews sample 1

Guidelines C

February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Farim

Mamadou translates the interview

[the old lady greets and is complaining about her health, back-pains and had to walk with a stick. She speaks only the ethnical language, nalu, só mamadou was translating for me to portuguese]

[C] Quantos anos que a senhora tem?

[M] Clau... então esses são as mulheres que fazem aquele cerimónia, lá no mato.. Eles têm um sítio la, que ninguém pode saber.. Chegar. Quando eles não autoriza, que pode ser ele que trabalham, então assim —

[C] Então a senhora também consegue, tem capacidade de fazer estas cerimónias?

[M] Aquele outro ten que ir num *bias*, mas como há só mulheres garandis que estão aqui...as vezes ele não.. Tem mais ainda mais capacidade de falar outras coisas, no — *tchiga tchigar ali*, depois son quilómetros, como...

[...]

[C] Então... eu vou apresentar-me primeiro, o meu nome é Claudia...

[Mariama] Mariama cassamá

[C] Muito prazer.

[M] Ela é *nha* tia...

[Mar] *Nha fidjo*...

[M] Ele é... ele é irmão do meu..

[C] O seu sobrinho é muito boa pessoa. Muito. Muito mesmo. Eu sou uma estudante, eu sou de Itália...

[Mar] *I ta konta ki la?*

[M] *No no, i na obi si na conta..* [Nalu]

[C] E, sou uma estudante na universidade. Queria só fazer umas perguntas..

[Mar] *I dja conta esse..*

[... explaining in Nalu]

[C] E queria só fazer algumas perguntas das coisas que a senhora faz... sem perguntar coisas que são segredas, não quero conhecer segredos, só queria conhecer mais algumas coisas até das questões do mato e esse tipo de coisas, se for possível.

[Nalu]

[M] Ela disse que podes perguntar todas as questões para ele, pode... questionar.

[C] Obrigada, obrigada mesmo. Eu queria saber..

[...]

[C] Um *omi garandi*, porque que é um *omi garandi*. Ou seja é só, uma pessoa que tem que ter conhecimento, aprendeu muito? A senhora é um homem.. *Mindjer garandi*, sim? Mas o que é que faz..

[Nalu]

[M] Claudia.. Ele disse que.. Ela é mulher *garandi* porque ela *má de*. Ela está de mão com os seus..

[Nalu]

[C] O que que ela disse..?

[M] Não ela disse mesmo pergunta, diz que, que ele de antes de luta... porque ele não é de.. É mulher *garandi*, *pabia* di causa di idade de que ele tem, ele é mulher *garandi*. Não é só conhecimento...

[C] Mas então é.. As duas coisas, é o conhecimento, e a idade,... ?

[M] Sim sim.. Mas ela disse que ela tem um idade por isso que ele ser um mulher *garandi*... Oh, quem é que tem um conhecimento tem que ser um mais *garandi*, mas *ten* mais conhecimento. É mais importante, mulher *garandi* é muito importante, porque sabe muitas coisas. Mas coisas de mulher *garandi*... porque se parte da mulher *garandi*, *i mulher garandi* porque ele tem, ele vai chama.... Idade. Bom, para qual ficar, sabedoria, ou conhecimento importância, quer dizer é mulher *garandi*, é muito importante, tem muito importância, mas muito bo. *Kuma*, ela... porque ela tem idade. *I garandi*.

[C] Mas.. E o homem *garandi*, por exemplo, no seu caso, tem, como tem idade também é uma pessoa sabia, uma pessoa que tem conhecimento, tem experiência, tem algum dever com os outros?

[...]

[C] E por esse experiência, idade, conhecimento, isso permite-lhe também dar conselhos e ensinar aos outros, ou seja aos novos, aos *chefes de tabanca? I kuma?*

[Nalu]

[M] Ela disse que sim, tem que ensinar... porque, o *pekadur* não sabe o dia que ele vai morrer. Então tem que ensinar ao seus filho e.. O irmão, para ele saber, quando se você desaparecer, ensinamento vai ficar com ele, vai continuar aí...

[C] E é todo o tipo de conhecimento, ou seja..

[M] Sim sim sim.

[C] Como se portar com os outros, ou história, tradição...?

[M] Sim sim.. Mmm... é isso tudo, porque... é isso.

[Nalu]

[M] Qual o pergunta? Porque sabe com mulheres *garandi* desse tipo sempre tem que afinar o programa, porque ele voltou na segunda pergunta que fizeste, e estava a responder e dizer que nós, nós já falamos isso...

[C] Ok.... Então, respondendo a outra pergunta ela disse o que?

[M] Não ele estava a dizer mais a volta de, que ele é mulher *garandi*, ele não é desse tempo. Antes de guerra colonial ele é *kinti*... mas vamos passar nisso. Eu disse que você que vai perguntar, depois pergunta ela vai responder. Isso que vamos fazer.. Ya...

[C] Ok, então este tipo de conhecimento, por exemplo, as pessoas *garandi* tem esse dever de ensinar aos outros como, quais são as boas regras para se portar com as outras pessoas, ou seja, em tudo, como ser uma pessoa bem



educada, como ser respeitoso... é um dever deles para ensinar aos outros, ou as pessoas também aprendem entre si?

[Nalu]

[M] Ela consegue, eles conseguem fazer isso. Eles ensina no mas pequenino, nas criança, como qual maneira, como que estava a ver aquelas duas mulheres que estavam aí, essas mais próximas de saber isso... mas, tem gerações e gerações, gerações e gerações, há um *gerason* que vai herdar este sistema de *kusa*... como conselhos tem de ser assim, temos de ser assim, e fazer isso.. Conselhar isso.. Quando eles conseguem aquele mas *garandi*, assim, — continua mas novo também, esse..

[C] Então também vão ensinar as mulheres, noivas, o que é que vai acontecer no casamento, como lidar com o casamento?

[M] Não, no casamento isso não tem nada a ver com o casamento, mas depois agora, outros *tradisons* tem que ser... porque não é todo gente que segue esse *tradison*. Ten que ver com bem — as vezes podem seguir... não é de todos, sim.

[Nalu]

[C] E, que mais... por exemplo, ele também tem que dar conselho a regulo, chefe de tabanca? Esse faz parte de que... como *omi garandi* também uma pessoa da ajuda à chefe de tabanca, regulo?

[M] Sim sim, é este aí... mas isto é mas poder.. Dizemos assim...

[Nalu]

[M] Ele disse que, qualquer pessoa tem que estar em baixo de *garandi*, respeito, tem que ter *considerason* para o gente *garandi*.. Tem mulher, e homem. Tem de estar todos na mesma. Se você estão em considerason para um outro, você fica sempre assim...

[C] Então tem que ter respeito para as pessoas *garandi*..

[M] Sim sim sim! Isso é muito fundamental para o... os homens, *badjudas*,...

[C] E esse respeito inclui também que se uma pessoa *garandi* diz para não fazer alguma coisa, as pessoa não tem que fazer?

[N] Não não! Não *fassi*.

[C] É para respeitar o que ele...

[M] Sim sim o que ele diz.

[Nalu]

[...]

[C] E tem algum momento em que uma pessoa nova torna-se adulta?

[Nalu]

[M] Ele disse que sim, tem sempre assim... mas se no outro caso, uma pessoa, uma pessoa no... a gente pode chamar ele *garandi*, mas ele não é o *garandi*. Por causa que ele estão em baixo de *garandi*, ele faz coisas de respeito, sempre, coisas de *garandi*, podemos chamar a isso que é *garandi*, e faz sempre respeitado tem. Isto também pode desta forma podemos dizer assim

[C] E a senhora também tem conhecimento das coisas do mato? Do poder mais...

[M] Sim sim sim! Das coisas... ele diz conhece....

[C] Todos eles conhecem?

[M] Sim sim..

[C] E ela nasceu com essa.. Capacidade a mais, ou é uma coisa que de repente apareceu?

[Nalu]

[M] Boh, ele aprendeu com garandi, mas pai dele e mãe dele assim... eles que ensinaram isso..

[C] E desde que era nova?

[Nalu]

[M] Desde que esta muito nova.. Assim, ela estava em baixo dele para, poder ter conhecimento...

[C] Então a senhora também tem capacidade de tratar quando uma alma de *pekadur* não esta bem, tem capacidade de ver isso?

[Nalu]

[M] Ela disse que eles teeeemmm.. Capacidade de fazer isso.

[C] Tem, capacidade de, de ver essas questões?

[M] Mm-mmmm

[Nalu]

[C] A senhora também tem capacidade de ver como [...] se um ser é *pekadur*, ou se um ser não é *pekadur*?

[Nalu]

[laughs]

[M] Ele tem capacidade, capacidade de fazer.. Porque tem forma de fazer isso.

[C] Tem forma de..?

[M] Aprendeu isso com os *garandis*, saber isso... tem que fazer alguma coisa para *i descubri*...

[Nalu, they discuss]

[C] A senhora tem capacidade então de ver e de descobrir se...

[Mar] Mm-mmm

[C] E, se ninguém reparar nisso, ele que fica aqui no meio, *kil ki ka ta pekadur*, é perigoso?

[Nalu]

[M] É perigo.

[Nalu]

[M] É perigo, é perigo.. Perigo de e, de e —

[Nalu]

[C] Então é preciso que ele volte, que ele saia...

[M] Sim sim sim... mmm.. Porque de todas formas esse...

[C] É preciso uma pessoa com conhecimento para ver..

[M] Sim sim sim sim sim!!

[C] Se é mesmo...

[M] Sas *gos*, deste tempo, é difícil, não é toda gente que fazem isso, neste momento.. Como que outra esta a dizer muito bem ontem, por causa di coisa *i perigo i perigo kuma*, mas outros não quer fazer isso, este tipo de...

[C] A senhora ainda faz este tipo de coisa? Consegue? Mesmo que seja perigoso?

[Nalu]

[M] Ele não consegue [Mariama making mm-mmm as mumbling in accordance to her stated incapability]..

[C] Não consegue..

[M] Não —ela não pode... mulher, esse — como ela não pode...

[C] Pois, com idade ela já fica mais... complicado.

[M] Sim sim sim, complicado...

[D] *I sta complicado bocadinho, bu pudi kil la...*

[Mar] *N'pudil, mas amin só!... amin só ki na TRABALHAL, amin só.. S— dja kaba! I bai sinta. Deus ki na matai i ma ka ta pekadur... el padi..*

[M] Ele estava a dizer de outro, isto não é correspondente... não é aquele que você colocou, é então outro...

[C] O que ela disse?

[M] Ela disse que ele pode.. Sabe que ele *fassi* um tipo de trabalho, quando alguém quiser o trabalho uma empresa ou num lugar no tem só de trabalho, ele faz isso, algum mesinhu para lavar o corpo, para quem um sangue de *danar o — di pa* lá, ele faz este... e sua resposta disse que, ela disse... e sua resposta não corresponde di quando um menino esta o mal como *irân* como é que ele vai.. Dominar isso. A resposta não corresponde... tem que fazer outra!

[laughters]

[M] É por isso que eu disse, falar com esse tipo de mulheres, as vezes ele fogem então...

[C] Sim, dum lado, do outro...! Mas sim, quando uma pessoa nasce *ke é pekadur, um pekadur tene alma, todo pekadur tene alma?*

[Nalu]

[M] Ela disse que se *almanao* há, alguém não fala nada. Todo *pekadur* tem alma...

[C] É preciso..

[D] Sim...

[C] E um *pekadur* também pode nascer com uma alma velha? Uma alma que volta?

[Nalu, and laughs]

[Mar] *Nha nome, mariama cassamá. Nha nome di mim. Kuma ke tu chomal?*

[C] Claudia..

[Mar] Cla.. Eh?

[C] Claudia.

[...]

[M] Disse que *ten* que vai perguntar se, por exemplo, algum *queston* eu vou colocar a ele, senão ele vai falar num outro coisa que nos não estamos...

[laughs]

[Nalu]

[D] *El misti bai dita.*

[M] Ele quer voltar... estava no momento de deitar para ir dormir, mas depois... ele chamou eles para irem cá assistir...

[D] *Nô bai puntal el la, logo...*

[M] Podes fazer perguntas e *queston*, de que eles trabalham com *irâns* e no trabalho também, como que estávamos a perguntar ontem..

[C] E como é que a senhora faz esse trabalho?

[Nalu]

[M] Ele disse que eles não trabalham com *irâns*...

[Nalu]

[M] Faz esse trabalho.. Com Deus. Quando eles fazem *mesinhos do mato*, eles fazem preparam-no e — *ki deus*, deus nos ajuda para que este mesinhu pode abençoar para.. Isso..

[C] E este *mesinhu* pode ser feito para qualquer coisa, para ajudar no trabalho, na família,...?

[M] Eles fazem isso muito bem para a gentes... normalmente, há outros, outros que vem a cá, eles pouparam e eles quando *li* pega no trabalho, eles vai conseguir o trabalho.. Outros tem um problema de *inveja no kau* di trabalho, mas quando vem...— resolvido! Assim é feito..

[C] E eles também podem fazer trabalhos para a tabanca toda? Por exemplo, para a tabanca ter muita comida esse ano, ou..?

[M] Claro, eles pedem também..

[D] Mm-mm sim..

[M] Eles pedem isso, eles pedem isso... eles fazem isso.

[Nalu]

[M] Eles fazem isso porque eles também precisam de comer!

[laughters]

[M] Fazem isso... eles fazem isso..

[C] Eles também podem dar proteção? Proteção contra a doenças, e também proteção para a barriga de mulheres, para os meninos nascerem...?

[Nalu]

[M] Eles fazem isso. Todos..

[D] Yo...

[M] Eles fazem isso...

[C] Proteção a barriga de mulheres, proteção...

[M] Sim sim..

[C] Para as pessoas não apanhar doenças..

[M] Sim sim, eles fazem isso tudo...

[Nalu]

[...]

[M] Normalmente, eles fazem isso, mas primeiramente.. Eles tem que dizer — [para irem ao centro de saúde], depois se ver que o centro de saúde não consegue combater eles... vão fazer de modo tradicional...

[C] Então não há como as pessoas fazerem primeiro o tradicional, e... o centro de saúde, ou fazer as duas coisas juntos? Primeiro tem-se que ir ao centro de saúde?

[M] Sim sim sim... primeiro, eles tem que ir ao centro de saúde... se eles fizeram o tratamento la e, o, a doença não consegui passar, mas outros que eles descobrem logo, diretamente, depois eles vão fazer, ah então tem que ser isso, e vão passar isso... mas normalmente eles não ficam, não irem centro... não não, tem que *bai* lá no centro. Primeiro vai no centro, se *obi*, se há o comprimidos que eles vão dar, se ele *caba*, se ele *caba*... — isso, não faz seus efeitos eles vão.. Falal. Vamos ver-vos...

[C] Sim, resolver isso com outro mesinhu...

[M] Sim sim sim...

## 2.6 \*\*\*, CURANDEIRA, ANONYMOUS

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines C

February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Jemberem

Mamadou translates the interview

[Claudia] Então, o seu *omi* é que é curandeiro, mas ela está aí atrás e ajuda a ver as coisas? Dá um suporte? E esse treino que começou um ano atrás é tipo como ir na escola, esse mesmo tipo de aprendizagem? Ou precisa alguma aptidão, alguma capacidade para conseguir aprender essas artes?

[Mamadou] *I fala, i fala i um ano ki bu fassi, esta suma nos ki bu kunsu si na tipo escola si kunsu, si kunsu, ou si bu aprendi dja..*

[\*] *Kunsi dja manga di kos! I sibi dja manga deles, kal ki ta cural... nsibi kal ke ki ba li, kal ki ka ba li, ne.. Si bu nda alguém kil ki ta cural, este kil ku na dal, i ka, ka na pidi kil ki bu ta dal kilo ki ta i fala i outro doença. Cada doença amin sibi dja si pó.*

[C] Então ela já conhece toda...

[M] Ele já aprendeu ainda, porque o, um tipo de demonstração do mesinhu ou algum pó, é um pouco diferente como di captura di iscola, ou que... porque num dia pode só mostrar um tal pó, nome chama assim, nome chama assim. Quando *panha* outro, *panha* esse, faz duma doença é fácil para captar... Ele já aprendeu muito agora, dentro de um ano.. Ele sabe fazer muito.

[C] E já sabes quais doenças que podem ser tratadas e quais doenças que não podem ser tratadas? Para quais não há tratamento?

[M] *I fala si contra, si sibi dja manga di doença ki bu pudi trata o bu ka pudi trata...*

[\*] *Mmm nsibi dja, manga de.. Suma, suma esse ki mata odja i na fassi, esse barmarodia da infeson, febre amarelo, e di barriz, e ossi sim... kil tudo el dja mostral... si alguém bin i pudi fassi.*

[M] Ela consegue fazer, o nome dele normalmente as que faz mais mais dessa zona, ela conhece o *balmarodio*, o barriga cega, um *sumana* não ir a *kau* de banho, consegue fazer o do rins, dor de cabeça, do osso, dores do osso,...

[C] Consegue fazer imensas...

[M] Consegue fazer isso.. E outros também ainda. Depende de quando alguém venha, ele vem, e diz, ele vai descobrir o que *fassi*...

[C] Consegue ter conhecimento para descobrir o que é que se passa e arranjar o tratamento certo?

[M] Sim sim...

[C] Então, a senhora consegue tratar doenças que tem a ver com o corpo, também doenças que apanham mais dentro do corpo, dor de cabeça, quando tem alguma coisa que não esta diritu, esta que pessoa esta —, esse também?

[\*] *Suma... suma casi?*

[M] *I fala.. I contra, bu ta consigui fassi alguns doenças ke te sta dentro corpu di alguin, ou ki sta na cabeça, suma.. I tene outro doença ki i tambadinho, mboh, i tai.. Dai quer sidu di tchiu..*

[\*] *Eeh, outro sta na mato, outro li que na falta ainda... amin kunsu na entra na mim.. Eh na programa. El ki é di dudeza assim, vezes ki derruba cabeça, suma kil sta na punta ki sta kuma —*

[M] Boh, naquela parte di outro que fazem cabeça é um pouco tonto, tonturas... ainda ele não chega porque é um pouco ainda mais complicado... a relação desse outro. Aquele outro precisam manga de trabalho, não é só um trabalho para aquele tipo de doença...

[C] São mais trabalhos...?

[M] Mmm, tem mais trabalho, porque... [motorbike running, inaudible]

[\*] *Toma fase di laba, i ta fassi guarda di cabeça...*

[M] Ela ainda não consegue tocar naquela...

[C] Ela também trabalha com [... woman yells]

[M] Não não, ela ainda naquela parte ... ela não toca ainda naquela parte. Aquele do, *do derruba cabeça* precisa trabalhar com aquela *orason*... agora ela não, ainda o que... Precisa de figurar a *orason* e outras coisas, que faltam nisso....

[C] E *irâns* e outras coisas do mato ajudam no seu conhecimento, no seu trabalho também?

[M] *I fala.. Si contra irân lá no mato, bu tenta colabora ku irân pa djuba nu ghoutro, poderes...*

[\*] *Suma, cabeça ka tene!*

[mamadou laughs]

[\*] *Amin ka tene kil ki fassi kil... amin ki odja irân, nka sibi nada di kil... na, nka sibi! ... i pudi! Eli ki ta bai, i pudi, ma amin kil nka ta odja mim — odjal*

[M] Entende..?

[C] Sim, porque não tem cabeça... A senhora já sabe que *tene* algumas pessoas que *papiam ke tene menino ki ka padido diritu, ke kil i meninu di irân*...

[\*] *Eeeh.. Então odja si alguém padi minino ki ka bali seti si la di si kau li... i ta fassi nas pa el.. E dal, ke i pa pudi discudanta si dono, pa pudi ribantal na mato, eh.. Pa pudi discuntal si dono ki kil kusa ki nassi assim, i tanga nassi — e entre mato to.. E ta prepara kil kusa di — pa meninu pudi riba, kil — ki na fassi kil aí.*

[M] O marido dela faz outro que não são como *pekadur* ou *irân*, ele faz alguns, alguns *mesinhos* que nos escrevemos para ele lavar com ele, ele pode enganar o, enganar o... quando ele está a discuida... ele pode levar o mato, ele vai. Quando sabe que não é *pekadur*, tem que fazer...

[C] Sim, leva no mato e ele vai...

[M] Mmmm, ele sai... Marido dela faz isso, ele ....

[C] Ela também, viu o marido fazer isso?

[M] Ela viu o marido fazer isso, mas ela não faz isso...

[C] É difícil de se fazer, é preciso de muito conhecimento...

[M] Sim sim sim porque tem que ser dono.. Dono da cabeça, ya ya... não é só para fazer...

[C] Tem que se ter capacidade para fazer..

[\*] *Kil si bu ka tene cabeça bu ka pudi fassi. Bu tene na cabeça própria...*

[C] É preciso... senão não pode ser feito. E você acha que esse menino é um perigo ou é mau?

[M] Fala si contra kil minino i sta sedu djenti medunho perigo ou si contra mal...

[\*] *I, i ta sibi... bu ta sibi... hora ki bu lebal, na roda di salina si, si bu sibi... si kil djenti tonto, tulo sim.. Ki na bai su nada na fassi bu na sibi. Ma si kil ki na bai tambi só na mame i cansa... tambi ka pudi sibi nele. Ta sibi nora ki o pul la.*

[M] Ele disse que sim sim.. Há outro que tem o perigo, outros que... mas quando ele fazer, ele leva eles para saber dessa forma... vai saber.

[\*] *Ghoutro minino ki mau si... na bai só, mamé ta cansa pa li traz toc, tanto doença e to... doenci, diritu! Mas ghoutro minino ki outro irân ki ka mau, i leba sol e dizil nada e ka fassi... outro si tambi si mame pa li, to ke mamé si doença i diritu!*

[C] E é perigoso também para o seu marido que faz esse tipo de tratamento, que ele trata dessas crianças, é perigoso para ele?

[\*] *Perigoso, kil i... perigoso! Ele ki manda gos, i ka ta muito ceital...*

[C] *Ya ya ya ... manga de djenti i ten falado..*

[\*] *Gos i ka ta ceta...*

[M] Perigoso para ele... para ele é perigoso

[\*] *Perigoso, i ka ta ceta!*

[M] Por isso estava a dizer que ele não quer agora entrar naquele tudo... tratamento...

[\*] *Gos i ka ta ceta, gos si bu bin só bu contal kusa dele e ta kumpu só na si dau, e ta bai leba, bai labal, abu ba fassi kil i ka ta ceta.*

[C] *Mmmm i perigoso...*

[\*] *I ta cansado...*

[M] *I cansado, i cansa, akil pui próprio manga de djenti sta naquilo... e isso por causa do perigoso. Há muitos deles estão a deixar este tipo de tratamento...*

[C] Por causa do perigo?

[M] Por causa de perigo...

[C] O que você... é uma pergunta meio de opinião.. Acha que pode existir um *pekadur* sem alma?

[M] *I fala...[... - laughs}*

[\*] *Gos ki na bin dja!*

[...]

[M] *I fala.. Si contra pekadur pode tene ki ka tene alma?*

[\*] *Eeehhh!!!*

[laugh]

[\*] *Pekadur ki ka tene alma ka tene....papia si bu ka tene alma i ka pudi firma... i no alma ki no tene kil pekadur li. Se bu ka tene kil gora ka tene nada... pa nin kil irân ki fala desse irân i tene si alma..*

[...]

[C] *Ka tene pekadur ki ka tene alma?*



[\*] *I ka ten... i ka ten... pekadur ki ka tene alma, i ka ten! Ni irân ki irân, si corpu ku ta odja, ka sta bem, ma to i su alma i sta la, si bu riba antal assim, i ta fassi quase 24 horas e ta kunsu discansa. I ka ta bai mesma hora dja... kil si alma ki — veramente kil fassi ki ka na bai —*

[M] Alma... ele disse que nem se for o *irân* tem o alma. Tem alma... não existe criatura ou *pekadur* que não tene alma...

[C] E quando *pekadur*, corpo do *pekadur murri*, a alma para *nunde bai*?

[M] I fala... [laughs] *I fala hora ki pekadur murri, nunde ki si alma gora na bai?*

[laughs]

[\*] *Eeeehh!! Kil na ka pudi contra kil li... ki dono dja ki deus ki sibi di akil... di ki su alma na bai..*

[C] *I ka pudi riba, para aqui? Pode voltar?*

[M] *I fala ma si contra alma ku di riba?*

[\*] *Eeeh!! Kel la. Talvez i pudi sedu. — djenti garandi di — e ta na papial se bu murri, deus ki na bai la antal ribantal bu alma, aquilo ka na sta na boa meta... ano ali suma nuna i cedo pa alguém odja ka pudi tene si.. Boro..*

[M] Não pode dizer que alma está li, mas não riba, não sei... ela tem uma impressão de que a gente diz — *explicason*, porque quando mundo acaba, todos no juiz final o alma de todos gente vai aparecer lá, no dia de juiz... mas nestes mundo ela não sabe se podemos falar disso...

[C] Nem *omi garandi* pode saber disso?

[M] Não.. Nem *omi garandi* pode saber disso, ninguém pode saber disso...

[\*] *Mmmm omi garandi —?*

[C] E o que a senhora acha, o que é que faz um *omi garandi*? É só porque é uma pessoa que tem idade, ou é porque é uma pessoa que se porta bem, pensa muito nos outros, ou tem conhecimento....?

[M] *I fala.. Boh, kuma ki bu pudi comparar alguém. I contra, kuma ki bu pudi falar alguém omi garandi? Si contra kuma, i papia di si belhice ou idade bai, kil ki pudi fala omi garandi, ou, papia di si conhecimento ki tene, ou papia di kuma i bom di porta di djenti diritu, papia di kil ki bu pudi falal omi garandi?*

[\*] *Ah, omi garandi, omi garandi i ta dipendi di outro la cansa qual lundju, i ta odja i riscu. Se bu odjal.. Si bu ka sibi kuma... i ano ki kel tene bu ka pudi falal omi garandi. Mas ghoutro agora i sta la i idade ki ta cansa tchuu, e ta djubi na i bedju. Boh, corpu tudu ta no ria naquele... bu tal falal chomal di omi garandi bu ta odja idade ki bul i ten...*

[M] Boh, ele ele faz um opinion que não sei se é verdade... porque já outros... que tem mais anos, mas tem uma estrutura muito forte, ainda novo. No apresenta o cara de *omi garandi*, mas ele é *omi garandi*. Há outro que menos, menor idade mas se veres o corpo todo vai tal como... *omi mas garandi*.

[C] E o seu marido já é um *omi garandi*, ou ainda não?

[\*] *Nha omi? Kil i ka puli!! [laughs] Kil ka puli! Kil tene 48 anos!*

[laughs]

[C] *Omi garandi também tene conhecimento...*

[\*] Sim sim.

[C] E é pessoa que se porta bem com todos..

[\*] Sim sim

[C] Obrigada. *I kaba dja.*

## 2.7 \*\*\*, CURANDEIRO FULA, ANONYMOUS

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines C, B

February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Jemberem

Mamadou translates the interview

[M] *Suma, suma poder tradicional, suma si tene problema na tabanca, i ta contra djenti di Estado ki ta tervi e tal servidu no.. I harmonia na regulado, kau di comité e imam pa djenti conta bardade, e kaba ku problema e ta contra ke são ghoutra ki ta fassi — e ta sibi, e ta misti sibi di kil la, i ta punta punta kil djenti, su tipo la... boh, kil si tambi punta si fassi algum mesinhu tradicional pa kungsi, i misti punta punta di ki las tambi... E djenti tambi ki ta tene baloba, kuma ki ta trabalha, i ta misti intrevista kil pa sibi. Kau ki ta passa ghoutro si algum problema si ten doença kuma ki ta conseguiu fazer um... assim, kil ki bin pa bu... Para manha pro bu ar tchoma na manga de djenti, só ke no estaba la para manha ku algum garandi, ma ka toda djenti pabia ki ka lembra conta ghoutro djenti, di noiti ki tchiga, i tchiga kuma kusa di meia noite assim... dipus no sinta la próprio e bin, di sã, i mim lembra di bu, e fala eh! Odja saiu fala e no pa — la, então i bardade [...]*

[\*] *Amin i ka obi kriol diritu, na papia Fula, na mantal na kriol, ma...*

[...]

[speaking Fula - the son will translate to creole]

[Son] *El.. I ka cura manga di tudo tipo di doença, ele i ka kunga ai na primeiro doença, na parte di... tenson.. Kel la, i ta cura, porque manga do djentis ki passa li, outro ki sta Bissau ke tas e manda djenti lebal te kel, pa bu na bai kil zona ki na bai buscal, — kil próprio bin buscal —*

[C] *E o que é que consegue tratar? Que tipo de doenças?*

[M] *I fala.. Kal tipo di doença ke ta conseguiu tratar..*

[Son] *Suma kil mesinhu?*

[M] *Kil mesinhu di terra e assim...*

[C] *Doenças da cabeça, doenças de mão do pe..*

[Son] *I boh! Di kil parte, i ten manga de mesinhu di preto ki ta trabadja, i ka kuma só kil ki ta trabadja. I ten outro manga di mesinhu suma du di barriga... algun pudi bai li barriga ka sta diritu, i — i tene —? Dura, outros bai até Bissau bu sibi kuma bu si panhau, outro si bai até Bissau bu sibi kuma bu si panhau. Outro bai até Bissau pa volta ma fala nbo! No ka odja doença...boi.. Kil também i passa ai manga di djenti ki ta tisido.. E ke du.. Kau — ki sta bai i diarreia, só sangue, — kil ki i djito, i kina... kuma naquele kau. Outro ta tursi, i tursi i consigui também sai ku sangue, i fala na i tuberculose, i ten i tal, i —*

[M] *Kil tambi i ta cura. Percebeu?*

[C] *Sim, sim sim. E desde quando é que começou a fazer essas coisas? A fazer.. A conseguiu tratar as pessoas?*

[Son] *Es.. I ka kuma... i tara dja, porque bu si kuma pekadur, no ka na kungsi djunto di bu kau kungsi no... i tudo kunsimento invocado um bocado. Papia ki nos, kil tempo ke li bin li, manga djenti si ka sibi kil la, ma — i tene ca kil —, então i sibi, i ka fala, ngostal, i bin pa nha kau, pabia .... Dja tene di pa kungsi di tal pa fala kungsi nha trabalho... ku ki tal trabalho kil ki ta fassi, ma suma odja onde.. Se bu kungsi kil ki di trabalho, pudi bin di abo - e*

*fala nbo, amin tene um mim kau la e tene assim assim assim ki na passa, logo i ta bin di, bin di su kau.. Gos, tudi djenti, manga de djenti — manga de djenti si passa li*

[M] *Amin i ka ta obi si nomi kungsi, amin, na obi na obi, e pensa kuma ki kungsi aí comersu?*

[son] *Yooo! I kuma.. Manga di djenti, manga de... ke quase... tarbadjo, manga de bias toda hora, alguém ta bin, na misti el, kel ki manda bos, e ka tene kil conhecimento pabia di kil ki prepara... — manga di djenti mas suma ki es contal, amin tal kusa ka fassi. — mas agora ki alguin ki passa pa tal kusa e na manda choma kel outra ki cumpanha ku nel pa pudi mostral kuma ki ta fassi assim ki ta... manga de doença.*

[C] *E como é que aprendeu? De onde é que vem esse conhecimento? Desenvolveu aos poucos?*

[M] *I fala... kuma ki consegui kungsi mesinhu? Consegui kuma, djenti ki pudi através di kuma, si pape ki fassil bo, e tal mandal ki lebantal kil kusa, si nbo si pape ta mostral, hora ki si pape i bin toma, boh, eli i ka fica i iarde aqui kusa, e kuma ki el conseguiu eli herdado o odjal, o kuma kil..?*

[son] *Eehh manga di kusa si sta la i herdado, bu si kuma, eh ora bu sta perto di garandi, sempre sta acompanha si programa, abo também la ku na proveita bocado bocado, bo odja... eli um trabadjo, i ka tene kungsi tudo dja, ma através kunsimento di ku djubi na tabanca kil ki manda gos i tene — ma si il sta ku bu e bu odja tal kusa nal kusa si riba... bu i kuma... i pudi choma, nfala kuma ki manha i pudi trabalho, ba si, ba si kil no i sai? Boh...*

[M] *Percebeste?*

[C] *Não tudo.*

[M] *Ele de forma que ele aprendeu, com o pai dele, porque ele estava perto dele quando o pai vai procura de palha ou raízes, tabaco, companha com.. Aquele começa a explicar esse, palha de tal pó, e tabaco faz tal doença tal doença, ele começa a aprender esse, até hoje...*

[C] *A fazer as coisas..*

[M] *Normalmente o...*

[Fula]

[son] *Boh, suma caso di — i há complicason, es i ki ta fassi, mas então... tene sido manga desse kusas, e mato sta la... porque es tambi.. Primeiro no, i no dja tene —, i ka tene kil doente i ta bin... — boh, amin na fala, amin na cura kil doença, el i fala, amin na cura kil doença! Fassi di bai, i kal cural, un di si bin ki kil doença i si sta la na Bafata... boh, kil nka ti si tene, kil tene cura di profisan, mas manga di djenti odja ki só ta manda, só passal nome, kil i sta — assim ki consegui curar manda de doença si nta cura caba... i ta, tipo só.. Mas suma bu bin pó punta, kin bocado bocado..*

[M] *Esse, esse, esse..*

[C] *E o senhor começou porque gostava de fazer isso ou porque foi o pai que deu o impulso para ele começar?*

[M] *Boh, i punta.. Si ki bu pudi explical, amin na sibi kuma ki é, mal el misti sibi, i fala se contra el, i gosta di fassi mesinhu su pa djenti ou se si pape fical lel ou se kuma, ou se contra, só hora ke odjal alguém sta doente i odja na cansa e ta fala npudi oh! Contral e pegal só kuma ki su pape mostral bo... e ba ta fassi kil la, se contra kil la ki pudi pegal, ou...*

[son] *Boh...*

[Fula]

[son] *Kuma outro doença ki sala, kil i i arrala di... mas deu manga di kusa ki sta la, suma ta ianda, bu si odja — e ianda buscadil. Bu ta bai buscadil ia e ta sai ku do sintidu. Assim tambi fala ku prestason na, kusa di djenti, — — la ku na prendi manga de kusas, odja kuma — mas misti pudil, mas sempre ten kus... sigi bali, e ka consigui tene, porquê.. Manga di doença ki ta cural la, kil la i ka kuma i namonio sin garandi la, ma i di.. Busca vida, na*

*kil conseguiu odjal, pabia — trabadjo dele.. Caba manga de djenti ki bin passa nel e bu odja.. Kalki no djuntal. Porque um kusa bu ka na ten só pa busca kel... dinheiro.*

[M] Ya ya ya ya.

[son] *Ma i ka pudi dinheiro di ki tal maneira... i ta misti ora ki bu toma dinheiro, na manhã-manhã, pa i convinsi bu tisi mal.*

[M] E assim assim... *akil i verdade...*

[C] E.. O conhecimento que você teve e começou a usar todas as ervas e as plantas que encontra no *mato*, tem alguma coisa a ver com os *irâns* que estão no mato, ou não esta completamente desligado?

[M] *Boh.. I fala se conhecimento suma ki ta usa palha pa trabadja.. Si contra el... amin sibi el ki ta fassi, mas el i na punta.. Si contra si trabalha esta a ver com kusa di irân um bocado assim pa mostral como nbo tal doença assim suma kil.. Djambakoses, no sibi djambakoses, no sibi djambakoses ki muro ku curandeiro tradicional, i diferente... papia djambakos i mistura um bocado kusa di irân, e fassi assim... kil ki misti sibi si contra trabalho dele ku pai está relacionado ku kusa di irân.*

[son] *Boh... di kil parte, i ka ta trabalha aquele. Por exemplo, kuma ki ta trabalha.. Si abo bu sta doente, então odja i problema di mon, então mon i sta doente, i tene outra formas ki até aleba, e bu pudi bin la, e bu fala, fala ku nos, amanhã pa manhã pudi bin. E ten ki il na fassi? Liga pa manhã e pudi sibi, kal inda ki bu si mola antes do pega kil.. Bu trabalho. Bu sibi tuda hora ki si misti djuba ma si misti bu simola ka sai, i ka na pudi djuda.*

[M] Você percebeu? Eu vou, eu vou reforçar.. Boh, ele trabalha de forma, ele nunca trabalha com *irâns*. Sabe que, que o livro sagrado que é o Corão... há outras passagens, se alguém esteve doente ele vai fazer a *orason* no nome de você, a noite quando ele dorme, Deus vai mostrar-lhe ele todo, qual é o doença que você tem, ele vai saber, se ele pode ele vai saber, se ele não pode, não vai dizer... ele trabalha dessa forma, nunca ele faz coisas de *irân*...

[C] Tem nada a ver...

[M] Ele tem um sabedoria dessa parte, de saber, quando você lhe dizer, eu estou doente, porque as vezes no no tabanca o africano sabe, quando alguém teve doente, a gente fala que boh! Tem um feiticeiro, você conhece o problema de feiticeiro?

[C] Ah, essa é outra coisa!

[M] Vampiro! Outras coisas.. E as vezes a gente diz isso, fazem isso, ou assim se acontecer que ele, bem ele vai fazer a *orason* dele, para saber faz a *orason*, se contra esta gente que são atrás de você para fazer outra coisa, como inveja outras coisas, ele vai saber. *Dipus, dipus* que ele sabe isso, ele tem o tipos de.. Pó o *nasi*? Escrita que ele vai fazer no nome de Deus, fazer pó de lavar com ele, *dipus, o malar* vai afastar a correr então... ele faz isso, mas ele nunca trabalha com *irân*.

[C] E consegue tratar até doenças das pessoas quando tem alguma coisa mal dentro, que passa mal na cabeça, uma pessoa não consegue lidar bem com o mundo? Uma doença que não é só no corpo... ele consegue também tratar desse tipo de doença?

[M] *Boh, i fala... si contra, i ta consigui fazer algun doenças ki ta cansa alguin dintro di corpu ki ta contra manga di djenti suma, outros si tene...*

[son] *Problema di cabeça...*

[M] *Problema di cabeça... outros i contra i dudu... mas suma ki no caba la coisa di timbeirinha, suma i outro la choma timbeirinha, ta kungsi fassil um bocado... logo ku ta sai fora pa djenti pa ta parcebi.. Si contra e ta consigui fassi aquil la, pa si dono sta na normaldade, si ta fassi kil tipo do doença... si ta fassi cura...*

[Fula]

[son] *Kuma djenti tene doença.. Sempre i ka pudi cural kil la. Si dono tene ki bin pa odjal, i pudi bin i ta fala nhes, choma si nome, completamente, logo.. I fassi misti iagu?. Tudo kil ki su mola bin mostra, logo i na fala nboh, bu si mora [...] Na pudi cural ou ka pudi cural. Manga de djenti esta bin li, mas si ki no ta fala algo bin, e no fala u si mola logo si su mola sei. Antes di no kungsi eli di kil trabalho a di mezinho. E no conta el di kil si mola, e fassi tudo di tabanca —*

[M] *Explical ele medjor na kil passagen di.. — si ka trabadja ku irâns, bu falan não i ka ta trabadja ku irâns, ma i ten forma ki ta fassi si alguém na bin busca mesinhu, i contal kil ku na de, ka ta pui mesinhu awos.*

[son] *Mmm, não, si la só...*

[M] *I ka pui si no, i ka toma si nome, i pui nome di si mame o si pape, dipus na falal ki tene livro sagrado, ki tene orasons, e el ke ki sabi kil la, e ta fassi, suma pai choma pa orar no nome di si pape fassi dipus deus na mostral kil la, tudo ki kila na bai, dipus di kil agora, i na sibi kuma ki na trabalha pa djenti.. Si no fas il, e fas i outro ku pôs, i fala les bu na bibi, bu bai la labal. Se contra kil maus djenti ki staba si tras tudo nu corpu. Na kil passagem di irân, fassi kil colegau la.*

[son] *É assim.. Em tempo di, kil i fala assim ... i ten manga de caminhos. Pabia tem outro caminho e alguém pudi fassi o... i sta contra bo, pa pudi dana bu trabalho. E tene kil ki sta contra bu si só, e ku il i manda sempre na papia di trabalho. Si bu kunsu trabalho..*

[M] *É assim assim assim...*

[son] *Bu.. Tem que firma. Se, se, se tudo ki dana, no seu kau, ka na baliu ka na balil. Só pa dana vida. Boh... kil tipo di — aí i ta cural. Manga di djenti si bin li e passa aí, outro sta na Bissau e pudi bin la, e “ah amin gora trabalha tal co ma, trabalha ka sta curri, porque outros kusas na era kil ke.. Esperaba. Poh.. Si pu — e pudi conta só si nome, e fassil lo.. Hora ki noiti passa, pudi ligal bo gos, tira esse ku esse, bu pudi djuda bu busca di mesinhu, ta tambi passa li manga di djenti... ma ta sempre trabalho, e ki ten ki odjal i antis di... no trabalho.*

[M] *Sim sim sim, é assim. Normalmente neste sentido ele faz outros mas não faz outros. Primeiramente ele tem que saber qual é o tipo de doença ou de cabeça, se ele for dudu, porque há outros que apanham e não é dudu, mas é que estar de fuscú... mmmm, no fuscú... se ele ver isso, ele pode fazer isso...*

[C] *Consegue?*

[M] *Mmmm consegue fazer isso...*

[C] *E já, já teve pessoas que lhe pediram para tratar daquelas crianças, aquela criança ki ka padido diritu ki choma di meninu di irân?*

[M] *Nboh! I fala... si contra, i ta consigui... fassi tratamento.. Bu sibi, ten djentis, na Africa, i ka tudo djenti ki tene... porque difindi, i difindi di tradison, tradison.. Na outro kau... boh, si bu contal i ta fala ku pekadur i ta pudi padir irân.*

[son] *Na, ka pudi...*

[M] *Pekadur ka pudi padir irân.. Mas djenti sta odjal di tudo um bocado ka sta bem, i na baba, i fala kil i ka pekadur. Outro sta papia. E começa anda ianda, nabal, djambakos, baloba, nka sibi kis, muros, tudo... kin ki obi dja kuma, i ta —... depende di fé, se bu ka tene fé, tudo kusa ki fala bu na pega.*

[son] *Bu na pega alin.*

[M] *Bu i na fala si contra djenti ta consigui tasil ki kil djenti kil meninu ki pa — ta diritu, ki baba, outro ki — ki fala casos di irân.*

[son] *No manga di djenti ta tasil li, porque li... —, trabalha com si kunsimento e pouco pouco di..*

[M] *Pouco pouco di.. Sim.*

[son] *Manga di djenti sta bem li! Primeiro bai. Qual su bizinho li, ma gos papia forma.. Si bu bin, kusa passa diritu, ma sempre mas i pudi qualquer na bai pa — li...*

[M] Claro, sim sim sim.

[son] *Bu ta, tisil... bu chomal kil tipo de....suma eu no... eu, eu no vizinho, então onde si bai kil ta medjor? Um di kil silos... e sula si no ba... sabe quase, ma i bin pa kil tipo di kusa la assim... dana corpu sim... — dentro parte, boia! Baz tempo li, mas aquela tam... ali gol, — sali mindjer, gos ki sai li e ta bin gos, e sinta li diritu... assim, kusa normal...*

[M] *Kil ki kusa bin ele... i nka sibi in kal tempo, amin i pouco dias ki i odjal.*

[son] ... *enton i bin li di li na na..*

[M] *Kil, kil próprio odjal...*

[son] *Ma odja kil misti li bu na kal... se ta, i ta... concentrason dentro...*

[M] *Mah, verdade amin ndjal mas nka sibi si di sta interado — si na passa de la...*

[son] Deus obrigado.

[M] E assim pronto.

[son] *E son ki estaba aí na ghandanda ki saidu.. Gurate. Kil também i assim, i ta dana, um kusa assim.. Mas dina ki si papia bin li... mas eles, nsibi, boh! I sta la.*

[M] *Sibi, sibi sibi.*

[son] *Bu odja, kil i ku manda di i ki bin li i Queta, suma i queta gosi ki si dana ki kusa ki si dentro casa.. Boh, — . Pa ka misti djudal, pekadur é assim, si amin ka misti djudal, i misti djudal tal kusa ki na sinti pa bo.. — i ta dixa.*

[M] *I asin asin.*

[son] Nboh, i asin...

[M] *Bo percebi tudo? Boh, el consigo fassi outro, conseguir fazer, saber que outros todo processo.. Se Deus dá o poder resolve outros, se não há outros.. I ka pudi, ma i ta pudi fassi outro..*

[C] Sim, ele pode, ele consegue... só mais umas perguntas. O senhor já é um *omi garandi*, certo? E na sua opinião, um *omi garandi*, porque que ele é *garandi*? É só uma questão de idade, ou tem.. Alguma outra coisa para além, tem que ser uma pessoa boa, tem que ser uma pessoa que se importa muito com a família... ou todas as pessoas que ja tem idade ja são *omi garandi*? Mesmo que sejam bons e que sejam maus?

[...]

[M] *I fala.. Pabia ki pudi falar ki alguin kuma omi garandi. Si contra maneira ki alguém ser bom ou, ou si tene conhecimento ou i pabia di idade, pabia i tene manga di anos ki no falado di omi garandi?*

[son] *Mmm, i assim... di kil tambi, i... i ta si caminho, porque i tene manga di djenti ki ta bin li, e ta passa kil tipo di condison, mas bu sibi kuma se um kusa tene — bu sinti konta di alguém, só cansa, bu na conta... i kil também, caminho i ten. Porquê..manga de djenti, manga de djenti passa li, cada kal conta kal ki su sentimento. Temos di kil tipo di caso ki ta bin ali, fica li, um som di kil ki sta li. Mas kil ki bin pa li, ki fala.. Tio, amin ka na riba, pabia di ke... amin sibi kin ki nha morada? Ka pudi riba nalla... bu odja.. I casa fidja di.. Pane entra ki se ne. Nome ki ta pirdi... colega di tal Mallalah, ma... — i fidja di irmão di —. I badjuda preto...[locate the house, in Cadic, closeby balanta tabanca] i bin i passa kil tipo di kusa, ma i bin li. La — fala no djubi, amin fala ka riba, pabia di ke? I nunca, i nunca i conta si mamé. Ma hora di ki bin di bo.. Durante uma sumana i falan tio... amin ka pudi paga. Em momenti nka tene dinheiro. Ma i bai i tene — su kau, omi.. Amin passa. Pabia amin, i passa passa passa tris antis di tchiga li. Mas dina ke tchiga li, no odja kau...*

[M] *Bu odja diferença sim...*

[son] *Kil assim ki kuma si dono... padido n kel.. Si passa li, ten manga di formas di kil kusas...*

[M] Entende?

[C] Quase tudo...

[M] Acabou?

[C] Só mais uma pergunta. Esses meninos, que a gente chama de *meninu di irân*, acha-se que são perigosos, que estão, que tem alguma coisa, qual é que é a vossa ideia? Qual é que é a ideia que eles tem?

[M] de... de que?

[C] Daquele *meninu di irân*...

[M] Aaahhh.... Do homem ou da criança?

[C] Sim, do homem

[M] *Nboh, i riba mas punta sobre kil menino ta fala kuma i irân, irân... bo kel ki el ki ta pensa di kil la, se i na bardade irân, ou i kuma maneira di, maneira di.. Maneira ki deus tirar kil ki traseu irân... kal ki ideia ke kil ten pa kil la..*

[son] *Nboh, outros i sta la, i bardade pronto, i irân pronto. Mas tene outros i sta la, i ta panha, mon ti panha, pé ti panha, kil tudo bin di... cuntra ku bento, — si mame i kusa di laba-fusca.. Boh, i tene outros também, i bu odjal hora ki padido, la ki ta kungsi, pa i meninu ki tudo — ta tchora, di noite toh! Ma uno ki bai ta si tirsi. Ate pega tchora tchora, bu ka — i sta na qualke kusa i na corpu, uma bentu, assim. Akil i tambí i conseguí cural, ta conseguí cural porque si bu bin pa odja kuma.. Deus djuntar dum kel parte e tal cural...*

[M] Sim, ele entende outro que normalmente é o por causa de *irân*, porque depende daquele coisa que estava a dizer ele tem que fazer as coisas de futuro, quando ele faz ele aquele oração, deus mostra ele as coisas do futuro que bin antes, dipus através di isso ele vai saber esse criança. Senão... quer transformar o *irân*, porque na outro *tradison*, *irân* gosta muito de pessoa humanos e gosta deles e ele vai fazer o poder mais tradicional.. E ele quer transformar aquela criança... mas ele consegue que fazer outra.. Por outros, ...

[C] Então, ele, o senhor não acha que estes meninos são perigosos, ou são maus?

[M] *Boh, si contra... bo ka ta odja kuma outros i perigo, pa fassi si trabadjo...*

[C] Ou para si, ou para todos.

[M] *O si bu contra i ta mau pa tudo, ni pa bo próprio...*

[son] *Nboh, nsibi ki tene outros i ta camba.*

[M] *Claro.*

[son] *Kil tipo di doença i ta camba. Kil hora ku na fassi alguém parel, primeiro kusa: bu ten ke fassi ainda pa bu cabeça, ki bu.. Morança.*

[M] Barreira, sim..

[son] *Bu sibi gos gora kuma kumpul, bu fassi ainda primeiro a bu cabeça pa bu kungsi gora fassi pa bu próprio, ki kil ta também i.. Só pa si dono pagau, porque se u ka pagal, i pudi bin riba na bo. E...*

[M] *E na bai go, e na bai pa um di bu fidjo...*



[son] *E na bai pa um di bu fidjo. E kil la ku na manda manga di djenti ki cura kil tipo di doença... si ka kungsi kal caminho ke di dianda, então i ainda tene problema di filhos di.. Si fidjo tene kil tipo di problema. I kil i ku manda kil tipo di doença, antes di bu kunsu cural, bu ten ke puntal el diritu? Porque é um doença perigo. Porque tenes, mindjeres ki tene cabeça ki bate elis, li la e ta kamba, e ka ta sibi. Ma si bu sibi cural, é um kusa fasil. Primeiro onde ku na kunsu na bo, — porque se bu cural, kunsu na bai ta kamba no.*

[M] Ele estava a dizer, é perigo. Normalmente você fazer o tratamento daquele tipo de menino, é perigo.

[C] Perigo, porquê?

[M] Perigo para o próprio quem faz o tratamento, porque quando faz a isso, porque *irân* sempre pega outro — se sabe que você que estava a facilitar a vida daquele, ele vai transformar para si... Depois senão ele *kungsi* que ele vai ver o mundo do seu filho la em casa, ele vai transformar isto... então ele sabe que ten que fazer dois trabalhos, ate três. Um para ele próprio, um para morança de todos os filhos, depois começa agora o tratamento disso...

[C] Tratar o menino..

[M] Porque é coisa que transforma... e os fazem-nos... é por isso que o perigo para fazer isso...

[C] E esses meninos, pelo que entendi, tem alguma coisa de diferente, como tem *irân* no meio, então *i ta diferente di kil outro pekadur? O i ka ta diferente? Ma pekadur normal, i tene alma, kil ka tene? Ki... i pudi tal um pekadur sim alma?* Pode existir?

[M] *Nboh.. I sta no fala, i fala kuma.. Pekadur normal, pekadur, si contra i ka tene alma, ou i ka ta tene alma...*

[C] Ou se pode existir pekadur sem alma.

[M] *Ou se tem um pekadur, um alguim ki existe e ka tene alma...*

[son] *Kil la... i difcil. Sempre pekadur.. I ten ku tene alma dentro. Eehh... e ten outros pekadur, suma ka tene alma pa bibi, então é difcil, um bocado... sempre na bin, manga di doenças esta la, e pekadur, próprio ta fassil, su mais parte di irân, i outro kusa, alguém pode sai li lebau, e bai danau... e bu odjal e ta pupa, e ta fala di irân, ma i ta odja contra, i pekadur ki fassi kel.*

[M] *Claro. Outro esta... hora ki el ki acabou di si, Deus ki da el poder. I taro ba na ki irâns.. Irâns ki ta fala no cafre.. I falan no misti pa bu djudal. Porque cada kil, suma ki no tene amigos, misti pa bu djuban, se abo — misti pa bo djubal, pa moe tal di ko e su kau di alguim assim, — rouba nakilakilas e bin contra.*

[son] *Sim, mas i manga di kusas passa li.. Ta bin falal misti pa bin djudal fula, boh, eli ki la barraca e ta falal, no, amin, es, ta bai ka te nel..i ka tene cabeça. Mas se deus da um kusa, bu ka pudi sinta quel tan assim. Porque se awos um dia nka ta djudal, então ntene, nka djudau, sinti agora... kil djenti ki murri, di kin djuda-djuda-djudau... assim i ka ta diritu. Akil i manda, sempre igual, assim, to no obi i kungsi consigui sai...*

[M] *I asin.*

[son] *Gos, kil ki el manda, manga de djenti sta bem li, ke el próprio gos bai bai na bias e ta torna difcil, porque tudo djenti ta bin, tudo djenti ta bin, kil ki manda gos, e el sinta dja num kau. Manga di si programa gos mi — e ianda e fassi, assim, porque gos djenti tudo kungsi kil tipo di trabalho, outra vez djenti ki contra ku bento, outro menino ki ka ta durmi di noite.. I asin...*

[..]

[M] *Nboh, pekadur nunca existe sem alma, talvez deve ser mas, ele não sabe disso, talvez em outra parte, mas nunca na história nunca pekadur pode existir sem alma..*

[C] *E quando que pekadur murri, nunde ki alma bai?*

[laughs]

[C] *É bu opinião, é opinião!*

[F] *Bu sibi... no odja...*

[M] *Na bardade, kil ki ta pui djenti ta si punta.. Porque na manga di kau djenti ta sã na — gente ta falam pekadur alma tudo moral mas tudo ta — i por isso que também sai pa punta pa sibi kuma ki kusa sai.. Tanto djenti ki na punta ki na fala, no alma, na fassi assim e assim, outro no odja assim e assim... é esse.*

[son] *Ba i kil la.. É um pergunta ma i fácil. Bu sibi kuma no libro di —*

[M] *Claro.*

[son] *I tene un punta ba.. I deus manda e odja kuma ki pekadur i caba. Ma i fala tudu i ki manda i bai tisin, alma di pekadur. Si bu nta bai te, odja pekadur ke sta la, ta sinti, ta tras kil i di pudi e fala, aaah! Nô-jallah, ma nka pudi. Assim, ki bai ate naquilo último, kil amin i fala, amin si bu manda, tudo ki bu manda na fassi. I bu la.. I fala, bai tisin alma di tal —.. Ki bai diretamente tisin, e fala, ah amin tasil.. E larga kil outro tudo e fala, bom a partir de awos, bo ku ne savelade? — só dia ki na bai e mandal vai tasil aí... i kil ki ta bai? Boh, pekadur i assim, i ka pudi bibi sin alma, porque alma pekadur, pekadur corpu tudo i caba, mas se alma i tirado só na bo, nunde ku na bai? I ta suma hora ku bu kumpu.*

[M] *E gora nunde ki kil trabadja?*

[laughs]

[son] *Bon, kila dja, Deus ki completa suma su ki bu kumpu — se bin na ? Lá, i na bai! I ka pudi bai. Se bu tira só fala — tudo kil programa — bu... Pekadur. Kil i só i deus.*

[C] *I trabalho de deus...*

[son] *É deus.. Anos i pekadur i tchiga.*

## 2.8 “FODÉ” DEDÉ ANDRADE, RÉGULO OF CACHEU

Interviews sample 3

Guidelines B, C

February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019  
Cacheu

[Claudia] Já é muito tempo que é regulo?

[Fodé Dedé] Desde...Foi tudo, 1982 né? 1982 assumi cargo quase 1991-92... estou aqui desde 1993.

[C] ‘93! ‘93, ‘93... então são quase 25 anos!

[FD] Mas ‘96 que tomei todo posse completo, mas foi empossado, tomei posse no dia [..]. De agosto de ‘82, 1982, para cumprir todos os requisitos foi em 1992, porque tive que fugir, não estava interessado, queria ir... Portugal, ir a Portugal jogar, Portugal, porque sou futebolista... Não queria assumir isso, passei dez anos, deixei Cacheu foi para Bissau, para ver se podia para Portugal, a jogar, e pronto, mas já tinha um contrato com a equipa de Odivelas que era 2a divisão, naquela época, foi em 1983. Mas pronto as coisas ficaram atadas e não consegui ir para... fizeram tuda coisa para eu regressas, e me assumir as coisas que... [light laugh].

[C] Porque tinha que ser você? Porque você e não escolheram alguma outra pessoa?

[FD] Não, não isso não pode.. Não pode ser assim, é uma coisa que vai de geração, é uma linhada. Pois. Até tenho irmãos mais velhos de que mim, tenho dois, mas estes não ... depende do *coracon* daquele que.... As [...] então, *nha dona murri* ‘82. ‘82 *nha dona murri* e deu cargo, *cargal ma amin i ka misti sumi kil cargo papia ki era jovem e jugavam bem e misti ma, i ka seta. I bai pa Bissau. E vira vira caminho fitcha, porque tinha contrato com Odivelas, e manda contra [...] pegava tudo, tudo! Vira 2 anos 3 tinha que bai Sporting, ma Sporting [...] Passa, Sporting, bai para Farim, bai pa Massaba, [...] Então havia saúde, saúde ka ten e tinha que voltar! Hora ki suade ka ten i na punta e falo bai pa su povo e volta bu terra.*

[...]

[FD] Então, *tene que voltar, tudo bom, saúde tene complica di mas dja, kusa di terra, tene ki volta pa terra pa ba subí, i ka pudí subí dja mas di kil bo, i pronto... e fassi volta, pa sumi... foi em 1993.*

[C] Estava a falar em requisitos para cumprir...?

[FD] Eh, tem que ser da geração. Tem que ser na geração, não pode ser outra pessoa de fora, a não ser, outra geração... não pode ser pessoa alta, ou pessoa bonita, ou pessoa magro, ou gorda, não isso não funciona assim, tem que ser por *gerason* e tem que por espírito daquele, daquele **som** di *gerason*, não é comum né.

[C] Uma pessoa tem que ter capacidades para conseguir...

[FD] Em todo o sentido, e o coração também tem que ser duma pessoa que... gosta. Sabe -- **ordar** as coisas.

[C] E como é que funciona o ritual de posse?

[FD] Sabes, sabes que há muitas etnias na Guiné... cada um de nós... Nós somos mais de etnia de Felupes, nos fizemos as coisas como Felupe, como primos primos-*ermoms* com Felupe. E Kassanga também. Somos diferente ao Manjaco e outra etnia. Então.. As coisas não são assim, nós fazemos as cerimónia com Felupe, de Buloba, conhece Buloba, nunca foste la?

[C] Ainda não..

[...]

[FD] Kal ki é entrevista, kal ki bu misti sibi, kal ki na misti djubi..

[C] *Akil na misti sibi, kuma,, kuma ki é ritual di posse di poder di regulo, na tradição, e se isso é feito com.. Se isso tene pessoas di regulado, se tene também pessoa di antepassado, se tene irân... kuma ki esse funciona?*

[Cambraima] *Kuma ki bu toma posse?*

[FD] *Amin i conta, toma posse i diferente, cada etnia tene si maneira toma posse, e tene etnia, por exemplo suma Manjaco, i pudi choma tudo djenti, sesson di Estado, para pudi bin trevi pa mate, ou pas ki di nô, na mulher ka pudi sta la, na toma posse [...] Então, coisas está diferente, cada raça tene si maneira ki ta... fassi si cerimonia. Muçulmano também tene di si, Fula tene, Mandinga tene, kuma kil aí toma posse, inclusive [...] Toma posse di Goré [...] Cada kal tene si maneira, cada etnia tene si modo, si cerimónias, pode bin mas di irân, nê? Sei que irâns, pronto, kil toma posse. Ten kil ki bai perguntar se comer assim, pa sacrificar galinha pa djubi si tene direito se ka tene direito, mas di mim, kil di mim i diferente papia.... Di mim, i pudi fala na gerason i diferente, porque di mim antes di, antes de [...] Nha dona, ki escolhido entrel, pegal na mon pa bin pa mato pa mostrar di mim ka ten ke bin djubi galinha! Porque ghoutro sta a murri e leba um ano, dois anos, pa conta sibi, e djubi kil ki... coisa na pega, ma deve mesmo aquele [...] Ki bai pa interro. Coisa complica dja! Tinha que ser amin! Amin só que na resisti banca sta interessado [laughs], ke era pa bo bin kil altura ki sou candidato, ui, estava longe disso...*

[C] Era novo ainda quando tornou-se regulo?

[FD] 17 ainda, 17-18.. *Ka ta konta, kel ki manda recusa nega profundamente... Papia i sinta reunion, garandi sinta reunion, vinha chatea, e sibi ki ka ta cumprir [laughs] ma pronto!*

[C] Novo, novo ainda...

[FD] Novo, 17-18 anos... *cabesa ke pensa ke tene banana, Poder normal.*

[C] Mas esta a gostar, afinal?

[FD] Aaah, não, não sou... tem que ser!!!

[C] E onde é que acontece o ritual de toma posse? Nunde?

[FD] *Nô, nas gerason di Felupe no fassi na mato, mato sagrado. Capaz que outra etnia i fasso na casa. Sim i coisa diferente, nà fassil na mato. E só omi ki ta participa lá, es ke cerimonia é tudo uma sumana, máximo uma sumana e pronto... e fica para mato e fassi -- omi, di gerason nê, se estão a aparecer homens ki ka cumprir deveres tradicional, [...] até contra, para muitas coisas!*

[C] E o poder do seu regulado vai até onde? Todo Cacheu?

[FD] Todo Cacheu, todo lado, *tabanca, ka ta coisa....* Como é que se diz, --.... Já tem outro regulado.

[C] E como regulo tem deveres, tem que fazer algo para as pessoas que estão dentro do regulado, ou eles que fazem algo para o regulo?

[FD] Ah, dantes, do nosso antepassados... eles que faziam, mas agora, eu que faco, porque não dou nada com jovens, precisam que ir jogar, tenho que arranjar meios para eles ir jogar, alguns que não tem meios de pagar propinas de escolas, os pais chegam ali... olha regulo, o meu filho já não vai a escola uma semana, duas semanas, eu também tenho que ajudar... mas dantes não, eles tinham que trazer cabras, cabritos, mulheres... mas agora não!

[C] Já não fazem...

[FD] Não [laughs out loud] agora eu que faco!

[C] Já é o contrário.

[FD] É o contrário, todas as gerasons....

[C] E se eles tiverem algum problema, referem-se a si?

[FD] Sim sim, se há problema, depois eu que solicito a autoridade.

[C] Em qualquer tipo de problema?

[FD] Ah, pode qualquer tipo...

[C] E eles não vão a autoridade de Estado, preferem que seja o regulo?

[FD] Ah, problemas, sou eu! Se dá para recolher cá, recolhemos. São uma resistência que não é, tanto difícil... senão peço a intervenção do Estado. Exatamente que já temos o coiso lá... o acesso a justiça nê...

[C] Mas primeiro é consigo. E, eu ouvi falar num caso que são os *meninus di irân*, e queria saber, no caso de numa família nasce um menino desse, refere-se a si?

[FD] Bos, posso dizer que em Cacheu nunca recebi um caso desse.

[C] Nunca?

[FD] Nunca nunca nunca... Porque mais, esse, acontece mais com etnia Balanta, Manjaco é difícil etnia, mais com etnia Balanta. As vezes é difícil de aperceber, eles escondem e fazem [laughs] mais com etnia Balanta, mas essa coisa já não chegou a mim essas coisas...

[C] Mas você sabe o que é, *meninu di irân*?

[FD] Ah... Isso da para **deletar**, não dá para tentar porque vida na Europa, os problemas que se proxe... [laughs] entrar na vida duma pessoa nê? Mas o pensamento... dá o resto. Eu não entro nessas coisas. [laughs] não acredito tão.

[C] Não?

[FD] Não não, não acredito tão. Pode ser, mas não muito! Mas... o defeito de nascimento... Alguns que são verdade, não todos, mas sabem que... é verdade... Pois por exemplo não tomar banho nas zonas muito isoladas no rio... então, aparece aquele *satanas*, que entra na barriga de... acontece... Acontece.

[C] E aqui nunca aconteceu, ainda bem!

[FD] Sim, nunca recebi desses casos... ouvi, mas ninguém nunca me pediu... Mas por etnia Balanta, eles que fazem essas coisas...

[C] Depois tantos anos a estar aqui no regulado, nunca pensou em trabalhar também no poder do Estado, juntar as duas coisas?

[FD] Já trabalhei no Estado...

[C] Já?

[FD] Já trabalhei no armazém do povo, quando no '80s, '86, '87, '88... até fim do armazém do povo, problemas zona de Oio, o — ao pé de **Moresse**, ele — a sua arrumação naquela zona, trabalhei como encarregado de — de povo, e neste momento tenho um parceiros, empresários que são portugueses, e vão investigar na área agropecuária, com 25.000euros, e por isso que eu fui à tabanca aí até mata, hoje a procura de espaço, já encontrei espaço, e empresários são capazes de chegar dia 15 de, a 16 que é para vir e empregar os jovens, que é para empregar os jovens.

[C] É ótimo!

[FD] É ótimo, porque nos... agropecuária, é uma coisa... esta a ver... temos de... também vamos ter [...] 80, porque todos, essa obra pode durar dois anos, depois de obra... se tem trabalho, tem. Somos empregados..

[C] Mas então depois a obra dura. Mesmo que demore dois anos, mas depois fica aí um 20-30 anos e dá trabalho. Isso é muito bom. E você como regulo pensou em fazer isso para os jovens? Faz o que o Estado deveria fazer e não faz!

[FD] Agora já não faz... eu vou garantir a comunidade de tabanca luz, água, postes de saúde e escola. Sem pagar. [laughs]

[C] Wow. Para quantas tabancas?

[FD] Vão ser duas? Bianda e Mata... são duas que...

[C] É muito bom..

[FD] É muito bom... não pagar luz e água, já sabes como é! [loud laughs]

[C] É complicado, está complicado mesmo...

[FD] Agropecuária.. E deste vaca, porco, cabra, carneiro, mas vão sempre... vão, vou trazer ate —, não vão sair desse — aqui, não vamos trazer... outras coisas vem do barco.

[C] Vão chegar todas duma vez?

[FD] Isso é impossível. Temos que dispensar um barco só para aqueles... [laughs] de Portugal Para ca, pronto.

[C] Ainda a viagem vai demorar um bocado..

[FD] A viagem de barco para... é uma *sumana*, seis dias, de barco... não é mau.

[C] Sim, não é nada mau.

[FD] De barco é seis dias de Portugal para Guiné-Bissau.

[C] Antes de se tornar regulo, quando teve de regressar de Portugal, você já sabia como governar, como mandar no regulado?

[FD] Isso sei porque eu acompanhava sempre o meu avô, eu estava me? Do meu avô. O meu avô que eu fazia como pai. E depois, depois fiquei debaixo no, no... não fiquei com o meu pai, fiquei com o meu avô materno como paterno, não vivi com mãe nem com pai... [laughs]

[C] Então eles ensinaram ainda quando era criança?

[FD] Sim sim sim...

[C] Então já sabia que um dia ia ser.....!

[FD] Não, mas... como uma pessoa vai saber que vou sumir a esse coiso, não. Via ele fazeres e eu acompanho, acompanho com ele, mas não estou a pensar que um dia que um dia... fogo! [laughs]

[C] Estava longe ainda...

[FD] Era só futebol, e escola, trabalho, pronto.. Sou, sou futebolista.

[C] Muita paixão pelo futebol!

[FD] Tenho academia aí, de 105 jovens, miúdos de 8 a 18 anos, estou aí a treiná-los sempre, três períodos, de manhã os que vão a escola de tarde, treinam de manhã, os que vão de manhã, treinam a tarde. É academia. Já há 10 anos, academia..

[C] Muito bom! E como é que você... ah tem foto!

[FD] Sim, tenho foto, tenho muita foto [...] não conhece esse homem?

[C] É o Carlos Schwarz...

[FD] Esse era o pai, eu era família, era irmão! Não vou encontrar mais na vida... um amigo, pessoa assim, não não... para dizer que não vai ser fácil.

[... shows pictures of when he was young, football player in Portugal]

[FD] Esse é o irmão mais velho de Domingos Simões Pereira, Dioniso, em Cabo Verde, é coordenador de SOS, e...antes estive ca, veio ver os *putos* da academia...

[...]

[FD] Esta coisa, *Pernal*, como *kil mango ke estaba li*, faz 100 anos já...

[Cambraima] *Mmmm, nô odju* já publica, que...

[FD] Então, nà bai e fassi novo plantação, 20 de janeiro... eh, 20 de setembro, no fassi novo plantação 20 de setembro. Vamos ver se vai completar 100 anos como aquele outro.

[C] Tomara!

[FD] Se..

[C] *Pernal*...

[Cambraima] Vamos andar aí depois...

[C] O que é esse que esta a segurar na mão? [pointing at the Picture]

[FD] Ah... é uma coisa... como que posso dizer...

[Cambraima] É uma coisa como bastão de regulo...

[FD] Tudo poder é ali.. *Tudo decison, sai dali... proteson, tudo!!* [loud laughs]

[C] Proteção de *irân* também?

[FD] Tem , tem tudo, tudo..

[C] Tem tudo aí..?

[FD] Tem tudo ingredientes [laughs] Tudo o que é preciso!

[C] E é só você que pode usar?

[FD] Só!, mais ninguém..

[C] Uso exclusivo, pessoal..

[FD] Sim, aqui estou a fazer cerimónia.. Depois, aquele *Pernal* é uma zona onde fizemos uma guerra entre Cacheu e os Manjacos de Sul, quando queriam invadir o Cacheu que é para povoar o Cacheu no período de Terceira Pinto e Djai, então fizeram aquele coisa... guerra, mas não conseguiram infiltrar, não conseguiram dominar povo de Cacheu, era muito resistente, tanto homens, como mulheres, era difícil... Então dia por ano, cada ano fazemos essa cerimónia, as mulheres fazem comida, os homens levam bebidas, fazemos que...

[C] Plantaram em setembro...?

[FD] Nova plantação dia 20 de setembro... vamos ver se vai fazer completar 100 anos como o primeiro que la estava.

[C] Tomara, tomara mesmo, seria bom... e tem alguém que ajuda, no regulado?

[FD] Tenho, tenho meu vice, que é meu próprio irmão mais velho. Outro... outro [laughs] é antigo professor, já reformado, o Domingos... estamos juntos no carro hoje de manha...

[...]

[C] E também o seu irmão aprendeu quando era criança, como funciona tudo?

[FD] Não, não.. Não aprendeu quase de nada. Começou a aprender através de alguém — e mais nada. Em Bissau, passou toda a vida em Bissau desde padece, '69 ou '70, ele passou toda a vida em Bissau, mais de que aqui mesmo... não viveu com os velhos como eu vivi com os velhos.

[laughs]

[C] Mas agora ainda mora em Bissau, ou já regressou?

[FD] Já regressou, sim sim.... Ele que ficou lá em casa da mãe, lá em outro lado, já regressou... é bom. Ele que é meu adjunto.

[C] É adjunto, na administração...

[FD] Mas olha, quando eu vou a Bissau, qualquer coisa que eu tenha, ele que vem me representar cá em Cacheu, [..] Devido a papel...

[C] Isso com todos os assuntos, justiça, administração, economia, tudo...?

[FD] Se eu for para Portugal para tratamentos, ele é que fica.

[C] Ou seja, já está encarregue de tudo e mais alguma coisa.. Eh não é fácil! Dá muito trabalho, para uma pessoa é muito trabalho.

[FD] Dantes não era, para os nossos antepassados não era, porque traziam tudo, cabra, porco, galinha, mas agora... eu sou... eu que não recolho, e tiram. O Estado não dá nada, e no Estado, vem sempre pedir-me, estás a ver, as coisas como vão.. Regulo podemos para ir a Bissau não tenho combustível, nada de combustível porque tenho aquele coisa, reserva tudo, ah tenho que ajudar, tenho que cuidar dele há mais de 10 anos, quase 500 e tal anos estás a ver... não pagam, não pagam. Não pagam... isto que é triste, estou triste com isso...

[C] Pois não é fácil,....

[FD] Não, não se auxilia nada aos regulos...não se auxilia nada de nada.. Caso contrário, ....

[C] E como é que você se mantém com todos estes gastos??

[FD] Pois é!! Não é fácil... são as despesas da academia, me deram uma dor de cabeça ontem... outro dia estive na escola, queremos jogar outra semana com uma academia de Canchungo.. Tenho que fazer todo o negócio que é para arranjar transporte que é para ele vir... almoçar em conjunto... uma despesa enorme! [laughs]

[C] É mesmo!

[FD] Mesmo mesmo....

[C] Sim senhor, sem dúvidas... mas o Estado não colabora a pagar estes..

[..]



[FD] Não é fácil, hoje não é fácil.. Estado não da nada, e eles andam a pedir-me, fazem um bilhete, suma “regulo, ajuda no combustível, queremos ir ao São Domingos, queremos ir ao Bissau, e não temos” e depois não pagam... tenho muitos vales deles...

[C] Sim mas eles tem que corresponder os vales também...

[FD] Não não isto já está fora, eles já não pagam esse...

[...]

[FD] Aqui não é fácil, não ganhamos nada nada com o Estado... e o Estado não colaboram. Quando tem um terreno para vender não chama o poder tradicional, quando temos direito a isso.. Pois mas eles.. Quando querem vender um espaço nos chamamos no lugar que é para ir tomar parte...

[C] Então, pega todo o dinheiro como se fosse dele?

[FD] Eh, é do Estado! [laughs]

[C] E não reconhece o ...?

[FD] O que pude fazer?

[C] Nunca protestou por isso?

[FD] Porquê? Bah!

[C] Porque é seu direito!

[FD] Há de chegar o dia.. Depois temos de ver, depois de eleição vamos ter um governo estável, pronto, este governo... cada um per si decide. Nós temos que esperar um governo estável, senão... algo para protestar, para reivindicar as coisas como ficou... Mas agora assim, esquece..

[C] Já está como está..

[FD] Deixa passar tudo! [laughs] Não sou político, estou fora da política, na, mas posso fazer o — *djubi*.. Por isso...

[C] Está diferente...

[FD] Mas dantes eu fazia, fazia uma política muito forte, ‘94, ‘98... e 2008. 2010, fiz muito forte [laughs] mas agora não! Falam *diritu* que regulo não pode estar na política, boh...

[C} Eles falaram que o regulo não pode estar na política?

[FD] Não, não.... Temos que dar... que comportar com todo o partido, e o regulo não pode representar só o partido, pode ser... sei qual é o meu partido, sei qual o partido que eu voto, mas não posso manifestar... Saiu um decreto, do governo, do Estado.... [laughs] que os regulos não podem manifestar!

[C] Não podem manifestar nem com os amigos? Com ninguém?

[FD] Não, não eles podem vir, podem vir aqui, falar comigo, em liberdade.. E isso fazem...

[C] Mas não podem manifestar assim publicamente..

[FD] Noa, não, não.. Cada um chegou, PRS viu, PAIGC já veio, todo partido, todos candidatos, assim assim...

[C] E regulo pode ser candidato? *Ka pudi*?

[FD] Não, não.

[C] Porquê?

[FD] Ah... É poder tradicional, tens que comportar com a tua comunidade. Nem tudo comunidade são do PAIGC, são do PRS, então se eu for do PAIGC só vou defender pessoas de PAIGC, se tiver problemas PAIGC com PRS, vou dar PAIGC razão por que sou de PAIGC, não. Então estás a ver... mas há alguns regulos que estão no político, há alguns já, alguns que são... que são, candidato a deputado, mas estão a violar a lei, estamos a espera o dia que vamos sentar, e então se dizem os regulos não podem fazer política, mas estes estão a fazer política... estou a ver.

[C] Mas você também estudou as leis... leis de Estado e também leis tradicionais, já sabe tudo, uma bíblia das leis!

[laughs]

[C] Agora há regulos candidatos nas próximas eleições?

[FD] Sim, sim há... tenho, tenho um amigo, Lúcio, ele é candidato a deputado, segundo depois de Come[personal name].. De zona, círculo 21. Há, há.

[C] PAIGC?

[FD] Não não, de G15-MADEM. Então coordenador de Régulos é conselheiro do Presidente da República, isso não pode existir... estas a ver? As coisas não estão a bater bem! Se a cabeça for, então, eu podia fazer o mesmo como ele, mas... isto, estou a aguardar, aquele momento.

[laughs]

[FD] Então as coisas, as coisas na Guiné-Bissau... falam escrevem mas cumprir... isso que nos falta... [laughs]

[C] É mais, falta falta.

[FD] Cumprir...

[C] Assim não vai muito adiante...

[FD} Não não, não vai...

[C] Agora vamos ver é como vão correr as eleições...

[FD] Isso sei, que não vá haver a maioria, não não.. Maioria, esta fora de hipótese, ninguém partido *i ki ta pudi liga...*[...]

[C] Coligação também esta fora de hipótese, também não vai dar...

[FD] ... não vai durar!!! [laughs] A lei vai obrigar, mas não vai ter sucesso. A lei vai nos obrigar que é para cumprir com coligação, mas Presidente da República, Primeiro Ministro, ninguém... partidos políticos na ANP...[...] não - aquele que vão esperar.

[C] Falta só um mês, não é muito.

[FD] Não, não é... e eu, não sei se vou votar porque recenseei em Bissau, e no digo, foi no dia em que eu ia viajar para Portugal, pois recenseei lá no —. Então tenho que ir um dia antes de *eleison*, porque já não vou votar, já não vou votar. [laughs] Já recenseei, portanto é recenseado, se não votar não — muita coisa... outro dias... só para — direito de votar..

[C] Isso é demasiado trabalho!

[FD] Se pudesse fazer transferência, eu fazia transferência *kil* para votar de aqui... mas não se pode! [laughs]

[C] Vai ficar aqui contente com o que os outros escolheram, não faz muitas diferença, não...

[...]

[FD] O regulo não pode ser solteiro...

[C] Não pode?

[FD] Não, não, não... outro raça como Manjaco pode, mas nos de outra etnia muçulmana como Felupe não, não pode ser assim...

[Cambraima] *El toma i decison forte...*

[FD] Regulo solteiro... não existe!

[C] E tem filhos então?

[FD] Tenho...

[C] Eles vivem aqui?

[FD] Não, não, vivem em Bissau... todos, estão casados, tenho 4.... Não sou como os antepassados, 30,40 filhos.. Na! [laughs]

[C] É que são muitos, 30-40 filhos...

[FD] Chega... *situason*....não permite, não é fácil..

[...]

[C] E depois quem é que irá continuar o regulado um dia?

[FD] Ah isso é futuro! Não se sabe ainda... se vai para o filho, se vai para o tio, se vai para o primo, se vai para, não *sibi*... isso vai depender da política que der... aquele poder dos..

[C] Um dia veremos então!



## 2.9 \*\*\*, DJAMBAKOS AND MINDJER GARANDI, BALANTA

Interviews sample 2

B, C

February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019  
Buba, 'Bairro da Mulheres'

Bubacar Bassi Djassi translates the interview

[Bubacar] *Suma falaba.. I bin ca, i bin di Portugal, é un trabalho, que ali na fassi, pabia de— i ka tene nada, - baloba, mas i tisil uso di falal aquele mantenhás.*

\*[] *I djambakos garandi i cabeça esta assim. Bo ta marcason pa ka tene bocadinho. Djenti na trabadja de, ga-. Bu ta pui nome, tene ali si buó, ma ka tene djenti, arroz, liti, abo misto trabadja tudo.*

[Claudia] *Ou seja, deveria ter trazido alguma coisa para trabalharmos...?*

[B] *Não, eu já explicava de manha de que não há nada para dar, mas temos um pouco para ela.*

[\*] — *djenti bocadinho...*

[C] *Eu não tenho muito para oferecer, mas queria lhe dar..*

[B] *Esse cana, cana Bordon..*

[\*] *Cana bordon? Esse aqui?*

[B] *Esse medjor!*

[\*] *Lel la, kel la es.. Ka compra arroz*

[B] *Es tudo djenti ta misti esse.*

[\*] *Arroz.*

[C] *Arroz ke bu misti?*

[\*] *Eh.*

[C] *Nô leba arroz amanha.*

[\*] *Amin, omi morri. E fican ku menino. Papé murri, dina [clap hands together]. Amin i ta trabadja bocadinho suma esse. Trabadja bocadinho e nba cumpra arroz. Trabadjo e djenti ki ta ba odjal, djenti na sibi e ba ku a sibi, e bu ta bodjal arroz bocadinho, bu ta come. Alguin ta contal bardade, na na casa ki tene. Caba ki sundi dé. Bu kungsi esse? Nfala aonti ki bin para amanha. Na bai nin kau. Na fala misti odja bil fidjo ki na bin. Mmm. — em Portugal ke sta?*

[unclear] *Alsane sabagissima*

[B] *I misti sibi, ele na puntal, i misti sibi kuma ta fassi es trabalho.*

[\*] *Trabadjo.. Yo. [...] Eh amin, alguém ta tene alte la, na ta tiral. Laba corpu.*

[B] *Alguém ta tene kuma?*

[\*] *Alto [emphasis]*

[C] Alto..?

[\*] *É kil ki tene doença..*

[B] Ah doença, esse..

[\*] *E ta tiral. E ta sã. Algum tene barriga, — mesinhu. Mesinhu di sida, kil ki na pila assim.*

[B] *Di sida..*

[\*] Eh. [balanta]

[...]

[\*] *Bu obi kil ka fala?*

[B] *Bu fala ki tene mesinhu ali, djenti ke, ke..*

[\*] *Tene doença.*

[B] *Tene doença.. Ela da medicamento para pessoas que esta doente, diz que até pode dar medicamento para pessoas que são portadores, portadores.. Eh...*

[c] De sida.

[B] De VHS sida.

[C] Estava a dizer também pessoa que tem barriga?

[\*] *Eh. Ken ki tene barriga. I kissi asin, i ta fergal tudo. I ta fergal tudo.*

[B] Nós dissemos travessado..

[\*] *I ta padi..*

[B] A criança que está, que não está no caminho certo para sair...

[C] Sim que esta virado com os pés para baixo...

[B] A criança que travessou na barriga, não é..

[\*] *I ta fergal asin, fergal asin, i ta padi diritu.. Eh. E boca di djenti, inda bin kau e misti odjal e ta pui usa tudu na corpu, e ta pui ferro na fogo, na pui carbon. Labal i ta san, kenghré.*

[B] Trabalha também com alguns matérias metálicos que são ferros, que mete no fogo, no fogo a aquecer e depois poe na água, e faz aquele cerimónia, mete aquele ferro na água, lava as pessoas que estão doentes, que sentem problemas de pele, e isso passa.

[\*] *Nha garandi trabadja na djambakos. Ma nem bocadinho ki — djenti. N'misti peral trabalho diritu na.*

[B] Disse que esta neste trabalho há muito tempo, mas ate agora não beneficia de nada, as pessoas não da ele nada.. Eheheh!

[C] Porque não?? As pessoas não pagam pelos serviços que você faz?

[B] *Se djenti ka ta paga hora ki fassi esse trabalho..*

[\*] *Eh djenti. Ghoutro ka ta paga fidjo. Disme, bin odjal alguin tene foronto, e ta trabadja kel. E ta falal na bin bin, na bin dja. [clap hands] Ken ke pudi fassi? Ka pudi —djota...?*

[B] Diz que há...

[\*] *Outro ta nega, ta nega de, fidjo... i ta nega, hora i san!*

[B] Diz que há muito pacientes dizemos depois vou trazer. Vou pagar..

[C] E nunca mais voltam..

[B] E quando vão não voltam. Ele não tem força para seguir qualquer pessoa desse..

[\*] *E pol is ali. E polícia ali. E na chora, e na fai, e na murri na muuurri na murri [high-pitched, pledging tone]. Li iagu li. Na fala caba chora li. Pui mesinhu quente quente quente na fogo. Labal, mis caba, neh. E na iandal.. Npudi bai — aquele. Nfala suma amin i ka tene alguin, bo ta só— ki ta bo odjal, bu come. E n'falan, nfala dia ki bin pagal fidch.. E ta dal dinheiro. Ke gos ta djubi.. Nih!*

[B] Diz que há recentemente um homem polícia, fardado, que estava nu crise não é? Chegava aqui chorando de que vai morrer. Ele diz que não, espera eu vou fazer tratamento, depois de fazer o tratamento, depois de fazer o tratamento este polícia, o polícia sempre diz, não depois do fim do mês vou pagar, fim de mês vou pagar ate agora...

[C] E nunca mais..

[B] Eheh. Diz que agora o polícia esta bem.

[\*] *Sta diritu!*

[B] Está bem, mas até agora não pagou.

[C] E não tem alguma forma de perseguir estas pessoas? Ou seja, perseguir por meios legais ou de qualquer outro tipo?

[B] *Kuma su nu caso no tene ghoutro maneira di cobra kil djenti...*

[\*] *Forsa ka ten.*

[B] *Ghoutro maneira di cobra kil djenti..*

[\*] *Mis ki i fala —.*

[B] Disse que não há força.

[\*] *I fala misti na bin.*

[B] Não tem força para fazer isso, como de última promessa de, deu para final do mês, então espera como final deste mês, ele vai pagar.

[C] Mas não tem alguma forma.. Nem de retirar o trabalho que foi feito? O trabalho feito não pode ser desfeito?

[B] *Ma nô ke manda, bu ka ta fas.. Su no kau, ta na fassi agora kil trabalho ki bu fas su dono, se bu ka pudi torna, si dono pa i pudi riba.*

[\*] *I ka pudi torna. I ka pudi torna. Mas i djenti di -aia la..*

[woman in the distance] *Es ki pudi torna...*

[\*] *Kil djenti di praia la kela ki tornal. I bin li. Bin trabadjal kile. I padi fidjo sin.. Nfala Buba, Buba —. — asin i nega, e bai rianta. Na tchon. I murri. Na tchon. I murri. Na tchon. I fala, muita bardade. Ne na ka na bai polícia! I ka ten si dinheiro pa dá. Ke amin na compra — [Balanta]*

[B] *Ele ka ta odjaba.. Ka ta padiba.*

[\*] *Não.. I ka ta padi. Bin bin li. Djenti garandi ke sinta suma bu sinta asin. E pidi fidjo li, ndé, bu odjal ldanta asin, pabia un código?. Na bai pidi meninu. Na hora di padi meninu, i bin pa ali, pa bin paga ka ten. I diga meninu, kil la i sta asin? É esse. Arroz toma. Arroz toma. I Bu- . Bu ka naiem...*

[woman laughing in the background]

[B] *Kil kau só ke bu fica?*

[\*] *Eh, ka na fica. Nfala di awos, bu fala - di awos, es ke te manga de deus Toda hora bu ta pidi.*

[B] Deu um exemplo dum caso numa mulher em Braia, Braia é setor de Fulacunda. Então diz assim, mulher tinha muita dificuldade de ter filho, então vieram cá para fazer esse pedido, aqui no mesmo local onde trabalha, ele deu a garantia e fez a ele todos os tratamentos dessa mulher, mulher conseguiu, dar luz aquele primeiro filho. Então a criança já esta crescendo, já esta crescida. Depois disso ate agora a mulher não pagou..

[\*] *Na ta bin aí..*

[B] O que é que aconteceu? Desde depois dessa criança, até agora a mulher não conseguiu ter filhos. Quando ele, ele.. Cada vez que dar parto essa criança morre. Cada vez, cada vez.. Já morreu com essa mulher dez criança, para alem desse primeiro que.. Diz que o problema, o problema é de Deus, ele sempre pede Deus para poiar nos seus trabalho, então como essa mulher essa familiar não retribuíram aquilo que era combinado, Deus esta a fazer justiça.. Eheh

[C] Mas não é que também não pagar o trabalho que ela faz é como não manter e não pagar de volta o compromisso com *irân*?

[B] Como?

[C] Não pagar o trabalho que ela faz é igual também a não pagar um compromisso feito com *irân*?

[B] *I fala kuma, hora ki alguém ka paga bu trabalho, kil la i ka ta cansa um problema di compromisso ku ta fassi ke kin ta bu pedil pa uma só uma trabalja aquilo e ka ta fala cansau...*

[\*] *Eh ma.. Nka pudi. Suma amin fêmea, i nka ta fala Deus, dia ki bin bin.*

[B] Disse que só ela que sabe como que sente com essa situação porque ela é...

[\*] Fêmea.

[B] Ela é fêmea. Fêmea. Então, tem esse sentimento sobre esse *situason* mas não há outra forma.

[C] Não há outra forma de ter, de resolver as coisas..

[B] Sim, disse que não há outra forma de resolver isso.

[C] O problema é mais dela mesmo que não tem a ver com outros..

[B] *Si ka tene outro forma, i ta fala ku problema ku ta tene, por dizer, tudo djenti ki ta trabalha aki es, manga de — que, ghoutro djenti ki ta djudal na trabalho, suma irâns i outras, i fala kuma ma hora ki djenti ka na pagau, kil ka ten i ten si problema kil ki djenti ki ken trabalha akel..*

[\*] *Não.. Na conta verdade. -ué corpu. Amin tene corpu. Tene ba- de corpu. Ma i tene só- gos. Kil dia lantandi firma asin, ncai. Gos amin na, i ianda asin na.. Pato.*

[laughters]



[\*] *Ianda suma pato. Nka pudi anda! Yo! Asin ki ta pui fidjo, asin ki ta pui. Kel ke pudi fassi sum maneira asin? Ka tene forca..*

[B] Diz que é verdade. Ela sofre muito com isso, quando as pessoas não honram compromisso do trabalho, diz que há poucos dias deu-lhe um sinal. Pessoas com que trabalho — mais, deram-lhe um pancada quando ele estava de pé, e caiu, sem sem ninguém tocar. Caiu até não podia andar e estava assim, gatinhando no, no.. Solo, devido algum trabalho que ela fez, e não há retribuição desse trabalho. [laughs]

[C] É perigoso, é perigoso mesmo...

[B] Diz que ele é um mulher gigante, mulher que tem corpu, mas devido a esse situação, não consegue... [talks and laughs, unclear]

[C] O que foi devido...

[B] Sim..

[C] E qual tipo de doenças é que consegue tratar?

[B] *Ma no kal doenças ku ta, kuma ta cura?*

[\*] Kil?

[B] *Doenças kuma ta cura..*

[\*] *Amin? Nfala tene mesinhu, corpu na den, nha tai labal, vai sinta la, n'bota sorte, es baroba? Misti bota sorte dentro, suma bu sinta sim. Ma, kel mesinhu pa i tene doença, ku ta da mesinhu. Mesinhu di sida, sida, kela kin pila! I ka den sin, den tudo, kela ken ten. I kuma primeiro ku falan asin [Balanta]*

[B] Diz que faz muita cura, sobretudo problema de dores de, dores de corpu, faz cura de dores de corpu, também faz tratamento de situason de seropositivos, *dh-sida*, faz este tratamento também, faz essa outra que é nos dizemos bota-sorte...

[\*] *Amin na bota..*

[B] Procurar a sorte, não é? A pessoa que quer saber qual é.. O que o que é que pode acontecer de *antimon* ou que é que aconteceu com ele, ele faz esse trabalho, por exemplo da mulher que cá esta, esta esperando ele para fazer este trabalho de, procura de sorte.

[C] E consegue também, você trabalha com mulheres grávidas, *prenhadas*?

[B] *Se bu trabalha ku mindjer grávida, prenhada?*

[\*] *N'prenhada? Eh. Hora kin tchiga e ta bai hospital. Hora ta den, kela ki primeira n'fala e ta n'fergal asin, um pui siti [emphasis], n'fergal fidjon caba. Bo ta, dali.*

[B] Diz que trabalha com mulheres grávidas, quando as mulheres grávidas estão a sentir dores, quando estão a sentir dores, então ela faz esse trabalho de massagem. Massagem às mulheres grávidas, depois ate quando dar o parto. Depois dar o parto, —[overlapping] acaba ali

[C] E também...

[Balanta]

[C] E também tem alguma forma de ela conseguir proporcionar proteção à criança para fazer com que a criança nasça saudável?

[B] *Kuma se bu tene maneira de suma ki ghoutro djenti fassi pa, pa fassi menino, pa ele pudi padir diritu. Si ten kil mesinhu ki ta — pa menino pudi padir diritu pa i ka tene problema.*

[\*] *N'tene.*

[B] Diz que ten, faz com esse, esta trabalho tambem.de assistência às mães para poder ter filho saudável.

[C] Também às crianças recém-nascidas? Também tem, consegue?

[B] *Também se fassi meninu hora ki padidu dja e ten kil kusa e fala —nboh nha fidjo, i ten [...] Ten fidjo e ten kil ki na perguil e ten kil kusa, e ten, se tu tratat kil meninos..*

[\*] *Eeeh! Asin, Balanta suma bo sibi, Balanta. N'dal, ki ta falal nheu, nheu [emphasis]. E padi menino e ta bin na mon. E ta bai labal, gato. N'cusa bianda. E bai busca mesinhu e labal. E ta san.*

[Balanta]

[B] Boh, porque nós, nós guineenses temos algum, algumas doenças que são relacionadas com as animais. Então em uns casos há doenças que nos dizemos doença de gato. Doença de gato essa doença, no nosso caso, são como.. Tétano. Tétano. É aquilo que nos dizemos doença di gato. Então, tétano diz que faz tratamento também dessa doença de tétano, que ela também sabe fazer esse trabalho..

[C] E consegue também ver, reconhecer e tratar daquelas crianças que não são *pekadur*?

[B] *Kuma, se tu consigui discubri menino ki ka ta pekadur, se bu trata tal kil djenti. Pas i ta fala kuma, i ten meninu, i meninu irân, se bu ta conseguí discubri meninu, se irân ou si ka pekadur, e se bu ta trata, ta fassi tratamento dakil la.*

[Balanta]

[\*].. *Ghoutro ta sai, i ka sai di pekadur. I ta se di, di irân di mato. Outro tam, fassil, fassil tratamento [Balanta] E ten djenti ki ta botal la. Na iagu.*

[B] *E ta, e ta fassil aquele, mas sempre pede orientação.. E come? Katetral?. Ma i ten zona di Mansoa, zona Norte, há, há especialista naquela zona, crianças são levadas para la e depois são...*

[C] Mas ela consegue reconhecê-las?

[B] Mm.

[Balanta]

[...]

[\*] *Nome, papé morre. Fidjo kil tene fêmea só na Bissau. E ka bin. Ma, papé i murri fica rapazinho asin. Neto, e ta trabadja la, na.. Di kil parto.*

[B] *Lá di padre?*

[\*] *Eh. Neto. —*

[B] *Kil i ke?*

[\*] *Ba. Armandi.*

[B] *Ah, Armandi..*

[\*] *Kil i, i bai la.. Bafata, - tene dos dias, ma awos sta na T- Fala muito obrigada, kau -. Muito obrigada. Pa castiga, papé murri, fidjo ku dja trabadjo. Sin ke ne pedi dos..*

[B] Diz que tem um filho que está a trabalhar, está a trabalhar em Bafata, foi fazer algum trabalho em Bafata, e agora está, está em Titi, a fazer também trabalho, realizar obra.. Deus obrigado, porque ele prefere morrer mas para o filho ficar a trabalhar. [laughs]

[C] E quantos filhos você tem?

[\*] Quem, amin?

[C] Sim

[\*] *Ghoutro, -dal..*

[B] *Ma kanto ki bu tene?*

[\*] *Didjo? Esse. Kal outro.. Outro ki dja sai — i sta 5, 5, neto, neto neto.*

[C] 5 neto?

[B] *Na, bu fidjo kil ki la fala..*

[\*] *Fidjo.. Eh, ghoutro, i faleci, - tene kil ki sta asin, i sta na Bissau. Kil fêmea, ele aí i casa...*

[B] *I casa na Bissau?*

[C] E mora na Bissau?

[B] Mm. Está casada..

[\*] Ma omi murri..

[B] O marido faleceu...

[\*] *Suma mamé na castiga.. Fassi diritu! Bu contente! Kil dia ki djenti bin, na Lisboa, na pui nome, nkol só djuda, falal não, kil bocadinho, n'tene bocadinho di — pa ta cume. E fala, auu!, mindjer garandi conta bardade! -al kusa ki começou, pega tessa, bu i esse, da kil mesinhu, nega da nada, empahté! Kel i irmão. - i di sida. I di sida. Esse, nboh. Esse ke kungsi ate gos..*

[B] Diz que quer que concluimos, mas pode lançar algumas perguntas também..

[C] Eu queria saber como é que, há quanto tempo que você já faz este trabalho?

[B] *Ma kanto tempo ke bu comesa fassi esse trabadjo di djambakos?*

[\*] *Amin? Ko ko ko ko.. No kunsu fassi suma abo gos, djenti Gueiro, i ta pui nome, Noibaeurope.*

[B] *Kuma —?*

[\*] *Eh. Noibaeurope. I padido rapaz. Sta na Gabu. Garande! Leba il tarda ali, ca bu tene.. Cabeça brancu asin. N'tarda dji.*

[B] Ele diz que iniciou esse trabalho desde a juventude quando a ela começou a ir, primeiro filho, depois primeiro filho. Começa este trabalho ate agora que cabelo todos estão brancos na cabeça.

[...]

[C] E como é que começou a fazer este trabalho? Houve um momento em que sentiu que podia começar a fazer estes tratamentos, foi porque alguém lhe disse, como é que começou?

[B] *Kuma ki bu kunsu fassi trabalho?*

[\*] *Dia ku kunsal?*

[B] *Kuma ku.. Anda, si ten algum kusa ke es falan puder bin pa mim, kusa asin, kuma ki anda kunsu trabadjo..*

[\*] *Trabadjo? Fala deus ke ta bin.*

[B] Diz que vem de orientação de deus..

[C] Ouviu tipo uma chamada de deus para fazer isso?

[both] Mmm

[\*] *Odja, i tene bon pekadur. E patin ele, suma omi murri, na —kutdji-kutdji?*

[C] Dai que começou.. E também faz trabalhos de proteção? Para as pessoas? Por exemplo, pessoas que não querem que os outros fazem mau-olhado para eles ou qualquer outra coisa do género, consegue fazer algum trabalho de proteção?

[B] *Kuma se bu fassi trabalho de.. Librar alguém, de mufunesa, kil ki na pudi pa ke ghoutro alguém fassil mal..*

[\*] *Kin amin?*

[B] *Se ta fassi kil trabalho, por exemplo se ta fassi trabalho pa alguém pa ghoutro alguém ka ta possi fassil mal..*

[\*] *Amin? Dia ke n'tene. Outra ta bin na —. E ta - rantal. E deus dia ke n'pega trabalho. E de'an kil... carta, carta de —, é Deus. [Balanta] Falan deus, olhan bom pekadur. Kil la ki de- dano ele? Ntene libre ki ta fassi, ee- e na fassil na bo mon, bu bai pon na, na rabal. Nada. Djenti ta bin na Portugal, tene.. Kil mindjer di Banco Mundial, i tisi fidjo tene, fidjo i kil la i fala i na bin. Mindjer ki sinta asin, depois na fassi mal- la de, — i ka odja trabalho. Djen? Ta na si, da ka na bota. [whispered]*

[B] Ela diz que faz esse trabalho de proteção, através de escrita que faz... são escritas divinas, ela tem algumas cartas porque quando ele pega consegue trabalhar com essa carta, depois da orientação para pessoa tomar essa carta, levar no mundo com sapateiro, não é? Então, por, por no corpo, pode ser na rabada, outro parte do corpo, diz o serve para..

[C] Então vai amarrar a escrita como, num couro...

[B] Isso serve como proteção dessa pessoa, diz que há ate um migrante que vem de Portugal, e é filho duma das mulheres do Banco Mundial, naquele - onde nos estamos, então.. Diz que faz esse trabalhos. Aquele que são a procura do sucesso, no fase do trabalho assim, [Balanta covering Bacar words]

[C] Então a ligação com Deus e com *irân* é essencial para ela conseguir fazer o seu trabalho?

[B] *Ma, maneira ku ta papia maneira ki ta fassi ku deus ku irân, bu ka pudi leba kil maneira tudu asin?*

[\*] *Kem?*

[B] *I fala kuma maneira kuma trabalha asin, bu ta pidi deus, ke irân, se kil maneira bu ta pudi trabalhar tudu asin.*

[\*] *Eh!! Amin na papia kel. Bu abo sinta ali. E na papia. Ke cabeça. Ken ki misti? To ki tchigal tal.. A min mesinhu. Panha mesinhu e contal.. E kel badjuda la, e mas fala e tene doença, ken ki sai li, irmos ki sai li.. Nfala nboh na nboh!, bo ka tchiga na bo. Pui na laba corpu. Nfala i na bai. Agora i bai e na bin tisi kil dinheiro pa labal. E ta papia ba ta obi? Amin na cala só, kunsu fassi asin.. Asin ki na fassi. Asin! Tudu Bissau, tudu! Mansou, tudo.. Tchiga na Buba. Essa na ponta..*

[B] Diz que aí tem uma, uma menina.. Dá orientação para ela. Você vai ouvir a voz.. Ouve a voz mas não vê essa pessoa. Essa pessoa é, diz que é uma menina, uma menina que fala e quando uma pessoa vem, da ela orientação. Mas você vai ouvir mesmo a voz da menina. Você que foi, que vai la para pedir, vai ouvir essa voz da menina

que da ela *orientason*. Essa menina da toda orientação a ela como é que deve trabalhar, com a pessoa. Diz que a mulher que acabou de sair a cá trabalhou também nesse sentido, de orientação.. Diz a mulher que tem muitas pessoas que estas atras dele. Então única solução é lavar. Lavar com aquele mesinhu, ne? Claro que, que..

[C] Sim, fazer laba-corpu..

[B] Então ela foi, *fassil*, depois vai voltar outro dia para preparar esse *mesinhu* para lavar essa mulher. Mas orientação parte dessa menina que não são vista, não é? Você não pode vê-la, mas ouve voz..

[C] Mas só você que não pode vê-la, ou outros conseguem...?

[B] Não não, todos! Eu experimentei isso uma vez, havia uma mulher mas já morreu, uma mulher *djambakos* que estava aqui. Ela já morreu.. Uma vez, eu tinha sempre essa.. Eu queria provar. Entrei la, depois dela fazer essa cerimónia, comecei a ouvir o voz.. A pessoa a falar, mas falar mesmo assim, voz de menina. Estamos la, não vimos nada. Mas ouvimos toda orientação que essa menina da.

[C] Tudo... e essa mulher esta onde?

[B] Mulher morreu, já morreu..

[C] E estava aqui em Buba?

[B] Estava aqui, em Buba.. Estava qui em Buba, mas já morreu... é de mesmo, é de mesmo bairro... Afinal também tem, ela tem essa menina. *I ten um mindjer djambakos que estaba ali, mindjer garandi que murri...na kil primeiro kau lá..*

[\*] Kau la.. Alapass. [name of the deceased djambakos lady]

[B] *Alapass? Alapass. Yoo. Ela tambí tene badjuda asin, ela fala badjuda asin, Alapass..*

[\*] I ta papia..

[B] Eh.. Uma vez eu foi la para ver, mas foi mesmo, mesma coisa...

[C] Sentiu..

[B] Ouvir o voz, voz da pessoa, menina, falando ajudando orientação da.. Mas você não vai ver isso.

[C] Não vais ver mas só ouves as vocês..

[B] Sim ouvir a voz, mas voz mesmo da pessoa..

[C] Mesmo voz, voz verídica..

[B] Sim. Outra lá na fala voz, voz da etnia Balanta, depois quando você fala ele sempre escuta, ouve toda a língua daquele menino. Todo qualquer língua que você falar, ele vai responder, da resposta [laughs] afinal ele também esse, essa situação aqui!

[C] Então ele responde?

[B] Responde!! Responde.. Eu eu negava isso, e foi la só para provar isso...

[C] Sim.. Só para ver se mesmo..

[B] Mas foi a verdade... Mas depois de la nunca mais ouvi essa situason de menina, afinal ela trabalha com a mesma situação. [laughs]

[C] Pois, talvez seja uma menina do bairro...!

[...]

[B] Então menina, há pessoas, uma da minha amiga, me levou lá... afinal ela brinca com aquela mulher, aquela mulher.. Conhece aquele mulher e brinca, porque aquela mulher também tem um poder de, poder de visão, vison de outra parte. Então quando entrámos, entrámos — de casa, como esta aqui, diz: fulano, esta papia, esta a falar com aquela mulher.. O que é que você vem fazer aqui? Sai dai! Eu.. Eu vi! [clattered] Não é *badjuda* que está a falar com.. [laughs] [unclear] Fazer isso que, eu não vou sair. Aquilo.. [laughs] fiquei assim.. [laughs] Depois da mulher começar essa situação, ele.. Quando mulher toca a cabaça, logo espera a resposta dela, da menina. Começa a ouvir vozes, logo assim.. [laughs]

[C] E nós de aqui fora não ouvimos nada..

[B] Não, não, se estávamos atentos, eu não sabia se ela trabalha tao com esse, só, estou, só.. Eu estava a ouvir que ela acabasse, afinal esta a falar com essa menina.. [laughs] Nesse, se ficar na porta quando ele fala, você ouve.

[C] Mesmo?

[B] Mesmo!

[...]

[B] *Suma maneira ki bu bota-sorte e oudi obi voz dakil badjuda.*

[\*] *Esse na trabadja -*

[B] Ah esse..

[\*] *Esse tal i la ba cabar. E na papia gos...*

[B] Diz que trabalha com essa menina, mas no momento não pode - falar... diz que esse é que é o pai daquela criança..

[Balanta]

[\*] *Amin? Nka ta trabadja ku omi garandi, ke mindjer, ma i ta papia, no entra dentro e na papia.*

[B] *Kil ki na papia asin..?*

[\*] *Kil i na punta..*

[B] *Akil ki na punta..*

[...]

[\*] *Omi garandi -. Kil pa fana i na ka papia na cabeça. I ka na papia. Kil la i papé, i ta papia, bu obi kil ki na fala? Se ma- bota sorte asin, amin fala só, npunta só, e djenti só, papé garandi, badjuda, mindjer garandi, todo, rapazinho, nbin tchiga, na.. Rapazinho, kil punta.*

[B] *Kil la ki na fala...*

[C] Então eu tenho só mais duas perguntas..

[...]

[C] Então, uma antes quando estava a falar daqueles meninos que você consegue reconhecer e não são pekadur, como é que consegue fazer isso? É porque consegue vê-lo porque tem alguma capacidade, ou porque eles tem mesmo alguma coisa?

[B] *Kuma ki bu ta pudi discubri kil djenti, di saber kuma ka é pekadur..*

[\*] *[ola] deus di ta — i djenti. É ka ta dana esse, ke ka sta diritu, bu ta bai Mansoa, ke asin kin —? E ? Ma..*

[B] Disse que é orientação que vem de orientação divina, não é? Eh, que faz isso saber que essas pessoas são diferentes de outras pessoas humanas. Então, dá um orientação para levar lá a Mansoa, para levar — porque aí há especialista que fas esse caso.

[C] E, última pergunta, é se desse serviços que ela consegue fazer, também podem ser feitos pela tabanca toda, por exemplo por garantir uma boa colheita neste ano, ou para garantir proteção, nessa forma..

[B] *No trabalho que ta fassi, se nu caso i ta tchiga pedil pa fassi trabalho na tabanca, se na hora ki ghoutro i ten problema na kau e fala não tal kusa i sta li na tabanca, kuma de tiral.. Kil kusa? [...] Trabalho ki ta fassi, ke, kuma ke, se tem um problema na tabanca, si ta tchol-tchomar pa fassi trabalho na tabanca, kusa ki na fronta djenti na tabanca, e tambi kil kusa ki djenti na kungsi ta fassi.. Kusa contrato di kusa dele, labur, i fala nboh no tene fassil li pa no odjal manga de kusa ke no labra, se ka tchiga di tchomar pa fassi kil tipo de trabalho..*

[...]

[Balanta]

[...]

[repeating question]

[...]

[Balanta]

[\*] *Depende, qual tipo de problema.. Hora que acontecer na T, djenti na bin e djunta pa papia kel. Kil ki pudi ta —irmal, el ka ta sai di li diretamente pa bai di li, e djenti tambi i entra li, e ka fassi tal e ta fassi li, e ta trabalha djenti ken, e pudi sai e bai. Asin também, boh!, se bu misti arroz, por exemplo bu fassi bu campo, ele ta bai e tene kil si maneira di pagal, pa ka.. I dana. Suma também i ta fassi trabalho di, kel hora ki djenti bai u..m - fassi kel kel kel, ta bai lebal caju, trabalho [rooster overlapping] ka sta diritu. Kel mesinhu ki ta pui..*

[C] Mas isso é sempre feito para uma pessoa, ou pode ser feito por exemplo por um grupo, ou por uma pessoa que é responsável por um grupo inteiro, por exemplo os chefe de família é pela família toda, o chefe de tabanca é pela tabanca toda?

[B] Quer dizer, esse quase é um problema individual. Porque cada qual tem a sua propriedade. Em caso, tiver a sua propriedade mas tem problema, sozinho pode ir contactá-la. E vai tratar também do seu problema. Também pode ser coletivo, porque numa tabanca como esta tabanca, se as pessoas miram, julgaram que dá, alguma coisa esta a correr de mal, que talvez precisam de um curandeiro, ou um *djambakos*, o que, então podem junta eles entanto.. Razão pela qual podem falar com ele.. Então esse, esse aqui vai explicar-lhe de que, é assim assim assim que devem trabalhar.. Assim que a — pode funcionar. Se é preciso também dar *mesinhu* para tomar, ajuda a ultrapassar esse problema.

[C] Entendi. Obrigada





2.10 DJON, DJAMBAKOS, CURANDEIRO AND CHEFE DE TABANCA AND CARLOS ADRIANO, COMITÉ DE TABANCA

Interviews sample 2 and 3

Guidelines B, C

February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019  
Farim

[Mamadou explaining who I am and why I'm here. He will translate the interview, where necessary]

[Djon] *Kal ki nobibade ke bu tisi, pa bin punta*

[Mamadou] Pergunta..

[Claudia] Eu estou a fazer algum trabalho que esta relacionado com os poderes tradicionais e como é que as coisas funcionam. O Mamadou disse que você é Pepel?

[D] Eu Bijagó...

[C] Bijagó? Ah desculpa! E como é que chegou aqui?

[D] *Através de minha avó, que tchiga ali, fez... amin terceiro herdeiro, nha avo chama Djon, nha papé choma Djon, sin? Amin choma Djon, nome di nha dona, é nome di nha dona..*

[C] E eles todos depois moraram aqui?

[D] Sim.

[C] Ou seja, foi a sua avó que veio para ca....?

[D] *No, nha dona ki na bin.. Ele que funda junto ku avô do Carlos, ele choma Carlos, Carlos Adriano.*

[C] Esse nome é muito português...

[laughters]

[...]

[D] *El i guineense, mas mantenas português.*

[...]

[D] *Min punta nha papé e fala tchiga li 1935... ela ka choma [...] esse primeiro, nha dona primeiro djenti ki tchiga ali, logo, no papé segundo herdeiro, nos i terceiro herdeiro, herdeiro que choma Pepel.*

[C] E depois ficaram

[D] *Mm-mm, anos ki fica— como terceiro herdeiro, nô filho — quarto herdeiro, nô filho bai ser quarto herdeiro.*

[C] Muitos, muito já...

[D] *Pabia que, nha dona, primeiro que povoa aquele li. Segundo nha papé ki papé desse, i segundo herdeiro. No aki terceiro herdeiro, gos si no bin murri, nô fica, quarto herdeiro nô fidjos.... Depois amin, i padin menino in 19-6...*

[C] 19e..?

[D] 1966.. — *es padido 1966, na 15... 7 de Julho, nô tene dos mis di diferença nô tene, mesmo ano..*

[C] Mesmo ano?

[Carlos Adriano] Mesmo ano.. *El 7 setembro, mas garandi, mas ele garandi...*

[D] *Dus mis, 60 dias... 60 dias, dos mis, amin tal padido*

[C] Essa é mesmo pouca diferença..

[D] Pouca diferença, *dus mis...*

[M] *Abôs i di mesmo ano?*

[D] Mesmo ano, mesmo ano... *el então nha irmos, somos primos, mesmo tempo*

[CA] *I bin concidi ten mana no fidjo di trás, e tene mas diferença, só dos mis....*

[D] *Eh, era hereno o, o... dos mis. — i ka cumpri...*

[M] *I ten kusas ki tara ki tere ki tene vida di....*

[C] Incrível...

[CA] *Ai nha casa la... kil kau li si... la de nha casa...*

[C] E, o Mamadou também disse que você faz algum trabalho tipo Djambakos?

[D] Sin, então *fassi*.

[C] E como é que aprendeu?

[D] *Nboh, essi trabalho nfassil através di nha dona. Nha dona, nha papé suma ki fala, segundo herdeiro i nha papé, amin terceiro herdeiro, e pega si trabalho. Mas kuma di na trabalho ke nha papé sumi? I pa cura cola..*

[C] Para curar o cobra?

[M] Cobra sim.. Quando o cobra pica a pessoa, ele faz isso...

[C] Oooh!

[M] Quase todos os meses, *sumana* alguém passa aqui por *mordura* di cobra...

[D] *Tanto ki, na.. Mata ki ta taka. Cobra mata djentis no tempo di trabalho, a partir de Junho tene Julho e Agosto. Ju- pa beliz? Sumia, planta kusas di mancara, milho, arroz, na lugar... kauka/coloca se tudo, hora ke e na bai, e ka ta, e ka ta lembra kuja bo tene bom sapato, cobra vai morder... logo, amin ta cuida pa pudi salva. E ten aquele rapazes ke ta bin, hora ki tarda, e ki tene ki dal kil ghoutro tipo di mesinhu ki sta... si tchiga aí i complica, djitu ka ten. Ta murri... ma si tene ainda.. N'obi di tudo ki nô tene, e 4 pessoa ki murri dja... mas eles ki atrasa*

[C] Nesse último ano?

[D] *Eh, i ka é de.. Manga de anos!*

[M] — de anos é..

[D] *I acabam murri pabia di kuma atrasa na casa.*

[M] *Atrasado, já veneno subí na corpu, kusas assim tudo..*

[C] É preciso ser rápido..

[M] Rápido sim, exato..

[D] — *ora kil morrem kinti kinti, na tchiga li, e problema ka ten. Pé ka na intcha, ka na morri*

[M] Ele é rapidamente...

[D] *Ma se bo tchiga atrasado, pa ki fala ki não kungsi mesinhu di tal es di tal es di tal es, e bin e tchiga aí, odjal e fala oh es cabo i passa dja, bo na murri...*

[C] Mesmo, não há nada que se possa fazer

[D] *Ka ta nada.. I morre, man te da? Tensão, ta fala tudo kil ki cobra mordí, pa bin rápido, ki ta tchiga rápido, — kil tene — tene manga manga de djenti. Se ka bin, i ta murri, ma — kil la la, i ki ka bin, i murri la, i trás é kel pé só hora ki tchiga. Li pui na tchiga li e tene subil — e fala kuma ah!, es na murri. E ta murri. Mas kil ki tchiga cedo, e no trata rápido...*

[C] Sim, consegue fazer, tratar e resolver...

[D] *Kinti kinti...*

[C] Todas as coisas..

[D] *Tambi, djenti ki tene problema di barriga, ku manga di problema di corpu, i ta tratat. Infeson djenti ki tene problema di istero, — i ke, pa resolvi para outro problema, — ma ki kil — atenson — porque na mundo, anos tudo i pekadur, ma alguém ta pensa mal. Na fala não! Ka fassi isso. Fassi kil ki bom. Pabia tudo anos ki tene no sangue... mas nunca — kil ki sta mal. Na bai só kil sta cural.*

[C] — os que fazem mal para os pessoas, mas só o é que é correto? Não vai aleijar os outros com as suas capacidades...

[M, D] mmm-mm, sim sim sim..

[C] Que somos todos pekadur e portanto vai fazer as coisas que — boas...

[D] *Kusas bons...*

[CA] *Nboh, em outro tempo é mindjer garandi. Ela é la de Cadic. Cobra que murdil la.*

[D] mm-mmm

[CA] *Ma el bin ba cansado, mas deus ki djuda kil mesinhu di idade, e bem toca tchiga li na bolanha e desmaia e la bun'na, e la bun'na, e tisi aquele.. Aki...*

[..]

[CA] *Cobra ki murdi, cobra! La na Cadic...*

[D] *Akil zona tchiu!*

[CA] *I tchiu! I tchiu i tchiu i tchiu, akil é tchiu mas sibi kil la..*

[D] *Sibi sibi..*

[M] *.. Só tene odja, akil si di fora di kil si di fira di kil i ka ta sibi, aquele só ki kungsi..*

[CA] *Bo ta odja, i bo..*

[..]

[C] Ela conseguiu chegar aqui rápido?

[D] *Akel rápido na — rápido, awos mesmo fassi dos dias. No dias dos ki bi na bin e cansa na caminho. Fica na bolanha li*

[CA].. E desmaia

[D] *Desmaia tudo ki morre..*

[CA] *El nboh..*

[D] *E tchiga ali e ela murri na murri e bai la, ndjubil e fala, não, bu ka na murri... amin -sta kil i murri, n'odjal só ke..*

[CA] *I sta diritu, i sta diritu..*

[D] *Ma se ka na murri, se ka na murri i — i tratat..*

[C] Conseguiu..

[D] *Akil i meu trabalho kuma primeiro fala di djambakos.. Amin i ka djambakos. Amin i facilitador di djenti ki sta doente.*

[C] E consegue tratar..

[M] *Ah, abo papia?*

[C] ..tratar todos os tipos de doenças?

[D] Sim.

[C] Por exemplo, eu, eu estou muito interessada em saber do seu trabalho, portanto conte, conte a vontade!

[D] *Está bem, não há problema.. Amin ta cural, primeiro i cobra,..*

[M] *ya ya ya..*

[D] *Li, serpe i murdi algun... segundo i problema di barriga, bu tene una f—, e tene duros incansável di barriga, e bai punta kil... na hospital. Bo hospital. N'fala, bai! Nada ta solvi, — mesinhu — salva. Kil num — i murri ainda. Kil tive problema di dores di barriga, problema outro dores, dores de, nboh! Na bon crial la e falan n'djubil ba djubi di bamdal pa u ke.. E tratat kil la, a vontade*

[M] As doenças que se apanha no osso, principalmente nas articulações...

[D] *I ta pudi cural..*

[M] *Esquentamento ta pudil?*

[D] *Esquentamento.. Se alguém bai — bibi iagu, estomago ka sta diritu, logo i na cansa na barriga, se toma — i na trata kil la. Ma só kil ki ka tene, ka ta pudi recebi djenti de kal tene — então djubil, i ka tene apoio.. Nha casa i pequenina e tene manga de família...*

[C] Sim.

[D] — *tene kil trabalho. Depus djenti ki ta bin paga mesinhu... quase, a ta paga sol ki, sol ki ku sta mal, i paga só ki ku gasta... assim na trabalho.*

[C] Então não da ganho..

[D] *Kil dinheiro, kil dinheiro tambi — um bocado 10.000, ou 8.000, 5.000, ke nka ta fassi pa nada e n'djuba tambi... kil ki sta casado. Padin. Kil ki nha trabalho...*

[C] É muito trabalho.

[D] *E no — ki ka tene apoio.. Pabia kuma pudi tratar di..nos pega nos puntal li, tratat e fala kuma pagal di 20.000, e no fala kul — carro. No ka lembra si vida, kuma ku sta ba. Ku la ki maneira, na bai..*

[CA] *O cobra dele 1000 ki ta fassi. Pa o vida agora de.. Se bo murri, kil 10.000 gos ke i kil la? Mas o san, outro diz ke ghoutro bin paga...*

[D] *Manga del! Kil i tchiu!*

[CA] *Manga del! I ke ta curado cobra li, 10.000son... i ka ta paga. Ta bai.. E caba*

[M] *Kil ka ta tchiu... e terra...*

[D] *I deixa.. Ka ta cobra.. Ke mais ki misti punta?*

[C] Sim, eu queria saber mesmo, quais, quais mais doenças que consegue resolver, se for algum problema da cabeça, de olhos, de ouvido...também consegue?

[D] *E ta. E ta fassi*

[C] *Fassi kil tudu?*

[CA] *I ta cura..*

[D] *I ta cura odjo... hora ki na custa... — tene um custo. Tene aquele branco.. Akil ki tene dor do odjo, —n'ta djuda maneira di ki cura kil la.. Djenti ki sta diritu, sta bem. No fassi manga de trabalho, tchiu!*

[C] E se fosse alguma pessoa que chega com.. alguém fez mal para essa pessoa, consegue resolve isso também?

[D] *N'ta resolve..*

[C] Resolve?

[D, CA] mm-mm

[C] Consegue resolver isso..

[D] *— kil tene kil demónio.. Através di demónio, fica resolver.. Ate para madrugar i ghoutro li ki falan kuma, tene ki bin bai li... pessoa ki bin falau..*

[CA] *eh.. Odja..*

[D] *Primeiro odja.. I sta diritu..*

[CA] *I sta diritu..*

[D] *Ka tene problema mas ku ele.. Pabia na toma dja demónio, e no fas — kil — bu ka na tene mas problema..*

[C] Sim, ele já esta... resolvido. E também consegue ajudar mulheres grávidas?

[D] Sim, tenho, tene mulher grávida,...

[CA] *Si bu misti fidjo, bu fassi, e na dau, bu misti mesinhu pa cura barriga tene kilo tambí — e ten manga de mindjeres.. As vezes ta — padi fidjo... cansado..*

[C] Ah, doente.. Cansado?

[CA] *Cansado.. Pabia prazo no tene manga de —es. Padi fidjo cansado e ta murri, e... tene ghoutro maneira suma bin cural. Ma amin ora ku bin na mamé tene kil la.. Então resolve problema — ora ku bai leba mesinhu.. — bu mesinhu. Ora ke bai, curri. Alias, i ba na bin di kil mesinhu... hora ki bu panha barriga e ta bin, amin na bai mato e — mesinhu pa bu — pa kungsi resolve — e padi diritu na hora ku ten, e ki padi um bias e kaba — ate hora ki falal kuma nparau. Gos, se alguém bin li e ka misti padi..*

[C] *Misti padi?*

[CA] *I ka misti padi...*

[C] *Ka misti..?*

[D] *Ki fala kuma pa entra barriga, pa no i ka misti padi, e n ta fala di bai.. — ka tene — ka misti e fala ta misti bai. Então — corpu di pai. — ki pudi padi. Na hora ki bu papia ki ka misti padi, — e caba. Si bu fala ki ka misti barriga, n — pa bin enterral kil, então bu bin la.. —i bo ten manga de djenti, fidjo garandi gos... ke tene ki problema kuma.. Ku ke sta bin ke fala kuma, barriga fitcha, ta fassi ka ta padi ka sibi ke.. Fala bin hospital e fala nhé. Ke bu solvi la? Na hora ka bai, — bu ta pa duro ta pa dos. Então i tchiga la...*

[CA] *El tene sempre li.. Li cadun. Tambi — i ka padi, i bin li e bin pidi, dos — bin padi, bu misti dos, gémeo.. Su misti fidjo ke tene cor, suma caboerdiano\*caboverdiano?) Então dau la, e toma kil mesinhu, no na padi filho ku na corpu na — .I tene aquela.*

[C] *Ku mesinhu..*

[D] *mm-mm. Medicamento tradicional. Nka fassil kil, ta fassil... manga de trabalho.. Amin tene galinha, na pudi fassi pa galinha ta murri, pa ele padi hora ki misti..*

[C] O que foi esse último?

[M] *Galinha.. Falou ki ku ta fassi?*

[D] *N'ta fassi galinha padi diritu.*

[C] *Ajuda também a galinha a fazer...*

[M] *Sim sim sim, galinha para ter muito...*

[C] *Até a galinha!*

[laughs]

[...]

[D] *Ta certa.. Ku amin na conta. Akil i ka ta pekadur, i ta difícil pa.. Galinha. Hora galinha na bota, bu tchiga li no tchiga odja ki na bota e — logo o primeiro ovo.. Hora ki toma kil - crença.. Hora ki — primeiro ke dita ovo, kumpu kil tudo kau, — lebanta bo. Hora ka ta controla hora ki na fassi dez ovo, feio a trapal garandi. Ba bin guarda. E seca la, tarde um apanhal, pa ma- fassil. Perigo num ke — bor kau, neste kil outro ke pui pa la, kin ke pa — kumpul la, tudo caba, torna ovo la... hora ki — bin, kil i lanta dju —, kil ka pudi leba medicamento... pabia di ke.. Taraco di noite, bu ta kinti! Ki temperatura di kil la..*

[CA] *Temperatura...*

[D] *Temperatura di kil la, i sta.. Barriga di, ki si mamé ke porta la, e pudi kinti kil ke...*

[M] Mm-mmm-mmm

[CA] *Na ken kil tudo —*

[D] *Primeiro — quando caba, i li. Primeiro — di queston da cobra..*

[C] Questão de cobra?

[M] Se tem mais argumentos...

[C] Questões?

[M] Sim argumentos sobre..

[C] Sim, eu queria saber sobre, quando mulher está grávida e ela acha que pode ter algum problema, que sente que o filho não está bem na barriga..

[D] *Ka sta bem... bom, bom pergunta.*

[C] Tenho mais uma pergunta antes disso. Quando uma mulher tem um filho na barriga, o filho já está aí, é como um *pekadur* pequeno com a alma que está aí já, a alma não vem depois, quando o filho nasce..

[D, CA] sim, sim..

[C] Então, eu acho, a mulher consegue sentir se está bem ou não está bem, ou não consegue?

[D] *eehh.. Resposta sta la..mmm. Se mindjer qua ke bin pa la e papia ten problema di barriga, na puntal tudo, te contal, ta bai, ta bai pa preña.. E derruba te rapatil ki tivil. Logo na kil caso, no sibi kal mesinhu no busca na mato pa tivil pa barriga pudi firma. Hora ki n'punta se barriga firma e fala nhé, amin ten ki riba mato mas, — ten mesinhu ki ta segural e ten — i ka na tene algum problema mas.*

[C] Não entendi a primeira parte que ele disse..

[D] *I fala, se contra mindjer suma ki la bin conta kuma, i tene problema de barriga, te del ku barriga ta rapati...*

[C] Rapati..?

[M] *I parti..*

[D] *I ta na consigui fassi.. Pequeno aborto. Logo tene kil mesinhu — kil la i ka na rapati mas, ka na sai mas. Hora ki ka na sai, conta ki 2 dos mis kuma ki ka na sai, amin ten ki bai pa outro pa bin dal, fervente, ku kal si ki na toma, e ka na rapati, — hora ki tchiga oito mis, ka na de mas mesinhu. Tchiga hora di parto. Hora ki na pui padi fidjo simples, ka tene problema mas...*

[C] Resolve o problema... uma vez que toma o primeiro medicamento, e o outro depois de 8 meses, e depois consegue padir o filho direito, com tudo como deve de ser?

[all] Sim sim

[D] — *fidjos.. Amin ku mi nha trabalho.. Na 2.000 pabia, kil kunsu tempo do nha papé. Kil bin murri 1999.. Logo tudo hora ki fica, ninguém ka tem pode tomar. Amin ki fica, ke herdado, kil trabalho. Tanto — medicamento, tanto morança, mas isso é.. Kusa.*

[C] E o seu país teve que lhe ensinar alguma coisa, ou teve que...?

[...]

[C] Conseguiu?

[D] *Muito mas. No esta prosseguir trabalho di nha papé. N'bo su ku? Real?. Neste momento, mas ninguém.*

[C] É muita responsabilidade..

[D] Só que este momento —está a perceber?

[C] Esta a ensinar a um deles, ou a todos? [pointing to the children]

[D] A todos.. Há outro, há *kil mas velho la, há la outro la.. Ta la manga dele, outro sta la em Bissau, mas, aquele que esta em Bissau não, ele, — não.. Ele ka pudi. Meninu, meninu mas novo.. — mesmo? — kau medicamento é moderna, mas.. Estão a perseguir pa..*

[...]

[C] Eu queria saber também porque...porque queria dizer, é uma coisa também que me interessa mais, quando uma mulher sobretudo, é nova, e fica grávida ela tem muito medo. Então tem alguma forma de dar proteção para ela ficar tranquila e garantir que as coisas corram bem? Você tem alguma forma de saber que a criança esta bem na barriga?

[D, CA] Não... *no ka pudi..*

[D] *No ka pudi fassi mesinhu di criança no, no barriga.. Mas quando uma pessoa tem qualquer problema diferente a esse questão, no pode saber um pouco. Também, só pergunta.. O marido, vocês irem hospital. Primeiro kusa... ele diz que, que.. Ele diz sim, não tene problema. Mas se é, se é queston di saúde, ke preocupa ele, eu também vou la ver qual o problema, mas sempre toma muito cuidado porque uma pessoa é responsabilidade.. Para garantir..*

[C] Uma pessoa...?

[CA] Grávida.

[D] Para garantir, porque senão *bu* pode ir em cadeia. *Akilo ki amin sabe eu diz ke amin sabe!* Foi feito assim... *ka pudi fassi padeira.* Fazer trabalho — muito grave, *pabia* de um.. Ser[emphasis].

[C] Sim.. Pois, é complicado..

[D] É complicado... é por isso que eu tomo muito cuidado para ver esses meninos..

[C] Não é nada fácil..

[D] Dizem.. Boa maneira pa.. Pa ultrapassar este, este *situason*.. Um individuo que está doente. Mesmo neste caso, eu estou a fazer trabalho. Não tenho guia.. Este, está mesmo.. Todo dia com criança. —

[C] Todo dia tem qualquer caso...

[D] Que nunca fala também.. Tudo que.. Ate amanhã, há outra que vai comparecer aqui, porque mesmo que, outra assim que...

[C] E, isso também.. Sabe curar crianças?

[D] Sim, a criança com menos problema.. [...] a criança com menos problema, amin pudi saber qual a *situason*, mas só que... sempre voltara a conversa com o pai e a mãe. Deve levar criança para hospital. Depois, depois de, de medicina moderna não conseguir, pode utilizar o medicamento... tradicional.

[C] Primeiro levar...

[D] *Bu ta leba a..* Centro de saúde. Depois, centro de saúde não resolve, no pudi ver la como que esta. No pude por exemplo.. A mulher *cku*... a pouco de apetite, grávida. Não será curado ou não será curada como aquele que,



aquele que não está grávida. Há um... **dozia** para ele. Também, criança como esta, há uma **dozia**. Se **dozia** está ultrapassado, ele vai morrer. Se criança a partir de 12, a 14, é normal como pertence a um adulto. Mas *kel normal...*

[C] Até 12, 14 anos tem que se fazer outro tipo....?

[D] Porquê.. Gente para trás precisa algum tratamento normal.. *No misti bai para dar dozia*, mas, mais alto como 14 para 18... também aquele de 45, 35, há uma **dozia** para ele..

[C] Que é diferente..

[D] Também eu vou ver la no seu olho.. Sabe que quando cobra pica um velho ou um adulto ou um menino, é o mesmo veneno. Esta algum coisa que vai comparecer la. Se eu vê isto, — aquele também não pode salvar, pergunta ao meu colega, ele que... *sta na san -- Este papia*.

[CA] *Amin ka tene.. Papia.. Ka ten capacidade... na fala esse, i na san, ka na san, i na — anos doença, i ka ke manda kil..*

[M] sim sim sim

[CA] É assim..

[D] *Nô i abre aí,*

[CA] *Hora ki na bai mato*

[D] *I tene ki tris? Ki sta la, i amarelo, i su cor um bocado.. I ar também o odjal.. I sibi*

[CA] *Kil entra dja li..*

[D] *Mesinhu põe na mato, si bai tasil, i el sinta, no ta bai kel...*

[CA] *E ta mostral..*

[D] *No ta fasil... — e na murri. Ma mesinhu i — i tira lá. No tra ku demónio. Si bu tchiga la, bu sibi kuma, aah i ki na morde. Kil tudo maneira kuma kal mesinhu di mato tudo caba. —*

[CA] *A ku trabadja.. Ka pudi riba dja awos... hora ki no papia ainda mon di..*

[all talking, unclear]

[CA] *Papia.. Murri... i ka ta, i ka ta falado.*

[D] *Ki leba — ki enton fala es, es passa gora.*

[M] *Kil é bardade.*

[C] Ele consegue curar também se uma pessoa está longe no mato? Se uma pessoa está longe no mato que não consegue ter...

[M] Se esta no..?

[C] Não entendi, não entendi o que ele estava a dizer agora o seu irmão.. Desculpe, não entendi! Pode repetir o que estava a dizer agora?

[CA] Do cobra..

[D] Ah, do cobra...

[M] Não é.. Quando, quando ele fui ao mato a procura de *mesinhu*, com ele..

[D] Procura daquele medicamento tradicional... quando veio tal pessoa com olho, fazer assim.. *Anos staba a ver uma kusa la*. Portanto bem sabe o que é, só no — porque perdeu muito tempo la em casa... então sempre...

[CA] *Veneno dja i ta contra veneno, veneno subi dja..*

[D] Veneno já está atingido pela sua memória. Sabe que quando a cobra pica uma pessoa, este veneno subi pa bin murri. Quando entra na memória, é porquê.. Imediatamente que este não vou salvar. É por isso que sempre digo as pessoas que, quando este.. Pratica foi praticado deve trazer doente mesmo rápido para mim.

[CA] Depois marrar o pé..

[D] O pé que foi enxado... nada.

[CA] Nada..

[D] Mesmo que na mão, não foi enxado...

[CA] Na mão, poh, *leba li...*

[D] Mas se ele ... e cade quem diz, eu pude eu pude eu pude, *isto ki matou mangade..* Muitas pessoas aqui. Fizeram quanto, quatro pessoas, já foi morto a partir de 1999 até 2019. 2019 ainda ninguém morreu. Há uma pessoa que, sofre picada de cobra, e foi salvado. Em 1999 a 2018 é 4 pessoas, que morreram.. Porquê? O alguém que não sabe fazer diz que eu sabe! Não sabe... dá-me o dinheiro..

[M] Ele vai atrasar e isso perdeu tempo la.. Ele não — que fazer..

[C] Sim, assim não consegue resolver nada..

[M] ya!

[D] Se nunca ninguém chegou aqui, não chegou aqui, diz ele dá-me o dinheiro para eu te curar!, não.. Eu sempre.. Fui para o mato, procurar o medicamento rápido, quando pessoa está *san..* Dá-me 10.000, é meu.. Eu nunca cobrei ninguém, imediatamente... sempre levei um coisas — o meu pai me disse que, tu não come dinheiro de alguém sem ele foi *san..* Meu pai diz isso. Também estou a perseguir a sua palavra.

[CA] Sim sim é verdade..

[D] Porque ele deixou um mensagem..

[M] Isso é verdade..

[D] hora este momento... manga de pessoas precisa dinheiro, mas não é.. Esse dinheiro não da para.. Comer. Porque se um dia — ma..

[C] Sim, então não pode ser..

[D] Não pode ser comida assim..

[C] Primeiro é tratar das pessoas, e depois..

[D] Depois que foi *san...* pode, pode pedir algum *pon*. Mas tudo falamos que vir uma pessoa e nunca — kil 10.000! — procura 11,14, 15.000.. — saúde. Eu sempre.. Tratamento de cobra, 11.600, acabou.

[C] É uma coisa fixa, não muda?

[D] Não pode mudar..

[CA] Porque que custa 11.600? Porque deste, 300 litro de Bordão, mais um folha de tabaco.. Litro de bordão custa 1300, folha de tabaco custa 100fran.. Então san 1600, 10.000 é a cura.. É isto..

[D] Outro espaço.. Pode também, pode.. Para falar as pessoas que, se não tem o 10.000 dá-me aquele cabra, o porco, caba!

[M] Em termos de possibilidade de que a pessoa pode ganhar para que ele tene..

[D] Se tem mancarra, tem o que.. O óleo palma..

[M] Vai sumar o quanto litros que da para esse montante

[CA] Para 10.000, sim.. Pronto.

[C] E o bordão também ajuda para o tratamento?

[CA] Exatamente, tem si...

[D] Tratamento de..

[M] Eles que esta a dizer se.. Você estava a dizer se bordão dão para o tratamento?

[C] Sim, exato para o tratamento..

[M] Cana bordão? Sabe para...

[D] *Eh para, suma no falaba de..*

[CA] *I pa de... darma. O pa darma.*

[all] mm-mm sim..

[C] *I pa darma?*

[all] Sim. Para derramar no onde i sítio que.. Há uma coisa que...

[CA] *Kel li no darma no tchon, pronto acabou.*

[D] Quem quer beber, bebe. Quem não quer, não tem problema... se vem que pode beber, bebe. Mesmo dono, quer beber... isso é a parte. Mas que não pode ser mas nada. Porque sabe demónio, tomou um compromisso com ele.

[ ] Você tomou um compromisso com ele?

[D] Siiim.. Porque meu dono, o meu pai o meu...

[C] É outro, um compromisso que esta a passar de uma pessoa para a outra?

[D] Para outra..

[CA] Trabalhar, trabalhar com ele. *Kem ki djubi?* Porque senão, não é ele... não podemos ir a mato. *Pui, deve darmar la, depois ir na mato, procurar isso la sim...*

[C] Então é essencial ter o apoio dele para conseguirem fazer o vosso trabalho?

[both] mmm, sim

[D] *Pa no fassi bom trabalho.*

[C] E ele ajuda também nos tratamentos? Faz parte?

[CA] Muito bem!

[C] Faz parte?

[both] Faz parte!

[D] Porque nos vamos no mato... juntos. *Se bu tchiga aí*, eu não ir la... ele vai tirar um.. Nboh, algum coisa que há, nos vamos ver. Aquilo vamos nos ver eu não posso ver isso. Portanto eu vou seguir como o velho me disse.

[C] Portanto ele indica se for tratamento ou medicamento bom, se correu se não correi...

[both] Sim, sim sim...

[C] Ajuda na sua escolha...

[CA] É problema di galinha que nos diz isso.

[D] *No ta papia ku ele..*

[CA] Mata, matamos galinha...

[D] E ajuda-nos.. *Hora ki no bai mato, se abu ku na odjal, bu na odjal aí atras, pa no tchiga, e falam, COBE esse, no cobe, e tissi. Amin na cobe kil ki kungsi, tchiga li k'cobe e falan n'ka na cobe esse. É esse. Na bai kil ghoutro.*

[CA] *Galinha ta mostra a —ten antes de bai. Pabia hora ki mata galinha bu kungsi.. E na, na dal. Bu na companhia.*

[D] *Sinta si tu i sta diritu.. Ma si fala cobe esse, i NANGHANAN, falal não, nka é esse, pa mostral kil ki no cobe. Não é cobe gora aquele. Fala é esse, i esse, ki bon, i caba.*

[C] Indica...

[both] sim..

[C] Consegue

[CA] *I ta companhau..*

[D] Acompanha o trabalho..

[C] Acompanha o trabalho portanto, nunca vão sozinhos..

[CA] eehh

[C] É importante..

[D] Que mas?

[C] E isso também, sendo que você consegue ter esse apoio, mais, consegue também ver aquela criança que não é *pekadur*?

[D] Está bem. Mmm

[CA] Aquele é mesma coisa ali..

[D] *Bu toca no outro kau. Bu —*

[C] Não entendi...

[M] *Bu toca no outro kau.. Quer dizer, proposta...*

[Djon and Mamadou speaking together, not clear]

[D] Eh.. *Ke.. Kil trabalho*

[CA] *Ku ka ta fassi kil la...* [half whispering]

[D] *Mmm, pudi fassil, mas nka tene apoio. Você sibi kuma, hora ki no tene um apoio, ki bin na adjudal, — por exemplo, — um casa pequenino dus mês, cama esta la. Dukume ten, mas si kil la ka ten, então nega i ka na fassi trabalho. Mun- sibil grito, kun pudil. Ma nunde ki bin pus si dono? Pabia di kuma ka pudi pate, mas nunde ki — ? Es no pertal. Nka pudi resolvi problema, então falan nka pudi. — pudi, ma si tene apoio, tene um casa, locado, kil é pudi — suma força nem caba ku mim ka na pudi bai trabalho. No força — mesinhu, força i problema di gente, na — suma kun fala, amin herdeiro terceiro, di kil ki no trabalha kil la, mas suma nka tene apoio, nka pudi — fassil — kil tipo di gente, amin sibi ki, ... sibi.*

[C] Sabe quem é..?

[D] Sibi.

[C] Ou seja, consegue vê-los?

[D] *E ten, e ten djenti ki poio kil tel mesinhu ten. E ten maneira di tratal tudo kil ki ta tornando mal. Nada fácil.. As vezes tem, i tem tem, i tem no tempo passado, kel tal leba kil djentis. I fala kuma, não kil i irân, kil la fassi que.. Porque outro é na botal. Ka ta botal de.*

[C] E... não que? Não vai pô-lo...?

[M] Exatamente, não vai...

[D] *Kil ka ta botal.. Kil djenti ki..*

[CA] *Kil i segredo..*

[D] *Eh, é segredo.. Kil djenti ke.. Na bai matal, — e na sibi ki lanta assim fala dja algum mês, e ta lebal ta rápido, nun, nka matal la — e bin matal bu papé e paga dinheiro e mata bu fidjo.*

[C] Ou seja, são pessoas que dizemos que vão levá-lo, e vão matá-lo, e pedem um dinheiro para isso..

[M] Ya ya.. Matar.. Isso sim. Porque ele vai dizer custo muito, ele pede muito

[D] *Ma odja exemplo. Bu odja esse ki padi, —*

[M] I pekadur

[D] *Yo! Se papé na matal ba, si pudi ba. Se papé ka misti...*

[C] Papé nega.

[D] *... papé nega, i tratal, do kil san li li, e passal óleo gos, e ke bai junto pa piscar..e no tene casa la, — murtador. Si mataba na kil tempo, ta perdi pis.*

[M] — estava awos, sim

[D] Exatamente que sabe..

[M] *Bu sibi.. Su maneira di —, amin ka ma dir ma dano se pa si —*

[all] yoo

[CA] *Amarra,*

[confused talking]

[CA] *No ta fala, no ta fala odjo di pis?*

[laughters]

[CA] *Kil é kal de, kal de..*

[D] *Existiba na kil tempo, mas este tempo no se — um tecnologia e ten ke fassi outro pratica ki mais medjor di kil ki djenti ki ten. Djenti ki ten — ki cansa kil pekadur e ta fala mas ki i ka ta pekadur!*

[M] *Na nin djege.. Djeme e ta bota.. E ta bota, gémeo... i ta bota.*

[D] *Bota.. Bu nin ka si dúzia, ma geme di parceiro, ki la. Si na kil tempo, i na botal si no —mal —*

[C] *Ki akil i ka ta pekadur..*

[M] *Bu sibi é kusa di tradison. Kuma ki... djenti ki ta fassil i primeiro, e pui djentis.. A confusão.. E sibi*

[D] *Akil, i ka na djenti, i ka na djenti*

[M] *Yoo.. Keles ki ka sibi.. Esse*

[CA] *.. Pekadur..*

[M] *Abo, — porque estava em algum interissi, e punta di kil parte e boh, alguém respondi, fala, i fala na língua Suss. Bfala no, pekadur ka pudi padir irân..*

[D] *Nunca.. Nunca*

[M] *Eheheh.. Pekadur ka pudi padir irân, nunca..*

[D] *Kil próprio ki ta padido assim, as vezes ten um djona ke ele sabi.. Pa tene na morança. Mas ki ka ten kele odja n'kuma.*

[C] *O que?*

[M] *Tem que ser alguém de conhecimento, tem que ser sábio*

[C] *Para...?*

[M] *Para saber muita coisa,*

[D] *Para poder ver..*

[M] *E dominar este processos, ele tem que ser inteligente. Quando foi tratado.*

[D] *Nka sibi si bu dju bíblia na lembra. I fala kuma Jesus, mal sibi manga de kusas. I juntal na lemате?. Mateus e Jesus i na papiado.*

[M] *Até amanhã.*

[D] *Ten kil sábio di ki ten, di djenti ki bin ate aqui, e tene odja, ta fala kuma, não esse é irân, esse caba li, esse aki.. Aquela mindjer aqui, bu na começa — bo estudo, kuma ku bu na trata? Dipus si bim tratat diritu e lanta, e na sai di bom pekadur. Mas djenti ke nka entendi ka na caba dja na fala kuma naah, kel i pa mato. E fala i pa bota. Ke ka na botal.*

[M] *Kil istoria di falal kuma menino pudi bai.. Esse je djubi.*

[D] *Amin - sibi — diritu.*

[C] Então, como que o senhor esta a dizer, que esse aí é *pekadur*, a forma de.. Se for tratado, ele depois consegue ficar bem?

[all] mm-mm! Sim! Eh!

[M] Ele da um exemplo de um sai dai.. *Staba* assim..

[C] Aqui?

[M] Sim, ele passou aqui

[CA] Este momento, ele foi para o rio.

[M] Mas agora...

[CA] Sua casa está lá.

[M] Agora tem muitos filhos

[D] Muitos filhos desse..

[M] Ele fica *si fidjo*.. Yo. Tem muitos filhos, mas no caso que eles levaram para *polon*?

[general laughing]

[M] Vai ficar baixo di terra!

[general laughing]

[M] Esse é *bardade*!!

[D] *Bardade bardade*!!

[CA] *Es padidu ku cabeça pequenina, i ta tremi tremi assim..*

[D] *I tababa.. Ki i irân..*

[CA] *E falam, kil ka ta pekadur.. Bu sibi.. El i pekadur!*

[M] Melhor passar ... ele — a de *ribar* la.

[C] Ke na é *pekadur*?

[CA] *Kil papé fala kuma não* [emphasis], não esse *nha fidjo*. Ele se perto.

[D] *E la la ol. Manga de filhos, manga de, de netos. Si fidjo padi fidjo. Ele ki bin ca awos pa bai pisca.*

[CA, M] mm!Mm!

[D] *Kil omi curto assim. Kel ku manda é.. — pega e bai botal nha filho. Bu bota nha filho e bai matal, bin toma dinheiro e pagau. Amin fala, eh?*

[M] *Antepassados, alguin liga la di..[village]. I fala, ten ka sibi quem ke tene um física, nfala eeeh!! Nfala nka tene — bu ka sibi — se kil existi.*

[CA] *Amin tene un cambau na no —*

[M] *Amin nka sibi se kil i existir, ki ta ribal — bu falan sibi ba antes si... u passado i bin lan de..*

[..]

[M] *E puntan kel kuma ke se n pudi fassi kel, e fala eh! Bu fala amin ka consigui djenti ki ta fassi kil la. Bu falan amin passado desde ke mo obi da, nka pudi fala o fulano ta fassil, fala no ta fassil... falal el bin ba — e ta bin punta punta.*

[CA] *Na ali i no ka ta fassi.*

[M] *Ba le ali ki ta fasido amin nka sibi kilo ki ta fasido gos. Nfala kil ki no contal e — kil ki ta fasido la. — i ka tarra, —[...] porque kil kusa i caba gos próprio, i kaba gos, djenti ka ta fassi... só djenti ke misti engana, pa toma bu dinheiro, kel la ke ta fassi...*

[C] Então é só uma coisa para enganar as pessoas?

[M] sim sim sim

[C] Mas é mais nada, quer dizer..

[M] Não isso não.. Não vai... não.

[...]

[CA] *Amin ki si guia, ke se di guia, ki si guia...*

[M] *No amin sibi.*

[CA] *Kil bias ki ten..*

[M] *Akil bias ki no na papia..*

[D] *Djubi kil ki ten.. Que tchiga na nha kau, lanta — em tudo.. Se NCUDO, se NKEU, se bu cabeça que no entregau.. Kil tudo kil no fassi kil la, mas aqueles la.. No ka ta fassi..*

[M] *Noh, aonti tudo ki no bai e — tudo, não, no ka ta fassi — primeiro, um omi falar manga de. Mas awos.. Djenti ka ta fassi kil la..*

[...]

[D] *No ka ta fassi kil gos, pabia.. Odja.. No sta na mui tecnologia no —. A menino di nha sobrinho, fidjo no —*

[CA] *I tempo, tempo di — eles ki tene fidjo, gente —*

[D] *I padi kil kola di djenti. I ka ta, — ---, i manda konta no papial e fala la..bu — abu di si kil. Kil tempo — . E tem kil ki lebal la na Bissau, bai la pa bai la, e amin ka tene dificuldade amin sinta, nha mamé murri, nka tene papé, este tudo, este nha mindjer, este nha dona e também ncural..ka na bin — aquele, i trabalho tchiu. E lebal la. I sta diritu.*

[C] *Então também tinha um irmão que tinha problemas quando era criança? Depois em Bissau... resolveram, com tratamento..*

[D] *Sta la.. Bos i, e ki tene kau nunde leba kil tipo di djentis.. Hora ki sta diritu..*

[C] *Kau i bambaram?*

[D] *Não não, i ka Bambaran. Fidjo, fidjo ku padido...*

[M] *No kil i um organizason ki ta recebi...*

[unclear overlapping talks]



[CA] *I Bambara, i ta papia na radio..*

[M] *Un centro kau ki — suma bambaram, suma i bambul tudo menino ki sta mal..*

[all] yoo

[C] *I tene tchiu..*

[...]

[talking about *irân*'s help]

[C] Há muitas pessoas que lhe pedem esse tipo de apoio?

[CA] Todos dia!

[D] Tudu dia! Outro *tchiga* aqui hoje de manhã..

[CA] Desde manhã..

[D] Amanhã outro vai passar aqui...

[CA] Até a noite... *kil* tipo di trabalho..

[C] Tem sempre alguém

[D] Cura, cura tradicional..

[CA] Cura tradicional, problemas tradicional.. — de mais. As coisas rituais..

[C] E também CT e R podem pedir a sua ajuda, para resolver algum problemas e outras coisas que não consegue resolver sozinho você consegue ajudá-los? Sim?

[D] *Amin* *pudi* *ajudal*...

[C] Pode fazer *manga de* coisas!

[D] No momento em que o regulo próprio aí, antigo regulo, cobra morder... *Amin* *djuda*!

[C] *Abo*?

[D] *Amin!* *Bo ta ka ta choma* *Djon*, e ta fala *papé!*

[laughters]

[D] *Ke cobra* *murdi*..

[CA] *E omi* *garandi* *kil* *li*...

[...]

[C] É chefe de tabanca?

[CA] mm

[C] Então.. Eu quero saber... quer dizer, você também tem uma *baloba* aí atras, estava a dizer antes? Tem *baloba*?

[M] *Bu tene* *baloba*?

[CA] *Baloba, baloba i di esse..*

[M] *Baloba i di esse.. Logo bu misti continua ku ser baloba, ou?*

[C] *Não, misti kungsi di chefe di tabanca.. Como é que você chegou a ser chefe de tabanca?*

[CA] *Eehh quem que pudi ser chefe de tabanca? Pabia kuma nha dona ke puiba li. Tene terreno... ele ke bin, e bin — di nalus. E conbersa... ki dal leis, di tabanca. Boh nha dona, el ke tisi dona desse, pabia kusa di amiguindade, e pega outro aminguidade la, na choma tchiu.. Nha dona ta andaba lancha, kil tempo lancha..*

[C] *Lancha i kuma canoa?*

[CA] *I ka canoa kel..*

[C] *O que é lancha?*

[CA] *I lancha kil tempo i ta riamado, um kusa garandi..*

[D] *I ta pregado ba... kil kusa la..*

[CA] *Tene djenti, grupo pa li..*

[D] *Tipo de barquinho.. Kil transporte.*

[CA] *Grupo pa li, grupo pa li..boh, na ta lanta si..*

[D] *Kil lado.. Remo, ora hora ki bin..*

[C] *Ah, é garandi, garandi...*

[CA] *E tem ki kil sta la atras la, el ki na filanta... kila motor ke sta la de.. Remo. E nha dona ta bai pa tchon di Djon. Ta bai.. Bai compra siti, cumpra — e riba. E ba pega minguidade que dona desse. Depois ki na pensa bin bin sul, ki na pensa bin sul... si na pensa bin sul, i bin dipus ki bin i tchiga, ta bin tchiga li, bin papia ku dona desse li, es un ku — zona li.. Kil la i bin papia kil la, e fala 'misti kau di sinta'. Misti kau di sinta.. E fala, eehh! Misti kau di sinta. No misti kau di sinta, ma li.. Suma em no nô punta i falal kuma li, i kau di RONIA, kau kel ta darma kesse. Irân sta li, e sta ribal.. Disse el, di Nalu, ki tene tabanca ali, sta ali.. Ali ke no ta bai RONIA. No ka pudi sinta nil la..*

[C] *Ronia i kal cerimónia di darma?*

[CA] *I fala eles kuma, amin ka tene nada di irân. Amin misti só, pa bo da sin kau di sinta, sin sinta, — bolanha, pa ba ta labral e tiral nha arroz. — sai di si nome, Ambrósio da Silva. Nha dona. Ambrósio da Silva. Logo i bin fala, a bin pa — ora ki bai e bin, bai e bin, e bai e bin, e tisis ali binho, e papia papia, e ka bai prob— di irmon la. E fala nboh, bu pudi sinta. Sinta!*

[C] *Mas então ele disse que não tinha nada a ver com irâns? Certo? Porque esse era um sítio de ronia, aqui atras, mas queria a casa aqui?*

[M] *Estão a dizer era o.. O irân dos Nalus, o dono, o dono do tchon... no momento que avo deles estava à procura de sítios onde vai sentar..*

[CA] *Onde vai sentar sim..*

[M] *Nalu diz sim, que há.. Nos temos irân la, ele disse não eu não tenho nada com vosso irân. Eu preciso só de um sítio onde construir a casa e ter a minha bolanha, estas a ver, para ter arroz para comer.. É isto! Ele disse que boh!*

[C] *Ok, percebi agora..*

[CA] *Dipus ke ceital..*

[C] *E isso é Ambrósio da Silva..*

[CA] *Dipus ke ceital, ke bai gora, bai desse dona desse, si amigo, e falal.. No bai. Suman ta el ll? Sibi,, então kau ku odja la, no sul, no tchon Nalu... no bai na sinta. Kil i ceta. I bin i bin sinta li.*

[D] *Na noite.. Na baixo, mas baixo.*

[CA] *Eh, mas baixo, baixo ali... la ki bin sinta. Sinta ki sinta, logo nha dona ba busca nha tio, nha papé, — di si sobrinho. Vai buscal. Dona — bai buscal tambi si sobrinho ke se, e bin djunto, e bin djunto ku fidjo ke... ke bin aqui e sinta ali.*

[D] *Nha papé Labrador na Bolama..*

[CA] *Nha papé na trabalhava no E la no bolama.. Logo i bin, i bin sinta li. Ke pui a kau. Boh, dipus nha dona murri, dona desse murri, nha papés fica, assim que pega ghoutro, e continua trabadja djunto, te la dia tal que deus bin toma esses. Bom amin fica como chefe de tabanca. Akil la que pui ter chefe de tabanca, pabia di nha dona, ki bin a nha papé e bin a mim. E suma maneira ki Djon fala kuma, esse baloba, i bin di si dona e bin di si papé, e bin nele. Bu na obi? Yoo assim ki kusa sta.*

[C] *Ou seja... como uma herança..*

[M] *Porque tem que ser, djorson... se família tchiga primeiro, sin ke tarda.*

[CA] *Assim ke tarda, outro ten..*

[M] *No na.. Filho daquele.. Filho tio assim..*

[CA] *É assim..*

[C] *E como é que foi.. Que foi você e não foi um seu irmão? Porque você estava primeiro, porque você tinha mais aptidão?*

[CA] *Eehhh nha irmãs, somente tene irmãs. Na tene irmãs garandi, amin ki último. Pabia di ki manda amin na sinta ali, amin ki ka na ba sintaba li.. Nha irmon primeiro filho di nha papé ke na sintava li, ma kil la.. I se eli, antes di guerra di —*

[D] *Di Cabral*

[CA] *Di Cabral.. Esse ele, talvez na 55, 5- Pabia di tempo i ka padido. Ele bai, nha tio lebal e bai crial e lebal pa Bissau, eli ki cria nele e ki luta odjal la. Luta armada di libertason nacional. I ka esse tu- Si del, kil i de Cabral. Logo ele fica na Bissau e te trabalha la, pronto. Odja, nha papé bin na bin elis. Amin bin padido dja pa li. Amin bai istuda la na Canxungo, na Bissau.. Bissau , Canxungo, gos kil la el fala pa bin fica na casa pabia eli belho. Suma.. Kil la, nfala amin ka pudi riba gos, ele.. Amin sta dja li, trabalha aí kanto tempo, trabalha na Estado, pa bin fica la no sul, i ka fácil. Logo i djubi kuma ki pudi fassi, e ka ten maneira. Gos amin ki tenta mobilizar, ki ribantal li. Amin último filho. Amin ki tenta mobilizar. Kil tempo sta mas logo, nta ba escola, mas ka tene experiência tchiu, si suma gos i bai ka na, i ka na fácil pega tisil el li.*

[D] *- tambi... kuma kil - vai dar..ele estava a Hungria?*

[CA] *Kil estava.. Kil ki ka pudi..*

[D] *Ghoutro também, fêmea..*

[CA] *Kel é enfermeira li..*

[C] *Então, estavam todos muito longe!*

[CA] *Kem ki pudi tisi? Amin ki odja kuma i did panha pabia ki bin feira sempre, todo hora esta aí, bai bin, bai bin, ban bin, logo la ki panha, e fica ali.*

[C] Se eles não estão aqui, é impossível que sejam eles..

[all] Eehh, eehh

[CA] *Kil garandi ki — estaba li.. Mas gos, djitu ka ten. E tisis li, amin fica la um bias, desde 1985, que amin sta li.*

[C] Muito tempo..

[CA] *1985, ke amin sta li.. Logo n'fica la um bias, nka bai diante, nka bai atras, fica na ponta. — fazia nho 8a classe. Este tempo ba.. Talvez i ka staba nel i já fácil, mas djitu ka ten. Casa apanha.*

[M] Esse esse..

[CA] *Riba, amin fica li. Logo fica na kau como sta la, primeiro serve comité di tabanca, mas i bin djubi kuma amin ka nili ser di comité, amin nili cedo chefe di esse tabanca, comité didi ten, ke é kau di Djon. Djon que fica como comité, li.*

[M] *Porque tabanca fundado pa bu..*

[CA] *Pa nhu dona desse.. I ka pudi ocupa dos lugar. Nka pudi ser chefe de tabanca e ser comité, não, nka pudi ser..*

[C] O é chefe de tabanca ou é comité, não pode ser os dois..

[CA] *Não não não.. Só ka na ka djunta, no no sinta no conbersa kusa ki ten na tabanca. Pronto, no resolvi, pronto no acabou.*

[C] Eu tenho duas perguntas: quem é que esta no comité?

[CA] O Djon.

[C] É só ele, ou tem mais pessoas?

[CA] Pessoa li...

[C] É só uma pessoa?

[CA] Só ele, só..

[M] Comité tem que ser só uma pessoa, da tabanca..

[CA] É uma pessoa.

[C] E, quais que são as funções diferentes entre chefe de tabanca e comité?

[CA] No... no nka tene nin diferença..

[C] Não há diferenças...?

[CA] *Eh.. Pabia kuma, se ele qualquer problema ki obi, kin esse ke bin ten na tabanca, el choma. Ora bin sinta e pa sental conversa tudo que, que ke obi? Logo, no na djunta, no resolvi, pa kusa pudi bai diritu. I ka pudi toma decison el só. I ka pudi, amin tambi nka pudi toma decison amin só.*

[C] Tem que juntar com ele e tomam decisões em conjunto, não pode ser sozinho..

[CA] *Eeh, sim kusa i assim..*

[M] Diferença, diferença. Que existe.. Comité esta nomeado por política..

[CA] Pa Estado.

[M] Pa Estado, gente de partido *ku ganha eleison.. Eli ki ta bin eliger comité, comité di tabanca.*

[CA] *Bin eliger comité, comité di tabanca.*

[C] Então se o Estado quiser saber alguma coisa, vai falar com o Comité?

[CA] Comité, sim.

[C] Ma só comité e você trabalham.. Junto?

[CA] Em conjunto, sim.

[M] *O problema tudo na tabanca, comité ki ta resolvi primeiro, ele ki ta bai na kil kusa, porque ka consegui bai —, bai ku chefe de tabanca e mas assim. Hora ki ele mal i ka kaba, regulo.*

[CA] *Logo, i ta passa pa diante.*

[M] *Logo la si conforme kil na bai la, i bin - gora... Estado la.*

[C] Afinal é, ou se fazem as mesmas coisas. Só que depois tem que ter aí a seguir, o Estado e o outro tem a seguir o regulo...

[all] sim..

[C] Regulo aqui é que esta acima? Ele é que manda e faz as decisões?

[all] eh, eh.. Sim..

[CA] *Na nim polícia —, nem polícia de Bedanda tudo, dá-nos, dá-nos número, cada kal tene si número, amin tene gente ali. Qualquer kusa ki kil di mas.*

[D] Grave [emphasis]

[CA] *Bu ta liga diretamente, e na bin diretamente..*

[C] Por exemplo, quais coisas é que um...

[CA] *Um tipo de crime.. Um tipo de crime e no ka pudi fassi kil justiça...*

[C] Qualquer tipo de crime?

[CA] *Crime n'dé que sangue sai dja!*

[C] Aaah ok, crime di sangue..

[CA] *Alguém lanha alguém, ou alguém mata alguém akil já i ka no competência, akil i só la.. Liga pa bin buscal si dono, e bai bai.. Kil no ka pudi fassi kil li..*

[..]

[CA] *Justiça simples, di coisa simples assim, no ta fassi..*

[C] De brigas, ...?

[all] yooo

[C] Ou questões de terra, qualquer..

[CA] *Kil la ta fassil.. Mas di kil outro lado dja, anos i ka competência..*

[D] [... too low to hear] *no sinta, e no papia bos si na paga. Si bu ka tene culpa, ku ka na —*

[CA] *Se bu tene culpa..*

[D] *Ka pudi mas.. Dita.*

[C] E vocês conseguem entender e ter todo o juízo para avaliar quem tem culpa e quem não tem culpa?

[both] eeh!! *No tene kil la..*

[C] Não é fácil...

[CA] Não é fácil mas..

[D] É conversar..

[CA] Conversar, conversar, até passar isso..

[D] Mas se há problema passa aqui, está resolvido [..]

[C] E se uma pessoa faz algo que é errado, faz algum crime, não um crime de sangue, qualquer crime, vai ter punições?

[D] mmm

[CA] *Pa, pa kel..* Esse crime ligeiros

[D] Bu tene um crime ligeiro..

[CA] *Kil i ta fasido.*

[D] Crime ligeiro..

[CA] *Kil i ta fasido, nha fidjo— nu fidjo, bu viola bu fidjo, ou ki kusa...*

[C] Mas não há punições para quem é culpado?

[CA] *Não.. Regulo falado kuma.. No pudi surta bocado...*

[D] Se ultrapassa..

[M] *Bu pudi, pudi multa.*

[CA] *Multa ka pudu...*

[M] *Garandis pirdi tempo na ==*

[CA] *No kel ka pudi mai naquela, mas na pudi kumpu um bocado ku ma ntampa..*

[M] No i asin asin..

[CA] *Kil ka pudi mai nel..*

[D] *No na puntal, bora ki caba tudo fala, i ntene culpa. Bon, ke bu merci gora?*

[CA] Eh!

[D] *Abu ke na conta! Abo sental.. Tisil*

[overlapping]

[CA] *No na djubi*

[D] Isso é...

[CA] *Si no ka — kuma tampa ... — mão pa li, pa dinheiro sai..*

[M] Na bolso..

[D] *Dus kusas.*

[C] Então paga uma multa?

[both] sim...

[D] Para pagar multa, pode pagar multa.

[M] Pagar multa... muito..

[D] Se não pagar multa, para bater pode batemos mesmo. Bater...

[C] Em vez de pagar a multa?

[CA] *El, eli bai decidir!*

[...]

[CA] *Dai 50, e sta!*

[C] 50? 50 chicotadas?

[M] As vezes até 100! Depende de.. Algo.

[laugh at my surprise]

[Ca] *—culpa. Kuma uma crime ta cansar para fazer uma guerra, então, vamos apanhar e amarrar, aqui.. Para bater..*

[M] O momento — problemas aos regentes, *garandi* fala deixa deixa, tu não ouvir nada, continua sempre a fazer.

[CA] Para — *ke eu sou homem, vou mandar jovem para ti.. Prender, amarrá-lo como deve ser, deita, fala. 50! Mantampa. Logo i tchiga 50.. 1, shh!, 2..*

[M] As vezes o correr de máquina, de descansa de arroz.. Boom! Boom! Boom!

[laughs]

[CA] Ele não volta a fazer mais, não volta a fazer mais, porquê.. Sabe, já viu o que é que foi lei. Mas outro diz não, deixa-me vou pagar multa. Então, quanto é? Eu pagar 50.000...

[...]

[CA] Tem 50.000 não pode ter, — outro *recebil*. Há um estrado 20.000, e — este 30.000 vai ser comum para a população. A sua mãe pode ser ou seu pai.. Vai ser o primeiro.

[C] É para todos

[CA] Todos vão decidir, vamos comprar isto isto isto... sentamos para...

[C] Comprar coisas que são uteis para todos...

[CA] Resolver o problema nê

[C] Para toda tabanca..

[CA] Ele também.. Nos vamos dar 5.000 para ele ir hospital..

[D] Centro de saúde, para curar o seu corpo, porque ele que arranjou isso..

[M] Depois ele vai receber os conselhos porque não aconteça mas, este tipo de *kusa*...

[CA] E saber que isso não é bom, esse que é bom..

[C] É sempre chefe de tabanca que dá esses conselhos?

[D] Eeh..

[CA] Sim, dá. Não deve fazer isso, isso que é bom, isso que..

[D] A sua mãe e seu pai é.. Seu.. Tios... outros nos. As suas colegas, até agora — ele, para ano repetir este tipo de ato...

[C] Pois, importante é que não repita.. Porque repetir é mau!

[D] Muito mau! É muito mais, para bater mais..

[M] E pagar multa, é mais..

[C] Mais...

[D] Se ele, ele [overlapping] noutrro momento vai pagar 100 e tal.. Com multa e batida.

[C] Esse é muito

[D] Eh não, não vai repetir isso...

[C] Não, porque as vossas punições são.. Severas! Então — o que o chefe de tabanca faz é mesmo pensar no bem das pessoas?

[CA] Eu penso bem..

[C] Tentar fazer..

[CA] Toda gente que sta a mim, eu penso bem para eles,.. Quem não esta a andar bem, vou dizer não sabe, está a fazer bem, faz isso, não faz isso... só se fiará, se dizer.. Senão, nboh, lei vai te apanhar...

[C] E há pessoas que fazem isso também com chefe de tabanca, que aconselham ou falam quando chefe de tabanca não esta a portar-se bem?

[CA] *Tem muitas outras.. Ti tanta mia pa fiar, mas eles dizem... eles dizem.*



[D] *Dizem ki ta bin em conjunto —*

[CA] Muita coisa não está ali.. Muita coisa, outra coisa, — tempo.. Agora, não vi nada. Mas coisas... coisa grave, toda gente esta a fazer coisas bem.

[...]

[CA] Agora estamos bem, não há nada.. Quem quer vincar vinca.. Quem quer dançar dança! Eu também danço!

[C] Dança?

[CA] Sim! Danço. Se há música agora, dança!

[...]

[C] Vocês acham que entre chefe de tabanca e comité eles conseguem resolver coisas diferentes, ou podem fazer exatamente as mesmas coisas?

[CA] Mesma kusa ki no fassi..

[D] Mesma..

[C] Mesmo, tudo igual?

[CA] Qualquer problema que comité resolver, *bu i —, nos sentamos em conjunto, resolvemos o problema..*

[...]

[C] Como o chefe de tabanca, você pode ir a *baloba* e pedir ajuda e também apoio?

[CA] Siimm..

[C] E também pode fazer a mesma coisa comité?

[CA] sim..

[C] Igualzinho, sem diferença?

[CA] Sem diferenças.. Nos diz que eu sou como guia dele, na *baloba*, sou chefe de tabanca, mas na *baloba* ele que manda, é o guia. Qualquer um individuo que quer ir la, *amin* que quer perguntar e levar para la, e fazer toda coisa que ele quer... senão, não esta, não pode fazer qualquer coisa. Se ele não está, tam.. Eu não posso ver nada, porque é ele que é o.. O chefe, de *baloba*. É isso. Estamos a trabalhar em conjunto. Nem sequer, quer um *mesinhu*, quer o que.. Eu deve estar presente. Ele vai dar *mesinhu*, eu deve estar presente.

[D] *Mesinhu... aminguindade.*

[CA] Deve explicar e explica ali, pronto, cada qual tem preocupação, se de barriga, se de que de que, vou explicar todo, ele vai te dar esse.. Se no eu não esta ele não pode isso.

[C] Não pode mesmo..

[CA] Não... eu *pudi sibi nha trabalho nunca djubi.*

[C] Sim..

[CA] *Começa la de, de.. CT, de comité, ate em baixo, de baloba, todo sob..*

[C] E isso é assim também porque vocês são primos irmãos, ou é sempre assim?

[CA] É isto.. Somos primos *irmons*, mas, mas.. Somo irmãos amigos, *tene* — ta la assim.. Aquele que tene casa la em cima la é meu *irmon*, *mas kil mais pequeno*..

[C] Isso é assim, em todos os casos, em toda tabanca normalmente, comité e chefe de tabanca trabalham assim juntos, ou só o vosso caso é especial?

[CA] Penso que toda tabanca é mesmo..

[M] Trabalham juntos, mas há outros que não.. As vezes não concordam com ideia de um, de outro.. Sim sim.

[C] Não se dão muito bem..

[M] Claro, sim sim sim... outra tabanca, i assim.

[CA] *I pudi ser, i pudi ser.. Ki ka ta pudi bata* —

[M] *I ka ta kumpa toda kil dizil* —

[overlapping]

[CA] — *kil ki ta manda, T ka pudi bai diante.. Olha, anos tudo no somos ali, ali ate la..*

[D] *Claudia, kuma ki bu mantenha?*

Favarato

[...]

[C] E para ser parte do comité, é preciso ser parte dum partido político, ou não?

[repeating]

[...]

[repeating]

[D] Não.. Na comité só... para regular as pessoas que existem na nossa tabanca, na nossa tabanca... na fassi partido. O partido é outro..

[C] Tem outra.. Ou seja uma pessoa *pudi ser*..

[D] *No el pudi ser, pudi ser*, como membro de um partido, mas não significa que não pode saber problema de partido, — na tabanca. Só partido pode entrar naquele — aquele la. Qualquer que seja. Antes de partido resolver este problema, ele vai ter contacto comigo.. — poder deixar fazer — a mim.

[C] Mas uma pessoa pode ser comité sem estar num partido também?

[both] Sim!

[C] Pode? Não tem necessidade de fazer ambas as coisas..

[overlapping]

[D] Se quiser também, pode fazer.. Mas eu não.. Sou comité, — problema, problema — sta ultrapassar — neste momento..

[C] Não gosta dos partidos?

[D] Como tu estas aqui, qualquer pessoa pode ir receber-te.. Esta na minha, na minha presença.. Menos que esta — o chefe de tabanca. Pode dormir aqui, pode fazer tudo o que quiser..

[...]

[C] Então vocês não gosta de partidos políticos?

[both] Eeehhh, não...não, é problema.

[CA] Quem quer.. Gosta de PAIGC, gosta de PRS, gosta de quem.. Ele que sabe.

[C] Eh, eu acho tudo uma grande confusão! Afinal são todos o mesmo...

[CA] Queremos é.. Primeira coisa, queremos toda gente recensear. Recenseamos todos.

[C] Todos? Conseguiram?

[CA] Todos. Todos nos que esta ali é recenseado. Agora, *kil ki vai ser decidir na urna..* Você é que sabe. Não é obrigatório, você que sabe, qual que - coisa. Se é de PAIG, se é di PRS, se é di UNDP, se é com que.. Você que sabe.

[C] Pois, isso é com cada um..

[CA] Cada um.. Eh.

[C] Cada um vê e faz como achar melhor..

[CA] *E kel gente di cortina, tchiga ali e explica nos toodos qual kusa... cada qual sabe qualquer kusa que deve fazer.. Eehh.. Qual a bandeira todo, você que sabe.. Qual a bandeira..*

[...]

[C] Quer dizer, essa é a escolha de cada um, e as pessoas podem mudar ideia de um dia para outro...



## 2.11 GIL, DJAMBAKOS DARMADUR

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines A, C

February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Cacheu

[Canbraima and I went to Gil house at 10am, but we were told by his son he was at the church for the Sunday function. After the interview with Tia Fei, we came back to his house and he arrived from the church a few minutes later. Canbraima will translate the interview when necessary]

[Canbraima] Pode imaginar, ele tem 54 anos, e ele ainda esta assim... muito novo!

[Claudia] Não parece que tenha 54 anos...!

[Ca] Não parece que tem mais...

[Gil] Idade!

[Ca] ... menos!

[C] Sim, 40

[Ca] Ou 35 e...

[G] De 65, 13 de fevereiro 65..

[C] 13 fevereiro... daqui há três dias, 13 fevereiro, hoje é dia 10, falta pouco, falta pouco mesmo..

[Ca] Claudia, penso que pode perguntar também e informar o que é que....

[C] Eu estou a fazer um trabalho de investigação para a universidade, que é ligado com o poder tradicional, da GB

[..]

[C] E eu quero saber, se for possível, mais alguma coisa sobre coisa di *irân*, se... você conhece *irân*?

[G] *No, sibi...* se eu conheço *irân*?

[C] Sim!

[G] Esse.. Muito difícil alguém dizer que.. Viu *irân*. Eu sabe que nos antepassados, mais velhos, eu, nos boh... adorava esta coisa, nê.. Que até hoje, é tradicionalmente nós também ficamos nesse, nesse barco agora. Agora, algum dizer que existe, que há *irân*, outro pode não aceitar. Como.. Também, muita gente diz, não há Deus, outro acredita que há..

[C] Há Deus..

[G] Há Deus, então... ali é fé, é crença!

[C] Sim, depende de cada um..

[G] Cada um, sim. Eu posso acreditar que há *irân*, mas o outro não pode aceitar isso. É isso que nos temos... esta é a nossa sociedade. Alguns a acreditar que há Deus, há *irân*, outros não...

[C] E *irân*, *irân* está onde? Para quem acredita que há *irân*, *irân* é que está onde? *Irân* está na casa, está no mato, está...?

[G] Não, há sempre um lugar que... sim, tem algum pessoa que costuma adorar. Por exemplo, a maioria disseram que *irân*.... Dantes há pessoa que tem a possibilidade de, de ver e falar com *irân*, mas somos diferente!

[C] Mas já não há dessas pessoas?

[G] Dantes há segredo, há tudo.. Mas, hoje segredo é muito pouco, pouco... dantes os nossos pais avos fizeram contrato com *irân*, pessoalmente e tem a capacidade de ver e sentar com *irân* como nos sentamos juntos. Só que hoje é muito difícil, é muito pouco...

[C] Que as pessoas não acreditam ou porque tem menos pessoas que tem esta capacidade?

[G] Eu, eu tenho uma.. *Irân* que adoro, até, até eles me.. *la fassi cerimónia, ma no no vi irân*, só meus antepassados adoraram este lugar, e eu quando estava em Bissau estudar, estava na 10a classe foi interromper a minha escola por causa dessa coisa. *Irân di -- dona tem ki riba pa di sinta.. Manga di djenti per di...*

[Ca] mmmm

[C] *Irân* chama de volta?

[G] Eh! Posso ir até na Europa, ou até onde.. Tem que voltar sem necessidade, sem crer, é que...

[C] Mas é *irân* mesmo que te chamou de volta?

[G] Eh, é na família. Sabe que na família tem que ser escolhido uma pessoa que tem que ficar com este..

[C] E *irân* que escolhe, ou é família que escolhe?

[G] Não é... *i depende, ma ma...* tem que ser uma pessoas...

[C] Sim.

[G] Se pode calhar com você, então tem que...

[C] E não há hipótese? Aí tem que ser?

[G] Não tem que ser, nesse.. Tá onde. Tem que...

[C] Tem que voltar.

[G] Tem que voltar, cumprir os...

[C] Os deveres, de *irân*.

[G] Por exemplo, eu tenho aquele pé de mangueira aí atrás, há certas pessoas que vieram la fazer cerimónia, porque disseram que há *irân* também naquela pé di manga. Tem há gente que vem la fazer cerimónia, **sagrisar as limaria**.

[C] Vieram até aí..

[G] Vem!

[C] Mas agora que as pessoas já não conseguem ver *irân* como....

[mumbles sounds of discomfort at the words 'ver' and 'irân']

[G] Mas se eu estou a ver, se eu pude ter a possibilidade de ver *irân*, não vou dizer...

[C] Não?

[G] Não!

[C] Porque não?

[G] Ehehehe!!! Se, se eu falo com *irân*, tenho possibilidade de ver *irân*, sentar com *irân*, não vou dizer a ninguém...

[C] Porque senão..,

[G] .... Eu só que posso tratar com ele.

[C] Então fica segredo?

[G] É segredo, não é segredo, é assim..

[C] Mas *irân* normalmente esta sempre aqui?

[G] Eh... nê todo sítio que nós podemos encontrar também *irân*. Há local... há local.

[C] E *irân* também tem as suas... *irân* quer alguma coisa, quer dizer... por exemplo, quando mandou você voltar de Bissau, o *irân* requer coisas que sejam feitas para/por ele?

[G] É, claro, eu sou o seu trabalhador! Porque as pessoas que vieram fazer cerimónia, que vieram até aqui, o primeiro responsável sou eu, a estar lá presente, fazer tudo, e então é por isso que dizemos assim que vamos, vamos **sagrisar as limaria**, o primeiro que come é o *irân*. Come e bebe. Porque antes que nos comemos, temos que.. Por --. E bebida.

[C] A-ah, darma.

[G] Então, assim ele primeiro.. Algum disseram assim, se quer comer, quer viver tem que trabalhar muito, pessoas que vem aqui, eu ten confiança que vem aqui, fazer um pedido, pode ser 1 ano, 2 -3 anos, se este pedido foi aceite, então, tem que voltar outra vez para agradecer, agradecer ou, onde que foi que eu vou pedir. Eu peço tal coisa mas encontrei essa coisa. Outro no momento de pedido, de pedido, eu posso dizer... se eu vou... o que é que eu *pidi... esse*. Se encontrar essa coisa eu vou trazer, por exemplo, um porco, uma cabra, até se for uma *baca*, cerveja, vinho tinto, esse tudo depende como, o que é que vou pedir e mesmo tempo eu encontrei esse que foi pedido. Então tenho que ir também agradecer. Mmm. Isso...

[C] Sim, claramente, é uma troca.

[G] Uma troca.

[C] Claro, não é nada para nada.

[C] Você tem que dar *darm*, ....

[C] E *irân* também pode furtar as almas?

[G] Furtar... almas? Ah! Muitas gente.. Muitas das vezes alguém pode levar uma pessoa a *irân*, *dja* quer roubar, eu vou pedir que essa pessoa seja.. Assim assim assim assim.

[C] Ou seja, *irân* faz isso por pedido de outros? Mas depois devolve?

[G] Eeehh

[C] É possível também... e pode existir uma pessoa sem alma?

[G] Sem alma? Não!

[C] Não, *ka pudi*?

[G] Mas se *irân* por exemplo, *irân* tirou-lhe alma, significa *kuma.. I matau!* Pode levar algum tempo...

[C] Sim.

[G] Pode levar algum tempo, não deitar, não pode, não, até não ficar doente e só, de repente tal pessoa falece. Pose ser um morte tão repentina! Há as coisa, coisa que conta..

[C] E as crianças podem nascer sem alma? Não? *Ka pudi*?

[G] Claro, claro que ninguém pode nascer sem alma!!

[C] Então a pessoa já nasce que tem alma?

[G] Tudo..

[C] E aqueles meninos que nasce, *ke ka ta diritu...?*

[G] Eeeh, muitas das vezes... até fala... não é difícil fala *irân* pega tal pessoa, e *pega tal ki, i difícil...* as vezes *na no falau* tem tratamento e alguém pode *padir di, di...* não completo. Eh. Por exemplo, na vida real, alguém *ta padidu, i padidu dja ku defeito ka na fala kuma irân ke... ke pol, i sta sin di kil fora.*

[C] *I kando ki djenti murri*, o que acontece com alma? O que acontece as almas quando a gente morre?

[G] Ehehehehe.... *No ta fala kuma... amin, i tene alma. Porque... na vivi. I tene alma dentro di corpu, bu na bibi, mas si alma sadja, automaticamente i porquê.. Nsta morto! Si nka tene alma, i ka pudi consegui...*

[C] *I alma desaparece?*

[G] Desaparece! Só a casca, que só... que ficou, mas a alma não está... quando uma pessoa já não tem alma, significa que esta morto.

[C] E uma alma não pode continuar a viver depois em qualquer...

[G] Não...

[C] .... Como no paraíso, ou algo do género?

[G] Boh! Aaaahh.... Como eu posso dizer... por exemplo...

[C] *Bu pudi papia kriol, se bu misti.*

[G] Dizemos assim.. Quando uma pessoa morre aqui, pode, podemos encontrar noutra... pessoa... isso, dantes. Por exemplo, *i ta fala, por exemplo kin ki murri bai na Cacheu li, nin te sai lina zona di mata di Có, ma kil i ki ten djenti --- Ki fala ate outros próprios ka bin murri pa bia-bai di kil la. Papia nbo, papia bo kungsi li na Cacheu li.... Mata di Có bai e gos i na povoado porque djenti ki na fassi, mas kil tempo i um kau... deserto qualquer sim. Ma gos dja... mesmo si bu tchiga la, bu próprio na odja kuma é terra, é terra.... I ka normal sim. Garandi fala kuma, si bu murri pa li, bu ta sai.*

[Ca] *Si ba misti conta kuma odja alguém..*

[G] *No, bu na murri na bu kau, i ka pudi bin la, nunca, nunca pudi odja... por exemplo, abo kungsi... murri, bin ba odjan dja, bu na chomal. Bu na choma. Normalmente ka na cudiu?. Ma si cudiu só, murri ca. Mas kil segredo tem la ate awos. I tene ora ki ta bai kata iagu di bibi, e tene kil hora kil ka pudi bai. Ten hora ku pudi anda, mas tas, ate certa hora tem que limitar.. Porque la disseram como que já há outra vida que esta...*

[C] Que esta aí...

[G] *Tene ke di dia... que dizer... isso anos, nba trabadja naquele la, um um ano lison ka na lembra kusa asin... ke, ku ta sinta djenti na papia, no na sinti voz, ma ka odja ninguin. Djenti no papia asin, i normal, djenti no papia asin, djenti ki rita, djenti ki fassi kil...mas... ninguém ka na odja. Ten nha dona, pape di nha pape próprio, pape di nha pape, e papia kuma, fitcha i gadi e i passa kil kusa. Pa, odja... si dona, pape di si pape, il gora suma alguém ki kungsi diritu alguém ki ta.. Tal, dona ki neto, bu ta tene kil kusa na... bu da-, kil tal ki sai só diante sin... sai só di diante sin, e tal-falal, tal-falal... kila, anda ki i na bai asin? Ni ka virado na pa djubil si contra i... kusa asin...*

[Ca]??

[G] *Es kusas... gos ka na, ka na.. I ka frequenti. I ka frequenti. Cada vez... menos. Mas, dantes...*

[Ca] *Mas nel kau ku ta fassi ba, odja... kusa choma bin di Bissau... e, kin ki ta trabadja anti di?*

[G] *Kin, ki, ki trabadja anti... nha tio? Nha tio. Nha tio ki darma la. Nha tio sta na idade. Mmmm to fala, misti ta fassi sobre tudo es ki mata kungsi. Sobrinho mata tene forsa e rason... fidjo di... amin nha fidjo i ka na chomal pa i fassi..., nha sobrinho ki na choma ele ki na substitui. Pa ni ki tempo si na tene bens, na poi na nhome di nha sobrinho, ka poi na nhome di nha fidjo, nha sobrinho mal tene forsa, na mi rason di nha fidjo. Kusa mbem djenti ki istuda — ka ta possibil i ka na trabadja fidjo pensi ke ke... papia, bu tene — pui... nhome di nha sobrinho... ki isso — ki bu fidjo no kasa.*

[Ca] *Sobrinho di jetor ke fica.*

[G] *Eh... ma se i mas tene forsa! Se pudi i sta na bu nome, bu, i ka pui na nhome di nha fidjo n'na pui na nhome di nha sobrinho.*

[Ca] *I bardade. Na kungsi na tchon di Pepel, ma...*

[G] *Eeh... nassi kil ku feridu ku nome, eh! Essi kusa ki, ki ta bai, ate awos... ate awos i na, i na bai. I pudi ser no pouco i awos i dia pa djenti na repara. Meu na tene bem i na pui na nhome di fidjo e na nhome di nha sobrinho di mim. Ka pui na nhome di nha fidjo. Kal ki direto ku nha fidjo tene? Porque se não bai estar, não bai ke... bu tira documento. Kil ki outro tene? Ka tene i nha forsa. Ka tene na bora ku tene arvas?? Mas kuando kil ki di di, fica ku nha bens tudo, el ki di dar di nha vez... é esse. — kil artista, kil ku mata. Casa di si pape. Kal ki murri intende kuma pa il bin toma, cuida cuida di kau... ka — di si morto.*

[C] E todas as pessoas tem que respeitar o que irân manda?



[G] Não é todas as pessoas...

[C] Não? Só quem...

[G] Não. Se eu, eu posso... não pode acreditar na, em *irân*, não não tem nada com *irân*. Se eu não acredito com *irân*, não vou ao *irân*, não tenho nada com ele.

[C] E regulos tem que respeitar?

[G] Sim. Eles sim. É mesmo coisa que eu estava a dizer. *Quem ki ta bai a igreja, quem ki interessa di.. Kungsi Deus, eh... ehehe! Si amin ka ta adora kusa la, hora ki ku ta fala ki kusa, i seta bai... —amin ka tene nada ku kil! Só hora que tem um kusa ku bo, e simpatiza, que no na fassi... kil ki ta bai irân, kil ki acredita kuma irân ten. Isso há morro já. Manga de, i bai fassi trabadjo di morro dja, e ke ke ke ke.. Eh. Bai, irân i suma morro. Amin ki na bai la tudu dia. Bu pudi contra nada ki bu na pidi. Pudi bai e contra nada ki bu na pidi, e fala kuma.. I kusa la... i alguém ku ta fassi. Aí ta bai e fala, aí morro ka bali nada, i morro ka ta pede kusa ka ta da nada, cada vez ki pudi bai la..safa. Alguém alguém hora ki irân — dé, i pudi ngha-kaba morro suma ki bai la e odja e ka pudi fassl nada. Mas outro ki na bai só e la si, la fassi bo! I suma irân. Irân ni, ka pudi dita la na pudi fassi kil, si ke, ke bo tene contraba e suma la.. Tene contrato suma nada.*

[C] Mas pode ter regulo que não acredita?

[G] Regulo...?

[C] Regulo... que não acredita no *irân*, i tene? Tene poder?

[G] Tene poder... só que... Regulo li na Cacheu i ka tchiga di tene, ke ke na istoria di Cacheu regulo ka ten. No na Cacheu no ta conta no ka na tene regulo. Agora, i tene kin ki ka pudi bin adota. — i ten kin ki pudi bin adota. Ma, adota i ka fasil! Porque tene aí, i ka puda falar, boh, amin regulo, regulo na kal sintidu? Na kal sintidu? Porque regulo é fácil di distinguir, regulo i bin di djorsons, la!, i kusa bin na pa tchiga , i suma por exemplo, amin da gos um exemplo, el i bin gos di su —, kungsi gora. Ele fala i regulo. Ele i regulo, di nunde? I regulo di nunde? Kil i ka sibi kil ki ta choma regulo! Djenti ki ta kungsi i ta choma regulo, ki ta dal kel patente di regulo, mas misson, el próprio dis ki no sinta e, e ka ta... regulo nha diante...

[Ca] Abo si colega, no?

[G] No, amin i garandi u bocado, mas amin mal kungsi istoria dele, ma kel per- Del, el bin bin na.. Garandeza. Dipus, ele... i ni simplesmente i regulo dado, esse i kusa.. Porque ka ta da baixo. El i tene kau ki iarde suma min --. E tem um omi Felupe, ki si dona cria, e ba pisca, ba pisca ba odja, suma bo ku.. Abo ki na prassa ba piscado, odja.. Um menino na mau trato na...nunde ki sta nel. Logo bu ta sinti, bu preferi toma kil meninu di kil ki si... prassa. Enton.. Assim kungsi ke, kin ki es, arde. Aquele i fanado, i botadur fanado, aquele no ka fala próprio, no - Ki tal chomado. Kil si tene su kau ki ta bota fanado. Este. Então, terso di kili ki fica aki. Gora, bo si, i bin pa i — cabeça kuma, el i regulo, pronto, amin na pudi lanta e fala amin Regulo, ken ke na —! Quem ke pudi todjin?? Onde.. El si família bin, i ka di la. Kuma ki ta ser regulo, i bo, bu família i ka di bo, i ka di li, vim na. I cansado, awos dizil cansado, cada — kil conselho ki ta choma kil nome, umma...

[Ca] Gos kuma bu pudi.. Abo bu arde logo este trabalho através di bu...

[G] *Nha dona. E nha tio, nha tio...*

[Ca] *Bu tio, bu tio também que indicat...*

[G] *Quer dizer.. El, si tio, i ki... i ka ku bussi tio na. Suma... si dona, ki ba pisca e ba ku ki omi...*

[Ca] *Não... no fala di bu tio ki sinau trabalho...*

[G] *Ki indicat...*

[Ca] *Ke.. Ke punta ki bu fas este trabalho di...*

[G] *Eh!! I na tempo ke.. Antes de el murri, ante di murri, no ta odja si perto sim, no ta sinta-sinta, e na...*

[Ca] *Tirau metin...*

[G] *Tirau metin e no ba assim.. Pa djenti sinta... e naa gos..*

[Ca] *Logo ma kil kin bu sinal?*

[G] *Eh... bai.. I si ta bin, i na fala kuma, i ta bin bin..Herança!*

[Ca] *Pabia maneira kuma.. Fala kusa di... trono di regulado, i sibi na fica — na bu tio, kusa assim... e bin di mesma forma assim in termo di gerason..*

[G] *Eeh, eeh gerason... mas ele não.. Regulado ka tchiga di tene na mon. Na nunca i regulado ka ten. Si.. Su antigo regulado tene Cacheu, e ainda gos i punta, mostra reino, ka regulo na Cacheu.*

[Ca] *Suma na Canchungo...*

[G] *No tudo reino, tudo caba i... tudo tene.*

[Ca] *Regulado.*

[G] *Regulado, tene reino, i ka tene terra ku na bai, i na fala kuma... eh, regulo ki sta li ka tene reino. Si tabanca.*

[Ca] *Suma Canchungo...*

[G] *Canchungo..*

[Ca] *Bassarel? Tene reino....*

[G] *Tene reino.. I assim. Bassarel? Na própria, pa kil reinan ta bal tomar. Você regulo ka tchiga, você regulo ka kau...nada ka fassi. Tudo regulo ki regulo na passau, na bai la, tene ki tene bu tessa na la... na aí, tudo kau la nível tudo, na bal la tchiga, nada ki fassi!*

[Ca] *Amin bai la um bias...*

[G] *La ke, la ke ta buscal regulo próprio, la ke ta buscal... Bassarel?. Mesmo ke na fassi qualquer coisa ser, pa ser.. Ten ki bai la. Eles ki na bin pa abo i bin, tens ki andal ki na kusa... si uma sumana ke o preparal kil ku sintu... regulado ki ka tene na Cacheu, porque ki.. Ali tempo, diferente etnia. I ka um etnia só ki tene. Então hora ki tene diferença di etnia, kim di ki kau di ten mandadur si —? Tudo kau ki tene regulo, si na kuma.. Na kunsada, i kin bom djenti s—. I assim, assim ki ta trabadja, assim ki ta disimpenha.*

[..]

[Ca] *Kil ki bu misti punta mas, badjudá?*

[C] *Papia... ki amin misti sibi,.. O que queria saber era.. Bom, nesse caso o regulo de Cacheu tem outra, é uma exceção, é um caso diferente, especial, mas normalmente o regulo também precisa...*

[Ca] *De trabalhar com irân?*

[G] *Sim, não... amin pudi trabadja ku irân sin ser di regulado, e su amin nel momento i trabadja ku irân, amin ka regulo. E suma, djenti ki ta trabadja ku irân, i tene, etapa. Tene etapa. Por exemplo, i tene darmadur. Suma, amin. Amin darmadur.*

[C] *O que é darmadur?*

[G] *Darmadur i kim ki... ta darma no irân. O pudi bin di bin sin, na bai ku bu bota no irân. Por exemplo, i tene manha... amanha, i ke.. Por exemplo, suma na... Kakan/Kakanda [place, unknown]. Tene um nha colega la...*

[Ca] *Kila ki a falal,... e se pa no papia ku bo, e no falal no Omi Masa...*

[G] *Omi, omi di Masa. Si nhome Omi [emphasis]!*

[Ca] *ah Omi ki si nome?*

[G] *Omi, mas kil... si pape ki tene nome di Masa, logo ano na choma ele Omi di Masa...*

[Ca] *Ah, el falau no Masa, ma...*

[G] *I Omi...*

[Ca] *I falau pa paia ku bo primeiro e abo pudi indicar kil abo i bu pudi orientar...*

[G] *I kusa la... ki la i sta riba di min. Pabia di ki? Amin darmadur. Kil i amanha. Pa ser amanha i tene ki fazer kil cerimónia. Ten ki fazer cerimónia di ser amanha. Quem ku manda.. El também, kel ku amanha, i tene um área especificamente di si intervencion. I suma es ku bo na fala regulo, irmasinho deste... akil i... amin ka na djista...*

[Ca] Darmadur..

[G] Darmadur... i ta trabadja ku irân tambi, mas..kuma... anos tudu pudi ser aluno, mas i ta tene alunos ke... se sau na contra...

[Ca] I tene keles ki pudi matematica, kil ki ka pudi...

[G] [coughs] desculpa. I tene etapa... na darmadur, darma gos. Suma li, kna pudi fassi nada, porque di.. I na no djegu, i kau nunca ki ta tene regulo, ki ka tene, nem amanha pudi ki tene.. Ma pudi tene darmadur. Suma amin darmadur. Yo, ma suma ki kal omi, i di kil kau la, la, teneba regulo. I teneba regulo. El, Omi di Masa, kil la no ta fala kuma.. Ele ki kuma.. i gal. El tchomku paiall. I kal... exemplo, suma no no bairro, num bairro, e irân di la... djubil um alguim. El ki na trabadja kel suma ki Omi, Omi di Masa ki na fala bos, kil i choma ki apanhal..

[Ca] Irân próprio que apanha...

[G] I apanha... i, i diferente di ke.. Anos nos substituíram alguém ki dano, gos...

[Ca] I diretamente irân ke fala, i na trabadja aquele.

[G] I fala, tchon ki panha kil la! E li... um cerimónia garandi ki ta fasido.. Cerimónia garandi na pro! Poi... po pus di — tudo bin ma te ki... ki, kil kusa la. Pabia el di kil zona la -- Só que el ki ta fassi. Enton.. Ele ke é representante di la, di **Kakan/Kakanda** [place, unknown]. Ma no trabadja ligado... as vezes se tene um kusa tanko mal, i fala omi, bin djudal ku awos tene dos kusas, bin bin trabadja na —. E fassi. Si ten djenti e kusa pa fassi... choma um outro. No tene escala diferente. Ele sta ariba di nos. Si na cumprendi?

[C] Cumprendi! Na obi, na obi kriol, nka pudi papia tchuu, ma na obi.

[Ca] O que mais?

[C] E... essa pesso também esta acima do regulo? Ou seja, o regulo é que tem que lhe pedir ajuda?

[G] Não... regulo i aí...

[C] Se regulo tem qualquer problema...

[G] Por exemplo regulo... é ele que numa determinada tabanca, é ele que *selesiona* primeiro homem, porque tem aquele lei, lei di tabanca. *Se bu tchiga Estado ainda, hora ki bu ka bin tchiga um entendimento abôs di aí, ou seja, por alem di regulo, ele ki deve encaminha dja... caminha di bos.*

[C] E lei di tabanca, é feita pelo regulo...?

[G] No, i suma ki no sinta, lo labral um documento, hora ki bin no jornal...

[C] Não, mas as pessoas sabem...

[G] Mm porque bin na violal dja, e na ntua. I ka pudi sai fora di que que... djenti fala tudo. Você — você fora...

[Ca] Por exemplo, se regulo gora viola aquele...

[G] I no ta i lei ta pa regulo!

[laughs]

[C] Então a lei de tabanca vem mais do irân, não vem do regulo? Não é o regulo que inventa a lei e faz o que lhe apetece?

[G] Não, não, aquele regulo... amin regulo, amin regulo, sim? Npudi tene nha trabalho diferente, npudi bai darma irân. I dja... i tene irân ki dir pa fassi. Mas tene também outro misson ki deve cumpri pa, pa... na tabanca, ku populason. Na pudi ser regulo na darma na chefe de tabanca ao mesmo tempo... i ka tene nada ke, ke na --- Kil la. Bu fassi nha trabadjo ate ke si mal, bin gos gos si bo fan pa bin bai ke irân... no bai fassi trabalho! Nada de nada...

[C] Então o regulo também que respeitar a lei de tabanca, tem?

[G] E-eh! Se bu manda ariba de alguém abo próprio... bu ka na disciplina, kin ku papia kil ku na seta kil la?

[C] Claro..

[G] Si bu é o primeiro que na viola e bu viola lei, kil ki na seta kil la?

[C] Claro...

[G] Iiiii... ka tene ninguém! Primeiro ki da exemplo i abo. Pa no ki sta ba, no sigui na bo, na bo pe.

[C] Claríssimo, faz todo o sentido

## 2.12 MAMADOU DJAKHRA CAMARÁ, CURANDEIRO, FULA

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines B, C, A

February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019

Buba

[Bacar Bassi Djassi is accompanying me in the interviews in Buba. He translates when necessary. At first Mamadou is talking about regional fishermen association]

[Bacar] Também aqui há muitas pessoas que vem pedir assistência e medicamentos.. Porque ele é o conhecedor desses medicamentos.. *Boh, si no falava kil trabadju kil na fassi, el é de ULisboa, enton universidade, universidade na Lisboa, e fassi esse trabalho no nível de region di Quinara ku Tombali. E sai di Tombali e si bin pa li pa papia ku djentis, e na fala nba de regulo, e fala ate agora regulo ka ta nomeadu ainda..*

[Mamadou Djakhra] *Já ta nomeadu..*

[Claudia] Há quanto tempo faleceu o antigo regulo?

[B] Faz 5 meses, não é?

[MD] Desde que faleceu? *Tchiga dja kil la. Quase dja perto di ano.. Ka tchiga ainda, ma..*

[B] Então faz mais de que seis meses..

[MD] Mais, mais é mais.. Não lembro a data, mas tenho a data anotada.

[C] Pois, já faz algum tempo..

[MD] *Pabia - amin ki ta ba respundi, representante de regulo.. - que esta de vida para - ka manda..*

[B] Ele trabalhava sempre ligado com, com regulo, e muitas vezes fazia essa representação, fazer essa representação, representava regulo, nos atos sociais.. Era pessoa mais ligada ao falecido regulo.

[MD] Antes que ele morrer, servia, serve mandado de encontro, não era muitas vezes que ele podia dar encontro com a comunidade, pessoas. Mas ele sempre me chamava, me mandava para representar.. Pelo regulo.

[C] Ele era regulo de qual zona, exatamente? O regulado, compreende quais zonas?

[MD] Eh, só cidade de Buba..

[C] Só cidade de Buba..

[MD] Só cidade de Buba, não era regulo oficialmente mas sim era chefe de tabanca. Mas com fama dada que, da cidade de Buba, é grande, gente chamava ele de regulo. Sendo que o regulo é la do Quebo, do Foraiial, e outro esta em Fulacunda.

[B] Fulacunda.. Há um regulo lá sim.

[MD] Mas em Buba faz parte de Foraiial, regulado de Foraiial. [name] mamé di Baldé, ele que é o regulo...

[B] *Nboh, ten i kuma, i ka, i ka — i pudi fassi, ki manga di djenti ta espera kuma, i na arranja cola pa pudi —*

[mutual thanking]

[B] *El i misti fassi entrevista pa puntal kusa di maneira ku ta trabalha, di kil djenti ki ta assistência, di kil ke bu fassi*

[MD] Mmm

[C] Então, eu queria saber [...] se for possível, que me falasse um bocado, já que era muito próximo do regulo, de como funciona o sistema tradicional, como é que é escolhido o regulo, se esta dentro duma família, de qual etnia que era o regulo...

[MD] *Kal ki fundamental di kil la, desse tipo de inquerito que...*

[B] Diz qual é pó..

[MD] *Kal ten interessante, kal interessa di la.. Ou i misti só sibi kuma ki djenti i trabalha..*

[C] Sim, é exatamente isso, eu queria saber como é que...

[B] *Suma hora ki, defendi um tese, ele defendi um tese na bu trabalho, ba li e culhi kil parte, de fassi... esse trabalho..*

[MD] Assim que... *Percebi kusa ke na dinamiza.. Kuma ke ta fasido..*

[C] Sim, eu queria saber como é que é sobretudo, consoante a tradição, segundo antigos usos e costumes, por exemplo

[B] *Kuma ke tradição ta fassi, suma uso e costume..*

[MD] Exatamente.. *Bem, bem, no pudi papia na kriol.*

[...]

[MD] *Oficialmente, é curandeiro, mas suma djenti ta bin na nha kau, sina-lá, sina-lá, e ta pui correspondi uma kusa, pabia.. Boh! Pabia, se ken mata cural. E djenti ki tene problema di pele, di doença di pele, ta cural doença di pele, ta cura doença di mal-odja. E...*

[...]

[MD] *Ta cura dor de barriga, suma ki dono tene problema di contratura na barriga, nta cura problema di djenti ki tene mental avariado, asin, aqueles que ten ataque...*

[B] Problema mental..

[MD] *Problema mental.*

[B] Caso de epilepsia.

[MD] *E ta fala kuma, se dana. E também i ta tenta cura djenti ki ka ta mistura. E também ta cura djentis ke ka tene filhos*

[C] Infertilidade..

[B] Aquele que tene problema de..

[MD] *Tudo, tudo dependi de*

[overlapping]

[C] Tudo com pó do mato?

[MD] *Eh, tudo dependi de pó de mato, raízes, folha e tabaco, nakil ki no ta cural. Ke alguns poder ke no tene no ta usa, a língua tradicional, lei, no ta lei, no pidi no raça na Deus, e ste que no ta conexa kil kusa la, no ta da.. As vezes i ta da certo. As vezes ta da certo. Assim ke no ta trabalha.*

[B] Está compreendido não é? Porque as pessoas vem cá sempre, sempre problema de pele. Ele faz o tratamento de pele, aquele tratamento de pele também há uma outra parte que ele não diz, problema de, há pessoa que fica tratada, não é? Com osso...

[MD] *Osso de pés..*

[B] Osso de peixe, outro problema na garganta, ele faz essa oração rápido..

[MD] *Orason - i fassi -*

[B] Eheh, a minha filha tinha esse problema [laughs] levamos ao hospital, não conseguiram, conseguir, e com ele..

[C] Resolvido logo!

[MD] *No fassi orason na deus, e ta sai.*

[B] Ele tem essa oração que ele faz, e - fassi

[C] E dai conseguiram resolver..

[B] Sim!

[C] Então, tem, é uma oração diferente por cada tipo de doença?

[B] *Se bu fassi, cada doença tene su oração kil pa fassi?*

[MD] *I tene outros ki ta tene orason, e tene outros ki ka leba orason, só para solucionar, raiz di pó ou tabaco asin, e ta ferve e — seca, e ta, i ta da certo. Mas sempre no ta recomenda si dono primeiro pa bai hospital. Hora ki bai hospital, hospital djubi, e conta doença ke i tene. Se ka pudi fassi kil cura di oficialmente, logo no ta avança com cura de terra fim ke ele aí pudi mindjori. Ano no tara forsa na, no cai sai do oficialmente, na, i ka ta reforça, quando ke i ka pudi na hospital. Tudo ki -m ki bin li ku problema de tosse, ou problema de outro kusa, no fala bai ainda na hospital. Se ka kungsi, no ta.. Complementa.*

[C] Mas há pessoas que vem ca diretamente antes de ir ao hospital?

[MD] *Vem mesmo. Di pele também, si dono bai fassi analise, e djubi pabia doença di pele i tene manga di, di tipo. Tem doença di pele ke bin di problema dentro barriga, tem doença di pele ke bin di sangue. Sangue.. Ora ke, — tene qualquer kun kus, - ta na pele. Logo i dono bai, fassi, anal e fassi teste pa no sibi kal tipo di doença ke i tene. Logo, asin no pudi djubi kal tipo di mesinhu também ke no pudi vança pa si dono cural, e acaba. É asin.*

[C] E como é que começou a aprender a fazer estes tipo de tratamentos?

[MD] *Exatamente. Kunsu aprender pabia amin, nha papé era curandeiro. Ele é pescador, mesmo tempo é curandeiro. Então, ku kil ka, amin ki ta bai na matonbai tira raiz, ele ki falan tal pó, bai trazer isso, n'tal pó bai trassi tabaco, bo odja e ta tissi, assim, pouco pouco n'aprendil. Foi por último ke kunsu gora mostral, — ser também pescador, na mar, também e tem kel ke no ta usa, di no conhecimento, pa pudi panha pis. Exatamente. Então, di quel conhecimento ele kunsu agora leenti conforme na lei Alcorão, na lei, escola, na dapta aquilo ki ele tene si tradison. Ka ku nkan sibi pudi, asin bocado bocado bocado bocado ate, nka leba ele nconta. Leba só parte jobentude pa trabalha fisicamente. Mas depois ki bin odjal kuma, ke tem ki poder e ta da jeito, então - vira pa kil poder, hora kun fassi trabadjo n'olha kuma, i na, i na rissu bocadinho então usa kil poder e ta sedu fasil. Tene mais orgulho di sibi ki, ki tradison ki nha papé fica. Então asin bocadinho bocadinho djenti bin na dscubri, se fassi tal kusa e ta sta diritu, as vezes ta bai, ta tene maron, ta tene garandi vento, ta rassa, vento ta para, então esse é do milagre pa djenti di la.. Djenti kunsu na próxima pequenino pequenino pequenino, ma, nka ta ceta. Hora ki djenti bin ca fala, na, nka pudi nada. Isso kuma, i ka ta ceta, mostra poder tradicional. Pabia logo se na mostral ke poder e i ta parsi suma, si dono na usa ---. Cabeça, di ghoutro maneira, pabia, anos i africano. Bo odja poder bocadinho e fala la tal fulano, i pudi fassi esso i pudi fassi mal. Ndisi.. Mas bin, consegui, doença di pele, e nha mamé ke staba doente, i tene problema doença, doença di pele. - tempo omi garandi i estaba na Empada chamado Djuralhao?. Djuralhao, kil la quase na, nas '88, então amin era menino mandado ki ta bai pa la busca mesinhu na mão di ki dura pa bin tisil kil mesinhu pa lebal nha mamé. Kil kusa bin ultre, consegui ultrapassa, logo bin perto ki dura. Pa sina kil kusa. Pabia sempre ta bai, pa ta bai e bin, bai e bin, i lundju. Ta bai ku bicicleta, então omi garandi também i sinti, e dan kil orason. Lei, lei, - tinha - escrito, lei, — kil palha ke ta selecionado, e fassi, um kumpul fas outro e sai. Di la, i tene mais experiência. Nta ganha experiencia através di djenti ki ta bin na nha kau, ghoutro hospede curandeiros, mouros, ki ta fassi trabadjo, hora si dono na bai, amin ta fica base di si dono, pabia kel segredo, kuma porta kil si dono direto, e ta tiral kil ki poder i ta da. I ta scribil, pudi scribil, ta lei, e ta pa fala maneira ke kil i ta da certo. Asin — trabalho de, meio curandeiro, medico também.*

[laughters]

[C] Meio curandeiros, mas que já consegue fazer muitas coisas..

[MD] Sim consigo fazer muitas coisas, mas não é oficialmente.. Sou..

[C] Meio que não é meio. E você também trata de mulheres grávidas?

[MD] *Eh, enton trata mulher grávida, hora ke tchiga hora de si parto também no tene ke, no que ta preparal, i iagu. I ta, laba barriga, mas só hora ki tene si carton di hospital, ki bai e bin, e ta controla si tempo di padi, ate hora ke tchiga na, na si mis [emphasis] di padi. Eh, automaticamente dibidi-- Tene 9 mis, e 10 dias, ou 9 mis e 9 dias, ou 9 mis e 11 di ka ta passa, então padi. Muitas vez, se macho, i ta, fe-fe- mais, de fêmea, logo 9 mis e 9 dias*

possivelmente i ta padi, e contra kel kusa la, e sta certo. No djubi carton no pudi logo ter coragem de dar kil mesinhu ki no prepara pa si dono laba barriga. I laba barriga, i ka tene problema di parto, e ta padi diritu, mas antes si tene problema di.. Antes di entra ainda na barriga, e nta fala kuma, feia né? Então, n'tene mesinhu ke no ta da, akil tambí palha di mato ke no tisi, kel — e bu ta bibi, ten copo ku, ten nível ke no ta medi, e ta bibi. Se bu bibi, ta tira tuuuudu coisa di bateria ke sta dentro barriga, kusa sudju asin, menino ta fica limpo, tudo pé sai. Então i ta da facilidade pa kil mindjer na hora di parto i padir e ka na tene problema. — barriga ta fica limpo e menino ta fica limpo dentro di barriga. E no hora di padi tambí, menino ta organiza diritu, e ta padi na posison di padi e ka ta travessa.

[C] Sim não ficam tortos, do outro lado..

[MD] Sim, fica logo diretamente à posison de saída. I ta sai, facilmente sem cansa mamé. Mas antes ainda, hora ki bu na panha barriga, e ten outros — ki ta fassi mau sonho, ta sonha e tene, e odja kil outro homem na sonhu quando na durme, ma i ta correto, oh, afinal amin sunha esse, ma i ka é realidade, i ka to, i ka ta foi um realidade, sonho. Ma i ta contra logo ano no ta fala, a no maneira de Seidame. *Seidame* é um kusa, iagu, iagu ke ta pui si dono ki sunha, kil ki ta dana barriga. Logo tambí no tene cordon ki no ta prepara, no da si dono e marra. Si marra ou marra la si, ou marra la sim, tanto faz, que sunho i ka na sunha mais barriga fica prendida, ate a hora di padi, mas hora ke tchiga mis di padi, automaticamente si dono tene ke tirar kil cordon, na 9 mis, tene ke tirar kil cordon. Tchiga akile e ten que prenha, 12 mis, suma cabal. Se bu ca tiral, to ki passa, 10.. Bu fassi 11 mis porque não completa 12 pa — pa si dono tiral antecipadamente, antes de que tchiga fora de tempo., abu misti padi. Es cordon ke segural... e asin. Hora que dono ka, hora ke dono ka na tene, tene barriga ka ta padi, i tene problema di *Bambaran*, então esse aí na nos, no tene também mesinhu que no ta da si dono te toma kil mesinhu e laba também. Pa labal problema di ki se i dana, no fala se i dana, kil sonhu ki ta sonha, ta laba kil la, na no orason, no ta kumpul, no ta iscribi nas também no Alcorão, kil da si dono i kal la, e la bai e ka na odja, e ka na odja dja kil sunho e também, kil barriga ta fica limpo, ta fica limpo pabia kil mesinhu, kil mesinhu ta labal barriga tudo, poe ki limpo tudo, nada ka na fica dentro barriga. Logo se perto homem e pudi tene, pudi tene barriga, pudi tene fidojo. Hora ki tene barriga também logo no ta pui kil, ki cordão, pa pudi segurar barriga e ka kai di borsa. E assim kuma ke trabalha na parte de fêmeas, kin ki ta padi. Ora si dono padi kil menino, no ta tira kil, guarda, no ta pui marra mon, no toma pal li na mão di menino, hora ke menino também ba ta sunha, kusas, pa i pudi ser menino estável, san. Mas sempre ki seguimento e orientason di hospital. No ka sedu di detentor di fassi tudu kusa pa li na, no ta fassil sempre correspondente a hospital.

[C] E esse mesinhu também é dado, o cordão, ao menino depois de ele nascer?

[MD] Não porque hora ke nasce, no ta prepara kil cordão para dar, para pudi segurar, pa pudi segural, pabia kil diabo ki estaba atras di mamé pa ka bai na menino. As vezes menino ta padido outro sta bem, padido sin ta fica bocadinho.. *Tulu, tula*, asin, a cabeça ta — bocadinho, enton quando sai problema di ke.. Estaba na barriga di mamé. Mas si no da kil cordon, no kumpul diritu e no pui kel ki no tabanca djunta aquel, no ta marra na si mon, no ta tiral também na pó, diferentes kusas asin, no ta djunta-djunta no marral, kusa sin no marra li no mon di menino, no prepara também cifre. Kil cifre também ten ke no ta pui la dentro pui na mon di menino, asin - ka na tene problema di tétano. Di bico. Ta fica cural, fica bem.

[C] E não tem alguma forma de proporcionar proteção ou saúde aos meninos antes de eles nascerem, quando ele ainda esta na barriga da mãe?

[MD] Antes de sai na mama?

[B] Ante di padido.

[MD] I só ke..

[...]

[MD] Ante di menino padido i ke, i ke, palha kum fala ki no ta fervinte no da si dono e i bibi ba laba menino dentro barriga, kun ki la ki no ta fassi. Do resto, mamé kus no i da mesinhu da i ba laba. Mamé se i laba, kil kusa ka, i ka na odja dja, barriga firma porque menino sta diritu dentro di barriga. Sujiedade, sujiedade de..

[B] Ele faz tratamento da criança.



[MD] *Sujiedade de doença de mamé, akil ki afeta meninu porque hora ki mamé sta doente, barriga ka sta diritu. Menino dentro barriga kil ta sta infeitado. Mas se mamé sta san, barriga limpo, menino ta sai diritu.*

[C] Então se a mãe estiver bem, também o filho aí nascer saudável..

[MD] Eh, isso, se *mamé* é saudável.

[C] É importante tratar da saúde da mãe, da prenhada.

[MD] *Saúde de mamã é que faz o menino também sai saudável, se mamé sta enfeitada, automaticamente o menino fica afeitado*

[C] E você também trata de doenças das crianças?

[MD] Doença di....?

[C] Criança. Criança.. De menino.

[B] *Se bu ta cura doença di menino.*

[MD] Eh doenças de..

[B] De meninos, de meninos.. *Kuma ke ta tratal.*

[MD] Doenças de meninos... doença de menino. *Eh, nta, na trata doença de menino ma i ta contra i ta djenti ki tene problema di meningite, i tene problema di deficiência.. Kil la tudo no pudi tratal, no ta iscribi só nassi ku problema di si idade. Kil la - no ta manda pa hospital.*

[B].. Mas não pode tratar a criança que tem problema de meningite, que tem problema de deficiência. Pode ser deficiência motoria...

[MD] *Aquele logo no ta manda pa hospital..*

[B] Ele não faz, ele não trata isso...

[MD] *Kel logo no ta manda pa hospital. Mas se i tene problema di kusa ki na sai na corpu, kal ki kusa asin, no ta tratal. Ou ta tchora tchiu, tchora tchiu, tambi kil la no ta trata. Ou i tene, problema di di cola dura, i ta cola, outro menino i ta cola, e tene problema — cola, no tene também kil ki ta trata, pa da si dono e ta laba meninu e ta seco.*

[C] E o senhor também consegue tratar e reconhecer aqueles meninos que não são *pekadur*?

[B] *Se bu ta kusi discubrir akil menino ki ta fala menino di irân..*

[C] *Kil ki ka ta pekadur..*

[MD] *Menino di irân ki ka ser di pekadur*

[B] *Kil menino ki papia kuma irân [emphasis], se bu ta pudi discubri esse.*

[MD] *Doença ke ta pui menino pa i transforma di kil forma. Meninu irân ka ten. Menino irân..*

[B] Para ele não existe menino criança-irân..

[MD] *Doença ki ta fassi kil la, na barriga di mamé. Qualquer mamé que padi fido oh, na hora di prenha, grávida, i ka sigui recomendason di, di medico, di doutor, nde que da tomar mesinhu. I ka na toma mesinhu por completo, menino ta tene problema dentro di barriga, suma maneira que no estava di explical um bocado. E te sta doenti dentro barriga. Se esta doenti dentro barriga, logo i na padido incompleto [emphasis], o na ungolido, ou boca tursi, ou cabeça i ka sta bem organizado, e ta contra si formula di di, si pessoa dentro barriga i ka sta correto, logo i padido, si mamé i fala 'ooh!, npadi irân!', logo djenti que sta la vizinhança, se kal djenti que ka tene bom cabeça, ou djenti que esta ligado a medicina tradicional muito tempo antigo kusi, e ta tomal lebal matal. E ta fala, i irân, quando i ka irân. Amin tene um suma, tene um minha filha ali, chamado [name: Guinta or Binta] I ka na papia, odja, i padido e mamé fala kuma, i irân. Amin fala esse ka i irân ndé. Se esse bu leba lebal matar na lebal na radio. Na denuncia tudu mundu na hora kuma bu mata pekadur, e bu tene.*

[B] *I kil badjuda garandi...*

[MD] *Eh, badjuda garandi, Binta [Name]...*

[overlapping]

[B] A mãe dizia que é *irân*, então ele decidiu que se a mãe levar essa criança para, para... mato, fazer..

[C] Ia denunciar na radio..

[B] Ele vai denunciar a mãe.

[MD] *Na contal...*

[B] E agora ela está aqui!

[MD] *Logo gos i sta li. E toma li e ta ata iagu e ta laba roupa e ta fassi tudo, e ta bai escola. E ka na papia. Noo..*

[B] Não fala, mas... faz tudo.

[MD] *Mas i garandi dja, i tene dja mama. Ser di alguém garandi*

[B] — *alguin dizia ki era irân* só para tirar, nê, porque há pessoas que fazem esse seguimento, há um projeto aqui, — são holandesas que fazem este tratamento, apoiam as crianças deficientes, a nível da região de Quinara e Tombali. São o projeto di — tem um projeto para *reabilitason* baseada na comunidades, então fazem essa assistência a crianças deficientes dentro das próprias famílias, assistem essa criança, fazem visita, encorajam os pais, quando essa criança tem um problema, se está doente, da assistência a essas crianças, tem - esse problema dessas crianças que são muitas vezes mortas, porque são ditas que são os *irâns* e lavadas para matar.

[MD] *Djenti ki ta fassi kil la, kil la i ta liga, i contado ki é.. Primeiro criminoso na mon suma di kil djenti ki ta mata pekadur...*

[B] ...Mariam e Gherde, são holandesas, de uma - holandesas, eles que dão esse, fazem assistência a essas crianças. Es muita criança eles fazem assistência.. [laughs softly]

[MD] *Doença, doença ta tisi, no noa, no na fidja pekadur ke tene, tene só um pe. Corpu tudo sta asin, só um, só um pé asin, e pé ki ta pega culher e ta kume kel, e pei i ta pui, e veste si roupa, e tene si cama, e ta dita, ma i ka tene nada, i ka tene ghoutro pé i ka tene mon, i ka tene nada asin, só, só un pé, só um, um pe. No odja kil la. Tudo na barriga di mamé. Pekadur pudi penhal, padido mon cortado, pudi panhal di ghoutro, outro panhal di, di sin tene rosto asin, outro rosto ka completa.. Ba ta tudo i produto dentro barriga. I ta entchia na, i ta entchisido, e ta entchi si, entchi si.. Agora si falta entchi, si tene metade, i falta, porque li ka na completa, li ka na completa. Ou doença ke ta sai dentro barriga, no ta chomal, na no língua no ta tchomal *nhamatare*, i um doença ke ta sta dentro barriga, e pari dentro útero di mindjer, dentro barriga. Kil doença ku sta la, se sta la, i bitchu, kuma i tene dente. Hora ki ka na bai hospital, i ta seguri kil la, kil la ta.. Tanhame?, ke, cor-- tudu kil carne di menino, *tanhame*. Si *nhamel* as vezes sai, na, nariz sin nariz. Outro t sai sin *vis*. Outro tem meio sim um orelha lado asin. Kil bitchu ki kume kil la dentro barriga. Se tchigar hora di padi e ka na pera pa i completa não, e hora di padi tchiga, i ten ke padi. Si padido di kil maneira e abo ka kungsi diritu, abo ta falal, essi não, i irân, es panhal, es panhal.. Djenti ka na tene.. É preciso fassi sensibilizason garandi, a nível mundo pa djenti sibi kuma doença ki ten, pa mostral pa tiral. Pa tiral doença, suma tiral na — tanto na radio, tanto na outro kusa, pa pudi facilitar comunidade..*

[B] Muitas muitas crianças foram morta por essa *situason*. A dizer que são *irâns*, é levada, há um especialista disso na zona Norte, há pouco tempo eu tive uma entrevista com a Gerdha, que faz essa denuncia. Agora o caso esta no.. Parece que já esta no tribunal, né? Há, menos de um mês, uma criança foi levada para a zona norte e foi morta la.. Dizem que, que não é.. Titi, Titi, Titi...

[MD] *Na Titi..*

[B] Titi, tabanca de Ndekeé.

[MD] Ah! E mata?

[B] Uma criança — que era seguido através desse projeto de — fazia seguimento dessa criança. E a mãe levou essa criança para a zona norte, na mão daquele especialista que tira as crianças que dizem que mata as crianças dize que não são pessoas, pessoas humanas, são irâns.

[C] O problema é bastante complicado...

[B] Muito complicado..

[C] E há muito casos, é difícil as pessoas mudarem de ideias, as pessoas tem cabeça dura, difícil para mudar. E nos tratamentos que você faz, é importante também o lado da oração, ou é mais importante o lado da pó do mato? Ou é mais importante que sejam os dois juntos?

[MD] *Se nta fassil..*

[B] *Tratamento ke ta fassi, si importante kil outro parte di fassi orason, ou bu ta mal ta fassi tratamento di kil aí di pó di mato.*

[C] Ou os dois juntos..

[B] *Ou ta fassi tudo dos djunto..*

[MD] *I te kil di oração, mas orason ta complementa.. Ta adjuda. Mas pó di mato, tabaco folha ou raiz, kil la ki mais trabalha kel.*

[B] Trabalha mais com.. Pós do mato. Oração é parte complementar do tratamento.

[...]

[C] E você consegue tratar também de outro tipo de doenças, doenças que são mais da alma?

[...]

[introduce the girl, his alleged daughter, who was accused of being an irân by her mother when was born]

[MD] *I padido tudo assim, i dobra, pé, mon, cabeça, tudo dobra asin, i ka na pudi sinta, andal só ca, só bai dita. Odjo tudo rabida. Mas, consigui escrebi orason pa laba pa bibi pa laba pa bibi, pequenino pequenino pequenino pequenino, mamé ka ta pudi bambul, — pabia i dobra, agora tchiga li, ta laba roupa, ta fergal, ta barri, ta limpa, ta bai escola, tene mama dja, dja dja é mindjer é badjuda garandi.. Se mataba, i perdi.*

[...]

[MD] No trabalha ku pó, ku raiz, ku odja, orason, e ta complementa. I ten kil ki no pon orason, hora ki duro, no ka pudi fazer.. E ten kil ki ta disi pa si orason. Ten kele ki ka na bibi. Na no fassi orason..

[B] Aqueles que pedem fazer oração, há aqueles que não precisam fazer orações...

[C] Ok. E agora, mudando um bocado de assunto, eu queria que me falasse, se for possível, um bocado mais do governo do regulo, consoante como é e estava na tradição. Desde quando é que há regulo em Buba?

[B] *Kuma que na tradison, kuma ki ta fasida di escolha di R. — nel di kal tempo ku implantado pa - regulo e na Buba?*

[MD] *Implantado na tomada de poder de Kumba Yala.*

[B] 2012.

[MD] *\*2012. Amin era comité de secção, di partido, pabia amina estaba na nha partido, e pui como, comité de base, pa seis anos, depois -bin sumetido pa comité di session. Membro di comité di session, mesmo la na tabanca, secção de Buba, — de setor de Buba. Amin era presidente. Na tomada de Kumba Yala i bin tira tudo esses comité e toma poder e torna regulado, tradicional. Então amin, era presidente comité di session, i toma kil pode e ntorna regulo, sedu sedu ki si papé era chefe de tabanca. Tornal tabanca, falan com li, tornal tabanca, tabanca i di bu. Abo, bu papé ki era dono di tabanca, regulado i ka, regulado i ka tinha ali na Buba, mas asin i tenechefe de tabanca. Então chefe de tabanca kuma i coordenado Buba i na 5 bairro, kil 5 bairro, cada bairro teneba 5 comités, di base. Enton i odjao kuma i tene um kil alguém ki na sta acima, faz tudo, logo no choma regulo, e comentason di jornalista ki na sai du, di falecido aladji Bacari Sambú, ele ke, akil festal ele ke da nome di regulo. Ki festa garandi, douro era garandi, dal i nome di regulo, era chefe de tabanca, e asin..*

[B] Empossamento tinha presença de televisão, televisão estaba, presidente da república.. Foi chamado aqui de nome regulo, mas não é regulo, é chefe de tabanca..

[MD] Chefe de tabanca..

[C] E quem é que foi a primeira etnia que chegou aqui na terra de Buba, que fundou a cidade?

[B] Primeira etnia que tchiga aí na Buba...

[C] Se o senhor sabe..

[MD] *Djenti ki tchiga li. Primeiro djenti.. Buba, primeiro onde que fundado é la Sambafim, na cruzamento, onde ki bu odja kil rotunda, kil cruzamento, kil mango. La que era Buba.. Mas era kil fundador la i chomado Sambafim. Kil Samba, Samba preto.. Samba, Samba e fim di preto. Depois ki bin bin nali na fundason primeiro i Mandinga. Elis ki tene, Mandingas ki tene Buba. Era, o kau i tene posto, onde que djenti ta bin pa riba trabadjo, na kil tempo, era colonial, pa bin pa bai trabalho. Di estrada, trabalho di ponte, trabalho ddi tirason di pedra a mar, kil barco di vela, barco antigo ki ta leba, ki ta transporta ba, areia, queima tijolo... boh, na sai logo um núcleo onde ke ta fasido desembarque, então na djentis primeiro que vim aí Mandingas.*

[C] Mesmo Mandingas..

[MD] *No - ghoutro dono, ele ke funda. Mandinga. Origem di Basseni aba li. Se, sen tutur-- Zona, i ka - i mandada ali, i mandada ali. Depois akil la ke bin, bai to que, e bin.. Lanhaba li, tene zambaió, e tene **gansão** e tene gan camara, tene gan gabu, gambia-e, esse asin asin maneira ki sintaba li, esse Mandinga, mas só Mandinga ele. Mas depois, mais trás que Fula também kunsu na entra. Mas akil Mandinga ke estava ali, era piscadur.*

[C] Mas então Mandingas, quando chegaram chegaram aqui e não estava aqui ninguém, era uma terra vazia..

[MD] *Não não não, estava aqui ninguém..*

[C] E eles tomaram posse da terra.

[MD] *Exatamente. E fica ali, e fica logo ta trabalha djunto ku si pai, relason a obra, obra ki ta fasido bali, pa bai apanha denti na ribada, regulado..*

[C] Desculpe, os Mandingas chegaram do Norte, do Leste..?

[B] *De nunde ke bin ba kil Mandingas, se bin ba di leste ou bin ba di norte..*

[MD] *I bin ba di, di, di Norte, di Norte, il kusa kil la di Oio, i Leste, não é? La di, la di é zona di Oio, pa li, é Gabu, é Mandinga..*

[B] Vem de Leste, zona de Gabu.

[MD] *Zona di gabu, la ki i bin, bin di kil la aí. Kuma estava a oubir passado, pabia no ka muito profunda, anos i netos. Talvez bai se banhaba li, e ainda outros ki tene mais historia ki pui explica diritu, pa sintu a papia fundason di Buba. E asin.*

[C] Então o fato de Buba ter um regulo ou um chefe de tabanca é um fato recente?

[MD] *Se contra..*

[B] *Kusa di regulo...*

[C] É uma coisa recente,

[B] Sim é recente, tem...

[C] Mas não esta na tradição?

[B] Não não, não esta na tradição, é recente, ano 2012.

[MD] ..12

[B] 2012. Lá di 2012.

[MD] *Lá ke kunsu.. Mas ate awos ainda é pertencente é bom pa tene um alguém, ke na sta acima di populason, ki na representa, comunidade em geral, embora bairro esta dividido, cada bairro tene si djenti mas asin i bon pa tene um alguém ki sta acima tudo, logo kil la pudi cedo sirvi um, suma regulo, nem kin sta sedu regulo oficialmente di tudo region, mas sin sedu regulo Suma maneira ki Faroial tene, e tene na zona di Ghuane, Ghoubi (?). I tene su regulo, i tene zona di Kumbidja, i tene su regulo.*

[B] Representante de..

[MD] *Representante de regulo. E depois i tene regulo próprio di - Mamadou Balde na área, kil i regulo mais garandi, ghoutro Rosinho toma conta di tudo sesson. Cada sesson ten um representante de regulo, então Buba também pude tene..*

[B] .. Necessidade, de ter a pessoa que representa o regulo, diz que há toda a necessidade para esta aqui, em nome de.. regulo, porque para poder representar a comunidade.

[C] Pois, é bem ter essas repartições mais pequenas, de baixo de um sistema de união. O regulo que estava aqui, ele trabalhava lado a lado com o Comité? Tinha os dois?

[MD] *Comités tudo di, di tudo cidade, i ta bin pa da conta recabo di aquilo ki na passa, e ta testemunhal kuma regulo mais, como chefe mais garandi, maior.*

[B] Os comité es diferente de autoridade de sessão de Buba. Bin sempre prestar algumas declarason junto de regulo, que faleceu, dava ...ao regulo.

[MD] Dava conhecimento ao regulo. Na vi a se for respeito, no no no, não impedia ninguém fazer. Mas assim com respeito a gente vinha, — recado daquele que passa, sobre di, qualquer eventualidade, se for algum, morrer alguém, ou batismo, ou casamento, ou vem hospedes que sai de outra zona que vem para a cidade, regulo sempre tem conhecimento. Para acompanhar..

[C] O regulo faz coisas também que as autoridades de E não fazem? Tem outros deveres, não é igual? Não é como que um substitui o outro?

[MD] *kuma?*

[B] *Se regulo ta fassi mesmo atividades que djenti, ou ta fassi atividades diferentes que governo asin..*

[MD] *Eh, regulo também hora ke kalker kusa bin di na sim, na tchiga li, di tchon..*

[...]

[MD] Regulo que contra regulo, que tene qualquer formação, que pudi resolver antes di ele ku comunidade i pa - mas si contra i tene outro formoson, ki ten, pa leba pa autoridade máxima, e tene di bai diretamente a Comité de Estado, também pa i conta pabia kil la também i djenti di poder mais alto. Ou na polícia.

[B] Regulo era como um intermediário entre população..

[MD] Comunidade e autoridade.

[B] A autoridade. —idade tiravas as preocupason da populason dentro das autoridade e das autoridade para..

[MD] *Hora ki na bin qualquer, eh, i na bin, djenti ki na sai di fora, então manda, i na manda tchoma regulo, kuma chefe de tabanca sta destruil e ta intrubil lei, eli ta bin também bin, tambi pa tudo, e choma si comité di diferente bairros e ta conta eles, kuma tal dia no tene encontro, e tal djenti na bin, e bin um presidente, e na bin um ministro e na bin um secretario, ou na bin djenti di saúde, a-ah, ate pudi varsina, e bin outro kusa, e ta bin ta bin, e regulo conta, conta populason, populason conta outro diferente. Mesquitas, locais de razal, ta conta, no ta bin, nunde regulo acompanha, ku autoridade. Autoridade companha regulo a população. Sempre... ele mede, intermediário.*

[C] E não tem uma cerimónia no mimento de tomada de posse do regulo?

[MD] *Dia, kil, dia ke no toma posse, se contra aí na, um cerimónia?*

[B] *Se ta fasido um cerimónia..*

[MD] *I claro! I pudi, i ta fasido um cerimónia... cerimónia ki ta fasido i contentamento. Hora ki alguém na, tribuido lei, i na dado um cargo, mas alto di tudu comunidade e tene ki fassil kil cerimónia di contentamento. Para comunidade, no contenti, no tene dja um chefe de tabanca alto, no tene um regulo, e na fassi di kil contentamento. Depen, eh possibilidade di família, família pudi compra um baca, pudi compra cabra, pudi cumpra qualquer kusa, e convida djenti e fassi um festa, e toma impossamento e Estado iscribi, pabia Estado que ta pui mesa e ta conta a partir de awos esse alguém é de abôs chefe mais garandi. E ken kel respeito, ten que tene respeito na comunidade, ten respeito também na autoridade.*

[C] E como é a sua opinião dos regulos e chefes de tabanca que ficam envolvidos na política, são membros de partidos ou se candidatam para as eleições?

[MD] *Mm. Normalmente, regulo, i el e mamé de tudu djenti, regulo ka devi di tene partidu. Regulo deve di abraza tudu [emphasis last 2words] partido. Tudu kin ki bin, bin bus e dis não, e PRS não, e MADEM, e outro que..*

*Tudo, e PRS e tudo, e tem ke bin pa sinta, nunde regulo, se contra i sta interessado di bin presenta num de regulo, e ten outro partido ke bin, e ta bai nunde regulo, to bai tchon e choma comunidade e fassi reunion, mas sim respeita, e ten respeito e bai te nunde regulo, regulo ta falal bem-vindo, e apresenta si programa, si programa, kel ki misti fassi pa terra, bom.. Recomendason di regulo la é pa fala kuma, boh!, kel ki Deus, ken ki tene pena di população, tene pena di comunidade, ta sirbi comunidade, ta sirbi diritu, pa Deus dar-lhe reinança. Agradecimento? Di regulo é kila la, pa Deus dar reinança a kil ki na bin serbir povo.*

[C] Portanto, só para confirmar, o regulo normalmente é escolhido sempre dentro da mesma família, ou pode ser qualquer pessoa?

[MD] *I ka pudi ser di kalker pessoa, i conf— i ta escolhido, i ta apontado dentro da família, pabia ten suma di si Mandingas, di Buba, elis ki tene es direito di formar regulo. Então, se eles é ponta dedo um alguém, logo quel alguém tal mandal ate o filho que esta fora, outro ke sta na Portugal, ghoutro ke sta na Luxemburgo, outro ke sta na Alemanha, outro sta na outro lado asin di mundo, outro ki sta na pera. E ten ke fasido pa ligal um só, ah, no misti toma regulado, no da tal fulano. No dal alguém. Um di no filho ou um di no sobrinho ou um di no irmons.Tudo.. Pudi ser tudo ka na concorda, mas maioria pudi concorda kuma , ah, no dal, pabia eli i sta la, então sirbi, regulo ka nada, regulo só alguém ke na conta recado, i ka kuma.. Um poder tao garandi também. Se tudo família concorda, logo i ta i ta i ta elegido.*

[C] Mas então é a família toda que participa nessa escolha, crianças mulheres, idosos, homens, todos juntos sentam e escolhe que é que vai ser o próximo regulo, ou são só algumas pessoas da família, tipo os anciões que estão na família?

[MD] *Djenti mas indicado, djenti mas garandi, que tene mais visão, ou que tenha mais idade, eles só i pudi ki pudi seleciona kil kusa la e fala kuma, no toma, dal fulano kumachefe de tabanca, no pui regulo.*

[C] E como é que eles selecionam? Numa base de escolha, aleatória, ou é porque é uma pessoa que tem boas capacidades porque pode ser um modelo de comportamento, ou porque sabem que essa pessoa ira cuidar bem...

[MD] *Es que é preciso. É preciso um alguém que tem bom comportamento e também cuida com populason. I ka só pa fassi escolha pabia misti ba, Bacar Djassi, peram cudjil pu regulo... Só na amizade di nos dos, mas asin no djubil si capacidade em relason a comunidade. Si tene, si tene capacidade de batar pa sil currida, fica ali um alguém arrogante, um alguém sempre bai, se tchiga bai di bo, mamã, e falau mantenha diritu, comporta ku bo diritu, e ka na mostra kuma, el i regulo, ta manda bin, manda — suma regulado di antigo, não. Mundo muda dja, no sta na mundo di democracia, no sta na mundo di calma e mundo di mobilidade. Tal fulano é ninti ninti abo ku na manda na irmon, bu ten ke bai com encontro com si ideias, com bu mobilizau, fassi kil psicologia, asin mobilizau diritu um bocadinho bcadinho asin proximau, outro bin li.. E kil alguém no ta pui, no pui regulo, no pui chefe de tabanca, i tene kil paciência..*

[B] Porque há famílias que sempre fazem essa situação. Não vem essa prioridade não..

[MD] Não..

[B] Vem aquela capacidade daquela pessoa.. Forma de relacionamento daquela pessoa..

[MD] Com população, com outra população, com outras pessoas..

[B] Assim que fazem escolha de regulo...

[C] E o regulo tem um período de aprendizagem, por assim dizer, um treino, antes de tomar posse, ou simplesmente é-lhe dado o cargo?

[MD] Kuma?

[B] *Se ta, se ta tene kel ke bai aprendi inda pó sei di regulo, ou não.. Antes de toma o posse..*

[MD] *Nboh, hora ki dono toma posse, la ki na kunsu aprendi, pabia esse ca um escola ke na bai formação di regulo. Nunca i ka tene ainda kil formason di regulo, mas depois de um toma posse, i pudi bai formação, bin ganha experiência maneira di relaciona ku djenti.. Ku ghoutro djenti, através di intercâmbio, regulo pa regulo, ta ganha mais experiência. Outro i ta bai visita na outro regulo, na outro regulado, e na odja kuma kil la comporta ku populason, logo i ta tene orgulho também hora ki na riba na si regulado, e ta tene mais também comportamento kun djenti.*

[C] Pode acontecer que as pessoas fiquem descontentes com o seu regulo e queiram destituí-lo?

[MD] *Agora kal ki misti ele?*

[B] *Se djenti ka misti regulo, kuma.. Se misti tiral.*

[MD] *Se tene um regulo...*

[B] *E ta ka misti esse...*

[MD] *E gos, e misti tiral? Mm.*

[...]

[MD] *Se i ku ka sta contente ku regulo, e misti tiral, populason pudi reuni, suma maneira ki acaba falar um bocado. No sta na mundo di democracia. Mesmo presidente di república, tem di rispitar tempo di si mandado. Si no comporta diritu, si no ka na comporta diritu, i pudi obi, assembleia, sintado di djenti, e pudi, pudi contal, pudi tiral, e pui, kuma ki pudi fala-, ghoutro alguém ke pudi segura pais ate hora ki eleison tchiga, e tira esse e pui ghoutro. Gos i no sta na mundo ki no ta fala kuma tudu kusa i sta aberto, ninguém ka ta, usa entrega pa usa forca, pa se du.. Corrupto, ka na pudi ser di kil la ka ten, regulo ka pudi ser isso. Regulo, regulo ta manda, i na manda kun, dependendo da populacao. Do momento que população mistil pa i na e na i sta, hora ki população na mistil, automaticamente tem ki sai, e odja ghoutro e pui. I ka asedu kuma, amin i regulo, amin ten ke sta li, misti, djenti di populason misti i ka misti, tem ke li sta, pabia i tabanca di nha papé ou i tabanca di ke, não não.*

[C] E como é que as pessoas demonstram isso? Tipo, as pessoas vão a rua, e manifesta, ou apresentam queixas aos anciões e os anciões fazem..

[MD] *E ta reúne. Não. E ta reúne, pabia i tene, i tene diferentes mesquitas, e tene tabanca, e tene diferente bairros, e tene diferentes Comité de Bairro.. Kil la pudi reuni, e fala kuma tal alguém ke no pui diante, no kal mistil ele, ou i ka capaz eli, ka pudi fassi nada, no tiral, no odja ghoutro no pui. I na tiral facilmente, e ta contra i.. Eeh, i ka usa, kuma i chamado? Ka usa kil manifesto di comunidade, pa sai na rua, pa fassi kil marcha, i ka preciso, só um conbersa pudi tiral.*

[C] E o regulo também aplica a lei tradicional, no que ele faz, certo?

[MD] *Sim..*

[C] Mas ele faz parte dum.. Acontece alguma coisa, que é coisa que pode ser resolvida dentro do regulado. O regulo também faz parte dum tribunal? Há um tribunal assim ou um conselho que aplica..

[B] Tribunal tradicional..

[MD] De paz.. De paz..

[B] Que resolve problemas na comunidade..

[MD] *Justiça! Justiça di tabanca. Regulo pudi fassi justiça di tabanca, suma chefe de tabanca pudi fassi justiça di tabanca, mas i ka justiça ki grave, i justiça di irmandade, di fassi concertason di djenti..*

[B] *Mediason, não é..*

[MD] *Mediason di djentis ki tene conflito, pequeno conflito entre homem e mindjer, entre papé ku fidjo ou mamé ku fidjo, ou alguém ku si amigo, ou suma casos di hortas, e ku na to odja, o djenti ki **guerra**... I asin na rua, na guerra nka pa- i ka tira sangue, i pudi thcomado pa regulo, e bin e sinta e fassi acerto, essi papia ele papia logo regulo, pas kil metade e fala, nboh, ta fulano sufri, ta fulano i abo ki tene culpa, biara es i pedil desculpa, pedil desculpa e, da um outro - regulo pudi fassi kil la. Mas justiça di roubo, ou di sangue, ou di matabca, regulo ka pudi fassi kil justiça, kil justiça no na bai diretamente pa autoridade, eles ki ten pelo direito di fassi kil justiça.*

[C] Então, uma última pergunta

[...]

[C] O que é que acha das próximas eleições? Que é que vai sair? Vai dar verdadeiramente alguma coisa nova? Algo vai mudar?

[MD] *Kuma?*

[B] Eleison. *Bu na espera ki eleison si kil pudi tisi?*

[MD] *Anos i sempre um palavra só ki no tene. Tudu kil ki tene pena [emphasis] di populason, de canseira di Gb, ki tene pera di si canseira ke na doja, ke tene visão, tene i na protesta lundju, e na odja projeto e tene bom programa, i tene bom programa pa terra li, pa terra bai diante, e ta fala pa Deus dar-lhe reinança [emphasis]. Bai sedu, bai sedu no governante, kil la ku no ta.. No recomendason la.. No fala só, sempre, kil ki deus.. Pabia djenti na fassi djunta-djunta, outro na bai radio, ghoutro na fassi comício na rua, outro na fassi barulho, usa aparelho, usa manga de kusas, dinheiro patin, djenti fassi kil mal, kem ke Deus da reinança, i da, i da i marca dja kil la na testa di kil alguém ki na rena. No djunta-djunta ka no, ka no fassi, fassi campanha, no na bai pa - pa outro. Mas kil ki deus marca e na monta, kil deus na dal dja. I sta dja sinado. Mas anos suma, anos i pekadur, no ka tene conhecimento kem é que Deus marca, no ta fica bai e no na fassi no comentaçõ, e no na bai, e no na subi na riaca da partir de.. — amin kil ganhar de mim, kil ganhal de mim, kil ganhal de nos, kil ganhal di campanha. Mas ke ki garandi, kel ki no garandi i ta fala? No ta fala só kil ki Deus odja kuma tipo do guia i terra lo. Na tranquilidade, — sim problema, sin nada, ka na tasil mindjer, ka na tasil nada, ka na tasil djunta-djunta, ka na fudji rassa, essi fulano i Mandinga, não i Balanta, não i -, não i Pepel, não i kusa.. E fala tudo Guine, suma maneira di Cabral falaba Guine i Guiné! Guineense. I ka na — escolha di rassa diferente, diferencia rassa pa Deus djubal poder. Fidjo di Guiné. Fidjo di Guiné, ki misti governa Guiné. Pa djunta tudu raca, pa i sedu unido, pa i sedu irmons, pa i pudi trabalha e fassi terra, pa deus adjudal doença, akil ki no ta pidil deu. Ka ten pa fassi campanha di mon, amin i ta da caju, amin na da caju valor, amin na da esse valor, amin na da o cana, amin na da esse, da o mota ou na da o carro, porque aqui, campanha, no ka misti, no misti i campanha di Deus. Kil ki Deus odja kuma i tipi di manda no terra di ---. Nada problema, i ta fala kuma, bem-vindo[emphasis] pa kil alguém. Anos i sta contente tchiiu, pa djentis ki sinta ki sedu, no ka na anda na policia, na politica mas desde que no presidenti sinta na banco i ka obi nada di matança nê ta obi nada de panhal alguém fassil entrega pa ficha di qualquer maneira nê *insuti* nem militar esta na se quartel e cada le e diz a populason, no fassia trabalho e ka miti na si política, na política di.. Nem um político também ka convenci, nem um militar ou policia ou guarda nacional, tudo fica tranquilo, populason na ianda na rua, e na fassi a manifestason, kil no ta raza na deus, e ta fala, Deus, obrigada no governo. No presidente alias, ki fassi kil trabalho. E dis a populason fica a parte, e ele e a autoridade i fica a parte. E ta misti sempre kil kal dado governante pa i, existi na terra, pabia, kil la ki ten segurança di pais. No ka ta, no ka ta leba sua barriga, mas no na leba interesse di no comunidade, interesse di no estadia na pais. Se no sai di no Guiné li, tudo pais ku na bai, anos i estrangeiro, mas é pequena terra, se nos i sta li, tudo kau fria, nada mal ka ten, cada kel trabalha pa si cabeça. E ta fala kuma, abo a boa governaçõ, boa governaçõ i ta só pa nda o dinheiro na, mas si bu ditcha ann' trabalha, i tene nha ponta, i no trabalha e na bai e na bin, ninguém ka na impedi nada. Ta bai policia ka na firma nta no caminho militar ka na firma nta na caminho, ninguém ka na, ka na bai pa nha ponta, no na pa bin e na riba. Na da nha família di kuma, kel ke misti ma? No ten ki trabalhar na nku na mon. Tudo ke ta i possível! Guiné i terra verde.. Si tene - um Estado a da no liberdade pa no pudi trabalha na no terra, no na trabalha sim problema sim nada, i terra veeerde, terra verde verde verde verde. Tudo lado ku bu trabalha, ku bu labral, bu na tira fruto, mas no ka na pera governo. No na bai na presidente. No ten ki trabalha. Ano, na pidi só presidente de governo pa segura no pais, pa i ka tene problema, pa i ka tene nada, suma maneria ku nos ta misti.*

[C] E para não causar ele próprio problemas..

[MD] *No contente tchiiu! No ka na choma nome, mas.. Nunca no ka odja suma *biagnantal?*. Chefe de Estado Maior, nunca odja suma esse, alguém honesto alguém de deus, fidjo de deus, que diz, a Guiné fica tranquila, ate gos a Guiné fica asin, mim nada mim problema nem nada. Esse no ta raza nele, ate no dia ku na murri. Anos gossi no sai fase de reforma, no sai algum djenti ki tene dja idade avançada, ki nasci de, de 1955, no faz dja 60 e tal anos, porque no esta dja quase na reta final, mas asin i ta guardi esse tchiiu i djenti ki segura terra li, pa ka problema ten. Problema acabou na terra, se bu odja djenti curri di terra. Brancos curri, empresário curri, djenti ki tene.. Na Bissau, i teneba lojas, i tene casa Ema, casa escada, casa Sarpo, casa Pinto, es tudo i branco portugueses, ku na conseguiba de do oldjar no, mais novo, mas gos kil tudo i mudal e bai pa Dakar! Pabia di que? Pabia di conflito na terra. E djenti ki estava la, ku kumpuba Bissau, nona odjaba tudu kusa, ta bin di Lisboa, fresco i ta bai e compra vestuário bonito, compra um fato, compra tudo, medicamento bo ta, outro.. Na na Simão Mendes, facilita, tudo ta tene, mas si bu odja, es tudo ka tene gos. E porquê? Conflito ki dana..*

[B] Instabilidade..



[MD] *Djenti ki ka tene segurança. Esse.*

[C] Pois não se houver guerra e instabilidade não dá para ninguém. Não dá para viver, não dá para as pessoas irem  
ca, não dá não dá!

[MD] Nada!

[C] Não dá, não dá mesmo.. É impossível. É preciso ter paz.

## 2.13 NEMÉSIO SANTIM IÉ – TRADITIONAL POWER

Interviews sample 1 (spoke for *omi garandi* as *dhjagra*)

Guidelines B, A

February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Quinhamel

[Claudia] Estavas a dizer...mesmo que haja influencias, a tradição fica imutável

[Nemésio] Mmm. Tradição sempre é imutável, a cultura pode sofrer algumas influencia, mas sempre a tradição... mantém. Então o sistema de administração Pepel, é quase igual com o nosso sistema agora, atual de governação, sobretudo aqui na Guiné-Bissau. Porque..

[...]

[N] Nós temos um presidente da república, assim também tem também um regulo principal, podemos dizer um regulo de Biombo, que é o Kasma Cá, ele é o regulo...

[C] Como é que é o nome...?

[N] Kasma.

[C] Cá.

[N] Cá.

[C] Cá. Que é apelido pepel.

[N] Sim, sim. Então... ali, Kasma Cá.. Ele é o regulo principal do território de biombo.

[C] Todo o território de biombo?

[N] Todo o território, como se fosse o presidente da república... ok, também há governadores, governadores, que ocupam pequenas tabanca. Chamamos também regulos das tabancas. E aquele que nós também dizemos quase, como dizemos, administradores das tabancas também os Pepeis tem. Aqueles que mantém os contactos com os regulos das tabancas. Os regulos das tabancas mantém o contacto com o regulo principal. Assim é que funciona. Quando há alguma atividade, ou o regulo principal quer atingir a população, convocam uma reunião com os regulos da tabanca, e estes regulos da tabanca transmitem aos administradores, chefes de posto, e eles vão nas tabancas, cada qual tem as tabancas, cada tabanca tem pequena morança, podemos dizer, habitações, que pode ser dez 15, 18 o 20 casas, compõem uma pequena tabanca. Então assim, assim é que funciona. E também temos aquilo que nos dizemos aqui assembleia, e tem também, o presidente da assembleia. Este presidente da assembleia é que empossa os regulos. Sim. Um regulo pode ser nomeado, nomeado e... aceitar..

[C] Quem é que nomeia os regulos?

[N] Pronto aqui agora há... há uma regra, uma lei, e uma tabanca, no Biombo há aquela geração que nos chamamos de *dhjagras*. Dhjagras são, podemos dizer, nos filmes, sangue real. Só aquela família é que pode ser regulo principal. Agora, regulo das tabancas, pode ser filho do regulos, não deve ser necessariamente *dhjagra*. As vezes já não é filho de *dhjagra*, pode pertencer uma outra geração, porque os Pepeis consideram a parte materna.

[C] Sim, eles pertencem à geração da mãe.

[N] Da mãe. Agora, podem ser de uma... podem ter uma mãe que não é *dhjagra*, mas se o pai é *dhjagra*, ele que envia para governar uma tabanca. Este aqui... mas agora...

[C] Mas então... uma pessoas, mesmo que tenha nascido e crescido num sítio pode ser regulo numa outra tabanca?

[N] Sim sim. Desde já que é daquela geração dos filhos de dhjagras, filhos de regulo, filhos de dhjagra... daquela geração. Senão não pode. Porque os regulos é que tem força e que mandam. Então... aquela sangue real quando chegar a vez, se falecer um regulo principal então começa uma conquista, luta para chegar, então.. Aqui no Biombo mais ou menos tem principais três tipos diferentes... são, são famílias, mas são de três moranças diferentes.. Porque nos dizemos *dhjagra* de, da, dizemos *dhjagra* que senta aqui no Torse, e há aqui outro tipo de

*dhjagra*, quase três, aqui em Bijimita chamamos regulo de Blom, regulo de Blom, outro regulo aqui de Bissauzinho. Aqui assim estes três tipos. Cada grupo tem a sua vez. Cada grupo tem a sua vez. Se desta vez é, pertence este grupo de regulos, de *dhjagras* então dentro deste grupo é que tem ser elegido o governo. Dentro deste grupo é que pode sair um regulo... principal. Se falecer, um regulo de outro grupo. Vai girar, fica aqui.

[C] Um de cada vez...

[N] Assim. Três. Um aqui. Quando morrer vem aqui, quando morrer... assim. E assim. Então, assim, quando morrer la, entre cada grupo pode manifestar a candidatura, pode ser três quatro, 5 6 7 8 9 10, depende

[C] E como é que ele é escolhido dentro do grupo?

[N] Não. Eles próprios, eles mesmo, porque sabem que têm aquele sangue real, e chega a vez deles, *cada qual sente que quer ir, ir lá... pode*. Porque há habitação dos regulos. Habitação do regulo. Quando você é eleito regulo, você tem que habitar la. Então este grupo de pessoas que vão candidatar para ser regulo, vão la. Todos devem sair das suas casa, habitações e ir para la. Quando você quer ser regulo, você tem que sair da sua casa, mesmo que você construiu um prédio. Você deixa aquele prédio lá, deixa, pode ficar para os teus irmãos, ou não sei o que, ou você já não... você já vai. Como eu agora posso querer... eu nasci numa outra casa, mas o meu direito não é lá .... Eu tenho que sair daquela casa e ir onde está a minha origem, onde eu devo ir. Mais cedo ou mais tarde eu devo ir para lá. Agora, pode ser o tempo para eu ir para lá, mesmo que eu tenho construído um prédio, eu tenho que habitar, tenho que deixar, ir e construir uma outra casa, assim este aqui já não me pertence porque o tinha contruído no lugar dos meus pais. Agora, eu tenho o meu lugar, onde eu devo ir.

Você não deve ficar na casa dos teus pais até morrer, este para nos é muito feio, lamentável. Você tem que sair de la para ir habitar numa outra casa.

[...]

[C] Tem alguma palavra para falar [descrever] quando isto acontece? Por exemplo, quando uma pessoa continua a morar na casa dos pais até quando ser velho, ou morrer na casa dos pai... tem alguma palavra para falar desta pessoa, alguma coisa?

[N] Não, porque é ainda uma criança. Quando tem 70, 80 anos, se você não deslocar para ir... te consideram ainda como uma criança, porque você ainda esta na casa dos teus pais como se fosse uma criança de 10 anos.

[C] Não tem uma palavra para chamar esta pessoa de, sei lá, de mimado, ou ...?

[N] Não.

[C] Não tem uma palavra especifica...

[N] Não.... Te consideram somente como uma criança. Agora, o ritual fúnebre duma pessoa que saiu da sua casa e foi habitar no seu lugar, é diferente do ritual duma pessoa que ainda não foi.

[C] Em que é diferente?

[N] É diferente. Nos ritos... porque, daquele que foi, é uma pessoa considerada já uma pessoa.... Adulta, mas mesmo, então o ritual é mais pesado, entram mais coisas lá. O ritual fúnebre duma criança é diferente de um adulto

[C] O que é que não há no ritual fúnebre duma criança?

[N] Há... vario, vários, vários ingredientes que não entram. Por exemplo, uma pessoa não casada, que não casa, tradicionalmente, no meu ritual fúnebre, vai ser uma coisa simples. É uma criança, é uma criança que morreu.

[C] Simples....?

[N] Simples, metem... colocam panos, normal, mas aquelas cerimónias assim como dum casado, quele respeito, as pessoas sentam, respeitam, organizam coisas, pagam coisas...

[C] Fazem tudo o toca-tchoro e...

[N] Mas para ele não. Ah, é uma criança! Rápido rápido vamos fazer ta-ta-ta, chega o dia... e vamos enterrar. Ponto final. **Mas uma pessoa já casada, já tem um respeito enorme na tradição. Razão pela qual você não pode ficar sem casar. Não. Não. Este aqui, detestam, detestam isso mesmo.** Mesmo que você vai fazer um outro

tipo de casamento, mas deve fazer ainda aquele outro casamento, que consideram casar. Se você não casar pelo uso, pela tradição, você não casou por eles. Não. Mesmo que for casado em Vaticano, você não casou, porque é uma das diferenças. Então, o reg... do... o regulo para ser regulo... se você quer se candidatar como regulo, tal e tal, se você quer se candidatar como regulo tem o que você deve levar no presidente da assembleia. Quando morre o regulo, já aquele presidente da assembleia é que pega o poder. Pega o poder até quando for eleito o novo regulo.

[C] O presidente da assembleia.

[N] Sim sim. Pega o poder até quando for empossado o regulo, o novo regulo. O todas as coisas que você que, se quer candidatar como regulo há que você deve levar. Vacas, panos, cana... outras, muitas coisas, você tem que levar para ele.

[C] Para o novo regulo...

[N] Não não não. Porque se ainda não é empossado, você tem que levar para a assembleia, o presidente da assembleia.

[ ] Ok. E a assembleia normalmente onde é que vai acontecer?

[N] Não. O presidente da assembleia ele que recebe aquelas coisas... mesmo que vocês forem vinte, não sei, cada qual deve levar, cada, uma vaca, duas vacas, panos... para ele! Isto aqui é para ele.

[C] E todas as pessoas levam isso? Qualquer pessoa?

[N] Qualquer pessoa. *Dhjagra*.

[C] Qualquer pessoa *dhjagra*.

[N] *Dhjagra*. Tem que levar isso. Você não pode levantar, como eu. Eu não sou *dhjagra*. Eu não posso também levantar e dizer 'eu quero candidatar-me como regulo'. Não não não. Você é louco. Mas você não é *dhjagra*!

[C] Sim, é impensável.

[N] É impensável! Isto nunca vai acontecer. Tem que ser daquela geração. Se é daquela geração, você vai, fala com o presidente da assembleia, depois entrega aquilo que é necessário, há aqueles ritos que se fazem, depois você é..

[C] Que ritos?

[N] Depois você é proclamado... um dos candidatos para estar. Assim. Vão ter que sacrificar um animal para ver se você normalmente pode ou não pode. Uma galinha..

[C] E isto é feito na presença das outras famílias de regulos, de *dhjagras*?

[N] Sim.

[C] E quem é que faz o ritual?

[N] Se você quer ir candidatar primeiramente, tem que informar a sua família. Tem que informar. Agora, a minha família também vai ver. Sim, você quer ir ta-ta-ta, mas precisamos saber se é aceitável ou não, se você pode ou não... vamos ver. Sacrificam galinha. Abrem... como fizemos lá juntos, na casa de Aresse, quando fomos... abrem, assim que se faz, para ver se pode ou não pode...

[C] É uma pessoa como Aresse que faz este tipo de ritual?

[N] Sim.. Na na. Família é que faz.

[C] A família, diretamente?

[N] A família que vai fazer. Você vai estar lá presente, para ver. Se você pode ir, pronto, você vai. Chega lá paga tudo aquilo que é necessário. Uns pagam mais de 2 3 4 5 vacas.. Porque quer ser mais... o principal.. Então, um jogo de... porque vai depender do presidente da assembleia, quem vai ser o principal, e depois quando morrer aquele...

[C] Portanto, no fim é o presidente da assembleia que vai dar todas as nomeações?

[N] Sim.

[C] Ele que vai escolher todos.

[N] O presidente que vai fazer.

[C] Depois o ritual só da confirmação...

[N] Assim. Então, quando já foi eleito o presidente, que é o regulo marca um dia de empossamento. O ritual final. Há cerimónias e rituais feitos lá tal e tal. Neste caso, agora convidam o governo local para. Chamar parte... para fazer parte, tentar ver como fazem, depois o presidente da assembleia como fazem as eleições, da posse. A partir daí que você é eleito. Então levanta o regulo, corre, grita, com seu filho... então já a partir de lá, é proclamado regulo, o presidente da assembleia, volta, começa a comandar o regulo eleito. A partir de lá, qualquer coisa você tem *tchoro, toca-tchoro*, tem que pagar o regulo. O regulo vai ser muito rico. Você perdeu alguém... você vai fazer ritual fúnebre, coloca um pano cada dia saem panos, para o regulos. O que é que vocês vão vestir, sai panos para o regulo. Se vocês vão tocar, sacrificar animais, sai carne para o regulo. Tem que ir, obrigatoriamente.

[C] Tem sempre uma parte que vai para ele.

[N] Para o regulo. A casa do regulo não fica sempre sem nada... não.

[C] Tem sempre algo que chega lá.

[N] Sim tem que chegar. Você quer casar. Tal e tal, o que... o regulo deve...

[C] Dizer sim ou não

[N] ... vem tomar alguma coisa. Assim

[C] Mas então no geral, para além das pessoas que estão na geração *dhjagra*, todos os outros Pepeis não tem nada a dizer sobre quem vai ser o próximo regulo, simplesmente aceitam?

[N] Não... é complicado. Pepeis tem como... uma constituição. Vamos ser os filhos de *dhjagra* as vezes eles as vezes entram em choque, ah o meu pai que deve ser, não o meu pai, não este aqui... então entram também famílias aqui para..

[C] Uma luta.

[N] Sim. Mas a constituição esta lá. A constituição está. Se o governo local não intervir...

[C] O governo local do Estado?

[N] Do Estado. Se não intervir com conclusão, deixar o poder local, a tradição julgar o seu caso, isso.... Porque tem a constituição. Não escreve. Mas tem na cabeça. Sabe... quem é que vem desta vez. Sabem. Sabem, este grupo que acabou, este outro é que vai. Mas cuidado. Cuidado porque ele gosta de poder, se você não esta muito bem rijo, você será morto. Sim. Morrem.

[C] Como?

[N] Se você discute comigo, se você não tomar cautela, eu coloco no chão. Sabe, tem poder assim que acontece. Razão pela qual a sua vida toma cautela, não não queremos que vai lá porque la é lugar de morte, senão podemos ir 4 5 6 7 8 9 10.. E depois de pouco tempo começar, mortos, outro cá fica a trabalhar, o seu companheiro, por baixo... tradicionalmente, assim.

[C] Quer dizer, não é morte por combate com luta, é aquele outro tipo de morte que vem da cabeça...

[N] Não, são... são potentes demais. Se você não tomar cautela, você morre e os seus familiares é que perdem. Para você comparecer la, você tem... púnhamos o reinado de Biombo é para quatro anos. Quatro anos. Se durar quatro anos, o seu mandato acabou. Você é morto, outro é que entra. Mas depende, outro regulo foi la e já tem mais que três mandatos talvez, desde eleição de 1999 já esta... já estava. Depende...

[C] Da cabeça...

[N] Da cabeça, sim. Poder. Alguns entram como regulo, um ano, morrer, alguns antes de um ano...

[C] Mas eles podem ser mortos por outros regulos, tipo um golpe?

[N] Sim.

[C] Mesmo que fossem regulos assim, já no topo?

[N] Siiim, podem.

[C] Ah, é uma posição perigosa, uma outra pessoa chegar aí com ciúmes, eles estão tramados.

[N] Claro.. Tem que tomar cautela. Razão pela qual regulo toma cautela, trabalha, procura um conjunto de segurança, quer interno quer externo, para se proteger... para proteger...

[C] Segurança... de que tipo?

[N] Aqueles... segurança físicas. Podemos ver que... seguranças da cabeça para... para proteger... e irâns. Tem irâns para todas as homens, para proteger.

[C] De qualquer tipo de atentado que possa vir a acontecer...

[N] Sim sim. Se você quer ir, sair de uma casa para outra casa com o seu, vou sair aqui para ver uma herança, estar numa outra casa devo levar, para o regulo, para convencer, assim ele aceita e diz 'sim, agora você pode ir', senão você não vai. Você não vai. Para fechar bolanha, ou que... o regulo é que manda. Você deve levar. Para alguma coisa, você tem que fazer... administração... é assim baseado na base de regulo. Diferente de... dos Balantas. Balantas não tem regulo. Não tem. Razão pela qual tem sempre dificuldades em termo de organização e administração do seu território, não estão habituados, não tem na sangue, no sangue... é difícil governar um país. É difícil. Você não tem na sua estrutura, não significa que você não pode governar, mas é difícil.

[C] Pois, torna mais complicado

[N] Torna mais complicado

[C] Sem ter uma cabeça só é difícil mandar em todos os outros..

[N] Na sua cultura não tem. Então, imagina, você não tem na sua cultura, você vai governar um país inteiro... é difícil. Mas isso Pepeis tem. Você que torna fácil. Que nós obedecemos regras, regras do regulo, e ele que não comanda somente para comandar, senta com os seus chefes de, governadores, administradores, para debater assuntos internos...

[C] E irân também tem influência em como o regulo manda?

[N] Se tem influência....?

[C] O irân.

[N] Se tem influência em que....?

[C] Em como o regulo manda. Antes de o regulo tomar uma decisão, ou ter alguma outra...

[N] Sim porque não? O regulo não pode governar sem irân. Não é possível.

[C] Tem que estar aí.

[N] Siiiiim. Sem que é impossível. Não não não não... primeiro consultar se esta decisão vai ter êxito ou não, o que é que vai provocar... assim. Tem que... como um conselheiro... se quer fazer alguma coisa no país tal tal e tal no seu território, vai lá consulta, para eu fazer isto aqui assim e assim, agora o que é que você... posso ou não posso? Tem muito poder. É assim. O regulo não pode governar sem ter a proteção daquela parte... é... eu já digo, eu já falei, isto não é possível, nos Pepeis todas as administrações, governadores, todas está ligado ao irân. Tudo. Tudo. Te digo claramente, esta ligado ao irân... razão pela qual etnia Pepel é uma das etnias mais complicadas da guine Bissau, em termos da tradição.

[C] Por causa desta ligação...?

[N] Sim, por esta ligação intrínseca. Se você nascer no ventre materno do Pepel, você não escapa. Mesmo que você estiver nos EUA, você um dia voa ate aqui para fazer aquela cerimónia... você que concorrem, brancos como você, vieram aqui fazer cerimónia... senão... senão começar a morrer naquela zona. Depois tem que procurar... não não. É por causa disso. Você tem que voltar para a Guiné-Bissau. A sua geração é uma geração que se chama Pepel. Você deve levar os seus filhos para lá porque uma das suas filha deve fazer aquela cerimónia de katandeira... se você recusar, então morrem la. Muitas já vieram, vieram aqui. Katandeira. Podem brancos, Fulas, Mandingas, aqueles que misturaram, saíram de barriga de, de qualquer... não pode perder. Não se perde.

Mesmo se você ir no último espaço do planeta, você volta. Vai chegar o dia que volta até aqui. Para fazer. É uma das etnias mais complicadas. Mas tem a sua estrutura bem organizada. Bem bem bem organizada.

[C] Portanto existe tipo uma lei pepel?

[N] Sim.

[C] Existe?

[N] Sim!

[C] E onde fica guardada? Quer dizer, não esta escrita?

[N] Não.

[C] Não tem escrito

[N] Não tem

[C] E quem é que tem sabedoria da lei?

[N] Esta aqui fica com, com os anciões.

[C] *Omi garandi.*

[N] *Omi garandi* sim. Eles que têm este, este segredo... alto segredo para tirar tudo na.. Este, este é impossível. Há leis, há regras que para você conhecer, você tem que ir lá, tem que fazer aquelas cerimónias, você vê, você conhece, se você não vai não...

[C] Não conhece. E nem todas as pessoas pode ver.

[N] Não. Como... no *fanado*. Se você que saber o que é que é *fanado*, você tem que ir. Igual como as fêmeas não vão lá. Nunca as fêmeas podem saber como, o que é fanado. Nunca. Ponto final.

[C] Nunca. Não há possibilidade... pois não há possibilidade de uma pessoa que é mulher ser homem!

[N] [gargalhadas] e aquela cerimónia também de *irân* que nos chamamos... *Ronia*. A pessoa que ia tomar cerimónia da um *irân*, coloca numa bolsa pequena aqui, anda com aquele *irân* que chamamos *ronia*. Aquele, você não pode saber o segredo se você não pertencer aquele grupo. Não pode.

[C] Tem que estar aí dentro.

[N] Sim. Tem que fazer aquela cerimónia tal, *ronia*. E aquela cerimónia não é para todos.

[C] Porque não é para todos?

[N] Este se apanha.

[C] Como assim se apanha?

[N] Isto... você tem que ser eleito. Tem que ser eleito. Se você é eleito, irân é que elege. Quem quer. Se *irân* te eleger, você começa a adoecer, tipo doença terríveis, até dar o momento, porém, feito aquela cerimonia para ver qual é a origem, tal e tal, lá descobre de que, você é um candidato, é um eleito para fazer aquela... e depois você vai, ao treinar isso você fica são, você continua a sua atividade normal. E depois há um outro, outra cerimónia que se chama *balobreiro*. É diferente de *irân*, aquele é *balobreiro*. Quem é responsável de uma *baloba*, este que é *balobreiro, responsável dos defuntos*. Aquelas *pessoas que morrem mas falam*, sim? Aquele *balobreiro* é responsável pela zona. E também... apanha.

[...]

[N] Aquele também, você tem que ser eleito. Quando chegar para você, você começa a falar, a falar a falar a falar, o defunto entra em você e você fala, fala pelo defunto. Você fala a voz do defunto. Aquele pessoa que morreu...

[C] Mas tem momentos em que o defunto fala? Ou fala ...

[N] Sim sim.

[C] Pode falar em qualquer hora, por qualquer coisa?

[N] Pode falar em qualquer hora, tal como, está lá em uma pessoa.... Se te entrar agora, você começa a falar pronto... e você não vai saber que você fala... somente quando sair de você, é assim. Falam umas pessoas, às vezes.. Se teu colega falecer agora, de vez em quando entra em um de nos... como somos colegas, entra. Se um Pepel entra em você, você vai falar Pepel, corretamente! Sem problema... e vais dizer, ‘mah, Claudia! De onde é que ela aprendeu? Começou a falar assim...’ não, as coisas estão em erro. O defunto esta a falar em ela. Posso-te perguntar, você é quem? Quem é você? Você é fulano/a? Sim sim.... E você não vai dizer eu sou a Claudia, você vai dizer o nome daquela pessoa, daquele defunto... ah, sim sim... o nome daquele defunto, você vai dizer... isto acontece mais ou menos quando a pessoa é morta, quando a pessoa é suicidado numa forma assim... fica quente lá.. Um morto inocente, que é quente, então sai... aquele que fala até nos sítios pilares... sim sim,, um defunto que chama — Có, em Bijimita, quando começou a falar pela primeira vez, começou num pilar da casa.

[C] Foi?

[N] Sim... porque, ele foi morto naquele época por várias pessoas. Bateram nele, bateram nele, ate que cair no chão, não podia andar... segurou, assim com a mão, gatinhou, e até... tiraram a língua, cortaram

[...]

[N] Tiraram a língua, cortaram... matar dum morte... tão cruel mesmo. Depois quando, como não tinha língua para falar, foi emprestar a língua no *irân*, no *irân do fanado*, lá é que emprestou a língua, no *irân do fanado*.... E começou a falar no pilar da casa. Lá que começou. E agora, todas aquelas pessoas que participaram na sua morte, geração deles, geração deles, devem ir lá como *katandeiros*. Ouviste?

[C] Todos?

[N] Todas pessoas. *Gerason* deles. Devem ir la como *katandeiros*, ir lá fazer serviço naquela *baloba*. É assim, que se faz. É assim.

[C] Então... estas pessoas mortas que podem falar, também é possível pedir-lhe conselho?

[N] Sim, porque não? Porque não? Estas pessoas... estas pessoas...

[C] Quer dizer, eles estão disponíveis?

[N] Você nunca ouviu dizer ‘*bota sorte*’?

[C] Sim, ouvi

[N] Ouviste... então. Você vai *botar a sorte* numa pessoa, mas não é ele que... aquele defunto é que fala. Você quer saber alguma coisa, o que é que esta a acontecer comigo, estou a sentir assim, não sei.. O fulano, você assim assim assim. Há quem quer que lhe fazer mal tal tal tal, e assim assim, você deve fazer isso, você deve fazer isso, deve fazer isso. Porque, quem já não está aqui conosco já tem uma visão para alem. Assim...

[C] Consegue ver numa outra forma...

[N] Sim.. Lá é que vão para descobrir a questão de bruxa, não sei o que, o meu filho está doente, não sei o que... como aconteceu aqui naquele, naquele ano quando você estava aqui, começaram a correr na estrada para ir naquele festival da bruxa... quem é que descobriu isso? Há aqui, um homem aqui que tem defunto... o seu irmão mais velho que faleceu, de vez em quando entra nele... fala coisas... as pessoas vão lá para saber sobre a sua vida, cultura... vai saber.. Quem esta a mexer comigo, vão lá ... perderam alguma coisa.. Vão lá. Vamos a ver quem é que furtou, se eu, se eu é que deixei, perdi em algum local, não sei.. Bom, está a ver... assim é que fazem. A morte vai continuar, ou não vai continuar, as pessoas vão continuar a morrer por causa desse, ou não... toma cuidado. Toma cuidado, porque se você assim que vai continuar, assim assim assim.. Então... etnia... muito complicada, mas muito bem organizada também, você conhece regras, você segue regras....

[C} Todas as pessoas seguem regras?

[N] Você deve seguir as regras... se você não seguir há consequências.

[C] Sim.

[N] Tem que seguir as regras... se você não quer fazer umas coisa, você deve respeitar... respeitar. Eu respeito a minha tradição, a minha cultura. Devo respeitar. Se eu não vou fazer não devo destruí-las. Porque é uma riqueza que temos, na nossa etnia. Então, eu não posso banalizar essa aqui, a dizer que não, eu sou *dhjagra* então... isso



já não serve... não. Se eu não vou fazer porque... tem a ver com a minha cor, que eu estou aí, mas devo respeitar. Se você não respeitar há consequência. Isso é **plato**. Você vai apanhar consequências. Porque já está lá bem organizado e estrutura, se você mexer numa forma, você apanha. E se você é apanhado, o que aconteceu com ele.... Porque lhe aconteceu assim? Porque ele fez tal tal e tal.... Já não há outra explicação, apanhou e pronto. Vamos. Vamos somente fazer um rito di funeral e acabou. Cada qual vai para sua casa e la, você morre no cemitério, vão perguntar quem é que matou você, porque você morreu, qual a causa... colocam o defunto aqui.. Cortam paus, amarram, depois colocam o defunto lá em cima... quatro pessoas mais ou menos, carregar,..... E começam a fazer perguntas. Primeiramente o defunto é que vai escolher quem quer falar com ele. Você quer, vai, procura uma pessoa que quer que fala com ele, chega lá e depois... fala. Pergunta, o que é que, porque que aconteceu assim? Você estava doente? Se quer dizer não volta para traz, se quer dizer sim vai para frente. Assim... se quer recusar vira, vira vira... as vezes as pessoas que carregam aquela coisa as vezes ficam cansados mesmo... porque se uma morte tão complicada as vezes não aceitam, não aceita falar, tem que correr um lado para outro, as vezes correm até lá, depois volta... muito complicado. Muito complicado...

[C] Mesmo...

[N] Então pergunta, se há alguma morte, se vai acabar, isso não vai acabar... e os regulos, famílias... é que devem carregar aquele defunto. Sim sim. Pepel.. Senão, qualquer dia pode subir para cima e nunca mais vai voltar. Isso aconteceu, nos tempos passados, aconteceu, eles nunca mesmo...

[C] Foi?

[n] Sim, um homem que faleceu, depois carregaram... depois num instante começou a subir. As pessoas ficaram colados... os outros que não são de família dele saíram... as famílias de sangue materno não conseguiram descolaram, continuavam... as pessoas vão até noite, levantam, de manhã... está aí ainda. Está aí. Deitam, levantam, e aí.... Até que perdeu. Razão pela qual... famílias tocar, não aceitam carregar, não aceitam carregar defuntos dos seus tios da parte de mãe. É perigoso. É tudo que corresponde que parece o regulo, é o regulo que ensinou. Se você quer tocar, só tem que pedir autorização... ao regulo... senão você não toca. Se você... se você violar, você vai ter que pagar severas consequências. Fazem justiça... você... cometer infração, você apanha. Depende, de multa, batem, detém... assim. O regulo... funciona, o seu compito. Esse que deve fazer o fanado, é compito deles... assim... várias cerimónias, você tem que entrar la para conhecer, senão... você não, aqui nos dizemos *djambakos*, também... **skerdosses**. Isso... então, administração Pepel é assim, muito bem organizada, muito bem..

[C] E, por exemplo, no caso de as pessoas não estarem contentes com o regulo que tem, seja na tabanca ou no grande regulo que fica na região de Biombo...

[N] Eh, as pessoas não ficaram contentes...

[C] Sim, porque, qualquer pessoas. Por exemplo, vamos tomar um exemplo simples: o regulo da tabanca que... começa a ficar bêbedo mais vezes, não é uma pessoa sabia, não toma boas escolhas... uma pessoa que não porta bem, e as pessoas da tabanca não ficam felizes com ele, podem fazer alguma coisa?

[N] Podem sim, mas só, só que... não podem substituir este. Não se pode substituir, não. Uma vez que é regulo não se pode derrubar aquele governo, não. Só pode... falar, chamar responsável de.. Ou se convoca uma reunião dos filhos dos regulos...

[C] Todos?

[N] Sim. Aqui que discutem assuntos de governação dos seus país. Sim. Então... aqui estamos vendo que o regulo principal nosso pai está a cometer erros demasiado, assim, a população não está contente, porquê comete este aqui, comete este aqui.. Estamos aqui nós, temos que ver qual que vai ser a solução. Lá é que debatem este assunto e depois chamam os regulos, inclusive aquele principal. Para sentar e debater o assunto. Falar com ele. Esta sua administração está um pouco assim, a população já não está a sentir-se bem consigo, por algum motivo, porque você faz isso, você precisa mudar, porque... você pode mudar. Então precisa mudar para o bem da população. Porque você está aqui, você é garante da estabilidade, de paz e justiça de tudo. Agora se você vai fazer este aqui, quem é que não vai fazer? Ali fala com ele, diretamente, lá é que acaba, corrigir... e tem que corrigir. Quando se chama aquele conselho, tem que corrigir..

[C] É raro chamar este conselho?

[N] Não. Sempre que haja alguma situação, algum problema alarmante, fazem isso... e sempre fazem este tipo de encontro... sempre. Agora já tem uma que chama *fidjbi*, uma associação dos filhos dos *dhjagras*. Associação dos filhos dos *dhjagras*, associação dos filhos dos regulos.

[C] Já há uma associação....?

[N] Sim. Associação dos filhos dos regulos. Eles é que discutem problemas de governação. Ok... mas ouvindo a população, porque eles estão junto com a população, estamos juntos, eu sou.... O neto do meu pai é o filho do regulo, o regulo aqui di Quinhamel. Sim, o meu pai.

[...]

[N] O meu pai é o filho do ex-regulo aqui, dizemos, faleceu depois o outro... e ele tem direito de participar naquele encontro, eu também posso participar como neto, dar a minha sugestão como neto, mas os outros não podem ir lá, não podem. Mas, como estamos de dia a dia a conviver com, com a população geral pode ser uma outra geração assim, sabemos a situação, e a situação de justiça como funciona lá, junto de regulo, como é que funciona... quem ganha justiça, é que toma justiça ou, está acontecendo situação de corrupção, violência, não sei o que, então.. Convocam este encontro para discutir. Este sistema não é bom, como mudar sistema, porque assim assim assim, e assim assim assim. E também os regulos, aquele conselho dos regulos principais... conselho dos regulos, como fazemos presidentes... ok. Conselho dos regulos, regulo de Quinhamel, regulo de Biombo, regulo de Bijimita, regulo de Bissau, regulo de Safim, regulo de Prabis... juntam para discutir assunto da região. Porque região de Piombo é uma região pepel. Inclusive, Bissau. Então, regulo de Bissau, há regulo de Bissau, dandé não sei o que... sai, encontra num sítio, pode ser a Bijimita, porque a Bijimita é o primeiro lugar onde habitaram os Pepeis, é mais sagrada, sim.. Encontramos em Bijimita. Uma vez eu assisti, não participei naquele encontro, mas assisti que estavam a fazer, no momento de eleições de 1999, mais ou menos, e depois mais.. Reuniram lá. Reúnem para ver a situação da região, as pessoas estão a morrer, doenças estão a entrar, as pessoas estão a adoecer, estão a morrer acidentes na via publica, nesta nossa estrada, constantemente, porque está acontecendo? Vamos ter que lavar esta estrada. Fazer cerimónia para diminuir motas nesta estrada, diminuir doença... por exemplo quando chega uma epidemia, não sei pandemia, como cólera, não sei o que... levantam para ver. Podemos, podemos fazer o que? Prevenir, a nossa região... devemos prevenir, levantar com aquele *irân* chamado *kansaré*, para colocar uma prevenção. Ninguém pode ver mas é como que.. Prevenir. Chamar *irâns*...

[C] Sim, pessoas que podem ver., vêm.

[N] Sim, chamar *irân* para ajudar proteger a região, assim fazem esta reunião dos regulos. Quando terminar, cada qual vai para, para o seu setor.

[...]

[N] Ao terminarem este aqui cada qual vai para o seu setor, convoca os seus regulos também, de secções, sentam, transmitem, como quando sai o Jomav, aquele... como, como chama isso? Sai de... não, o que é que fazem?

[C] No palácio, no governo?

[N] Não não..

[C] Onde?

[N] Quando é convocado a reunião dos presidentes...

[C] Da UA [União Africana]?

[N] Da UA, sim. Ok esqueci o nome...

[C] Summit, de não lembro o que...

[N] Sim, quando sai de lá então chega aqui, vê os ministros...

[C] E disponibiliza as notícias

[N] Notícias para tal e tal. Então cada regulo volta para o seu setor e chama regulo de secção, cada secção secção, e senta com eles, aquele regulo de secção voltam cada qual na sua secção, chama os regulos de tabanca, aquele regulo de tabanca é que fazem chegar para as suas populações. Tudo assim, conjunto de coisas, aquele foi decidido

assim assim e assim. Assim que aconteceu, cada qual deve fazer assim, devemos fazer assim assim assim assim... púnhamos, um ano quando estive em Bijimita, 2004. Salvo erro se não esqueci. Começou mortes.... Indesejável. Uma pessoa agora adoece morre, adoece morre. Esta casa chora. Você vai aqui para assistir funeral, você vai aqui para assistir funeral, vão te dizer, Claudia na sua casa a sua irmã faleceu. Você sai para ir a sua casa, e dizem, a sua amiga lá faleceu. Agora não há quem vai, quem vai de quem? Você fica na sua casa, vai sepultar o seu corpo... agora as pessoas deixaram de chorar, cansaram de chorar. Continuamente morrer pessoas, de manhã até a noite...

[C] O tempo todo..

[N] O que é que fizeram? A associação dos filhos de regulos convocaram um encontro de emergência. No mato, reuniram la, fizeram analise. A nossa terra está afetada. O que é que está a acontecer? É por causa disso, por causa disso, por causa disso... então vamos lá, esta situação não pode continuar assim, deve haver uma solução. Fizeram uma análise profunda, conseguiram saber que os mais velhos é que estão a acabar tudo, os mais novos, onde nos lugar de *toca-tchoro*... então eles chamar os seus pais, os regulos, sentaram com eles, e este é assim assim assim, agora, vocês acham que podemos continuar assim? A terra de vocês esta sendo atingida com este não sei o que. Agora, qual é a vossa decisão? Nos queremos suspender estes *toca-tchoro*, no instante. O regulo, os regulos autorizaram, disseram bom, estamos de acordo. O regulo principal promulgou e esta lei entrou em vigor, então, suspenderam o *toca-tchoro* e acabou tudo aquele, aquele...

[C] Tuda esta coisa que não ia... este ciclo

[N] Mudou. Agora, as pessoas param de chorar no dia seguinte, mas amanhã choram, param.

[C] E assim mesmo... tak!

[N] Tak! Quando suspenderam aquele *toca de tchoro*, foi bom, porque já ninguém morre, porque os mais velhos não tinham onde encontrar com os mais novos para fazer isso. Então, é assim. Sempre há aquele conselho de filhos de regulos para ver a situação de...

[C] Como resolver as coisas...

[N] As coisas, como é que funcionam, justiça, e tudo mais, segurança., saúde, economia, as bolanhas estão a cair..., porque, o que é que se deve fazer? Sentam lá, os donos da bolanha sentam, analisam bom para o encontro do regulo... o regulo tem que fazer aquela cerimónia... deve fazer aquela cerimónia.. Faz, tudo.. Para continuar a deixar a população continuar a viver a paz, a viver bem.

[C] É o objetivo dele...

[N] Sim, tem que fazer tudo, de tudo para encontrar segurança, e justiça, saúde, tudo para os seus cidadãos. Pode custar-lhe a vida, mas não há como fazer, ele tem que... se há um único caminho para salvar a população, e é a morte dele, ele vai. Vai. Não há voltar para trás. Ele vai mas contente, não é que fica assim triste, vai. Sim sim. Este que é a realidade Pepel. Mesmo que sabe que onde eu vou, eu vou morrer.

[C] Vai na mesma...

[N] Eu vou morrer para salvar a minha população.

[C] Mas então, basicamente a administração, o sistema de administração Pepel já inclui tudo, pensa no bem-estar das pessoas, pensa na segurança, na saúde,...

[N] Tudo! Segurança, saúde, economia, educação, tudo.

[C] Então... como é que se relaciona com o que o Estado oferece?

[N] Ok..

[C] Porque são quase dois sistemas que quase oferecem a mesma coisa...

[N] Coisa... sim, agora... com dante mão naquela era, era difícil, isso tudo tem a ver com a colonização, sistema dos portugueses quando chegaram... tornava difícil um Pepel ir para, para o centro de saúde... porque na altura eram os portugueses, aquilo que aconteceu... porque a etnia Pepel é a etnia que deu mais dor de cabeça aos portugueses... deu mais dor de cabeça... mas, o que é que acontece... como há hospitais do Estado, e os regulos não impedem ninguém de usá-los, caso contrario, ficam contentes, porque as pessoas vão lá, e qual é o problema que está aqui... há pessoas que não podem tratar no hospital. Este aqui tem a ver com questões de *baloba*. Este

aqui já não é questão de regulo, regulo garante a segurança, saúde educação para todos. Agora, agora tendo em conta alguma situação, podemos dizer, alguns casos excepcionais, que tem a ver com tipo de rito, cerimónia, então obriga... não mas esse aqui deve ficar aqui porque tem o defunto aqui. Este defunto é que deve tratar deste aqui. Não pode sair de qualquer forma, para ir tratar no hospital. Se ela vai dar luz, tem que dar lá. Se ela vai.. Boa, para tirar esta aqui para lá do hospital precisa fazer vários tipos de cerimónias. Tem que pedir tipo e tipo de autorização até encontrar autorização. Se não encontrar autorização, mesmo se vai morrer, tem que morrer lá. Tem que morrer lá... Esse aqui que é grande problema. E quando morrer, ninguém toca de qualquer maneira... tem que ser feito conjunto de aquelas cerimónias para depois tocar o corpo, mesmo você chega aqui, encontrar o corpo na varanda, não pode mexer, você fica la deitado... fica na estrada. Até quando chegar aquelas pessoas tal e tal, vão fazer tudo, e depois... mais, o regulo garante saúde, saúde para todos porque quando se vai construir um hospital no território dum regulo, primeiramente, vão e falam com o regulo, falam com o regulo, o regulo dá autorização. Sim, vocês estão aqui para nos ajudar, então não podemos recusar. Esse aqui é uma oferta benéfica para nos, para o nosso povo, então nos queremos saúde, então fazem. Façam. Então, dá um terreno, grátis, para... o regulo dá o terreno grátis, cede o espaço para construir. Cedem o espaço para contruir escolas... sim. Cedem. Se não fosse por causa disso, diria, não não vamos dar. Mas vocês querem como...

[C] Mas normalmente o Estado pede o terreno ao regulo, não é que pega...?

[N] Não pega.

[C] Não. Senão faltaria de respeito, entra logo em choque...

[N] E guerra. Quer dizer pode não ser guerra, mas é choque na mesma.

[C] Choque.. É. O Estado pede, vai com todo o respeito, chama o regulo, então queremos fazer um trabalho no seu território, e tal e tal, mas o trabalho é para o bem da população, e assim assim assim.. Então o regulo diz que não há problema, este aqui é para o bem.... O que é eu quero, eu quero a saúde para o meu povo, para a minha população, quero escola... hoje em dia muitas pessoas vão lá estudam e agora nos queremos também os nossos filhos para serem tal tal tal... aceitam. Agora...

[C] Problemas que não podem ser resolvidos no hospital tem que ser tratados noutra lado?

[N] Porque nem todas os problemas se resolvem no hospital...

[C] Sim, são outro tipo de problemas...

[N] Sim sim. E há doenças mesmo que o hospital não pode até hoje. Isso vai... como se fosse execução de hepatite. Nós chamamos isso aqui de febre amarela. Mas que não é. Chamamos febre amarelo. No hospital, você não pode, não há como resolver. Não não não. Se você continuar lá, morre. Você vai morrer. Somente com medicamento tradicional. Resolve... eu mesmo conheço... já curei várias pessoas com remedio, com medicamento...

[C] Sim? E funcionou?

[N] Funciona! Funcionou muito bem... e nem só aquela doença eu conheço ainda muitos medicamentos tradicionais que curam vários tipos de... eu conheço... porque eu tive a oportunidade de estar com um homem que gostou muito de mim.. Gostava.. Agora faleceu, um homem cego, mas ele é potente. Era potente. Íamos para o mato, quando chega ao mato, o homem dizia, 'deixa deixa! Deixa minha mão'. Eu pego na sua bengala e ele começa a andar assim, sozinho. Esta aqui é esta aqui, esta aqui é esta aqui...

[C] Mesmo sem ver ele já consegui saber...

[N] Sim! Conhecia o mato...

[C] Não precisava de olhos para ver...

[N] Conhecia o mato, fica.. A andar... como é que se tira, como é que se faz... tudo. Há doenças que... não podem ser curadas nos hospitais. Aqui. Eu não sei.. Nos outros países. Mas mesmo lá fora, já quem... quem foi lá com febre amarela, morreu lá, preso.. Um dos padres, porque não descobriu que aquele não tinha solução no hospital. Porque, ele apanhou aqui. Se fosse na Europa não ia apanhar talvez, porque á não há talvez. Mas aqui apanhou, sem saber, pensou que era uma doença que pode ser facilmente solucionada la, e... nunca mais voltou. Por isso... é isso.. Regulo sempre, a sua maior preocupação é garantir, garantir o bem-estar da população. O bem-estar. Razão pela qual a aposta na justiça, saúde, educação, economia, tudo, vai garantir o desenvolvimento do seu povo. Assim.

Tudo o conjunto de, de degraus para chegar lá. Mas o seu decreto... já é decreto não se pode revogar. A não ser ele que vai dizer, não agora não, mas para tirar um decreto, precisa ainda consultar o conselho, que reúne, escutando as pessoas, assim, para depois parir uma decisão. E esta decisão já é uma decisão solida.

[C] Não há forma de se mudar a decisão?

[N] Não. Não. É como se for o bispo... se o bispo decretar uma coisa, já não há outra forma.

[C] Pois não. Ele decretou e já está, ponto final! Acabou-se.

[N] [gargalhada] mas antes de decretar escuta pessoas, conselhos e tal e tal, reúne, este grupo de sínodo. E tal tal. Para depois tomar uma decisão na base de orientações de tudo, para que não seja uma decisão isolada. Esta aqui também não ajuda. Assim é que toma decisões os regulos. É assim. Eles vão para morrer, morrem. Mas tem que garantir. Foi isso que aconteceu em 1915, com o regulo de Biombo. Sim sim. Ele disse que vai morrer para o seu povo, mas nunca vai submeter aos portugueses, e foi sepultado vivo, sim sim. Disse que nunca vou submeter, nunca vou, para o meu povo. Isso aqui, vou fazer isso para o meu povo. Preciso morrer, em defesa do meu povo, eu vou morrer.

[C] Foi o que ele fez mesmo..

[N] Foi isso. Enterraram-no vivo, porque não conseguiam com armas. Não era possível então.. Tinham que sepultar, vivo..

[C] Isso fizeram

[N] Este tipo de...

[C] Quer dizer, havia muito poder por parte dele..

[N] Ya. Este tipo de atitudes fez com que a etnia pepel com europeus, pessoas de cor branca, causou muitos problemas, porque quando vem em Bissau brancos pensa logo que são os portugueses. Mas agora já não.

[C] Agora já é diferente...

[N] Não, não...

[C] Já é uma outra altura, há outros meios de comunicação, já é...

[N] Agora não. Mas aquela época, quando vem... era terrível, terrível mesmo. Os brancos, os portugueses, para conseguir pacificar biombo perderam muitos, muitos homens. Era difícil. Muito difícil. Os Pepeis são resistentes e são, quase, insubmissos. Na altura. Mas depois conseguiram porque, se fosse somente um, com, os, os militares portugueses seria impossíveis, mas como havia o Agdun Djai [Fula warrior] Foi um dos mercenários daquela época, e tem um grupo de g—, um grupo de mercenários formados por ele, que eram para atacar e matar pilhar não sei o que, e cobra coisas, e quando chegou o Teixeira Pinto, na altura, 1912, chegou desembarcou no porto de Bolama, e depois veio, saindo de, de Angola... ok e depois viu, acompanhou, tentou ver, porque os portugueses estavam a sofrer derrotas, derrotas, derrotas... e depois fez um estudo diagnostico para saber porque sempre há perdas. Depois, viu de que o sistema de ataque deles, que não era apropriado, mas para atacar viu que não ia conseguir claramente, então tentou perguntar se há alguma que pode, e quando tinha conhecimento daquele Djai com tão talento que tem, mandou chamá-lo e fizeram um contrato e depois, começou a usar aquele Djai para ajudar. Foi assim que é que conseguiram. Razão pela qual os Fulas não iam a biombo. Não. Não iam a Biombo. Não iam. Porque se iam lá iam ser mortos. Aquele Djai é que veio com aquele... Teixeira Pinto, com os seus, com os seus grupos de mercenários, armados e assim... então fizeram um truque, não sei o que, colocaram veneno, numa vaca, os Pepeis começaram a comer... disseram, 'esta aqui é uma vaca deles, vamos matar comer e ver o que vai sair!' eheheh

[C] É como um cavalo de troia...

[N] [gargalhadas] eu aí começou a... foi assim... era difícil com Fula, mas agora. Não há problema, já acabou, mas antemão, mesmo um cavalo não podia sobreviver em Biombo. Não pode. Não podia. Agora não sei se pode, porque foi com cavalo é que faziam para fazer, então... anularam esta aqui... se o cavalo chegar lá morre. Tornaram sagrada aquela zona de Biombo. Assim naquela era também não se podia fazer chegar a estrada boa até lá. Porque entendiam que ia facilitar os colonialistas para.. Assim, um conjunto de coisas que.. Então, é assim, insubmisso mesmo. E quando chegaram lá para fazer a pacificação, mal chegaram aqui em Bijimita, deixaram um

comunicado para lá . Olha, se você o regulo principal, nós não queremos entrar em choque. Manda somente as suas tropas deixarem as armas, tudo, vamos chegar e vamos conversar e depois vamos em paz, vamos somente pacificar a zona e acabou. Chegaram em Quinhamel, fizeram aqui até mais ou menos a tarde e depois caminharam, quando chegaram lá encontraram montes de armas, regulo disse sim, 'está lá, continuaram, deixamos... agora vamos sentar e falar'. Sentaram. O Teixeira Pinto tinha medo de chegar lá, não... estar mas não estar lá, no lugar. Porque sabia que qualquer coisa ia acontecer. E depois começaram a falar falar falar, de repente houve tiros por lado do quintal, estavam lá uns Pepeis armados ainda, param param param!, então o fogo abriu. Até que muitas perdas, para nos e para eles, até mais ou menos até a noite, e depois, com a ajuda de alguém conseguiram depois pacificar a zona. Mas aquele regulo declarou uma guerra e disse 'eu vou morrer para o meu povo, sim ficam sabendo, vocês, os tugas, ficam sabendo que eu mesmo, que eu morrer, naquele mundo se encontrar um de vocês, vou continuar a luta'.

[C] De qualquer forma, ia continuar..

[N] De qualquer forma continuarei a lutar como.. Convosco.

[C] Uma luta mesmo sem fim...

[N] Sem fim! [gargalhadas] E foi sepultado assim, morto...

[C] Tu falas disso como se estivesses lá...

[N] [gargalhadas] e você me.. Me pergunta, porque, onde é que saíram com armas, uma vez que não tinham quartel, não tinha nada, onde saíram com armas? Porque naquela altura, 1912...

[...]

[N] Em 1912 não havia nenhum quartel, nem nos não tinham independência, não sabiam nem, Amílcar Cabral depois nasceu em 1900 e 24 parece, não tinha nascido. Porquê? Porque os alemães faziam vendas ilegais de armas, vinham, por via marítima, vendiam armas, assim, então os regulos compravam dos alemães para garantir segurança do seu território, compravam por via marítima. Foi assim que conseguiam armas na altura. E começaram a fazer guerras. Os alemães quando vendem treinam como é que se usa, e tal e tal. Com munições. E se compra. Pode dar vaca, pode dar o que, não tinha dinheiro para *dar* então, em troca de algum produto compravam, lá foi que aconteceu uma história muito desta.. Então, muitas pessoas perderam vida, perderam vida lá, então uma luta. Sangrenta.

[...]

[N] Foi uma luta mesmo, sangrenta mesmo, sim sim, pessoas perderam vida, razão pela qual até agora estamos... considerado naquela altura em proporção 1 Pepel era 20 Fulas. Quer dizer 1 Pepel podia derrotar 20 Fulas. Era assim, a proporção.

[C] Muitos!

[N] Sim sim sim. O Pepeis eram... eram.. Fortes, guerreiros valentes. Em proporção 1 Pepel 20 Fulas. 1 Pepel 10 Balantas, 1 Pepel igual a 10 Balantas. 1 Pepel igual a 20 Fulas. Um Pepel agarrado a catana ou machado fazia dano daqui para Bissauzinho, a vontade...e fica tudo cheio de sangue. Razão pela qual havia resistência a pacificação. Havia resistência.

[C] E era resistência com r maiúsculo.

[N] Ah sim sim. Resistência Pepel... só um exemplo. Os Pepeis com os Mancanhas tiveram um conflito nos tempos passados e esse aqui, esse odio quase ficou até hoje. Quase ficou até hoje...

[C] Ainda está...?

[N] Eu disse quase até hoje, porque ainda temos os velhos que ficaram, dão... informações aos seus mais novos, e não havia, aconteceu um problema, que os Pepeis queriam evitar, mas no último, não podiam. Porque os Mancanhas estavam lá ainda abusando muito e então foi tomada uma decisão, e depois começaram a luta. E então esta luta é que pegaram somente na catana, machado, começaram a... a matar mesmo. Os outros que sobrar saltar lá no porto, no cais de Pidjiguiti, foram para Bolama. Hoje há um conjunto de Mancanhas em Bolama..

[C] Que saíram depois dessa luta....

[N] Sim sim sim. A consequência disso, um Pepel namora com um Mancanha, se os velhos tiverem conhecimento, dizem olha ‘nos.. Aquele devemos mandar embora’.

[C] Se um Pepel e um Mancanha quiser casar, isso da?

[N] Sim. E possível casam. Sim, casam.

[C] Os velhos não ficam chateados com isso?

[N] Ficam chateados. Porque não? Podem casar... você tem uma consequência. Que... quase, uns... você não é Pepel, você não casa. Púnhamos... um Balanta, quer casar com um Pepel... vamos fazer a cerimónia Pepel. Sabe? Enganam aquele homem na época, que é Balanta, dizem, vamos fazer a cerimónia de casamento Pepel, você não faz... procuram um outro para fazer aquela cerimónia, que é Pepel. Segredo... quel homem não sabe, que casei com ele na sua tradição. É assim. E você que foi casar com aquele homem no segredo tem que respeita-lo como seu marido. Claro que está no segredo, você vai com aquele, mas de vez em quando volta para tomar conta dele.

[...]

[N] Este é pepel. Saiu de barriga pepel. Nunca pode vir a ser outra coisa. Até o final do mundo. É irrevogável. Não se pode.

[...]

[N] Então é assim. Não se pode casar. É assim...

[C] Esta coisa do segredo é que é... não sabia. Não fazia ideia de que isso acontecesse, é muito interessante.

[N] Penso que, os Pepeis são inteligentes, não querem... que outra etnia entra nos seus ritos, a fazer.. Não não. Você não sabe que eu casei ela com a sua tradição, eu casei com ela.. Não! Você, você não sabe de nada, coitadinho você! E você leva a sua esposa, com a qual foi casar, mas de vez em quando no segredo, volta para aquele homem...

[C] Para cumprir com os seus deveres, e o seu respeito...

[N] Sim sim. Porque foi ele que casou, tal e tal. Você foi fora da lei para uma outra pessoa, não está na lei. Você foi, e aquele homem veio para te ajudar, para te dar mais respeito, você deve.. Respeitá-lo. De vez em quando ir lá, ficar la, dormir, depois.. Assisti-lo.

[C] Sim, tudo o que uma mulher faz

[N] E os filhos dela, são filhos daquele.

[C] Não são filhos do outro?

[N] Não, pela lei não. Quer dizer que, é Pepel, não é Pepel, não... se morrer aquele, deve levar vacas para matar, e... é assim mesmo. Mãe que sabe, quando o filho nascer informa.

[C] Ela que sabe, consegue gerir os dois..

[N] Isso pode ser, se falecer aquele outro, aquele outro primeiro, aquele dum outra etnia, remove tudo, os filhos já vão para, voltam aqui diretamente, este que... a lei, não é... incontestável. Cultura pepel é... muitas coisas, muito complicada...

[...]

[N] Agora, esta hora resta só saber conviver com eles, respeitar escolhas...

[...]





## 2.14 OMI MANHÃ – DJAMBAKOS

Interview sample 2

Guidelines B, A

February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Cacheu

[We met Omi Manhã/Masa at a Baloba. We are forbidden to reach the sacred place and we are told to wait outside, he would reach us. Omi Masa is short of time because he was performing ceremonies and other people are waiting for him. Canbraima translates to *kriol* when necessary.]

[Canbraima] *Tene ku... ke ki no fassi, tempo aí na kusa... ki ke nô indicano.. kuma ki su nomi, kil ki mora perto kasa di Djas....*

[Omi Masa] *Djas...*

[Ca] *Paulino...*

[OM] *No.. Kil ki ta darma, ki mora perto di kasa di Djas ali... Djas, omi garandi, kil ki trabadja na...*

*Aaah, Fodé!*

[Ca] *I ka fode, kil ghoutro.*

*Djas, kil ki sta na...*

[OM] *Kil hora ki passa kau di irmã?*

[Ca] *Hora ki passa kau di irmã, ele i mora a esquerda.. Ma antes di no tchiga kau di Djas, enton no tene ke passa tambí pa no papia ku bo, e no papia tambí com Fode2 aonti, pode tambí mostrau sempre em termo de poder tradicional abó que estas mais a riba, assim ki fala...kuma ele é... kuma? El i darmadur.*

[OM] *El i darmadur sábio na terra no Obin.*

[Ca] *Assim ki fala.*

[OM] *No kambal bocado...*

[OM] *Logo ele... ke ki na faz este tempo, se.. Teve de sil esta ligado a.. Kuma?*

[Claudia] *Poderes tradicionais.*

[Ca] *Poder tradicional na Guiné-Bissau, queston um bocado sobre podere tradicional, lugar de irân, kil kusa aí tudo, meninu di irân, lugar di irân... es kela quer kil trabalho que ela na fassi. Falo lo ke enton.. Suma si no trabalho di omi... ma nó tchiga na bu kau, eu falado dizem ke na, se bu misti pa bu odjal, i ghoutro dia ki bu bin papia ki fim di sumana, e ta si no mato garandi.*

[OM] *Ka ta ceita, so fim de amanha.*

[Ca] *Assim ki fala.*

[OM] *Mas deu djubi tambí suma bo apanha. E ka problema!*

[...]

[reprehend because we should have brought 1l cana wine or 5l palm wine, because of the traditional clothes he's wearing]

[Ca] *Era bom protocolo normalmente como tu sabia..*

[C] *Levarmos.. Vinho de cana, vinho de palma ou cana...*

[Ca] *Tem o tinto, o sumo, ou alguma coisa assim para..*

[C] *Para oferecer...*

[Ca] Exato, porque está...

[C] Está com a roupa de... fardado.

[Ca] Claro...

[...]

[OM] *Boa gós...no dipus tchiga local. No punta gora ke ki entra na entrevista pa mi punta?*

[Ca] *Gos... conta kil ki gos bu misti di concreto.*

[C] Amin.. Posso falar português?

[Ca] Claro, a vontade! *Papia francis bem, papia englis bem...*

[Ca] Ok... então estamos tranquilos. O que quero saber é de onde o irân vem, como é que ele esta aqui. Ou seja, você tem esta capacidade extraordinária de estar em contacto com ele, não é? Quando é que isso começou? Desde quando? Sempre foi assim?

[OM] [laughs] *Ok. Obi, obi? Nô ka na pudi conta dai, kel di istoria ki no papia. Irân... foi dado a donas... apos dos avos, apos avos, anos na toma terra através di caminho di nô donas, e irân, nbó! Deus ke oube ali. Não cabe falar nada. Anos no irân dana. Nfo ke nka pudi conta istoria de Cacheu porque istoria que no falou... Cacheu copositado, tudo di irâns. A partir di Kakau. Primeiro regulo i di Kakau. Segundo regulo i di Kakan. Nô ka oula regulo bermedju, suma kil bermedju assim, fala regulo bermedju sim. Ele ki chefe di... regulo di Kakan. Enton nô padir no i de nô donas, e.. Kusa ke i dora. Amin, tambi djoga bola bem, marca golo tchiu. Mas essa alguin fala pra riba, nbîn... assim. Enton, ele kna tene regulo di.. Kakau, regulo di Kakan, bedeu.. Kafou, no devi regulo assim. Ok... irân nassi.. Nka pergunta, nunca padi irân. Mas deus ki padi. Irân i fidjo di deus. Deus ki padi irân, e larga irân pa irân bin mata, djubai di trabadjo pa li. Ok....*

[...]

[C] Irân fica sempre aqui, não volta para deus? Ele esta estável aqui entre as pessoas?

[OM] *Bó... kil ki sta li. Irân bin pa terra, deus fica riba. E no controla, kil ki nô fassi. Irân ta va inferno. Porque deus ke mandar kil um trabadja... se iarde, tudo kil dal, se ... ---*

[C] E mas irân consegue mandar nas almas das pessoas? Esta em cima disso?

[OM] Mmmmm. Deus esta a riba di irân. Irân esta a riba di nos.

[C] Ok. Mas irân comunica..

[OM] O irân tchiga pa djuba deus e ka pudi fassi mal. A hora ki irân na fassi mal, i ba punta na lá. Se pape.. I mo ki manda pa deixi ficar ku nô li djunto.

[C] Mas irân também faz bem?

[OM] *Irân.. I ta djubau.*

[C] Dá ajuda

[OM] *Porque... kil ki nô pedil, protedje..i ka misti dana..*

[C] E toda a gente pode pedir ajuda para ele?

[OM] *Tudo mundo pudi pedir. Talvez igreja que é diferente dja di kil toca-toca, mas nos no ta pedi ki no ta doral la, porque é, é no pape tambi! Ke ki falta mas?*

[C] *Misti kungsi.. Si regulo também tem ligação com irân?*

[OM] *Não, ma regulo tudo é irâns! Regulo é irân ki ta trabalha. Porque amin ki sinta assim, tene ki papel di regulo n'dado, na terra deste meilia pa combata uma.. Esse. Kil ta fora é pa bia do destino. Ele nka pudi lembi distino porque camal gossado, amin bai tomal na terra deli, la, mas regulo não sirve... porque tudo o que atira na fassi. O alguin tene assim, tene irân, a no regulo riba a mal aquilo, papia di farda. Anos é chefe di terra! Ma no vivi perto di irân papia di amanhã.. Amanhãs ki ta tao grande pa no sinta, no mata um pequena terrameira... anos i homis di irân, i nka pudi negau, ma regulo i tene regulo ku vestido e tene regulo ku ka vestido. Você não*

*usa esse, nem eli ki bai buscal em bin kil...eli ki nka misti bin la... vai na... kuma? Iliã.. Il ba bistin li. Mas se tem kil regulo ke ka completa, no ta ri.*

[C] Mais uma pergunta. O irân também tem poder sobre as almas das pessoas?

[OM] *Ahahaha. Irân ki kamata kin ka ta iara.*

[C] Que irân pode matar toda a gente?

[OM] Não.... Irân não tira a vida que não.. Que não faz mal a irân.

[C] Ok... mas se quiser ele pode tirar.

[OM] *Hora ki bu iara [...] irân bai matal. Papia ki bu mata nha fidju, bu mata nha ermos, enton bai mandjul la no irân la, irân na torna kil ki bu fassi.*

[C] E irân então sabe quem é culpado... se alguém faz algo mau, logo irân já sabe...?

[OM] *Logo já tornou. I ta sibi. Mas irân, irân i ermos di deus!*

[C] E se a pessoa.. Por exemplo, alguém morreu e não se sabe quem matou, você pode saber pelo irân quem é que foi?

[OM] *Se bu na leba galinha, no carga ki no kau, e ta usa rituais, e fala tal matado na... galinha, se bu curtal, e um lado se contra alguin matau, e preto, outro branco, enton teve um matado.*

[C] Ok, entendi. So mais uma pergunta... porque todas as pessoas nascem com alma, certo? Ou uma pessoa pode nascer sem alma?

[OM] *Não, pekadur padiu ku a alma.*

[C] E o que acontece a alma quando uma pessoa morre? Quando o corpo morre?

[OM] *Ma i ka ta djubi morri... alma i riba nundi ki sai. Curpo na fica na areia.*

[C] Mas depois uma alma pode voltar, outro dia?

[OM] *Sim i ta bin. I ta bin sim senhor, porque amin i ta padi nha fidju, e bó! Alguin murri, e ta bin alma diretamente nha fidju, bô odja se rosto e kuma, este alma di tal ki aki ta bin! Obi?*

[C] Entendi. E akil meninu, ki ka padidu diritu, ki ka ta bem, ke a mame tchama di meninu di irân, ele bai?

[OM] *Irân nunca padi fidju.*

[C] *Nunca adi fidju? Não?*

[OM] *No ta fala kuma tal fulano padido... serpente ki entral, ghoutro entral e bas botado, mas nunca irân pade fidju. Irân tene su fidju a parte. Mas nunca irân pade fidju da barriga di companha...*

[C] *E irân tene fidjus? Irân esta em todo o lado, ou tem sítios próprios?*

[OM] *Irân tene su fidju que padi... mas se irân panha bu fidju, e ten kil ki bu dona, ki avos fassi... ki irân ta nali na bu fidju. Bu caba?*

[C] *Caba.*

[...]

[OM] *No farda, farda ali. Mira! Nha camisa i irân, amin tudo i irân. Mas amin gusta di alguém ki punta coisa bonita assim. Amin i regulo di primeira classe. Kakan e Kakau. Porque nesta área [Cacheu] nunca tene regulo di irân. Nunca i ten. Bu misti kungsi istorias.. Riba amanha, amanhã na conta istoria di Cacheu. Bó... ncontente! Amanhã nome i manhã. Ngosta di Claudia!! Está bom, no riba dentro.*

## 2.15 PEDRO, DJAMBAKOS– TRADITIONAL POWER

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines B, C

February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019

Buba

[Bacar Bassi Djassi introduces me to the Pedro, the djambakos. He translates to *kriol* when necessary.]

[Bacar] *No, no falaba ontem.. El i sai de Portugal.. Sta num trabadju di istudo ki na fassi, e bin pa fassi trabalho a nível di nô, aonti trabalha na Quinara e Tombali. Bin di ca, bin di pergunta djenti ki fassi trabalho di djambakos.. E ta fassi cura, i ta djuda djenti ke.. I misti papia djenti ke kil la, e papia, chefe de tabanca, e próprio regulos, pa esse trabadju ke essi fassi.. Essi aqui.. E tem um homem Tanca ke sta ali e sai de - e djenti toda - e ta fassi kel.. Kuma, fala suma i na bin e ka tene nada, pabia é um trabalho ke bin só pa entrevistas, pa puntal pa puntal alguin algum — se ku pudi explicar e toma nota, enton i fala.. I fala i tene nada, nada para oferecer, i bin — se misti — kuma bu pudi fassi el...*

[Claudia] Esse que trouxe para agradecer o seu tempo e disponibilidade...

[B] *I ki misti.. El na pa puntu...*

[C] Antes de mais, o meu nome é Claudia..

[Pedro] Claudia..

[C] Eu peço desculpa, mas o meu crioulo ainda está muito mais ou menos.. Obrigada. E portanto vou falar em português, se não se importar...

[...]

[C] Eu queria se for possível, que você me explicasse o trabalho que faz, falar um bocado disso... pode falar em crioulo também, eu entendo, só não consigo falar..

[B] *I ta entendi kriol, só ka papia.. Se pudi explicar maneira ki bu, bu ta trabadja...*

[P] *Nboh.. Esse i Bas. Amin na trabadja consoante mesmo maneira que Kau esta. Nta trabadja peso ne kele ki ta bin, ki ta sta fasido, ke tene fidjo, gora es ki tisil. Hora ki si fidjo tene problema na barriga, ta fassi com que, bu pudi djuda essa maneira kanto meu.. O mesinhu. Entregal o kumpul di nha mamé pa be de si tene colo aberto, ma te misti pai, pa fassi amil - i fica mesmo normal. Kil esta. E ten mas ki ora ki si dono ke..*

[B]Se necessário traduzir coisas..

[C] Não, até agora.. Se for preciso, pois, pergunto-lhe..

[B] *Ma el entendi..*

[P] *Alguin hora ki quebra mon, no kumpul tudo e torna, e forma kil osso.. A-ah. No disminti, na fassi kumpu ma e torna posison ki li fica. Alguin doente, hora ki ka pudi papia, a-ah, amin ta fassil com que pudi.. Abri boca e papia.. Mm. E hora tambi, alguin esta doente, asin **comecio** esteja mal [emphasis] e anda cansado [emphasis], amin ta fassil, npapia ku nha djentis e pa fassil conselho mesmo pa bin — batia na normal, kuma senhores ki sta la. E, hora ku cabeça ka na trabalha bin, esse na bai ghoutro ta fai, seturou cabeça, i ta djubil e ta fassil ku ke, hora ki bu — bu na ranca pa cura. Ta fassil, pa sta bem concentrado. — enton fassi.. Cura djentis. Nos, i djentis tambi, ki odja kuma, esse um alguin ki, ki su no outro kau, muito perigo. A-ah. E ta fassi com que pudi libertal na kel kau pa torna li seguro.*

[B] *Kau muito perigo ligado a irâns...*

[P] A-ah, irâns..

[B] *Aquele irâns ta pegal..*

[P] *A-ah. Enton fassil fassil..*

[C] Perigo, ligado..?

[B] Aquelas pessoas que sempre sentes aquele volto de presença de irân. Irân. Então ele faz, também faz este trabalho, de libertar irân junto das pessoas. Qualquer pessoa que tem irân, que esta a ser perseguido por irân, ele trabalhar para libertar esse irân, dentro esse pessoa.

[C] Porque é que irân persegue as pessoa? Porque é que uma pessoa é perseguida por irân? É porque fez algo errado, ou?

[B] *Irân ta perseguil pekadur, ke maneira en ta pega pekadur?*

[P] *Mmm i ten kil ki tan.. I tambi fassi kil contrato.* Há pessoas que fazem contrato com irân, e por falta de comprimento daquele contrato...

[both] É perseguido..

[C] Sim.. Pois, porque não pagou o que era preciso, o que era devido..

[both laughs] Yoo

[P] *Kel ke manda.. Amin i media eles. Nta sitia, media, e fala, e fala esse, kel ki toma um bias? Awos que pera, tal kusa. E falal, torna la. Isso é problema. Enton fala esse, este.. Suma i tisisil li bu tormal, li bu sta li la. E kusa ta caba.*

[B] Enton ele fala com irâns, e que diz faz mediação entre irâns e as pessoas *dividora*, pede as pessoas para devolver a irân aquele que tem de irân, e depois pede irân para deixar, deixar essa pessoa em paz. Depois de devolução de objeto..

[P] De objeto..

[C] E também ajuda de irân é importante em casos de tratamentos? Antes quando estava a falar de mãos partidas, esse também..

[B] *El puntal se no caso irân i ta djudal tambi na fassi kil tratamento. Se ta djudal no fassi tudo tratamento ke ta fassi, nta djudal..*

[P] *Nta djudal.. E ta presente tudo in kil na fassi pa um alguém ki sta, duro ki sta li, doente, ta fassi li ta fala firma pa um fassi doente. E no mostral kil tipo di mesinhu e ta fassil pa que corpu stal bem.*

[B] Então, esse são os irâns que dão orientação para ele, com quais são os medicamentos que deve utilizar, para que pessoas fica bem. São orientações que recebe dos irâns.

[C] Sim.. E quando é que começou a fazer esse trabalho, a ter essa capacidade de interagir?

[B] *Kal tempo ka kungsi trabalho di djambakos?*

[P] *Amin? Boh.. Ntene, ntene 20 ano, só que amin sta calmo, — si o cerimonia e, no maneira..*

[B] *Bo sikil ka ta consigo papia ku.. Bu já ta fassil kil..*

[P] *A-ah. E nka caba ainda, fassi cerimonia de.. Uszo. Logo..*

[C] Cerimonia de..

[P] *Uszo.*

[C] Que é?

[B] Ele disse que iniciou trabalho com 20 anos de idade, mas era uma pessoa secreta, era uma pessoa fazia esse trabalho duma forma secreta, porque ainda faltava cumprir *uszo*, quer dizer fanado. Diz *uszo* balanta ne.. Quando no, uma pessoa não foi uisada, o, o esse fazer esse no uso de fanado não pode praticar algum trabalho publicamente.

[P] *Enton kil manda, e kunsu, pabia ke u fassi, ki uso tudo, nbai... amin sta djunto, bu lembra ki tempo trabalha na oficina li..*

[B] Oficina, sim..

[P] *A-ah, enton lá..*

[B] Era operário da oficina, faz esse li.. Trabalha muito bem nessa área! [laughs]

[P] *Enton lá ke..*

[B] .. Trabalha muito bem nessa área..

[P] *E bin fassi, e da, da sinal, amin fica na, ntempa. Pa bin di baixu di carru. N'tenta pa cumpri, nkunsa saldando saldando suldo, e tranca ali. Pa bin quase e na sai di ban carru e — djun-djun te, nto na repete mas, n'ghentra. No kunsa, e pubu mas e fala sai. N'sai e bai pu'n lu na bancada, n'fica segotal-- Mas fica la e n'papia -. Nfala bai pa casa. Bai pa casa. Resi ki nha dai ki nha roupa e kil só uma hora na trabalha ate nta bin fassi pa i pudi bai laba e toma kuma aprendizista. Mas na kil altura, nada pa bai busca kil a pomal, — i fala pa bai casa. Partir de 6horas na sai, e omi garandi ki contra, el ki scoltal. Alguin scoltal e sai di la, assim ki no bin, eehe que tchiga li, e falan, ki bu odja, bu odja alguin ai? Nfala não. Nalan bu odja, nfala não. Ngora, gos mostra. Da ki bin ba fassil, na kil porta onde ki bu fassi, i bu ba punha — e fala kusa.. Sai com ovo, suma di pomba assim, e fala, akil la ke ku na bai cudje. Enato na cubje, ndjubi ndjubi ndjubi te.. E fala bu odja quem ke sta li? E fala não. Ten cabra?? Nada.*

[...]

[P] *Logo kil fassi com que, kil ki bu i asin, mas hora ki bu odja contra — odja kil ovos. Ovos. I fala kuma es ku na trabalha ki ora. Ora ki fassi no ta djubi só um cima li — i ki no fassi. I asin.*

[B] Ele estava a explicar como é que surgiu essa iniciativa de pegar esse trabalho. Ele era um servente, fazia até solda de carros, —, diz que na altura trabalhava de baixo de uma carro, estava a fazer a solda de baixo de um carro. Então sentiu um sinal, um sinal divino, sentiu um sinal, e.. Mas continuou a trabalhar de baixo do carro, mas de repente, o material com o qual ele trabalhava com ele, o material saiu da mão, ficou no seu lado. O levantou de novo, o material saiu de novo da sua mão, e ficou noutra lado. E sentiu um voz que diz, olha sai, de baixo desse carro, mas não sabe ver quem, quem esta a falar com ele. Saiu assim e depois veio a por a cabeça numa..

[P] *Banca..*

[B] Numa bancada do trabalho e parece que está a ouvir essa pessoa falar com ele. Voz falar com ele, falar vai para casa, vai para casa.. Depois o homem que está aqui, Sumba, é esse homem que segurou ele até aqui em casa, homem pergunta diz, viu qualquer coisa, diz que eu não viu nada. Disse então quem é que esse dentro da casa? Depois foi ver, encontrou, viu logo um tipo de ovo, como ovo da galinha, que não estava no quarto. Disse que é esse ovo, esse ovo que vai orientar-te, desde agora trabalhas com esse ovo, esse é o poder que vem para ti. Então a partir de la começou a trabalhar esse trabalho, quando pega naquele ovo, disse que esse ovo está aqui dentro, sempre parece ovos aqui dentro, quando pega esse ovo..

[C] Mais ovos aparecem?

[B] Sim, sim.. Quando vem o ovo, mas o ovo da orientação, como que ele deve trabalhar.

[C] Entendi.. E então, você consegue tratar vários tipos de doenças, do corpo, até..

[B] Sim, sim ele explicava essa parte.. Ele trabalha, tratar muito tipo de doença traves de, de.. *Instalason* de osso, mulheres que tem problema de, ter filho, trata isso também com colos abertos, aquelas que não conseguem engravidar.. E quando grávida fica a perder, e — faz esse três tipo de tratamento também.

[C] E então consegue, também faz tratamentos para mulheres grávidas?

[P] *Sim.. Si quando ki ele, tambi si fidjo, se sim muto, kel ki fassi travessa asin.*

[B] Ah *travessar* aquilo,, dissemos em crioulo *travessar*.

[C] É a criança que está..

[B] Sim sim que está virado ao contrario..

[P] *Amin esse na fassi..*

[N] Então para dar parto *i difícil*, porque não esta numa posição apropriada para sair. Diz que faz esse tratamento para evitar...

[P] Evitar a cesariana..

[B] A cesariana

[C] Sim..

[P] Sai com facilidade..

[C] Consegue também fazer esse tratamento para meninos..

[B] Sim para virar essa criança, para ficar numa posição..

[C] E também há alguma forma de tratamento que você pode fazer no caso da mãe estiver preocupada com o filho, para ter certeza de que o filho nasça saudável?

[B] *Se tene tratamento, kuma ki mamé i sta preocupado, ku ora ki prenha, i sta preocupado ku fidjo ta pudi nassi di maneira pe i ka tene, pa i tene saude, pa i ka tene problema..*

[P] *I na vira [...] Amin hora ke ma, esse esse sai, suma es el ki os tuma, amin ta i fassi nha protecao, di kil, kil menino, pa queston di ki se alguém bao odjal, e ta fassi maldade, na.. I ta protisil.*

[B] Protege essas crianças, dentro da barriga da mãe e depois de parto também proteger essa criança para que essa criança não possa sofrer outros que faz mal, ne.. Porque as pessoa, inveja da criança, então utiliza aquilo que nos dizemos *fetisaria*

[P] *Fetisaria..*

[B] *Fetisaria* contra criança, ele faz essa protecao contra *fetisaria*.

[C] Às crianças quando são recém-nascido, ou até antes de nascerem?

[B] *So hora ki na padidi ki ta fassi kil la?*

[P] *Ki suma maneira ki esse tene, tene barriga bai, porque li bibi mesinhu, eh, i ki ten.. E buscal te la ke fassi.. E patil. Logo, amin ta protesil mamé, hora ki sai, tudo ki ten corpu la dentro, i sai menino bom pusao-- Hora ki sai são amin bai protigil mas.*

[B] Disse que por exemplo essa, dessa mulher, que tinha problemas de ter filhos. Então, ele com o medicamento que ele dava a mulher, a mulher conseguia praticar.. Depois de nascer sempre vem aqui essa criança e ele faz lavagem a essa criança para proteger essa criança contra outros diabos, e assim

[C] E você também consegue reconhecer aquela crianças que não são pekadur?

[B] *Kil criança ki fala kuma ki i irân, su ta, su ta fai ki boh..*

[P] *Nboh. Amin hora ki ten um ajal-- E ka sta na bu maneira pa ki ta fala. I ta djubi, nda toma si - e djubi. E se ele pekadur, nta sibi, se i ka pekadur, tambi. E fala na mamé, mamantal de, mamantal de! Mamantal diritu, tenel diritu! Ate.. Outro ta bin da akil, e pirdi. - sia kuma eli um alguim dja que esta noutra área, mm...*

[B] Disse que consegue descobrir essas pessoas, mas se é pessoa humana ou se é irân, através de orientason daquele ovo. E, mas quando descobre esse, diz a mãe, olha não tem medo, fica a amamentar, fica a dar essa — a essa menina a mama, deve dar leite, sempre, mas passando algum tempo qualquer mãe diz olha o fulano agora não está comigo, foi-se embora... ele voltou

[C] Bin e bai..

[P] A-ah, sim.

[B] *I asin*, é assim.

[C] E entre esses trabalhos que você faz de protecao, etc., também pode fazer esses trabalhos para a tabanca? Ou só para pessoas individuais?

[B] *Se bu fassi pa tudo tabanca, ou ta fassi pa djenti individual..*

[C] *Bon.. Proteson, ninguin ta fasido, i hora ki tabanca tene qualquer problema, ki sa - i ta fala, irân na..—lunsa- Djenti di tchon, alguin bai fassi contrato com irân, e tisil bin pu na casa, e fas.. Boh. Aquil i ten djubi no pulson, i ta bai. I ta bai, e bai conversa. Conversa com irân, e se tem, fasil pa il ki manda i muito perigo, mm. I ta fassil pa i tiral, pa i lundju di kil djenti e para fassi dano, ku meninos di morança, e te tiral.*

[B] Nboh, faz isso a nível de tabanca quando numa tabanca há aquela pessoa que faz contrato com irâns, e traz irân para a tabanca, dando um contrato, há outros que dizem, bom, podes levar cada vez ou cada mês uma pessoa. Mm.. Criança. Nboh. Se ele, se vem do seu conhecimento, vai para essa tabanca e faz esse trabalho de expulsar esse irân, djunto daquelas pessoas.. Mas isso depende de conhecimento dado através das pessoas que vem, vem junto dele para explicar sobre a situação.

[C] E pode acontecer que regulo ou chefe de tabanca venha pedir para fazer esse serviço, ou é mais comum que sejam outras pessoas da tabanca?

[B] Se suma chefe de tabanca pidil ou ghoutro alguim da tabanca? Se bu fassil..

[C] Se pode ser até um regulo que vem pedir para fazer um trabalho de protecao..

[P] *I ta sedu assim. Ke tem tambi, kil omi garandis, ki sta na tabanca. Se eles se odjam um situason na curri, keles ke se o kuma, esse si senta la, pabia kuma, mau coisa ta bin na kil kau la, ele seita, e pedil e ka na odjal, ou assim, kil maneira ki ta darma, kil kusa la ki ta se noutra zona la, - da fassi pedido pa pu ele sta diritu na kil terra. E na pidi arroz, e na pidi limares e pidi mil kusas — di pekadur, se bin odja kusas correrem muito torto, nte el seita choma um alguin, eh. Hora ki bin bai djubi, djubin del, ke kau, kuma ke sta. Se bu bin odja kuma i ki kau nunde ki darma nada ki sta la, ou sta noutra kau, abo ki ta bin, ki ta bin pediu, kil omi garandi ki ta bin pidi, porque sai kel es --. Então ta bai. Bu ta papia ku kil algin la, mm. Bu bin kel ke tornal na sil banco onde ki sentaba, bin paral te odjo manga de pessoas.*

[B] Então esta a explicar.. Sabe que a nossa realidade, realidade guineenses, são realidades com factos, não é?.

[C] Sim..

[B] Antigamente, e até atualmente, há pessoas que fazem contrato de trabalho, sobretudo nas bolanhas. Há pessoas que quando trabalha num hectare, dois hectares faz muita colheita. Então há aqueles que fazem isso com os irâns, fazem esse contrato com os irâns. E se não há comprometimento com esse contrato, todo aquele que essas pessoa produzirem não vale nada..

[P] Não vale..

[B] Então, caso há descoberta desse caso, desconfiança sobre essa situação, há pessoa que solicita pessoa como ele para ir lá trabalhar, falar com aquele irân, no sentido de apoiar com os, com, como em terra para poder trabalhar para poder conseguir essa produção na tabanca. Fazem esse também...

[C] Entendi. E você tem alguma ligação especifica com chefe de tabanca ou regulo, por exemplo, na cerimonia de tomada de posse do regulo, ou algum outro momento, conselheiro..?

[B] *Se bu tchiga di convidado hora ku regulo na da di couro ou di chefe de tabanca..?*

[P] *Nboh. Kil ki camiho na passa pa bin. Quando por exemplo, omi garandi ki bin fassi assim.*

[B] *Ki na bai.*

[P] *Ki na bai, yo.. Kil i ki bin choma e manda si fidjo e bin contal me, anticipal. Ele ke na djubi fassi, nbai la, bai ma tem tambi si maneira tudo, ma i ta tambi fassi sin tudo. Mato.. Mas esse outro. I ka da ainda nem conhecimento para quem fica, fica como regulo..*

[B] *E nem pro ca sibi inda,...*

[P] *Nka sibi..*

[B] *I ten ghoutro.. Si kil punta el, i fala ainda ten kil outro, entao diz que o regulo que faleceu, que é o Queba, Queba n'So Baio, no dia de tomada de posse dele, tinha enviado uma criança aqui, mandado uma criança aqui, para fazer parte daquele, então foi la participar na tomada de posse daquele regulo. Regulo que convidou para tomada de posse, como sentido de reconhecimento do seu trabalho.. Diz que ate agora não sabe, não sabe quem será.. Eu também não sei, porque perguntei a família ligada a essa situason di regulo...*

[P] Nada..

[B] E dizem ainda que não, não há ninguém ainda indicado para aquele papel..



[C] Então ainda fica, num espaço vazio para ocupar. Pronto. Então uma ultima pergunta e depois já vou deixá-lo voltar ao trabalho, que as mulheres estão aqui a espera já.. Está contente com o seu trabalho, depois de.. Imagino que já sejam uns anos, mas esta contente com isso, teve alguns casos mais complicados que não conseguiu resolver?

[B] *Punta se bu sta contente ku tudo trabalho ke ta fassi, se ten algum kusa ku ntenta fassi e ka consigui.. Esse é ultima pergunta ki misti fassi..*

[P] *Yo.. Amin, i no falal de facto nsta contente acerca desse. Porque que sta li. Amin misti pa tudo ele maneira ki ta bin sim, eh, misti fassi ocupason di nha dona, o queston di doente, ke ta bin ke ta ten kau di, di bin — te el ki manda bo ensinai — kil kau li. Misti tambi apoio pa cerca desse, pabia que manga de djenti ke ta bin li, e cansa e pudi bai bai discansa bocado, descansa sta.*

[B] Disse que está muito contente com o trabalho que faz, apesar de algumas dificuldades que tem sobre essa situason. Porque há pessoas que vem ca e não conseguem ficar, não conseguem estar devido a falta de espaço, alojamento desses pessoas, por isso que quer fazer uma pequena obra la atras para poder receber as pessoas que vem com muita dificuldade, mas consegue fazer o seu tratamento ambulatória, que devem ficar como internamento, fazer este tratamento, certo.. Tem dificuldade nessa parte.. É assim

[C] Obrigada! Obrigada pelo seu tempo e pela disponibilidade...

[P] *Yoo! Fiquei mesmo com seu gosto pa tudo bin ki bas, e te bin odjal, tudo kil ki na passa, vai protigil tudo ki na passa..*

[C] Obrigada, obrigada mesmo!

[P] Boa continuação de trabalho.



## 2.16 RÉGULO (TIO DO NEMÉSIO) – TRADITIONAL POWER

Interviews sample 3

Guidelines A, B, C

February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Plack - Quinhamel

[Nemésio is driving me to his uncle, a local regulo, by motorbike. Meanwhile he talks about his family and the land.]

[Nemésio] O meu pai nasceu aqui.. ele também nasceu aqui, mas depois foi para aquela morança, aí..

[Claudia] Eram muitos irmãos?

[Nemésio] Eleito, eleito como regulo lá!

[...]

[Nemésio translates the interview. His uncle speaks with a strong Pepel accent in *kriol*.]

[Tio] *Amin, i kaba di bin di kil kau la.. ten un tempo kun fala kossi... tudo fassi di cosa la. djun kaba di kul mingo .... di su mame tudo i kaba. si fala ma i tue rin bai- uma pessoa bai e cai, cai. cai. cai. caiu tudi la. bom, kil dia ki cai na mon di kil la i cabo la por pedi conta, i sta bom kil djenti nel sinal...*

[N] *Bo i di parede ki odja. Foi rápido.. cada, cada saia tudo...*

[T] *Nboh, kil el na pedi fai.. ke eu tive la diante de ask --, kil i má.. i má cuzido.*

[N] *Nô findi. Nô findia.*

[T] *Kila estava pedin la na.. na la na kau, i ka conhecia. Kuma ka tene fiel, fala sta bem, na bin djubi ma ali i kusa di djambakos. Na bin kau e odja em detalhe. E ten ke ki... ke ka cupa nada. Un pessoa ki misti ... e fala boa, suma, kin kungsi si mame... e kil kau, i mal. [...] Si bin toda si parte, e teribo no fiz, kunha lado ta, i di mim, pa i bardade. Se mame di rapaz, kil ki baixa meninu, i li bin i sta li. Bo suma, kil dia ke... nona, dia sábado, ma i dia domingo no vai... 2f bai pa li pa cuba djenti ki di dia domingo i ka, ma fetcha ai dia di awos pa [...] Bolanha e anda conta pa li pa kil ki pudi conseguiu, e no ta odja arroz di, di pan, kil... bu entende. e bin fala, kil kilo ki djenti kume, o bo tene... [...] I segundo vez, i 67.*

[N] *Nu no ficha, bu no ficha...*

[T] *To, nona contente, bu manda ne mon di kil...*

[N] *Estado esta para fe, fitcha...*

[T] *Ma nka pudi bai ficha...*

[N] Ele vai.. ele fecha as bolanhas do seu território, como garante de estabilidade.

[C] *Sim, da bolanha, para ela fechar.*

[N] *Como regulo... El ki i nha amiga... I conta, ela bin no ano passado, e na bin. El i italiana, ma na bin Quinhamel ano passado, i estudante. Ma bo istuda cultura, Pepel, i ta vai fassi um tema e na bai estuda pesquisa e pa passi tesi dimbá!, e tenta fassi li, bo bo bai li ku kil e passa, fassi gos estudo pa fassi doutoramento. Gos i misti sibi funson di bos, kuma ki ta funciona. suma regulo, suma um presidente..*

[T] *Sim, sim senhora, entende ki bo misti...*

[N] *El misti sibi suma ke um regulo funciona na si terra, suma si... pa bu papia di papel di regulo. Enton, é mas medjor no pudi no pergunta djunto, no punta regulo e el próprio é ke ta trabadja, e ke ta fassi tudo, e kungsi esta área. Enton.. outro na conta, ma i ka sibi doutro... dentro cosa própria é ki sibi, na fala i ka ten problema, bo sta li nona bin... [...]*

[T] *Ke aki i assim.. i kil-lo pade si pape, menino garandi garandi na nha casa, li no terreno i assim... mas diante la, continua aki baixo. No .. kil documento di terreno. No na tene problema. I pone placa... papia ke kil bai pa lado di kil djenti, ten cosa la perto, guerra. Kil vai no chomar pa no sinta e no tira fora in terra, li no pardi, e di familiar, no fica li... [...] I tene ki sinta, e papia, a no bin. Di kil metadi li pa bin papia kum... tal kau. Suma ki papia, ku kil garandi, Vera, Vera mame dau, mame dau Santin, no mame da outro, no seu família li di casa li, ma nka pudi el fassi di cosa deli, fassi reconhecimenti, se pape di esse punha... se pape di esse i nos tris. Viera Santim e Viera Amendoa Santim, i nona... ma el pedi i fala kuma, hora ki no leliza kau [...] Dinheiro, no leliza kau.*

[C] O que é que ele fez com a casa...? o que é que aconteceu com a casa?

[N] Ele está a falar ainda do... do nosso terreno, porque por causa que tem lá... Agora, porque eu tinha falado com eles, nos precisamos localizar o nosso território, da família...

[C] Sim, então pôr a fronteira e delimitar isso..

[N] Delimitar, a terra... este aqui estava a falar. Temos, tenho um tio que esta em Lisboa, é medico.

[C] Ele enviou dinheiro?

[N] Disse que vai enviar depois. Eles aqui devem sentar, para fazer, para ver, fronteira. Porque está outra família como essa nossa família, sentamos juntos mas temos fronteira. Primeiramente  vamos sentar e chegar um consenso... E agora, vocês que estão nessa zona, nós estamos nessa zona... é assim. Em vez de ir medir depois o outro vem.. Não, não, essa aqui é a nossa zona, aqui começa conclusão... esse aqui não é bom, então eu não quero isso, razão pela qual falei com ele para optar para essa via... consenso, e depois eu posso vir depois delimitar, vir com pessoal da, da comité do Estado para fazer medição, depois mandamos chamar aquele seu irmãozinho que esta em Lisboa se pode enviar um dinheiro para pagar a legalização... assim fica, porque senão eles irão depois... todo, como que vamos fazer?

[C] E isso tem que ser feito com o comité de Estado? Isto não pode ser feito só entre vocês?

[N] Não...

[C] Porquê?

[N] Tem que ser legalizado no comité de Estado.... Porque o estado é que tem tudo. Você quer ter um documento oficial... é pelo comité de Estado.

[C] Sim, senão seria só uma palavra entre..

[N] Aqui não, aqui não há problema aqui.... Sabemos pela lei de terra nós o que temos. Mas agora, depois... se há confusões entre o Estado para tentar ajudar e não encontrar suportes para tentar para conseguir, mas se você fazer um documento, se em qualquer momento acontecer qualquer confusão você está ..... Legalizado. E o comité de Estado que apoia. *Gos no bai pa queston di .... Regundade.*

[...]

[N] *I misti pa bu conta kuma ki regulo trabadja na si terra. Kal ki trabadjo di regulo. Suma ki bu i r, kal ki bu trabadjo?*

[T] *Ah sin, nha trabadjo? Amin i labradur.*

[C] *Kil ki bu ta fassi?*

[T] *Enta, labra... cuidar de bolanha. Bolanha, nka tene... pa djubi coisa ki da dele pa i kume pa no trabalha, se i di arroz... na cultura.. 320 pessoa di da documento no ano passado e este ano, kuma..*

[C] Ma para ser o regulo, como *tene ke ser i regulo?*

[T] *Nbo... i ali ki... hora ki lanta, odja kau ku... ku ele bai sinta la, bu na da conhecimento kili garandi. Pa i da ter kil di tabanca... tabanca asin. I tene regulo conta regulo, la ki tene regulo, aquele regulo maximo! Maximo... omi i ka bin pu bia, e na fala kuma, hora ke kil bin na nha kau... pa i sibi. I ka pudi fassi antes di ta sibi. Hora ku lanta a odja, kuma ki fassi [...] kunhecimento -- E kuma no ta misti da kunhecimento aquele regulo garandi, pudi sibi kuma, na bai pidi kau e fassi escola, igreja, fassi ke, pedi outro documento...*

[C] E como é que o regulo garandi tem conhecimento?

[N] Através deles... funciona, como tinha dito...

[C] Toda uma rede, um fala com um , fala com o outro, fala com outro...

[T] *Nka pudi tchiga min na 'ka da conhecimento kil di maximo, tene simina ki fica como barbadi e lei...*

[C] ... o que ele diz é lei?

[N] Sim. Quer dizer, ele como regulo duma tabanca, nomeado pelo regulo principal, como, como podemos dizer, ministro de qualquer ministério, se pretende fazer qualquer coisa, primeiramente tem que informa ao regulo principal, pedir autorização. Se o regulo principal autorizar, então ele pode fazer. Mas é sempre na base da lei. Sempre na base da lei. E o regulo vai saber...

[C] Da lei, que vem do regulo *garandi*?

[N] Sim. A lei... a lei universal da tradição. Então o regulo...

[C] Então, o regulo *garandi* é tipo o guardião, dessa lei?

[N] Sim sim... então, você pediu essa aqui, será que essa aqui está na nossa lei? Sim sim está... *Papia ki, eli i ki ta sabi?*

[T] *Del ke sta ariba di mim, i tene mais ariba di ghoutro! Nka pudi fai e ku da kunhecimenti ma i na bin fala no irmon i tene ki toma e fala kuma ah i na bin pa di bos pa no pudi trabadja, se temos di [...] Essa ku pada. Gos di patir [...] I na busca mato. I knu ia i sibi! Abo sibi... kil tudo...anos sta no fato. Misti logo [...] I no bai conta, e suma kil... a nô as, nô kunsu coisa ki bos pidi. I ki djenti i paga prazo, i kome tudo [...] I murre, na confiança na terreno, e tene paga [...] Nô kna pudi fassi i nka sibi, ou ele ka pudi bin di nha terreno la e pui placa la e kuma di bin... bin di kau e djubi... e asin.*

[C] Então, é ele que vem quando juntas os homens, por exemplo quando há pessoas que estão a morrer dentro do terreno, ou que há algum problema, eles não conseguem resolver por si, tem que chamar a ele porque ele que tem o conhecimento para conseguir chegar cá...

[N] Sim, ele que é garante da lei. Se há qualquer confusão aqui, sobre o terreno, ele é regulo daqui ele que deve tentar solucionar. Se não conseguir tem que chamar o regulo principal. O regulo principal quando chegar te que chegar fim. Tem que solucionar porque ele é o maximo...

[C] Portanto, o que ele diz é isso, não há mais nada para além do que ele está a dizer...

[N] Sim, é assim. Razão pela qual qualquer coisa que eles querem fazer primeiramente tem que solicitar, porque se não solicitar se quando esta *situason* for escondida ao regulo ou se acontecer qualquer confusão, o regulo vai dizer, mas olha você não me falou nada sobre este assunto. Vê somente, então... você iria fazer este aqui se me consultar? Lá que vem confusões...pode, pode até sancionar...

[C] Por que tipo de sanções é que ele pode dar?

[N] Pode até sancionar. *El i punto, se i conta bu fassi ghoutro coisa sin konta regulo, se bin sibi ili e panha reba, kil ki pudi fassi?*

[T] *Não, nka tido... i fala kuma... kuma, kil i ka berbadi, kil puntal, i ta berbadi. [...] I tene ku fala [...] Bai djubi. Trabalho, kil ki manda trabalho e bai bin bin. [...] Se djenti ki bin puxi di bin na nha lado, i na sibi kuma, este i nha lado. Pa i sibi aquila! I tchoma nome di djenti di kil terreno alo. E fala bu tene, bu tene caju, bu ka tene areia, bu tene caju. Tchon ten si dono! Casa ten si dono! Caju... i labral, no [...] E lee kume, ma areia.. I tene si dono. Kuma ki fala kuma, tempo ki caju bai i tene si dono.*

[N] Cada solo tem o seu dono, pertence ao regulo.

[C] Ele estava a falar que há uma distinção entre areia e terra de caju. Areia não tem dono?

[N] Sim, porque... púnhamos que... essa aqui é a nossa zona. Se alguém vir aqui pedir espaço pode semear qualquer coisa. Essas coisas são daquela pessoa, mas o terreno não é dele, não é. Quando precisamos do nosso terreno vamos tomar, porque o terreno nos pertence. Ele veio, pediu espaço para sentar, sentou e depois semeou. Mas, o que foi semeado é dele, mas quando precisamos do nosso solo vamos tomar porque nos pertence. Assim é que funciona.

[T] *I local... papia ki, amin fala i local i pudi bin nona bo [...] Nona fala ki tenta papia pa documento i sta legalizado. I assim no fidja, ku no.. Ku no neto, ku no bisneto, papia porque elis, elis i paludo tal kando eli i padido tal i tene esse terreno. Ma bai [...] Pa lebra kil kau, aquele ke aí esta. Aí i manga de!*

[N] Tem, temos um espaço, um espaço turístico aqui, que se considera, lá de baixo, que tem agua lá e tem areia, pode ser aproveitado para fazer qualquer atividade, pode ser horta não sei o que. Mas esta zona, este território, já, já era, já existia, desde muito tempo. As pessoas chegam aqui como, como regulo dessa zona, ficam aqui e eles é que mandam este território. E ele agora saiu para lá, ele é comandante daquela zona, é regulo daquela zona. Uma outra pessoa é que tem que vir aqui, vai ser também o regulo dessa zona. É assim, terreno sempre fica. Fica sempre. E a bolanha também, fica. **Ano** se vende. Bolanha não se vende, se aluga.

[C] Se aluga? Bolanha pode-se alugar?

[N] Pode, mas não se vende.

[T] *Bolanha... no fassi rito, i padi, **paduito** i kaba. Mas hora ku no odja fitcha bolacha, no paga vaca na mon di regulo garandi, maximo. Paga baca... e djuntan kil mas ki leba, e dan direto. Ma se bolanha suma, cada kal ki si bolanha bu na dan baca. Si i salun i no paga baca. Parte. Na paga regulo, bu tene paga.*

[..]

[T] *Kuma no sinta, i papia ku regulo maximo, i sibi ki no trabadja, e ante dia, no [...] Baca do regulo, e fala bo pagal baca, e tchiga. Prazo tchiga, e no paga.*

[C] Então o regulo garandi é uma pessoa muito sabia e que tem mais poder de que todos os outros?

[N] Sim, sim... grande poder. Ele como já pagou tudo, para o regulo, o regulo lhe deu o território. As pessoas também que querem tomar uma parte de bolanha lá, tem que pagar a ele também, nas suas mãos, vacas também, seis em seis anos, e... se você não pagar ele vai ter uma lei contra você. Senão chama o regulo principal. Regulo principal...

[C] É que manda...

[N] Não, tem que pagar! Você tem que pagar, senão vamos tomar isso, tal, tomar tudo do seu território. Você vai pagar.

[C] A lei tradicional, é até mais forte de que a lei de estado?

[N] *No punta se, lei di tchon se mas forte, tene forsa di ki kil di estado?*

[T] *Não, sta li pado, i sta kamba, i kambra. Porque i ka sibi, estado sibi ki aqui i lei di tchon, agora fai kil i manda choma pa no bai no bati la, no na bin no kau ki ten todo mundo. Testemunho. Kume, no na toma conta di kau. Papia di kuma... i kil ta li i di bo. Mas si kil religia i na fala não kuma ke el documento i di estado. I di estado. As esta legido kuma istado, i ka kumpu. Mas estado. I ka ta djubi. Estado...*

[N] Estado trabalha em colaboração...

[T] *Estado i ka ta djubi.*

[N] ... com aquele tradição.

[C] Está a dizer *i ka ta djubi*, que não ajuda?

[N] Não, esse que Estado trabalha é em colaboração com o poder tradicional. Se no caso alguém pretende comprar algum terreno ou assim, é no Estado para legalizar, no Estado manda chamar o responsável da área, olha é assim assim, será que é, sim é assim. Mas você tem que fazer uma legalização, para...

[C] Então o estado é o que da...

[T] *No paga bu si dinheiro e da ku si dinheiro, enton fica na...*

[N] O estado pega.

[T] ... *hora ki i esta vendido e di bo...*

[N] Pede alguma coisa.

[C] Pelo lado do Estado é só ter o papel e algo formal?

[N] Sim.

[C] Mas tudo o resto é feito pela *lei di tchon*? Então nada a ver. Mas depois a lei de Estado é que decide e faz e isso, dá o papel e chega, daí que há a colaboração...

[N] Não, não, não. Não. Primeiro chega aqui, manda procurar o regulo, principal. Como estamos, queremos construir uma capela aqui. Os padres... em primeiro lugar marcaram o encontro com o regulo. Não se pode avançar sem isso senão não vais conseguir nada. Primeiro, contactar com o regulo, senão você não vai conseguir.

[T] *Um ano, kuma... i tene.. Kil ki fassi igreja i na Plack aí, manda tchoma kuma nbai... mmmm, amin? Nka pudi, bai kau di regulo. Bai contal. Eu penso... [..] Kil ku na fassil, bu tene ki choma algo pa lá [..] Gos e bin, djubi kal kau ki bu gosta di fassi, bo pedi si dono, e [...] Ma i si kau. Kil si kau. Si dono fala kuma, i culpa, pa ki bu fassi kau la, bu panha bai ghoutro e pidi se la [..] Bu fassi escola, i bom! Igreja i bom. Pa no pudi, [..] Ki sibi ki aki no odja mas diante. [...] Ma i ka fala nada, e ghoutro dia djenti di ghoutro kil ki na sta, e fala koisa di kuma [..] Na placa aí, kuma ki dono di hotel e kuma kun bu escola ali, começa na a,b,c, primeira classe até quinta classe, [...] Pudi bin lá até di noite, ku fala i pui palabra, e no i ka pudi pui palabra, papia ki bu ka odja bu odjo na nha odjo, no papia di noite, na pudi... nona volta pa pai, e pai diz ki bu, bai ku bu família..*

[N] Os candidatos, os candidatos para as eleições..

[T] *Abo pudi bai, té um dia ki bu bin di dia, pa konta bos ki aqui odja kuma kil la é, i no continua pa no fassi escola aí...*

[N] Eram os candidatos que queriam fazer aqui a escola...

[C] Sim.

[N] Então propuseram, mas queriam um encontro a noite...

[T] *Papia uma vez só. Uma coisa pa bin di amanhã...*

[C] *I promoson di campanha somente...*

[T] *I ka pudi djubi...*

[N] *Não, bu tene li, depois das eleison i vai construir..*

[C] *Aaah, é promessa! Promessa de campanha...*

[T] *A zinco, a zinco sibi, emprego, ki bin quadra, ke um terço, e kil ku bu fala...*

[C] Eh eleição...

[N] Você deve... e senão, você devem trazer já zínco, civis e pregos e outro dinheiro e vamos guardar aqui antes das eleições, assim nos votamos você, senão não, não vai..

[C] Assim só com palavras não dá...

[N] Senão depois de tudo vão embora, já não...

[C] Passam aqui, pedem muito agora, e depois...

[N] Sim, senhora!

[C] Agora aproveitam os regulos. Chegam, mantem conta com os regulos, para poder conseguir.... Votos.

[N] Porque eles sabem que se fizerem boas promessas para o regulo, o regulo também vai falar para as pessoas votarem...

[C] Tem influencia... ele é que..

[T] *Eleison, se el sta assim ou sta ku ghoutro,*

[N] *El? El só? El só ke bin...*

[C] Esta coisa dos candidatos irem visitar os regulos para fazer estas promessas, não tem nada a ver com o regulo garandi, é feito por cada regulo e eles simplesmente vão ver quem conseguem apanhar?

[N] Não tem a ver com.... O regulo maximo, que ele está. Por exemplo se quer manter um encontro aqui em Thor, esta tabanca, o regulo maximo deve estar, participa... se quer manter na tabanca desse regulo, esse r é que vai..

Ele vai estar, mas se é um encontro geral o regulo principal tem que estar também, e ele é que também tem de estar, e quem vai usar a palavra é o regulo principal. O regulo principal.. Ele que vai usar a palavra... *agora i misti sibi se contra bo e bo trabadja em colaboração ku regulo.. Mah, ka nka sibi ki pudi enton... Se bu nega, ou ta fassi bo... se conta gora, exemplo. Se ta negal. Se ten regulo ke cada cetou i regulo garandi, regulo garandi i pudi dar outro castigo ou não?*

[T] *Não, nka si, ki se ka fia, nka sta nakil partido.. Awos no, [...] No regulo maximo, no sta li, [...] i ka si partido, i ka fia. I ka fia. [...] Bu na sibi, bu manda [...] I bai la [...] El i na manda! Kil para manda, e tchiga tal partido suma, suma kil, tal partido, tal partido, e agora ele ka bin fia, papia.. E bin pioral pa bu ka... explica kuma ele regulo, e kil parte kil pa li. Parte di kil base la, em Bissau. [...] Kil construção garandi... il ki no fassi, no pegal la... seguia no pega ki segui kil regulo la e...*

[N] Há uma tabanca lá de baixo que está a criar baixo de terra com o regulo que está, está tentando desafiar certas coisas, mas nesta zona aqui em cima de Quinhamel estão do lado de...

[C] O que é que eles estão a tentar desafiar?

[N] *Kil... kel ke elis nega?*

[T] *Bon...eli ki ka.. I ka fia si lei, papia ki eli... eli,.. [...] Ma eli i bin pa dja. No odja ca. Kila ki i na manda. Kil ki conheci pa pudi manda ma dão, no ka tene [...]...*

[N] *Kil [...] Tambi ki misti ser regulo..*

[T] *Regulo.. Mas sum..*

[N] *Suma mas joven*

[T] *.. Ainda ka tene forssa, tudo mesmo ki na bai na Bissau, no hotel 24, nunca bai na [...]*

[N] Ah porque por causa... há alguém lá também que quer candidato juntamente com este regulo principal, que como perdeu então ficou mal. Como perdeu, e a maioria da população esta com este regulo principal, então...

[C] Então ficou magoado..

[N] ... magoado com este aqui, e aquela sua pequena tabanca começou a fazer uma revolta... Começou a influenciar umas pessoas adultas porque não ficou bem.

[T] *Mas di bin ku djubi ku regulo nunca tene o'na isconde kil ki i barbade porque [...] E papia pa no djuntal, pa no papia. Ma no... [...] Awos i na bai djubil, e na fala kuma kil ki chomam kasa ki padido pai, mas i sibi...*

[N] O regulo principal tem mais um trabalho, é concessão de dique.

[C] Concessão de...?

[N] Concessão de dique!

[C] Ah, construir digas sim.

[N] Eles deveria estar lá, mas como tem uma cerimonia aqui, pediu para o regulo principal, porque não vai estar, se não fosse por causa disso deveria estar lá, todos os regulos *di nô* devem estar lá..

[C] É preciso.

[N] ... tem que participar

[C] Tem obrigação.

[N] Tem obrigação de participar porque é o regulo, é o regulo maximo!

[C] Porque que o outro perdeu?

[N] *Kil ki mandí ki o ghoutro perdi?*

[T] [...] [mumbled words] *voto, voto di regulo? Coisa publico [...]. Ghoutro perdi ghoutro ganha...*

[N] *Mas i ghoutro djenti ki ka sana...?*

[T] *I ka [...]!*



[N] *Ok, na kil causa, kuma ki el perdia?*

[T] *El perdi... papia ki ka odja il ki misti, odja...*

[N] Como são, foram dois candidatos, então quem é que escolhe é o povo. O povo optou para outra pessoa que é o jovem atual que esta, a maioria qualificada...

[C] Todo o povo?

[N] Qualificada.

[C] Quem é que é qualificado?

[N] A maioria qualificada. Quando dizemos em voto, temos maioria relativa, absoluta, qualifica e maioria esmagadora, então, quase todo, todo povo, ...

[T] *I toda djenti ki macho.*

[N] A maioria...

[C] Mas neste povo esta incluída toda a gente?

[N] É... todos, quase...

[C] Homens, mulheres, ...?

[C] E quem é que não está incluído?

[N] Somente criança. Criança não está.

[C] Somente crianças? Pessoas casadas, não casadas, ...

[N] Estão.

[C] Todos?

[N] Todos mesmo. Aqueles já tem *idade da razão*... todos. E ele tem a maioria... então, foi eleito.

[C] Foi ele que ganhou.

[N] E o outro ficou.. Revoltado como se fosse nas eleições do e... não eu não perdi por causa disso, tal i tal... ele começa a criar guerrinhas...

[T] *Ma se bu fala kuma, vota na kumpu, kil vota i kasa, i kasa di kumpu, el i padin su parenti i ba parenti e manda fidjis bai europa, a no kil ki.. Nona tchiga li, no tene diploma, odja trabalho. Desde vota ku na bin, mas kuma ki bu [...] Na bin kumpu, kumpu i ka odja nada! Bu ka pudi fala kuma si no ka vota nulo, i nulo kuma i di, di regente, era publico. Po ki i ka ta bota. [...] Ma si no pudi kil ki na bin kumpu, ma ele ki ka kumpu! Ka ta kumpu. Na tempo di ba Nino, candidato Kumba Yala [...] Ba i ta bin kumpu. Kumba bai i fai li na kumpu, bin candidata ku malanba sanha, ku Malanba Cá Sanha e [...] Kuma kil i fala kuma [...] Para bi bin [...] Di musulmano, no calsa sapato branco, no i politico!, ma é ma no fala, i politico, i pudi trabadja por eli. Sim ma é politico. Problema i kuma fulano é, assim ki fala. Mal i bin kaba, obi djenti, no ka ku tene no dia i pudi kumpu. Kil ki kumpu? Nada! Amin i di Betar kuma bu na fassi escola na tabanca di Betar, kal i só ki djenti tene paga pui escola na tabanca. Di Betalo. Ninguna paga por un sol dun, dun primeiro classe, té 2, 5a, 6a classe, di kun tchega kil dinheiro? I ta liga i pudi paga por djor.*

[C] Imagina se paga pelo resto..!

[Speaking Pepel]

[C] Quais é que são os deveres do regulo? Com para as pessoas que moram no seu regulado?

[N] *Suma regulo... aqui di Plack, abu ten conta di djenti tuda na Plack. Abo ke, ke pudi fassi pa pudi ki djenti sta diritu? Ke ki bu fassi pa eli sta diritu? Kil kuissa ki fassi pa cuida di pekadur ke sta la... gora, kil ki un regulo pudi fassi pa si tabanca pudi fica diritu, pa ka ten morto, pa ka ten doença. Pa ka ten fome, pa ten escola, pa ten..*

[T] *Sim sim, entendi kil ki bu punta. Kil ki essi fassi aqui?*

[N] *Não não istudo só, e na bai.*

[T] *Istudo... bo fala kuma amin i panha povo bali. Nha povo bali porque, kil ki no odja outro dia, tene ki odja awos! Suma ki... se, i ka na muda escola.. No pudi seta.*

[N] Precisa de educação. Porque ontem, o período, o período de ontem, o período passado, não havia escolas, mas agora ele como regulo precisa que todos conhecem, sabem alguma coisa.

[T] *Se inda kuma projeto..*

[N] Que é o projetos para o desenvolvimento da sua tabanca.

[T] *Se nona ganha pabia no trabalhar tudo, tchiga kuma [...]*

[N] Como os chineses que entraram já em Biombo estão a fazer grande projeto, este aqui vai servir para a população. A maioria de jovens que vão ser empregados neste projeto, já é uma coisa, é o trabalho dele, aceitar ou pedir o tipo desta coisa, projeto escolas, hospitais...

[C] Em prol da população.. Para eles aproveitarem e tirar proveito disso.

[T] *Nós.. Nô pone mon na bolanha, local, kel bolanha aí.*

[N] Bolanha também. *Tem ke ir apoeino*

[T] *Bianda...*

[N] Insistir com a bolanha, porque lá é que sai a comida, insistir com jovens para continuar a fechar a bolanha e trabalhar sempre. Porque lá é que da a maior parte da economia, lá é que sai, arroz, nós comemos arroz todos os dias. Agora um regulo que não se preocupa pela construção de bolanha não é bom, não está fazendo nada. Razão pela qual qualquer regulo é nomeado sempre bolanha, sempre bolanha, primeira coisa, primeira atenção. Porque lá é que sai arroz.

[C] Pois aí é a base, sem comida.... Não sai nada.

[T] *E agora iagu, já não falto.*

[C] Já não falta agua...?

[T] *Papia di furo...*

[N] Ah porque falta agua... falta ainda este projeto de furos para ter agua. Porque começa a ficar seco, Guiné-Salam, por causa desse, destes cortes de arvores já começamos a ter consequências.... Passando alguns anos se não voltamos a repovoar vamos ter problemas graves. Este aqui por falta de disciplina das pessoas. Sim sim, porque natureza, se você violar a natureza, a natureza tem reações, severas, e estas reações é incontornáveis... diz, não é.. Por causa disso, por causa disso, não! Você corte, derruba arvore de forma não disciplinada, depois há consequência... viu, começamos a ter o deserto que aproxima cada vez...

[C] Sim, tem mais e mais areia...

[N] Sim, este é, é um problema..

[C] E tem conselheiro a ajudá-lo?

[N] *E tene, bu conselheiros?*

[T] *I tene. I tene.*

[C] E quem é que são?

[N] *Kim ki ta djubi pa ser conselheiro?*

[C] *Bu ki escolhe? Ou regulo ke ta pus la e...*

[T] *Não não amin ki [...] Ku kin di djenti ki contra..*

[C] *Ma na base di ke.. Dhjagra ki ta scolhi, ou...?*

[T] *Não, kil ki ta colhi, kil certo, garandi di tabanca, kil [...]*

[N] Escolhe uns anciões de tabanca, eles tem, tem sabedoria.. Escolhe anciões para ajudá-lo.

[C] E também escolhe pessoas que tem poder como *djambakos*, ou outro como conselheiro ou não?

[N] *Se contra.. Leba tambi keles ki ten poder, suma djambakoses, ...?*

[T] *Não, djambakos, kil i ghoutra kus...*

[N] *I ta ka choma kil pa ser conselheiro, não?*

[T] *Não.. I ka ta si kuissa di djambakos. Kil ki na da conselho [...] I pudi i sinta, e suma dialoga kil ki no busca.*

[C] *I ka tene ne um djambakos conselheiro?*

[t] *Kil anga.. Tene tabanca la, ki [...]*

[C] *Ma regulo principal i ka tene djambakos sumas su conselheiro, i ka pudi ten?*

[T] *I tene... i tene.. Mala, mala religion no irân, ma religion continu, mas ka sinta ku regulo, i ronía, pa indica kil ki na fassi... sibi, kil tene amigo ki i djambakos, mas conselheiro...*

[N] *Conselheiro é diferente..*

[C] *Disse que tem alguém que senta aí com ele..*

[N] *Seu amigo.. Você pode ter um amigo *djambakos*, mas é diferente do conselheiro, conselheiro é, é escolhido na base de sabedoria. Os anciões é escolhido na base de experiencia, passaram muito tempo na vida, conhecem coisas, e.. Tem experiencia, podem ajudar, não tem que ser necessariamente *djambakos* não. Pode ser uma pessoa simples mas que é *dona*, responsável se ele achar, chama para trabalhar junto com ele.*

[T] *I ka na pui no campo i tene pa di obi, kil meninu... bu eli, i meninu, i di lado meu.. Bo sinta, no conversa..*

[N] *Os tocadores de *bonbolon*, ele ten também.*

[T] *No sinta, e indica kil el i ta trabadja [...] Pudi falar kuma ki não no para kil... no manda pa li kando kil i bardade nega, porque ki si bu fala kil ki ka ta bardade, bu na bi ara. Aí bu bin fala, não para vem. Leva tchiu [...] Kil ki pudi pa bai fassi bai na bolanha, ou na para e pera iagu, e dipus bai li. Enta se tal fala sim, conselheiro ka pudi falta na kau di regulo.*

[N] *Não pode faltar. Conselheiro não pode faltar nunca na casa do regulo.*

[C] *É essencial.*

[N] *Muito essencial não pode faltar porque ajuda imenso, orientar varias coisas..*

[C] *Uma ajuda que é precisa.*

[N] O regulo não pode rejeitar, dizer não não é assim!

[C] *Tem que estar a dar ouvido..*

[N] *Tem de dar ouvido para ver apreciar e depois tomar as suas conclusões.*

[C] *É preciso que alguém esteja... mesmo assim, sem ter *djambakoses* ao seu lado, o regulo também tem o suporte de irân na sua governação? E consegue ter também que ele esta a dar o seu bem-estar?*

[N] *Bo tene... kuma chomado... irân te djuba bos? Ou não? Se bo fassi algo se tene ki forma irân ou não?*

[T] Pois é... ali i tudo i irân, ali i irân..

[N] *Tem irâns aqui..*

[T] *Ma nona ki tene ki kusa di irân i tene pedi la, [...] i bai darma [...] I bia di irân. [...]*

[N] *Quando chega o dia, você deve ir lá, fazer aquele rito...*

[C] *Agradecer, e dar..*

[N] *Sim, sim...*

[C] *Isso é propriamente você que faz?*

[N] *Bu ki ta darma..?*

[T] *Boh... si no darma.. Si no bin puxa du tempo di no ka ta mata baca na kansaré, sum corpo... ka ta mata cabra la, cabra mata na kansaré, enton galinha ou porco, kil muito difencial .... Baloba, baloba, usamo cabra, ou*

*bachor, ou galinha. Baca i -- I ka tene bala. Bala bai na toca. Se bai baloba, [...] Bianda e leba e bai la kil di tempo di bai ku baca.*

[N] Ele esta a dizer de diferente. [...] Como tinha tido naquele dia, aquele de baloba... baloba é onde existe defunto. Lá se mata cabra, e tem também irâns, exatamente...

[C] E também... vozes de defunto da baloba pode ajudar o regulo para tomar escolhas para ter, para fazer o bem para as pessoas?

[N] *Suma, akilo, kil na bu kau, kil i baloba, ou..?*

[T] *Baloba i sta la, i na kansaré. Kansaré i bu odja ki sta la. Ma baloba i sta la tras na mato.*

[N] *Agora kil baloba ki sta la, ki bu choma... i to djuba to misti fassi um kussa e ta mostral caminho?*

[C] Por exemplo, se tiver algum ancião que já está morto e precisa dum conselho por parte dele, ele também pode ajudar?

[N] *Se bu tene qualquer coisa, se bu misti se bu pudi fassi ou não, se pudi punta kil defunto pa fala awos i pudi fassi ou não..*

[T] [laughs] *Se si ara ba, essi omi, na maneira kusa.. Pa bu odjar ku si odjo. No tene... kil ki mil [...] Pa bu bin tomal pa bai djubi pa ganhal, Portugal ta bin, agos, [...] Kil lado la. Kta ganha, e ta bin ku cana, bin ku arroz, bin ku buca di porto, tabaco, ke, pa bin torna boca la, mas isto [...] Ka ta odjal...*

[N] Há coisa... há coisas que a gente não podem ver.

[C] O que?

[Regulo laughing in the background]

[N] Se você, se você fosse um macho, fosse um macho, ele ia apresentar uma coisa que você... porque as fêmeas não, não podem ver isso..

[T] Só homem!

[N] Só homem. Há pessoas que saem até da europa, jogadores, para vir aqui fazer aquela cerimonia, procurar.. Vão e vão ser chamados de grande jogador, sempre. Sim sim! Chegam até aqui, fazem aquela cerimonia, na casa onde ele é regulo, ele tem grande, grande defunto e grande kansaré lá... grande santuário, mas como as fêmeas não podem ver, como eu tinha dito naquele dia... nos Pepeis as mulheres tem imitações. Tem limitações...

[T] *I bu tene mosa, i sai di Brasil. I ka di kansaré de pilar la... odja irân, di bolanha, aí na brasil. Mas bin, bin pa ca [...] Bin i sinta la na kau, e bin [...] 5 litro cana bordão, 20 kg...*

[N] Uma mulher que saiu do brasil, veio fazer aquela cerimonia de ronia...

[T] *...pano, divida. Na bai baloba e bin paga..*

[N] Passaporte e coisas... assim assim que acontece. Assim regulo sempre tem proteção de defuntos, e irâns, tem proteção, e tem também conselho de parte, por parte deles, sim. Sim tem conselho.

[C] E pode acontecer que as pessoas não estejam felizes com o seu regulo?

[N] *E pode tchiga ghoutra hora suma você na Plack, i pudi tchiga momento di ke djenti di Plack i ka contete di bo?*

[T] *Suma djenti ka ta contente ki na trabalha? Outro la bu pai bu pai, tchiga na bai sobra la, enton [...] Na bai pa pui na bolanha. Un di bai, un di ka bai. Mau... suma na kansaré la, i ka kata iagu ki iagu tchiga tcho djenti. [...] Kume, mas bai pega trabalho, enton [...] Cansa.*

[N] Não querem trabalho...

[C] Querem só o resultado, mas não querem trabalhar...

[N] Quem trabalha não é bem acolhido, quem trabalha dizem que não é bom, dizem que faz o que o que o que, porque ele escolheu como prioridade trabalho. Agora há aqueles que não gostam de trabalhar. Mas se acontecer qualquer cerimonia onde as pessoas trazem porcos, cana... então vão lá beber e comer! Lá é que tem regulo, mas se regulo chamar para trabalho outro não querem ir, chama de novo e vão...

[T] *I ka la, i ka tu tu tabanca, i ka Plack, i ka , kumo ki você i el i ka ta bin, tudo misma... nona ia kua di kume!*

[N] Hoje os jovens não gostam de trabalho, só gostam de comer, na vida. É uma situação agora geral da Guiné-Bissau.

[C] Sim, novos que querem ficar a trabalhar e não querem ficar a fazer estas coisas assim mais de fadiga.

[T] *E na Europa bu bai Portugal, se ku tene, nunde ku na kume? Nu na... [...] pa bu kume, i tene ki bai trabadjo.*

[N] Passa o tempo a trabalhar para comer, senão você não, senão...

[T] *Bu bai na obra, outro i sta na carpinteria, outro pedreiro, outro i ke, ... lavandeira, tudo i ke bu trabalha la, [...] Pa kume!*

[C] *Sim, amin i trabadja 8-10 horas por dia, senão i ka kume.*

[N] É assim.

[tells story of a boy who stole a chicken - asked *kansaré* to say if he is guilty or not, according to black or white eggs]

[N] Execução foi feita, porque quando voltaram, que a policia mandou-os voltar para cá, foram fazer aquela via tradicional de galinha. A mulher que perderam, a mulher com seu marido. Então, quando a mulher descobriu que o problema era da sua parte, tentou camuflar, até procurou mais uma outra galinha para abrir. E isso deu na mesma coisa...

[C] Então, confirmou o que já...

[N] Confirmou! O que é que fez? Foi, voltou a noite, trouxe o cão, matou e enterrou lá. E a noite, aquele irân, tirou. Desenterrou. E a mulher continuo... a solução foi feita... ela conseguiu na mesma daquele problema... ela conseguiu. Por causa de que? De irâns que estão lá...

[T] *Sim, sim ... no tene ku djambakos.*

[N] Agora, ele trabalha com *djambakos*. [...] *Djambakos* devem andar nos limites do seu território, em toda zona, para purificar, para purificar, porque *djambakos* é que faz isso. Então ele leva-o, fica e faz tudo, assim, para ficar em plenancia.

[C] Tudo limpo e claro como deve de ser

[N] Como deve de ser. Na paz na tranquilidade...

[C] Manter a ordem, assim, saúde como e a vida, é o trabalho que fazem os regulos...

[N] Muito trabalho, não é fácil! Ele precisam também ter muita cabeça para fazer isso, e coração.

## TIA FEI, DJAMBAKOS– TRADITIONAL POWER

Interviews sample 2

Guidelines A, B, C

February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Cacheu

[Canbraima translates the interview when necessary.]

[Tia Fei] *Doença ki na kansa... amin i fassi 73 anos, doença i assim...*

[...]

[Ca] *Bu colega i fassi um trabadjo, di trabadjo di Tia Fei, il tambi i fassi um trabalho sobre... eu crio fassi kil trabalho sobre kau... sagrado. I kuma? Farombal. I kau sagrado, ma fassi Farombal. I ta falado... gos, el i tambi, regulo di Farombal, kil di...*

[TF] *Ainda aonti nos staba...*

[Claudia] *Aonti??*

[TF] *Aonti djenti bin di Bissau, na fassi cerimonia.*

[laughs]

[...]

[TF] *Nô staba la aonti...*

[Ca] *Ah coitado, i pirdi!*

[TF] *No fassi cerimonia... i mata porco garandi sim...*

[Ca] *E no i ka kunsil! I mata porco garandi...*

[TF] *Aonti, aonti passa sábado... nona po go badja—*

[C] *Bu no odja bu fidjo na...*

[TF] *I ka tene fidjo?*

[C] *Amin? Nka tene..*

[TF] *Kanto ano ki ten?*

[C] 28.

[TF] *Aooo...*

[Ca] *I no djama fidjo na irân do Farombal...*

[C] *Iran de Farombal é para ter mais filhos?*

[Ca] *Pa tene fidjo manga de..*

[C] *Manga de! Uh.. Amin misti, 2, 3, mas manga de, nka sibi se misti.. [...] bu ki fassi cerimonia?*

[Ca] *Ela ke ta fassi, es ki Tia Fei... bu misti papia mas?*

[...]

[Ca] *Kil ki bu misti puntal?*

[C] *Amin.. Nka sibi si pudi papia tudo di kriol, mas pudi papia di portuguis...? Não sei se vou conseguir falar tudo isso em crioulo...*

[TF] *Sim sim... kalker língua! Ka papia kriol, mas obi kriol.*

[C] *Obi obi.*

[Ca] *Ten língua de Irân i obi*

[C] *Língua di irân....*

[Ca] *Pa ke ela papia ku irân di Farombal..*

[C] *Papia di...*

[Ca] *Ela ki ta papia ku irân di Farombal, i obi.*

[C] *Bu obi, obi diritu...*

[TF] *Kriol di irân? Naa.*

[Canbraima laughs]

[TF] *Amin i obi kriol, mas i di irân? Bu ku ta... gosa!*

[Ca] *Nboh Tia Fei... Claudia, ka ki no punta mas?*

[C] *Amin... misti kungsi di koisas di irân. Kil ki irân pudi fassi? Kuma ki irân... o que que irân pode fazer? Por exemplo na cerimonia.. Como é que isso funciona? Você pede para ele?*

[TF] *Nô darma so pidi. Pa i djubal. Si djuban bu na sibi, si ka djubal tambi bu na sibi. Si i djubal... bu sibi kuma i djubal bu na tisol i mareu i bu paga.. Si divida bu paga, papia ki na sibi pronto kuma djubal, mas si ka djubal i ka tene ki paga nada.*

[Ca] *Kuma ki bu pudi fassi gora kuma?*

[TF] *I ka sibi... si vida i sta o mal bu pudi sinti dentro kuma bo vida esta odja mal. Si va i pidi, bu odja kuma bin torna.. **Razoável**, i sta diritu. Bu na sibi kuma ki irân ki djubal.*

[Ca] *Tia falou i djuba tchiu de..*

[TF] *Djuda tchiu de... fidjo próprio ainda. Bu odja esse ki bin sim, e pensa si nesse fidjo macho la di Franca. I bin paga boca aonti. Kil meninu ku du nome la na mato la, manga de.. E tirado si nome di si poe de Man da Fe. Kil manda fidja i nomi di kau di irân... suma amin, nha nome i di kau di irân..*

[C] *Fei?*

[TF] *Sim. Bapia, ta murri ta bin i ta bai, ta bin, ta bai.. I bin sinti i mal kussa, nha mame.. I djan papido por Fei, Mandinga fala-fala Fei Bota!, pa bota.. Mal i nka bai mas, n'fica..*

[C] *Poderias falar isso em português para mim?*

[Ca] *Mas estás a...?*

[C] *Sim mas não tenho certeza de que entendi tudo direitinho.*

[Ca] *Ela disse... ela sempre que tinha problema, nasceu com problema, pensava que morria, e levantar, morria e levantar.. Depois foi trazido aqui, para o Farombal, disseram assim, para desperdiçar, botar... tirar e por fora. Isso é botar, jogar, botar.. Sabe o que é bota, ne? Tirar... i a Fei, na língua Mandinga..*

[TF] *Na língua di Mandiga I Ta Fa, Ia Fei, i bota, suma pa botan a mim, papia i nta padido e i nta murri, ta padido e ta murri... ma suma si i na bota-Idja-, na bai um bias, e fala agora, i na bota i kaba na dja. Fica cadena? Kuma manda nha nome di Ia Fei...*

[C] *Tia Fei...*

[TF] *Ma nha nome próprio próprio i Emília...*

[Ca] *Seu nome próprio é Emília Mendes, mas...*

[C] *Mas toda a gente papia Tia Fei.*

[TF] *Ma... Ia Fei!*

[C] *Ia Fei, botar... Ia Fei. Depois, depois dele di mal gosado i kaba. Suma irân pertence bo djubi so,...*

[TF] *Nha dona murri, nha mame murri, nha tia murri... i staba na Bissau...*

[Ca] *Ela estava na Bissau, vivia em Bissau.*

[TF] ... *agora irân fica chate-chatea, chate-chatea, i ka sta diritu, sim ke mim chate-chatea, chate-chatea, til ki mim bin.*

[C] Então irân mexeu tanto com ela que estava a chamá-la para ela voltar ca?

[Ca] Sim. E depois, ela agora que tomou conta do Farombal...

[C] Então você consegue ouvir o irân, quando irân chama? E comunica....?

[Ca] Sim, ela é comunicadora entre o irân, e a comunidade... *entre kil djenti ki sta bin pidi*... ela é intermediário...

[C] E irân ajuda?

[TF] Ajuda.

[C] Ajuda no que?

[TF] *Kil ki bu misti, bu ki ta pidi!*

[C] Tudo o que a gente quer?

[TF] *Eh! Bu pidi, na odja. Si bu odja odja... i ka pago, si bu ka odja.*

[C] Mas... irân também da punições para quem não respeita coisa di irân, ele quer vingança? Se a gente não paga..

[Ca] *Kuma nô di irân si bin ka pagal ...*

[TF] *Si bu odja i ka paga il na vira pau! Porque bu odja..*

[Ca] Faz a punição...

[TF] ... *agora se bu odja, bu paga li, ka tene nada.*

[...]

[C] E o que acontece se *bu ka paga boca?*

[...]

[Ca] E depois, *Tia Fei, bu fala ke ku no punta... kil ki bu punta?*

[C] Estava a perguntar, o que é que acontece se alguém não paga de volta pelas sua promessas?

[Ca] *Se alguém ka paga ora ki toma compromisso...*

[C] Que que acontece?

[TF] *Eeehh.. I ta molesta.*

[Ca] Iran dá-lhe porrada

[C] Doença, morte, tira os filhos...

[TF] *I ta pu ni manga de... saclavas. Ma si bu paga, vida na sta tranquilo, hora di dana ka mas...*

[C] E também a sua mãe e a sua avó faziam essas cerimônias? Tinham capacidades de comunicar com irân?

[Ca] Sim.. *Kuma bu dona tambi teneba maneira de papia suma kil su maneira ki bu ta papia kel...o abu mame teneba..*

[TF] *Mmm i ta papia. I pudi.*

[Ca] *Kil ki sina gora, bu mandoul o dono, kil ki sinau?*

[TF] *Nha dona ki foi, mas eli i tene... 2, kes 4, odjo. I tene 8. I odja li odja la odja li, amin ka tene nunca... so na [...]* *Pega so, na papia ele remandam, na papia eles remandam--*

[Ca] *Si ele dja papia, bu ka dja obi?*

[TF] *Nka ta obi mas nka bin odja pa ki essa i cobra garandi. Issa i um kusa... pa odjo.*

[Ca] Ela quando fala os irâns, entendem.. Mas quando eles falam e ela não... mas dão-lhe sinal...

[C] Um cobra garandi...



[Ca] Sim, através dum cobra...

[C] O irân manda sinal... o irân ajuda também as crianças a nascerem mais boas, saudáveis?

[TF] *Mmm... ahghual pedil... nunca.*

[C] E ajuda?

[Ca] *Ma kil meninu gora ki ta bin padido mal bocado, ki ta falado desse i irân... kil na i.. I tene kuma ki na bo terra kil mata ten manga de, na tchon di Biafada, tchon di Balanta, kil meninu ki ta falal desse irân e na crava... bu lembra di kil aí?*

[TF] *Lembra, mas se tirar, se irân i na bai, se irân i ka na bai, esse i ta seiro de malfeito.... As vezes i ta prenha, i ta dana i meninu na barriga, i ta bin padidu ghoutro maneira, tal ser malfeito... kin ki bu pun, i ka ta dana. Ghoutro ta ba sin ta dado na beira di mar... ki bagabaga, i ta fala desse irân, i irân. Se bu bai pudi la pa i la go, i bai o i ka ta bai... nha sobrinha padido e bin nasci sim, i ka ta anda i ta so ku joelho, i ta fassi si... i fala irân irân iran..mas misti ?Balo galinha e amin ka ta sei... irân ki kusa kil tambi... min ku ka seta di sim bardade ka ta sim..bin la tudo..kuma ku bai guanta suma ki ta fassi... i kaba -- I irân el i ka irân i nassi dja sim... irân, si irân próprio, serpente. Bu na pu so na roda de mal sim, bu ba pila farinha, bu pui a si kau, e ka pudi si nkandal, bu kurri tudo pa la seguido... i sinti kil vento... ta bin gunta di vento di trioada ki na bin, ki vento ki nha ora, i pa na bin riba kel...*

[C] *Kuma ki bu kungsi kil ki meninu di irân, e ka ta meninu malfeito? Kuma ki bu kungsi?*

[TF] *Ka kungsi sim... as vezes é malfeito, ma se bu experimental e ki ta bai, ta fica ku bo. Nha sobrinha i fica, i ka bai, e ta ki garandi, e bin doença so nenhuma...*

[C] *Meninu di irân, i ka tene alma? Ka tene? Uma pessoa normal tem alma?*

[TF] *Mmm. Mmmm*

[c] *Quando que a pessoa recebe a sua alma? Quando esta ainda na barriga da mãe, ou quando sai?*

[TF] *Aí... é!!!*

[C] *Na barriga?*

[TF] *É! Mas i ka padi fidjo ka tene alma, i na padi su i murri... eheheh.*

[Ca] *Ela esta a explicar duas coisas aqui para entender... há pessoas quando está grávida para queston di má fé foi estragado a barriga, e esta menina quando nasceu, nasceu com deficiência, mas não é irân..*

[C] *É malfeito..*

[C] *Mas há outro menino que nasceu com irân... diferença esta entre duas quando esse que nasceu que foi estragado na barriga nasceu com deficiência, porque esta... mas não é irân, porque se levar aí a roda do mar, para tirar, i ka ta bai. Kil outro ki nassi suma irân, si bu pô-lo la so...*

[C] *I na bai...*

[Ca] *Bu leba tudo kil kosa ki ke tira kil alguém kel, farinha, ovo, acucar, i...*

[C] *E tabua..*

[Ca] *E tabua, e ta bai.*

[C] *Ela disse que vem aquele vento e leva..*

[Ca] *Bu recebi visita Tia Fei.*

[...]

[C] *Estava a perguntar das almas, quando é que uma pessoa recebe a sua alma, se era dantes, quando esta na barriga, ou depois de ter saído da barriga..*

[TF] *Não, i na sta na barriga, sim... si bu sta grávida di meninu ki ka tene alma, i dana a si mal, i ka tene alma, i ka ta ba li! Deus sta na odjal na alma dele tempo ku na nassi... na sedja, na sai vivo. Agora se ku ka ten alma i na sai morto...*

[C] E, essas almas que as pessoas tem são sempre novas? Ou pode ser também de alguma pessoa que voltou?

[TF] *Mmm i pudi ser novo. Mas alma i ta murri na i kusa di ghoutro outhal.. Yo..*

[C] Pudi?

[TF] *I pudi... ghoutro ta bin novo...*

[C] E você consegue consegue recone...

[TF] *Ghoutro ki bin bedjo...*

[C] E consegue reconhecer essas almas se são almas de novo ou almas de velho?

[TF] *Amin nka kungsi kil aí...*

[C] *Ka pudi kungsi?*

[TF] *Nka pudi kungsi... so si tene dus cabeça...*

[C] *Dus cabeças?*

[TF] *Ma um cabeça i ka pudi...*

[C] *Bu tene 4b odjos?*

[TF] *I tene djenti ki tene 4 odjos pa... amin ka tene 4 odjos..*

[C] *Ka tene?*

[TF] *Ka tene 4....*

[C] *E irân sempre foi bom consigo?*

[Ca] *Suma irân di Farombal sempre foi bom ku bo?*

[TF] *Eehhhh... esse i bom ku todo djenti, esse odjal na mar, i ta ta magoar — cada. Hora ku sta perigo e sta na mar, akil na buscal sin pa mar... futiceiro, kungsi futiceiro?*

[C] *Kungsi.*

[TF] *Yo... alma, alma, Farombal di Farombal ka toma, alma e tene...*

[C] Furta a alma?

[TF] *I ta toma e tene.. Ta toma i tene i tene. Bo na i anda i anda i anda, bu descubri kuma tal la, tal irân ki toma kil alma, e na bai, e ta bin nunde i ta bin bai ki esse. — kil alma, i punha iagu, e iagu bibi. Alma ta torna.*

[C] *I futiceiro ki pui alma na iagu?*

[TF] *Futiceiro misti leba alma, agora irân tudji--...*

[C] Iran, que?

[Ca] Quando feiticeiro quer tirar a alma...

[C] Sim, como é que depois a alma volta? Que é que pode pô-la a agua?

[Ca] O, o irân dela, Farombal, tira a alma, esconde a alma, para não pode ser levada pelo feiticeiro. Depois familiares que ter sabido que alma foi escondido pelo irân, irân comunica ele, que ele escondiu a alma e os familiares vem ca ter com ele, mas ele faz um cerimonia e mete agua, e dá-lhe a pessoas que tinha alma para beber —

[C] E ter a alma de volta..

[Ca] E ter a alma de volta...

[TF] *Mistério ten la... mistério ten manga de, kuma no ka pudi bin nagada bos...*

[Ca] Na verdade, há mistérios mas... é preciso manter nas tradison também...

[C] Pois, se não tivermos mistérios já seríamos a mesma coisa que irân, irân tem mais poder, claro que tem mistério...

[TF] *Iran tene poder de mata bitcho...*

[C] Iran tem muito, muito poder... e irân trabalha so para pessoa, ou trabalha também para família, ou para comunidade?

[TF] *Mmmm. Fassi tudu.*

[C] Tudo... e é sempre o mesmo, irân di Farombal?

[TF] *Não... manga de irân ten. Iran tchiu.*

[C] Que fica nunde?

[TF] *Iran? I tchiu... fica aí na mata... irân sta, irân di li, outro choma kasanda, outro chama blaquinti, outro chama nghara ghun, irân ki sta li tudo... outro chama cerco, que cerco i cerco di kau di fanado di omi.. Kil i chama, kil i chama... figueira. Irân sta na kau, cada kau tene si irân.*

[C] Cada kau tene?

[TF] *Mmmmm. Ka fica so Farombal, i tchiu...*

[C] E cada pessoa trabalha cum um irân, ou bu pudi trabadja ku mas irâns?

[TF] *Na, ka pudi... si bu trabalha kel, sim, no trabalha kel! Mas ghoutro branco tal bin trabalho li ta furta irân dele....*

[C] O que? O branco queria furta o irân?

[TF] *I ta furta!*

[C] Branco furta?

[TF] *Si bin trabalho, i tene 4 odjo, i ta toma, i bai i kil... irân próprio mata tene odjo di kin nos, la...*

[C] Irân tene...

[TF] Tene sim.

[C] E foi a sua dona que lhe ensinou do poder de irân?

[TF] *A minha avo furta mim. La na mato, i perdi kanto dia i na buscal, bin odjal corpu tudo dana. Lanha lanha, corpu tudo dana. I nha que ia ku irân, irân furta fidjo di irân e bin na queria ku irân, irân toma si fidjo nha dona tudji-- Na queria so na mato corpu tudo dana kil... e bin sai buscal, e sai busca-buscal busca-buscal, e bin bai odjal kin ki tal na mato. Corpu tudo dana. Kusa la mule--. E ti sa kasa, bin quenta iagu no fô porque kinti i banha di corpu si tudo i ka na bai limpo, e kusa fassi so, lebe si, depois di — i bibi. E bibi. I ki fica ku kil irân li. I falado Farombal. Fassa fas. Si nome fassa fas. Usate...i di tempo di antigo nô donas, ano gos i ka pudi nada, suma mesinhu na kal kau.. Odjal gos...*

[C] A avo andou numa luta com irân...

[Ca] Convenceu-o, e traz-mo para qui e foi ele que criou o primeiro irân aqui, que é Farombal Fassa Faz..

[C] E foi, foi a sua dona depois que lhe ensinou como comunicar com ele? Ou so aprendeu? *Su dona i su mame ke sina kuma comunica ku irân*, ou você já conhecia isso?

[TF] *Amin ka conheci nha dona..*

[C] *Ka conheci?*

[TF] *Não.. Amin padido li na Cacheu. Sai aí di 4 ano di idade.*

[C] Pa Bissau?

[TF] *Pai panha --voo -- na Bissau. Nha avo i cabo-verdiana, i bin la di Cabo Verde, el i di Praia. Chama Francisco Moreira. Eli ki bai criar na Bissau. Cria to kun se di mindjer, furta di mindjer. I ta bin so djubi nha mame li, i ta bai, ta bin so djubi nha mame, e ta bai, to kun bin casado ki tene nha fidjos, aahh... mas nka tene nada di kil pa bin fica li.*

[C] *Ka fica...*

[TF] *Nka teressa. Sta la... tia murri. Irma di nha mame, irmã garandi di nha mame, odja, nha mame, nha dona murri, nha tia ku fica. Nha tia bin murri, nha mame na ficaba, ma nha mame djubi na nha tia murri. Kin ki bai fica la ele so 2 fêmeas na se mame, i ka tene ghoutro irmon, kil ki mandau i pegau la na Bissau, ba sinta li. I assim. Sin ki kil ka na bin pa... dinheiro ka ten, i bardade...*

[Ca] Está a mostrar o material de trabalho...

[TF] *Odja esse... i esse. Esse ki no trabalha aqui... isso ki tal pedido, ki ta pidi tchiu...*

[C] *Pa darma?*

[TF] *I ki di noite ku na sai... [...] esse nhagu, esse nhagu, nhaguu, esse nha caneta...*

[Ca] Ele tem diploma de ---.. Esse que tem diploma..

[...]

[TF] *Esse nha diploma...*

[C] *Pessoa ki murri, i ka riba di volta? Uma pessoa que morre, pode voltar?*

[Ca] *Alguin ki murri ti ta volta?*

[TF] *Esse nha diploma!*

[Ca] esse... Tia Fei canta muito bem! Ela tem voz...

[...]

[TF] *Amin. I ka darma... su irmon garandi ki darma, amin i nunca darma.*

[...]

[Ca] *Ma manga di djenti continua bin bin di cerimonia Farombal?*

[TF] *I ta bin, i fala esse ki ta bin di França ki sin. Kil ki nossa aonti, di França ki bin..*

[C] *Irân tem poder ate a França? E consegue?*

[TF] *Mmmm. I pididi, i bai.*

[Ca] O — foi ate França.

[TF] *Manga di Manjaco ta bin, Cabo-verdiano ta bin.. I ta pidi! Kil ki gosta dele, i ta pidi..*

[C] *Irân também ajuda os regulos?*

[TF] *Regulos?*

[C] *Irân ajuda, ou ka ajuda?*

[TF] *No! Cada kil tene si fé. Si bu tene fé no kusa o bai, dessa vida. Ma nos ki tene fé na igreja, amin nfala para mpatamba igreja, padre bin três bias. Amin misti cumpatar igreja i ka ta sim so sintado -- De... na misti cumpata -- Igreja, e falan kuma... bu fala ala ni. Fala ala ni kuma fassi kil — batizado, cresimado... fala kuma — so sinta aí.. Na catedral di Bissau. I nfala, ma si bu bin, amin bai odja na tia ta bai igreja, e ta bai si mato. Na bin fala kuma amin ka pudi bai trabalho mato e ba ta bai igreja, papia... Di kil ku — gos ele, kuma ki pudi bai igreja? Missa bai igreja papia.. Irân pudi bin mata. Kusa ku dade, bu nega, bu pro sibi ki uso, abo bin para djubi di — yo! I nega. Amigo, i ka na murri. Kusa ki na garandi tene isso. Fica nkel. I kana murri, no fassi... ma amin também i cristão batizado, esse tudo kusa di igreja, sacramento di casamento ku ka tene so, par el, mas tudo ki son sacramento... — ah no fala... se ki ka ta bai igreja. U-falan alesse ki na bai garanteza sim, ta bai na rapa de pecado... ehehehe amin fassi, kuma ki ta na igreja? Deu di la i ka fala nada ma — ma i ta papia tchiu, i sta papia pa li bababa kil la papia bububu, ka pudi sta diritu. I dixa. I ta bai so nha mato. Mame Gusia mame dele, i tene pa, mato ki ta bai... i tene colla ki ta fala cabaceira, cabaceira padida, bu si ke ta darma la..*

[C] *Mame di Madik?*

[TF] *Ehhh ta darma lá...*

[C] *E o que acontece se menino di irân i ka ta bai, i minino di irân fica?*

[TF] *Não...*

[C] *O que que acontece?*

[TF] *Menino di irân? Se i di irân, i na bai!*

[C] *Na bai?*

[TF] *Eeehhh!! Si pekadur noraml, ka di irân... i na fica. Mas si minino di irân, esse i di irân...*

[C] *I ka pudi fica?*

[TF] *I ka pudi fica... agora se bu odjal el kil minino kuma di irân... [...] Ta kunsu bai, mas abo si bu odjal, sibi ki menino di irân, bu misti conversa kel.. pai o ser bo socia... si bu pudi -- Nona conversa ki ka ta — mas se bu ka sibi si tene diritu tambi, i ta fussi la... di kil la. I bin tchiga di bin dum bias li kuma pa li dele na mato, djenti ba... sibi djenti ki bin um bias sim... kusa di irân, kuma ti sira, amin nka leba eles la...*

[Ca] *O que, ka bin furta o irân?*

[TF] *... i pudi furta, i pudi furta! Ba nka na leba ele, irân perigoso... kil i perigoso! Kil a nin kunta, so pun fogo na cabelo ku bai la, pa guerra na sei pal.. Abo kuma na bai ku bu peruque... ele i perigoso, i ka ta leba ninguin la, i pudi bin fassi mal... outros leba. To kil pidi porco, e pagal porque per kil ki ele leba, e vai tira fotografia, e fassi que e fassi que, e — corpu i pagado, ma amin nega, ka leba.*

[..]

[Talking about Farombal ceremony the day before]

[TF] *No ka ta visti nim calcinha, so bunda nu!*

[C] *Sem calças?*

[TF] *Sem nada ! Espirito nu... ke no na bai, ke no na bai...*

## 2.17 DJUMBAI

### 2.17.1 Djumbai in Jemberem

Interviews sample 1, 2, 3

Guidelines B, (A)

February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Jemberem

[Abubacar Serra presents the people who are participating in the *djumbai*: omi garandi di tabanca, chefe de tabanca, comite de T, curandeiros, “mame di kil meninu, kuma ku mongoloide la”, curandeiro Nalu, curandeiro Balanta - and which the reason of the meeting. Mamadou Cassamá translate when necessary.]]

[Claudia] Então, antes de mais muito obrigada a todos por estarem aqui, mesmo muito muito obrigada. O meu nome é Claudia, eu sou italiana e moro em Lisboa, sou estudante da ULisboa e estou aqui para fazer-vos algumas perguntas sobre como é que funcionam as coisas no poder tradicional.

[Mamadou] *Boh, i fala primeiramente i manda bos mantenha e i sta contenti pa maneira ku bo fassi bo ali, e fala el i italiana a sta na universidade de Portugal, e sta na fassi, e bin pa papia sibi di, suma ki djenti ki trabalha kusa di — tradicionais, e i fala kil ki bin papia.*

[C] E, pronto, eu queria agora para começarmos se for possível vocês se apresentarem.

[M] *Nboh, i misti pa no kusa mas antes di kil la pa no apresentaba cada kil si nome, el i ke, se el i comité di tabanca ou chefe de tabanca, el curandeiro tradicional asin...*

\*Eu sou — de Beliça, comité di tabanca, chefe de pescadores também.

\*Saliu — *omi garandi, amin i chefe di tabanca di Jemberem.*

\*Olá! Nha nome i Sulemane Cande. [...]

\*Camará, curandeiro.

\*Vasco Turé, curandeiro.

\*Braima Turé, comité.

\*Boa tarde, — presidente da associação de **ASAI**.

*\*nha nome i Cá Fez. Curandeiro, amin i tambi comité di tabanca*

\*eu sou — Candé, chefe de tabanca di Jemberem

*\*— Camará, chefe de tabanca di... Cantan, Jemberem [...]*

\* — residente em Jemberem.

\*— curandeiro.

\*Maria camará, *mindjer garandi*.

\* — Djaló, residente di Jemberem.

\* Braima —, imam di Jemberem.

\*—, residente di Jemberem... Curandeiro [*abo i curandeiro!* - people telling him he should say he is curandeiro and only plain a resident of Jemberem]

[M] *Mamadou Casamá, amin i guia di parque nacional di Cantanhez e ta trabadjo ku investigadores, djenti ki fas pesquisa, kun ki misti sabi ki abo, kuma fassi...*

[C] Muito obrigada a todos por estarem aqui. Então, vocês todos são de Jemberem certo? São quase todos de Jemberem, as pessoas?

Nboh, alguns são de....

Alguns são de outras cidades...

[C] E estão aqui todos de.... Por perto?

Sim sim sim

[C] E são de quais etnia?

Etnia? Tanda, Nalú, Fula, Balanta,...

[C] Obrigada. Uma pergunta: vocês também vão votar na eleições no próximo mês?

Alguns, sim, outros... todos, todos!

*I ka na... i ka misti vota...*

*Kila ki la punta*

[...]

*Bu vota, no na vota, deus misti nos...*

Inshalla...

Obrigado...

*Min nhome i — Costa.*

[C] Porque, acham importante votar nas eleições? Isso vai ter algum efeito para o que vocês fazem aqui ou não vai ter efeito nenhum?

Mmmm pensamos isso, mas não sabe, nos não sabemos o que vai acontecer, mas nos pensamos isso...

[C] Mas o Estado faz alguma coisa, ou ele não é... descuida? Deixa tudo com vocês?

Descuida, há muito descuide para nos.

Descuida, *anos nunca i lembrado...*

Nunca nunca.

Dissemos, ele abandona, ele, ele procura di nos quando ele quer o voto. Quando ele conseguir o voto, mais nada.

[laughs]

*Nboh.. Agora...*

[C] Podes traduzir isso em crioulo para as outras pessoas?

[M] *Nboh i fala kuma si contra, e, esta interessado di no, suma ki manga di djenti percebi kil ki fala, boh alguns fala bo, el i ta precisa di no só hora ki eleison perto, suma i tempo... gora tem kusa di bin anda e fassi kuma ki no sta, e papia kil ki misti papia, nos tambi no na torna elis kil ki no na sibi. Si contra i importante pa no voto, pa no voto, se contra i importante, no voto...*

[confused, more people talking]

*I ta precisa di no só.. Hora di campanha. Agora, suma ki campanha, suma si...eleison. I ta bin pidi voto ma no na hora ki no vota i bai e bin sinta — *djanalla*. Bai i paí, *república di Cubucare*. I república di cubucare.*

[M] Está a dizer que o voto é importante mas infelizmente quando nos votamos ele não reconhecem-nos...

[C] Portanto, é como... quer dizer as pessoas votam mas de facto não tem nada em volta?

Não.. Não...

[C] Mas depois quando tiverem um governo, eles pedem-vos ajuda para governar?

[...]

[C] O governo depois pede-vos ajuda para governar, ou nem isso, ele mesmo não aparece?

Ele impede... impede! Porque eles precisam de nos...

[C] Porque é que eles precisam?

Se nos não vamos a urna ele não pode conseguir o.... O... quando nos vamos a urna que eles podem conseguir, conseguir a mandar, eh? Por isso que nós estamos a dizer, ele precisa de nos! É nesta hora... e depois...

[C] Esquece tudo...

Ele não *fassi* mais nada, nada!!

[C] Nem escola, nem saúde...

Nada..

Há escola no nome de escolas, nome, de casa simples, mas não é nada, não é nada, não é...

[C] *Ka tene professores..*

Não é... um investimento, não é nada, não é nada...

[C] *I ka tene hospital, centro de saúde?*

Hospital quase é.. Comunidade de tabanca que fizeram trabalho.

*No pudi papia só kriol, el i na obi...*

[...]

*Alo li, na li, hospital ke sta li, eu elis ke ki sta apoiol. Eles ke financiar ke fassi seguimento ku populason, e contra partida di trabalho, ke população pudi também participar kel..*

Claro

*Tudo hospital ku bu i centro di saúde li, i assim ki conseguido, ka conseguido através di governo, não...*

Nada...

*Neste momento, governo cada um deles misti subir para aquele poder... e na toca tudo parte des ki bu *care*... ma a padin di, i bin elegido e el deputado, principalmente ten na outro partido, e ta kudji diputado figura la di outro outro região... pa esse é distrito. Se ganha eleição, i caba.*

Nunca

*Bu ka na odja mais li. Só depois talvez i ten golpe, ou não... e existi dja kil 4 ano, i na pidi dja ma pa outro eleison.*

*Bu ta odjal i bin li. E marra equipamento aí, e fala juventude essi ki bos bola. Anos asin ki no sta... normalmente na 46 anos de independência, no mas sta beneficiar através de ongs, ma em contrapartida ke governo, ainda no ka teve sorte, no ka pudi falar em — ma se bu na puntal se contra — no voto, se contra validade, no ka pudi falar i ka tene validade, pabia ki talvez sorte ainda pudi fica diante, ma pa votos ki no vota pa trás, no ka odja nada.*

Nada..

[...]

[C] E em termos de aplicação da lei, é respeitada a lei de Estado, o que o Estado diz, ele vem aqui e manda com a sua lei, a dizer ‘nos dissemos que vocês têm que fazer isso’, ou eles não fazem?

[M] *I fala kuma, em termo de leis, ki e sta aplica? Por exemplo, i ta mansa su djenti, suma djentis ki ta prende mora..*

Em termos de lei?

[M] *I ta fala, bo ta.. Bo ten ke fassi documento di mora, i outros lei tambi ki existi, se contra, anos i ta cumpri kil la*

Eh!! *No cumpra....*

Podemos, podemos cumprir, *no ka tene..*



No ka odja...

Em termos de lei? Em termos de lei *pa ali tal cumpril 100%*.

Pabia, lei ke sta ariba di nos.

Porque *i próprio e a vez i figuras ki ta manda*, suma suma djenti di alfandega finanças, policias... *se tchiga ai bu odja tene um maquina descasca...* por exemplo, *i na djuda desenvolvimento i na djuda próprio kil parte, parte feminina... ma bu agenda, bu bai di viagem bu ka sta li, maquina ki sta li, então kil alguém ki sta la i ka responsável pa pudi paga kil kusa, eta tiral kil maquina i pui na carro, e leba.*

E leba..

*Hora ki bui sai di viagem e bu na sigui mais ki djenti tel la, ba paga la na Buba, bu paga.*

Bu paga..

*E caba djuba tambi kuma kil tchiga li... abo ten ki na djubi mas meio pa tisi. Em termos de cumprimento, comunidade na cumpri 100%. Mas em parte de Estado, muitas falta.*

Muitas muitas...

Muita falha... *em queston di estrada? Estradi ki abo próprio bu bin, bu odja kuma ki sta. Então el manda ai djenti di alfandega, i manda djenti di transito, i ta manda li djenti di viação, pa bin sigui motos, suma li na Jemberem próprio, há alguns anos, i bin li, e ta bin nante nunde... nunde comité i ta fala tisi motas tudo pa bin, pa bin, pa bin despacha, mas ano no sibi kuma em termo de lei, um alguém i di fermal na estrada e pera viatura. Então si — i si estrada bu pensa kuma i ka di existi alguém ki na ba pidi mota dentro di casa di djenti, kil kusa, tudo i parsi li. Tas a ver, pa no falal el tudo i tchiu demas. Em termos de cumprimentos, populason ta cumpri kil é ki e fala, mas só que e ainda, ainda tene assunto, i ka i ka cumpri ainda ki no pudi fala, i cumpri outro kusa. Porque em termos de segurança, leis que ta existi, quase responsáveis desses, comités e chefes de tabanca. Elis... i ta respundi, ke controla di segurança a nível di si comunidade. Só sibi se existe algum kusa.. Ki di grande perigo, ki ka di si vontade, ki ka di si forsa, i ta manda solicita, policia pudi bin li, pa pudi tira kil alguém pa... pa outro segurança ki pudi salva, porque..., se bu mata, se bu sta la, bu na matal, bu i tirado di la bu pudi talvez salva.*

[C] Então nestes caso, mesmo, em casos de furto, e de homicídio são pessoas daqui que conseguem fazer tudo, não é o e?

Não, *si ka furto di grande... por exemplo, si ka furto, furto de, suma uma organização, suma li, ma si um furto di **vudal-**, alguém furta na misson, comité ke pudi.. I furtan cabra i pudi lebal no chefe de tabanca, e ta, e ta resolvido, e ta papiado e tenta calmal e controlal e odja i ka tene nada, e kin ki furtado e ta consegui tornado e si, si, si...*

*Ma... caso, e intervém só hora ki ten... furto di arma.*

Sim sim

*E pudi intervém... na cabra, baca..*

Galinha...

Regulo, chefe de tabanca, comité de tabanca..

*I ta resolvido.*

[C] E se houver uma pessoa morta, quem é que resolve?

Eehhhh

Mmmm

Esse...

*Kel, kel ala, kel i ta manda, i ta manda polícia próprio e pabia...*

[C] Porque é que não pode ser resolvido pelas pessoas aqui? Antigamente era, porque que já agora não pode?

Gos...

*Respondi di li... bocado bocado*

Mmm, nboh! Leis próprios, lei ke no i tisi, i ten feita kuma anos comunidade no ka pudi na resolvi problema di caso di morte, caso próprio di sangue. A partir di nunde ki um alguém pudi dja... é cortado dja, é... comité kil la i fora di si limitação....

I cada..

Leis, ta fala kuma, partir di la, esse dja ultrapassa si nível i sibi di bai pa nível superior, enton i pabia di esse. Nos comité i ka pudi viola aquela, i ka pudi viola e. Se tchiga kil ki — caso, se ta envia, então manda polícia pa bin busca kil alguém e ta bai resolvi la, nível mais alto

[C] Ok... e antigamente, esse é uma curiosidade! Como é que esses casos eram resolvidos? Antes do Estado estar aqui a pôr as suas leis, como é que eram resolvidos estes casos de sangue?

Antigamente? Kuma ke ta, ke ta resolvido la?

Bu sibi kuma anti di ten, i ten independência, i ten ba Estado di poder, poder tradicional, poder local. Maior juiz que teneba i era imam, porque i figura que estava diante di, di... Allah, que ta rassa [ethnic group]. Ta djenti. Kel la i ta colhido suma alguém ki, ki ma i sa conta bardade, ke ka ta conta bardade em -- ou não, es pertencil es pertencil.. Es dis di pertencil. Então na kil tempo tambi i ka ta obi ba... es casos. I ta teneba só kil guerras tribais, através di espaços. Pabia kusa ki mas esta lutado i pabia di... kusa di kume.

Mmm

Alguém ta estaba num zona e tene grande número di djenti la, kusa di kume ka ta bin ser suficiente e ta bin precisar di... di abre, logo i tempo bai para um maneira violenti. I existiba akil kusa, ma djenti ki ka teneba escola kil tempo, djenti teneba grande experiência! E ta consiguiba controla la através di convocação. Próprio kil figura mas garandi di cada etnia, e ta teneba um tempo ke ta contra na um locais, ke ta fa.. I no fala, i baraca di fanado. E nunde ke tudu djenti i ka pudi bai la. E ta papiado la, e....

[C] I ke djenti ki bai la na baraca di fanado? Que pessoas é que vão la na baraca?

E teneba omis... e teneba djenti di sindicato próprio, ki bai dja ke.. Ke bai dja kel fanado.

[C] São poderes que tem algum poder especial, que tem alguma classificação, que tipo de pessoas são?

Ouvido também...

Ouvido...

[C] E são pessoas já mais maduras, omi garandi?

[all] mmmm mmmmm

[C] Pessoas já mais.. Sabias?

Exatamente...

Sim...

[C] E uma pessoa nova pode ser madura e sabia como um omi garandi, ou i ka pudi?

Uma nova pessoa pode, quando ele o.. Ouve com garandi, participar nas atividades de garandis...

[C] Então, o que é que faz exatamente um homem ser garandi? Como é que uma pessoa pode ser uma omi garandi? É uma pessoa... se pensar..

Bu sibi, i ten meninu. E i ten meninu ke ta obido di garandi. Enton, i só i ta garandi. Garandi ta dal i istoria, kele i ta tene kil istoria. Então i meninu, ma i ta ma misti amin ka punta nka — garandi, i ma, i meninu mas pequenino di ke mim e perto garandi i obi garandi, garandi ta cholol na algum kusas ke passa

.. Istuda... aprendi...

Então kil ta amin sibi, i kuma alguma meninu tem mas algum garandi tem, ma algum garandi di, di sibi algum istoria, assim...

Sibi kil ki el ta punta? I fala kuma ki alguém ta chamado omi garandi...

Nahh... omi garandi i mas velho...

[C] Mas é só uma questão de idade?

Eh de idade...

*Ki la ki tene...*

A partir de 45 a 80-100 anos nos chamamos este de, de, este é *omi garandi*... a partir de 60 anos é *omi garandi*. Este aí é de 90 e tal anos, O mas velhos, nos chamamos de *omi garandi, mas garandi*...

[C] Wow 90 e tal? Parabéns!!

Mas velho de que todo gente... neste aldeia, mas velho.

[...]

[C] Mas desculpa, estava a falar e eu interrompi, estava a falar que as pessoas reúnem-se na *baraca di fanado*...

*Fanado*, sim...

[C] E dai, o que é que acontece?

Acontece é consenso. Di eliminar qualquer que seja uma violência, seja controlada através de, através di aquele encontro. Consenso que sai da *baraca de fanado*, será consenso de paz. Que ninguém que não participam naquele reunião, não pode violar, não ten voz naquele que chamamos *omis* mais velhos.

[C] Portanto há um consenso e tem que ser respeitado?

Respeitado...

[C] E há.. Para a pessoa que faz algo mal há tipos de punições? O que é que acontece?

Punições?

[C] Uma pessoa é... não há prisão certo?

Não não, prisão não...

[C] Então uma pessoa não vai à prisão!

Polícia... não!

*Na kal di fanado tudo na bai...*

Não há punições. Não há punições. Mas ten o leis, quando *ke... boh, pera pa kriol*.

[M] *Kil ki el papia i suma hora ki i ka pudi na prisão, mas falal por exemplo i pudi paga multa...*

[C] Ou é mandado embora...

*Mas i ka ten pa multa.*

*Kil ki existiba, naquele década, porque amin próprio kel ki na fala dele i que omi garandi fala. Quando que amin misti sibi, pudi ser de meninu ma mal pudi da istoria. Ma, pa n'dal istoria i preciso um perto mais velho. Pa n'pubi obi. — ma nakel tempo kel ki ta... i ka ten ba impedimento, i fala kuma bu aplicado multa. Mas também i ten repreendimento. Hora ki amin meu i fassi um kusa perigoso, i djubi a nível di dano..*

*Pabia... suma, i fassi kuma... isolamento.*

*Tudo tudo garandi di tabanca ta seta li. Asin bu na fica dja triste..*

*Tambi... i ta sutaba.*

*Sutaba.*

Tem aquela *mata* trabalhada... *sutaba*...

*I ta sutal diritu...*

Yo!!!!

Antigamente... *ka ta fala gos...*

*Su ta prova..*

Ma ten...

*I kuma ki is nome próprio?*

*I também, boh, alguém garandi ta sutado ba, pabia ki essi falal. Alguém garandi ki ara...*

*La na baraca..*

*La sutado na casa. Ma na kil baraca di fanado, i tal lebedo pa la,, la ke ta julgado e dita andado suma buraco na tchon, e reprimido, mas cheio!*

*Sim, pudi fala 100, scoop!*

*Depende forma, ato que bu aplica...*

[C] E dai já está reparado e volta a paz?

*E bu odja, e bu odja...*

*Dja caba...*

[C] Já está tudo feito? Não precisa levar isso mais para frente?

[laughs]

[C] E.. Quando se faz baraca de fanado, também isso inclui algum conselho por parte de *irân* ou de outros antepassados? Estes também inclui, estão incluídos em entender se uma pessoa é culpada ou não é culpada, se há alguma dúvida? De forma tradicional, antigamente...

Vou responder... — responder daquilo..

Não *pudi* responder...

*Akil kil maneira di ku di passa.*

*Yo... kil ki misti...*

[Camará, chefe de tabanca] Senhora! Sabe o que é que *baraca*? Não é mato. É a comunidade. Baraca é comunidade. Quando que nós sentamos aí, nós já temos um baraca. Baraca combinação. Que que eu diz? Esse que *omi garandi* fala. O que que eu diz? Esse que *omi garandi* também fala. Estamos tudo coordenado. Já tomamos único lei!, que vai existir na tabanca. E isso falam aí na tabanca publico, mas lá no, no... num canto violada não falam isso. Quando lá estivemos lá, *omi garandi* que tem culpa, vai tirar o camisa e deita. *Leba lei.*

Não é *irân*, não é nada...

Não é *irân*, não é nada! *Leba lei!* Lei correto, ele respondi por causa, daquele ato que ele faz. Compreendi bem?

[C] Sim.

Se nos dizemos que temos baraca no mato... não!! Não. *Baraca* nos temos no nosso coração. Combinamos isso, ninguém estraga. Tudo fica correto nele, bem que você sabe quando tchiga na Jemberem você deve pagar um quota de 50.000 [xoaf]. Então, se você não tem maneira de pagar 50.000, não vale a pena lá ir, não é? Então, quando que você tem culpa, culpa!, e nós vamos para a *baraca* e você já sabe o que é que nos combinamos, não é só para 1 não é só para 2, é para tudo. *Mindjeres* também, também tem *baraca* deles..

[C] Tem outra baraca para mulheres? É diferente?

*Ten di mindjeres. Elis também ten combinason na sua baraca, falar com colega. Este colega surta na tabanca, falam mal, falam mal, tu., ninguém pode falar ele para ditcha.* Ela sempre continuar a falar mal

Quase, é quase na fonte máxima...

Então esse pegam nesse *mindjer*, vai na fora di kau.. E você, nós falamos um dia que ninguém falasse mal aqui. Porque que você fala mal?mmm? Deita. Ela deita. — a mãe dele lá está, ou avó está, mas ninguém responde, nem que dizemos...

Estado...

Esse que é Estado, isso que, isso que lei para tudo, tudo... família. Então se eu fiz uma coisa, eu, como chefe de tabanca, se eu fez uma coisa erro, ele não em podem bater na tabanca. Não não. Porque na tabanca quando um

alguém vem.. *Morcido*... falando com ele, porque que você faz isso? Logo eu também vou? Não há caminhos... é verdade. Não há caminhos. Mas no mato, sentamos la, fazemos uma cova ali, que é fundo, esse cova, palavra que nos falamos aí, fazemos assim [...] enterra não sai mais...

Fechado, ehehe.

Assim não vai para a caça!

Não vai para a caça! Ela, filho dela, vai saber que ela foi batida, mas se ninguém, ninguém reage...

Claro.

... porque o **lei** para tudo. É isso que nos falamos baraca. Isso não é *irân*, não é cerimónia, não é nada... é unidade. É unidade.

E paz

É unidade, para fazer a paz na tabanca, para fazer a paz na comunidade. O que ialta- Sabe, essa lei tem.

Ela não vai abusar

Uma mulher sabe a lei tem. Não vai abusar. Um rapaz de 40, 20 anos, sabe que a lei... não não viola. Isso leva unidade [stressing the world with smoother tone]. Isso é que é que dizemos que é baraca, não é baraca, é isso.

[C] E como é que as pessoas vão conhecer estas leis?

Eh... como é que elas conhecem leis?

[C] Sim.

Quem que vai lá primeiro? Num dia di 6f, no no no — di sta muçulmano, que — vão sentar...então nossa tabanca foi di perigo! O pequeno... os rapazes ficam lá falar mal do velho, velhos falam mal de rapazes...

*Mindjeres*...

*Mindjeres* falam mal do marido, como que nos vamos coordenar isso? *Omi garandi* levanta. Diz ‘olha la! Que que nos vamos fazer?’ qualquer um de nos que fez mal aí, mais largar um vos, um vosso insulto e lá vai levar isso. Tudo concorda. Não é um não é 2. Tudo concorda. Amanhã. Amanhã. Se um de nós fez esse lei e chegar o lei que nos combinamos e nos disse olha ‘amanha, amanhã disse que pude, amanhã temos reunião’, vamos encontrar no tal zona. Gente vai lá. Então, se ele.. No diz que não quer este assunto, porque é que você *sultou* no mercado de tabanca? Toda gente ouve que você esta a saltar? Porquê? Que é que nos falamos? Falou assim assim. Que é que tu pensa? Quer ficar só para ti, ou quer ficar com nós?

..com nos..

Eu disse, desculpa, foi eu, eu fico *ku bô*. Então nos vamos pegar o lei.

Não é problema.. Deita. Ficou li.

As vezes *leba 50 mantampa*, as vezes leva 10 *mantampa*, mas é conforme de comportamento. Ela pode *lebar* 10, 20, os *garandis* veem bem que, que nós podemos pedir desculpa ao rapaz, nos tudo dizer *perdon perdon perdon*, então já perdoamos. Então pronto acabou. Ela vai dar a mão a todos. Quando é ten qualquer dificuldade vai para tudo. Mas ela diz que não, não fica com ninguém. É isso. Isso que nos chamamos *baraca* [emphasis]. Não é cerimónia, não é outra coisa.

[C] E que é que ensina as crianças, aos meninos a respeitar essas coisas?

O pai de casa...

[C] A ser criado...

O pai de casa, nunca foi...

... pronto...

Educado. *Educason i di kau*. Educação é de casa.

[C] É do pai ou é da mãe?

É do pai e é da mãe, *educason i di casa*.

...junta...

Vocês vieram do Inglaterra não é?

De Itália, Itália...

Vieram de Itália, para Portugal. Quem te manda vir a Portugal, não é teu pai e tua mãe? Vim lá estudar, né? Você vai estudar para ter na cabeça, ou para deixar na rua?

[C] Para ter na cabeça...

Então, é isso que eu te diz!

[laughters]

[C] Então, era isso obrigada...

Obrigado nos..

[C] Obrigada mesmo... e, tenho mais algumas perguntas é possível?

Possível, sem problemas...

Nós estamos até meio dia e meio... sem problemas... abandonamos o trabalho hoje..

[C] E, eu queria saber,..... Como é que as pessoas tornam-se parte, por exemplo, do comité de tabanca?

[Camará] Comité... tem comité, tem chefe de tabanca e tem regulo. O comité é um guarda-costas do chefe de tabanca, quando comité vai passar um aldeia, teve lá um problema com alguém de gente lá, tem problema, o comité vai formar o chefe de tabanca. Mandamos solicitar que agende. Certo? *Caba* seu problema. Ele se explicou, problema, si nós podemos *senhar* problema ao mesmo tempo, acabamos com problema, mas isso é com lei. Você fez erro, do comunidade, comité ti deita, *leba no chefe de tabanca*. Se, não foi ferimento! Se foi ferimento, e nos vamos dar conhecimento ao regulo e mandamos para dir... o superior. Solicitamos polícia rápido para *lebar o — pabia*.. Outro fazem *malba* dessa, um cabeça doido! E esse não podemos ter aí. Que esse *leba faca, leba arma, leba mandú*. Pode *lizar* um alguém, por um *mandú* alguém. Ele esta para aleijar, vai aleijar outro. Então, antes de chegar essa hora, nós prende, mandou para Bedanda, vai ficar no *cala boca*. Logo tudo que você diz ali, o comité ficou tudo responsabilizado. Pro chamado do chefe de tabanca, pelo chamado do regulo que depois do regulo vai para o garandi. Porque nos podemos ter aí um alguém malvado, mas garandi já sabem que é esse, o regulo já sabe quem é, comité sabe quem é, chefe de tabanca sabe quem é. Quando ele começar a andar, e grita grita grita, um, um... fosse *mpalado* Um... eu já disse ao comité. O gajo já esta *ma ku, ku nervo. Bai la bai la bai la. Comité bai la*, começa a falar com ele, ele fala... dar bom, mau palavra ao comité, então comité diz que jovem, está lá jovem aproximado de fazer este trabalho. Comité di jovem prende o gajo! Prende, mete corda. Vai para casa di chefe de tabanca. Se ele esta com cabeça, sabe *gos* tem muitas maneiras de ser *dudu, levando fumado, fuma o tabaco, bebe vinho*...mmm... *quando tem uma cabeça garandi fala tuda coisa que ela quer. Mas dipus que isso sai, ela arrependi*. Mas se ela arrependiu na corda, arrependiu uma vez para sempre. É assim.

[C] E essa lei em que estava a falar antes, que é a lei que se aplica na *baraca*, essa lei não é escrita certo? Esta na cabeça das pessoas?

Essa lei não é escrita.

[C] Não é escrita...

[Camará] Não. Essa é o do lei di tabanca. Diz que lei di tribunal. Porque que você vier la di Bissau para Jemberem, você não pode ca vir *ku lei*. Não não. Vai ser lei di aqui. Não é assim? Assim que é lei! Quem é que nos dizemos sempre? Você quer comer que? Então! Você quer comer bacalhau quer comer batata, quer comer o que, diz, nos aqui comemos *baghis*! Então.. Você não quer comer o *baghis*? Então você vai embora!

[people laughing]

É claro!

[ethnic language. People mumbling consent to what the old man (omi garandi e chefe de tabanca) Is saying]

[C] Mas essa lei... as pessoas como é que... como é que essa lei é tramandada das pessoas? É pelos *garandi* que conseguem ensinar isso aos mais novos, e depois consegue-se... transmitir ao longo do tempo?

É conforme reunião. É com forma reunião. É na escola, escola tem abecedário, tem primeira classe, tem 2a classe, 3a classe, ate 10a. Ah? Tem dois livro, aí há abecedário, aí há 12o. Mas tudo fala porque, lei até diferente, não é?

Sim...

É..

Então é assim.. Quando é criança, eu não quero mais ver que você vai ali neste casa, ah? Tem *isso ku isso ku isso* que você não pode dai... segunda, isso isso isso, terceiro é assim... conforme que ele esta a crescer que ele pode saber...

Ah, pois...

Há muitos crianças que tem bom cabeça. De manha levanta, *tchiga* ao pé de pai e senta, 'pai bom dia'. 'minha mãe, bom dia'. Filho dele também *bai* continuar assim! Isso que é *educason di kau*.

[C] Ok... então é sempre responsabilidade do pai e da mãe?

É da mãe..

[C] Aí da casa...

Mmmm

[C] E antes estava a falar de regulo e chefe de tabanca, estas pessoas, e imam também, como é que são escolhidos entre todos, tem um.. Uma nomeação, tem eleição, como é que isso funciona?

Aí.. Aí não há lei.

[C] Não há lei...

Não não não.. Tivemos três morança. *Tris moransas*. Este morança ela só pertence a Sandu e Manamú, ninguém vai tribuir lá. Quando sai do outro, vai no outro, mas no mesmo morança, sai outro vai outro, sai outro vai outro, sai outro vai outro... chefe de tabanca.

[C] Sai outro, vai outro...

Sim..

[C] É porque é uma família, uma dinastia...?

É uma família

[C] É sempre da mesma família?

É de mesma família... compreende: você vim a tabanca, tem uma família, o regulo tem uma família. Quando um falece pega num outro e põe no lugar dele, mas é mesma família, não é outra família independente. É assim. E imam...

[C] Mas são pai e filho? *I ka ta pape e fidjo...?*

Não...

Não, o regulo pertence a família... chefe de tabanca pertence a família, comité não... comité é...

Comité é partido!

Comité é partido...

Sabe que..

Sabe que, como esse *omi garandi*, ele é imam, mmm? Mas se ele *awos* não existe, nós podemos ver aqui na tabanca quem comporta bem com população, sabe ler..

Tem conhecimento..

Sabe ler.. Bem bem bem comporta com população, ela vai ocupar lugar. Esse não tem problema. É mesmo caminho...

Mesmo caminho

Não não não, não tem problema...

Comité, ou imam não tem, não tem... família. É conhecimento e comportamento.

Massimamente é comportamento..

E regulo e chefe de tabanca, este é família diretamente..

O, o queston di regulo... tem que ser uma família. É um processo de herança. Porque há outro gente...

[C] Família, ou *gerason*?

No, família... *gerason*. É um tipo de herança. Há outro avô, di outro começa, era regulo, depois o filho dele, quando o filho dele morre, o pai morre, o filho herda, ou irmão dele... tem sempre que herda. Então, o coisa de imam..

[C] E é sempre o primeiro filho, ou.. Pode ser um dos filhos? Como é que é?

Boh.. Boh... *no djubi*..

Depende...

Pode ser..

Depende..

O filho não tem cabeça para conduzir o reinado...

Exatamente..

Ela sai, o 2o filho toma. É assim...

[C] E isso é o regulo que sabe e então depois pode escolher o próximo?

Sim..

[C] É ele que tem esta capacidade de reconhecer o próximo?

Ele.. Que esse..

Pode ser do regulo, ou irmão do regulo, ou assessores do regulo também..

Da família, exatamente..

[C] E, quem é que nomeai por exemplo o imam? Há uma pessoa que nomeia...?

Imam? Por quem é nomeado?

Por *omi garandi*...

[C] *Omi garandi* que nomeia..

*Omi garandi* que vai chamar comunidade, não é só ele, não é só ele só, ele chama comunidade, reúne com comunidade, falando já, 'faleceu o nosso imam. Agora, nos tudo fazemos conjunto de verificar quem vai ser imam'

Ninguém também passa *panis*..

Ah... está lá mulher *garandi* também,

—

[C] Mulher também participa?

[Camará ] *Mulher também garandi também falou, mas falou*, tudo fala não fala... então, essa sabe ler, ele vai ficar imam, não, esse não comporta com gente, ela não pode estar. Então, quem é que vai ficar? Ele que vai ficar imam. Tudo concorda. Bem, pronto. Chamamos na igreja. A partir de hoje, esta aqui o —, você que... o dianteiro-, acabou.

I imam tem que saber ler, conhecer...

E comportar..

..lei de Alcorão...



Comportar...

Tem que ser diritu... se ele falar e mentir, roubar as coisas, dizem de calunios, não, imam tem que ser...

Ele não tem mantenha de Casamá!

[laughters]

[...]

[C] E no comité, como é que funciona, como é que as pessoas são escolhidas para entrarem no comité?

Comité vai na eleição.

[C] Na eleição?

[Camará ] Eleição. Quando.. Como estamos já na época de campanha, mmm? Temos li comité de PAIGC, comité de PRS e comité de outros partidos. E agora, estes partidos já perderam poder. Ele, quem ganha poder vai solicitar gente daqui, eu vim lá reunir tal dia, ele *tchiga* cá, reúne, eu diz 'comunidade, eu. Quer comité você vai me indicar quem será comité deste partido'. É assim.

[C] E também mulheres pode ser parte do comité?

Mulheres sim senhora.

Mmm

Sim sim..

[general nodding and agreeing]

Faz parte de comité, faz parte de UDEMU, UDEMU é mulher. Então, ten comité de mulher, tem comité de homem. Este tudo vai trabalhar ligado. Eh...

[C] Tudo junto...

Tudo juntos...

[C] E a mulher também pode ser regulo?

Pode.

Pode pode..

Pode..

A autor.. Pode.

Pode

É conforme de *cabada* de geração. Geração bai acabar, já vai acabar, fica com pouca gente. Então a mulher que lá esta, ela muito *ariba*, comporta com população, ela vai tomar segurança do regulado, este é verdade..

[..]

[C] E quando o regulo toma posse há alguma cerimónia que se faz...?

Muita cerimónia!

[C] Muita? Oh!

Aqui não tem brincadeira. Cerimónia vai matando 3 ou 4 *bacá*. Sim sim. Com grande festa, de duz, tris dias.

A nível de setor, ate a nível de *region*.. Tudo vai acontecer..

*Bu bai num di região, regulo aí di setor, algum comitado di Bissau binha ca, com regulo, regulo desta área tudo vem, ... isso também não pode ser assim diferente. Ela vai ser pegado com omi garandi, ela vai para mato, e regulo vai com garandi pa mato. Garandi bai fassi cerimónia, desculpa, cerimónia aí no cabeça, fazemos tudo o que é que fazemos, depus garandi ficou mas frente..*

Para acompanhar..

Para acompanhar para casa..

Para acompanhar... na *tomada de ria*...

[C] E só um *omi garandi* que vai com ele?

[all] não não não!

[C] Vários?

Uns..

Alguns..

[Camará ] Ate imam vai! Fazem o que é que fazem lá no mato, isso fica lá no mato. Logo, os *garandi* ficam a frente do regulo, até no casa dele, mas isto é festa, muito festa *garandi*, 3 ou u4 vaca, conforme o poder. É conforme o poder. O e paga *baca*, o e paga o arroz, o e paga azeite, dá algum dinheiro, dá algum roupa, com grande contentamento. Porque ele tem que falar três coisas no poder de tomada de regulo. Tem que falar três coisas. Eu vou mandar população de Jemberem! Com dinâmica com respeito e unidade. Quer que nós tudo ficamos juntos para guiarmos o Jemberem até o futuro da minha vida. Muito obrigado população de Jemberem. Isto é festa, senhora, é festa. Se você vinha cá aquele dia, você vai comer uma vaca bô só!

[Laughters]

[...]

[C] E há possibilidades de as pessoas não ficarem contentes com o regulo ou com o imam, acharem que ele não comporta bem ou que esta a pensar.. Eu estou a imaginar que o regulo e o imam, fazem o que é o melhor para a população, querem o bem para as pessoas. É isso que eles querem, certo?

É isso que nos quer!

[C] As pessoas viverem bem..

[Camará ] Imam, no sexta-feira imam levanta-nos, presença di tudo gente que lá está mulheres, homem, ela fala bem de deus, fala bem de deus, nós... queremos assim. Que você não vai fazer erro no deus. Você não deve bater no seu companheiro. Você não deve roubar as coisas de seu companheiro. Deve.. Você quer ver gloria, então você deve andar sim, com um *iagu* fresco, assim... não é com *quinti*. Imam, nunca *sulta* ninguém, ele nunca batia a ninguém, mas quando ele via uma coisa que não está bem, ela *bai* falar *garandi*, alguém está a comportar mal comigo. Então *todo bai — riba aquele alguém para poder*.. Por ele no caminho. É isso. **Regulo, regulo é um poder do Estado. Ele é um poder de Estado. Se ele é bom, continua, não é bom, continua**. Porque o regulo, quando ela faz você toma, mas se —, o que ela faz, faz.

[C] Então as pessoas não podem dizer ‘não, nos não gostamos nada deste regulo’, e mandar ele embora? *I ka ta possibel?*

[[all] não...

Mas tem um *garandi*, *omi garandi*, tene 5 ou 6, 6 tene outro 2-3 *omi garandi*, conselheiros do regulo. Esse dois está, é conselheiro do regulo. Quando ele diz que vi o regulo esta a fazer mau caminho, ele vão chamar o regulo, falar com o regulo dentro de casa, não é fora, é dentro de casa.

[C] Da casa do regulo....?

[Camará ] Da casa do regulo.... Também na casa di *omi garandi*. É dentro, ‘regulo você esta a portar mal com população. Não é isso que nos combinamos. Combinamos comporta com população’. Só você, só só, não pode ser regulo.. **Quem é que é o regulo? É o população**. Porque que você ser regulo, que ninguém vai comportar com você, você é regulo?

[all] não...

Você não é regulo.. Então isso que nós quer, que você comporta com população...

[Camará] População esta zangado contigo, então regulo um dia, se ela reconhece o que *omi garandi* diz, comporta bem com *omi garandi*. *Omi garandi*, *ghoutro* dia regulo manda chamar toda população, faz uma comida, gente come, regulo diz, então eu também *pidi vosso perdon*, tenho *erro na bos*, mas isto não é meu vontade, isto, é que, quer que nós continuamos comum... *perdon*. Então, todo diz esta bem, acabou..

Acabou..

Mas ele é o poder mais garandi da tabanca...

[C] Muito obrigada

[all] obrigado, obrigado...

[...]

[C] O curandeiro, o que é que consegue tratar?

*Kuma...*

*Kil ki ta trata?*

Diz... ah, no...

*Amin trata manga di kusas. Manga de doença. Bu i sta doente, i tisi di bin então, na djubi si mesinhu cural. Enton i pudi salva, si bida.*

[C] I kuma ki bu aprendi? Como é que aprendeu?

*Kuma ki bu sibi kudja?*

[Cá Fez] *I pui ba nha garandis ki... — mas bin bin i riba. Garandis i sta pa cima- Abandonado, dus, vintis irmãs que i sta ariba di mim. N'continual... amin i staba na estudo, estaba na.... '84. Amin n'sta na 9a classe, na liceu di Catió. Bin bin chura nha dona e kusa cai riba di mim, misti riba, djitu já ten, ate awos sta em cima. Kungsi na bai, passo por passo, ate nos — djenti — kungsi um bocado.*

[C] E demorou muitos anos?

*Kuma ki fassi manga de ano...*

*Manga de ano...*

*Problema ka ten...*

[Cá Fez] *Porque n'bin kunsu na Cantanhez, n'bin kunsu na coba?. Mas desde '84 que kun, que kusa kunsaba, ainda ainda nha estudabal dentro da nha cabeça, então i ta bai mato, e —tado, bin. — mostral — experiência. Dipus di '91, ki bin kunsu trazil mesinhu pa casa, pouco pouco na trata ku meninus ate garandis... gos tudo, nka fala tudo mundo, mas tudo alguns kungsi ke cura — i ka, i forca di deus,*

[C] A senhora também é curandeira?

*Kal, kil omi garandi?*

[C] A senhora...

Ah, a senhora...

[ethnic language]

Ele faz outros curas principalmente o cura de orelha, dentro ouvido, mas antes *dil*, avô deles que faz este tratamento, após eles herde isso, *na mon dele*, mmm

[C] E aprendeu, foi-lhe ensinado pela avo?

Sim sim.

[ethnic language]

O avô dele faz um cura dum doença também, asma. Asma... ele também faze tratamento disso...

[ethnic language]

*Ku...* febre amarelo, ele faz também o cura de febre amarelo...

[C] E foi, demorou muitos anos para aprender estes tratamentos?

[ethnic language]

Muitos anos... no momento que a avó dele vai a procura dos mesinhos, ele acompanha com ele, depois ele começa a mostrar as palhas faz, tal e tal...

[general mumbling]

[C] E aí conseguiu aprender?

Sim...

[C] E há doenças que só o curandeiro consegue tratar, melhor que o hospital?

[...]

*Fala si ten doença ki curandeiro pudi caba...*

[C] E que não pode tratar no hospital..

*Ki ka pudi tratado no hospital, mas si contra i pudi tratar li na kau..*

*Di kil próprio...*

[ethnic language]

Há muitos...

Há muitos... e muito gente que está aqui há outro que não fala, eu *sibi*, mas há outro maioria da gente que esta li *sibi* e — conta alguma coisa..

[laughters]

[Cá Fez] Há muitas gente que sabe... como eu... quando eu também pode tratar eu como quando que uma pessoa vai a pescar, eh? Há pesca, faz algum mal, quase de *pisdê*, e... e um pesas que estado lá, quando ele, quando ele passa uma pessoa alguma coisa, algum... também sabe alguma coisa que eu pude tratar — são *ouri*- Que o hospital não pode tratar... eh, como, muita muita muita esta doença...

A gente que está li, a maioria dele sabe pouco a pouco, não é muito, mas cada qual sabe um pouco...

[C] Então cada curandeiro, mais ou menos tem uma especialização, dizemos assim, alguma coisa em que ele sabe mais que o outro, e outro que sabe mais de outra coisa...

Sim sim sim...

[C] E então põem tudo junto...

Curandeiro é escada. Curandeiro é escada. De escada, 1 2 3 4 5 6... há curandeiro de 1, há curandeiro de 2, há curandeiro de 3, há curandeiro de 4, há curandeiro de 5, ate há curandeiro de 9... é assim. *Nô explicial*.

[C] Curandeiro não havia.. Que tem, tudo?

Tudo. É isso.

[C] Consegue fazer qualquer coisa..

Eh...

Primeiro, temos serventes, temos médicos, temos operação... tem tuda as coisa, é diferente etapa, como..

[Camará] Como aqui, nossa etnia Tamba, temos algum curandeiro que temos associado, *kuma*, *i forma de kuma associason*... porque quando uma pessoa está doente e vai ao hospital, hospital diz, olha nos não vimos nada a tua doença, então vai tratar a tradicional. Quando ele chegar aqui esta *associason*, há la *mindjeres*, há la algun *garandi*, há lá *djenti ku kunhecimento*, *enton*, ele eles vão ver em conjunto aquele doença que, que o *mindjer* ou o homem percebe, como que vai tratar.. As vezes o *mindjer* que vai tratar. No mesmo aquela *associason*, ele o *organsa*, ele que sabe como ele vai tratar isso, para homem, para *mesinhu*.. Pode ser homem também. Então, ele vai ver tudo na si maneira que ele consegue ver, então, ele vai dizer então esse homem que pode tratar, então vai na homem e homem que trata aquele.. Mas é uma *associason de curandeiros*.

[Cá Fez] Aquela com *mindjer* que saiu aqui... com algum homens também.... Onde está o coiso? Aquele, aquele *mindjer* que está lá, aquele também...mesmo mesmo conhecimento, mesma área, ele faz aquela área daquela

*associason*, muito... essa *mindjer* e aquela *mindjer ke bai*, alguns homens que está aqui... não sei nome, mas está aqui..

[laughters]

[C] E quando é que uma pessoa pode tornar-se parte desta associação? Quer dizer, uma pessoa começa e aprende coisa de curandeiro, certo? E quando é que pode começar a tratar doença?

De doença?

Doenças...

[general unclear replies]

[Camará] Eu, eu não pode explicar *kuma el pude* começar a tratar.. Começar a tratar depende do doente, né? Como que eles explica, como que ele tem de no seu *curpu*... quando que ele explica tuuuudo, então, mesmo aquele gente vai ver, se explicason dele se vai fazer, se vai como que pode tratar... logo ele trata daquele maneira, mas por isso não é, não pude explicar isso exatamente...

[C] Sim, claro que sim... e quando é que uma pessoa pode depois conseguir entrar e dizer ok, e as pessoas reconhecem que ele é um curandeiro de confiança?

Bom isto depende.. Aquilo... a gente que trataram, gente que trataram..

Que faz o tratamento...

Que vem tratar...

Ele regressa sua casa, e diz, olha eu fui tal zona, fui Jemberem mas gente que tratar naquele doente...

[Cá Fez] Olha, aquele vai ver uma pessoa que está doente, mesmo aquele que *estaba* doente, e diz olha você esta doente... e olha, eu sabe que você esta a andar muito tempo, muitas vezes, muito tempo não consegue... quem é que vai tratar? Então, vai no Jemberem, há localidade, há etnia ali... por exemplo, Tanda, mas é que tem... ele tem poder de tratar a tua doença... sabe? Então ele vem diretamente aqui, mas isso já é muita muita gente...

[C] Então é porque as pessoas conhecem... então como conhecem depois diz vai, a pessoa vai e aí... continua...  
Exatamente...

[C] Entendi, entendi mesmo. E a senhora também é curandeira, certo?

Sim, sim é curandeira...

[C] E como é que aprendeu?

[ethnic/tanda language]

[Cá Fez] Ele, ele disse assim: o pai di el, o pai di ele, aquele mulher que sai aqui, é o mesmo pai, é o mesmo pai, mais o pai deles, o mãe deles, era antigo curandeiro! Então.. Quando ele *estaba* a curar a gente, todo as *kusas ke estaba a tratar* na parte de curandeiro, ele que *bai junto* com mãe e pai no mato para tratar este, então de lá que... E começar a aprender, aprender com *explicason di su* mãe e pai, isso, sim, ele que...

[C] Assim aprenderam as duas... e demorou muito tempo para conseguirem...?

Não não há muito tempo, há muito tempo! Oooohhhh, há desde na 70, desde na 70.. Há muito tempo!

[C] Oh! Então tem muita pratica e muita experiência...

Claro, claro...

[C] E o curandeiro pode tratar doença da alma e do corpo, as duas? Pode tratar tudo?

Ehh...

Ah, alma não pode.

[C] Porque que não pode?

Alma é alma. Quando pessoa vai para morrer, não é...

[laughters]

Aquela.. É só morrer!

Curandiero... é para aquele que vai salvar!

[laughters and mixed unclear talking]

Curandeiro cura aquele que vai salvar, não é? Medico vai curar quem que vai salvar, porque quem vai morrer vai morrer!

Não há possibilidade...

[Cá Fez] Não há possibilidade. Mas se, a gente que vai morrer, dai há dois anos, nê, dai há dois anos, curandeiro vai ajudar recuperar o *corpu*... *kele ke vai murrer dai há dos horas, mesmo moru diz mas canseira pah!, elé duro, vai repatir através daquele curandeiro, o homem vai morrer, mas se não vai receber, não vai... receber, — aquele castigo.. Esse... morro vai morrer, mas durro, outro, kusa assim bai dominar, antes de ele morrer...*

[C] E como já estava a falar de que a alma morrer com..

Alma morre..

[C] A alma morre, ou a pessoa morre, e a alma... a alma vai para paraíso?

A alma...

A alma *bai*.. Pessoa morre.

[C] E todas as pessoas nascem com uma alma?

Todas as pessoas...

Toda vez que pessoa nasce..

É com alma...

Sim sim.

[C] Também todos... aqueles meninos que não nascem, que nascem com algum defeito, ele também nasce com alma? Ou sim alma?

[2-3 together] nasce com alma..

Sim com alma..

Tudo menino que vai chorar, então nasce com alma, não é? *Kel* que não vai chorar, aquele não vem com a alma...

Alma depende...

Quando você mulher parir aqui, menino chora.. Outra gente, tudo mundo sabe! Ah ta falando pa deus, ta bom... mas aquele que não pode chorar...

Não tem a alma...

[C] E aquele menino que a gente chama de *meninu di irân*...

[general] ehh!!!

[C] Ele também nasce com alma?

*Meninu di irân? Olha, queston di irân i bardade, mas não é tudo gente que sabe irân...*

[Camará] Mas há menino que vai padir aqui, tem algum *garandi*, tem uma cerimónia que ele pode ver aquele menino, *se i pekadur*, o *garandi* vai saber, este é *pekadur*. Mas se maneira que ele pode buscar... *ma kel ke não ser também pekadur.. Ten também algum garandi que tem essa parencia, de saber 'este não é pekadur, este é irân.*

Enton... este algum *garandi*, também estão aqui algum *garandi* que pode saber.. Então vamos a tratar! Ele não vai matar *akil* lá, mas se tem um coisa que ele prepara *di si manera*, que de se tem conhecimento, ela vai morrer.. *Ele vai ribar.. Pronto, morrer, ele vai ribar...*

[C] Ele vai ribar...

E poder, elis ten que cura também...

[C] Mas isso não são os curandeiros que conseguem fazer, são *omi garandi*?

[Camará] Não são... é *omi garandis*! Há um *garandis* que sta ligado com *curandeiro*, *curandeiro* é uma *associason*, não é? *Curandeiro* é um *associason*. E padre está lá, e imam pode estar lá, e regulo pode estar lá, conselho de tabanca pode estar lá, porque *kel kel associason está ligado com aquele comunidade, ligado com autoridade*.. Imams... você quando quando doença morre na mão de curandeiro, vai ter imam. Quando curandeiro recebe uma doença, que assim que vem de fora, vai ter com autoridade local. Chefe de tabanca, passei com respeito, eu tenho aqui uma hospede que está doente. Bin di Bissau, bin di Senegal, bin di Gambia, bin di Conacri, pa ser o teu respito por causa di amanhã, que quando ele morre, você vai dizer com aquela gente, autoridade local, imam... para fazer algum cerimonia, se muçulmano, se qualquer *kusa*. Então, por isso, que ele não pode receber qualquer doente para tratar sozinho não...

Esta ligado com autoridade, com regulo com imam... e assim...

[C] Então.. A questão de autoridade esta dentro, e ligada em todo o lado... e se for um problema muito grave, não pode se chamar alguma outra pessoa de fora, para ir resolver?

Não...

[Cá Fez] Pode, com que.. Disse... *kuma*, chefe de tabanca disse aqui agora, pode na outra maneira, mas se na outra maneira não... antigamente uma pessoa pode matar um pessoa aqui, naquele altura não é telefone, não é? Então você pode tratar!! — e acabou, acabou. Acabou, acabou, como que o chefe de tabanca diz aqui, *coba um coba kil pronto i cabou*. Mas agora... agora agora neste momento, agora que *kil* estamos a falar, mundo tudo estamos a ouvir, como que pode resolver?

*Se te kil na trabadja...*

[laughters]

Não pode... é por isso que quando *kusa* grave grave grave grave, não podemos mas tratar aqui... é por isso...

[Camará] Até para você vai... ah, esse não podemos a falar eh, *ku falta ki bai la!* Opah... ora, polícia, comandante, agora *nsta* aqui na Jemberem, *bu ta falano matou ta falano, ta falano ten aqui traser para faquear e ta falano ten aqui faca, pronto*.... Nós não sabemos aqui... e por isso agora, agora não é na segredo agora... é difícil.

[C] Sim, já está mais complicado... há alguma forma de os curandeiros darem alguma proteção à barriga da mãe, antes de a criança nascer?

Este, este....

Este aqui muitas coisas...

Muitas *mindjeres*...

É muitas coisas pa aí..

[Cá Fez] Sabes, tem muitas *mindjeres*, que... *no há um palha, ten água quinti. No ampal, tem água kinti*.... Essa água quente, se não for tratado mais rápido, vai queimar o menino. Ela nasce queimado. Mas si ele já sabem isso quando uma mulher nasce com uma menino queimada, na próxima barriga que ela vai ter, ela vai no curandeiro..

Logo..

[Cá Fez] ...vai no curandeiro começando a usar o aquele medicamento do do do...

Tradicional.

[Cá Fez] Ate quando que ela vai *lanter*. Quando ele nasce *sta bem du vida*, não tem queima, não tem nada... então, curandeiro fassi bom trabalho. Mas ela bai continuar no caminho do curandeiro...

Claro!

[Camará] Tempo por tempo ela vai no curandeiro quando ela lava o menino, faz *sabonaçãoo, laba menino*... ate quando menino ten 3 anos, 4 ano, 5 anos... logo, quando ele vai tirar mané --, esse é com saúde.... Se ele nasceu, — lá cinco ano, deve ser cuidado *ku... ku* gente de saúde. Fazem pesação, controlo, pesação, controlo, pesação, controlo, ate 5 anos, depois de 5 anos já não tem nada com, com... com o primeiro. E assim que é curandeiro. Temos uma mulher li, mas elas vieram do, da área de sonaco... aquela tem uma menino nascida cansada, um

menino tem um idja- Com três anos não pode ficar em pé... *eu awos de manha ku obi ki você fala sul* —, ela mulher deve estar —. Fazer também olhar daquele menino... — a mãe esta aqui sentada no caminho, ela já tem três anos, já não pode andar... esse é um dificuldade do mamé. O mamé já não pode ser grávida! Porque se ela fica agora grávida, ela fica muito com dificuldade...

Claro...

[Cmará] Tem grávida, tem outro na costa, como que ela vai fazer? Fassi outro trabalho... não da. Não da! Então isso que eu disse para ela ca vir, para você também olhar daquele menino, talvez ten um algum resposta di no sua parte para mamé ouvir o que ela diz... mas você não acaba ainda falar com curandeiro, continua ainda com curandeiro, você fala só um *fala ku curandeiro paral*.... Tem muitos curandeiro que quer falar

É assim...

[C] Mas... não há alguma forma de conseguir, com o conhecimento dos curandeiros, não há forma de conseguir resolver esse cansaço da criança?

Mmmm...

No criança?

Mmmm... não pode fazer isso.

[C] Não pode?

[Cá Fez] Esse pode fazer só uma coisa: quando ela tem uma cabeça feia, sete em sete dia cai, desmaia, cai, desmaia, esse curandeiro pode fazer... mas ele nasceu com problema isto.. Problema isto na pode fazer nada! Porque ela ficou sem pé...

Claro...

[Cá Fez] Ela ta com bom curpu forte mas não tem nervo de segurança do, do... pneu-dito?. Outro? Eu tive na Portugal, vi, outro vai com moleta, outro vai com cadeira de roda... e assim! Mas é a condição do papé. O papé não tem condição... não pode ser.

É assim...

[Camará] Porque se papé desse menino, tem condição, pode dar um *creta*, da um poio, apoio ao menino, outro vai recebi escola bem bem bem bem! E anda *ku muleta*, vai sempre di escola muitíssimo bem, tem um organismo muito coordenado... *ma si condison* não da, ela vai ficar sempre assim na costa di mamé... quando mamé esta no assento desse, pega.. Quando vai fora fundo, *leba*.. Quando vai buscar lenha, *leba*... quando vai fazer tudo trabalho, *leba* o menino! O mamé fica com dificuldade...

[Cá Fez] Isto que o comité acaba de te dizer. Para... o e da Guiné-Bissau só quer *populason* di Guiné quando há campanha, *dipus di* campanha já não quer ninguém. Ficam que que... na época di campanha eu vou fazer um — *para bos, vou dar diamanti, bu dar-vos um carro, vou dar bos um que*...! Mas di fim di campanha, já não volta ca mais...

Não interessa nada...

[Camará] *I bo ki disse ke bai na minha casa!* Você bai levar um saco de *ku bidon da gente, pa leba procurar uma cabra... e nos kumemos* —. *Caba*. Não vão estar mais. Isto nunca leva nada. *Sabe populason di aqui i populason ki ten muita istoria no tempo di guerra colonial. Populason di aqui tem muito istoria di guerra colonial*, mas não tem validade. Não tem validade! — Cantanhez, fez isso, Cantanhez fez isso, Cantanhez fez... mas agora *kil* — ? Cada um tem um picada --. Vai la picada di Cantanhez. Temos lá hospital, vai lá visitar hospital! Cama... temos cama, não temos colchão. Temos hospital, não temos frigorífico... temos hospital, não temos luz... nada lá está! Que vai falar... primeiro é bom, é bom formado, é curso nível... ma *kil* curso nível.. Trabalha *ku* material nível. *Não trabalha ku material nível, trabalha zero*... eh? É isso... é isso...

[Cá Fez] Curandeiros fazem tuuuuudo.... Passam la muita gente. Outro - nascem aí *kun*... sim, sim boca aberta, mas curandeiro dabe fazer isso, tratar isso ate ela fala. Outro nasce *ku mudo*, outro nascem *ku dus línguas*. Mas isso tudo curandeiro tratam isso.

[C] Tudo?



Tudo.

Sabe com dos línguas, ela nunca fala bem. Nunca viste isso?

[C] Ainda não...

Aaahh

[Camará] Ela tem dos línguas, eli.. Esse baixo do língua tem um nervo, quando ela fala palavra fica muito pesado, palavra fica mmmggghhh [makes sounds homomatopheic], mas quando curandeiro apanha-lo, o curandeiro vai tratar e curar... pega num lamina, e tira quel tudo.. *Tira logo, kussi fica aberta*. Sim curandeiro daqui tem muito conhecimento! Esses.. Esse.. E esse aí.. E outros.. Tem muito conhecimento no curandeiro. Muito tempo que tem curandeiro. Curandeiro tem muita importância. Porque nos... na.. '83, que nos começamos a ter aqui saúde de base. No '83. Na altura, antes de '83 o curandeiro que *curaba djenti*.

Claro...

[Camará] Quando uma mulher ta de parto, é o curandeiro. Quando faz tudo *kusa*, é curandeiro, mas *dipus di* saúde di base, que *djenti* começa reconhecer o valor do, do hospital, que o curandeiro começaram a sair para trás... e agora tudo *djenti também já bibe tudo*.. Nós, tudo podemos continuar com curandeiro. Não podemos por curandeiro por aí fora. Até mandámos nome dessa gente tudo lc no hospital de Catió. Tudo. Eu que mando o nome. Eu faço, '83 como saúde de base. No saúde de base, nós compreendemos só com 5, 5 tratamentos. Então pouco pouco pouco pouco *bai* longe. Estamos já num curso muito bonito, muito nível, muito dinâmico, para trabalhar com curandeiro...

[C] E curandeiro só pode tratar de questões de *pekadur*?

Sim sim...

[C] E como é que se sabe se, por exemplo, uma criança nasceu cansada ou nasceu que é aquele *meninu di irân*? Como é que esta diferente?

Também ele não...

É... é diferente..

Eles só que sabe isso! Eles só que sabem isso...

[C] Curandeiro que sabe?

[Camará] São! *Eles ke bai...você que bai no fogão, mm?* Você que sabe se tem malagueta ou tem sal, não é? Então eu não sei nada do que é que passa la! Mas si você que vai la, sabe o que é que passa...

Só sabe comer — não sabe...

Eheheh se você..

Se você —tratar também...

Eu não pode ti falar de vida di curandeiro até la.. Curandeiro está aqui, curandeiro está aqui, ele que *bai* falar...

Ele também não vai falar tudo....

Não! Não falar tudo, mas se ela falar conhecimento onde que para?

[C] Claro, claro... este é conhecimento dele, eu não estou aqui a complicar... roubar conhecimento a ninguém...

[all] eeehh, eehhhh, é claro!!!

[C] Então — conseguem saber? Tem capacidade de...?

Tem capacidade...

[C] Tem capacidade de saber isso...

[Camará] Sabe, muito menino quando nasce, **foga**. Muito menino quando ela nasce é foga. Desde que menino faleceu, ele não fassiu... até eu pode fazer isso. Quando ela nasceu, foga, pega no menino e suta no pé. [claps hand on his arms to show the gesture]

*E bate no..*

*E suta no pé, pega numa bomba de bicicleta, sarta aí no nariz e puxa para fora... sai um líquido que estava ali e não deixa fogo passar...*

[C] E dai logo resolve...

E depois...

Eles só...

Faz parte de saúde de base..

Amin solve problema, solve problema...

*O foga, bo-bô foga aí!*

[ethnic language]

Conhecimento é pouco a pouco nê... *ki bu ta misti*, há muita gente que tem algum conhecimento.... Por isso que eles....

[...]

[Camará] Quando eles precisarem de apoio... há um *associason* di curandeiros que esta aqui em Cantanhez, é muito forte... e esse, Cantanhez nos temos a sorte, temos aqui arvores que tem tudo qualidade de *mesinhu*...

[Cá Fez] Muito medicamento que tem aqui na Cantanhez...

[Camará] Na, tudo tudo tudo! 100%, tem aqui no Cantanhez. Por isso que eles formaram uma *associason di curandeiros*, ainda que no.. Para que... para que começamos a trabalhar com eles pouco a pouco, daí um bocado, mesmo parte tenha a, a pensar como que ele vai tratar com esta *associason di curandeiros*... mas há uma *associason* aqui di gente di Cantanhez que tem sorte muitas muitas muitas muitas muitas muitas muitas arvores que *fassi* parte di *curandeiro*, tudo isso tem aqui 100% na Cantanhez....

[Cá Fez] *I mato di Cantanhez é um hospital!*

[C] Claro..

[Cá Fez] Mato di Cantanhez? É um hospital..

[C] Que tem tudo de que precisa..

[Camará] Tudo de que precisa tem no mato de Cantanhez..

[Cá Fez] Quem sabe ou quem não sabe... mas tem.

[...]

[Camará] Você não quer ver aquele menino, para a mãe dele ir embora?

[...]



### 2.17.2 Djumbai In Catió

Interviews sample 1, 3, 2

Guidelines B - C, A

February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Catió

Meeting at the Palacio Regional do Governo, in Catió. The region governor hosted the meeting, yet he was not present. His secretary participated of the first part of the *djumbai*.

Questions: *Djumbai* focus group [guideline](#)

Participants: *omi garandis* and *mindjeres garandis*

Total: 12 (6 male and 6 females)

Gender	Ethnical group	Occupation	Name
female	Balanta	Bolanha Pesca Cuidar dos meninos Cozinhar sal de salina Oleiro	---
male	Fula	Presidente Escola Orfanato de Paz Djassi Sembé Curandeiro tradicional	Tio Sembé
female	Fula / Mandinga(pai)	Secretaria regional agricultura	
male	Balanta	Jornalista Professor Presidente Local Ligas dos Direitos Humanos	Julio
female	Biafada	Paranta (coltivo de arroz) Ostras	Fatima Djassi
male	Nalú	Régulo (região de Tombali) Professor Labradur Agricultura e pastagem	Malam Sambú
male	Nalú	Labradur Curandiero Enfermeiro	Famara Cassamá
male	Fula	Imam di Catio Fula Caçador Labradur	Mamadou --
male	Nalú	Labradur Campo Comércio	Seque Sambú
female	Balanta	Cozinha sal (in balanta, <i>maluton</i> ) Pesca Paranta e agricultura	Alam Bass
female	Bijagós	Ostras Servente na escola Régua/horticultura Cuzcueira (faz cuscuz)	Irene Pinto
female	Pepel	horticultura	Justina Monteiro

[Miss. XXX, secretary at the Palácio da Região, initially takes upon herself the translation of the djumbai, from kriol to Portuguese. She is soon replaced by Júlio, the younger journalist.]

[greetings and presentations]

\*eu tenho aqui algumas perguntas, mas em primeiro lugar eu queria fazer a todos, é qual é a origem, segundo a tradicao, qual é que é a origem do vosso povo, ou seja, de onde é que é que vieram as pessoas que chegaram aqui a Gb e como é que eles comecaram a tomar conta das zona onde tradicionalmente vivem

por exemplo, etnia Fula, é imigrantes.. eh, todas etnias aqui eu acho tem sua tradicao..

\*pois é isso mesmo que..

é como aqui, as pessoas que povoaram aqui primeiro eram Nalus, Nalus... depois chegaram Balantas, chineses, chineses, balantas... depois, acho que depois que é mandinga ou fula, nao sei... isso nao sei.. primeiro, i ta Nalu, aqui i di Nalu, kel.. R, bu pudi contal, dipus di Nalu...

\*eu queria saber mesmo a historia de cada um..

ya... ok. ku ba tchiga li? no kunsu na bo..

amin ka matil.. — ka tchiga sibi kuma bo tchiga li. abo sibi so bo padi...

amin sibi so kuma nha papé bin bin pú na, ka na conta kau

[overlapping]

kil nhomi. é padido. essa toda, é padido aki. amin padido li, i ka sibi di ghoutro.

yo...

chega, chega kuma ali di etnia.. quer dizer

estas a dizer.. que ele é di etnia..

no dja na bin la

[...]

\*como é que cada um desses povos acabou por chegar e tomar posse da sua terra..

sim, mas aqui na regioao, ou...?

na tchon!

tradison...

na tradicao. a tradicao tem sempre uma historia para contar...

tradicao tene, mas no tene diferenca...

.. i di Pepel.. kuma ki bu tchiga li proprio tambem

papé garandi ki tchiga li.. nha papé garandi, i di Bolama

os pais vieram para a regioao dessa.. sao descendentes de Bolama..

bin di Bolama, i bin sinta li...

kil ki misti sibi i kal ki bu tradicao, tradicao de Pepel...

\*sim, segundo a tradicao Pepel, como é que so Pepeis chegarm..

tchiga pa li..

nha papé tchiga pa li —

[Laughters]

kel — kuma ki Pepel sai dai e tchiga..

tchon di Pepel ta ba tchiga la

eh!

bu ka sibi?

na sibi.. esse ai amin na tchon di pepel na bin. i R ke bin..

ka kel Pel ke sta em Bissau?

yo...

e sta na Bissau mas i ka di la ki sai, i ka i ka di...

[overlapping] Pepel di Bissau, Pepel di Bissau na sai ku bu R e bin pa tchon la  
depois eles vieram para..

[overlapping]

nos todos todos tchiga la.. bu bin na. no papé bu bin ba. e bin bin...

aqui, — daqui, aqui é so etnia nalu.. por este...

nha mamé... papé.. i nassi

tradicao di Pepel ela esta a explicar agora, exatadamente pode saber, desde funeral, nascimento, nao é, como é que eles fazem isso todo... ah é bom ver isso, é bom ver tradicao mesmo, porque nao sei se ela vai consegui explicar tudo isso, mas pode estar.. primeiro ainda, se menino padido, ku ta fassi, ...

\*entao, desculpe... espere. começamos por essa questao de cada um contar a historia de como é que os povos chegaram ao seu tchon.

... conta, i Pepel bin. bin, bin de — e corta, e ta riba, pabia i corta e riba. e bin corta e riba  
.. e fica..

se mulher — ne nghudi del

e trouxe bin pisca

...bota e assim, e assim..

e tambem i bardade, mas amin ka sibi kusa pabia, suma nha garandis...

[overlapping]

ela conhece tradicao da etnia Pepel mas nao sabe como eles chegaram aqui..

abo ka sibi mas..? bu papé bin na tchon

bu papé bin di Biombo bota tchon...

[overlapping]

ke la.. ke la primeiro tchon de biombo, mas u ke la...

[...]

entao que ela pode explicar, gravar é melhor, nao é? bom entao posso começar.. mas eu acho que o velho mais... tradicao...

[...]

por exemplo, — ku sta em Porta Fula, outro ta bin, este trasi ki si.. e ma ku ta papia ka kuma garandi, suma.. omi..

[overlapping]

outro, ghoutro Pepel ke ta bin la, em Bissau.. so suma bin na...

agora, isso ja esta...

é funeral de Pepel, eles metam morto.. é isso tudo..

depois depois... entao é so chegada, ainda.. falta quem?

Biafadas? amin ka sibi di kel so garandi ki na sibi isso, ku na papia tudo esse, e anda e tchiga na la, e pega. nha dona, amin, nha mamé ta falal kuma ke kil sibi ki nada. odja odja i ta padi esse e nha sibi e ta padi e na pirdi, essa aqui e ta bin e ta bin mora na — amin padin nha mamé —

[...]

nha dona?

[...]

\*e Nalu?

explicar como é tchon di Nalu..

\*sim, como é que chegaram, como é que se criou o tchon di Nalu...

a chegada di Nalu aqui na regio de Tombali, é de saida de zona Leste para esse. assim que eles entraram, pa — uma parte de Quinara, mas nao pode chegar la e saíram para Tombali. mas Nalu chegaram aqui, pouco populacao assim. Nalu chegaram a Tombali com 300 pessoas. 300 populasons. naquele 300 pessoas que vieram com R um ficaram aqui na Tombali outro ficaram no Cabic, outro ficaram num sitio que esta —. este 300 pessoas. historia di Nalu..

primeira etnia que chegaram aqui, é Nalu.

\*primeiros.. quem é que quer falar pelos Fula?

amin, nha papé i.. Futa / Pepel?

...lundji..

i bin padido pa di li, na tchon — e — dja e sibi tudu djenti ki bin li na — ki la odja li primeiro..

[overlapping]

\*balanta?

[...]

abo fala, bu conta..

[...]

.. kuma tchiga..

ah ka toma ele i tchiga, contal n— ? i tchiga li.. maneira ki padin padin. nka sibi, nka sibi.

ka pudi papia...

bos, nos bin.. la la, la di iagu. [...] ychon..

Bolama, Bissau, ... Bolama?

Bolama... la de Bolama, la! no ka ta misti padi, no ma misti, e bin lanta pa la, e bin ta? no kil la, — kil la, zona di Quinara, —la nha papé padido. i tisidu gora. tchon Nalu, pabia...

\*e nas ilhas, antes dos Bijagos, nao havia ninguem? foram os Bijagos que povoaram?

li na..

\*nas ilhas..

i ta punta se, — dju ki so ki ta li e — ta djubi

biajgos so ke staba la, na altura, mas gos nao.

gos tene —

gos kil raça ta la, tene balanta, pepeis, tudo i sta li..

dantes havia somente bijagos...

mas primeiro so, Biamba? so bijjagos...ma agora, etnia sta la, no ta Pepel, Nalu, kus ku sta..

Claudia, so para te ajudar com a mulher aqui..garandi di vida garandi, tambem so.. de norte, ali no norte.. por causa de bolanha, sabes que as pessoas sao agricultores, por causa de bolanhas sao obrigados a emigrar-se do norte para o sul portanto ocuparam aquele espaco — por isso que pode encontrar balantas ca. por exemplo na regio de tombali. esse deve ser bolanha, mais nada.

\*a pergunta que estava por nao era exatamente esse.. a minha questao era, sabem tem aqueles mitos de fundacao em cada povo.

como, como nao percebi?

\*mito de ufndacao..

mito de fundason de cada povos..



\*sim, a dizer como é que nos chegamos aqui, fomos os primeiros a habitar essa terra, essa é a nossa terra, tem o nosso nome.. era mais isso que queria saber.. nao sei se esta a ser claro..

mmmm, na percebi se possivel, pode repetir a questao.

\*sim. nao era mais como cada uma dessas pessoas chegou aqui, mas segundo a tradicao como é que o povo comecou a habitar aquela terra. por exemplo, chegamos ai.. e nao, sei, por exemplo a cidade de Roma tem um mito a dizer que houve esse dois gemeos que chegaram ai e fundaram a cidade. era uma coisa desse tipo que eu queria..

na fassii traduson [...] pela zona ki bu povo tchiga ali. kil ke ele fala i mito, kusa ki no ta puses, por exemplo kusa sagrado, populason tchiga e ah, ki o ki a, tipo ki sta di sim.. kil ki bin pela primeira vez no — ou que.. kil ki ele misti sibi. falou [...] i pudi bin dos djenti ou um alguem ou pude ser um djenti diferente kuma kil ghoutro, e tchiga terre sagrado e usa kil rito sagrado kil kusas antigo, kil i ku ki misti - fome

kil ki iagu/? no ta fassi ba

se era um kusa sagrado, ninguem ti puti ele, ninguem ti pudi [...] kau

talvez.. garandi...

suma maneira di kil ki tchiga primeiro..

suma, no tchon di Biombo..

suma kil kusa di.. SAL.

ma odja odja kem kungsi tchon di kil primeiro kel ki tchiga la,[...]

eh, kusa sagrado asin...

kil ki tene kil kusa li i tene balur sagrado, pa bos ka furta o kal —

aquele ke misti sibi [...]

[overlapping]

para eles esse, esse é um pouco complicado.. sao somente... macho...

sao femeas..

certo..

[overlapping]

bu ta odja kau sagrado..

otcha Nalus tchiga, e controla tchon Nalu tudo. - alias otcha ki e tchiga e controla. ma i ten ba um local certo nunde ke fica elis tudu. i bin dibididu pa tris grupu, ku ta faladu djorson. cada djorson sai, pa bai busca.. local ki el i pertenci, ki didi fica. zona ke ele odja kuma, ndidi fica pa li. depois cada kin ta bai djubi, ele, cada kin bai djubi, cada kel bai.. ate nunde ki tchiga momento kuma gos. e tchiga momento gos pa nô.. espadja. cada kin pa i bai busca si residencia local. dipus ki e busca residencia, cada djorson sai ku si grupo, e fica tudo na local. el ku manda tchon di Nalu. dedi antigo ate awos. ten djanan sinal kuma tal djorson ku tene djanan pa li ate li, tal djorson ku tene [Padentebá], ate awos. ate awos existi. ka pudi bai na terreno di outra djorson sin nka contal.. ka pudi bai fassi utru kussa la sin nka contal. atraves di kila otcha ke rukunhuci tudu, tudu region, cada setor, cada region intendi. e cada djenti tambi busca se kau sagradu. cada grupo-djorson grupo busca si kau sagrado particular. li nô na bata bin, fassi nô sigridu, essis tambi busca se kau, tambi bata fassi segredo, es tambi busca se espaso nunde ki e na bata fassi se sigridu. E asin ku Nalu sta.

... di no djenti suma —

eh garandi, — no djenti, suma [...] o — queria dadu

nboh. Nalu. se alar de bai. ribado. — a li riba. dipus, in sinta Biguin. Biguin, no bin. dipus, papia biguin — e di, eh di baler com gosto. i djenti ki bai da li.. ketamba. Catchafan. bai sta na — ctachafan. e sinta la. e djenti bin, diretamente, li na tomal. em tomal. Antual, diretamente di Quinara. — esse ai, e bai Beikona. — ke es i campanha Pepel, Candongo. e sinta na Candongo, na kel cam ba. e muito — i sta la no Blaom?. no Blaom. no Blaom ke caminho di bin solta. djenti di ki ta du, e pa sin. ma Candong, Pe gru tchoma de tchon. pee Biiguidu.. e gru tchoma de Biiguido, no bin li. Ben de aghra, e pedro?

Quem disse para ir la..

.. tomal el inteira. i tomado, el intera. tudu

.. el intera tchumadu..

i tumado, el intera, tudu, kil la tumadu. e Biombo.. si, elis tene um maneira, kuma tchoma si di Mbudala. es primeiro, ke kunta di manera kuma gerason - Mbudala. e mbudala.

kil la da se..

e mbudala. [...] elis stabelece, cad — ou nao

[Julio] estas a perceber? [overlapping] cada terra particular

.. asin ki bai pudi muda, e bai kun. tchina na Candong. e a Mbudan. pagu ku baca, ou baca kel [in audible]

[Julio] mas garandi, [...] ora ki bu na riba li, urbi djubi pa lju djentis, por exemplo, — kau..

[... unclear] ma djenti ki ten cabesa. —na djubi. pui djubi, a fe masi, pe kunta, no bai - djubi. odja. sta bem. no bai pa li. djenti cabesa ki decide. — sempre asin. tu na conta — na conta - ki na bai dja - djorson, djorson di esse, i ta faladu bos, — calma. kal ki nu na bai? sta nkel [...] pronto. o panha. [...] bo ten ki djubi, se suma abo ku na bias, bu ka fia di nha kau, bo ka — eh? — pega piruga bai dja! e limpu. fica limpu, pronto... asin — ko bu na bai bu kau, — [unclear]

[Julio] i misti sibi, i misti sibi no concreto si pur exemplo, o que, i pla? di regulo, e fala kuma i staba ku outro presente djntis ki bin na pa busca — na Tombali, ma n— nka pudi bin tudi ten kil ali ki ten di bin pa.. e misti sibi pa bu djenti so bin pa um odjal suma.. [fading]

nboh. odja kuma.. i mal pa i djenti sa..[overlapping]

es ki ta fala sin.. —kuma.. ora ki djorson sai,

[overlapping]

... li bin e sinta. la ora cada djorson ki la, n'ku sul. reba controla. nunde ki fica? — na djorson [unclear]

abo i nh djorson. i ta faladu pa bo ki na bin, e su.. tene ku medo di..

[overlapping]

tuuudu! carregado, e tchiga! e ngha bin la. e na bai sinta la. e bai mas tchoma... [...]

[Julio] então, é um história tão longa, como está a perceber, são um povo que migraram do Leste, primeiramente, o guarda na zona de Quinara, na tabanca dita Doma, próximo cruzamento que está para li. Portanto, o — dele dividiram em três grupos, eeh, — que quiser, .. nós dissemos no — djorson. três grupos, propriaram cidades, e - iser o local, conhecer o local, portanto dividiram, e cada grupo, cada, fizeram — dos municípios.. assim é que ficámos. portanto, há 3 grupos, dizemos, mas todos vindo do Leste. quando governo estava na — tchigaram aqui, encontrava etnia Bijagós, portanto como o Bijagó não quer aquele tipo interprete, pessoas.. entraram das.. começa a reguar, reguar, reguar.. sai fora todo, estás a ver?

... puxram os Bijagos para as ilhas...

[J] Portanto, foram.. foram para setor de — e para Bulama e Bubaque, mas com certeza pode ter reguar que quiser, quais são os 3, alias, primeiras pessoas que.. isto é difícil. Que nós história para escrita, um coisa diz.. fiz, dizer que, primeiras pessoas que chegaram ali son..

...Bijagós...

[J] fidjus germeos? mas enfim, aquilo que apercebi do velho, é que se vir do Norte, Quinara depois para Tombali. quem ki Fula?

fula, amim... fula i bin, i vem di norte, e bin pa ali. ka ten — [unclear]

[J] norte ou leste?

eeh, leste, leste. i leste. Fula. Fula bin... fora.

Fula ki na bin da, na — kau ki sen. na sai di Kimbo, Fula foi...

[confusion and laughter]

Fula... Fula e bin...

[J] papia pa ela pudi toma nota...

[confusion]

[J] pabia di tempo.. pa bo, manga di djenti na kau tene kusa pa fassi..

[unclear]

Fula. Fula i na bin. Fula i sta na Kimbo. i sta riba. Fula i sta pa la. asin ki bin...na fassi kil... suma ku djenti di Pirià. ku djenti di Kuduko. se fala bo se i bin bai da re.. kuma djenti di kuduko, ta — i djenti di —i na bai. i na bai.

[J] misti um — pabia di tuma nota fassi um trabadju ki bai fassi...

Fula sai di..

tudu djenti ku odja. tudu djenti na punta — fula. Fula.., na ponta, na ponta lá [unclear] e tchiga li, ma tudu la ke tchiga... tudu la ki.. [unclear]

está bem...

i fanado ki ta na tchon.. i fanado di matcho. i na tchon Nalu.. na tchon Nalu — di kil fanadu, aki — ke toma, el. [unclear] bai pa mata, ki bai... i nô djorson ke ten ki ir, nkil la i na tchon [unclear]

[...]

nalu... primeira terra ke ta conta. bai pui si terra kil kau — tudo kil kel kau la

### [notes and transcription]

it was a very united land/people. there were different spaces. with the elders. in those spaces, all those who asked, they got one (land).

proximity Nalu-Bijago, in ethnical terms

first it was a united, only, one-piece space. then they did a space for concertation, had a deputy

ask about Fula as group that divided.

answer unclear

next Pepel

Pepel has giant, long history. one of the better known, despite its complexity and amount

Biafada

old lady says she does not know because she's a child

amim meninu, amim nka sibi di.. i padi na tempo di luta, nfassi ha 48 anos. garandi ki pudi el splica kuma ki Biafada.. tchiga. garandis ki pudi esplica.

\*pronto, então. falta Balanta.

[J] não balanta... a mulher tem dificuldade. mas assim.. tem apoiado para eu... o balanta são um povo também que vim do Norte do país. Balanta acontece foi mesma coisa a procura de bolanha, mais nada.

\*nao interessa mais nada...

[confusion]

everybody agreeing on the assumption of Balanta moving to Tombali region because of fields

discuss they moved from North and East

“trabalhado e nada.., e misti ba bin sinta. e riba”

e nare? ki sinta la (mention somebody/somegroup of balanta who settled in that land)

first place where balanta arrived: Manjoca. reason why fanado is there / e ku manda, fanadu i bota ali

continues on division and distinction between different kinships among balanta, and between balanta to biafada; reference to cabeça di fanado

[J] Os Balanta portanto, quando chegares cá, são etnias Nalus que queria oferecer-lhes um espaço de terra, portanto que assim se começa para ser uns poucos poucos.. portanto, a dia que era respeito, quando chegar num determinado zona, alguém tem de lhe dar o espaço para, para labora, para cultiva. portanto os povos já estavam cá. convivem Balanta, Pepel, são os Nalus que deram-nos porções de terra

moving to next question

consoante a tradição, deixando ao lado como pode ser agora, mas focando mesmo nas questões tradicionais, como é que era escolhido o regulo e o chefe de tabanca? como era escolhido, como era o processo... como uma pessoa se candidata, tinha que fazer alguma oferta, presente, quem escolhe o regulo...

[J] sim, penso que a questão está muito clara. Apesar de — colocar questões. [...] kuma, segunda bu forma di vida, segundo bu tradison, di uso e costume, kuma ke regulo ta codjidu, e chefe de tabanca. [Julio says something more in creole I cannot clearly understand, on regulos's appointment] segundo nô uso e costume, kuma nô ta pui regulo, kuma nô ta pui chefe de tabanca, es ki ela diz

pepel man talking. refers to prohibition to regulo's office. regulo has to have a lot of patience. si dona ten reinansa, subrinhu, si pape, eleki ten conta. ma no, papel nunca! — gos, fidju ki na toma! [unclear] djorson de sinta. djorson di essi. papel tambi, sume es i asin // that's how it works among Pepel. pepel na misti pa i bai, ma djorson ka na misti. kel i palabra en pudi discutir pa — it comes through djorson, e ten ki sinta. toma reinansa i ka na fasil. la na —, djorson i toma, reinansa.

reinforce that regulo's power is over all tabanca (tabanca tudu)

regulo, regulo, regulo.... i guerra di Fula. i ka pudi bai e pui regulo

[J] por exemplo, Nalus ku Fulas, e guerra.

e guerra, uuuhf!

[J] Guerra di Nalus-Fulas. porque guerra? por [could not understand]

Pepel man talks about Nalus-Fulas war, says it comes from ancient time, about warrior pride, kem ki tene corajem. those people ho stand and defended the land, could put their chiefs. but time goes by, and things did not change

Julio recaps for me in Portuguese

[J] vou lhe ajudar, uma historia muito bonita. para escolher o regulo, havia confrontos entre etnias, por exemplo Fulas com etnias Nalu, e aquela primeira pessoa que levantar o corpo para minha seguras, por causa da sua coragem, portanto era escolhido como chefe, designado como regulos, estas a ver? porque ele tinha coragem de enfrentar as outras etnias para defender..

\*O guerreiro mais valente...

[J] Sim, mais valente, exatamente, estás a ver. Ali que surgiu aquele regulo. Mas a sucessão do regulo não é automática, como o pai é o regulo, o filho deve ser. Não. Se o pai por exemplo falecer, ou, as gerações juntam, depois fazem, tenta chegar um consenso para ver quem deve ser escolhido para ser para aquilo... portanto, não é coisa automática. [somebody moving chair, covering noise. Julio talks to another elder man about the question, and differences between regulo and chefe de tabanca]. i ka se regulo, ali omi garandi, kuma // bo tene ki sinta bo pape pa djunta pa ali. e asin asin asin

se si pape casar no... se si pape [unclear]

[J] Portanto, primeiramente é por causa de coragem, de enfrentar uma outra etnia, os Nalus passaram a escolher, os Nalus passaram a escolher aquela primeira pessoa que enfrentar etnia Fula para ser regulo. E depois a sucessão é o consenso.

\*Mas então, a pessoa que é escolhida é escolhida porque está dentro da família, ou é uma pessoa que tem de fazer uma prova, uma corrida, uma campanha, ou algo do gênero... ou tem que ter qualidades específicas, por exemplo ser uma pessoa mais sabia, que possa ser exemplo para os outros..

Julio translates to Kriol.

[J] I misti sibi si pa ku ia di bu conduson, bu ta kudji... alguin, suma — pa fassi campanha, pa fassi kudji fassi regulo, ou alguin mas.. si kil i ghoutra kudja, kuma ku ta kudja...

naaaa... djorson tchoma regulo (la di mato, e convivi?). [speak fast]

[J] i ten ke ser zona dentro di familia, ou ten ke ser fora, por exemplo, fora di kil familia, o pessoa dentro di familia?

na ora di tchoma, es si pepel. amim di pepel. amim tambi si djorson, — si djorson. eli, i papel. — si contra, e bu misti, ah! — enton usa kuma amim. abo Papel. nô misti...es no fidju // refers to different cases and possibilities on the choice; relevance: belonging to djorson, accepting or rejecting taking the office; asking to garandi for approval (if one rejects the title, and gives it to somebody else, one would go tell garandis what is happening). garandi evaluates on the basis of djorson one belongs to.

bo conta tudu na tabanca. suma nalu sibi, tudu tabanca. tudu na conta no kau. ma reinansa i es. e djorson. eli ki —

[J] i ka ta murri kil djorson? [...] i ta mata so kil mesmo di djorson?

i ta, i ta murri..

i ta murri na...

[J] .. na pekadur

participants are talking one over the other and discussing on Julio's question. another man speaks.

i ta muda. se contra mi, suma outra djorson...

[unclear, overlapping]

Julio is asking about succession, when a regulo dies, if the son only can be regulo, or who else can.

[J] e se bo djunta mame, ma abo tene fidju, e el tene fidju, su fidju pudi ser regulo, ou — pudi ser regulo? pudi ser...

[J] Então, a situason... não havia corrida, nem campanha, nem a pessoa que tem mais sábio, mas deve ser dentro da gerasons, portanto dizemos é uma governasons de gerasons... se o governo vem — o governo também, meu filho também pode ser, somos da mesma gerason.. ou seja, não sai de dentro da gerason.

\*Portanto fica sempre dentro da gerason?

[J] Sempre dentro da gerason.

\*e quem é que escolhe, no reino? tem uma comissão, tem em concelho...?

[J] sim, eles fazem um bando, la que costuma dizer consenso la de Deus, — chegar ao consensos para — uma pessoa.

\*e nos concelho dos anciões, eles são de todas as gerações...?

[J] Da mesma gerason

\*Sempre da mesma gerason.

[J] sim sim, para escolher. o — é designado para regulo, — seria outra pessoa que não está, portanto, — mas havia consenso, dizemos, para... na sua terra, para vir visitar, porque era novo. Podia ser uma outra pessoa mais velha, mas.. por caído nele, portanto é assim.

Julio and elder man talk about choosing regulo, djorson and consensus: there are strict rules on how to be admitted to the office and succession as regulo, strictly conditioned by belonging to djorson.

[J] Kuma outra gerason não pode estar, não pode entrar. Sempre fazem as coisas com consenso. No máximo, tem consenso porque a pessoa pode ter mais estabilidade. Senão, vai ter sempre problemas. Chefe de tabanca... chefe de tabanca, sim kuma ki ta kudji chefe de tabanca?

people discuss over the different positions, regulo vs chefe de tabanca.

[J]é duas pessoas diferente

é diferente

tene chefe de tabanca, e tene regulo. chefe de tabanca...

chefe de tabanca i na pui

discuss on ground distance between the position

[J] i ka ten nada ver ku regulo..

kem ki tchiga primeru la ke sinta la...

bu tene, bu tene bu subrinhos, bu tene bu netos..

[J] bo ermon pode ser tambe chefe de tabanca, ou nao?

nha ermon? i pudi sedu!

[J] bu fidju tambe pudi sedu?

i pudi sedu!

Different people from same family can get the position. office not as strict as regulo, not dictated by djorson.

\*Primeiro que chega é chefe de tabanca...

[J] todo, todo o resto de pessoas que chegaram li, sem — espaço para elis — escolherem cargo...

elder man clarifies on how to become chefe de tabanca. discuss that it could be denied.

mentions Comité (de Estado), as sounds&checks for the approval of chefe de tabanca, it oversees the nomination and appointment

[J] visionado, visionado pelo Estado

\*Comite e chefe... são duas coisas distintas

[J] possivelmente é visionado [chefe de tabanca] pelo administrador de setor. // fast talk in Kriol // portanto ficam lá. primeiramente é que o regulo é escolhido através de.. coragem, porque enfrentava uma outra etnia, ...

\*Pois, daí que vem toda a descendências... e nos Fulas?

Fula i tene di regulo, e tene — regulo. Fula.. asin kil ten djorson, kil ki dava tene si netu, e fica. Netu di kil ki si —

Julio asks on how Fula decided their first regulo.

I tene primeiru regulo, di di, kil... Guiledje.

the Fula man is talking about current times. Julio rephrases the question, taking as example the answer of the previous Pepel man, who talked about braveness of the first appointed regulo.

Fula man mentions that both regulo and chefe de tabanca comes from the tabanca of Guiledje. their ascendancy is from a family of regulo. their pape, the first regulo arrived in Guiledje, others also arrived. The man tells a story about a fight, and how the ancestor/pape saved the one who was small.

two men are disagreeing on the story, and on speaking turns. one mentions Mpata instead of Guiledje.

when the father of one dies, the son stands up (lanta) to take care of the reinansa. tudu conta ele tudu. kel regulo ken na toma comunidade Mpata, e tene djorson. — e tudu conta. e dja, e misti so ki bai Quinara. e sta la — li no Pulis? // refers to division between people from different places, references to the land (tchon) they come from. Djenti di Canchack — ki riba, — Mpata, e murri. cada kil la, ghoutro, ghoutro i akilo, ke manda conta.. — na kau. regulo ki nassi — e murri na Mpata.

Julios asks who wants to add anything to what the elder man said.

[J] Porque lembro kuma.. bo faladu kuma, pa na vida di regulo, i era kuma el i lanta, quer dizer el i ten tomar aquel lugar ki ten entre Fulas. Ten ke lo corar, ke lo ki pui suma di regulo. ma eli tambe si tenta misti suma ku fula tene regulo. si na basi di guerra, ou pabia di outra kusa kuma Fula ta pui regulo... kuma Fula ta pui regulo?

Julio and the elder Fulas discuss over the question; Julio insists on asking on the reasons underneath the acquisition of the regulo in the Fula ethnical group.

Elders refers to current patterns of appointment; reference to kau and djorson

the one you see/djubi, can be from outside the tabanca. confused exchange of ideas with Julio. Elder man starts to talk about non-descendancy succession line

regulo, regulo... na kel tempo di guerra di antigu, ke kil ki, ki — djaghra, kil la ki pui la kil —

[J] na guerra?

sim na guerra di antigus. Djaghra, kil la ki ta faladu, el ki na pudju regulo.

[J] kil i ki djaghra?

[overall answer] djorson...

elder man disagress

naaa, akel ke.. guerreiro. e, i ta manda akilo, cada..

Participants talk one over the other, discussing what the old man said. he reiterates it was from ancient times, of war and land division, the warrior instituted the regulo office.

people agree that is how it is in Fula and Nalu's history.

[J] É mesmo, é reconhecimento daquela pessoa que está...

One person refers to braveness as characteristic of the ancient warrior. that descends down in the family.

kil familia ki pa sedu regulo, tudu familia

the title of regulo descends in the family ≈ djorson/gerason. Assumed as the same pattern and history for Fula, Nalu, mandinga.

confused discussion.

one of the elders refers to the ancestors of one of the participant, who had the bravery to raise (lanta) and move to another land pa bin sinta (to settle)

[J] penso que está claro...

Confused, muffled talks.

Julio cuts short the discussion; sums up: regulos comes from history, should be a brave man; chefe de tabanca is a different issue

[J] Claudia, penso que está.

\*E Bijagós?

[J] Abo ta tene regulo?

eeeh!

[J] Kuma ki ta pudji regulo? kel ki pudi pui regulo?

eeehh.. i mesmo kusa. i mesmo kusa, so hora ku pobo [unclear] kil la tchoma regulo, kil la ki la-la ki djorson, [telephone ringing, covering the voice of the lady]

the lady reinforce what the precedent speakers just said // similarities and sameness among the different ethnical groups

[J] Os Pepeis também, é mesma coisa, e.. Biafada?

é mesmo

guerra...

Julios speaks up for the balanta woman.

[J].. também são designados responsáveis de tabanca

elder man speaks up; the representatives are the one ki tene forsa

Julio refers that the representatives' office conflicts regulo and chefe de tabanca position/role.

Julios asks the Balanta woman who appoints the chefe de tabanca; she slight laughs at the questions. she was never asked that before. assumes it is something you are born with.

Discussion; other participants try to rephrase the question to the balanta woman, asking how/who is first appointed for the office, history/myth roots

[J] A escolha sempre cai na primeira pessoa. Depois a sucessão com desaparecimento, estás a ver...

Participants continue discussing and talking with one another.

moving to next question

\*Segundo a tradição, uso e costumes, é importante ter o apoio de Deus, de Allah, de irân para governar, ou ter djambakoses, imam como conselheiros?

[J] ok, si preocupason i kuma segundo nô manera di pensa, nô manera ki vive, nô costume, nô uso, se precisa ter apoio di deus, diz di allah, ou apoio de djambakos, e de outro djenti, pa... pa pudi manda diritu abós.— por exemplo, se tene apoio di deus, ou de muro, ou de djambakos, para nô pudi manda diritu

se, se a cada kin precisar de..

[J] na. na, pa nô manda diritu, anos kuma.. abo kuma ki ta pensa, — di apoio di deus, di djambakus

participants reflecting and questioning the question, if it is about one's own use of religion, if it is in politics; Julio reiterates the question is about what tradition prescribes

\*sim, segundo a tradição. Quem dizer, não é por cada um, não é uma opinião das pessoas, mas mais segundo a tradição de uso e costumes..

[J] Kuma, kuma bu ta pensa, ke na pensa ta tene apoio di deus, ou apoio di djambakus ou di muru, pa pudi manda diritu, ke ta na pensa..

One of the participants refers to having sons, being clean, other help. Julio asks suma kil la i ke um mesinhu...

[J] Portanto, para eles deve haver duas coisas em simultâneo. Confiar em Deus, e também a?irar o ? que quiser.. Primeiru kusa i Deus...

[J] Primeiramente é confiar em Deus, depois...

é Deus, é Deus [overall]

[J] e depois ter também uma outra razão/ligação com lugar..

\*Para ter uma boa produção...

esse, es i muru. es i muru....

Participant points to another participant, saying he is a muru. Points to what he can. or should do

[J] Portanto, eli ha duas confianças... mas é simultaneo, sim?

[Secretary] segundo a tradison, ma pabia di kil kusa tuuudu ki na fassido na muru, si deus ka pala pui sedu, i ka pudi sedu...

[overlapping]

[Secretary] primeiro kusa i deus..

[J] tudu, tudu ki sta...

lack of agreement, people talk to one another, and voice are confused.

[J] Amim pensa está claro. Está claro, sim? significa duas confianças, duas.

new question

\*E qual é a função de, do garandis, em relacao ao regulo e chefe de tabanca, o que é que omi garandi tem de fazer? omi, e mindjer garandi. eles têm alguma função, por exemplo de dar conselhos, dizer, olha, isso foi bem feito, ou, outras pessoas precisam de outras coisas..

[J] Como contradison ao regulo, não é?

\*Sim. Regulo e chefe de tabanca.

[J] Nô ta kudji, nô ta judji suma di garandi ku chefe de tabanca. abo i garandi que senta la. cada, bota djuba papel de regulo, bo tene um kusa tipo um conselho pa da na regulo, fala i kusa i ka na papia ka ta cumpri, kil i ki misti sibi. —tene su pratica pessoa manera ki misti..

As Julio translates the question, murmurs start, people uhhmming, and agreeing with what he is saying

sim nô tene papia.

garandi tell regulo when he is behaving good. not only about having not having food (na, nô tene bianda, i tene bianda). garandi give advice to the regulo

[J] Portanto, os velhos ficam como guardião do regulo, aconselhando-lhe, para ele não ter erros, não deixar que caia no erro, mas aconselhar de vez em quando se mostrar que entra caminho errado, para não entrar outro caminho errado...

\*Porque, é possível que um regulo seja destituído? é possível que um regulo seja destituído? ou que as pessoas mostrem o seu descontentamento com ele?

[J] I punta si... regulo.. abo pudi tira reguldade pa bia di djenti ki ta contente?

overall silence.



[J] isto não existe.

confusion and denials

[J] So, so quando um regulo...

\*Em nenhum caso?

[J] Em nenhum caso.. não existe. Há forma de destruir, de destituição de regulo não existe. so quando ele morrer regulo sempre pousado, suma el i presidente. el tem poussado. e regulo pabia di garandi ki da papel seus conselheiros...

Conselheiros...

cada kau ki na bai, el acaba com a si si mesmo

[J] Sempre é acompanhado pelos mais velhos em diferente sítios, assim que ele foi visitar... [...] então, fica, não ha possibilidade de destituir regulo, so quando morrer.

\*ate ai nao ha..

[J] o pode ficar de perna ate possibilidades, mas também pensa pudi — e não pode fazer nada, sabe. i ka pudi, se vedju, i ka pudi djubi su kau, regulo.

Participant refers to exception on regulo's destitution. for domestic violence, if one beats up one's woman

[J] Portanto, o regulo não depende dos regulos. Primeiro porque ele entende. tera de comunicar aos seus conselheiros. se eles perceberem que não vale a pena ele sair, vai manter. mas se haver consenso, ele pode deixar aquele cargo, e ocupa, e uma outra pessoa passa a ocupar com seu filho, estás a ver..

\*E no caso, por exemplo, de ele ja estar muito velho, e cansado..

[J] sim, sim, cansado, claro..

\*E isso é igual em todos os casos?

[J] Deve ser..

Julio ask to everybody if the same rules apply on all regulos/regulados among different ethnical groups. People confirm

\*E ha forma de as pessoas demonstrarem o seu descontentamento? No caso do regulo for uma pessoa que não se porta bem. tem forma de como as pessoas dizer “não, não estamos contentes com o que o nosso regulo esta a fazer”?

[J] I fala, si tene ghoutro manera di populason por exemplo, si ka contente, kuma ki ta manifesta — pessoa ka ta contente?

Discussion over the meaning of the question.

si no contente, enton suma papia es i tui. ke contece? ah! i kusa kuma nô fica contente

if people are not happy, one should go tell garandi, inform them of what is going on, sources and reason of unhappiness and discontent

[J] Então, é assim. Sublinhado que forma como afastar o regulo não existe, o que deve haver se populason, se comunidade não está de acordo com atuason de regulo, enton é comunicado pa ali ou conselheiro, ou tios. tios, quer dizer...tem que comunicar aqueles mais velhos, para falar com o regulo. Mas não tene possibilidade de demonstrar, está descontenti com regulo. nao ha esta possibilidade. ôh garandi, obrigado

one of the participants leaves.

moving to next question.

\*Mais uma pergunta ligada a tradição, e depois começa a segunda parte das questões mais atuais. Então, consoante a lei tradicional os regulos e os chefes de tabanca aprendem a lei tradicional, porque é-lhes ensinada pelos outros mais velhos, ou o regulo anterior. e como é que aplica esta lei? tem um tribunal? quais tipos de punições são previstas, como é que são feitos estes julgamentos?

[J] Ok, si preocupason i di kuma, eh, i misti punta, ki lei ki ta ten na tabanca? ke.. ke ta dadu di regulos. ke ta dadu di regulo antigo, supa garandi ta ba.. ghoutro kungsi kuma ki plica kele. se tene tribunal — problema, kuma ke ta la tchiga na kil dona? se ten lei ta si percebe ki tene problema na tabanca. kuma ki —?

si problema tene, i dja na tene probleme. si bu dju na tene problema..

[J] na tabanca..

na tabanca?

When the problem is of/about the tabanca, the decision/power is upon the regulo. ten palabra. he decides. when anything happens, it is all told there. tabanca council would try to solve the matter, as long as it/they are capable to. if not, send it to (state) administration or regulo. because the problem has to be solved.

Julio and participant discuss over the power of the regulo on matters of justice resolution. participant pinpoints that power of regulo has limits

[J] Portanto, para tomar uma medida naquela tabanca, ou na vila.., senta aquele concelho, concelho tchomado velhos, conselheiros de regulos que tomam, tomam medidas para punir uma pessoa. Portanto, chegado algum consenso, o regulo sempre está presente, ouvindo seus conselheiros, a medida que deve ser dado pelo uso. se é para castigar, ele vai castigar. se é para pagar multa, so paga multa. tanto, tudo no fim o que regulo faz uma nota, comunicando administrason local que ha uma pessoa nesta condison que é castigada. Portanto, na ora que um tribunal não juridicamente, um tribunal com juiz, mas aquele sempre, sempre aconselhado e regulo.. tribunal de circulo, tribunal de tabanca. Portanto ele é que faz tudo e resolve.

\*E também, rituais e cerimonia podem ser parte do processo para ver quem é culpado, quem não é culpado?

[J] Não apercebi.

\*E também, rituais e cerimonia podem ser parte do processo para ver quem é culpado, quem não é culpado?

[J] Se a cerimonia pode ser parte de...

\*Isso. mas se a pergunta ficar complicada, deixamos ao lado.. Então, que tipo de punições que são previstas consoante a lei tradicional?

[J] Kal tipo di castigo ke ta dadu na — da tabanca? su um — outra pessoa.

eeh, kal ki ten problema. castigo.

council make person sinta to receive the punishment.

di kal manera, se irita tchon, i mandadu, i viadu.

The men says that the council would send the case to state administration to be analysed there. Julio asks what punishment the council itself foresees when takes judicial decisions

[J] Portanto, é simples. se houver problema de faze-no na tabanca, se tomar com medida junto com o regulo, se a pessoa sabe que o — nao é culpado pelo —, portnato comite vai renviado pelo estado. mas se ele aceitar a culpa, é castigado conforme regras. se é para pagar multa, ele paga uma multa normal, e depois bai pa kau, termina ku assunto. mas se a pessoa recusar, puro e simplesmente o assunto é tem de ficar para.. Estado.

\*Nós estamos a falar ainda da tradição. sem que Estado exista...

Julio translates, how would tradition take care of justice if state does not exist? People talk one over the other, confused arguing.

Bu tchiga propiro li, suma li na administrason, ten ke.. eleitoral, mangade.

[J] E a pessoa é... dar o acuso? da —

é chicotada, é chicotada...

[random laughters from some women]

one participant follows on how tradition would work with justice; pinpoints that things are not and cannot be the same now as they were. Julio translates.

[J] Antigamente, havia duas coisas... antigamente reinansa era outra coisa e agora não é. Antigamente, a medida é tomada duramente. E agora, diferente. O regulo.. mantendo kel tanto..

Participant emphasis that justice nowadays is not just about regulo.

[J] Imagina se, a grande — como menina, se nao.. nao —. portanto, voce é punido na tabanca, mas hoje é um, pode valha normal... tabanca mesmo. mesmo na tabanca do regulo, as meninas so, as meninas so engravidadas sem compromisso nenhum, — e agora, poder do regulo está cada vez desgastado.

\*Sim porque também ha outras leis, e outros hábitos...

[J] Sim outras leis, outras areas, que entre em contradicao com as leis di tabanca. é verdade, kuma outro lei ten, awos estado se bu fassi um kusu na bu tabanca, ta djubi — [...] Primeiro, era tomado medida dura, voce poder

ser também pago regulo, ao mesmo tempo, estas a ver. mas o regulo esta — para o poder de estado com situasons que não é tao grave..

\*Sim. o que queria saber era se..

na kele tempo...

two participants discuss on power of tabanca council...[

[J] porque... haverá retaliações. ok outra pergunta.

\* O que queria também tentar dizer antes era se no momento de tomar a decisão, e entender se uma pessoa é culpada ou não é culpada, deus, imam, djambakos tem alguma forma de ajudar esse —. por exemplo, se uma pessoa vai fazer julgamento sobre um livro sagrado, fazer uma cerimonia ritual, qualquer outra coisa deste gênero..

[J] se a pessoa culpado pode fazer aquele...?

\*nao se isso é relevante em descobrir se uma pessoa é culpada, ou inocente..

[J] De livro sagrado..?

\*Livro sagrado, ou cerimonia.. este tipo de coisas. se Isto também pode influenciar... segundo a tradição.

[J] Segundo abos tradison se alguin ha, por exemplo, mas.. se pode recorrer akele libro sagradu, ou pudi fassi cerimonia para combinci di su barbade, ou ritual? bu ta fassi tipo ulna, baloba, —

participant answer that it depends to each tradition, each can use different means, some can do ceremony, take a goat. Mention cerimonies, iran and darma.

[J] Sim, se pessoa quiser recorrer, pode fazer..

God as witness of one's swearing in trials

\*Este também com Biafada?

[J] Biafada é outro...

mixed chatters

[J] A pessoa recorrer a outros métodos para fazer varias as suas opiniões. Pode jurar..

\*Balanta e Bijagos, como é a situação?

Mixed talk, escaping from the question. Woman Bijagos mentions that they would go to iran and do ceremony. Scarifying chicken to sort out what is the truth

[J] segundo uso... acredita que, aqueles que fizeram mal, se vem a morrer mais tarde, —. nao morre na — mas —pode contecer qualquer pessoa. morre porque dizem, olha, foi aquela coisa, se mete.. portanto, para fazer a pessoa... aceitar a culpa, era o —. a cerimonia de

\*E mesma coisa nos Balanta?

Julio translating for her, she confirms that justice works the same way. resort to iran to discover which the truth. life or death immediate sentence: once iran identifies who is guilty, death is instantaneous.

[J] tudu kusas ki sta muito semelhantes...

moving to the second part of the interview

\*Até agora vimos como estão as coisas na tradição, como era antigamente. Agora queria ver também como é que estão as coisas neste momento, que tem Estado, tem chefes, tem comité, e esta todo junto. E por exemplo, ontem, estávamos a falar com a senhora secretaria, que o Estado [...] no Estado há a lei de paridade de gênero, mas quase todos chefes de tabanca e regulos são homens. Então, acham que em alguns casos as leis de Estado deveriam se juntar com as leis tradicionais? Deveriam juntar estas duas leis, ou são duas coisas que deveriam estar separadas? Na vossa opinião.

[J] Awos i ka suma kil tempo, kil di antigus. I misti sibi, awos Estado papia, nah mindjer e omi tem di sta no mesmo pé di igualdade, ma nô contra só regulo so omi, kuma ki ta bu fassi —? se Estado fala kuma tudu djenti tene ki ser asin, omi e midjer, ma so omi ki conta di ser regulo chefe de tabanca, ta porque? abo pedi bo —. omi garandi. kem ki manda? se Estado fala, lei di Estado fala kuma mindjer ku omi tene di —, primeru — tera gos, ma awos mindjer tene ki — vai para outro di terra. kem ki manda su bos — chefe di tabanca regulo, mindjer nunca i seitu.

A woman being regulo or chefe de tabanca has never happen. suma di nós, preto, mindjer nunca pudi ser regulo. di, di pretu. i ka pudi. divido ke.. Unthinkable, unlikely situation. Would cause such of an upside down situation, it could bring marriage to an end - every person/gender has its place and role.

[J] porque nós enquanto homens casamos as mulheres, nós que as fomos comprar junto dos pais. Portanto, e as nossas mulheres, segundo, a percepção dos mais velhos são como nossos cozinheiros, ou cozinheiras, ou ai fora. Portanto, preocupa-se com aquele trabalho..

\*de casa

[J] ..prestado ao homem, fazer tudo.. — não pode estar para estas funções. Por exemplo se ... independentemente de questões de paridade, não deve estar porque está preocupa por homem familia, por ai fora, estás a ver. Uma outra possibilidade é que, se a mulher possivelmente, venha acabar o casamento com o seu marido, é o lugar para outro homens, como é que vai fazer com reinado? isto questão de mulher. Ela não pode levar o reinado para aquela zona, porque acabou o casamento com o marido, vai-se embora, para ir casar com outro homem. Poderá..

\*E a opinião de vocês mulheres?

Julio translated the question again, more directly to female participants.

Bijago woman speaking first. Agrees with what other man said, accepting status quo. Regulo can call a woman, and tell her, go, go somewhere (Buba), and she just leaves, and stay out long; the man who stayed back home would not be fine, suspicious something else is going on. Misti! Omi.. i ka bai.

[J] A possibilidade que as mulheres detenham sempre, mas simplesmente... imagina que a mulher é uma regulo. Por ventura, deve ficar para fazer um trabalho numa zona. Ficar um 2, 3, 4 dias, 5... o homem começa a ter desconfiança, que a mulher pode estar ali a — ku... Portanto, o homem não quer que a mulher —/saia da porta do casamento, quer que a mulher fique ali, sempre a guardar a porta, o homem sempre pode vir para encontrar a sua esposa que sta la. Por isto a mulher deve ficar sempre em casa

Em casa..

[J] ali nô realidade... é difícil. Não estou a dizer que... mas o poder tradicional é difícil que a mulher seja.. empossada como regulo.

\*E bo, ke bu pensa?

Question directed to Pepel woman.

I na djubi, i na djubi... // agrees and reinforces what others said. Women belong to bolanha

[J] Mindjer garandi. Kel ki manda midjer se chefe de tabanca o regulo?

i ka, i ka... kil la..

[J] As mulheres concordam com que é impossível ser chefe... mas isso também tem a ver com nossa própria cultura. Fassi que.. é a nossa cultura, portanto a mulheres percebem de quem são sempre vão ficar sempre, atrás dos seus maridos, —.

\*Agora é uma outra pergunta. Considerando que con — o regulo também não tem o mesmo poder que tinha antigamente, tem o Estado também, tem que reportar coisas na policia, no comité, e até os jovens começam a ficar mais envolvidos com os partidos, e as vezes não prestem assim tanta atenção ao que os regulos dizem, faz sentido e é possível, ou seja, esta é uma coisa que podem fazer os regulos e chefes de tabanca estar envolvidos na politica, ser parte dum partido, candidatar-se nas eleições? Podem, deveriam fazer isso?

[J] Si preocupason i kuma, na tempo antigo, regulo tem ke mata para suma ki— e ta obido, e chefe de tabanca ta obido, mas awos pabia di Estado, Estado tira mangade poder no, eeh.. e passa parte, e ka muda na opinion di tabanca suma antigo ta obido, — os omis no papia di — pa nos, quase — sera kil la pudi leba regulo — ser membro di partidu? Ke bu pensa? Se regulo bibi...

People discussing.

Si lei di regulo, tudu ki nô fassi, tuuudu sta na caminho.

It is needed to find a way. Participant (man) refers of an example of regulo family, where brother, parents are in the comite. notwithstanding ancestors, everything is becoming under the state. state is overly pervasive of indigenous politics.

Julio asks if the presence of the state, and current contingencies make regulo get involved in state politics and political parties. Manera kuma regulo tchomado poder i ka ta obido.

People reject the idea. I ka pudi, naaaa. overall agreement that regulo should/can not be part of a political party. Regulo should be representative of all tabanca.

[J] ok. Indipendentemente de fragilidade do poder do regulo, — mas o regulo nao pode entrar, nao deve fazer isto. Portanto, ele sempre na tabanca, vai receber todas.. todos os partidos. Qualquer partido...

Participants reinforce the distance between regulo and political parties; neutral figure who should care for all citizens/individuals of the tabanca/reinado.

\*Todos concordam com esta ideia?

[J] A mulher disse que é impossível fazer isto, impossível...

Se entrar na política, so si papia di ki na fassi...

[J] Diz que, o regulo entrar, fazer a política, somente o seu partido que ele vai apoiar, vai perder aquela popularidade que estava....

One who is involved in politica, one would enjoy popularity only among some people or majority. People humming in agreement. If regulos involves in a political party, he would only enjoy power among those who belong/side with the same party, the rest of the population would turn their backs at him.

[J] Enton, regulo fica sempre no meio.

Another participant express regret on state, that is everywhere. compares with old times. i sta ki ka firma. stado i ka ten.

the focus os not the state, that is not really present, but on local administration (intended as local branch of the state)

Nô ka tene partido...

[J] Mesmo antigos combatentes... também são isente de uma requisição partidária, fica assim, mas momento ou outro, pode vir a ser.

Participants reinforces ideas on neutrality of fighters for independence

[J] Está bem. Há um outra questão?

\*Sim. E então... regulos e chefes de tabanca, conseguem proporcionar serviços e cuidados que o Estado não dá à populacao? Quer dizer, não fazem exatamente a mesma coisa...

[J] Indipendentemente di bo trabalho regulo, si bo contra i misti, si regulo i pudi fassi um tipo di serviso ki stado ka pudi fassi, por exemplo, de populason criado, di —, ou.. se pudi fassi chefe de tabanca ou regulo?

Regulo... suma nos garandi, kuma ?

Participants ask for clarifications over the question, of which services we are talking about, health, providing land, school...

Julio says that anciently chefes de tabanca had to coordinate their effort, and they provided for people.

Se nô regulo ka tene, ka ta pui terreno. Ke abu i pai bin pa fassi terreno

Regulo is necessary to ensure basic order and functioning.

Garandi tene sempre ghoutro..

Regulos ensures land division; responsible for top-down informing and application of law. If you have a problem, you need a regulo.

Na mato... kil la i regulo. Kusa di regulo.

Sinta, e ta choma, e djubi. ki ta tene culpa, si pa terramone, terramone.

[J] Outro kusa ki ta consigui explica. problema di saude, di iagu, si iagu tene um — kil ki regulo pidi fassi pa populason daquela tabanca?

Participant pinpoint that in ancient times things were different. there were no bombas (mechanic dwells) like nowadays. Discuss how people would get access to water in times of war.

discussing. Julio asks if in modern times regulos would ask the state for help to solve problem of water in a tabanca.

Suma gos, primeru... alguin sta doenti, tene cuidar o regulo, tene enviar diretamente pa Tisinpa, pabia kuma... si contra um mesinhu, es, e pequena pa cura es. ten cural.

[J] Portanto, essa forma que o regulo consegue ajudar a populason, quer dizer por exemplo, mesmo que uma pessoa que está na tabanca na tem possibilidade de ter posse de terra, então o regulo é comunicado, o regulo convoca toda a tabanca, perguntando quem tem possibilidade de dar, quem dá a sua terra, aquela pessoa que não tem. assim pessoa é atribuída posse de terra. Se houver, como se podemos dizer, se houver mal estar entre pessoa, por causa de posse de terra, portanto com regulo também resolveu, no regulado. Assim aquele que tem culpa é atribuído a sua.. portanto, que tem a rason é dado... quanto a possibilidade de diar.. de saude daquele pessoa, como que ele diz, fazem as coisas tradicionais, portanto, por exemplo aquele.. como se pode dizer, curandeiro tradicional. Mas também a possibilidade do regulo quando uma pessoa é doente, é comunicado ao regulo, para o regulo vai acompanhar aquela pessoa para ir juntos ao hospitais para fazer o tratamento. Portanto é desta forma que o regulo se preocupa com pessoa - ou com sua populason.

\*E curandeiros tradicionais, conseguem resolver e tratar de doenças que o hospital não consegue tratar?

[J] Si, si curandeiro, kil curandeiro tradicional, ta consigui cura doenca ki djenti na hospital ka consigui cura, se pudi cura,....

si, tene kil doensa. Hospital ka pudi cura. nao.

Participant says in 1962 had many illnesses, like febre amarela. He could not afford (presuming) health system, used mesinhu.

[J] Portanto havia uma doenças, como a medicina moderna não consegue resolver. So volta para tabanca com curandeiro, por exemplo febre amarela, ultrapassa isso, ultrapassa idade.

\*Também acha? Bu pensa o mesmo?

Julio translates, asking if there are treatments that it is better to look after in the tabanca, in the opinion of the participants.

Female participant start listing different sicknesses that are better treated by tradicional medicine, especially one related to head, another one related to stomach/barriga. There are tested and attested mesinhu that help treating these problems, garandis know exactly which ones.

[J] Portanto para eles ha uns doenças, por exemplo, falado de amorrodia, que é uma doença frequente...se levar no hospital, fazer tratamento moderno, ou medicinal, isto torna-se difícil, porque ali no hospital sempre operados, as vezes pode voltar —mas como, com no poder tradicional, toma aquela dose di... como se podemos dizer, comprimido tradicional, portanto acaba bem as coisas. Para ele, ha doenças que não pode ser.. alias que os hospitais não conseguem fazer tratamento de.. Voltar para a tabanca, ultrapassa-se...

Bijagos woman says she only uses mesinhu di terra. Hospital, she does not go; they are far.

Participants refer a story between a doctor and a curandeiro in Bissau, discussing what sort of medicine it is used in tradicional medicine, whether that is a medicament. Kal mesinhu ki bu fassi? eh fala nah! el tchoma di curan-curam, e ta fassi si, ke ta panhal..

\*Quem é que deveria tomar conta das crianças quando são, ou daquelas crianças que, se fala que não são pekadur?

[J] Na tabanca? Na comunidade? Kil punta, kil ki cuida kil meninu ki si pape u si mame na ta.. por exemplo na tabancas, mmmm... u kel meninu ki no ta padidu kuma ki i ka pekadur. Kuma ki pudi cura di kil meninu? u pape muri, mame muri, ta fala, gos!kem ki deve cuida? kem ki cuida dentro di tabanca?

One participant differentiate between those babies who are pekadur, whose parents died, and those who are not pekadur; on which of them is the question about?

Julio clarifies it is about pekadur children, not those who are born and said not to be pekadur.

First you have to see the djorson. Council of elders sits together and decide over the future of the baby, takes him/her from her, gives to one/other's cares. Garandi decision. Baby stays within family, familia di pape di djorson. Di mame, di mame.

\*E di kil meninus, ki djenti papia, ki ka pekadur?

[J] Não, estamos a falar do qual, outro... quando desapareceu os pais, portanto.. gerason fica, fazem uma reunions, escolhem a familia da mãe, pai também, entregam o filho, pronto, para cuidar com os filhos. Portanto são sempre a familia da mãe. Os pais não fazem parte. Enquanto aqueles que consideramos que não é pessoa, ki ke ta kil la pudi fassi?

es i pekadur? u ka pekadur? kel meninu? el djubi.

[J] Ma kil ki no pudi fassi?

cuida de..

[J] kel ke ta cural eles? Toma cuidado...

Suma esse.. e na fala.. esse li. Cadin. esse fidju ki bota la, esse.. i ka pekadur. e djorson ki ta fala kuma [...] si ka pekadur, ka misti.

Compares these days with ancient times, when belief in those children who are not pekadur was stronger. Babies taken away.

Bu fidju i bu cabesa. te ka na — familia. Te ka na — familia.

e ka na kumer

si ka pekadur.. ne obo. ma, se ka pekadur, i punha ali na — ke ta..

kiser di kel meninu...

si ta nterra, e ta muri. e i ka pudi entra. e na murri. e djubi pa ali... ma outro ka ba bo ki leba, outra cabesa. // they are hit on they had, and therefore they go.// es i pekadur

[J] Mas em quele contexto.. nguenta uma ke si cubre kuta fidju... [...] mete naquele circunstância em que criança é dita pessoas não é pessoa, sempre fica com problema também, independentemente da cerimonia que pode ser feita, mas sempre além de —. Omi garandi, su pessoa tene?

[Bijago lady] amim? nha fidju. I padia dus, padi gémeo. padi gémeo.tiral um so, e bin sta di kil manera. amim, i fica akel, toma kem ki sabe // somebody came and took the other baby, she was left with one onlly to breastfed. // akele faz tris anus i ta bai [...] ka ta pudi sinta. difficulty in eating, do not sit. Akil faz tris anos. um dia so. e fical, na bai bias, fical na badjuda asin fassi kusa pa kume so, el so diante complicason si murri. mmm. tris. anos. el tchomava Emanuel. Emaguel Guil.

Julio asks how is the condition, normality of the other son.

Kel, el is ta diritu, mas akel kusi.. // lady keep stalking on the other son; he had impariments, he could not sit not talk, eating restrictions, would eat liquid foods mostly.

Participant (male) refers of those babies who are considered not pekadur, and taken to bolanha to perform the ceremony (utzu? says I name I could not understand). questions and criticize the ceremony. Aaahhh, ami i ka pekadur. ma abo i mame. Appeals to parents' consciousness of being the parents and procreators of that baby they deem not a person/human.

[J]... é um pessoas, não é um pessoa... mas é um filho. de certo é que haverá sempre a cura com, com a pessoa assim... não é um responsabilidade de entregar isto e entregar no comité, sempre que é cuida...

\*da mae..

[J] até o destino virar. é assim...

es i pa na tio — odja fidju di nha colega... i ta di kil meninu, kuma ki ka pekadur. e toma meninu e bai di kil comunidade, suma la, e bin di ta mame. e pudi papia, kil ki na bin pa i toma kil meninu pa leba —? memo dia ki nha colega ta na ate awos. e tchiga e fala su fidju matcho, el ki parenta ku matcho, e na lanta meninu, na sta la.. [...] pabia kil ka pekadur, kil i ka pekadur pa ali. e passa, e djenti — di kil la meninu di te la bu bin, e bon. e riba ke bai djubi na tal casa e bai outro casa e bai um so.. (unclear ending, very fast)

outro kusa i.. di mesinhu di terra. Mane cuida ku mesinhu. // tells of a child who developed more troubles when about five years old

[J] Mesinhu ki procura novo...?

mesinhu i ka medicina

I leba, e ka pudi. [...] es i pekadur. e mesinhu i — el pega. — fregal. // parents should be sit, talked to; use mesinhu de terra to “wash” the baby. they are babies.

[J] Ele estava a explicar o que lembra-se.. a criança que leva a morrer, é dado duas criancas nessas condições. portanto, por causa de morrer, muitas das vezes, diz que.. em vez de tomar aquela dose de.. mesinhu, sim está, tradicional, portanto, as crianças é nascida essa... a pessoa que é irân porque é errado, estás a ver...

\*Então, tenho so uma ultima pergunta, estamos a acabar. Queria saber qual é a importância de votar nestas eleições, e se acham que regulos e chefes de tabanca vão ter algum paper, e se for, qual no proximo futuro da Guine-Bissau, para ver como andam as coisas, por exemplo melhoria de vida?

[J] I queston ki lansa, i misti punta kal ki balur bu pensa kume tene pa no vota na eleison. se regula bai tene mesmo papel, o pudí pisti djuntu pa leba terra pa bai pa diante. na, na si manera di ver, se no na va vota, bu pensa kuma bu pensa kuma regulo tene mesmo papel, ncumpanha co politicos, para poder aproveitar, ou inda vota e pa sinta e fica mas nada — bater amanha. regulo tene bom papel pa cumpanha politicos, ajudar pa mudansa...

Regulos has a positive role, is close to people and community.

[J] Eles estão a dizer que seria importante para o regulo estar presente, para poder dar a sua opinião, porque o regulo com certeza que vai votar, se vai estar no momento de processo de desenvolvimento do processo a acompanhar o uso, o — e o questionarmos, conforme fazemos com as coisas, com seus colegas... mas como ele não está...

Bijago woman expressed her opinion about regulo, he has specific duties. Sometime she can participate in meetings and politics

[J] A sua opinião é que o regulo de vez em quando pode participar na tomada de — decisões, por exemplo, em.. ou, ser representante dos povos. esta é sua percepções. que nos nao podemos votar no —, ficarmos num abanadas sim que ninguém —. o regulo esta ali para representar os povos.. reportar as preocupações dos povos para a governança, estes os focos principais... [...] Esse ki ten di ser preocupason di regulo e chefe de tabanca, tchiga ter preocupason di su pobo, na di su poder, suma administrason local, ou pudí pedir —

Pepel lady says that regulo should be present for his tabanca, and thoughtful over his people needs; report them to government. Closer authority

\*Mesma coisa tem de fazer os chefes de tabanca?

[J] Mesma coisa..

\*Mas então é importante que cada um...

[J] para regulo é importante cada um não vota, e cada mulher, cada — mas cada um pega um voto. [...] governo ilegítimo que permite.. se tem governo ilegítimo.. [Mosque call covering voices] porque sem um governo legitimo, justo é impossível criar condições para desenvolver a economia



### 3. Fieldwork interviews – 11/12.2020

#### 3.1 Interview with Alsano Negado

Diretor Geral do Poder Local

Ministério da Administração Territorial e Poder Local

Lisbon / Bissau

November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020

Interview sample 5

[C] então, a primeira pergunta é a seguinte: o Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense. É um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. Eu queria saber se concorda com esta definição e quais considera que são as funções do Estado.

[AN] como, como, como? Não percebi.

[C] eu queria saber se concorda com a definição de Estado como a expressão política da nação guineense, órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. E, na sua opinião, quais são as funções que o Estado deveria desempenhar?

[AN] eh... boh, antes de mais eu agradeço a... este espaço que vamos partilhar, porque, para mim, eu acho que é uma partilha, não é? De conhecimento sobre essa matéria. Então, para mim, em relação a esta pergunta, papel de Estado, não é? Foi isso?

[C] exato.

[AN] em relação a...?

[C] no sentido da sua existência. Quais são as funções que o Estado deveria desempenhar? No caso específico o Estado da Guiné-Bissau.

[AN] mmm... em relação a....?

[C] em relação a sua população.

[AN] a-ahmm. Como é de conhecimento de todo mundo que o Estado, ou seja, o papel de Estado é garantir o bem-estar da sua população e... no que concerne a... a própria, como é que se diz, no que concerne a questão da proteção, a questão da educação, saúde, tudo... em termos geral, o Estado da Guiné-Bissau, como Estado democraticamente constituída, quer dizer, deve garantir, no sentido geral, o bem do seu povo em geral, e pronto, permitir que.. Toda a população viva condignamente de acordo com os seus direitos e deveres.

É o papel fundamental de Estado, garantir o bem-estar de seu... o bem social, e económico, do seu povo.

[C] sim. E... acha que se um Estado não conseguir cumprir com estas funções, isto torna-o um Estado ilegítimo?

[AN] boh, eh... se o Estado não consegue cumprir com essa função, eh... boh. Do meu ponto de vista, acho que, a partida, considera-se um Estado fraco. Pois.

[C] então, para garantir mais força, estabilidade, legitimidade e soberania ao Estado é preciso que cumpra alguns deveres perante a população, certo?

[AN] exatamente, certo.

[C] qual a sua avaliação sobre o caráter democrático do Estado da Guiné-Bissau?

[AN] eh... boh. Para mim, o Estado da Guiné-Bissau, é um estado democrático porque as verdades, a expressão... quer dizer que o estado da Guiné-Bissau, como qualquer estado do mundo, boh, considera-se democrático porque já estamos fora de, de, de, do regime de partido único, que na altura era difícil considerar o estado da Guiné-Bissau como democrático. Mas neste tempo estamos a viver atualmente, é um estado que, do meu ponto de vista, eu considero democrático porque tem os valores que permitem a um estado ser democrático. Da liberdade a

qualquer cidadão de exprimir aquilo que sente, de reclamar sobre os seus direitos, e, e... é um espaço onde ouvesse a voz de, dos cidadãos, que pode reclamar, exigindo o estado que cumpra o seu papel no se, no sentido cabal. Portanto, por isso eu considero o estado da Guiné-Bissau como um estado democrático. Pois.

[C] claro. Tendo em consideração o que estava a dizer antes sobre as funções, o papel que o estado de facto desempenha na, para a população, por outro lado, o que é que legitima um partido, os atores políticos a governar? Perante a população. Ou seja, é só por eles ganharem as eleições, é por algo que eles fazem para a população? O que acha? Porque é que a população da..?

[AN] ah... de acordo com a nossa constituição, o que legitima os partidos políticos é o próprio povo. Porque na democracia quem manda é o povo. Portanto, qualquer partido político que não é aceite pelo povo, é porque não tem a legitimidade de dirigir o mesmo povo. Pois.

[C] isso, esta certo, completamente certo. E acha que esta legitimidade e soberania de Estado alcança toda a população da Guiné-Bissau?

[AN] boh... bem, bem, como sabe que o estado da Guiné-Bissau é um estado que ainda esta na fase da construção, não consegue numa forma cabal atingir toda a população. Por isso é que esta a lutar neste momento para constituir, ou seja regular a autoridade tradicional, que vive mais perto da comunidade, conhece mais a comunidade que o próprio estado. Então, como o estado não consegue, desempenhar, ou seja, atingir toda a sua população, esta a pensar no sentido de, eh... constituir o poder tradicional, dar-lhe a legitimidade, para melhor ajudar-lhe a desempenhar a sua função cabal.

[C] o seu trabalho exatamente é nesta área, certo?

[AN] sim, sim.

[C] então, se posso perguntar, como é que este projeto de legitimação do poder tradicional esta a ocorrer?

[AN] boh, neste momento, temos ainda draft do estatuto, que vai regular o, o funcionamento do poder tradicional, que vai balizar todo seu funcionamento, para permitir a própria autoridade desempenhar as suas funções junto da comunidade numa forma mais... consistente, mais regulada para não permitir a desordem que as vezes... ou seja, para que essa autoridade funcione de acordo com o nosso ordenamento jurídico. Por isso, estamos a lutar para que isto possa tornar uma realidade. Porque até esse momento, não... não há nenhum estatuto que regula o poder tradicional. Neste caso, o estado esta a pensar isto para balizar toooooo o funcionamento do poder tradicional, porque achou por bem que é um poder que pode dar mais um... um empurrão ao estado para melhor atingir toda a sua comunidade.

Mas... o estatuto, o estatuto esta em discussão, e ainda não foi aprovado porque falta os requisitos... porque, como sabe, a Guiné-Bissau, é um país de, de... multiétnico. Então, cada comunidade étnica tem a sua forma de resolver os seus problemas, de conduzir os seus destinos, então estamos a ver todas estas particularidades para vermos onde... encontrar ponto de referencia, ou seja, ponto de... convergência para melhor regular o poder tradicional. Que é muito importante, isto é, se acontecer, para, melhor ajudar o Estado a atingir a... toda a comunidade em geral.

[C] se não se importar, poderia comentar alguns dos pontos de conflito neste estatuto, que estão a ser debatidos?

[AN] como sabe, por exemplo... nos temos diferentes etnias na Guiné-Bissau, cada etnia tem, tendo os seus costumes, tem as suas tradições, que as vezes não se coadunam com outras de realidades diferente. Tanto... enta, houve, por exemplo, comunidade onde temos *regulos* por exemplo, há comunidade onde temos, atualmente dizem *comités*, porque, alias chefes de tabanca, porque dantes era comité, na era de partido único. Mas agora o termo mais coreto é chefe de tabanca. Temos ainda lideres de opinião, que são pessoas influentes na comunidade, em termo social, económico, tudo. Portanto, para... por exemplo, se tratarmos da etnia, ou seja, da religião muçulmana, aí vamos encontrar regulos. Mas, noutras etnias, há etnias por exemplo não tem regulo. E essa, nessas etnias a comunidade é dirigida por exemplo por um chefe de tabanca. Que dantes designava-se de comité. Portanto, é um colaborador direto de, de... porque comité era colaborador direto de estado. Junto da comunidade. E hoje é chefe de tabanca. E, como eu estive a dizer há bocado, por exemplo, quando se trata dos regulos, na comunidade muçulmana, o regulo é a *autoridade máxima*, dentro desta comunidade. Ao passo que noutras etnias, por exemplo, cristãos, não tem essa questão de regulo, portanto... tudo isto é que estamos a balizar, chefes de

tabanca, líderes de opinião, chefes religiosos, por exemplo neste caso muçulmano, cristão, e por aí fora, todos, quer dizer, toda, toda... toda essa autoridade tradicional queremos ver onde é que podemos encontrar ponto de convergência entre eles para que não haja conflito mais tarde em termos de funcionamento. Quem é que pode, quem é que vai sobrepor a quem, não queremos que este conflito depois venha a surgir, como acontece sempre, mas queremos encontrar um ponto de convergência para melhor regularmos o poder tradicional no seu todo. Portanto, isto é que, a forma também como resolvem os problemas, por exemplo, conflito entre membros de comunidade. Tanto, para, a comunidade muçulmana, levam para o regulo, como a entidade máxima daquela comunidade e noutras... por exemplo, religiosos, como por exemplo cristãos, levam o problema para, pode ser, um pastor, um padre, e... para os outros levam para.. Chefes de tabanca, e por aí fora. Portanto, todas estas entidades, queremos ver qual pode ser o ponto de convergência entre eles para melhor termos um documento formal que regula o poder tradicional, para não haver aquele conflito de... entre comunidades, não, que tratam, que tem costumes diferentes, costumes e tradições, diferentes. Tanto, este é o ponto focal, a forma como cada comunidade resolve o seu problema. Tanto, tudo isto queremos balizar para encontrarmos uma saída única, para o efeito.

[C] entendi. Então, pelo que entendi, trata-se dum tríplice, ou melhor, dum processo que envolve três lados. Por um lado é encontrar um acordo entre todas as diferentes tradições, e por outro lado é incluir este acordo dentro dos parâmetros do estado.

[AN] exatamente. É isso.

[C] é isso, não é fácil.

[AN] não é fácil, por acaso.

[C] não, imagino que esteja a dar-vos verdadeiramente muito trabalho.

[AN] é muito trabalho mesmo, muito trabalho. Muito trabalho.

[C] neste sentido, diria que neste projeto de reconhecimento, dentro do estatuto, os poderes tradicionais ficariam numa situação de cooperação de estado, ou este projeto visa uma integração deles dentro da estrutura do estado?

[AN] visa mesmo integrar o poder tradicional dentro do poder de estado, mas como um colaborador do estado, que vai facilitar a tarefa do estado, porque o estado, às vezes, não consegue, como disse anteriormente, atingir toda a sua população. Então, envolvendo o poder tradicional, que esta dentro de cada comunidade, aí facilita o estado a acompanhar vida do seu povo em termos geral. Porque eles conhecem melhor a... a atitude de membros da comunidade, sabe o que, como é que eles comportam, como é que costumam gerir conflitos entre eles, então o estado vai ter mais a facilidade, tendo em conta a colaboração do poder tradicional. As vezes o estado faz a justiça, a comunidade não conforma com essa justiça, mas quando for o regulo a convocar a comunidade, a tomar uma posição, é mais fácil a comunidade ceder, concordar com esta justiça, de que com a justiça feita pelo próprio estado diretamente. Por isso é que o envolvimento do poder tradicional vai ajudar muito do desenvolvimento, no avanço, no que diz respeito, na resolução de conflito entre as comunidades.

[C] claro. Neste aspeto, os poderes tradicionais acabariam por se tornarem colaboradores do estado em todas as áreas?

[AN] eh... em todas as áreas, mas sim com limite. Porque, no próprio estatuto, draft que nos estamos a gerir ate neste momento, no que diz respeito a resolução do conflito, há uma limitação do poder tradicional. Por exemplo, crime, já, de sangue, ultrapassa a alçada do poder tradicional, e isto já é da responsabilidade do próprio estado. Tanto, regula, quer dizer, da uma... da uma autorização até certo ponto, mas limita, tendo em conta também que o estado não pode ceder todos os seus poderes não mão de um terceiro em detrimento do seu, da sua própria responsabilidade. Portanto, há limites, que o estado, da liberdade a poder tradicional, mas com limites, acautelando sempre conflitos que podes surgir mais tarde. Portanto, há limites. Por isto está-se a pensar neste projeto que vai ajudar bastante a balizar, as fronteiras entre este poder tradicional e o poder propriamente do estado.

[C] esses limites são postos pelo estado, ou há alguma forma de os poderes tradicionais terem uma associação a reclamar sobre o que eles querem ou não querem consoante esta cooperação? Ou seja, há alguma resistência por parte das autoridades tradicionais?

[AN] as vezes há resistência, mas no sentido positivo, porque... as vezes o estado avança com algo, que as vezes, se pararmos para olharmos ao fundo o.. Sobre costumes e tradições de cada etnia, como eu disse anteriormente, vê-se que, na verdade, s... se formos aplicar rigorosamente, de acordo com, talvez a intenção de estado, vamos ferir a sensibilidade daquela própria comunidade. Portanto, o estado para aí ver como pode regular aquilo partindo de requisitos que vai receber da própria comunidade que conhece muito bem os seus procedimentos internos tradicionais, portanto, o estado esta a tomar esta precaução para não ferir a sensibilidade da própria comunidade.

[C] claro. Há um projeto em que já ouvi falar varias vezes, que é o processo de modernização de estado. O senhor Alsana considera que o processo de reconhecimentos das autoridades tradicionais também é parte deste processo de modernização?

[AN] claramente, porque é algo novo, que vem melhorar o funcionamento do próprio estado, tendo em conta a, o apoio que pode dar ao próprio estado para facilitar a sua tarefa no que diz respeito ao cumprimento daquilo que é a missão dum estado democraticamente constituído.

[C] em termos concretos, quais benefícios acha que isso vai trazer ou produzir para a população?

[AN] boh, quer dizer, beneficio é o seguinte. Primeiro, vai permitir a própria comunidade sentir a presença do estado. Vai permitir o estado acompanhar a preocupação do seu povo, de perto. E, a partir de la, vai gerar uma confiança entre ambas, entre ambos, quer estado assim como a própria comunidade. Portanto, é um beneficio, e também vai facilitar a tarefa do estado. Onde o estado não consegue chegar, a partir daquele braço que abriu a, através de autoridade tradicional, vai conseguir resolver o problema da sua... do seu povo. Não digo assim, na totalidade, mas 70 e tal por cento, vai estar na... sua alcance. Através de aquele poder tradicional. Por isso, é um beneficio tao grande que nem posso descrever aqui neste poucos minutos de entrevista que podemos ter.

[C] já dá alguma ideia. A primeira coisa que me vem à cabeça pensando nisso, é que também vai criar uma maior coesa no povo, não é?

[AN] é, é. Pois.

[C] o que estava a dizer antes, é que o estado também recorre ao poder tradicional, que esta enraizado na comunidade. Por um lado, esta é uma questão em que estava a refletir, é que o poder tradicional, não aparenta sofrer crises como os governos do estado. Porque é que isso acontece na sua opinião?

[AN] muito bem, é simples. Razão, por que isso acontece, é a seguinte. Eh... dantes... não havia eh.. Esse conflito. Mas atualmente vê-se muito conflito entre poderes tradicionais. Porquê? Por causa da influencia politica. Isso é que processa crise as autoridade tradicionais. Porquê? Porque hoje em dia qualquer político que vai

[...]

[AN] como estava a dizer, o que trouxe esta crise... dentro da autoridade tradicional, tem a ver com a influencia politica. Qualquer politico que vai ao terreno, primeiro procura identificar os regulos, os chefes de tabanca, lideres de opinião, por aí fora. Então, e esse encontro de um políticos, sobretudo no momento da campanha, com estes lideres do poder tradicional, acarreta alguma coisa de beneficio, por exemplo, quando você quer que um regulo vem para o seu partido, ou então mobiliza a sua comunidade para votar no seu partido, você tem de fazer algo para esse regulo. Então, isto passou a influenciar a atitude, ou seja, a corrida para... para os poderes tradicionais, neste caso, todo mundo quer ser regulo, todo mundo quer ser chefe de tabanca, todo mundo quer ser líder de opinião, para que... possa ser contactado por um politico e, em proveito, ganhar alguma coisa. Em contrapartida. Portanto, isto é que esta a influenciar o poder tradicional neste momento, que trouxe todo este conflito, sobretudo na questão de sucessão dos regulos, sei la, se desaparecer fisicamente o regulo, quem é que vem a seguir, e assim sucessivamente. Quer dizer, houve uma.. Corrida... muito, muito, muito feroz em relação a essa, a esse beneficio de poder, contactar diretamente com políticos, que, dentro daquele contacto, alguma coisa ganha-se em termos económicos. Portanto, isto é que esta a complicar o poder tradicional, porque, dantes.. Tudu, toda a comunidade ouvia o regulo, havia aquele respeito, ninguém desafiava os regulos, chefes de tabanca, era um autoridade suprema, dentro da comunidade. Mas tendo em conta esta influencia politica, como eu disse há bocado, isso é que esta a complicar agora, ate que eles não estão a respeitar aquela linha, de, de, de... tradição. Por exemplo, dantes, dizia-se assim que quando, desaparecer um regulo, ou, se houver um impedimento por parte dum regulo, deve ser substituído pelo mais velho. Sucendidamente. Mas hoje não se verifica. Porque todo mundo quer ser regulo para

poder beneficiar daquele.. T tirar aquele proveito político, dos políticos. Portanto, isto é que esta a complicar mais o poder tradicional neste momento.

[C] entendi. Então, basicamente, é o sistema da influencia politica que até esta a alterar a tradição?

[AN] exatamente.

[C] e esta quase a criar e a extravar com a instabilidade em todo lado.

[AN] pois, pois. Por isso houve muitos problemas em termos de sucessão de regulos.. Todo mundo quer ser regulo.

[C] e isso, em termos gerais, não é algo que esta a acontecer...

[AN] em termo geral mesmo. Em muitas localidades na Guiné-Bissau neste momento temos este problema dos... de sucessão dos regulos. Em Quinhamel, região de Biombo, como em Coacer, região de Bafata, e noutras localidades, é o mesmo problema que esta a acontecer. Mas tudo, devido a influencia politica, como eu disse.

[C] senão, por si, se fossemos seguir os mandamentos da tradição, isso não iria acontecer.

[AN] exatamente. Isto, estes conflitos não se verificava dantes, quando... porque dantes seguia-se estritamente as orientações tradicionais. Por exemplo, se, se, se desaparecer um regulo, vem o mais velho, assim sucessivamente. Portanto, não, não havia esse conflito de... posse do regulado, e assim, por aí fora. Mas hoje, há, porque já não respeitam aquela linha tradicional, por causa da politica. Exato.

[C] que criou outras formas de corrida politica, literalmente.

[AN] pois. Sim, sim.

[C] uma questão que lhe queria perguntar é se considera que os poderes tradicionais tem um carater democrático.

[AN] sim.

[C] é uma pergunta que me surgiu porque esta a falar na questão do estatuto, do reconhecimento e da cooperação com os poderes tradicionais, e como sabemos, o estado da Guiné-Bissau, como confirmou, alias, no começo da entrevista, o estado da Guiné-Bissau é um estado democrático, portanto instaurando-se esta cooperação surge este quesito se também os poderes tradicionais tem esse carater, se é algo em adoção, se são dois tipos de democracias que estão aqui a dialogar, ou...? Pronto, agora aguardo pela sua resposta.

[AN] para mim o poder tradicional também considera-se democrático porque é a própria comunidade que decide. Quer dizer que, tudo que esta a ser feito, a comunidade é que decide. Atualmente, para ser, por exemplo, para liderar a comunidade, se mesmos membros da comunidade não concordar, é difícil. Até chefe, por exemplo, estes líderes de opinião, a comunidade é que reconhece uma pessoa como tal. Pelo contrário, não pode ser. Exatamente, por isso, eu vejo a democracia dentro da atuação da própria autoridade tradicional.

[C] claro. Então, em outras palavras, isso queria dizer que no poder tradicional há uma forma de chegar sempre a um consenso para se poder governar, certo?

[AN] exatamente.

[C] em termos hipotéticos, acha que esta forma de democracia também se poderia aplicar ao estado?

[AN] se...?

[C] se esta mesma forma de democracia, chamamos-lhe mais comunitária, talvez, poderia ser aplicada no estado também?

[AN] sim, pode. Porque... isto é que vai facilitar a governação, mesmo. Porque, quando quando, não há... quando não esta expressa a vontade da maioria, sempre traz conflito. Mas se a maioria concordar, isso já facilita a tarefa daqueles que estão a frente, e da mais a possibilidade de eles governarem com mias... mais, como posso dizer... mais a vontade, porque vão sentir-se... aceites, não é, pela comunidade... isso da vontade de fazer algo sem no entanto pensar numa coisa contrario daquilo que possa trazer o desenvolvimento. Portanto, é a melhor forma, não é, de viver é contar com, com a vontade da maioria. Portanto deve ser a forma, de o Estado deve conduzir o destino do seu povo.

[C] claro, claro, totalmente de acordo. Agora tenho mais mais uma perguntas, sempre em relação ao poder tradicional. Uma das questões que me surgiu a cabeça quando estava a falar em tentar balizar conflitos e formas

diferentes de resolver conflitos, que como sabemos, entre.. Há zonas, onde há praticas consideradas nefastas ou lesivas dos chamados direitos humanos, que ainda são... não são punidas. Entre estes, ei teria mais interesse, se não se importar em falar, no caso das chamadas criança-irân.

[AN] mm, mmm

[C] eu queria saber qual a sua opinião, o seu conhecimento, em relação ao posicionamento das autoridades tradicionais, perante este fenómeno.

[AN] isto é que... para mim ate agora, esta a constituir um problema, entre a autoridade tradicional e o próprio estado. Porque

[...]

[AN] como estava a dizer, há ali um braço de ferro, entre o estado e a própria autoridade tradicional. Porque, do lado do estado, de acordo com o nosso ordenamento jurídico, é crime, é considerado crime esta pratica de considerar que uma criança é... é um... é irân, não é?, na nossa linguagem. E as vezes, chegam ate o ponto de levar a criança para um sitio, *deitar*, assim, para depois morrer e por aí fora. Mas, a autoridade..

[C] desculpe interrompê-lo, mas acha que esta pratica... assim, alem da crença, já que sabemos que a crença é algo que em geral a população conhece. Mas acha que a pratica é algo que ainda é endémico em todas as regiões do país?

[AN] não. Atualmente, acontece, mas é difícil. É a mesma coisa com a questão da excisão, que agora, quer dizer, declaram que já vão por ponto final nesta pratica, mas fazem a escondida ainda. Porque até hoje, mesmo no contacto direto com a comunidade, vê-se a ideia que este fenómeno ainda persiste ate neste momento em que estamos a viver. Mas tendo em conta a luta do estado para acabar com este fenómeno, por isso esta a diminuir cada vez. Também, a questão da educação esta a ajudar bastante na diminuição deste fenómeno. Mas ate data presente, ainda, há comunidade que pensam que aquilo v uma realidade de acordo com a tradição deles. Portanto, é uma luta entre o estado e a autoridade tradicional, mas que esta a diminuir drasticamente, em sentido positivo. Acho que daqui a mais 5, 10 anos, isto vai, vai estar fora da questão.

[C] para si, então. As autoridades tradicionais estão... talvez não legitimem, tao abertamente a pratica, mas deixam isso acontecer, tem alguma tolerância.

[AN] sim, ainda tem alguma tolerância, tendo em contra o preconceito que já tinham sobre este fenómeno. Por isso, quer dizer, não declaram assim, publico, ou seja, publicamente de concordar, mas de certa maneira dão liberdade secretamente para que esta pratica tenha lugar. Mas esse esta, esta já a diminuir drasticamente também tendo em conta a sensibilização também por parte do estado, agora há escolas quase em toda parte, portanto isso, esta a ajudar bastante a diminuição dessa pratica.

[C] e o posicionamento do estado, é bastante forte, no sentido de denunciar esta pratica?

[AN] exatamente. Exatamente, exatamente. O estado como já esta a ter o poder tradicional, ao, ao lado esta a ganhar forca cada vez mais no combate sobre esta pratica.

[C] portanto, este é um dos obstáculos, de facto, a realização e concretização deste estatuto para se encontrar algum ponto de entendimento.

[AN] ate esta questão... esta fora de questão. Porque quase toda a comunidade já tem na consciência que não é uma boa pratica. Porque... ate... já não me lembro, parece que há uma associação que defende esse caso de, de, de criança de irân, só que não estou a recordar o nome, mas isso já, já... quase toda comunidade já tem isso, só que... há alguns elementos dentro da comunidade que estão ainda apegados a questão da tradição é que as vezes persistem com esta pratica, mas daqui há 5-10 anos acho que aquilo vai estar da questão, definitivamente na Guiné-Bissau, tendo em conta os trabalhos que estão a ser feito, sensibilização sobretudo, a, a diferentes comunidades sobre esta pratica.

### 3.2 Interview with Ana Muscuta Turé

Vice-president of FAPD-GB

Non-structured interview

Lisbon/ Bissau

December 24<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Interview sample 7 (NGOs)

[AM] a nível de poder político, o que nos temos aqui, eu estou muito a vontade a falar nisso, porque desde 2009 tenho estado a trabalhar com federação das associações de defesa e promoção de direitos de pessoas deficientes. então, o nosso trabalho esta em três níveis. primeiro nível é trabalhar em nível macro com as autoridades nacionais, sobretudo em relação as legislações existentes. e felizmente conseguimos fazer um estudo sobre as legislações existentes sobre condições de vida das pessoas com deficiências na Guiné-Bissau. constatou que não existe.. tudo que nos temos são aquelas medidas avulsas, que fala de igualdade de direitos da população, não tem nada especifico que referencia a pessoa com deficiência. então, esse estudo, existe, este estudo... e realmente não há nada a nível nacional, que diz que, que relata diretamente [...] as pessoas com deficiências. então, [...] estamos a trabalhar mais com as autoridades, para ver, em termos de políticas publicas, o que é que se podia fazer. depois, temos estado — com as autoridades, conseguimos a ratificação da convenção das UN sobre, a declaração sobre direitos de pessoas com deficiências. a convenção foi ratificada em 2014, em setembro de 2014, mas mesmo já em 2016, a Guiné-Bissau tinha apresentado relatório... relatório sobre seguimento, acompanhamento desta convenção. ate a data presente a Guiné-Bissau, nem constitui um comité que vai monitorizar essa, essa convenção. ate a data presente, temos... nenhum relatório. isto já demonstra que o próprio estado não esta engajado. e, ao lado disso, não há nada. vários estudos nos fizemos, tentamos.. desde que estamos a trabalhar juntos do ministério de educação, estamos ver — uma extensão pelo menos para pessoas com deficiência pelo menos a nível nacional. isso, também, desde que começamos, já, há 3-4 anos letivo, era sempre um despacho temporal, não é, um despacho só para aquele ano letivo.

agora, o ano passado, conseguimos um despacho já, não, veda ao ano letivo, um espaço mais aberto, e que pode trabalhar com ele ate hoje. mas ele já vai porque a Guiné-Bissau tem primeiro, segundo e terceiro ciclo. o 1o ciclo vai ate 4 ano, depois o 2o ate 9o ano, [...] então, finalmente conseguimos este despacho que realmente esta, a retribuir e agilizar em termos de orçamento, na formação assim como na escolarização das pessoas com deficiência. o que... porque não temos estes dados certos, mas o que nos temos é que realmente não chegam 5% das pessoas com deficiência tem alguma escolaridade. neh. quando digo escolaridade pelo menos ate 4a classe. maioria das pessoas não escolarizadas, por isso o nosso foco realmente era trabalhar junto das autoridades para que possam incentivar e motivar mais assuntos de docência, no processo de —

em termos de saúde, também. praticamente nada. estamos ate hoje... a estratégia... temos estratégia nacional para inclusão de pessoa com deficiência, na sociedade, ate hoje, aquela estratégia, foi incluída em 2018, foi entregue a, a... ao Ministério da Solidariedade, que é o ministério que tutela assoes sociais, mas também ate hoje, não esta aprovada. o próprio ministério também tem um draft, também não aprovou,... ate pouco tempo, a Federação tentou próprio a criação dum comité que vai monitorizar, um comité interministerial, que teria a função de monitorizar, as políticas publicas de cada setor de desenvolvimento de governo, mas mesmo assim, ate hoje, aquilo não esta aprovado. quer dizer, o próprio estado [...] não há sensibilização, de estado... inclusive, um sensibilização de estado para que realmente começamos a pensar em adotar medidas, que incluam e tenham em conta realmente as pessoas com deficiências.

um — que nos conseguimos no ano passado — porque aqui o sistema também, de seguro social é muito complicado. o instituto nacional de segurança social... atribui pensão a quem descontou. ao par disso, há — uma pequena coda— que era, para assim dizer, assim para ter uma ideia, 10 euros... deixa fazer bem as contas 15.000[FCA], sim 10euros, para cada três meses. ou seja, para cinco mês, davam, uma pessoa com deficiência, que não trabalha, não faz nada, uma especial de pensão de, em cada três meses, uma pessoa recebia 15 euros... que correspondia a 5euros por mês. agora, com vários luta, com varias lutas, com varias lutas, agora já conseguimos que esse em vez de ser, 10, 15 mês.. 15 euros em três meses agora esta a ser 15 euros mensais.

15.000CFA por mês. mas nem isso também todos que recebem, porque a maioria não trabalha, não temos... algum % da população com deficiência, porque a Guiné-Bissau fez um recenseamento geral da população em 2009. e em 2009 chegou-se a conclusão que cerca de 1500 pessoa, que então 1.500.000 populason geral, 3090 eram pessoas com deficiências.

[C] quantas?

[AM] pronto... 15.590, e 590 pessoas eram — com algum tipo de deficiência. na maioria vive aqui no capital, Bissau. então, o trabalho realmente, respondendo à questão, só para ver, e também tinha dito que nos trabalhamos a dois níveis, mas não só, nos, a três níveis. trabalhamos com estado, as políticas publicas, com as famílias e trabalhamos propriamente e diretamente com pessoa com deficiência. por causa de estigma, aquelas questões, não é, estigma, preconceito, falta de autoestima, tudo isso... exato. e as barreiras também, e pronto, a Guiné-Bissau, também olha... a parte isso, ainda falando de estado, nos temos muitas barreiras físicas, questões de sensibilidade, pronto, tem muita, muuuuuta coisa para trabalhar diretamente com o governo. só que o, o que nos... o que nos, e eu também,... realmente [...] porque a instabilidade, nos que lutamos, é... trabalhar com um ministro. um tem sensibilidade na área, noutra — as vezes, que nunca falou, nunca fez nada sobre — e quando chega, nos ate — começamos a conversar, para ver se entende, se começa a aperceber, — se a pessoa já não estará, não é, a instabilidade aqui é... muito grande. ainda não temos ministro há mais de 2 anos no ministério, sobretudo neste ministério da mulher, família e solidariedade social, às vezes, como estou a dizer, as vezes é proteção social, agora é solidariedade social, agora é ministério de mulher, família e solidariedade social. em, o, no governo que foi... o governo do ano passado, era da coesão social. eeeh... estamos assim. mas do resto, estamos a trabalhar.

e com a família, também temos grande trabalho. realmente, a família é um grande, estrangulador.. de pessoa com deficiência, porque realmente — da própria família trabalha na fusão, da — membro — deficiência. essa pessoa não é tida na família, é uma pessoa que é discriminada, literalmente, e que... tem muito conceitos... [...] as pessoas com deficiência são realmente... o primeiro sofrimento é no seio da sua família. a família que — medos, preconceitos, a dizer... primeiro, primeiro grande guerra é se vão sobreviver. porque a família mata. tira a vida porque não é um ser natural, normal, não é, não é uma pessoa humana, porque são espíritos ancestrais que tem que voltar as suas origens. ou porque é irân, ou porque é uma cobra. depois tens aqueles praticantes de praticas nefastas, nefastas, que nos aqui chamamos de feiticeiros, que também contribuem na execução destas praticas, não é. porque... os que nascem com deficiência, múltipla ou intelectual... múltipla ou intelectual, ou com síndrome de Dawn, aqui temos muito pouco essas pessoas, são pessoas que facilmente, pronto, pessoa com características própria, e dizem que não é um ser humano e tem de voltar as suas origens. e juntamente com estes feiticeiros... arranjam, fazem aqueles rituais, muitas vezes levam naquelas, nas termites, bagabaga, não é, e fazem ação de algumas praticas nefastas e dizem que essa pessoa, essa essa, essa criança com deficiência voltou a pôr... então levam ao mar, a beira do mar, poem um ovo, farinha, fazem toda aquela cerimonia, depois, depois... aquele voltou a sua origem. senão, senão há uma situação em que, metem uma pessoa num quarto, fechado, bem estreito, — dois metros, fechada, sem janela, sem —, sem nada, nada. senão, é porque voltou, não é. quer dizer... mas se de todo passar esta barreira e não for morta, mesmo assim na família fica quase desenquadrada, não é. porque é uma pessoa que não — alguns não podem ver esta pessoa, fica isolado em uma parte de casa, dão-lhe comida quando acha que come devem dar a comida, porque todo mundo tem medo desta cobra, senão.. esta pessoa pode contribuir para a morte de outra pessoas. pode levar a morte dos pais, e avos, e criam esta situações... muitas das vezes a pessoa nem é educada — pelo pais, não é, geralmente é educada pelos avos

[...]

e realmente, não é uma pessoa que sempre vai ser... pronto, nos estamos aqui, já somos pobre, porque tu nasceste no nosso meio, — que és espirito mau, então essa pessoa, pronto, nem registo tem, não lhe dão nome, para deixar a pessoa ir à rua, estar com outra criança, não, tem que estar isolada, e também o que acontece é que... por isso é que esta pessoa não fala. ela não estuda. não estuda, não vai à escola, não... em termos de tratamento medico para, para a sia situação, as vezes é complicado. e tudo isso são ideias construídas, — para a sociedade, não é. umas famílias vivem com quem, tem medo e sociedade também reage quase da mesma forma que a família. porque a própria sociedade ainda tem alguns, mendigos, porque tem muitos na rua a pedir esmola e cria la uma resistência de preconceito [...] quando vai encontro a — e tudo isso, não é. e isso leva a questão de autoestima, a pessoa com deficiência também não se esforçam. se se esforçarem — aquelas barreiras, não é. muitas das vezes, quando vão descobrir, ate muito tardiamente, e ficam independente uma vez por toda, e muitas das vezes também



são violadas e maioria tem medos, e ficam assim desamparados, desenquadrados, andam todos os dias quilómetros e quilómetros e depois voltam para casa...

[C] e no estado, há registo desta pratica de infanticídio, ou não?

[AM] eh... o Código penal, o Código penal... sim, o estado somos todos nós. quem entra para o estado sabe, a maioria sabem disso. por vezes são praticas escondidas, não é, não são praticas abertas. isso ocorre de fato dentro da família, no local... pronto, muitas das vezes, a justiça sabe, mas depois para confirmar torna-se difícil, porque nem conhecem aquele feiticeiro, sobre aquele poder natural que fez aquilo. o estado... porque na lei, o que diz. a lei diz que se não completar 30 dias. isso acontece aqui é dois anos, um ano, ou até 3 nos estas praticas acontecem. e as vezes as pessoas estão em casa e depois morreu. morreu.. não é alimentada, fica lá assim, e... tudo isso, não é. e há aquelas praticas que também se fazem em casa, dão esses venenos que se comprova... vão dando essa — e alguma coisa, até que essa pessoa morre não é. então... muitas das vezes, comprovar torna-se difícil, ter provas sobre isso torna-se difícil.

[C] pois, as pessoas também não denunciam de facto, não reportam isso a policia, ou...?

[AM] há dois anos atrás, houve um caso, um vizinho fez queixa... e pronto, depois, a policia que é que fez... nunca mais não se, não tem seguimento, e aquilo ficou assim. nos ainda tentamos ver, uma criança de dois anos de —, e em 2018 também tivemos um mesmo caso, no, estado não colaborou e ficou assim. o mas, em 2018 foram dois casos: um com uma criança de 3 anos e outro com uma criança de 14.

[C] de 14 anos?

[AM] é. sim, 14 anos, porque ficou doente, como é uma pessoa com deficiência, e ficou assim... até... foram avisar-nos. quando chegamos, já tinha morrido, um dia ou dois já, e depois foi que alguém falou para nos irmos lá, mas ninguém — ah! adoeceu, adoeceu. adoeceu. adoeceu. mas que nos contou é que adoeceu sim, mas só por — de atenção da família, que uma pessoa com deficiência, que ficou lá isolado, até, até ter a morte.

[C] pois, é uma situação de total descuido, e falta de cuidados, torna-se muito complicado para a sobrevivência da pessoa.

[AM] exatamente. agora, o que nos estamos a fazer é fazer mesmo estudos sobre infanticídio na Guiné-Bissau. porque, não fazemos um estudo — talvez estamos a adiar. estamos a precisar fazer um estudo para comprovar estes dados e estas informações, não é. e trabalhar, continuar, o trabalho junto do estado, para também. e a lei penal tem que ser — para que as pessoas que - cumpram sejam penalizada. que haja mesmo uma lei contra a pratica de infanticídio. como temos a lei sobre a praticas nefasta, só que a pratica nefasta não re- ao infanticídio. mas... é isso. que agora a luta é realmente ter uma lei, que vai proibir a pratica de infanticídio.

[C] no geral, acha que no estado há vontade de tomar posicionamento contra esta pratica ou é ainda, permanece um assunto muito tabu mesmo nas politicas publicas?

[AM] ainda, ainda continua sendo um pouco. porque quando não há reaca, quando não se fala... porque, até para intimidar as pessoas que praticam, tem de ter já falado a partir do estado, não é. parece que o estado ainda não decretou para optar... falar sobre esta temática. ou porque tem um governo também ainda com, não muito sensibilizado,... parece que as pessoas quando conversamos, pronto... reagem, assim, mas depois na pratica, não continuam. [...] talvez,

[...]

se conseguirmos realizar esse tudo [...] vamos continuar sobre isso.

[...]

porque, eu considerava que o estado esta a tomar diligente, se esta, esta a falar, a lançar assim alguma palavra, para co.. intimidar as pessoas que, que praticam essa, esta ato, mas neste momento ainda não. ainda, o que nos realmente estamos a ver é que é só — para con-, para que realmente é uma pratica, e para que as pessoas — e o estado sobretudo assumir isto, para que haja uma lei, que vai proibir esta pratica.

[C] de facto, se elimine este véu de silencio, e que a pratica seja denunciada abertamente.

[AM] sim. ainda é um grande tabu, ainda é um grande tabu. tens... função de aquele família, aquele vizinhança... e as vezes a própria vizinhança, sociedade é que encoraja, encoraja os pais a fazer esta pratica. é uma mais coisa

ainda mais no seio da família, uma coisa mais restrita, por isso.... e mais, mais pessoas conhecem, e como a própria sociedade esta convencida que aqui aquela, aquele, aquela criança não é ser humano, não é dos seres, e as pessoas estão convencidas, tem que.... tem... tem que praticar o ato, não é. tem que eliminar a vida, porque realmente... não, nem entre a comunidade vão — a coisa porque vai trazer miséria, fome, para aquela sociedade. isso ainda porque há [...]

[C] há diferenças entre as diferentes regiões do país?

[AM] tem, sim, diferenças... nos, a etnicidade cultural que nos temos, também não ajuda. eu agora não quero particularizar as etnias, mas assim, no sentido geral, tem muita diferença por etnia. mas isso, acontece, porque a Guiné-Bissau tem cerca de 20 e tais etnias, porque algumas já estão [...] umas vinte e tal etnias ainda fortes, e havia aquele complexo de uma etnia não pode casar com outra etnia, e quando acontece isso, muitas vezes isso também leva a comparação, porque dizem que não, aquele, a criança que nasceu vem da parte daquela etnia por causa dessa etnia. porque a mãe é daquela parte. ou então, é porque, é porque o pai pertence aquela etnia, é porque... há sempre esta divergência gritante no meio dum casal porque, porque nasceu um, uma criança com alguma deficiência. ainda é um grande... problema. e por sendo, há etnia que realmente quando nasce uma criança, uma pessoa com deficiência, nem, nem pergunta, literalmente não pensa que é criança. temos zonas geográficas do país...o país tem... alem de SAB, onde esta a cidade capital, temos oito regiões, não é. e cada region tem a — porque tem aquele etnia, maioria, etnia que habita essa, essa... por isso, cada region tem — própria, tem os seus modos próprios de vida. realmente, isso... pronto, isso, depois o resto depende do mito que se vai criando em relação aquele, aquele certos — e alem disso, ate as pessoas, tem alguma cultura geral da Guiné-Bissau. porque quase maioria, maioria, ate as pessoa nos podemos dizer pouco mais civilizadas que conviveram com outra cultura, ainda acham realmente que aquele ser que nasceu não é ser humano, não é um ser digno que deve continuar em vida, não é. por isso.... complicado, infanticídio na Guiné-Bissau. ainda é muito complicado, mesmo. — tem medo, vários medos que — a volta disso. mesmo conviver com uma pessoa que tem deficiência ainda é muito difícil, porque não é bem aceite na sua família. ainda é muito complicado.

[C] e como é que os poderes tradicionais e religiosos se posicionam perante o infanticídio e a pessoa com deficiência?

[AM] [...] é tabu. porque tao pouco dizem naquela comunidade [...] mesmo falando com a entidade que é... eles é invocam estas praticas nefastas, essa pratica de infanticídio na vida das pessoa, porque próprio autoridades tradicionais vivem muito... como é que é, o animismo, não é? estas.. animistas acreditam que não nos poderes sobrenaturais que vieram de Deus e que quando vão falar coisas dele, deste, eles dizem sempre que não, aquele ser que nasceu la, não. não pode continuar aqui na sua familiares. se continuar, tu —, tu vai ser podre, tu não vai ter vida, tu mesmo, a tua família vai ter não sei o que, vais perder o teu poder... tem muita mistura. é muita mistura disso. e as pessoas acreditam, acreditam tudo isso, de modo que quebrar, desconstruir o mito, é acho que é aí que esta o grande problema para acabar com o infanticídio. é um grande mito construído em volta disso. e o Islão, alias o Islão, não, as pessoas, a volta da religião, sobretudo a volta da religião muçulmana, vão no mesmo — vai no mesmo —. agora, já, contra a igreja católica, —, sim estão a contribuir, ajudam, tem alguma deficiência, vão trabalhando...já, pronto. é diferente. mas mesmo o poder tradicional, ali é que esta o grande problema. poder tradicional.

[C] vocês também, na associação, trabalham com o poder tradicional?

[AM] sim.

[C] de forma a fazer campanhas de sensibilização, ou...?

[AM] trabalhamos com poder tradicional, trabalhamos com poder religioso, trabalhamos com pessoas influentes da comunidade e trabalhamos com a própria família, não é, na sensibilização, na educação, não é, fazemos esse trabalho de avogacia, de... e direitos cívicos das pessoas, sobretudo direito a educação, a saúde, a proteção, a sensibilidade... pronto. trabalhamos sempre. trabalhamos é com nosso, —. e quando trabalhamos com a família, vai sempre poder religiosos. depois também temos aquele trabalho com as autoridades, — normalmente não fazemos nada sem o poder tradicional.

[C] normalmente o poder tradicional, da quase um avale a realização do infanticídio.

[AM] sim, quase.

[C] e as pessoas costumam dar ouvido a o que eles falam, ao poder tradicional.

[AM] sim, da. da muito ouvido, da muito ouvido. e por isso, o grande problema do infanticídio esta mesmo na mão do poder tradicional. porque [...] tem sempre, trabalha em sintonia com aquele papel — aquela pessoa que tem poder na comunidade, para fazer esta pratica. e para fazer esta pratica, o poder tradicional tem conhecimento.

[C] acha que há possibilidade de o estado e o poder tradicional cooperarem mais nessa área, juntamente com o esforço que a Federação esta a fazer?

[AM] sim. o, importante aqui, é que o próprio poder tradicional seja sensibilizado. se o poder tradicional é sensibilizado, as coisas começam a ter outros contornos. começa a ter outros contornos. tem de começar com sensibilização, porque sem isso.... alias, esta sensibilização é — que sejam, que o poder tradicional torna um pouco mais sensível agora, perceber, entender tudo isso, não é. mas.. ainda há um grande trabalho para fazer, não é. porque são mudanças. e mudança não é fácil. e — muito mito misturado, então torna muito complicado. muito complicado. porque poder tradicional, como maioria trabalha com animismo, acredita em tudo quando é tradição, em tudo quando ehehe a sociedade civilizada recusa, eles aceitam. ainda é um...

[C] pois, ainda é um obstáculo para se enfrentar.

[AM] exatamente. para essa pratica e par — de pessoa com deficiência, na vida social, é muito complicado então.

[...]

[C] nos últimos cinco anos, em quais áreas é que tiveram maiores resultados? foi na área macro ou micro, entre as famílias, nas pessoas portadores de deficiência?

[AM] a nível macro, a nível macro. porque conseguimos ratificar a convencer, conseguimos elaborar a estratégia nacional de pessoas com deficiência. também conseguimos, conseguimos elaborar uma lei sobre, uma lei de base sobre pessoas com deficiências. depois fizemos uns 3-4 estudos. fizemos estudo sobre educação, sobre saúde, estudo sobre violência, não violência, como é que é, violência na criança. fizemos em termos macro, apesar de depois ficarmos encravados por, todos aqueles pacotes não avançou, não... como é que é? não foram... validado. não foram validados. não foram aprovados, porque não foram aprovados. estratégia tinha que ser aprovada em conselho de ministros e a lei de base tinha que — nos conselho de ministro e a seguir para assembleia, porque é uma proposta de lei. também, ate hoje, estamos a volta disso. depois, de 2015 ate 2016, mas ainda ate 2018 conseguimos a trabalhar muito com família e depois com pessoa com deficiência. mas depois de 2018 para ca como não tivemos um projeto diretamente direcionado a estes questões, quase que não fizemos muita coisa. não fizemos, trabalhamos mais no macro, se contarmos nos últimos cinco anos para ca.

### 3.3 Interview with Fatumata Djau Baldé

Former PAIGC governments ministry and president of the Comité para a abolição das praticas tradicionais nefastas

Lisbon

December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020

Interview sample 5 / 7

[C] eu tenho uma definição de estado guineense, que é um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. queria saber se concordas com esta definição e quais achas que são as funções do Estado e das suas instituições.

[F] a definição que deste, legítimo...

[C] legítimo, soberano e democrático

[[F]... soberano e democrático, eu penso que se enquadra na definição dum, dum estado. agora, as funções... uma das primeiras responsabilidades dum estado é velar.. para, é velar pelo respeito, a dignidade da pessoa humana. para que, para existirmos enquanto estado, temos que ter pessoas! se não velarmos pela dignidade, pela integridade daquelas pessoas, como é que eles podem nascer, crescer, ser homem, com formação, para depois começar a dar o conhecimento... não existe o estado! então, o estado tem que falar pelo desenvolvimento, da integridade e pela defesa e proteção dos próprios seres humanos. ok... entre varias outras responsabilidades, o proteger, o ser humano, permitindo que ele tenha direito a vida, viver num ambiente propicio, como eu disse, que lhe permita crescer, desenvolver, ter conhecimento, poder dar formação é uma das grandes responsabilidades que o próprio estado tem. outra das responsabilidades é, havendo estas pessoas, criar condições para que... para que, para poder desenvolver, crescer, ter formação, ter.. tem que ter hospital. tem que, tem que ter os serviços de base. que são a saúde, que são a educação. que... não, não devem faltar em nenhum estado. e devem ser gratuitos, de acessibilidade obrigatória. o estado, ente, tem que ir ao hospital e tem que, deve ter la um medico, para lhe atender e ter assistência medicamentosa. porque a questão da saúde... o problema da saúde pode ser, pode ser uma coisa que se transmite publicamente ao ar e se não for tratado vai se transmitindo a outras pessoas. então ai... é, é, é o estado, é a população pertencente aquele estado, é que vai ficar doente. por isso é que se esta a preocupar neste momento com o COVID! estas a ver por isso. é responsabilidade de estado. porque é que todo o mundo esta a queixar que os hospitais não chegam, que não há médicos, que não há vacina, que não há que... porque, esse é responsabilidade de estado! a de garantir os serviços básicos, saúde, educação. quando se tem a garantia de saúde e tem a garantia de educação, depois dai vamos passar para outro passo, aí eu tenho a saúde, tenho a formação, estudei, tenho a formação, tenho tudo, e não tenho trabalho? então, eu vou exigir que o estado crie condições para que as pessoas trabalhem, se bem já há condições de trabalho, de criar condições pode ser partilhada, porque eu individualmente, tendo a minha formação também posso montar uma empresa privada. o estado tem responsabilidade sim, mas eu enquanto ser humano, já com minha formação, posso montar algo privado. por isso é que também existem varias empresas e outros também que dão emprego, para permitir, obviamente, as pessoas trabalharem e neste trabalho é que vamos desenvolvendo o país. e, a partir dai é que as pessoas vão ter também as condições de viverem. quando eu trabalho, é que tenho um rendimento, que me vai permitir alugar uma casa, que me vai permitir ter alimentação, pôr meu filho na escola, ir ao hospital e tudo mais... mas, sem isso... mas, sem isso, o próprio antes disso, na responsabilidade do estado de proteger, de garantir o desenvolvimento dos seres humanos, aí tem, as pessoas têm direito a habitação. quem não esta em condições ela mesmo de conseguir uma casa para pagar a renda, para viver ela mesmo com a família, e outro, o estado deve estar e condições de poder fornecer alojamento a esta pessoa. por isso também, de serviços de habitação e outros que tem, para poderem apoiar pessoas com dificuldades neste domínio.

eu gosto de dar exemplos da responsabilidade do estado no trabalho que eu faco. eu trabalho... no combate as tradições que são nefastas. nos sobretudo, africanos, temos muitas culturas, muitas tradições, que sustentam o nosso dia a dia. mas o estado tem responsabilidade de conhecer aquelas tradições, analisá-las e ver o que é positivo daquela tradição e o que é negativo. o que é positivo, ate o estado pode contribuir, através do desenvolvimento da cultura, para que essa tradição possa ser conhecida, ser partilhada.... não só a nível do pais, mas também a nível

de outros países, para se conhecer uma cultura dum dado estado. estas a ver... no nosso caso, temos, temos por exemplo... um país com cerca de uma trintena de etnias. cada uma dessas etnias tem culturas que são belas, lindas e precisam ser reconhecidas. eu diria, que deviam ser enquadradas dentro dum âmbito escolar e outro, para ser irem partilhando. porque varias das tradições estão a ser... esquecidas hoje, estão a ser abandonadas, porque a convivência a partilhar que nos temos com o ocidente, com outros países desenvolvidos, estão a fazer-nos adaptar a nossa forma de ser, também essas culturas que não são nossas. estamos a deixar atras ou ao lado as nossas culturas e que se vão perdendo. então, aí, uma responsabilidade também do estado, em promover a sua própria cultura. mas quando se descobre que a cultura tem aspetos nefastos, como é o caso da MGF, do que estamos a falar por exemplo, do fenómeno criança-irân, dos casamentos infantis, dos casamentos forçados, os sistemas tradicionais de herança, coisas assim, o estado deve assumir o seu papel de proteger as vítimas, ou as populações, eh?, que vivem dessas, dessas tradições para obviamente não viverem em situações de dificuldade. porque todas aquelas tradições que são más, que chamamos de nefastas, tem consequências nas vidas das pessoas. então, é responsabilidade do estado poder proteger as suas populações daquelas praticas.

[C] tenho então uma pergunta. como é que se define se uma pratica é nefasta e se uma pratica é boa? quem define isso?

[F] noh, uma pratica é nefasta quando ela tem consequências negativas, sobretudo na saúde. a MGF, o corte, as hemorragias, as infeções, os problemas depois menstruais, os problemas no parto, as fistulas que podem surgir disso, crianças que tem dificuldades... enato, é uma pratica nefasta. porque tem varias consequências. o casamento precoce, ou infantil. é nefasto, porque, uma criança ser dada em casamento. casamento, pressupõe relação sexual, pressupõe gravidez. o corpo da criança ainda não esta preparado para aguentar todas as transformações dum ato sexual ou duma gravidez pode trazer. chegando ao momento de parto, em países como os nossos, em que ainda um grande numero de partos são feitos em casa, então aquela criança acaba correndo vários riscos. ou, no primeiro parto, ou ela morre, ou então o próprio filho acaba por morrer. por varias complicações resultantes destes casamento infantil que ela foi submetida, então é uma pratica nefasta. o casamento forçado, mesmo que a pessoa é... porque, o infantil acaba também sendo forçado...ela não quer, não sei que, é obrigada, estas a ver..

[C] uma criança é criança, não chega a ter este entendimento...

[F] não chega a ter entendimento do que é casamento, o que é que não é, o que é que bom o que é que é mau, ... as responsabilidades todas que vão pender sobre os ombros dela durante todo aquele período, ela não sabe. então, por isso é uma pratica nefasta. agora quando são adultos que são dados em casamentos, forçado, aí as consequências são mais psicológicas. acabam por ser casamentos violentos, porque aquela pessoa, tem uma pessoa que, que ela ama. gosta dessa pessoa. vocês vão lhe dar um casamento que ela não gosta, forçosamente, ela sempre vai arranjar formas de encontrar-se com a pessoa... há maneira de fugir. e nisso de fazê-la voltar, de não lhe permitir encontrar com quem ama, não sei que, acaba surgindo a violência. então, por isso também o casamento acaba, o casamento forçado acaba por ser também uma pratica nefasta. estas a ver... então, tudo isso são praticas, obviamente que o estado tem responsabilidade de combater. combater em termos de educar, informar, sensibilizar, mas também combater em termos de usar, adotar leis que possam incriminar, criminalizar aquelas praticas, impedir que estas praticas sejam realizadas. mas não basta só adotar aquelas leis. adota, mas quando existirem casos tem que ser implementadas. não... quando o estado não faz isso, então não esta a cumprir com o seu papel de estado protetor dos direitos dos seus cidadãos.

[C] então, quem esta a trabalhar no estado deveria também assumir um olhar distanciado desta cultura, para poder definir e tentar...?

[F] eu posso ter a minha tradição e a minha cultura enquanto ser humano Fatumata que eu sou. mas quando sou funcionaria, quando sou, se sou uma juíza, um magistrado publico, sou um policia, quando esses casos chegam ao meu conhecimento eu devo trabalhar no sentido de conduzir a justiça e prometer que a justiça seja feita ate se chegar a condenação. e não dizer que, “ah! mas eu também faco isso...” “ah!, mas isso é a nossa tradição” mas isso não sei que, e então ali deixar a coisa ficar ali, ou então mesmo que avance lentamente, chega o dia do julgamento, as penas são, as sentenças com penas suspensas. aí não esta a jogar o seu papel de estado. porque se o estado já, através da ANP, adotou uma lei presidente promulgou a lei, ela deve ser implementada. sabemos que aquela implementação da lei não significa automaticamente, a adoção não significa automaticamente que as pessoas vão abandonar aquelas praticas. não. mas se elas forem bem implementadas, desencoraja a continuidade

da pratica. por isso é que hoje em dia por exemplo, praticas como a mutilação e outros são feitas a escondida, então, quem esconde, sabe que o que esta a fazer não é correto. eu tenho esperança e digo a todos, as pessoas que estão a esconder, um dia vão se cansar de esconder e vão abandonar! são efeitos que nos esperamos da lei. não esperamos que a lei possa ser adotada só num dia, logo nesse dia vai fazer efeito, então, se, se todo mundo vai deixar... senas senão, se isso, não haveria ladroes. um ladrão sabe que se for apanhado, vai pagar. mas continua a haver ladrão. ele esconde. mas quando ele é apanhado, eh, paga. então, quem viola a lei, quem implementa a lei e não condena quem a viola, então não esta a cumprir com o seu papel de agente de estado.

[C] sim, cumpre pela metade. cumpre somente no papel, mas de facto não cumpre nada.

[F] não cumpre nada. esta la... é magistrado, publico, judicial, é policia, mas faz. tivemos caso por exemplo duma menina que foi violada por um senhor, que era vizinho dela. chegou o caso a policia, a policia disse, então o que é que foste buscar no quarto dele? estas a ver? quer dizer, então, a criança foi violada ainda é culpado de ter ido ao quarto do senhor, nem se procurou saber o que é que levou a miúda la. a miúda foi ao quarto porque o senhor que era vizinho não tem mulher mas como na nossa educação todos os adultos são considerados tios e tias, então, o tio costuma pedir-lhe para lhe oferecer agua para tomar banho quando vem do trabalho. foi assim que lhe pediu agua, ela entrou no quarto para lhe buscar agua, o balde para ir apanhar agua. então, não é que o tio vem atras dela, tapa-lhe a boca e viola sexualmente. esta a ver... afinal, ela tem culpa de ir ao quarto... ela esta a jogar o papel duma menina educada, que aceita o mandato, como dissemos na Guiné-Bissau. porque quando um adulto te pede para fazer alguma coisa tu que és criança e não fazes, é porque tu és mal-educado. então, ela a jogar o papel duma criança bem-educada, é violada e ainda é culpada. então, esse agente de policia não esta a jogar o papel do estado que ele representa.

[C] esta a colocar antes disso qualquer valor cultural que ele aprendeu, mas que o distancia muito dos valores do estado

[F] é isso, é isso. porque normalmente, tradicionalmente, tipo daquele caso não deveria chegar a policia. é se esconder para que ninguém saiba que aquilo aconteceu. e o senhor, eu ia aí passando, continuar cada vez.. e a miúda, não poderia recusar de ir continuar a oferecer-lhe agua, e ele, violando uma vez, a criança volta, cada vez que quiser, vai continuar a violar a criança. a criança não pode dizer nada, porque as pessoas não devem saber, ela tinha ficar com medo ate de contar para a própria mãe, para a mãe não saber, e se a mãe saber, a mãe dizer, vai dizer cala-te, não fala com ninguém porque as pessoas depois vão saber, vão fazer, ... esta a ver. e foram assim que vários casos de violações, de violência aconteceram, que hoje em dia, as pessoas ate pensam que com varias denuncias, pensam que os casos de violência estão a aumentar. mas não estão a aumentar. é que agora que estão a ser denunciados. sempre existiam.

[C] mas agora aparecem.

[F] sempre, sempre existiram. mas hoje já, cada dia, tem um numero a mais, a denunciar os casos, a denunciar.

então, como eu estava a dizer, eu gosto de levar a responsabilidade do estado na área do, do meu trabalho. eu digo que isso fez com que, por exemplo, hoje em dia, na Guiné-Bissau, o estado acabou sendo parte ele do contexto das nações. acabou por assinar, ratificar vários instrumentos internacionais, que lhe obrigam as vezes a uma apresentação periódica de relatórios. e dentro destes relatórios as criticas tem a ver com, “ah, o país ainda continua tal tal pratica, tal pratica tal pratica”. “ah, o país não tem lei que criminaliza isso, condena isso, criminaliza isso”. e com pressões, porque cada dia mais organizações da sociedade civil, mulheres, homens, outros estão se organizando e fazem uma pressão sob o estado. em relação ao direitos que lhe são violado. para o estado legislar e o estado jogar o seu papel de protetor. protetor de toda a sociedade. então, isso que levou a existência hoje em dia, de vaias politicas de proteção e promoção de direitos humanos mas também de leis que criminalizam varias praticas. temos a lei da mutilação, que já conheceu doze casos com, doze que conduzidos a sentença, a lei da violência domestica infelizmente ate hoje, desde 2014, ate hoje, se a coisa que existe todo os dias é violência, mas ate hoje não houve

[C] não houve denuncias, não houve condenações

[F] não houve, não houve condenação. e lei é um crime, a lei diz que a violência é um crime publico, basta haver a denuncia para o ministério publico enviar as forcas para o que o caso seja conduzido a justiça, mas infelizmente ate hoje ainda não temos... porquê. mas isso tudo porque, porque o próprio agente do estado. ele tem as suas

tradições, tem as suas culturas. e acredita, que aquele é tradição, é cultura, pah! uma mulher chega na policia, diz que não, veio a queixar-se do marido, porque o marido lhe bateu. por isso, a policia olha por olha, e diz “mas tu não tens nada que fazer? mas desde que mundo é mundo, isso sempre aconteceu. eu também bato na minha. mulher. é melhor voltares para casa antes que o teu marido saiba que tu vieste a te queixar dele”, ainda voltas para casa e ainda vai continuar a bater. porque, aquele policia, aquele agente, na cabeça dele, bater a mulher, é normal. quando a mulher erra, ela deve ser batido. eh, mas eu depois hoje eu dia lhe perguntei, e quando um homem erra como é que fazemos?

[C] exato.

[F] como é que fazemos? aí, vamos entrar naquele debate dos direitos humanos, direitos não sei que.. que hoje em dia já esta a avançar muito, mas que ainda numa forma muito fria, continua a ter resistências.

[C] mas enato, como é que se muda, ou como é que se constroem estes novos valores morais num agente do estado? porque o estado é uma instituição muito extensa, vai do topo da hierarquia ate a base, é muito geral.

[F] como é que se muda...

[C] como é que se distancia numa cultura onde uma pessoa nasceu, cresceu...

[F] como é que se muda, eu penso que.. hoje em dia, temos muitas formas de poder mudar, mas eu por mim a mais importante é através da escola. se nos introduzirmos estes aspetos da educação, na escola, as nossas ações de informação e sensibilização, mostrar as mães que quando o filho chora, diz “aaah, tu não deves chorar, tu és homem!”, mas quando a menina chora, sofre. por... isso, é que vai, vai entrando na nossa cabeça e vai construir a nossa forma de ser ao longo da nossa vida. mas se nos começarmos a introduzir isso na, na escola... acabar de demonstrar exemplo, exemplo de, nos manuais escolares, de limpezas com a menina a limpar, e o rapaz a jogar a bola, mas mostrar que todos podem limpar, e jogar a bola, e que podem cozinhar, já vai começar a mudar a coisa.

[C] todos podem chorar, ninguém pode bater.

[F] ninguém pode bater. então, ninguém... o homem não deve ser educado, porque é ele que depois terá de se responsabilizar da casa do pai quando os pais são velhos. mas quando os nossos pais são velhos, nos, que somos mulheres, também responsabilizamos. porque é que o nosso vai, deve ter mais responsabilidade com o nosso pai e mãe de que nos? afinal somos todos irmãos, mas é uma questão da educação. então, começar a introduzir isso nas escolas, mas também começar a trabalhar com mulher para que comportamentos como esses, que alegam a mulher para o segundo planos, e que reforçam o papel do poder, do homem, mostrar que aquele poder que damos ao homem, esse poder pode ser partilhado entre homem e mulher. se calhar, se partilharmos, ele fica com mais peso porque cada uma de nos vai ter e aí torna-se mais pesado, em vez de estar só num lado. então, eu penso que através da educação, nos podemos mudar e contribuir pouco a pouco para que essas coisas obviamente mudem. existem por exemplo, eu costume das exemplo de tradições de educação. dantes, fazendo parte numa comunidade, se fizermos alguma coisa errada na rua, os teus pais não te veem, mas qualquer adulto que te vê, te reprendia. hoje em dia, ninguém pode reprender filho do outro. porque os pais vão dizer, “ah, só viste a minha filha. e os teus filhos? os teus filhos, não vez o que eles fazem?”. aquele parte que era positiva, da educação, caiu. dantes, a nos era a própria comunidade a contribuir na educação. a escola também contribuía, hoje... na escola, é que o professor acaba se deitando, namorando com todas as meninas da turma, para poder dar nota para ela passar. dantes, eu não diria que os professores não gostavam das suas alunas, mas quando gostavam, ficavam em cima dela, para ela estudar, para explicar, não sei que, para ela ter bom resultado. hoje em dia, isso acabou. os professores disseram-me que namorar com as alunas é o subsidio de isolamento. eh...

[C] inacreditável...

[F] eh, disseram assim, publicamente, numa reunião. que isso, isso que é o subsidio de isolamento, temos de namorar aqui com as nossas alunas. mas dantes isso não existia. outro aspeto da educação: quando brincávamos, e víamos o professor a ver, íamos correr a escola, é para esconder. hoje em dia, o professor é que te tira para te levar aqui, levar ali, em vez de preocupar com o teu estudo, se compreendes a matéria, pode te dar explicação ou não pode, vai procurar como — para depois de preocupar com outras coisas. eram aspetos positivos da educação que nos tínhamos que hoje em dia não temos, dantes, apesar numa tradição polígama existente em todos os grupos, por exemplo na Guiné-Bissau, a noite chegava, todo mundo ficava sentado em casa todo junto, contando historias,

brincando aqueles joguinhos, chega a hora, todo mundo vai deitar. os pais nunca deitavam deixando as crianças na rua. hoje em dia não.

[C] é uma confusão.

[F] é uma confusão, os pais em casa... faz confusão ainda na minha cabeça! quando saio a noite, vejo crianças na rua. eu pergunto, como é que aqueles pais podem deitar dentro da casa, fechar a porta e dormir, enquanto as crianças estão na rua? eu não consigo. é uma confusão. faz confusão na minha cabeça. mas é um aspeto muuuuito negativo. e nos tínhamos uma cultura boa. e hoje em dia, não existe. porquê? isso para mostrar que a tradição, a cultura, antigamente, como eu disse, esta a se perder. e o estado que devia aproveitar desta parte boa da tradição e da cultura, para poder... enriquecer, e poder reforçá-lo em termos de educação e proteção, do seu povo, da sua população, deixou isso cair. e é uma parte muito boa da educação. muito boa.

[C] deixou-se cair, indo atrás de que?

[F] eu nem te sei dizer indo atrás de que. porque quando falas nas, as comunidades dizem-nos não, porque vocês dizem direitos da criança. mas disse, eu digo, sim. nos falamos em direitos da criança, mas neste aspeto a criança tem direito a proteção. quando tu vais dormir, deixa uma criança, de oito, dez, doze, treze anos na rua, tu enquanto pai não estas a cumprir com o teu papel de proteção da criança. aí estas a violar o direito dela... então, tu deixas aquelas criança, é violada por um homem, é, vais dizer que não sabes. o que é que estava. o que é que aquela criança esta a fazer na rua aquela hora. não tem. estas a ver? eu nem sei... mas as comunidades dizem que é por causa dos direitos da criança. eu digo, não, — o direito da criança não. é pôr a criança em risco. é pôr a criança em risco. tem isso

outra das situações é que por exemplo, relativamente a menina, temos hoje em dia, porque famílias muito fragilizadas, os pais perderam poder de compra, a responsabilidade ficou mais sobre as mães, e muitas crianças hoje em dia contribuem grandemente para o sustentamento da família, há quem chega a dizer as suas filhas por exemplo, “ah, tuas colegas fazem tudo para casa dos pais tu não fazes nada. olha na casa do fulano, só bons carros é que param lá, e tu não fazes nada”. aquilo é dizer a tua filha para ela se prostituir e trazer...

[C] e ainda culpabiliza-la por não o fazer...

[F] é, é, isso. eu costumo lhe dizer por exemplo, vocês veem criança com roupa que não lhe compraram. brincos não lhe compraram. cabelo não lhe compraram. telemóvel dizem de passadeiro vocês não compraram para eles. elas não trabalham. onde é que saíram com aquilo, aquelas aquelas coisas todas? é porque alguém deu. se ela não trabalha, tem algum a lhe oferecer aquelas coisas, ela um dia também tem que oferecer. e o que é que tem para oferecer? o corpo dela. e o papel do estado sobretudo, eu penso, que na legislatura anterior houve muito problemas, nos não conseguimos, desta vez o parlamento também esta... tínhamos começado a fazer um trabalho de proposta, de.. preparação de proposta lei para submeter a assembleia, para definição de horário de circulação noturna de crianças. ate que idade, e também horário de acesso as discot, há também a lei de acesso... definição de idade para acesso a discotecas e mais. para ver se ao menos isso ia começar a proteger um pouco, um pouco as crianças. se o pais não se responsabilizam, ao menos o estado começar a responsabilizar-se. adotando aquelas medidas. para entrar num discoteca... aqui por exemplo para entrar numa discoteca apresentas o, o.. vendo que é criança, tens que apresentar documento. se não tens idade, 18 anos não entras.

[C] há sempre uma idade mínima, tem idade mínima para tudo, para entrar em discoteca, para fumar, para beber, para tudo..

[F] para fumar, para bebida, tudo. então nos também queríamos, no quadro Comité, queríamos preparar uma proposta neste sentido, para obviamente também irmos submeter a Assembleia para ver se o Estado obviamente pode jogar este papel. porque para mim aí tem uma responsabilidade dos pais em falta, mas aí também é que devia entrar a responsabilidade do próprio estado. e que obviamente esta a faltar em termos educacionais. mas nos dizemos, para porem as filhas na escola, eles dizem, “onde esta a escola?”. onde esta a escola. um dos papeis fundamentais do estado é dar esta... alias, na nossa constituição a escolaridade é obrigatória ate o nono ano. se é obrigatório tem que haver! como é que eu vou ser obrigada a ir à escola que não há? em países onde a educação é dada importância, educação básica e tudo mais, o teu filho não pode ficar um ou dois dias sem ir à escola. tem aí alguém que te vai perguntar o que é que se esta a passar. ou sabe-se já nessas comunidade que já 3-4 crianças que devem entrar a escola neste ano. não aparecendo, tem que ser procurado, onde é que estas crianças estão. mas



nasceram tantas crianças —, eram 40, porque é que este ano só temos 25? os 15 estão onde? tem que, tem que se ir atras. mas se o estado não tem escola não pode fazer isso. a própria criança acaba por não existir, as vezes ate 4a classe, 6o ano, porque não tem registo.

[C] este é o outro problema que ia referir agora...

[F] por pouco serviço, os serviços de registo não existem em todo o território e nos locais onde existem tem uma formalidade de não sei de que para se poder, para se poder registar a criança. tem que cobrar aqui, cobrar ali cobrar aquilo, e as mães coitadas não tem dinheiro não sei que acabam por não registar as crianças. e aquelas que tiveram a possibilidade de ir à escola, as vezes quando chegam na 4a classe ou quando chegam no 6o ano, é que vão ter acesso a um registo e a um bilhete de identidade.

[C] ate aí não têm.

[F] ate aí não têm. porquê..

[C] esta é uma violação dum direito básico...

[F] direito básico, a de existência, de nome.. se ele não esta registado, ele não tem nome, não existe, ele não existe. é mais fácil desviá-la, é mais fácil levá-la para outro sitio, porque ninguém sabe, ele é quem?

[C] ela é uma criança que pode desaparecer...

[F] invisível. é uma criança invisível. então, aí também falha a responsabilidade do estado com, com os seus cidadãos. o que é que custa a pessoa das a luz, a sair tem la um serviço ao lado, fazer o registo da criança. o que custa?

[C] nada. pois, poderia ser já dentro do hospital. não precisava de ser muito longe. evitam-se complicações, coloca-se aí um gabinete e já esta feito.

[F] já esta feito. o pai é chamado, uma mulher vai estar, ter alta tal dia, vem la a criança é registada e vai embora, já vai com uma cédula, já vai com um registo. tao fácil...

[C] e tao simples.

[F] tao simples, mas a falta de organização de estado ate aqui leva a que obviamente não se consiga resolver estes problemas. neste momento, esta a se fazer uma experiencia piloto em alguns hospitais, Bissau, Canchungo, não sei, em alguma regiões está-se a fazer esta experiencia. de, de a criança nascer... mas sem esquecer que no nosso caso por exemplo, temos muitas mulheres ainda a darem à luz em casa. mas acabam obviamente por levar os filhos a vacinas, a consulta, não sei que. e quando chega la, não tinha sido registado, então passa, vai registar e vem tomar a vacina.

[C] sim, não pode tomar vacina sem ser registado. são todas formas de criar alguma obrigatoriedade para eles terem registo

[F] ou para não lhe dizer, quando lhe dizer — esta a vir, se ela vai ca, para evitar isso, no momento em que vai fazer a identificação e a coisa para a vacina, pergunta já tudo o que deve constar no registo. como é o nome da mãe?, ele diz. e o nome do pai? nasceu quando? tem a voz? o que custa?

[C] só um mínimo de organização..

[F] só organização.

[C] neste caso, agora que esta a falar no registo das crianças, é uma das questões que sobressaem muito no caso das criança-irân. muitas crianças nunca chegam a ser conhecidas pelo estado porque não são registadas.

[F] não, não. não são registados. e as criança-irân, por exemplo, são crianças... só ele sai assim de repente e vai embora, eh, sem se despedir. então a criança-irân é aquela que é escondida dentro da casa, mesmo na comunidade, nem muitas pessoas sabem que ela existe. então por isso é que quando levam para fazer aquela cerimonia em que ela é feita desaparecer, fica aí e ninguém sabe. isto porque, porque a mulher esta gravida, não tem um seguimento daquela mulher durante o período da gravidez, para se saber que chegou o dia da luz e ela deu luz a uma criança neste estado.

[C] é logo escondido aos olhos de todos.

[F] de todos. por isso, se houvesse aquele acompanhamento obrigatório das mães enquanto grávidas, quando ela dar à luz, tudo mundo ia saber da a luz uma criança, a criança não esta bem de saúde, tem isso, tem isso tem isso mesmo.

[C] seria assim impossível de esconder.

[F] é impossível, é impossível. mas não havendo isso, então, pode-se... já há muito tempo não oiço falar de, de criança, de criança-irân existente. mas são praticas que levaram, que levaram muito tempo, hoje em dia não te sei dizer se ainda existe ou já acabou, não sei, mmm... mas... eu pessoalmente conheci crianças que foram feitas assim desaparecer assim por serem acusadas de criança-irân. mas também conheci crianças daquele tipo e que não foram consideradas irân, e que estão a viver ate agora.

[C] que é uma boa noticias...!

[F] é. é uma ou outra, ali, mas, mas estão a viver. mas os que foram mortos são muitos. são muitos. mas isso é falta de responsabilização do próprio estado no seu papel de proteção da sua populações.

[C] acha que, neste sentido, por o estado falhar neste papel, o de-legítima? ou seja, perde legitimidade? por falhar neste compromisso básico com a população.

[F] boh, é... eu não acho que ele perde legitimidade na totalidade, eh, mas... mas, acaba por, acaba acaba hoje por exemplo sendo muito banalizado pelas populações. ah o estado, qual estado? qual escola, não há escola? qual hospital, não há hospital. eu quero casa, não tem casa. quero trabalho, não há trabalho. quem é, quem é que é o estado? quem é que pode-me falar de estado? esta a ver? quando ele não cumpre com os seu...

[C] parece que o estado não exista..

[F] sim. quando o órgão não cumpre com o seu papel básico, acaba por não existir pelas pessoas. porque cada um esta a viver adeus hara. então ali, ele acaba por, acaba por não existir.

[C] pois, torna-se de facto inexistente, completamente. e pelo contrario, o que é que o estado, partido, atores políticos legitima-os aos olhos da população? o que é que deveriam fazer?

[F] eles tinham de cumprir com o seu dever, de garantir as condições básicas de sobrevivência, garantir a segurança e integridade das populações e criar condições de desenvolvimento.

[C] e isso já... antes de mais, os tornaria de facto presentes.

[F] mostrar que era importante a presença das pessoas, enquanto seres humanos. não existido, isso...

[C] não fazer promessas vazias... de facto, ter um papel de compromisso e responsabilidade perante..

[F] compromisso e responsabilidade... compromisso comprida, neh? quando assumimos um compromissos devemos cumprir!

[C] sim, não é só um compromisso para ter...

[F] não!! é para cumprir.

[...]

[C] queria saber qual a sua opinião sobre o projeto de modernização de estado. em que é que deveria consistir este projeto de modernização? quais benefícios principalmente é que traria para a população?

[F] modernização de estado...

[C] é algo em que ouve-se muito falar...

[F] eu, o ultimo governo a que eu pertenci agora que nos deram o golpe, como dissemos, eu era ministra da administração publica e modernização de estado. eheheh. então aí... o, o papel fundamental eu penso dum estado moderno é primeiro eu penso de cumprir com isso que eu estava a dizer do seu papel de protetor, de quem garante a proteção, salvaguarda de integridade física, e de todos outros direitos de seres humanos. mas também cumprindo com a responsabilidade de fornecer os serviços básicos para a população e garantir depois o acesso a outro direitos. eu por exemplo, na administração pública, a parte da modernização de estado era definir os mecanismos de acesso a administração pública numa forma igualitária para todo. não é para que eu conheço a Claudia, que ela me vai trazer. não é porque eu conheço fulano ou meu partido trazer. não. definir. há uma legislação...

[C] que deixa isso tudo bem claro.

[F] que vai dizer, deixar isso tudo bem claro, um processo que ira explicar de A a Z como é que se pode aceder a própria administração publica, como é que cada ministério deve funcionar, a responsabilidade de cada funcionário. quando eu chego, eu devo, num serviço de estado, eu devo encontrar pessoas la disponíveis para resolver o meu problema, não sendo esse o caso, é um estado não sei de quem. mas quando eu chego, a pessoa acha que esta a me fazer favor, que tenho que pagar para fornecer, para receber aquele serviço, então não é. aquele é um estado, não sei... muito... nem retrogrado. quando digo retrogrado eu acho ainda que estou a falar bem deste estado. então, é criar as condições básicas, eh, para que obviamente todo o serviço se estado possa trabalhar duma forma eficiente, clara e de acesso igualitário para todos. é. que nos tínhamos iniciado, definindo mecanismos de entrada na administração pública, tem que ter mínimo licenciatura. para ser diretor de serviços deve ser uma pessoa que já entrou, mas que já trabalhou durante cinco anos, e tem que ser feitas as promoções em cada carreira, tem de ser feito concurso, tem que ser por mérito. avaliação do trabalho pessoal de cada um... isto é um estado moderno, em que cada uma de nos vamos subindo através do nosso mérito. e do trabalho que fizemos.

[C] do que aprendemos, das competências adquiridas, ...

[F] e ver que as pessoas se sentem com o trabalho que estamos, que estamos a prestar. mas também garantir que haja possibilidade educação, saúde, deslocação. quando temos comunidades muito isoladas, não tem escola, não tem hospital, ainda não tem estrada, onde é que a modernização deste estado fica? não existe modernidade deste estado. porque aquela comunidade, aquela populações, ainda, quando a mulher vai dar à luz, tem que tomar banho com agua quente, vão ferver aquela erva natural para, para que ela se cura... teve o corde, rasgou no parto, tem que ser posto a tratar sentado em agua quente, as vezes as rasgaduras são maiores e aquela agua quente já não consegue curar, e a mulher acaba ficando por aí com uma fistula, acaba ficando com os outros problemas, então não existe modernidade de estado aí. não existe. então, o estado moderno é o estado que iria criar as condições que nos falamos anteriormente para que as pessoas, se sintam felizes com os serviços que lhe prestam. ver que o estado fica em cima de ti, obriga-te a ir ao hospital quando estas grávida. obriga-te a por a criança na escola. obriga-te a ir a vacina. aqui, quando chega o dia da consulta, a criança não aparece no controlo não sei que, vai ligar para saber! não apanham, assistente social vai a casa saber o que esta a acontecer. este é um estado presente. este é um estado moderno. não havendo isso, sinceramente não há condições de modernização. em que tudo tem que ser assente na base duma política traçada. que cada uma de nos, eu por exemplo chego, não preciso de ir perguntar como é que faco para entrar aqui neste trabalho não sei o que, tem tudo.

[C] já esta claro.

[F] já esta tudo claro, tudo bem definido. se eu não conseguir reunir aquelas condições, não conseguir entrar, não vou culpar ninguém, porque eu sei que as condições estão todas claras, bem traçadas. eu não consigo porque falta-me um requisito, eu vou lutar para conseguir este requisito. quando conseguir este requisito vou conseguir entrar. caso contrario, não vou entrar.

[C] não é por conhecer alguém que uma pessoa...

[F] não é por conhecer, alguém ou partido ou família ou sei que...

[C] exato. é uma forma de funcionar muito diferente.

[F] muito. Muito diferente.

[C] mas é só através desta forma que um estado vai conseguir cuidar e se responsabilizar perante a população.

[F] e em que tu podes criar condições por exemplo em termos económicos, financeiro, criar trabalho para garantir o desenvolvimento da economia, mas também criar condições para que os impostos e as taxas que são pagas, não se desviem, tem um caminho para pôr, tem um sitio, eh, tem um sitio. eu quando estou a pagar aqui a escola, mando uma referencia, com numero não sei o que de multibanco faco a transferência. o dinheiro vai onde deve ir. eu não vou a escola encontrar, “a Claudia veio pagar não sei o que”, se, se a Claudia esconder.. esta a ver. poderá ser descoberto quando, depois quando virem que a Fatumata não pagou mesmo, não pagou, não pagou, o que esta a acontecer? a Fatumata é bloqueada não pode ir as aulas porque não pagou, não eu paguei. como é que pagueste? não pagueste. não paguei, eu vi. e a Claudia. a Claudia não esta. esta a ver.. ou então, se tu não pagas esse serviço não sais. ou então vamos negociar para despachar esse livro. esse livro devias pagar ao estado 10.000, mas vamos

fazer assim... eu vou dizer que tu pagaste, mas dá-me 5.000 e acabou. no, não entra no cofre de estado e tu não pagas 10.0000, pagas 5.000.

[C] o estado não vai saber nada, fica tudo no meu bolso..

[F] não vai saber nada. ficou, saiu, eu levei o meu produto para minha casa e ficou no bolso de alguém. mas se se tiver um sitio onde tudo é pago, não sei que, que não é para levar dinheiro, que não... oh! é ir depositar. pronto venho com recibo, com confirmação que já fiz o meu depósito, venho levando o produto. e la esta... mas também aí o próprio cidadão vai ter a consciência de que eu devo pagar para este serviço.

[C] que não há serviços de graça..

[F] que não tem serviços de graça... porque este, este imposto que eu estou a pagar este que esta a dar hospital para os meus filhos, para minha mulher. este que esta a dar escola. para os meus filhos. isto que esta a dar esta rua, onde estou a passar. isto que esta a dar a justiça quando alguém me viola, quando alguém me rouba, quando alguém me vai, eu vou a justiça, isto é que esta a dar.

[C] para isto também precisa ter bem claro o estado como uma grande imagem. a pessoa não paga pelo que recebe. paga para todos, para todos receberem.

[F] mas isso é uma questão de educação. é uma questão de educação. tem que se educar para isso. tem que se preparar a educar para isso.

[C] e é um tipo de educação que já pertencia aos valores tradicionais..

[F] existiam antes já existiam. isso já estava, não é nada de novo. mas nos agora deixamos, também deixamos cair. deixamos cair. hoje és uma funcionaria publica, tens uma certa função, os teus amigos, os teus familiares dizem-te, “agh, aproveita antes de sair”. e quem é corrupto, quem rouba o bem publico, que constrói uma boa casa, quem tem um carro, um carrão não sei o que, ele que é dito que é um homem. e tu que estas la a trabalhar não sei quantos anos, não tens isso, ate és tratado como uma pessoa que não serve. porquê? porque tu cumpriste com as normas, não andaste a roubar, não andaste a desviar não sei o que, o outro que o faz, tudo mundo vê ao olho, são chamado, são chamados de machos.

[C] é completamente invertido.

[F] tudo invertido. então, não existe estado moderno. existe estado retrogrado. aquilo não é nada de moderno, é um estado retrogrado. então, uma pessoa que nunca trabalhou, chega agora é ministro, menos de um ano, tem um prédio de não sei que não sei que... então, salario que ele ganha, ele não come... vamos ver que mesmo salario sendo depositado todos os meses. O período que ele esteve na função não da para construir aquela casa. então onde é que ele saiu com o dinheiro? porque é que o estado não pergunta? porque é que não vai atras para saber?

[C] porque é que esconde tudo isso?

[F] e hoje em dia, a gente fala. a gente, fala-se, mas ninguém vai atras. porque cada acha que, oh! não é responsabilidade minha, é do estado, e quem é o estado?

[C] sempre um outro alguém. mas nunca é ninguém.

[F] nunca é ninguém. estas a ver.. e em vez de ir modernizando, estamos a voltar atras...

[C] esta a criar-se um vazio de facto, que nem é voltar para atras. porque o que havia antes era melhor

[F] muito melhor

[C] do que há..

[F] muito melhor. ninguém tirava cadeira da escola para a pôr no quintal, para a pôr na sua casam porque é um bem publico. hoje já vai construir um, construir uma escola, equipas com cadeiras não sei que, já um — voltas la não encontras. a própria população é que tira.

[C] há uma grande falta de respeito

[F] luz, pois o estado poe luz, poe o — não sei que... depois de um tempo é a própria população quem vem cortar os fios de luz, paneis solares que são postos na estrada, para dar à luz nos bairros, a própria população é que tira. para levar para a casa dele. como é que o estado pode modernizar assim? não pode, não pode..

[C] tem que começar mesmo pelo começo..

[F] mas é questão da educação. é uma questão de educação.

[C] pois, sem isso não vai a lado nenhum.

[F] o meu marido não me pode trazer um painel solar de... onde é que tu compraste? tenho que perguntar. mas, mas... isso existe a venda ao publico? então, como é que conseguiste? o teu filho vai trazer cadeira, tu vais ver no quarto do teu filho cadeira que ele tem para sentar com colegas, com as meninas, namoradinhas que vem não sei o que, que são da escola. tu vais permitir? não vais dizer “devolva na escola”? é educação.

[C] e educação também passa pelos pais.

[F] é educação. é questão de educação. é questão de educação...

[C] e o estado também deveria voltar a ter este papel bem forte, na escola e fora da escola.

[F] e fora da escola..

[C] para criar ideias destes valores morais e cívicos as pessoas tem de desenvolver, senão tornam-se todos ladroes, sem noção. em relação ao que estava a dizer antes, sobre o bom da cultura tradicional na Guiné-Bissau, queria perguntar quem acha que são os poderes tradicionais hoje? se quisesse defini-los, quem é que eles são?

[F] olha, os poderes tradicionais são os que sempre chamamos de regulos. chefes de tabanca. eles é que são os poderes tradicionais. que hoje também, querendo ou não, os religiosos também acabam por entrar porque acabam por ter um papel...

[C] tipo imam?

[F] o imam. acaba por ter o imam ou professor corânico... acabam também por ter um papel, porque nas comunidades islamizadas por exemplo, as relações de dia a dia baseiam-se no conhecimento de alcorão, no que o Alcorão disse. e quem conhece o Alcorão, o próprio regulo acaba por recorrer ao imam para o imam desmistificar um dado acontecimento, situação, o que é que o Alcorão diz quando acontece isso, como é que nos devemos proceder, como é que devemos fazer. ou o professor corânico que tem domínio de Alcorão, então aí os religiosos acabam por os que são os poderes tradicionais. por causa desse conhecimento que eles, que eles têm. agora, em grupos animistas os regulos, os donos dos irâns, são esses é que constituíam o poder tradicional. porque tem o regulo que chama, faz a justiça, faz isso faz aquilo. mas outro que depois que tudo que vai fazer, vai ao irân. para o irân dizer qual o caminho que ele deve andar, como é que ele deve fazer, será que o que ele esta a pretender fazer, deve fazer mesmo? se irân dizer que sim, a galinha esta branca, não, se a galinha esta preto, então não pode. esta branca é porque pode, então, o, o dono do irân acaba por ser o que... deve ser.. acaba por ser aquele também detentor do poder. porque o próprio regulo que é chefe la e tudo, acaba por recorrer ao... irân, para o irân, então... ele acaba por ser o detentor do poder tradicional.

[C] e o que é que eles fazem hoje em dia? tendo em consideração que, formalmente, eles não são um poder político. ou seja. eles atuam, mas perante a lei eles não existem.

[F] o pluralismo político e a democracia trouxeram. uma certa liberdade, que me permite a mim por exemplo, eu vou fugir ou vou aqui, ou vou ali, porque a lei me protege. mas a nível tradicional, dantes se fugisse e. o regulo me mandar buscar, tens que aceitar. mas hoje em dia, o regulo pode querer que tu vás, - com os teus pais, e tu dizeres não e não vais. a não ser que te obriguem, que te violem, que te batam não sei o que. pouco a pouco o poder do regulo esta esvaziado. ele continua com aquele respeito dentro da comunidade. quando tem coisas são chamados, aconselham as populações, fazem coisas.. mas hoje em dia o papel deles, porque dantes por exemplo as populações se organizavam, iam lavar para o regulo. eu tenho cabra, o regulo tem cabra porque tem uma visita tem não sei que, vai dizer, ah vai a casa da Fatumata a dizer que estou a precisar duma cabra porque tenho uma visita. eu tiro a minha cabra e do. não vou vender nem nada eu vou dar ao regulo. tiro galinhas e do. hoje em dia isso já não existe. já não se trabalha para, já não, não. já não se trabalha par ao regulo, já não damos as nossas coisas para o regulo. mas ele continua a ser regulo, em algumas comunidades ainda tem aquele respeito das próprias comunidades, eh.. mas aquele papel que se jogava anteriormente.. por isso, estas a ver aquele, aqueles tudo, aquele... de se ver como é que... porque como temos por exemplo, com a justiça muito longe das populações os regulos não jogando aquele papel que eles jogavam anteriormente, ficamos a ter quase a maior parte do pais sem justiça. porque não há a quem recorrer.

[C] porque não há nem justiça formal nem informal.

[F] não justiça nem formal nem informal, estas a ver. já não vamos ao regulo, porque não não, quem é o regulo para nos? mas também não temos o tribunal. mas também não temo aqui uma policia judiciaria.

[C] então para quem é que vamos?

[F] então cada um faz o que bem entender, não temos onde ir. então por isso, já há um bom tempo que se começou um trabalho de redefinição do papel dos próprios regulos, dos poderes tradicionais, para em conjunto vermos o que é que se poderia atribuir-lhes mesmo em termos legais, para permitir que a justiça esteja la onde esta o povo. já não seria aquilo de se trabalhar no estado, não sei que não sei mais...

[...]

[C] estávamos a falar no poder tradicional, que já esta a desaparecer..

[F] que esta a desaparecer e que, pensamos que, pela distancia que existe entre a justiça moderna e as próprias populações, não havendo tribunais a nível dos, de todas as regiões, de todos os setores, então é necessário obviamente que o estado faça alguma coisa no sentido de reforçar o papel mesmo que intermediário da justiça no sentido de ir derremindo pequenas... tipo... derremindo alguns conflitos, mas como também de filtragem em que alguns conflitos mais pequenos poderiam ser resolvidos a nível de..

[C] como mediação simples

[F] mediação simples, a nível deles, e os mais complicados poderiam passar, para para... para a justiça moderna. e mas em que por exemplo aquilo de trabalhar para o próprio regulo e aquelas coisas que se faziam antigamente deve-se, pôr de, não sei, deve-se pôr de lado. mas eles [poderes tradicionais] depois estarão a fornecer um serviço também neste serviço ao estado e não sei que, será que não merecerão ter alguma recompensa ou alguma coisa, eu penso que são debates que nos poderemos ter e ver o que é que nos poderemos fazer, ainda que a titulo experimental, para ver se isso ira ajudar. porque mesmo os poucos que tem acesso ao tribunal, a justiça ate ser feita acaba por levar muito tempo. é demorado, lento pesado e ainda muito caro. então por isso é necessário repensar esta nossa justiça e ver o que é que o poder tradicional poderia por exemplo fazer neste sentido.

[C] nesta cooperação entre as duas..

[F] sim sim. entre as duas justiças para ajudar, sim.

[...]

[C] acha que o poder tradicional tem u carater democrático? como considera o posicionamento do poder tradicional perante praticas nefastas, como o caso das criança-irân, casamento precoce, forçado, MGF?

[F] o poder tradicional não é democrático não. não é democrático na medida em que ele é instituído na base de gerações. eu pertenco a uma geração, meu pai, meu avo era regulo, o meu pai ele deixou vários filhos, ele morre o filho mais velho é que é chamado para ser regulo. quando ele morre, existindo ainda algum irmão de vida, o irmão vai. quer dizer, isto estou a falar no grupo, no grupo Fula, que eu conheço. senão vem o filho, e assim, não há democracia. fica o poder concentrado naquela mesma, naquela mesma família. esta a ver? naquela mesma família...

[C] é um problema de sucessão, fica sempre muito limitada..

[F] e depois naquela altura, dantes, esse poder, por terem pessoas que trabalhavam por eles gratuitamente, por terem mais respeito com *tradison*, ate davam-se coisas, acabam por ser, por constituir um grupo de elite, acabam sendo elites dentro das comunidades. hoje em dia, quando esse regulo não tem um poder económico naquele comunidade e tem outra pessoa que tem poder económico que tem esse que não tem que, acaba por monopolizar o próprio regulo, o que ele quer, o regulo faz. porque ele vai dando coisas ao regulo. ou tendo problemas — o regulo sempre fica ao lado dele. porque ele vai dando coisas. então aí é o aspeto negativo que não tem, não tem a democracia.. ele não tem. se não tem dizem que, tradicionalmente dizemos que uma pessoa que não tem de comer não pode ser.. uma pessoa seria, *fura*, porque eu preciso comer. se eu não tenho de dar de comer aos meus filhos 2, 3 dias, eu vou ser tudo, vou me prostituir, vou roubar, vou mentir. porque não tenho. estas a ver? eu faria tudo para dar de comer aos meus filhos. então, neste caso, o próprio poder tradicional acaba por ser, por ser assim quando ele, depende obviamente de alguém que esta la, quem tem meio, que tem que, que tem que... aí é que por

exemplo, a democracia não existindo aí faz fragilizar o próprio poder tradicional. mas ele não é, não é democrático porque é mesmo tradicional [emphasis]. é passado de geração em geração e assim sucessivamente. então, eu acho que, não sei se o debate em dia vai chegar a se dizer que por exemplo para ser regulo aqui vamos ter que ver quem é que pode ser quem é que tem, definir os perfis, definir o perfil de quem pode ser de regulo, quem pode ser isso, não sei de isso quem e quem. mas que será com os próprios que já tradicionalmente ocupavam este papel vão aceitar isso?

[C] se uma alteração ta profunda vai ser aceite...

[F] tao profunda sim, se vai ser aceite, eu não acho. mas na realidade, da forma como eles são escolhidos, não é por, não é nada via... democrática. agora, o poder tradicional em relação as praticas que nos consideramos nefastas. primeiro de tudo, contributo que eles dão, será que eles acham..

[...]

[F] o contributo que eles dão depende de uma pessoa a outra. há quem acha que a mutilação, o fenómeno criança-irân e outros, podem continuar. então, esses... dão a contribuição para que estas praticas sejam deixadas. mas como? eles não tem o poder de obrigar as populações. eles falam. eu posso dar por exemplo, um exemplo duma tabanca em Gabu, que não queria que nos fossemos intervir na tabanca. como antes de irmos as tabanca, nos antes vamos ao regulos, vamos ao poder administrativo, vamos ao poder tradicional, ao regulo não sei. o que, ao regulo geralmente... indica uma pessoa que nos vai acompanhar as diferentes tabanca para fazer as apresentações, estão pessoas virão aqui para fazer tais e tais trabalhos. então aí fomos ter com o regulo para dizer que aquelas tabancas não nos deixam. não sei que... então ele mandou chamar o imam da tabanca, o chefe da tabanca, e disse, perguntou, disse “o que é que se esta a passar?” relativamente... ah, começar a dizer coisas, a fugir, não sei que, ele disse “a partir de hoje vão começar a ir la e vão ser recebidos na tua casa. eles vão diretamente a tua casa e convoca as populações para ouvirem o que eles tem para dizer”. aí, ele da contribuição. mas... se ele não quer, porque também pertencem aquelas tradições, aquelas culturas, se ele não quiserem não temos como obrigar.

[C] quando ele não quer a população também da ouvido a ele?

[F] da ouvido. em alguns casos a população da ouvido. mas há, existem casos em que o próprio regulo não queria, mas a população queria a nossa intervenção, e então, nos intervimos. e ele é o regulo, não queria a nossa presença, mas quando saímos para voltar alguns grupos foram ter connosco, cortarem a estrada, volte dizer.. não não, não vão a casa dela, venha nossa casa. a tabanca dividiu, os que estão com o regulos ficaram dum lado, os que não estão ficaram connosco. e pouco a pouco os que estão do lado do regulo começaram a vir. e pouco a pouco se juntaram e finalmente toda a tabanca aderiu, isso para mostrar que, nesta luta, o papel do regulo quando ele aceita é importante, mas se não aceita, hoje em dia, que tu tens a comunicação social, que vai jogando o seu papel, a educação esta a fazer pouco a pouco, a movimentação entre os jovens que vão e vem, então, o papel deles de aceitarem, a palavra deles de aceitarem ou não a presença não se torna assim muito importante, não é fundamental para a luta. tem que ser mesmo pela vontade das próprias, das próprias populações, dependendo do que é que tu vais levar no teu pacote, se é de interesse da comunidade, então a comunidade vai... adere, mesmo tendo o regulo contrario, vai aderindo na mesma.

### 3.4 Interview with Fode Mane

Dean at FDB (Faculdade de Direito de Bissau)

Lisbon / Bissau

November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Interview sample 6 (academics)

[C] o Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense, é um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático, eu queria saber se concorda com esta definição do Estado guineense, e quais achas que são ou deveriam ser as suas funções.

[F] noh, eu acho que esta definição do estado guineense, é, é muito ampla. não caracteriza especificadamente aquilo que é o estado guineense. porque, se recordarmos... muitas das pessoas que recorrem a esta definição acabam por cair naquela classificação de chamado estado frágil, estado falhado, tudo. porque, tem estes requisitos que elencou na definição, como pontos caracterizadores, e depois não veem aquilo a funcionar. nos temos um estado que esta a nascer sob as — do estado colonial. dum estado colonial também que não, é um estado mínimo. que funcionava naquele sistema de, uma colonia apenas de exploração. onde o estado estava longe da população, e o, o.. o aparelho colonial precisava apenas umas estruturas para poder manter e extrair o seu vantagem... os recursos, aquilo que pretendia para manter uma certa ordem contra as eventuais revoltas, então funcionava, dizemos, um serviço mínimo, um estado mínimo. muito pequeno. então, se, sem.. como podemos caracterizar isso. se analisarmos a características essências do estado, através de sua função, o estado tem de ter um serviço executivo, tem de ter um serviço interessado pela justiça, portanto dizemos tribunais, uma rede de tribunais, tem que ter um órgão legislativo. para alem de presença de estado, deve ser sentida de varias formas, na segurança, na prestação de serviços sociais como saúde, educação, e noutro aspetos, assim, de desenvolvimento. o estado colonial, primeiro, havia uma estrutura administrativa que tinha o governador da província, depois os.. responsáveis, chefes de conselhos e tudo, e chefes de posto. auxiliados pela policia administrativa indígena e um secretariado, interessado em que? cobrar impostos, dinamizar a produção de mancarra e outro produtos como amendoim e tudo. em termos de justiça, não havia estrutura de justiça. é o próprio chefe de posto, aquele quadro administrativo que realizava justiça. e quem executava era aquela policia administrativas indígena, o chamado sipaio. eh... também, não havia um órgão legislativo com alguma independência. mesmo que seja em termos de autonomia das províncias, comparamos com que havia em Angola e Moçambique, onde havia órgãos legislativos com certas competências. e tudo. onde havia estruturas judiciais. inclusive, Angola e Moçambique tinha tribunais de relação. a Guiné nem tribunal de comarca tinha. toda a província estava ligada a comarca de Lisboa. e, em termos de serviços sociais, as escolas, só vieram as escolas missionarias nos finais dos anos sessenta, quando a luta... decolonial já estava a decorrer. então, vendo tudo isso, não havia quadros, os quadros administrativos guineenses eram muito poucos, menos uma... dezena, em tudo o período. era portugueses que vinha em missão, ou alguns cabo-verdianos, ou das outras colonias. então, vendo isso, quando houve independência, o que podemos ver? não havia estado. no sentido, pronto... e aquele *embrion* de Estado que estava a surgir na luta é que surgiu depois. então é um estado em construção, mas que esta a procura de uma identidade, mas que já adotou, nesta procura de identidade, quer adotar um modelo de estado já construído. então, este tipo de estado que se tem, as pessoas, não há funcionamento das estruturas judiciais como deve de ser, foram criadas principalmente depois da década de '90, eh... porque os outros tribunais populares de base que existia, você tinha ate juiz de supremo tribunal de justiça sem licenciatura, e muitos juizes sem formação em direito, assim, isso começou a surgir a partir de finais de anos '90. e até, há menos de cinco anos, tínhamos juizes nos tribunais sem formação jurídica. sem licenciatura em direito. porque eram cooptados. depois é que com a pressão, alguns estão a ir, procura formação a todo o custo. então, vendo isso, em termos de escola, a GB, ou a província da Guiné, teve a sua, o seu primeiro liceu em 1958, a funcionar em 1964, esta a ver. quando as outras colonias tinham há mais um seculo. em termos de saúde, havia um hospital central e três ou quatro hospitais regionais, e missão do sono. havia um centro de pesquisa de doença, tripanescomiose, chamado doença de sono, que depois, demitiu a... então, vendo isso nos, e o estado, e depois com a luta de libertação nacional, a luta sabemos que foi um processo muito violento, que teve os seus efeitos colaterais. a violência tornou-se um pouco legitimado para implantar o estado. então, também como o estado colonial foi muito repressivo, cooperou-se sobre esse estado também um modelo repressivo. esse modelo repressivo, no que é que se traduziu até agora, vê. quem esta ligado as forcas armadas tem forca, consegue aceder



ao poder. então, não há eleição que respeite, que... sem interferência das forças armadas. não há um poder a ser exercido sem interferência de quem tiver a força. e depois, o sistema de ensino que implica investimento, o país é muito pobre, não há investimento, muito acelerado, então, é um estado a procura de caminho, a procura de identidade, então não se pode, a meu entender, dar aquela definição. por isso é que digo, podemos dizer... é um estado a procura de identidade, própria. mas que tem de tirar a utopia de pensar que pode-se construir um estado da Guiné como estado português, como estado francês, como estado cabo-verdiano, porque as circunstâncias são totalmente diferentes. assim. mas o, há um fator que pode unificar: os direitos humanos. quanto a mim, o essencial é que temos que construir um estado que respeita os direitos humanos. para mim, os direitos humanos, básicos, são fundamentais. o estado que não respeita isso, não é estado. então, pode ser um elemento de pressão, para que haja justiça, para todos, uma justiça transparente. para que haja responsabilização para evitar... impunidade. que haja... uma, diversidade, possibilidade de liberdades fundamentais. é esse modelo de estado que é possível convergir, convergir o estado guineense com os outros.

[C] então, quando esta a referir esta procura, esta busca de identidade pelo estado, esta a falar mesmo na reavaliação do modelo de estado?

[F] claro. visitar o modelo, porque... é isso é importante, esse termo, visitar, um território, vigorou várias formas de exercício do poder político. mesmo antes de colonização. depois da colonização, você vê, a Guiné é um país que teve instabilidades. muitas instabilidades políticas. mas estas instabilidades não destruíram o tecido social. porque há outras formas sociais de exercício do poder político, de coesão social. então, deve-se visitar os diferentes modelos para se encontrar o modelo que é funcional para o estado.

[C] isto até poderia implicar visitar modelos que já existiam antes da ocupação colonial, e adaptá-los a nível estatal.

[F] e depois... é uma das possibilidades, sim. porque até se tentou isso, embora foi no período de partido único, mas tentou-se fazer que haja um poder próximo da população, mas que depois há uma escala diferente representatividade. aquilo que chamou de *democracia nacional revolucionária*. o que é que isso queria dizer. o povo não elegia diretamente os seus representantes. elegia os seus representantes locais. as diferentes localidades elegiam através de conselhos regionais. por exemplo, nos tínhamos nove regiões. cada região elegia os seus conselheiros regionais. e estes conselhos regionais, através duma assembleia, que se chamava de conselhos regionais, discutia os seus problemas. e aí é que elegia os seus deputados, esta a ver. os conselhos regionais é que elegia deputados, não era um sufrágio direto. assim. não se elegia diretamente os conselhos, regionais. mmm... logo, estes deputados, depois de cada conselho regional, dos oito conselhos regionais, é que, depois vinham para APN, discutir os problemas nacionais, trazendo os problemas locais também para serem discutidos, assim, esta a ver. é uma democracia representativa, mas que permite uma população direta da população no... nos assuntos locais, depois assuntos nacionais. e os deputados, quando vinham, participar na ANP, tinham obrigação de fazer o mesmo percurso para revoltar a população e transmitir as decisões. e isso, num país, onde há uma alta taxa de analfabetismo, é, isso funciona bem. porquê? o modelo agora, de publicar o boletim oficial, onde, o boletim oficial, até nos últimos inventou-se o que se chama de publicação eletrónica, onde 90% da população não tem acesso a instrumento de leitura digital, para mim, não é poder. então, aquele modelo permitia [emphasis] que a população participe e que a população também acompanhe, a governação, porque tem representantes diretos. e estes representantes tem que prestar conta. só que é um modelo que funcionou no sistema de partido único. portanto, que nesta questão de cópia do modelo semipresidencialista português, de democracia direta e universal, invés de se adaptar, não. foi-se logo pela... ao sistema português. nos vimos os deputados que ganham mais que um técnico superior, — para acumular salário, então há muita luta para ser deputado. e por questão de populismo as pessoas capazes de catar votos que é podem estar na lista de deputados e por vezes, nem apercebem muita coisa. então, temos uma Assembleia sem a qualidade, vai se discutir o orçamento geral do estado. há pessoas só que recebem orientação do seu partido para levantar o braço, não vai questionar itens, como é que se vai fazer... então, temos esta situação. é necessário com, adaptar, visitar escolher o modelo, adaptar a realidade. houve esta, este ensaio... só que as pessoas navega muito pela moda. havia uma outra moda a funcionar, e tiveram que, que ir por aquela moda, não é.

[C] basicamente, apanharam o barco que estava aí a andar e decidiram navegar de acordo com ele, sem questionar se o barco estava estável ou não..

[F] depois havia também... o país estava... havia uma pressão a nível dos doadores. ou você adota o modelo tal,... ou... não tem financiamento. e depois também, com a pressão que havia por parte de muitos de aceder ao poder, porque estava a decorrer alguma mudança nos outros países, vizinho, os opositores históricos, como é referido aqui na Africa Ocidental, como Abdoulaye Wade no Senegal, ou outras pessoas lá no, no Blabou, Costa de Marfim, mesmo em Cabo Verde, então a oposição entendeu que por via da eleição podia chegar ao poder e ir contornar aquela implantação do partido único que tinha mais raízes.

[C] de facto, este tema é muitíssimo interessante, e é um tema, alias, que sai da esfera somente da politica e esta a envolver muitíssimos académicos. nos últimos tempos, estive a ler varias propostas de académicos africanos, não só da Guiné, mas da Nigéria, da Africa do Sul, a propor uma reformulação da politica estatal de forma a ser mais próxima a população, que seja uma coisa mais representativa e fidedigna da, do que as pessoas querem.

[F] infelizmente, no caso da Guiné, poucas pessoas estão a debater isto. principalmente, os intelectuais de... acima de 50, 60 anos, agora estão a contradizer todas as teorias, todos os debates em que estavam. parece que agora estão a ver um horizonte muito curto a justificar apenas para terem apenas algum apoio financeiro e abandonar toda a ideologia. por isso, a discussão esta muito pobre e os mais novos foram influenciados por essa gente, porque são pessoas que veneram, que formaram na base deles, não estão a notar que mudaram de opiniões, mudaram de postura. então, o debate aqui na Guiné esta muito, muito... incipiente. ele, voltou atras. ate o INEP, que era o centro onde se debatia muito, estas questões deixou de ser. a Faculdade de Direito, a mesma coisa. então, o debate transferiu-se mais nas redes sociais, mais nas academias, lá fora as pessoas que estão a preparar os trabalhos de... estudos avançados, mestrado e doutoramento, do que um debate com objetivo de procurar solução, é o que... esta, contrariamente a o que esta a acontecer, nos outros países.

[C] pois, essa que é... é uma pena. porque é uma debate que, de facto, tem uma utilidade pratica, não é só um daqueles debates para encher papeis e os papeis ficarem nas gavetas.

[F] sim, sim. é. por exemplo, neste momento, esta a decorrer um, dois processos de revisão constitucional. a ANP constituiu, juntando académicos diferentes... áreas, e mais. só que a forma como esta a conduzir para procurar mais consenso, e aparecer um, um senhor que quer um modelo para ter mais poder, e criou um outro comissão. vais ver, que estão juristas que ontem tinham defendido outra situação, e hoje viram que, talvez esse esta a disponibilizar mais dinheiro, mais rapidamente. e não estão, e inclusive não estão... estão a violar a lei. porque a iniciativa de revisão constitucional é de exclusiva competência de Assembleia, no nosso país. não do presidente, nem dos tribunais, nem do governo. estava.. então, esta a ver que o debate esta muito... reduzido as redes sociais. ou as rádios. algumas rádios, que são... mais ou menos vistas, por vezes, como subversores, mas realmente o debate decorre, mas não profundamente académico.

[C] ou seja, falta ainda esta ligação, ou pelo menos, um interesse mais genuíno por parte da politica neste debate.

[F] sim, sim, é é.

[C] que seja um interesse de facto em, querer melhorar a situação e não um simples jogo de poder. que é um problema da politica, no momento...

[F] é uma politica, como Bayart chamou, politica *de ventre*. neste momento estamos perante verdadeira situação de politica do ventre. sobrevivência. onde se recusa, as pessoas esqueceram toda a teoria, toda a planificação, todo o pragmatismo.

[C] pois, e só pensam é no ganho. então, a seu ver, pensando nesta situação, e no estado da Guiné hoje, o que é que legitima atores e partidos políticos a governar hoje, perante a população?

[F] noh, é a força, como estava a dizer. hoje... pode-se ganhar eleição. corromper, mesmo, alguma pessoa, desde que você tem apoio de forças armadas pode ocupar lugares... porque, vimos isso este ano mesmo, no mês de fevereiro. havia um governo saído das eleições, depois tivemos um governo de iniciativa presidencial, mas tinha apoio das FA, a colocar militares, impedir membros do governo anterior de entrarem. então. que legitima hoje é a força. mas para chegar a força são usadas mais de, identidades, religiosas, afinidade religiosa, ou tribais. porque há desequilíbrio em termos de FA, então se você tiver apoio de grupos maioritários, nomeadamente das FA, então, pelo menos na chefia, já pode esta legitimidade, legitimidade da força. mas ali... o que legitima hoje é a legitimação da força. e a população esta com pressão de ver quem resolver o seu problema. e não será resolvido, porque *i kurri atras* de promessas, julga que é desta vez. você pode ver, por exemplo, este ano, muita gente

apoiaram o atual regime com a ideia de que a castanha de caju ia custar 2000, 5000 a cada quilo. depois custou... então, muita gente acreditou nisto. aproveitou-se o analfabetismo das pessoas. nas só analfabetismo literal. mas aproveitou-se este analfabetismo e... enganou-se as pessoas. e depois, quando se esta no poder, o povo não há sistema de contar, de responsabilização, não é.

não estava a dizer, continuamos a ter legitimidade da força. ou legitimidade da identidade étnica.

[C] isso causa maior distanciamento perante a população, causa mais facionalismo. ou?

[F] eh. cria-se, causa mais distancia, porque uma vez, você elegendo uma pessoa, na base étnica, ou na base de compra de consciência, não tem obrigação a, a... a prestar. depois, outra coisa é que, se a pessoa tiver apoio das FA para chegar no poder, não precisa da população. vai legitimar só a esta... classe. esta classe...

[C] exatamente, é dominação, não é, uma legitimidade pegada simplesmente e puramente pela força, independentemente de qualquer outra ligação.

[F] então, a população não tem mecanismos de... cobrar.

[C] em relação ao falado projeto de modernização de estado, o que que, a seu ver, o que este projeto é, o que deveria ser feito, quais as ações que inclui.

[F] noh, o projeto de modernização de estado, deve começar primeiro pela forma de recrutamento, das pessoas, e as formas de promoção. se o recrutamento é baseado em critérios étnicos e políticos, de pertença, depois a própria promoção vai neste sentido, não se pode falar na modernização de estado. porque não há competência, não há legalidade. porque o estado deve funcionar na base da legalidade. as taxas que devem ser cobradas, devem estar previstas. evita-se esta corrupção de soçobros. portanto há responsabilização com base no mérito, e esta, a modernização deve começar primeiro em racionalização dos recursos humanos. e facilitar, portanto, facilitar, julgar eficiência, para a população estar em condições de poder exigir. por exemplo, na Guiné, eu estou a precisar há duas semanas dum passaporte. porque o meu, as folhas, —. mas imagine, toda a burocracia que é preciso, e é preciso conhecer alguém, para me facilitar, por causa... e imagine, isso, no meu caso. agora, um cidadão comum...! eu já que tenho algumas redes, conhecidas, e todo, enfrento aquilo. imagina um cidadão comum. depois, estes dias há muitas vezes que tem como base cobranças ilícitas.

[C] greve na função publica?

[F] na função publica. porquê? porque, primeiro porque... por exemplo, na saúde. na saúde, as pessoas, os técnicos estão envolvidos nesta luta contra COVID-19, e não estão a receber, mas há dinheiro que esta a entrar. e os funcionários de aeroporto que abriram há cinco meses, só tiveram de por em perigo alguns voos na, antontem, na 4a para a 5a, eles negociaram para serem pagos e levantarem a greve. há uma semana tivemos greve dos transportadores. todos, dos transportes públicos. esta a ver. mas é uma greve que em situação normal, podia-se falar de estado de graça. de... mas sabe-se que, você não pode apertar o cinto, os outros a engordarem cada vez mais. é o que esta a acontecer, nisto.

[C] então, a seu ver, se este projeto de modernização do estado for feito como deve de ser, quais benefícios que poderá trazer ou produzir para a população?

[F] noh...pode primeiro, tornar existente a administração publica como uma estrutura de apoio. as iniciativas privadas. nos sabemos, ultimamente... nos temos uma sociedade muito patriarcal, em que as mulheres submetem muito aos homens. e isso, é provocado não só pelas gerações culturais, mas por falta de oportunidades, por falta de poder económico das mulheres. e estas mulheres ultimamente, tem encontrado alternativa de contornar esse... paternalismo que existe. e agora, com a burocracia do estado, tornaram-se mais vítimas. com isto, o poder económico, porque são cobradas ilicitamente, são, subordinadas... são subornos, outras... então, é... enfraqueceu o seu poder. agora, com um estado organizado, um estado legalista, um estado capaz de promover investimento, aqui podemos, pode haver, redução da pobreza, pode haver, aumento da iniciativa privada. o desemprego. o estado deixa de ser principal empregador, porque neste momento é o estado é o principal empregador, da possibilidade as outras instituições para poderem ajudar na criação do emprego. então, esta é a vantagem da modernização do estado.

[C] de facto, é uma geral melhoria da qualidade de vida para todos. e, se não se importa, voltamos um pouco atras, quando estava a falar no estado em construção, a procura da sua identidade. e neste precisar duma reforma

estrutural, de alguma forma. no estado atual das coisas, qual acha que deveria ser o papel dos poderes tradicionais nesta reestruturação?

[F] eh... os poderes tradicionais podia ajudar a manter, a traduzir aquilo que é a política dos governos centrais. em termos de, manter a coesão, em termos de mediação dos conflitos que existem, em termos de sensibilização, porque vimos... há questões enraizadas da cultura. por exemplo, permitir a escolarização das raparigas, para irem para a escola. acabar com casamentos forçados ou casamentos precoces, incentivar as pessoas as campanhas de vacinação, que por vezes, vai, chama uma pessoa e distorce tudo aquilo. então, os poderes tradicionais, mais próximos da população podiam ajudar em mediar em conflitos de espaço de agricultura, ajudar na sensibilização e servirem de ligação com as autoridades centrais, estatais. só que estes poderes tradicionais, também estão em crise muitos. porque... há muito conflito sobre quem é que deve ser o regulo duma determinada zona. porque, houve um período em que estes poderes tradicionais foram silenciados, esmagados. quando, se pretende reabilitar, houve logo pessoas que... por exemplo, o meu pai é que era regulo, eu vou pretender que vou assumir o lugar do meu pai, no... mas por vezes não deve ser eu, aquilo é trocado, devia ser o irmão do meu pai, ou o seu sobrinho. então... para ter apoio, para que as pessoas tenham apoio, vão por vezes buscar apoio no estado. na polícia e tudo, esta a ver. isto, desfigura o poder tradicional, porque não há já, junto da população perde legitimidade, a sua autoridade já de força. esta a ver... então, o poder tradicional neste aspeto, também, alguns poderes tradicionais estão a perder esta situação. porque também não há mesmo, meios de sustentar os poderes tradicionais. porque o poder tradicional precisa de meios, para fazer aquelas cerimónias que se fazem... e como é que se sustentava? através de terra, através de....

[...]

através de algumas taxas que as pessoas davam, e hoje não há estas taxas.

[...]

[F] esta bem, o poder tradicional, esta também em crise um pouco. este poder tradicional...

[C] ou seja, pelos vistos, a crise do próprio poder tradicional é devida aos efeitos e a presença do estado,...

[F] devido a interferência do estado. o estado interferiu num determinado momento no poder tradicional, então, fragilizou.... e agora precisa dele, mas o poder tradicional esta a navegar de acordo com quem esta no poder. assim é que esta a funcionar...

[C] é como dizer que, em parte, o poder tradicional perdeu parte da sua identidade e se deixou afetar, e também se deixou lisonjear por estar incluído nestes jogos de poder..

[F] sim, sim, incluiu, foi grande mesmo, foi afetado muito nisto. o poder tradicional. e também quando falamos em poder tradicional, nos.... assistimos ate invenção de tradição [emphasis]. por exemplo, havia zonas que não tinham o poder tradicional igual a outra. vai-se... uma espécie de eleger ou indigitar uma pessoa para ser o chefe tradicional duma zona, e isso tenho de.... isso é invenção da tradição, não é tradicional. e... porque há zonas em que, quem manda, quem tem muita influencia, é o chefe religioso. por exemplo, imam, não é um dos chefes... há zonas em que ele é um chefe, é um... sacerdote tradicional, um balobeiro, como se diz, que tem muita influencia., então, e ate assistimos a uma situação muito caricata, obviamente, a dizer que vai se aprovar uma lei, de integração do poder tradicional. então... já deixa de ser tradicional. quando é a lei a reconhecê-lo. esta a ver...

[C] pois, já deixa de ser tradicional, por definição...

[F] claro. então, há esta crise do poder tradicional, primeiro porque houve aproveitamento de estado, não se consentiu encontrar... e depois porque, hoje devido aos princípios da liberdade, da democracia, não se pode cobrar impostos pelo poder tradicional e as pessoas não podem ser obrigadas a irem, a participarem nas lavoras dos chefes tradicionais, então todo isso fragilizou um pouco o poder tradicional.

[C] mas, mesmo assim, não obstante estas crises, ele continua resiliente na sua legitimidade perante a população.

[F] alguns continuaram a estar, muito resilientes, a serem muito reconhecidos.

[C] acha que é por uma questão histórica, ou cultural, religiosa...?

[F] noh, razoes culturais. principalmente aqueles poderes culturais que também estão ligada a religiões tradicionais. porque há algumas zonas em que titular de poder tradicional tem legitimidade também religiosa. há

cerimonias em que ele, por exemplo por iniciar o cultivo, ele é que deve dirigir para distribuir certas terras, para fazer certas coisas juntos ao seu santuários, são esses. esses são mais resilientes. vimos isso há pouco nos Bijagós. portanto, aí o poder tradicional não é apenas um chefe indigitado que, ao lado tem o poder religioso e depois tem outros poderes. não. há uma certa... ligação.

[C] em qual caso específico é que esta a referir-se acerca dos Bijagós? acho que não sei no que esta a falar.

[F] noh.. os, por exemplo, os regulos dos Bijagós. primeiro, são digitados de acordo com umas determinadas regras tradicionais. há famílias em cada zona, há linhagem que tem esse domínio. mas dentro destas linhagens, estas pessoas de, uma vez eleitas, eles tem que fazer certas cerimonias. então, esta a ver... a população precisa deles, porque senão, se não fizerem estas cerimonias, a população também não esta, não consegue levar a sua vida normal, esta a ver. há uma espécie de... interligação. enquanto, o chefe tradicional, por exemplo em Gabu. o que é que a população depende dele? nada! porque para ir para rezar, eles não precisam dele. para ir cultivar, não precisa dele. eles são. muçulmanos, simplesmente o chefe tradicional não tem aquele papel para além de um chefe escolhido, que se não esta não dará muita falta. enquanto que, o chefe tradicional Bijagós, o chefe tradicional Balanta ou Pepel, esse, tem missões, nas cerimonias fúnebres, na agricultura, nas iniciações, tudo, esta a ver. então, estes chefes tradicionais, que tem algum papel, dito, religioso, são mais resilientes. eh, são mais resilientes. porque têm... há alguma necessidade, há uma ligação mutua. a população precisa deles, porque senão não vão fazer... e eles também precisam da população.

[C] pois, uma dupla necessidade, dos dois lados. agora que esta a falar no poder tradicional, referiu-se varias vezes ao chefe. mas acha que dentro do universo do poder tradicional também existe um caracter democrático deste poder politico, ou é mais...?

[F] eh, aquele tradicionais é muito democrático, mesmo os que são escolhidos. não pode violar algumas normas. não são democráticos no sentido de eleição. mas de defenderem, de obedecerem os interesses da população. e ate são controlados. por exemplo, os mais velhos, há algumas pessoas, controlam estes poderes diretamente. não pode desviar tanto. então, e neste sentido, podemos dizer que... são dotados de alguma orientação democrática.

[C] neste aspeto, existe a seu ver alguma possibilidade de cooperação formalizada entre estado e poderes tradicionais?

[F] sim, existe. principalmente aqueles poderes tradicionais que não tem problemas de legitimidade tanto... então, eles estão mais próximos. porque o estado, é ausente em muita coisa. então, os poderes tradicionais podem ajudar. e também a população, por vezes, não tem um porta-voz, assim. é necessário o poder tradicional ter acesso aos órgãos centrais do estado e servir de porta-voz também da população.

[C] queria perguntar-lhe sobre uma outra questão. como considera o posicionamento dos poderes tradicionais perante praticas que são lesivas dos direitos humanos, como no caso das CI?

[F] noh... aí... os poderes tradicionais em muitas zonas, eles acreditam também naquilo. achas que é um elemento... da cultura. então, estas CI acreditam que são irâns! então devem ser afastados senão vão fazer mal a sociedade. quando é assim, o poder tradicional é, torna-se cúmplice daqueles atos de infanticídio ritual. os poderes tradicionais... mas quando um, alguns autoridades tradicionais foi sensibilizados e não... acham que aquilo não pode ser, criam um sistema de vigia, portanto não, ajudam em salvar esta organização. por isso, ultimamente, os poderes tradicionais são muito usados... quando falo de chefe, temos chefe, temos imam, temos balobeiro, estes, todos eles dependem de hegemonia na sua zona. são poderes tradicionais, então, eles, sensibilizados, conseguem ajudar bastante. agora, quando também não estão sensibilizados tornam-se quase porta-vozes de aqueles males, daquelas pessoas que fazem males. defensores. nos vimos isso no caso de, fanado, de MGF. os poderes tradicionais é que acham que aquilo faz parte da cultura, faz parte da religião, não querem que a população... o que vê, os acusa, de irem contra a cultura e querem ter o apoio da população para que se diga que eles é que defendem, a população. porque esta posição do poder tradicional depende sempre da legitimidade que tem. quando tem muita legitimidade, consegue dar ordens.

[C] portanto, é uma sorta de tolerância que acaba por legitimar esta pratica, de alguma forma.

[F] é, é.

[C] e, pelo contrario, qual o posicionamento do estado?

[F] noh... o estado, normalmente perante as praticas tradicionais, sanciona. há leis, há instituições. só que... para esse, de acordo com a justiça formal, os meses de prova, a legitimidade para dar impulso processual, acabam por influenciar tudo isso. eu ate me lembro o exemplo... um acidente de viação. a pessoa que estava a conduzir estava bêbedo. depois, atropelou outra pessoa, e faleceu. eu fui advogado daquela família, que, cujo familiar foi atropelado, mas chegou um determinado momento dizer que não devo continuar o julgamento. porque vieram a descobrir que há uma coisa que eles não cumpriram, por isso é que o irân veio a ter com ele. mas era uma pressão! o estado... ministério publico e tudo, diz que aquilo é um crime publico e tudo, não depende da vossa vontade. portanto, o julgamento vai a frente. mas andaram a dizer que não, estão a acontecer mais coisas, porque aquele pessoa esta a ser julgado. ele não é culpado de, de tudo aquilo. aconteceu alguma coisa. esta a ver... como é que isto por vezes funciona.

[C] portanto, acha que por dentro do estado estas crenças já aparecem de alguma forma, já esta mais desconstruída?

[F] sim, sim, esta mais desconstruída mas funciona. e por vezes, você não encontra ninguém para ir testemunhar, que assiste,, a pessoa mesmo que assiste não aceita dar declaração, ou por vezes tem medo, porque a pessoa que vai ser julgada tem poderes sobrenaturais então pode vingar-se depois se for sancionada ou se for homiliado, porque, por vezes, levar a justiça estatal é humilhação por algumas pessoas. então, há aquelas crença de que ele é superpoderoso, pode vir a vingar-se.

[C] neste caso, isto acaba por criar alguma ineficiência por parte do estado em tomar ações mais fortes?

[F] sim, sim. e crimes.. depois se recordarmos que... ainda, estamos numa geração que podemos dizer de transição, geração que saiu daquela... que ainda da tradição, que tem uma forte raízes na tradição, apesar de licenciatura em direito e tudo, eu já vi advogados que vão entrar para o julgamento, tem que levantar ainda as becas para pôr algum amuleto, antes de ir para o julgamento [laugh] esta a ver... não estão a funcionar com critérios científicos. ainda acreditam que podem ganhar justiça por causa daquilo... advogados, formados, eh! a fazer aquilo... ehehe!! ainda, ainda, há mistura entre o tradicional e o dito moderno.

[C] e é um situação pervasiva em todas as áreas..

[F] da justiça, a administração publica, na política... porque, na politica.. não sei se ouviu falar no fenómeno de jagudi que foram mortas na zona de Bafata e Gabu. nos meses de janeiro e fevereiro do ano passado, houve muitos jagudis encontrados mortos, que é uma espécie que a nossa organização ambiental protege. temos uma organização ODGH, organização defesa de zonas húmidas dos aves, e tivemos que ir, mas que é que se encontra? depois, são, jagudis envenenadas, eles matam uma vaca, poem algum produtos, substancia, que este, estes aves comem e depois morrem, e eles vão cortar cabeça e as unhas, destes. mas é... viemos a saber, são para questões politicas. [laughs] alguém julga, fazendo aquilo, pode ganhar eleições! esta a ver... então, esta coisa ainda esta presente na mentalidade das pessoas...

[C] sim, esta presente na mentalidade das pessoas, as mesmas pessoas que estão a formar a população e os atores políticos, sempre são pessoas..

[F] os atores políticos, exatamente..

[C] não é por ter entrado na politica que isso apaga numa só pincelada todo o passado que uma pessoa tem. há coisas que permanecem.

[F] sim, sim, é.

### 3.5 Interview with Joao Pinto C6 (INEP)

Interview sample 6 (Academics)

November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Lisbon

[C] O Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense. é um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. eu queria saber se concorda com esta afirmação e quais acha que são as funções do Estado e das suas instituições.

[J] olha pode-se dizer que formalmente, o Estado guineense é soberano. todavia, o recurso da formação do Estado e da nação guineense, tendo em conta as próprias fragilidades, criadas ao longo da história da Guiné-Bissau, mostram uma certa erosão na soberania. falo basicamente do, do.. de alguns. Conflitos subjacentes na Guiné-Bissau, onde a intervenção de nações parceiras e que gozam de uma certa hegemonia em relação a geopolítica na África Ocidental, particularmente na Guiné-Bissau, tomam algumas iniciativas ou decisões em relação a, a.. ao que deve ser feito em relação a Guiné-Bissau. portanto aí podemos ver que a Guiné-Bissau perde uma certa.. soberania em relação a... aquilo que, que deveria ser um Estado soberano, um Estado autónomo. fala que, não só de algumas decisões que são tomadas de um ponto de vista unilateralismo, este — unilateralismo, quando as intervenções de algumas nações, principalmente europeias, são vistas a delinear o percurso da Guiné-Bissau, quando há um intervento do ponto de vista de multilateralismo, a CEDEAO, a própria UE, e etc. portanto, podemos até aqui dizer que formalmente o que está na constituição, mas não é o, não é o que é vivenciando no dia a dia da Guiné-Bissau e dos guineenses... a outra pergunta...? acho que são duas perguntas.

[C] se é um órgão legítimo e soberano?

[J] sim, o Estado Guineense é um órgão legítimo e soberano.

[C] ... e democrático?

[J] aaah... bem. não conheço nenhuma nação na verdade que viva 100% a sua democracia, os cidadãos gozam 100% da sua cidadania. Guiné-Bissau vive uma democracia formal, vota normalmente, ao mesmo tempo que a democracia não é celebrada como em outros países. vota-se, hoje amanhã.. o poder eleito é destituído. se olharmos para aquilo que é constitucional, aquilo que é a democracia no sentido lato da palavra, a Guiné-Bissau não vive... nem.. não vive 100%. ou seja, há uma democracia parcial na Guiné-Bissau. uma democracia que quando encolha uma crise, que é endossada pela comunidade internacional e, e busca-se uma forma de ajeitar as coisas para que tudo funcione... não normalmente, mas... aquilo que é aceitável para que haja uma paz, mesmo que seja uma paz pobre do ponto de vista social.

[C] claro. e, neste sentido, a segunda parte da pergunta era: quais acha que são as funções do Estado e das suas instituições?

[J] olha, o Estado.. é, representa a paz social, o bem social, garantir o mínimo do mínimo da cidadania aos cidadãos nacionais, enquanto que as instituições deveriam estar a cumprir com as suas funções, mas no caso da Guiné-Bissau, talvez a única instituição que pelo menos consegue avançar os fins da república é a polícia, eh, por razões óbvias. do resto, as funções de, de proteção social, garantir o bem-estar social, garantir a segurança financeira, a saúde, etcetera, deixa muito a desejar na Guiné-Bissau.

[C] inclui também o setor da educação?

[J] olha, a educação, a função do Estado, o objetivo de garantir educação com vista ao progresso, ao desenvolvimento, a.. elucidação digamos assim; estas funções infelizmente não são cumpridas há anos. se olharmos para a crise, ou a... a crónica greve no setor da educação, portanto, as funções do Estado em relação à educação não são cumpridas no mínimo do mínimo.

[C] portanto acha, no geral, diria que o Estado guineense não cumpre com as suas funções?

[J] não consegue cumprir, em grande parte, em grande parte. senão.. nós hoje não estaríamos enquanto guineenses a votar atipicamente. em vez de votamos em cada, no fim de cada legislatura, votamos novamente sempre que houve, sempre que há uma rotura política.

[C] e isso é muito mais frequente, então, neste sentido, tendo em consideração estas dificuldades que o Estado tem, o que acha que é preciso para um político, um partido político ou o Estado, o que façam para conseguir suporte estável pela população? ou seja, o que é que os legitima, qual é a base de apoio que os legitima a governar?

[J] olha, eu creio que é preciso que a Guiné-Bissau seja amparada pela comunidade internacional. mudar o modus operandi, porque tudo que tem sido feito até aqui... tem, tem sortido poucos resultados positivos. por isso mesmo que, a Guiné-Bissau continua no patamar onde se encontra, um patamar indesejável pelos guineenses, né, e é preciso que tantos os partidos políticos quanto os atores políticos recebam algum tipo de reeducação no que diz respeito a fazer político, respeito a função dos partidos políticos, de modo a puder garantir o básico da estabilidade, e etcetera. agora,... no que diz respeito ainda a própria função dos atores políticos creio que a educação, tem que, tem que receber uma atenção especial, uma educação ao cidadão, né, ... o ensino básico pode ajudar bastante. o que, o que acontece na Guiné-Bissau, infelizmente, é uma falta de cultura política, e respeitar as regras e as leis estabelecidas, conforme a, a.. reza a nossa constituição da república, conforme reza a, as boas maneiras e as práticas políticas. depois práticas políticas que, poderia a meu ver, conseguir fazer com que o país reencontrasse o, um rumo ao desenvolvimento, que o país encontrasse por exemplo, a forma de uma boa governação, respeito as instituições, né, um espírito de institucionalismo poderia ajudar bastante, não a personalização das coisas, e a pro, o próprio apelo ao, digamos assim, ao culto dos líderes. que não líder na verdade, são lideranças... circunstanciais.

[C] o que é que quer dizer com isso?

[J] olha, o que se.. o que tem vindo a acontecer na Guiné-Bissau, os interesses pessoais, os interesses particulares, os interesses de pequenos grupos e [...] acabam por prevalecer sobre os interesses, o interesse comum, os interesses partidários enquanto as premiações políticas poderiam estar a propostar ou a conduzir alguns projetos de coesão social, de coesão nacional, projetos de desenvolvimento do país, mas não está a ser observado na Guiné-Bissau. então há uma crise instalada, crise inclusive grave, em relação aos projetos, ou a... algumas agendas nacionais, agendas de Estado que poderiam estar a conduzir o país rumo ao desenvolvimento. Portanto, os interesses pessoais, a deterioração do Estado, o, o... a utilização do país enquanto território digamos assim, de transição de estupefaciente, também tem sido um ponto que contribui negativamente não só no investimento estrangeiro mas na própria creditação do país perante o sistema, perante os parceiros.

[C] e aos olhos da população, como é que estes fenómenos, vamos assim dizer, de interesses partidários, ou estar a jogar jogos políticos pela cor da camisola, para assim dizer, como é que estes fenómenos ressaltam aos olhos da população?

[J] olha, lamentavelmente, a população guineenses tem sido conquistada aos poucos, não pelos ideais, digamos, democráticos, ideais que emanam.. a consolidação da república, a consolidação da paz, a consolidação, mais uma vez, da democracia, mas sim por alguns interesses... tribais, interesses regionais, interesses religiosos, que acabam por pegar força em detrimento do, do dum projeto nacional, dum projeto de desenvolvimento, dum projeto que... conquiste o voto. lamentavelmente, o que tem acontecido na Guiné-Bissau, é que a população tem sido arrastada para, para esse, esse discurso, principalmente nas últimas eleições. esse a meu ver tem muito, tem muito a ver com, com a falta duma instrução escolar, que ao longo dos anos, não tivemos oportunidade de vangloriar duma educação que verdadeiramente eduque de forma cidadão a todos os cidadãos guineenses e que pudesse ajudar a tirar o cidadão do obscurantismo.

[C] pois, isso dificulta muito, tentar criar um diferente tipo de cultura política entre a população. dificulta, sem dúvida

[J] tanta falta desta cultura política, infelizmente, quase todos são arrastados, pelo vias tribais, ou eixo regional, qualquer tipo de afinidade que não tem a ver com a unidade nacional e que não tem a ver também com a, o projeto de desenvolvimento nacional.

[C] neste aspetos, quando,... um dos temas que sobressai muito é o da “modernização” do Estado. Como considera que este projeto possa trazer ou produzir bem-estar para a população?

[J] o Estado.. por ser a Guiné-Bissau um Estado pobre, um Estado frágil... a modernização do Estado poderia trazer, tao assim falada a modernização do Estado da Guiné-Bissau há tempos, com inclusive a criação dum ministério da função pública e modernização do Estado, e que não tem funcionado bem, e na verdade quando este,



esse dois ministérios, são aglutinados a função pública acaba por ofuscar a modernização do Estado. e a própria crise cíclica, tem sido motivo de não andamento da modernização do Estado. cada vez que entra o, entra alguns atores políticos, acabam por recrutar os seus co legionários para a função pública, né. ou seja, acabam por, certa maneira, inchar o Estado guineense, já pobre, combalido, que não tem condição para suportar uma massa salarias que nos temos, uma nação que depende grandemente da ajuda externa, se houvesse na verdade modernização de Estado, poderia não só ajudar na capacitação de recursos humanos, tanto poderia ajudar também na, na conscientização e numa produção dentro do, do, do Estado... uma produção que infelizmente não acontece porque não há capacitação do, do do,,, funcionários públicos. não há, inclusive, um projeto dentro dos ministérios que pudesse encorajar e sensibilizar as pessoas a trabalharem. muito que vão, trabalha na função pública guineense, cumprem formalmente com a assinatura do ponto diário, e.. não são incumbidos certas tarefas, para trabalhar e produzir. portanto, quando não há remuneração de Estado, quando há, não há inclusive a, a... meios informáticos para reduzir a burocracia, para facilitar a tramitação dos processos, para acompanhar... e, e partilhar alguma, alguns documentos, digamos assim, formais, dentro da FP, isto acaba por atrasar, o país acaba por criar situações que contribuem para o atraso do Estado guineense.

[C] então, na sua opinião, o projeto de modernização do Estado, quais elementos essenciais é que deveria envolver?

[J] primeiro, tem que pautar... nós, na Guiné-Bissau já temos funcionários públicos, alguns formados, outros, não. deveria pautar na formação, na formação, pensar na formação das pessoas que servem ao Estado, pensar numa capacitação continua, né, para a acompanhar o mundo moderno, inclusive, pensar em... em como os servidores públicos, a começar pelos cargos que são políticos, pensar no perfil, no perfil das pessoas que devem ser colocadas em funções, pensar nos cargos estratégicos como diretores gerais, diretores de serviços e técnicos essenciais que devem ser indispensáveis, né, para pensar, deve servir de, digamos, uma base angular, para pensar as estratégias ao desenvolvimento do país. também concursos públicos, devem ser, a meu ver, uma chave, não para só pensar em uma modernização, mas também para dar uma estabilidade e atrair investimento publico, investimento estrangeiro.

[C] ótimo. pronto... como estávamos a falar antes de começar a entrevista, ao lado destas questões de instabilidade do Estado, instabilidade no sentido do governo, instabilidade de governo e da modernização, também outro assunto em que se ouve muito falar é o dos poderes tradicionais e religiosos. na sua opinião, quem é que são esses poderes? como os caracterizaria? ou seja, se pensar em poderes tradicionais e poderes religiosos no dia de hoje, quem é que eles são?

[J] a sociedade guineense é uma sociedade que vive muito, muito atrelada a religião, vive muito atrelada aos costumes tradicionais. portanto, eu acredito que esses, esses poderes, essas autoridades, as comunidades tradicionais e religiosas, a tiveram e continuam a ter um papel fulcral na, na mediação e resolução de conflitos na Guiné-Bissau. podem ser usadas para a consolidação do Estado e direito democrático, porque acho que não se pode pensar um Estado sem pensar os costumes do país, sem pensar as tradições do país, que a biografia guineense continua muito ligada a estas comunidades, a estes poderes. talvez é mais fácil hoje um cidadão guineense a cumprir ou a seguir as orientações de um imam ou de um padre, de um [...] ou de, de um balobeiro, que é um líder tradicional, que as orientações por exemplo de um juiz. portanto, esses, esses elementos, estes elementos podem... ajudar bastante na consolidação de Estado, ajudar bastante na reconciliação entre os guineenses, estes atores tem um papel fundamental porque são eles, porque são eles que... eles que orientam ainda as sociedades. inclusive, os próprios governantes para consolidarem ou a formarem o poder muitas das vezes recorrem a estes atores, religiosos ou tradicionais, etcetera.

[C] então... considera que esses, o poder tradicional e religioso, concorrem com o poder do Estado? ou seja, são dois poderes que funcionam um ao lado do outro e que se ajudam de alguma forma?

[J] tanto que concorrem, tanto que trabalham conjuntamente. agora... o poder tradicional, em muitos casos, são mais recorridos que o poder de Estado. esse é visível principalmente quando alguns cidadãos estão com problemas de saúde... por não terem condições financeiras de irem ao hospital pagar a consulta de 2000CFA sem saber quanto é que pagara de remedio com a receita que vão a receber, sem falar em analise laboratoriais, prefere recorrer a um curandeiro. por exemplo, isso demonstra... e há uns que quando tem algum problema que entendem que a justiça formal não pode resolver, recorrerem aos irâns por exemplo, né. para buscar uma forma de justiça ou

represalha em que lhe causou ou causa algum tipo de mal. portanto, acho que neste quesito é muito palpável, né, como as pessoas algumas vezes recorrem... por exemplo, quem esta em Uno, ou Bubaque ou Biombo dificilmente vai procurar um juiz quando.. sobe que... algum tipo, com algum tipo de justiça ou quando... é levado com furto ou roubo. talvez prefere ir ao irân, do que ir a justiça. ou quando alguém lhe causa algum mal, de, de por exemplo agressão no trabalho ou físico, algum tipo de acusação de feitiçaria, talvez ninguém vai, muitos não vão a justiça formal, preferem ir ao irân, ou ao djambakos, né, buscar algum tipo de justiça. ao mesmo tempo que há muita gente também não vai a, a... não recorre a justiça formal para resolver problemas de demarcação de terreno etcetera, preferem ir ao irân que pegar algum tipo de, digamos, não amuleto, mas algum material que acredita-se que esta possuída de algum espírito e colocam no terreno para que o seu, a, a pessoa com esteja em contenda não vai fazer uso daquele terreno. e infelizmente a... degradação ainda em formação na Guiné-Bissau, tem feito com que as pessoas, com que as pessoas [não] preferem o Estado formal e vão.. e recorrem aos poderes tradicionais e que não só.. se manifesta em líderes religiosos mas também se manifesta nos espíritos e em algum tipo de, de, de imagem que acreditam de que ali esteja o irân ou os espíritos ancestrais.

[C] e neste aspetos, seja que as pessoas tem essa possibilidade de, vamos assim dizer, uma dupla escolha, tem alguma cooperação a existir entre Estado e poderes tradicionais?

[J] muitos preferem recorrer aos poderes tradicionais. agora acho que o Estado, o Estado moderno, o Estado instituído, formal, o Estado que... é emanado pela assembleia, pelo governo pelo PR, o território delimitado politicamente, este Estado deve-se adaptar. por exemplo, em outros países, por exemplo, o Costa de Marfim, Nigéria, os, os... os acusados de feitiçaria são julgados através dos tribunais tradicionais, né, ou algum tipo de justiça tradicional, acho que o Estado guineense pode se adaptar de acordo com as nossas realidades e as nossas necessidades, a este tipo de justiça, mas ... muitos ainda... recentemente, lembro ainda dum caso, dum funcionário publico, que foi acusado de corrupção, de roubo de dinheiro, que alega ter levado o dinheiro, para ser multiplicado para um marabu. portanto [laughs] o dinheiro de Estado, isso, isso é, é incluir uma novidade na Guiné-Bissau! em outros tempos tivemos outro que levou, disse ter levado o dinheiro para um espírito e o espírito engoliu o dinheiro e não pode... digamos, vomitar o dinheiro entre aspas, para que o dinheiro fosse devolvido ao Estado! portanto, há, há sempre essa, essa questão do Estado moderno ali presente, formado em '73, com os poderes secularmente pré-estabelecidos na Guiné-Bissau.

[C] e no sentido da governação, quando se trata, por exemplo, de impor uma nova politica, ou como no caso da pandemia, impor regras de confinamento, nestas questões, o Estado procura cooperar com os poderes tradicionais, ou nem por isso? para fazer para que as pessoas cumpram no geral com as regras.

[J] atualmente, neste caso aqui, da pandemia provocada pelo Coronavírus, inclusive nós enquanto cidadãos, professores e investigadores, tentamos no geral orientar o governo neste sentido. a procurar linguagem, a procurar orientações, a procurar adequar a... o combate à realidade de cada, de cada grupo, de cada região, de cada aldeia. portanto, o Estado tem buscado adaptar a, a luta e o combate a, de acordo com a realidade de cada lugar. em outros tempos, de surto ou epidemia de cólera também tem havido um esforço ou uma tentativa de trabalhar com os poderes tradicionais. neste momento, por exemplo, o Estado guineense tem tentado, com alguma linguagem, ou comunicação de risco, de acordo com as, as diferentes grupos étnico e religiosos que compõem o tecido social da Guiné-Bissau. pelo menos ate aqui tem havido uma tentativa de adaptação, né... aquilo que é o corpo da Guiné-Bissau, que é essa diferença étnica, diferença linguística, diferença de costumes.

[C] pensando nestas diferenças, pelo menos há um ponto que acomuna todos os poderes tradicionais e religiosos, que é que eles não aparentam sofrer tantas crises ou instabilidade como o governo. porque é que isso acontecem na sua opinião?

[J] continua a haver, continua a haver um respeito dentro das comunidades tradicionais e religiosas, um respeito ancestral, dependendo de que tipo de sociedade estamos a falar. continua havendo um respeito ao sacerdócio, continua a haver um certo tipo de receio ou temor, né, a... a pessoa, do, do sacerdote, a pessoa do líder, na Guiné-Bissau. portanto, acho que este medo, este respeito à liderança tem ajudado a preservar uma certa estabilidade. mas isto... há certos, certos momentos, a modernidade tem trazido também alguns questionamentos em relação a questão da, da... da sucessão. portanto, falo aquela questão de casta ou questão de clã, quando há uma certa duvida, quando há também um certo direito adquirido em relação a certos bens, este direitos já patenteados no papel, né, o direito civil, por exemplo, há uns que buscam também de certa maneira, esta garantia de Estado no

papel, reivindicando a certos, cetos... certos bens e certos direitos. portanto, quando isso ocorre acaba por haver algum tipo de conflito, entre o poder tradicional e os membros, ou seja, pessoas que fazem, os sujeitos que fazem parte daquele, daquele sociedade ou daquela aldeia. portanto, mesmo, na verdade essas... essas poderes, essas sociedades, essas instituições gozam duma estabilidade o tempo todo. as vezes ocorrem situações de clivagem etc.

[C] quando esta a falar em comunidades tradicionais ou religiosas, em que é que esta a falar, exatamente? o que é que quer dizer com isso?

[J] olha, por ser sociedades, que, que... vivem duma consciência coletiva onde o totem por exemplo, duma certa comunidade, sociedade balanta por exemplo, lagarto ou lobo por exemplo, ou os papeis, onde talvez o lebre etc., são tidos como elemento ou de adoração ou de proteção, ao podemos ver como é que a comunidade, a sociedade tradicional, né, tem um certo, um certo respeito e peso, ao mesmo tempo que, dentro deste totemismo, dentro destas comunidades, onde o líder que é tomado, dum certo clã, duma certa casta, não é bem venerado, mas respeitado por ter sido escolhido pelos ancestrais, ai podemos ver como é que esta sociedade, esta comunidade tradicional, também goza de um certo, duma certa representação digamos religiosa. claro que há outras cidades a... ou comunidades religiosas, como a cristão, a islâmica, a evangélica, por exemplo, onde o pastor ou o imam, que possui um certo conhecimento doutrinário, do ponto de vista da religião, é também respeitado e goza também duma certa influencia e dum certo poder de conduzir os seus fieis entre aspas, a um caminho que é indicado no manual, que é a Bíblia, o Alcorão, etc. ai, no caso de comunidade tradicional, vamos ver que, que, o que orienta, é aquilo que o, o... os ancestrais, no caso dos Papeis “do fundo”, como dizem, orienta e a sociedade tem que seguir aquilo que é dito pelo balobeiro, pelo porta-voz, digamos assim, o tcholonadur?? etc.

[C] portanto, neste caso, não se referiria a comunidade num sentido geográfico?

[J] não necessariamente. porque veja, veja.. veja bem, repare só. há sociedades, no caso, sociedades ou comunidades que estão assentadas num certo território geográfico, e há sociedades ou comunidades que são fluidas. tanto... Biombo é diferente, por exemplo, o grupo Oyun, um grupo linguístico da região geográfica de Biombo, não região administrativa, vai ser diferente do, por exemplo, Fula, que é um grupo fluido, de Bafata, Gambu, e adentra Bissau, e que seus modos costumeiros, digamos, etcetera, são diferentes de Balantas, por exemplo, que é uma comunidade talvez, também geográfica, dum certo território, de Nhoma, ou de Nhaqra, ou ate da região de Fulacumba, etcetera. portanto, há esta questão também que... se vive a partir do imaginário. portanto, qualquer ritual, qualquer... funeral dentro de Balanta, Papeis, tem muito a ver com a questão do *chão* dum certo território, delineado... mesmo que não possa falar aqui de delimitação de ponto de vista politico, pelo governo ou pelo Estado, mas um território [...] que é um território ancestral, que é, que vai ser diferente do, do Fula, portanto o toca-tchoro de Papel ou Balanta, geralmente, se faz no território ancestral. talvez o funeral do Fula ou Mandinga, não necessariamente deve acontecer ali, né. pode ser onde esteja, onde esteja habitado... o patriarca da família onde a pessoa mesmo, a falecida habitava. portanto, há sempre esta questão do território, que é estático, no caso do Papeis ou Balantas, diferente dos Fulas, por exemplo, que vão... vivendo conforme a sua prosperidade económica, conforme o seu negocio, etcetera.

[C] neste especto, quando pensar nos poderes tradicionais, no facto que eles trabalham ao lado do Estado, de vez em quando cooperam, como avaliaria o caracter democrático dos poderes tradicionais, da politica tradicional, por assim chamar?

[J] bem... talvez, ao contrario do que se pode pensar dos poderes tradicionais, como muitos... que acham que talvez é um poder, um poder onde talvez não haja uma democracia, onde a maioria talvez não opina, etcetera... há toda, há todo um sistema, um filtro de comunicação, onde tanto a mulher opina, tanto o homem opina. os poderes tradicionais, por exemplo, ou quando há um ritual de fanado, dos Manjacos, por exemplo, é como se estivéssemos a pensar ou a trabalhar um plano de governo plurianual. onde se decide o que vai acontecer naquele certo tempo ate, ate haver um novo ritual de iniciação que é o fanado. onde os homens consultam, as suas esposas, sobre o que deve ser feito. é verdade que... na reunião onde se vai decidir tudo, é uma reunião onde só participam os homens. as mulheres previamente dão as suas palavras, dão a suas opiniões aos homens. portanto há sempre esta situação de discussão, e onde também as decisões são tomadas simbolicamente... é um lugar onde, onde se acredita que esteja um espirito ancestral. de baio dum poilao, debaixo dum [... jelum??], debaixo dum baobabe, calabaceira, etcetera. portanto, há toda uma participação das pessoas, e participação de entes espirituais. agora,

se tentarmos ver como fazer uma comparação com a democracia, pelo menos aquela democracia que nos conhecemos, ou tentamos evidenciar dum ponto de vista formal, democracia que foi [...] etc. etc., e que os países africanos também adotaram, talvez não vamos conseguir fazer uma analogia em relação a isso. porque não há, por exemplo... códigos escritos pré-estabelecidos, como deve acontecer. estamos a falar numa sociedade onde a oralidade pesa mais do que a... os preceitos das fitas.

[C] ótimo. e pensando nesta situação, chamamos assim, política tradicional, como é que considera o posicionamento das autoridades tradicionais, tao como da comunidade tradicional perante fenómenos que aos olhos do Estado pode ser contraditório, como por exemplo o caso de crianças-irân?

[J] desculpa, não entendi bem a pergunta.

[c] como considera o posicionamento dos poderes tradicionais e comunidades tradicionais perante fenómenos tao como o casos das crianças-irân?

[J] bem... neste caso... a decisão, quando for crianças-irân, acreditar-se que alguns espíritos malignos podem manifestar-se e possuir certos corpos vivos e andantes... a decisão sobre o abandono de crianças-irân ... alias, antes do abandono há toda estro? de constatação se ele é ou não é crianças-irân,... é feito a partir do, do espirito ancestral. o que chamamos de “bota sorte”. há toda uma questão ali, de, de... de evidencia. a saber como isso, como é que isso funciona. se a pessoa, se esta criança é ou não é bem-vinda, se a criança é possuída, se a criança foi enviada por um espirito maligno, para causar mal a sociedade, ou se a criança é também enviada para comer os pais, ou a sociedade. portanto esta decisão muitas vezes é tomada sem o conhecimento nem o consentimento do Estado. porque... é uma decisão, é uma questão que é tratada por uma sociedade secreta. portanto, o Estado é simplesmente ignorado... as vezes há intervenção do Estado quando, há uma denuncia, ou alguma ONGs que trabalha com a questão interfere ou toma conhecimento do caso, e avisa o Estado que toma as providencias legais, formais, para intervir. muitas das vezes a decisão do Estado de, sobre a criança... irân, ela é tomada tardiamente quando a sociedade secreta quando já tenha atuado e... e desfeito a crianças-irân.

[C] por exemplo, neste caso, qualquer decisão que venha a ser tomada é tomada pela família ou em seio da comunidade?

[J] nem sempre a decisão é tomada no seio da comunidade. a decisão pode ser tomada pelos anciões... geralmente são os anciões com base num orientação espiritual e ancestral, é que tomam esta decisão, as vezes sem o consentimento da mãe, ou do próprio pai. em muitos casos, em muitos casos os pais... estou a falar do pai, o pai consente a desfazer-se da criança.. porque, quem sofre mais com a questão da, da.. da crianças-irân é a mãe, que pode ser também acusada de algum tipo de feitiçaria, pode ser culpada ate... de gestar e parir a crianças-irân.

[C] no geral, há uma forma de, para assim dizer, consentimento, com essa pratica? por parte dos poderes tradicionais, ou de tolerância?

[J] bem... bem, pode-se falar tanto de tolerância, mas já o consentimento muitas das vezes, o consentimento que consiste, é não... é não fazer frente a decisão ou a vontade dos espíritos ancestrais. portanto, muitas vezes não quer fazer frente, acaba por aceitar aquilo que é dito, ou ditado pelos anciões, eh, com recomendação dos espíritos ancestrais. que ninguém quer, numa, numa comunidade fazer face... fazer face a decisão dos ancestrais.

[C] ótimo. neste sentido, pensando na crença na crianças-irân, acha que é uma crença que é partilhada pela população no geral? ou é uma crença que pertence no especifico a algumas regiões?

[J] o conceito da pessoa nestas sociedades... o conceito da pessoa é tomada como... um sujeito que pertence a determinada família ou aos pais. a pessoa não é tomada, neste caso, é tomada como um bem, digamos assim, pertence a toda a sociedade quando... uma criança ou um sujeito amaldiçoado, um sujeito que... possuído por um espirito maligno, um espirito do mal. portanto, ninguém, ninguém, quer fazer frente, ninguém quer assumir a responsabilidade de aceitar a convivência com um sujeito que foi declarado pelos espíritos ancestrais como um sujeito que possa vir a causar mal a toda a comunidade, ou seja, que possa vir a dar trabalho a comunidade.

[C] e achas que entre a população da Guiné-Bissau no geral?

[J] não, a, a população conscientizada, hoje na Guiné-Bissau, defende, defende a permanência da criança tanto dentro da comunidade, ou em caso de não, de a comunidade [...] a criança, não poder cuidar da criança, que a

criança seja posta aos cuidados ou do Estado ou de algumas ONGs que trabalham com os casos. já há na Guiné-Bissau muitos casos de ONGs ou associações que pedem a guarda da crianças-irân.

[C] sendo que esta a fazer esta distinção entre população conscientizada e o resto da população, diria que esta crença e a pratica é algo que esta a acontecer hoje em dia?

[J] sim, acontece. acontece.

[C] não é um fenómeno que morreu no passado?

[J] não, não morreu no passado, ainda acontece [laughs]. não obstante as leis, né, o básico do básico da constituição, garante a vida de, de... de qualquer sujeito, mas no fundo no fundo ainda acontece, porque muita gente, principalmente nos mais recônditos lugares da Guiné-Bissau, acredita ainda que crianças-irân tem que ser posta.. tem que ser devolvida ao mar, ou... há outros lugares, né. mas há quem defende que esta criança no caso de a sociedade ou o familiar não poder cuidar, né, que esta criança deve ser colocada a guarda de quem de direito, ou a quem possa cuidar dela.

[C] sim. e agora sim, esta já é a ultima pergunta da nossa conversa, eu queria saber, na sua opinião, ou como avalia, o posicionamento do Estado perante o fenómeno da crianças-irân.

[J] olha, o Estado continua a trabalhar de forma muito branda em relação a crianças-irân. não há um, um compromisso em relação a criason de leis que protegem as crianças, especificamente neste caso, abandono, ou ate o sacrifício da, da, da crianças-irân. da mesma maneira que as próprias leis básicas da Guiné-Bissau, em relação a proteção da criança, não são cumpridas de forma eficaz, de forma severa, para o desencorajamento desta pratica, né. em relação a crianças-irân, ou outras situações de mutilação genital feminina, situação de abandono, etecetera, etecetera.

[C] acha isto seja devido a uma falta de vontade de lidar com estas situações, a uma forte sensibilidade, no geral, pensando no tema, a falta de dados sobre o fenómeno? quais é que são as razoes?

[J] não se trata essencialmente de falta de dados, porque as, as associações, as ONGs que trabalham com as situações divulgam os dados, denunciam os casos. o que falta é uma vontade politica, o que falta é, digamos, um plano de Estado. Isto também tem a ver, tem muito a ver com a própria rotura, a própria instabilidade cíclica da Guiné-Bissau, que, que não deixa os atores estatais, inclusive, tendo em conta as mudanças permanentes de funções e de cargos, trabalharem afincadamente? para fazer face a esta, a esta questão.

### 3.6 Interview with Mamadou Jao

Researcher, former Head of INEP

Lisbon / Bissau

December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Interview sample 6: academics

[C] então vou começar já com a primeira pergunta, que é a seguinte: o estado é a expressão política da nação guineense, e é um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. eu queria saber se concorda com esta definição do estado guineense e quais acha que deveriam ser as suas funções.

[MJ] portanto é.. é legítimo, soberano e democrático? ehehehe ya.... legítimo, penso que sim. legítimo penso que sim. porque pronto, a legitimidade... se formos a ver isso no, no, na sua aceção mais global, podemos, podemos dizer que sim. agora, nos sabemos porque, se formos para a historia, então... algumas questões podem surgir. portanto eu, podemos dizer no global sim, mas com 'mas'. porque... a Guiné-Bissau como a maior parte dos estados africanos, nos sabemos o contexto em que surgiram. portanto é uma, é... no.. portanto, é um poder que surgiu pondo de lado muitos outros poderes. portanto, aí é.. a ideia que eu coloco um pouco um 'mas' em relação a legitimidade. eh, o percurso normal das sociedades africanas, foi interrompido depois foi implantado um sistema interno, que depois das independências é o mesmo modelo que continuou a gov, a sumir ao poder nos países africanos. por isso mesmo há muitos poderes legítimos, eu diria se calhar mais legítimos que o próprio estado moderno, que são postos de lado. mas, pronto, de ponto de vista, de certa maneira podemos aceitar. agora, soberano e democrático aí é... eu sei que a classe política gosta muito desta expressão, somos soberano, somos não sei quanto, mas para mim

[connection lost]

[MJ] ya então em relação a soberania é isto. problema de democracia, conceito de democrático...

[C] desculpe, eu acho que não ouvi a parte onde falou na soberania. estava a falar na classe política...?

[MJ] ah ok ok. eu disse que a classe política, que a nossa classe política, de maneira —, gosta de utilizar o conceito soberano, sobretudo para evitar interferência do outros e aí pronto, mas... mas quando, quando não se é autónomo, eu não vejo onde, como podemos falar totalmente duma soberania. e os estados africanos, a Guiné-Bissau por exemplo, aí ao 90% da sua existência é suportada pela comunidade internacional. daí, custa-me, custa-me um pouco aceitar o conceito soberano no estado, no, no sua plena aceção. portanto, por mim é um soberania muito condicionada, muito relativa. em relação ao conceito democrático, bom, a democracia hoje em dia é um conceito questionada quase por todos, não só na Africa mas no mundo em geral. há muito interrogação em relação a democracia. então aí, eu diria, se calhar, eh, podemos aceitar que é democrático para os mais fortes, e talvez menos democráticos para os menos fortes, para os mais fracos. por isso, tudo issos, são conceitos relativos, aceites, mas ao mesmo tempo questionadas. como agora, se se se, se formos para as leis, e organizason das eleições e... pronto. então, aí se calhar há que se colocar muitas outras questões. que não se pode ter, não se pode ter um sistema democrático, sem se ter pessoas democratas. então, quando quando há um problema, quando se organizam periodicamente eleições, quando assistimos o que estamos a assistir, muitas vezes, ainda não é o caso da Guiné-Bissau, mas em casos muitos países africanos em que, pela vontade de permanecer... todo o tempo no poder, ate as pessoas arriscam-se de mudar constituições e de pôr outras regras, então aí é questionável a questão da democracia, não é? enato, eu acho que, é um processo, neh. eu acho que hoje em dia, mesmo, já já vimos o que aconteceu nos EAU, que se considerava a democracia mundial, em que estamos a assistir aí também um teatro da democracia que não era de se esperar do, no, num estado como os EAU. por isso mesmo, é um processo, estamos no inicio dum processo de democratização, mas que ainda não atingiu a sua maturação... de vida. talvez, nos... mas sempre, sempre que quiser perguntar, esclarecer mais alguma coisa, diga por favor.

[C] sim, claro, claro.

[MJ] é isto que eu penso mais ou menos em relação a estes três conceitos, de legítimo, soberano e democrático.

[C] ótimo. então, a questão de chegar a democracia é um caminho a ser percorrido ou uma questão de valores que são mais ou menos partilhados?

[MJ] é... são as duas coisas, porque para chegar...bom. é mesmo coisa, como falar no conceito de desenvolvimento e democracia, sabemos também como é que, como é que a democracia foi, entrou... cada área é um, é um, é uma condicionante da comunidade internacional, digamos assim, para muitos países entrarem nesta, nesta onda de democratização. porque muitos, muitos apoios e não sei quantos, eram condicionados a, a... famosa democracia. então as pessoas como não tinham, mesmo não estando preparadas, eu acho que a maior parte dos países africanos entraram neste barco sem estarem preparados. então, há o problema de valores, falou muito bem, de valores partilhados. porque os valores democráticos são valores que devem ser, que devem ser apropriados, interiorizados, pelos, pelos praticantes. eu acho que não é o caso na, em África ainda. tirando uma ou outra exceção, mas eu diria que globalmente, eu acho que estes valores ainda estão para serem integrados e serem assumidos e serem uma prática, para sair do discurso para a prática. então, é um caminho, é um caminho para a maturação destes valores partilhados, e depois a sua aplicação. eu acho que há um percurso longo ainda, para se andar para podermos falar duma democracia verdadeira entre aspas.

[C] ok. então, pelo enquanto deixamos esta questão da democracia ao lado, mas queria voltar nesta questão depois. entretanto, queria perguntar quais acha que são as funções do estado? o que é que o estado deveria fazer? no papel, de facto, em termos de princípios.

[MJ] boh! o... efetivamente, o, u , um uma das primeiras funções do estado é de proteger o seu território, proteger o seu cidadão, não é? e garantir, criar condições para a garantia das necessidades básicas das populações. e nestes casos, portanto, quando eu digo criar as condições, não estou a falar dum estado como um responsável para tudo, mas o estado é um, é um entidade que cria condições, em termos de lei, em termos de criação de ambiente, de negocio, de ambiente.. para que a sociedade possa florescer. então são mais ou menos estas funções, que boh! se pegarmos no estado da Guiné-Bissau que nem sequer esta presente em todo o território nacional. a ausência de estado já mostra que ele não esta a assumir uma das suas funções básicas, não é. há zonas da Guiné-Bissau onde o estado não existe. e depois o, pronto.... temos umas sociedade, um tipo de estado também, onde as pessoas, existem regras de jogo bem definida, bem definida em todos setores, na justiça, na, na não sei quanto, em que as pessoas submetem este, estas regras. não submetendo a entidades, aquela historia de violência legitima, neh, que ele não cumpre com as regras, e tem que, tem que se sujeitar. e no nosso caso, é um estado que não, penso que há... podemos dizer ate onde que as pessoas são mais fortes de que as instituições. quando é assim, as imitações estão muito, são muito expressas, e muito, muito visíveis, neh... portanto, mas a Guiné-Bissau vai entrar naquela categoria de estados frágeis, mas muito frágeis mesmo, neh. ya....

[C] tendo em consideração, essas receções que acabou de referir, quais achas que são os fatores que legitimam atores e partidos políticos a governar?

[MJ] boh, legitimidade de fundo, deveria ser.. porque é muito diferente daquilo que deveria e aquilo que é. eu acho que qualquer partido político para governar tende a apresentar, tende a convencer o eleitorado, neh, através de programas convincentes, não é. que as pessoas avaliam, que os eleitores avaliam, entre diferentes candidatos, e depois escolhem o candidato que acharem estar em melhor posição, neh. ou então, o partido que tem um maior, um programa mais convincente, que.. deveria ser assim. mas, pronto.. temos, aí também neste domínio, entra um aspeto do conceito de democracia, porque muitas das vezes não são estes fatores... uma pessoa não esta no poder porque tem um projeto, porque tem um programa bem elaborado que as pessoas compreendem bem. muitas das vezes o eleitor mesmo não, não, não vê, a governação neste angulo de programa de projetos de políticos. muitas vezes são outros fatores que influenciam a escolha de, duma governante. aí há o fator identitário, o fator regionalistas, outros fatores que não aqueles tradicionais, normalmente que deveriam ser, funcionar para a escolha dum governante. então, pronto, muitas vezes são fatores a, a questão de voto étnico, voto religiosos voto... são coisas ainda que são evidentes e são prática de... em todo lado, particularmente em países africanos e Guiné-Bissau também, faz parte destes... infelizmente ainda por isso mesmo... é um processo. é um processo mas que ainda tem, tem, passa por muitos percalços, e por isso mesmo ainda esta, estamos neste, neste... é um processo longo de certeza. mas não acho que não é, as condições para um politico chegar ao poder neste momento na Guiné-Bissau, muitas vezes não tem nada a ver com plano, com programa, com projeto de governação que ele tem, mas, recorre a outros, outros, outros fatores identitários e outros e a compra de consciências... porque tem que, aquilo virou-se quase um mercado. a democratização, as campanhas, estas coisas todas quase, quase é um

mercado. quem tem, quem da mais, portanto esta na governação. eu acho que infelizmente estamos nesta, no meu ponto de vista estamos neste nível.

[C] na pratica, é uma perspetiva que diferencia-se do universal, generalizado do que é democracia..

[MJ] yaa, efetivamente. mas isto é, este desvio é como se estamos num... há uns que.. eu acho que não há o ideal do, a democracia ideal não existe. em nenhum lado. mas há uns que estão mais próximos, outros no meios, outros mais longe... então, países como a Guiné-Bissau esta ainda certamente la, la, la muito longe do ideal.

[C] nesta perspetiva, queria saber qual a sua opinião sobre o projeto de modernização de estado. quais as suas considerações, em que ele consiste, quais os maiores beneficios que trará para a população?

[MJ] ya, modernização, modernização do estado... é uma boa ideia, não é? ehehehe acho que é uma boa ideia! eu acho que,... ehehehehe, é uma ideia excelente!. agora, o que é o que, que tipo de modernização é que pode levar a uma transformação positiva? aí é que esta o problema. porque muitas das vezes falamos de ideias, mas muitas vezes não pensamos em estratégias. então, muitas vezes as pessoas as pessoas resumem modernização que é os equipamentos, não sei o quanto, mas não é. modernização tem a ver com a modernização, modernização mesmo das mentalidades. acho que começa, é mais difícil de realizar,... mas para mim, eu considero uma modernização do estado, uma modernização da administração e não sei quanto quando as mentalidades mudar. e nos sabemos qual é o problema de mudança de mentalidade. eh... então, então eu acho que a modernização de facto tem a ver com criação de condições para que as pessoas respeitem as regras do jogo, definidas, não é? as regras de convivência, de convivência coletiva, e, mas.. pronto, isto tem a ver com a modernização das cabeças mesmo das pessoas... então para mim esta muito longe. muitas vezes, na maior parte dos casos, hoje as pessoa resume a modernização a esta parte material, equipamentos, não sei quantas, não muito os valores. quando falamos de valores, fala-se mais de sensibilização, não sei quantos, capacitação, mas, pronto. se calhar é por aí. mas enquanto as mentalidades não forem modernas, ou modernizadas dificilmente podemos ter uma administração publica moderna e transformadora que possa servir o interesse de todos, não é? portanto para mim é isso, eu acho importante e é preciso que haja modernização, no sentido de... de convencer os, os atores, sobretudo administrativos e governantes, de que eles estão ali para servir e não para se servir da administração. então, o que nos vivemos, as pessoas servem-se mais da administração, do que eles, eles mesmo servirem os cidadãos. então, neste conjunto de coisa, quando não há, quando a justiça não funciona... então aí, pronto. a corrupção toma conta da, do panorama, e aí não há, não há quem esteja interessado realmente de avançar com uma, uma real modernização. o exemplo é a administração publica da Guiné-Bissau. é para frente, é para trás, vai para frente e nunca anda, porque as pessoas, do meu ponto de vista, não estão interessadas em, em... em modernizar mesmo. porque isto vai contra, contra, contra os interesse dos próprios atores. então, enquanto não se assume isto, ficamos naquele vai-e-vem, vai-se aqui o recenseamento dos funcionários primeiro, depois é o computador que perde, depois que recomeça outra... estamos sempre num, estamos no novo inicio que nunca mais vai para a frente. eu penso que as pessoas não estão interessadas mesmo em fazer isto avançar. e por isso mesmo, para mim a modernização começa na, no, nas pessoas, no comportamento, nas atitudes, nos valores... e quando chegarmos la, isso é muito, porque se calhar é muito mais difícil de fazer esse tipo de modernização, então as pessoas escolhem a via mais fácil, comprar computadores, ligar a internet, com viatura carros não sei quanto, mas que depois não leva a lado nenhum.

[C] então, seria um projeto que envolve a população no seu geral? não é somente quem governa, mas a população toda?

[MJ] eu penso que é toda a gente, porque a, a administração publica, ou a administração do estado, a governação é um problema de toda a gente. ya. porque há quem governa, mas por exemplo temos a sociedade civil que é um, que é um, um contrapoder no sentido positivo, que deve ter a consciência do seu papel, social. então aí, eu acho que, se calhar é uma tarefa de toda a gente. cada um tem a sua responsabilidade, e cada um tem a sua contribuição a dar para esta dinâmica de modernização global no sentido de se, o estado ser uma entidade do bem e que esta ali para, para monitorar e seguir cumprimento por parte de todos, das regras estabelecidas, as regras de convivência estabelecidas nas leis.

[C] deixando agora o estado ao lado, queria perguntar: quem são os poderes tradicionais hoje? já referiu que no contexto histórico em que o estado veio a se originar na Guiné-Bissau como em Africa, havia uns poderes que aí já existiam. queria perguntar-lhe quem é quem são estes poderes hoje.



[MJ] ok, poderes, olha... por acaso eu saí agora, saí agora da abertura dum simpósio, sobre o, um simpósio sobre o poder tradicional e religioso, eheheh. que estamos a organizar o quadro da luta contra MGF, outras praticas, casamento precoce, sobre envolvimento, importância sobre envolvimento destas figuras no combate de, deste tipo de pratica. vai decorrer entre hoje e amanhã. outra, o poder tradicional, dito poder tradicional, passou por muitas fases, como eu disse no início, portanto... é um processo que foi interrompido, processo normal de evolução da vida política da maior parte dos africanos, e depois foi implantado o estado, o estado colonial. que é um estado, pronto, com, ponto de vista... com outros valores, com outras formas de existência, não é. então, a partir dessa altura o poder tradicional passou dependendo muitas vezes do sistema de colonização, dependendo do país, então aí foram as estratégias que, estratégias foram implantadas muitas vezes para... ou, um poder reconhecido, mas como um poder servidor de outro poder, neste caso a administração colonial. ou onde isso não funcionava, é um poder banido. ou depois da independência, sobretudo no caso da Guiné-Bissau, no período colonial houve uma colaboração dependendo também das comunidades, não é... isso, se calhar, não sei se já viu as obras de Amílcar Cabral sobre a sociedade horizontal e vertical, que podia, podia ajudar a compreender para isto, mas que em função das comunidades onde o poder estava mais estruturado, a administração colonial aproveitou portanto para, para poder fazer funcionar a sua, a sua máquina, não é. onde isso não funcionava, pronto, praticamente isto foi esquecido. mas depois da independência, a verdade é que o poder tradicional deixou de ser visto com bons olhos na, na Guiné-Bissau. então, é um poder que foi banido, mas, mas que sempre funcionou no seu espaço. só que no seu espaço não, não... não, não articulado com a administração do estado. então, estes poderes são o poder político tradicional e o poder religioso tradicional. aí também tudo isto em função de, das crenças e em função dos grupos étnicos e comunitários.. então, então, neste momento há um debate, há uma discussão interna, há uma, uma certa exigência, digamos assim, entre aspas, do dito poder tradicional, sobretudo o poder político tradicional, só regulos, que estão a pedir um reconhecimento, um reconhecimento do estado. não é? eu ainda há bocado ouvia um regulo porque estou, estão na reunião, o simpósio, estão regulo, líderes religiosos e regulos também, poder político. então ouvia um regulo a dizer que eles se consideram membros planos de estado da Guiné-Bissau. quer dizer, que eles veem-se como elementos do aparato do estado. e então, há, há esta discussão, mas que isso tem as suas consequências, tem os seus custos, por isto mesmo ainda, não há um consenso. mas funcionam a nível das comunidades. continuam a fazer a gestão, política na base, a nível das comunidades. mas pelo enquanto não, não com uma ligação formal ao estado.

[C] continuam na informalidade..

[MJ] ya, na informalidade, efetivamente. e, então o meu medo ate no dia em que forem incorporados efetivamente na estrutura de estado, se calhar vão deixar de ser, ter, de ter aquela funson de poder tradicional informal. portanto, é uma informalizarão de estado que se calhar não sei... portanto é uma coisa que esta em curso, ainda ninguém sabe onde é que se vai parar com, com o debate, mas é uma discussão, há, de vez em quando há encontros há discussão, sendo exigência — sendo incorporados na administração do estado. mas eu pessoalmente tenho as minhas reticências sobre... porque a partir do momento em que, em que se... passarem a ser estrutura, uma parte do aparelho de estado, se calhar vão deixar de ser, de desempenhar aquela função de poder tradicional que lhe é atribuído. porque aquilo é, muitas vezes, muitas comunidades é o poder é hereditário, mas já estamos a assistir casos em que tem tentativas de designação de regulo.... então, aí há uma certa violação da própria norma do poder tradicional. portanto, não... é uma discussão que esta na Guiné-Bissau. há países que conseguiram articular isto muito bem, por exemplo o Gana. há países que conseguiram separar as aguas e conseguiram uma articulação feliz e que trabalham sem grandes conflitos. na Guiné-Bissau, a coisa esta em curso mas ainda não esta clara. mas o poder tradicional, como estava a dizer em resumo, são os regulos, representantes do poder político, e os imames que representam o poder religioso.

[C] acha que hoje em dia eles ainda mantem, alem de pedirem reconhecimento por parte do estado, mas eles mantem inalterada a sua legitimidade perante a população? o seu estatuto, basicamente.

[MJ] sim,... sim. nos lugares... porque aí há, há situações, há situações melindrosas, digamos assim, mas no compito geral, onde, onde o poder tradicional esta ali, porque, porque é legitimo, porque é aceite respeitou e foi la, porque respeitou toda, todo, todas as regras de assunção ao poder, continua a ter este, este legitimidade, continua a desempenhar esta função de poder comunitário. mas onde, onde houve já certas interferências do estado, então aí a comunidade começa a dividir-se, há quem reconheça, há quem não reconheça, então aí,

dependendo da zona e da comunidade, situações concretas... mas podemos dizer, que sim. o poder tradicional continua a ter o seu espaço na Guiné-Bissau.

[C] neste sentido, parece também que o poder tradicional, sem pensar nas suas interações com o estado, o poder tradicional em si parece ter maior estabilidade do que os próprios governos.

[MJ] sim, sim sim. isto é assim, porque... porque o poder aí... aí não há eleições. é um poder vitalício. se funcionar dentro das suas normas, neh. em raras vezes, só agora, com o contexto da modernidade que se pode falar um pouco, em em ... em algumas situações raras, duma espécie de golpes, ou de assalto ao poder. normalmente é vitalício, por isso que eu disse que na maior parte dos casos é um poder hereditário. então aí, existem as regras e as pessoas sabem perfeitamente, depois do fulano, é o sicrano, aí as coisas estão bem clara, ao não há, não há muita confusa, quando é respeitada, quando são respeitadas as regras, não é, da assunção ao poder. por isso mesmo aí é um poder mais estável, neste, neste ponto de vista.

[C] antes, estava a referir da questão da aprendizagem dos valores democráticos, quando estávamos a falar no estado, e do facto que é preciso esta alteração de mentalidade, e são valores que se aprendem aos poucos, não é qualquer tipo de alteração que aconteça no curto prazo. eu queria saber se acha que estes valores democráticos venham de sistemas externos à Guiné-Bissau ou se também são caracteres próprios e que também estão incluídos nos poderes tradicionais, que estavam na Guiné-Bissau antes da implantação do estado.

[MJ] ya, neste sentido eu diria, porque aí há um, há um, há um problema... porque, porque eu diria que, sim, o poder tradicional funcionava com base nas suas normas, regras, eu digo que ate em algumas comunidades são mais democráticos que o próprio estado moderno. porque há regras de jogo, toda a gente, toda a gente reconhece e toda a gente respeita, e sobretudo porque as pessoas aí a maior parte dos membros da comunidade já incorpora estes valores. então estes valores são aceites, são valores, são valores que são entendidos como valores da comunidade. diferentemente da, diferentemente do que acontece hoje em dia no, na democracia moderna, do estados modernos. muitas vezes são coisas, ninguém.. que as pessoas não incorporam estes valores no seu interior. então é porque é uma coisa importada, e então é utilizada, é, é... duma forma muito superficial. e por isso mesmo que há esta dificuldade de fazer funcionar a democracia como, como deve de ser. porque os valores não são intrínsecos as pessoas, então é vistos.. são valores externos que as pessoas, por conveniência recorrem para poder estar no poder. mas logo é que eles tem estes valores no seu interior. contrariamente ao poder a nível comunitário, que são valores da comunidade. a diferença é isto, quer dizer, as pessoas funcionam com valores que são seus. e no estado moderno as pessoas funcionam com valores que não são seus.

[C] pois, tentar funcionar com valores que não são seus, de partida..

[MJ] ya, ya... não dão muito valor, não lhes diz nada, praticamente. é como, é como a campanha eleitoral, o valor não sei quanto.. muitas das pessoas foram la porque pronto, muitas das vezes veem nessas campanhas como uma oportunidade de festa, uma oportunidade de pedir um outro material.. porque como eu disse é uma espécie de mercantilização que se passa, nesta coisa de luta para o poder, a maior parte do estado já ficamos. portanto, gasta-se muito dinheiro, é um momento de muitas pessoas poderem adquirir alguns matérias que nunca no processo de governação normal não consegue adquirir, porque é o momento de caca ao voto, e aí os político pronto fazem distribuição, e isso... há muitas pessoas que se aproveitam desta situação para poder ganhar alguma coisa. mais não é porque encaram aquilo como... como uma coisa seria, como um valor, como os, os esperam alguma coisa depois de la.. então, pronto, eu acho que, em resumo, a diferença é que o poder tradicional funciona com valores locais, das pessoas, das comunidades, e governantes do estado funcionam com valores que não são seus. então, a dif... então, eu acho que resume a diferença entre a legitimidade, a eficácia do poder tradicional e a legitimidade neste caso do poder do estado moderno.

[C] outra vez, calhando na coincidência, já que estava neste simpósio acerca de poderes tradicionais, políticos, religiosos e praticas tradicionais, eu queria saber quais acha que é o posicionamento dos poderes tradicionais perante a pratica das criança-irân.

[MJ] eeh... pratica da criança-irân, boh! podemos, podemos integrá-la no processo das chamadas, das chamadas praticas nefastas, não é? e, se calhar não há uma discussão, um debate, porque é um assunto pouco debatido, isto de criança-irân. diferentemente de casamento precoce, forçado, MGF, é um, é um, é uma temática que esta mais na mesa de que criança-irân que é um segredo de, de comunidade, da família, continua ter esta.. não é um assunto publico ainda, não é? mas assim no geral, dado a, dado a sua natureza, certamente as pessoas condenam. pelo

menos publicamente, mas é um assunto que, que mesmo na discussão sobre as práticas nefastas, criança-irân ... eh... é pouco, é pouco discutido, que esta pouco, espécie de taboo, que... que quase não surge nas discussões. mas se integrarmos a pratica no, no, na categoria global de praticas nefastas, a vida do homem, a vida da mulher, então podemos dizer que é condenada.

[C] acha que é condenada para fazer frente aos requerimentos da lei ou é uma condenação que vai levar de facto ao desaparecimento desta pratica?

[MJ], eh, não, a pratica esta... quer dizer, hoje em dia, bom, se, é uma pratica quase que não se... cada esta em via de extinção, isto eu posso assegurar. ou que não posso garantir é se já se extinguiu. porque também isto é uma pratica, é uma pratica que não, que não diz respeito a todos os grupos étnicos da Guiné-Bissau. portanto é uma, é uma pratica especifica de alguns grupos, e que é feita de uma forma ou consciente ou inconsciente, mas que leva ao, ao desaparecimento, do sujeito. agora, a luz da lei, é crime. agora, quando isto é praticado duma forma subtil, em que as pessoas não dão conta, quer dizer que a rede de justiça não chegam a, a ter acesso a este tipo, a este tipo de atos, não é? porque se, se é feito a nível da comunidade, porque a justiça só funciona quando alguém sabe, e... e entra com queixa crime, junto, junto as instituições. e que muitas vezes não é o caso, porque são coisas, é, é um assunto feito dentro de... no segredo da família ou da comunidade. e dificilmente as estruturas judicias podem ter acesso a este tipo de informações. mas.. a luz da lei, da GN, é crime.

[C] acha que este posicionamento da lei também espelha o posicionamento das autoridades do estado? ou a implementação desta lei.

[MJ] olha, é muito ambíguo. é ambíguo, é muito ambíguo, porque eu posso... olha, eu si digo... dou-lhe só um exemplo. nos temos, temos na Guiné-Bissau, temos cidadãos multi-identitario. então, quer dizer, mesmo do ponto de vista religioso, há alguém que diz, eu sou muçulmano, eu sou, eu sou animista e cristão ao mesmo tempo. eu sou animista, criston, muitas vezes muçulmano ao mesmo tempo. são coisas que não batem certo. então, quando se é assim, depende do lado onde você estiver. se, se se assume como um animista, então aceita este tipo de coisas. contrariamente, se assume como cristão, ou como agente de estado, então aí estamos, eu acho que é um processo contraditório, em que uma mesma pessoa pode estar... pode assumir diferentes identidades, em função da identidade que assume, tem um comportamento diferente. então, quando, se... no ponto de vista dum agente de estado, certamente não, não... pelo menos, publicamente não apoia este tipo de pratica. mas, quando se esta do outro lado, bon!, aí é... daqueles situações ambíguas em que as pessoas podem assumir comportamentos diferentes em função do espaço, dos espaços onde se encontram.

[C] portanto, é mais, é um fenómeno que vai alem do posicionam entre formal dos agentes do estado, das autoridades, e quanto mais...

[MJ] ya, no ponto de vista de normas e conveniências ao nível de estado moderno, é uma... são, são praticas consideradas crimes. mas como estamos a... é uma espécie de sobreposições de modelos sistema, muitas vezes isto é, é permeável, e uma pessoa, uma mesma pessoa, pode, pode ter um comportamento diferente em função, como eu disse, em função de onde esta e em função de quem esta relacionado, com quem esta a relacionar. portanto, é uma situação ambígua que... no ponto de vista tradicional, neh, do ponto de vista destas comunidades.... a coisa tem a sua explicação, tem a sua justificação. embora... seja muito dificil de compreender a justificação para o desaparecimento físico de alguém. mas pronto, o questionamento também que se faz, que as pessoas fazem... se fazem isto conscientes de que estão a tirar uma vida. dai, quando se fala do irân, criança-irân, quer dizer, é uma questão de perceção... há que... do ponto de vista antropológico, é preciso um pouco compreender o outro lado, a motivação do outro lado, neh. nos temos o nosso ponto de vista, como cientistas sociais, como investigadores, mas.. dai se calhar eu penso que a antropologia tem uma certa vantagem porque tenta compreender o sentido da coisa de outro lado. então a questão que se coloca é se as pessoas tem consciência de que estão a fazer desaparecer um ser humano, ou se estão a fazer desaparecer aquele que se chama de irân. porque o irân já não é ser humano, para eles.

[C] exato.

[MJ] ya.. é um, é um... são questões muito.. pronto, para refletir, para pensar, ter... do ponto de vista da investigação é um tema muito interessante. porque aí, de ponto de vista... é quem esta se, se... por exemplo, no cas dos Mancanhas, que eu conheço mais, trabalhei um pouco sobre o infanticídio ritual nos Mancanhas, há

aquela coisa da cerimonia do rio. não sei se viu o meu artigo...? eu tenho um artigo numa das Soronda, já nem me lembro quando é que foi...

[C] eu acho que sim... onde questiona o conceito de pessoa, não é?

[MJ] sim, sim, este mesmo!

[C] sim, eu vi.

[MJ] então é isto mesmo. muitas vezes quando se fala, é o, é o... é o que cada um considera ser pessoa, ou é ser humanos ou não é ser humano? então, então quando se leva a beira do rio, bom para eles, é um desaparecimento... quer dizer, como... um desaparecimento misterioso, mas para quem, para um, para, para um olhar de fora, quando se leva uma criança a beira do rio quando a mare baixa, quando... na alta mare ela desaparece, quase podemos dizer que foi levada pela agua. mas eles tem uma explicação diferente. desaparece porque é irân, foi para... pois, são estas coisas das perceções e de.. de maneira de ver as coisas. mas pronto, o ponto de vista de um investigador, é apaixonante.

[...]

[MJ] porque muitas vezes, o outro lado faz, uma coisa não... acaba por fazer, por fazer mal, mas com boas intenções. e então falta este cruzamento que muitas vezes, eu acho, em relação a estas praticas nocivas a saúde, falta este outro lado. porque compreendendo este outro lado, se poderá traçar melhores estratégias de combate. sem declarar guerra, em vez de declarar guerra a pratica, podemos compreendê-las e tentar estar la dentro e fazer a mudança a partir de dentro, do outro lado. mas muitas vezes esta parte falta, aos investigadores, e a comunidade científica em geral.

### 3.7 Interview with Maria Vitoria Correia

Instituto Mulher e Criança

Lisbon / Bissau

December 21, 2020

Interview sample 7 (NGOs and civil society)

[C] a primeira pergunta tem a ver com o estado, que podemos definir, o estado da Guiné-Bissau como expressão política da nação, um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. eu queria saber se concordas com esta definição.

[MV] eheheh! então.. eheheh! concordo. é um órgão... Guiné-Bissau é um estado que tem a sua soberania, mmm... fala mais ou que?

[C] legítimo e democrático.

[MV] yaaaa.. legítimo, democrático, ya. neh? é verdade.

[C] quais são as funções que um estado deveria cumprir?

[MV] quais são...?

[C] as funções que o estado deveria cumprir. os seus deveres, vamos assim dizer.

[MV] eheheh...eu acho... é pergunta não é?

[C] é pergunta.

[MV] ta. eu acho que Guiné-Bissau é um estado como qualquer estado... independente... temos princip... temos um, um documento principal que é constituição da republica, que fala que estado de Guiné-Bissau tem que defender e proteger todos os cidadãos da mesma forma, e dos direitos iguais oportunidades. então, dentro disso nos sabemos que os direitos humanos mostram que o estado tem que garantir a saúde, a educação, a justiça, a igualdade. e, no nosso caso, de igualdade e — de género. e proteger, eh?, as crianças de todos os males e de todos os tipos de violências. esse que o dever dum estado, eu acho, eheheh.

[C] ótimo. então, acha que um estado que não cumpre com estes deveres perde a sua legitimidade?

[MV] claro. claro. claro. claro. isso, isso, tem consequências no que diz respeito a... a... a cumprimento das suas função e não estão a responder cabalmente as suas, com seus deveres, como estado.

[C] tendo em conta esses deveres, de cumprir determinadas funções, quais achas que são os fatores que legitimam partidos políticos e atores políticos a governar?

[MV] como, como?

[C] quais fatores legitimam atores e partidos políticos a governar?

[MV] eheheh...

[C] eu sei, damos um bocado uma volta antes de chegar à condição da criança..!

[MV] eheh... eh, partidos políticos, eu acho, eu acho que eles concorrem para governar. dizem que é para servir o povo, não é. servir cidadão, e desenvolver o país. e... o... falou-se também, não só partidos políticos, mas, falou-se também... das organizações...ya... as organizações também. eu acho que na maioria não tem como trabalhar no estado, no governo, nas suas políticas para poderem desenvolver as suas capacidades e eles acham que é melhor criar organizações, por exemplo da sociedade civil, para poderem fazer o que eles sabem fazer, o que podem fazer, para poder ajudar, eh, e fazer também desenvolver o país da mesma forma. eu acho que é isso que é essência de criação de alguns... alguns partidos políticos e organizações da sociedade civil.

[C] portanto é um efetivo comprometimento com a melhoria das condições de vida, de facto.

[MV] ya... a sociedade —

[C] mencionaste a questão do desenvolvimento. outro projeto em que se houve falar muitas vezes, é a questão de modernização de estado.

[MV] eheheh...

[C] vindo de Europa não é uma questão que aqui se oiça com muita recorrência, mas das vezes que estive na Guiné-Bissau, é uma coisa me impressionou, porque é algo que se houve varias vezes, em referimento aos governos, ao estado... e dai eu queria saber, na tua opinião, o que é de facto, essa modernização de estado.

[MV] eu acho que esse, esse modernização de estado tem diferentes aspetos. primeiro aspeto eu acho que... é primeriar, é sancionar, primerias a sociedade —. e militares, e militares e paramilitares. segundo, segundo eu acho que é modernizar mesmo a função publica. porque, porque... as nossas instituições publicas estão duma forma um pouco desorganizado. porque na maioria da, da, das instituição se vê mais situações de politico. não capacitados, viu? também mooolde de funcionamento. é tipo de funcionamento muito precária. antiiiiiga! não só do edifício mas como funcionamento mesmo, eh, de dia a dia administrativo, viu?. isso que eu acho.. tudo isso é que se junta, e... eles chamam desse famoso modernização. se vê o salario, não é de bom. se vê o funcionamento de dia a dia da administração, eh, se vê pessoas a, eh, pessoas formadas mesmo na área com capacidade exata a, a desenvolver as suas capacidades dentro da instituição, são poucas, que são colocadas nos lugares, eh, da suas formasons, para poderem dar as suas contribuicoes. eu acho tem, tem algum, alguma situação precária, situason muito precária nas nossas instituison publica. para mim, eu acho que é isso que estão a tentar ver, em situação de militares e paramilitares e institucionalização de, de funcionário, salario, melhoria de salario, próprio funcionamento de instituição em si, eu acho que é isso..

[C] o acesso, quem vai ganhar qual posto, como se entra na função publica..

[MV] isso, isso aí.. e fala, se fala de concursos. dizem modernização para nos. porque aqui na maioria dos funcionários não fazem concurso. para entrar na função publica. é isso....

[C] é uma alteração importante e também de que é preciso. para que haja aí a trabalhar pessoas com competências.

[MV] isso mesmo. isso mesmo. sem a competência, não pode. não pode mesmo. era a, a modernização que nos queremos.

[C] pois, faz todo o sentido. e, por outro lado, outra questão em que se houve muito falar são os poderes tradicionais e religiosos. a minha pergunta é saber, na sua opinião, é quem eles são no dia de hoje. ainda tem o seu poder tal como tinham antigamente? quem eles são de facto? mudaram algumas coisas, ou...? essa é a pergunta, muito aberta.

[MV] eheheh. não, eu, eu acho que dum tempo, dum tempo para ca, lideres tradicionais e religiosos perderam aquela... como eu posso falar, perderam aquela... aquela performance da liderança, tanto religioso como tradicional. eh... vimos agora, nesse governo tem, no governo anterior, tem um ministério de administração e poder local. isso tudo é para que? é para poder... anetecer, ou trazer, ou retomar aquela... aquela, aquela situação que o poder tradicional e religiosos tinha. porque dantes as pessoas ouçam, tinha regulo, que é poder tradicional. eles tinham, tinham poder mesmo nas suas tabancas, nos seus tribunais. mas agora, com a situação politica, veja só! com a situação politica, por exemplo, se o regulo fala, todas as pessoas no meu regulado, na minha tabanca tem que comportar, por exemplo, no, num determinado partido, ou tem de fazer determinado ritual. as pessoas na maioria não aceitam. agora, as crianças mesmo di casa de regulo, se falar tem esmola? tem o, um ritual tradicional para fazer, para comer aquelas comidas, não sei que, na maioria das crianças não aceitam. o poder fragilizou de tal forma, poder tradicional, e poder religioso. e o —, casa dos lideres religiosos, padres, imames,... as crianças estão a engravidar. as pessoas vão no casamento com etnias diferentes. ou religion diferente. isso não acontecia. nada. isso não acontecia dantes. dantes era muito rigoroso, cumprir com as regras religiosas e tradicionais. agora não. agora não é tao, ministério da administração territorial e poder local esta a fazer grande trabalho de inovar. porquê? porque o estado também não pode chegar em todos os lugares. os poder tradicional complementa o estado... tanto poder religioso, mas as relações, problemas de conflitos na tabancas, nos seus regulados... isso esta a surtir um grande efeito. problema de tabanca, de terreno... terrenos e bolanhas, problemas de roubo de gados, problemas entre tabanca, eh? para uma e outra situação, os regulos agora, os lideres religiosos, são eles que, estão a, a... serem formados, a terem... capacidades para poder fazer esse trabalho. e esta a surtir efeito grande para mim. eu acho, que, que, ele estão a retomar tudo a pouco, o pode dele de, de antigamente, e que perderam.

[C] então, eles estão, por assim dizer, sob uma outra forma?

[MV] ya, ya.

[C] desta vez, ajudados pelo poder do estado.

[MV] sim, sim. porque também se vimos na época colonial, isso funcionava, funcionava muito bem! porque o estado dava, dava... o que é de quem para que podiam fazer coisas como deve de ser. antes de chegarmos chefe de posto, eh, antigamente, o poder tradicional, fazia muitas, muitas... reuniões, fazia tantas trabalhos para poder ter, o que devia ser, resolvida la, o que devia ser — para chefes de posto.

[C] alem de estar enfraquecido, parece que o poder tradicional não sofre tanta crise como o governo. perdeu uma parte do seu poder, mas por outro lado não tem tantas crises como os governos tiveram nos últimos anos.

[MV] não, la... sim, claro que sim. poder tradicional, se nos vimos, eh... temos, eh.. temos diversos etnias aqui em Guiné-Bissau. então cada etnia faz parte duma zona. para alem de do, do poder tradicional, quem é tradicional, tem aqueles rituais que é sagrado. viu? que se a pessoa não cumprir com aquilo, pode ser chamado dum outra forma, viu? duma outra forma, pode ser ameaçado. duma outra forma, então obrigatoriamente a pessoa tem que cumprir. ou tem que ter medo de fazer. de não fazer isso, porque senão vai ter, vai, vai ter que ser castigado, de tal forma dos rituais, eh, que sabe que leva ate a morte. é isso... eheheh

[C] acha que pode-se dizer que o poder tradicional tem um caracter democrático, ou não?

[MV] nah... poder tradicional, hoje? eu acho que tem um pouco. tem um pouco, sim, tem um pouco. mas para dizer verdade, poder tradicional nunca era assim, o poder... assim, sensível,... um poder, assim, de democracia. porque em democracia cada um faz o que quiser, não é. faz, faz o que quiser, conforme a lei, não é. mas o poder tradicional tem algumas coisas que, se nos vimos também, tem as suas partes negativa, que nos chamamos de violência, viu, ou violência dos direitos humanos. então, esta... esta no meio. é o poder não é, não é assim, um poder... de democracia, mas também, como agora muitos deles sabem que tem organizações que trabalha, que defende direitos e promove direitos e defende, então eles as vezes ficam a ponderam sobre algumas situações de violência que são praticadas, tradicionais.

[C] exatamente neste aspeto que acabaste de referir, qual o posicionamento dos poderes tradicionais no caso das crianças-espírito?

[MV] eehe.. crianças-espírito no poder tradicional ... não, aí não tem nada de democracia aí. não tem nada de falar que vai ouvir. poder o... criança-espírita são levadas para ser SFISILIADOS? sem, sem consentimento dos pais as vezes e da mãe, por exemplo. não. aí não tem democracia. aí o ritual, de, de tradição é que fala mais alto. aí é violência mesmo. aí...

[C] e as autoridades, os poderes tradicionais não tomam posição contra esta pratica, de facto?

[MV] não...

[C] talvez não fiquem abertamente, mas...

[MV] não, não, não podem. eles estão de acordo. de poder, de poder administrativo. lei, que protege as criança, com convenson, tratado, viu?, então própria constituson di republica fala isso. nos não podemos tirar vida de ninguém. mas, poder tradicional desacapa toda aquelas possibilidade, e matam as crianças através daqueles rituais, diz que são irâns, se deixaram vão come, eles vão começar a matar próprios os pais, os avos, toda a família. então, matam. matam duma forma muito cruel.

[C] queria saber se podias falar mais um bocado sobre este ritual. como é que afeta...

[MV] eheheh... é o que eu sei. o que eu sei. quando uma pessoa, uma pessoa engravida, da luz, e criança vem ao mundo, as vezes tendo duas situações. as vezes a criança vem com deficiência, não é. deficiência congénita, de uma outra forma, a criança vem com deficiência, ou cabeça ou mão, há aqueles que tem cabeça, cabeça fica a crescer mais que o corpo. há aqueles que vem as vezes as duas mons ficam paralisadas, ou os pés. a criança tem quantos anos, não consegue fazer nada. então... o poder tradicional acha que isso é alma de uma pessoa que vinha, que morreu, morreu mal, então regressou para poder fazer, matar as pessoas. outra hora, é... tem casos que a criança vem, mas vem completa, vem completa, só que não consegue movimentar. outros movimentam, mas duma forma... com deficiência, não é. então, tem aquelas pessoas, aquelas pessoas que nos chamamos aqui de djambakos, e pessoas que fazem aqui aqueles rituais, mesmo... feiticeiros... então falam que aquelas crianças são feiticeiros. então, pegam a criança, roubam, não deixam a mãe, ou o pai, sabem.. isso se faz as pessoas velhas, os avos, os tios, as tias... pegam a criança numa noite, levam no mar, então fazem aqueles rituais la, matam galinha,

depois metem ovo de galinha, cana, não sei que, esperam, ficam a esperar ate quando vem o maron de mar, o — de agua, então lança a criança. as vezes quebram dantes garganta da criança, as pernas e mandam para agua. as vezes deixam a criança la ate quando o maron chega e leva, aquelas coisas. falam que aquele é irân, que veio, foi. é assim que fazem, as vezes matam mesmo, duma forma cruel. falam se não fazem isso, aquela alma vai vir e vai portar mal para ser, para ser concebida e depois ficar no meio da família. então fazem isso. mas... a nossa, a nossa organização aqui, o instituto da mulher e criança (IMC) e as outras organizações que intervém no domínio, queston de criança, nos estamos vigilantes dum tempo para ca, porque sensibilizamos, chamamos atenção

fizemos, fizemos tantos trabalhos para poderem, para podermos chamar a atenção deles para... não a violência, não a matar, eh? mas eles pensam, falam que sim, mas depois tentam fazer. é tal e qual aquele, aquelas coisas que estávamos a falar, praticas, praticas tradicionais nefastas, o fanado e outras praticas. mas, agora, eu, eu digo isso porque eu sei que esconde para fazer. há pessoa também que deixaram de fazer isso. porque se vimos, temos muitos centro agora que estão a receber estes tipos de crianças. quando vimos que, eles.. a crianças vem com a deficiência, então levam para entregar. hoje, hoje... recebem, uns outros não recebem. mas agora, eu acho que esta, esta... a diminuir, a diminuir. se fazem! igualmente, mesmo... se faziam, e ate agora estão a fazer. mas, agora estão, estão a fazer a fazer já com mais cuidado, porque quando nos descobrimos, então, aquela pessoa é detida para policia e para ser julgada.

[C] estão a fazer com mais cuidado, ou seja, mais a escondida?

[MV] é, é... como?

[C] disseste que agora estão a fazer com mais cuidado, ou seja que é feito mais a escondida?

[MV] sim, sim... sim, estão a tomar mais cuidados em fazer e estão a fazer mais a escondida, porque dantes... dantes não estava assim! mas agora não. agora não. eu, eu cheguei, eu morava com uma senhora que tinha criança que chorava só a noite, não sei qual o problema, se é saúde, se é de saúde, se é de que, eu não sei.. então, um dia para o outro, perguntei como é que esta a criança, agora não chora mais, não sei que... a mãe me falou não, levaram a criança. eu falei, levaram aonde? para hospital falar, — falaram que é irân, então, levaram e ele já foi. eu falei, o que?? falaram assim, há muitos anos atras. algum esconde. esconde...

[C] estava a dizer que há varia instituições que aceitam estas crianças?

[MV] sim, instituições de acolhimento.

[C] quais é que são?

[MV] tem Casa Emmanuel. tem Casa Bambaran. e tem também Casa de Emparo. que eu sei,... e tem também Casa de Ter.

[C] e são todas em Bissau?

[MV] tudo, sim, todos eles estão em Bissau. Casa Emmanuel esta em Afia, casa Bambaran esta no Bor... Casa Emparo esta no Alto Bandim. e Casa Betel esta no Jericó. Jericó é entre Kumpu e Bairro de Bandim, e Bandim. tínhamos feito visitas la, tem destas crianças assim. tem esses...

[C] esses casos agora chegam a ser denunciados, ou nem por isso?

[MV] de infanticídio?

[C] sim.

[MV] não, chegam! há aí vários casos. há vários casos... eu me lembro de um senhor, há quatro, cinco anos em Gabu... o trabalho dele é só isso, é só isso. e depois ele tem la, cada criança que ele, que ele matou, leva para matar, enfia uma corda no arvore. tinha la mais de 50, ou 40 e tal cordas... uma corda por cada criança. então é, esse homem, foi denunciado em Gabu... tinha la com ele aquele pessoal de centro de acolhimento de... de AMIC em Gabu, e também vem connosco, de tribunal, policia... policia forma la prenderam o homem, depois ficou, no tribunal, passou para julgamento. isso que é um caso... depois falaram que o homem depois ficou doente, o homem ficou depois, não sei o que, não sei o que. o nosso maior problema, aqui em Guiné-Bissau, é finalização de processo. ate o julgamento que o, que o violador seja julgado e cumprindo com suas pena, pena de prisão... isso que é o problema. justiça... justiça acaba, acaba no meio caminho. isso que é grande problema,

[C] então, há casos que chegam a justiça?



[MV] sim, chegam, chegam muitos casos disso, chegam muitos casos.

[C] essa já é uma boa notícias, esta a siar do silencio...

[MV] chegam, chegam mesmo... chegam.

[C] chegar ate o fim do processo é difficil, mas..

[MV] para chegar fim do processo, isso, para já quando nos dizemos nossos trabalhos sociais e entregamos instituição jurídica, as vezes tem assessores jurídicos, ou a, a tem Casa de Direito, ou, o coiso, Centro de Acesso a Justiça, eles é que fazem o, o trabalho de finalização ate o julgamento. e depois já, nos que vamos só com situason sociais, e eles tratam situason jurídica. depois... na compilação de relatório, no seguimento as vezes é, nos... fizemos levantamento da situação de julgamento, de que,... mas não, não sei, quantos casos que foram julgados. isso que é o problema. porque estamos a trabalhar na politica de proteção da criança. e tínhamos indicado... tínhamos... dessa, destes situason de banco de dados, daquelas situasons, então agora não sei, não sei se já estão, se já esta pronto esta coisa não sei.[...]

[C] ate agora, enquanto estão à espera desta nova lei de proteção da criança, qual é o posicionamento ou a proteção que o estado oferece? para já, o estado reconhece a existência desta pratica, tomou medidas, fez campanhas...?

[MV] sim, sim...! porquê? porque isso tudo engloba no nosso trabalho de dia a dia.. tanto a violência física, violência sexual, violência em todos os aspetos. nos trabalhamos no dia a dia no que diz respeito a sensibilização, a promoção e proteção de direitos, nas tabancas, com os pais, encarregados de educação, e sociedade em geral... para podermos arrancar algumas praticas agressivas, algumas praticas nefastas nas vidas das crianças, não se pode esconder tanto — então, estamos li, estamos a trabalhar, estamos a trabalhar. o que nos sentimos... o que nos sentimos e que medimos em algumas situações e algumas temáticas, é que... estão a diminuir realmente, estão a diminuir. algumas praticas estão a diminuir. estão a diminuir... porque agora qualquer coisinha de nada a pessoa entra em contacto com serviço de proteção, policia judiciaria, os institutos, as organizações da sociedade civil... agora são muitos, agora tem, linhas de denuncia, tem organizações que trabalham nas tabancas. por exemplo, praticas nefastas foram em muitas tabancas, são quase 100 tabancas a trabalhar com animadores. temos AMIC que tem animadores em muitas tabancas. temos agora organização a trabalhar para poder, para poder fazer, a violência das crianças ser um mas, uma coisa da Guiné-Bissau ... através de sensibilização. mas a pessoa, quem pratica, ele vai na justiça. e; e vai na justiça automaticamente! agora é assim. agora é assim. agora cabe a justiça fazer o seu trabalho.

[...]

[MV] mas também há casos ainda no que diz respeito a esta situação de infanticídio. ainda há criança que é sacrifica mesmo para rituais. há! independentemente de que, a criança é... é mongoloide, ou tem uma ou outra deficiência, assim... as vezes, eh, as vezes as crianças é posta na rua, na tabanca, na bolanha, não sei onde, sem olho, sem órgãos genitais, sem mãos, sem o que, sem os pés, sem... crianças, já v, é... sacrificada par alguns rituais. no, no, nas tabancas...

[C] que tipo de rituais?

[MV] eh! rituais, por exemplo, falam, eu não sei, falam, rituais tipo para poder... fazem rituais tipo para poder salvar uma situason duma família, fazem rituais para poder não sei que, é tipo aquela coisa que falam em Moçambique que matam os albinos, porque não sei, couro, não sei que, que o órgãos do albino da riqueza, viu? então, são essas coisas assim... são essas coisas. as vezes fazem. as vezes fazem. porque uma vez ou outra, criança desaparece nas maternidades, desaparece as vezes, no, nas instituições de saúde... o que as pessoas falam, nos somos trabalhadores sociais, não podemos esconder algumas situações nefastas, às vezes, que é praticada, no pais... as vezes o costume mostre, mas não mostra cabalmente, é só quando nos presenciamos no nosso trabalho de dia a dia é que nos acabamos por saber, às vezes, algumas coisas que nos, nos não tínhamos...

[...]

[C] os dois rituais/infanticídios acontecem em todas as zonas do pais?

[MV] claro! porque zonas de pais tem etnias diferentes, viu. nos temos variedade de etnias aqui muito grande, porque cada zona, norte sul leste, tem diferentes tipos, sim, diferentes tipos de etnia. essas etnias habitam nas zonas mais profunda de cada, de cada zona, então.. o que eles fazem, o que uma etnia faz, o outro, o outro pode

fazer ou faz de uma outra maneira. então tudo isso acaba de de dar um... tocar na mesma tecla. é infanticídio mesmo.

### 3.8 Interview with Olívio Pereira

Secretary General for the Presidency of the Council of Ministries

November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Lisbon / Bissau

Interview Sample 5 (State authority)

[C] pronto, eu já vou com a primeira pergunta, que é a seguinte: o Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense, é um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. Queria saber se concorda com esta definição do Estado, e quais acha que são as funções do Estado e das suas instituições.

[OP] Subescrevo, subescrevo esta visão do Estado, e sobretudo nosso contexto onde... inda existe muita assimetria a nível de tudo... do território nacional. que ainda não podemos falar da existência duma nação como tal, devido a tais assimetrias, porque nas zonas recônditas do nosso país, quase que não há presença do Estado. no, no contexto específico da Guiné.

[C] Quando diz que não há presença do Estado, o que é que quer dizer exatamente?

[OP] o quero dizer que nas zonas recônditas do país não há nenhuma representação do Estado, aí. porque o país divide-se em regiões, regiões em setor, setor em secções, e secções em tabanca. Bom. a estrutura que existe até o nível de setores, deveria também poder existir até lá nas tabancas. mas estas estruturas de presença do Estado termina praticamente a linha dos setores e secções. portanto aí, ainda continuamos com a vida tradicional comunitária. e a própria comunidade da tabanca que resolve os seus problemas. tanto assim, que as pessoas que nascem naqueles localidades, nem há forma de procederem ao registo, a não ser de deslocarem-se a quilómetros para irem registar os filhos, nas zonas onde há presença do Estado. esta a ver? se o Estado estivesse aí presente, ele não teria necessidade de deslocar para recensear, para registar se não, a criança que acaba de nascer, esta a ver? é nestes termos que eu digo que ainda não há presença do Estado em zonas mais recônditas do país. aqueles territórios que falamos etc. etc. aqui é que entra o poder tradicional, que mais a frente iremos abordar, quem representa o Estado naquela circunstância, é uma outra entidade, não o Estado como, como comitente?

[C] ok. e nas zonas onde o Estado é presente, quais é que são as funções que o Estado e as suas instituições devem cumprir?

[OP] boh.. o Estado é antes de tudo aquele entidade que nós não vemos, mas que fomos nos todos. porque de entre as formas de definição do Estado, eu gosto daquele que diz que o Estado é uma comunidade de cidadãos. o Estado é uma comunidade de governados e de governantes. no, numa sociedade de governados e de governantes, pronto, vamos ver que o Estado deverá continuar a dar orientações para que a vida em sociedade seja útil. mas também devesse continuar a dar instruções para que as políticas definidas pelo governo possam ter a sua aplicação prática em toda a extensão do território nacional. quando chegar, por exemplo, o momento da realização das eleições, é... [...] os representantes que vão falar com aquelas pessoas da tabanca, que é preciso fazer o registo eleitoral por efeitos da votação. portanto, o Estado continua na mesma a exercer o seu papel tradicional, elo de ligação com as populações e mobilizar as populações para a realização dos dignos? nacionais.

[C] e nesse aspeto, o que acha que é preciso para atores políticos e partidos, para conseguir o suporte estável e fiel pelos cidadãos? ou seja, de alguma forma, o que é que os legitima a governar? tendo a aprovação do povo.

[OP] olha, falta um elemento fundamental na minha perspetiva: a política da descentralização administrativa. ou seja, a criação de outras pessoas morais, neste caso, a criação de.. de novas instituições, como seja a realização de eleições autárquicas para a constituição destas novas autoridades morais, de direito público. porque, sem a criação destas autarquias, dificilmente estenderemos os poderes do Estado até aquela localidade. é preciso descentralizar, mais, fluir os poderes para outras categorias institucionais. enquanto isso não se concretizar, não havendo autarquias locais, portanto, o poder do Estado continua a atrofiar. e atrofiar que é o poder do Estado, vamos ter consequência no processo de desenvolvimento. o nosso processo de desenvolvimento também atrofia-se, fica também atrofiado. portanto, em resumo, é preciso criar as novas autoridades, com realização de eleições locais, um poder autárquico, que ficaria mais perto das populações, em representação do poder central.

[C] então, se me dar licença para resumir o que estava a dizer, a forma de garantir a legitimidade e suporte pela, por parte da população é criar um poder de Estado mais próximo dos cidadão.

[OP] nem mais. tudo isto.

[C] pronto, pronto. esta mesmo que era a questão. e neste aspeto, tal como referia a questão de criar novas autoridades, fala-se também muito no projeto de modernização do Estado. como é que considera que este projeto de modernização possa produzir ou trazer bem estar para a população?

[OP] esta intrínseco à resposta que eu dei. a criação de novas autoridades, porquê... a modernização do Estado, na minha perspetiva, é permitir que o Estado possa marcar a sua presença em toda a extensão do território nacional, inclusivamente nas zonas mais recônditas. porque o desenvolvimento deve ser linear, deve ser abrangente. nas se deve circunscrever apenas a uma categoria de cidadãos que estão nos centros urbanos, ate porque neste momentos, analisado nesta perspetiva, estaremos a fazer uma política de discriminação. quase ku desenvolvimento, acesso a escola, acesso a centro de saúde, continua a ser um privilegio apenas para aqueles que estão localizados nos centros urbanos. e os outros cidadão que também são guineenses tal como os outros estão vedados de, desta possibilidade de desenvolvimento. portanto... deverá haver uma maior abrangência, e transversalidade, volta a questão que eu respondi antes, a criação de novas autoridades, para que o desenvolvimento... para que, como aquelas autoridades locais, vão contribuir para resolver os problemas do cotidiano. a falta de agua já não será um assunto a resolver pelo poder central, mas para aqueles autoridades locais, esta a ver? o saneamento básico, etc., portanto só assim estaremos em condições de atender as demandas básicas da população. não a partir do poder central, mas do poder autárquico, o poder

[lost connection]

[...]

[C] pronto, então, estamos a considerar a questão das autarquias em relação ao projeto de modernização de Estado. quer retomar...?

[OP] portanto, em resumo, que não há modernização do Estado sem autarquias locais.

[C] sim. e neste projeto das autarquias, qual é o limite dos poderes do, das autoridades autárquicas?

[OP]. não, não, eh... tens que... a questão poderia ser colocada... os limites, a descentralização significa que esta na transferência de parte dos poderes do poder central para o poder local, não é? e se é o poder central que transfere poderes para o poder local, eheh, tens que, não se coloca a questão dos, dos limites, antes pelo contrario, os limites vem fixados na lei que transfere os poderes para a nova autoridade.

[C] sim, sim.

[OP] portanto..

[C] pronto

[OP] tens que fluir claro, aí não haverá o problema de extravasar os limites na... mesmo havendo-os, comandos normativos que vão instituir as novas autoridades, vão fixar os limites. desde logo, a territorialidade do exercício do poder, estes são elementos que contam. com o, o... o município tem que ter os limites geográficos, mesmo haverá esta limitação. que ate já existe.

[C] pois, trata-se de reformular e reforçar estas competências e divisões.

[OP] exato, exato.

[C] agora, voltando à questão dos poderes tradicionais, em que já tinha começado a falar antes, eu queria lhe perguntar, na sua opinião, pensando nos poderes tradicionais e religiosos ao dia de hoje, quem são esses poderes, ou como os caracterizaria?

[OP] olha... o poder tradicional, eh... contrapõe-se a um poder moderno. é um poder que vem da nossa realidade ancestral. antes da existência do Estado, na perspetiva de Kant, já havia o exercício do poder nas nossas comunidades tradicionais. há seculos! com o evoluir do tempo, este poder foi diminuindo para o Estado moderno, mas a democracia veio ensinar-nos que na ausência das autarquias locais, é este poder tradicional que continuar a ser a extensão do Estado nas zonas recônditas do país. mas este poder tradicional, é um poder que encarna os valores de uma determinada comunidade. ou seja, os habitantes, as populações duma determinada localidade, revem nos representantes do poder tradicional, o seu próprio Estado. a sua figura máxima, a sua inspiração. porque, são esse, são esse autoridades do poder tradicional que resolvem, por exemplo, os conflitos que surgem na tabanca, são estas autoridades. eles... é como... a época do império romano. o rei era tudo. nas nossas tabancas,

não na perspectiva ditatorial, mas de facto, os regulos são representantes do poder tradicional, os regulos, são eles que estão investidos da autoridade para que a vida na tabanca decorra numa normalidade e que os conflitos que correm neste limite geográfico sejam também resolvidos por estas autoridades. nomeadamente, pelo regulo. que tem, que acumula em si um conjunto de poderes, por exemplo, este de resolver os conflitos, esse de dar orientações legais que configuram algum,... alguma norma obrigatória, de execução obrigatória, por exemplo, eles tem esse na comunidade. portanto, é uma autentica no limite geográfico onde exerce esse poder.

[C] neste sentido, diria que o poder que eles exercem tem um caracter democrático, ou é completamente alheio à democracia?

[OP] bom. no.. em, este aqui o... o conflito democrático tal como nos o encaramos no modernidade, difere um bocado, mas, vamos dizer que, o que resulta do direito, o que resulta da legalidade, não se distancia da democracia. não vamos dizer que é democráticos, porque tem um carater, digamos, de termo, o regulo é eleito até a morte. não é eleito, é designado. porque ele é de linhagem de regulado. mas vamos dizer que ele exerce o poder com toda a legitimidade, toda a a legalidade. aí é que, ali é que estabelece o paralelismo entre a democracia e a legalidade. se ele não é votado, porque não é votado, mas simplesmente é daquela linhagem, chega a vez dele para ser regulo, deve ter. e o — pode não ser de agrado de toda a população. aí difere um bocado de, daquilo que dizemos, os valores da democracia. porque não resulta de nenhuma eleição. não há um poder de escolha. é sobre aquela pessoa, é daquela linhagem, é daquela linhagem. aqueles que não pertencem à linhagem do regulado não podem exercer este poder, mas volto a dizer-lhe: isto é reconhecido por todos os habitantes dum determinada população que sabem que o poder pertence a uma determinada linhagem. se há esse, se há esse formato na consciência do, dos, das populações locais, se é esta família que tem que exercer o regulado, há aqui uma legitimidade histórica. agora, vamos dizer que isto não é democrático, porque o para ser democrático teria que ser submetido a um valor eleitoral, isso não, ali é que, ali é que há a diferença. mas volto a dizer, não se distancia tanto, do regime democrático devido a sua base originaria que é legal. ok?

[C] ótimo. e o que sobre a relação entre Estado e poderes tradicionais? eles são reconhecidos formalmente, ou há algum tipo de colaboração, cooperação informal...?

[OP] bom, é no âmbito, é no âmbito formal, porque não há, digo isto porque, em termos de direitos políticos, não existe uma legislação nesta matéria, mas as próprias autoridades do Estado, do direito positivo, reconhecem, vou dizer, informalmente ou formalmente, conforme o.. marca com presença na tomada de posse do regulo. a marcarem presença na tomada de posse dum determinado regulo, o próprio estado esta a reconhecer a legitimidade, a legalidade deste poder. agora, formalmente, em termos legislativos, isto é que não existe.

[C] pois, não. e para si os poderes tradicionais, eles não aparentam sofrer tantas crises como os governos do Estado.

[OP] eheheheh

[C] na sua opinião, porque é que isso acontece?

[OP] ah... primeiro para dizer que concordo, sim. aí há uma estabilidade porque, as pessoas são, nascem e vivem sobre determinados valores tradicionais. isto foi assim no passado, isto deve ser assim no presente, embora com algumas ajustes. volto a dizer que o poder tradicional, no caso concreto da Guiné-Bissau, esta a mostrar maior estabilidade em relação ao poder do Estado, porque aqui... não há um sentido de reconhecimento, por exemplo, um partido ganha eleições, para um mandato de quatro anos, os outros partidos que estão na oposição, começam a criar maquinações, para interromper quem ganhou as eleições. ninguém espera para quatro anos. mas imagine, o poder tradicional, se a pessoa, por exemplo, foi, foi investido como regulo com trinta anos de idade, imagine, se ele tiver oitenta anos, são cinquenta anos de poder. e aí ninguém se levanta para dizer, não, tem que terminar, não! porque há uma consciência formada ao inicio, desde a origem! são valores intrínsecos a uma determinada cultura, a um determinado povo, eles assumem isso. esta a ver? aqui que eu penso que, às vezes, as nossas comunidades tradicionais, em termos de valores morais e éticos, estão melhor do que nos aqui!! ... o direito positivo, nos que legislamos, fixamos as normas, aprovamos leis, mas o, o seu cumprimento... aí coloca-se sérios, sérios, sérios desafios. mas a nível de poder tradicional, não. por isso, resumindo a minha resposta, é que há maiores estabilidade a nível de exercício do poder tradicional, em relação ao contexto democrático.

[C] pois... obrigada. eu queria saber, neste aspeto, como considera o posicionamento de poderes tradicionais perante casos que são, por um lado, aos olhos do Estado, contraditórios, como a mutilação genital feminina, ou o fenómeno das chamadas crianças-irân.

[OP] ok, aí esta. todo o poder tem um seu aspeto negativo. este é o aspeto negativo do poder tradicional, por isso, a interação entre o Estado e o poder tradicional tem que ser mais decidida. e enquanto não instituirmos as eleições autárquicas, com o poder autárquico instalado, vamos ter estas dificuldades. porque, o elo de ligação, o poder central ate o poder tradicional, é um caminho longo. e quem poderia encurtar este caminho e estar mais próximo do poder tradicional, são as autarquias locais. esta a ver? há um vazio que é a falta do poder autárquico que distancia mais a relação entre o poder central e o poder tradicional, esta a ver? é um percurso longo. enquanto que, que pelo meio deveria haver uma nova autoridade, as autarquias locais, com a criação de municípios, e esses municípios exercitariam o poder do Estado sobre a territorialidade que esta sob o comando do poder tradicional. já viu? portanto, a, a vantagem do poder tradicional é que, há uma maior aproximação entre o estado e o poder tradicional. sem as autarquias locais, ainda há uma maneira de ultrapassar, porque, o, o distanciamento torna-se cada vez mais,... tem que haver uma estrutura no meio para incorpora adições. e com a criação das autarquias locais, portanto, é estes fenómenos, ainda negativos, como o, o, a MGF, que existe apenas em algumas, em algumas localidades, ou é circunscrita a alguns grupos étnicos, poderia ser resolvida, com estes novos... a distancia seria menos. isto acontece acontece porque o... o governo central não tem o controlo absoluto sobre as extensões, sobre toda a extensão do território. o que acontece la na tabanca, ate o poder central saber isso, já é tarde. mas, falta apenas o elemento que seria melhor elo de ligação entre o poder central e o poder tradicional, que são as autarquias. na minha perspetiva.

[C] portanto, em relação ao posicionamento do Estado, há uma falta de, de rede, por assim dizer para chegar a ter alguma autoridade, e acerto sobre estes fenómenos?

[OP] exato... não digo que não há, mas... esta.. funciona num circuito muito, muito deficitário. portanto, porque o percurso até la, é muito longo. e por ser muito longo, tarda a chegar, o Estado tarda a chegar.

[C] de facto, o posicionamento de Estado perante estes fenómenos, seria... que tipo de posicionamento? no papel.

[OP] ok... é um posicionamento no papel, volto a dizer, não é que o Estado não tenha tomado já medidas, etc., há diplomas aprovados a nível da ANP, mas o mecanismo de controle da sua implementação na pratica, da sua execução na pratica, nas zonas de risco, e porque são zonas recônditas, esse mecanismo de controle é que não existe. a lei existe. agora, a aplicação da lei, quem é que vai controlar isto? se você vai la no Boe, onde mal chegam, mal chega o poder central. as coisas vão acontecendo aí. portanto, o Estado cumpriu já a sua missão, de legislar, no sentido de proibir a excisão feminina, por exemplo. mas, falta o poder da fiscalização, para a sua implementação na pratica. porque que há um distancia.. distanciamento entre, já lhe disse, quase que estamos numa situação de cidadão de primeira e cidadãos de segunda. aqueles que estão nos centros urbanos, muito bem, há uma forma de o poder central controlar a execução de certa medidas. ora, aqueles que estão ainda nas zonas mais recônditas, e estão submetidas a governação do — militar? e do poder tradicional, boh! vai emparando isto.

[C] e neste aspeto, já mencionou a questão de cidadãos de primeira e cidadão de segunda, entre aspas, e da questão que crenças, praticas, como a MGF, são próprias de algumas áreas do pais.

[OP] Sim.

[C] em relação ao caso das chamadas crianças-espírito, achas que é uma crença que é partilhada pela população no geral, também trata-se dum fenómeno que é relegado as áreas mais recônditas do pais, ou que é algo que já se encontra mais desatualizado?

[OP] boh... já vai caindo em desuso, vai caindo em desatualidade, digamos assim. mas... por ter... menor, em si, menor incidência, vai acontecendo aqui e acolá, não é? e... sendo... não é... tem assim um caracter general, mas também... não... é em fase extinção. de vez em quando acontece de forma esporádica, mas na... tem abrangência sobre extinção do território nacional, mas, volto a dizer, que reconduzido a zonas recônditas. e sobretudo porque... isto é um reflexo da pobreza. se la nas zonas recônditas uma pessoa nasce com deficiência, deficiências tremendas, não há.. centros hospitalares para dares assistência, não há casas de acolhimento, claro que acontecem assim. na Europa há casos destes la e ali vão para.. casas de acolhimento, para assistência especializado. não havendo forma de dar uma assistência especializada, acontece isto. mas é de facto, um fenómeno... em declino, desaparecimento.

[C] e também, pelo que entendi, mais ligado a zonas onde o Estado não é presente.[OP] tudo dito, tudo dito.

[...]

[OP] eu, em relação a isto, queria só saber... se já tem alguma experiencia, de como o poder central através de mecanismos legislativos podes contrapor a ancestralidade do poder, numa perspetiva, assim dinâmica, não pela rutura, mas sim, por uma, uma perspetiva de integração.

### 3.9 Interview with Rui Jorge da Fonseca

Analyst at PNUD Guinea-Bissau

November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Lisbon / Bissau,

Interview sample 5-7 (State authority and NGOs)

[C] primeira pergunta. a ideia de que o Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense e é o órgão legítimo soberano e democrático. a minha pergunta é saber se concorda com esta definição e quais achas que são as funções do Estado e das suas instituições.

[R] olha, eh.. eu digo que o Estado da Guiné-Bissau é Estado democrata. é Estado democrata porque de uma certa forma porem não 100%, de uma certa forma há uma, há uma liberdade de expressão. as pessoas portanto votam, escolhem portanto os representantes do povo, portanto que é o parlamento, as pessoas votam para os representantes do povo. e portanto há uma certa liberdade de, portanto, que nos permite aqui na Guiné-Bissau. embora com um certo conceitos da constituições, com certas, mm.. com certo SENA. porque, repara, as vezes também acontece certa, certos casos, que se.. portanto, pontuais, tipo fecho de... ataque a uma radio, tipo, portanto, uma pessoa é agredida por policiais na rua, por questões políticas, e aí há um certo, mm.. uma certa preocupação neste sentido. em relação a dizer que é soberano, eu não... tenho uma certa duvida em relação a soberania. porque como, um Estado soberano é um Estado que, que se sente forte se trabalhar sozinho, sem solicitar apoios internacionais. a Guiné-Bissau, o estado da Guiné-Bissau solicita apoios internacionais ate portanto para pagar salários. portanto o Estado da Guiné-Bissau, tudo, tudo o que quer fazer tem que solicitar apoio internacionais através de projetos, através de donativos, ou através portanto de, de créditos, podem ser bonificados ou não. portanto, para mim o estado da Guiné-Bissau não é soberano porque depende tanto dos apoios externos. agora, o papel do Estado é papel regulador. ou seja, o papel do Estado é criar todo um ambiente propicio para que a população possa sentir, fazer, ter uma vida condigna, que possa resolver os seus problemas. quer dizer que.. que deve, o Estado deve garantir uma boa educação. deve garantir uma boa suade, que é o essencial, portanto o básico, e a alimentação também. para portanto que as populações sintam-se condignas e que vivem portanto com u certo bem-estar. por outro lado também, o Estado deve criar um ambiente propicio para que haja investimento. quer dizer, tanto investimentos privados como investimentos públicos. tem que, portanto, criar condições para haver investimentos e lógicos, portanto que, haja portanto que haja todas regras destes investimentos que as pessoas portanto possam pagar os impostos para que portanto o Estado possa funcionar. portanto é esta a minha opinião.

[C] ótimo, acho ate que tem uma opinião muito bem formada!

[R] eheheh

[C] Enato, em consideração da sua ideia de o que é o Estado da Guine, que acha que é preciso para um politico, tal como o partido politico a qual este politico pertence, e o Estado conseguir suporte estável pela população. o que é os legitima em estar aí a governar?

[R] atualmente, ou duma forma geral?

[C]duma forma geral. assim, ou os dois como quiser.

[R] sim.. os partidos pol... o que é que legitima os partidos são precisamente as eleições. portanto, estão a governar são as eleições. portanto as eleições é que legitimam o partido a, a estar no governo. agora, os últimos tempos que tem passado na Guiné-Bissau.. os partidos que ganham as eleições muitas das vezes não são, não, não governam. portanto, há sempre de, algo, há sempre algo que impede os partidos que ganham as eleições a ser, governar. e o povo não reage, o povo passivamente, fica a ver portanto esta situação. mas logico que são as eleições a única de legitimar o, a governação dum partido, ou vários, portanto, as coligações. mas aqui nos últimos tempos não esta, não esta a acontecer. houve épocas anteriores, com o, o presidente José Mário Vaz, que exonerou vários governos, nomeou vários governos, houve cerca de seis governos durante o período de mandato do presidente Mário Vaz, e já vimos agora esta situação que esta a passar agora, que o PAIGC ganhou as eleições, e aí não, não esta a governar. portanto, quem esta a governar é o que eu chamo uma maioria parlamentar. que é formada por três partidos. mas entre os partidos que estão na maioria parlamentar, não ganhar as eleições. portanto, não estão a governar neste momento. quer dizer que, conseguiram maioria parlamentar, não por força, não por guerra, mas conseguiram a



maioria parlamentar através de acordos, entre eles, que fez com que o programa, portanto o programa passa-se na assembleia. e a partir de que o programa passou na assembleia, portanto, foram considerados portanto legítimos do poder.

[C] mmm. Portanto, quer dizer, eles não têm nenhuma legitimidade conferida por eleições.

[R] não, não. nos últimos tempos, não. nos últimos não há nenhuma legitimidade conferida por eleições.

[C] mas acha que isto na mesma dá-lhe possibilidade de conseguirem governar, ou as pessoas desligaram completamente disso?

[R] olha, neste momento estão a governar porque há um programa que, que foi aprovado pelo parlamento e estão a governar. portanto, neste momento estão a governar. estão a governar. é o que aconteceu em outro — ocasionais, que eu referiu quando, quando estive o presidente Mário Vaz. portanto, eles estão a governar. neste momento, o programa foi aprovado pelo parlamento. tem legitimidade de governar. mas não tem legitimidade do, do... ser o partido eleito das eleições. porque os deputados que estão no parlamento são representantes do povo. mas não foram eles que ganharam as eleições. portanto, é uma ambiguidade

[C] pois é. é mesmo. e, quando pensamos na situação dos últimos dois presidente e vários governos, o que houve-se muito as vezes é falar em modernização de Estado. Na sua opinião, como é que considera que este projeto possa produzir ou trazer bem-estar para a população?

[R] a primeira coisa, a modernização de Estado é o estado é fortalecer as instituições publicas. as instituições publicas da Guiné-Bissau são fracas. do ponto de vista, do ponto de vista dos recursos humanos, é bastante fracas, porque os recursos humanos tanto que existem na Guiné-Bissau mas sem grande numero, portanto é preciso reforçar as instituições publicas. é precisar des-partidar, ou seja, eliminar o elemento partido. [...] isso é outro efeito. Então, temos sempre o eterno começo. Então isto d é desnecessário dentro das instituições, deixar de, de nomear as pessoas por cores de camisolas politicas. Portanto, pôr as pessoas pelas suas competências. Isto é outro. Portanto, a outra coisa de modernização de Estado, é o próprio, portanto, esta instabilidade que nós estamos a passar. Esta instabilidade que a Guiné-Bissau esta a passar nos últimos tempos, nos, nos nunca vamos conseguir ter uma modernização do Estado. Nunca. Porque não há, não há o tempo para.. não há tempo para completar uma mandatura. Sempre, sempre há interrupções pelo caminho. Há sempre interrupções pelo caminho. Portanto, não podemos ter um Estado estável. Não podemos ter um Estado moderno com este tipo de, de comportamentos. Não podemos, não podemos. E o outro, também, portanto, a questão da modernização do Estado, é criar condições para que as pessoas que, que estejas na idade da reforma, portanto, serem concebidas as reformas de forma portanto digna. E que haja possibilidade para venha emprego para os jovens. Porque neste momento, o Estado guineense não esta a empregar ninguém. Não esta a empregar ninguém, numa forma oficial, portanto, há muita gente que tem idade da reforma, que não vai para a reforma, porque, porque o ordenado, os recibos da reforma, na lhe da para viver. E então aqui eles vão ocupando lugar que devia portanto ser, devia portanto ser feito concurso publico para que os jovens possam entrar. E aí tendo, tendo uma visão mais jovem, mais, mais atual fazem, pode-se fazer reformas a nível das instituições. E outro, outro aspetos, -- muito, que não é de negligenciar, é a própria – a não interferência nos assuntos de Estado, portanto, a classe armada. Portanto, isso, portanto, também passa, há muita interferência por parte das forcas armadas dentro das instituições. Isto também impede uma, uma modernização. Portanto tem que ser definida uma, as coisas tem que ser claramente bem definidas. Para que possam então as instituições continuarem.

[C] exato. Então, acha que se houver uma nova vaga de pessoas a trabalhar nestas instituições, as instituições de facto começariam a funcionar como deve de ser, trazendo os beneficio que são expectáveis, ou precisar-se-ia numa reforma estrutural?

[R] olha, eu acho que é preciso uma reforma estrutura aqui, uma reforma bem grande de, de , da função publica. Deve haver uma reforma bem grande. Passando pelo nível do salario. O salario aqui, na Guiné-Bissau, o salario mínimo aqui na Guiné-Bissau são cerca de 70 euros, salario mínimo. Portanto, deve haver uma reforma a partir do próprio salario. Deve haver uma reforma através de recrutamentos, das pessoas em concursos públicos, que as pessoas apresentam as suas candidaturas, e que sejam aceites conforme as suas competência. Portanto, tem que haver... não é que recrutar a pessoa por amizade ou por cor da camisola. Não. Portanto, isso não da. E o outro aspeto é a própria dignidade do funcionário, portanto, as condições de trabalho do funcionário. O funcionário tem que ter as condições de trabalho. Portanto, tu neste momento, um técnico, neste momento, um técnico não pode trabalhar sem ter a internet. Ou seja, pesquisa-se para reforçar a sua capacidade, independentemente da pandemia

de COVID-19, que agora é, é tudo a base de videoconferências, mas mesmo em situações normais, um técnico não pode trabalhar sem internet. E nos ministérios, em certos ministérios, não há esse, não há esse aparelhos. Não há essa possibilidade. Portanto, um técnico fica parado. O técnico não consegue fluir. E aí, ele, ele precisa, precisa consulta, precisa pesquisa, precisa.. das letras nas coisas que ele está a fazer. E outra questão é a própria dignidade do reformando. Portanto, quando uma pessoa chega a altura de ir para reforma, que ele seja, que haja portanto uma forma digna para ela. Tem que haver portanto uma gestão de recursos humanos, de RH, uma gestão forte para que haja uma possibilidade de todos terem um mínimo de condições para trabalhar.

[C] pois, precisa mesmo de reformular vários elementos para que a máquina toda comece a pôr-se a andar.

[R] exatamente

[C] e, outra coisa que surgiu neste momento de crise, e que, pelo menos, para mim, é um elemento importante. Porque nos momentos de crise, seja da crise de governo, a questão das eleições e dos resultados eleitorais, assim como da crise da pandemia, foram feitos vários apelos aos poderes tradicionais e religiosos do país. Na sua opinião, quem são estes poderes, ou como os caracterizarias, os dois grupos?

[R] olha, para mim, para mim, não devia existir poder religioso. Portanto, a religião para mim deve ser, conselheira. Para mim, não há, a religião para mim tem que ser, ser conselheira. Portanto, haver a reforma para que as pessoas possam, as instituições possam, dialogar. Este é o papel da religião. Não um poder religioso. Pronto, esta para mim... Esta é a minha opinião.

Agora, em relação ao poder tradicional, aí eles tem uma certa influencia sim, nós temos uma certa influencia nas zonas onde trabalham, onde vivem, desculpa, nas zonas onde vivem. Têm muita influencia nas zonas onde vivem, sobretudo o regulado, ou seja, o rei, nos falamos aqui, é o regulo, .. que pronto, hoje, aqui, que chamamos o regulo, as pessoas traduzirem é o rei. Ele portanto tem, ele tem grande influencia dentro da comunidade onde vive. Portanto, ele é que dita as ordens, ele é que, que... pode ser como possa ter um poder positivo como pode ter um poder negativo. Ou seja, o, visão dele é que faz desenvolver ou não a própria comunidade. E é um contrabalço do próprio poder de Estado. Porque tentou-se, tentou-se anos atrás, no início da independência, tentou-se eliminar o poder tradicional. Mas voltou outra vez a ter uma certa, uma certa influencia. Por exemplo, em termos de conflitos de terra, o poder tradicional tem muita coisa a dizer, o poder tradicional consegue resolver certos conflitos dentro da comunidade. Conflitos de terra, conflitos de, de agricultores com criadores de gado. Também eles conseguem resolver estes problemas. Portanto, têm um certo, têm uma certa capacidade, tem um certo... como diz, uma certa aceitação dentro da própria comunidade. Porque eles testem.. porque eles resolvem vários problemas dentro da comunidade. Em vez de ir aos tribunais, em vez de se chegar aos tribunais, há toda uma instancia unitária que é resolvida, que consegue resolver portanto os problemas dentro da comunidade. E esta instancia comunitária muitas das vezes são dirigidas pelos regulos, ou pelos chefes das aldeias.

[C] portanto, neste sentido, os poderes tradicionais trabalham *ao lado do Estado*?

[R] sim, sim. O.. agora está a ser reconhecido como um suporte, como um apoio do próprio Estado.

[C] Agora, em contraposição com a tentativa de eliminação no fim do século passado, ou porque neste momento está a surgir alguma proposta formal de reconhecimento?

[R] Noa há, não há.. não há uma proposta formal de reconhecimento. Não há nada escrito que diga a partir de um decreto de governo, ou sequer do presidente, ou uma lei, não há. Mas eles são conhecidos. Por exemplos, se formos ver a lei fundiária, portanto a lei da terra da Guiné-Bissau e o próprio regulamento *reconhece* [emphasis] tradicional. E alias, as, as comissões, as comissões que nos chamamos comissões fundiárias, que estão dentro da lei, dentro do regulamento da lei, o, o poder tradicional faz parte, o poder tradicional faz parte. Portanto é assim.. e se formos descendo até a comissão fundiária da aldeia, ou da secção, aí, então, o próprio chefe, o regulo é que é o presidente deste comissão. Portanto, dentro destas comissões fundiárias é reconhecido o poder tradicional. E é reconhecido oficialmente. Agora, não há nenhuma outra, não há nenhuma outra que diga que, escrita, que diga que o poder tradicional existe.

[C] enato... fica mesmo limitado a questão da terra?

[R] sim, sim. Essencialmente, isso.

[C] ok. E, pensando no poder tradicional, está a dizer, basicamente é um poder que, no geral, é forte e, de contrário com o que acontece com o Estado, não aparenta sofrer tantas crise.

[R] não, não, não, não. O poder tradicional não sofre crises nenhuma. Ele está lá..

[C] a minha questão era mesmo lhe perguntar porque é que isso acontece.

[R] olha, repara, eh... o regulado normalmente, o regulado normalmente vem, é uma espécie de dinastia. É uma espécie de um.. porque a família do regulo, já é, é o regulo. A família do regulo é o regulo. Morre o regulo, o velhote, vem o filho, mais velho, e assim sucedidamente. E isso, portanto, não há, não há perturbações. Não existem perturbações. E toda a população sabe, toda a população sabe que esta é a família do regulo. Portanto, não são feitas as eleições, não há eleitorado, não há nada. Portanto, é uma família que pertence a linha do, do regulo. E aí portanto são sucessões, portanto é por isso que não há perturbações neste sentido. Portanto, ninguém dentro da comunidade vai dizer, agora o regulo morreu, desculpe la, agora é a nossa família que vai mandar. Não. Não. Não é assim. Portanto, são as mesma, a família, portanto aa linha familiar do velhote, que estava la, há milhões de anos atras que continua a gerir, que continua a ter este poder dentro da comunidade.

[C] mas então, neste sentido... é porque as eleições e si criam mais instabilidade do que a manutenção do poder dentro da mesma família?

[R] as eleições nacionais?

[C] no geral...

[R] o poder local, o poder tradicional... não, não, não é perturbado com as eleições. Portanto esta la o regulo e ele continua. Não é, não é porque ganhou o PAIGC ou ganhou o PRS que tu vais tirar o regulo. Não. O regulo é permanente. Portanto não há perturbações. Seja com as eleições, seja com ---. Agora as perturbações que existe é... é o poder moderno, portanto, o governo. Aí sim, há perturbações, há perturbações. Aí há sempre perturbações.

[C] e se o poder moderno usasse o mesmo sistema do poder tradicional, evitaria...

[R] noa pode, não pode, não pode. Não pode porque a constituição não permite.

[C] pois..

[R] a constituição não permite. A constituição dá poder ao governo para 4 anos e poder ao, ao presidente para 5 anos. Portanto a constituição não há, não é uma constituição monárquica. Por isso, não pode, não pode.

[C] pois é, é uma constituição democrática. Um dos pilares da democracia é de garantir estabilidade mesmo com alterações constantes e garantir balanço.

[R] isso, sim, sim. Embora há sempre alterações, embora há sempre mudanças, embora há governos que fazem um mês, há governos que fazem algumas horas. Mas a constituição diz que o governos eleito, portanto, saído das eleições, governa durante 4 anos. E o presidente saído das eleições governa por um período de 5 anos.

[C] claro

[R] e que pode, e pode fazer um segundo mandato.

[C] sim, e dois somente.

[R] sim, sim. Sim, sim.

[C] Voltando aos poderes tradicionais, tao como a questão da sucessão de poderes, que não é feita de forma democrática, portanto é uma sucessão de poderes sem a escolha do povo, há posicionamentos gerais do poder tradicional que podem ser questionados...

[R] sim, sim. Há poderes tradicionais que são questionados. Há poderes tradicionais que são questionados. São questionados, mas não leva a rebelião. Não leva a uma rebelião. Não leva a destituição do poder. Portanto, a pessoa que esta la, pode ser questionada. Mas se ela sair, vem o filho mais velho, ou, outro membro da família. Portanto, não é o poder em si que é questionado, mas a própria pessoa em si que esta la e pode ser questionada. A própria pessoa pode ser questionada. Por exemplo... o que se esta a passar, o que acontece em varias comunidades, são os casamentos precoces. São os casamentos obrigatórios e precoces. Portanto, criança, miúdas em estado de menor que são portanto obrigadas a casar com. Velhote. E a força. E aí, o, o.. vai depender da própria pessoa que estiver no poder. Portanto esta pessoa pode consentir este tipo de situação, como pode não consentir. Mesmo que a comunidade não esteja de acordo, ele assume... portanto, ele decreta este coiso. E aí não há uma forma de dizer, de dizer... este aqui não é democracia, não. Não. Ele é que diz, e todos aceitam. Todos aceitam. Portanto, mesmo que são contestados, não há rebeliões.

[C] claro. E perante o posicionamento dos poderes tradicionais no fenómeno das chamadas crianças-irân, como é que eles se posicionam, como é que este é aceite, não é aceite.

[R] não. Aqui, aqui, eles não aceitam. Eles não aceitam. Nem eles não aceitam. Nem as famílias aceitam o chamado.. crianças-irân. Normalmente, mesmo as família desfaz da criança mesmo ao nascimento. Matam-no,

abandonam-no, .. e, pronto. Mas portanto não pode ser, o regulo pode não estar de acordo, mas também não tem muita coisa a dizer. Não tem muita coisa a dizer.

[C] não é um assunto em que ele tenha nada a dizer?

[R] não, não, não.

[C] ou seja, há um silencio por parte... ele não interfere, é uma decisão da família?

[R] exatamente, exatamente, exatamente.

[C] e... em relação a estas criança.. o senhor acha que é uma crença partilhada pela população em geral, ou é localizada em algumas regiões do pais? É algo contemporâneo, ...

[R] não percebi, não percebi...

[C] a crença é partilhada é partilhada pela população no geral, ou é algo de algumas regiões especificas? Ou é algo que já é do passado e não tem nada a ver com os dias de hoje?

[R] não, não, isto aqui é uniforme em todas as regiões da Guiné-Bissau. Não há regiões especificas que... é geral para todas as regiões da Guiné-Bissau. Todas. Uma mais, umas mais que outras, mas no geral é mesma.

É um fenómeno que se encontra por todos, por todos os sítios. Claro, com exceção das comunidades de Bissau, mas mesmo nas comunidades de Bissau, há comunidades, pessoas que se desfazem das crianças chamadas das crianças-irân.

[C] e também não acha que seja um fenómeno do passado? Não é algo...

[R] sim, sim, eu penso que sim. É algo que já vem do passado. Eu penso que sim. Não tenho bem certeza, mas acho que sim. Não é algo que foi criado agora, não.. já é algo que vinha de desde passado.

[C] mas é algo que ainda continua a existir nos dias de hoje?

[R] exatamente, é algo que continua a acontecer aos dias de hoje, exatamente. E agora com mais frequência.

[C] isso ainda... porque no geral, há um certo silencio acerca da pratica.

[R] pois, porque, porque... porque ninguém sabe... portanto, isso não é uma informação que vem ao publico. Não há denuncia. Não há denuncia. Se a criança não for encontrada, abandonada numa mata, fica como esta, morreu, morreu. As vezes metem, poem na agua, e vai arrastando para o mar. Portanto, poem na agua e vai arrastando no mar. Não há denuncia neste sentido. Por isso que é um silencio. Porque ninguém... ninguém denuncia, ninguém fala. Eles acham que, na comunidade acham que é o normal.

[C] sim, portanto não há nada para ser denunciado.

[R] não, não, não. E não se sabe quantas são mortas, quantas é que nascem, não se sabe nada.

[C] pois. E, no geral, como é que avalia o posicionamento do Estado perante este fenómeno? Perante tudo o que esta relacionado com estas crianças?

[R] não, não.. o Estado.. o Estado não reage porque não tem informações. Ou faz... faz-se de não saber. Faz-se de não saber. Mas eu acho que ele não tem informações. Não tem informações. Ou tem, não quer, não quer revelá-las. Sal duas coisas. Mas para mim, eu acho que não tem informações neste sentido. Sabe que existe o fenómeno, mas não se sabe quantas são mortas, por dia, por mês, não se sabe exatamente o que se esta a passar sobre este assunto.

[C] e a falta de conhecimento sobre o que esta a acontecer, também causa o Estado de poder ter meios de salvaguarda de qualquer forma.

[R] exatamente. Exatamente. Porque se a mulher fazer parto, no centro de saúde. Aí dificilmente vai poder, ou nos hospitais, dificilmente vai poder eliminar a criança. Porque aí já há uma autoridade que sabe que a criança nasceu. Agora, muitos partos são feitos em casa e essas é que... portanto se a criança nascer com deformações, as famílias matam. As famílias matam. Estes que estas a chamar que é crianças-irân.

### 3.10 Interview with Vladimir Sano

Representative FADPD-GB / Former Administrator in Quinhamel (Biombo)

November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Lisbon / Bissau

Interview sample 5 / 7 (state authority / NGO)

[C] a primeira pergunta é esta: o Estado é a expressão política da nação guineense, v um órgão legítimo, soberano e democrático. eu queria saber se concorda com esta pergunta e quais achas que são as funções do Estado e das suas instituições.

[V] Perfeitamente. primeiramente, eu concordo com a sua definição de Estado, apesar só, agora, esta parte é comentário... Guiné-Bissau a partir da independência em 1973, passamos um, mais, algum período de Estado unitário, único Estado. Não existia democracia. depois de 1994, dois anos antes, foi instituído a democracia, sistema democrático, o nossa.. legislação de constituição da republica. então, 1994, foi realizada a primeira eleição ca em Guiné-Bissau, então aí torna o Estado democrático... agora, já realizando as eleições legislativas e presidenciais. agora, o papel do Estado, de facto, o Estado é constituído por segurança, território e população e os próprios recursos da soberania que ele, que defende, em particular. pronto. em nosso caso, concordo plenamente com a sua definição e deste modo, o nosso presidente aqui costuma dizer que não há Estado pequeno nem Estado grande. cada Estado é um Estado, neh! eheheh. então, o nosso, no nosso caso, podemos considerar, podemos considerar que o Guiné-Bissau depois da independência para ca temos 46 anos, 46 anos... e é uma idade duma pessoa, é uma idade de juventude, é uma fase de construção de homem, então a Guiné-Bissau esta neste processo de construção e... e afirmação de Estado como país, como nação e como todos. pois, sabemos que, para construir uma nação, é um conjunto de valores, é um conjunto de fatores, que se associa para se tornar um Estado forte e um Estado capaz de resolver os problemas de todos os cidadão, então nos estamos nesta fase de construção de Estado e construção da sociedade.

[C] neste sentido, quais são as funções que o Estado deveria desempenhar?

[V] primeiro o Estado deve, primeira função do Estado, é isso: garantir a soberania, do seu território, criar bens e serviços para o seu população, e... pronto. legislar-se para regulamentar as questões, a sociedade, para que haja justiça, para que haja educação, para que haja saúde e bem-estar para a população. que são funções e atribuições que um estado deve desempenhar.

[C] ótimo, pensando no Estado da Guiné-Bissau, concorda que é um Estado democrático?

[V] concordo que é um Estado democrático, apesar que há muito calatos? há muitos saltos, há muitas violações... isto, isto acontece em qualquer parte do mundo, mas, de facto é um Estado democrático. e aquilo que eu dizia antes, esta num processo de construção da democracia. tem falhas, tem fracassos, mas acontece, tem dentro.. da normalidade, e .... funciona dentro da normalidade da democracia.

o Estado respeita o Estado de direito e direitos fundamentais da população. pronto... eu concordo.

[C] então, entre os deveres do Estado, há a proteção da população e também fornecer serviços mínimos como saúde e bem-estar, ou o papel do Estado limita-se a questões mais de salvaguarda territorial?

[V] sim, concordo.

[C] ótimo. então, já vou para a segunda pergunta. o que é que achas que é preciso para atores e partidos políticos para conseguirem um suporte estável e fiel pela população? ou seja, de qual forma, o que é que ele deveriam fazer para que a população os legitime a governar?

[V] pronto... eh.. nos temos um sistema, nos temos um sistema político que é um sistema inspirado de Portugal. é um sistema inspirado de Portugal, porque Portugal sempre foi o nossa, a nossa guardião e guião aqui, desde a independência ate ca, agora. portanto, o nosso sistema político, aqui, é um sistema de, ser... tem uma partilha de poderes, tem órgãos, que chamamos órgãos da soberania. temos presidente, temos governo, temos judicial e temos

assembleia que é legislativa... então, tem essa separação de poderes. mas na verdade, o presidente exerce alguma influencia sobre estes poderes e quem, como o pivot, de quem predomina tudo — e quem exerce mais poder em relação ao —. muitas das vezes, isto cria um... conflitos, entre órgãos. as vezes não respeita a interdependência de órgãos, as vezes falta de colaboração, por aí. mas isto estou a dizer por parte de poder central. mas na parte de divisão de território, temos ainda administrações locais. e o prolongamento de, de, de.. governação, de poderes daqui, centrais, de presidente da Republica, do governo, que delega uma parte de poder para os designados.. representantes do Estado nas respetivas zonas administrativas. agora, imagine que Guiné-Bissau é constituído por 9 regiões, e 36, 38 setores, sucessivamente. as imagine que Bissau, o SAB, onde concentra o governo, o poder centrais, é um setor, não é um setor como qualquer outro setor. mas, i sufri mais de problema di capital di Estado mais ate qualquer outra parte de território, qualquer outra parte de poder desconcentrado de Estado, concretamente, region de Biombo, por exemplo. é falta de infraestrutura, falta —... desenvolvimento para o Estado, naquela zona, não conta, neh, estas a ver. então, a verdade que, que, o Estado assim como dizemos, não consegue exerce os seus plenos deveres de obrigação, para todos os sentidos, para todo o território nacional. mas seria melhor que houve uma eleição autárquica, que houve uma descentralização de poderes, cada zona ocupava ou tratava de produzir e desenvolver a sua própria zona administrativa. então, ou podemos também dizer que, o ciclo de burocracia ainda falta para completar aqui na Guiné-Bissau. temos, eleição presidencial, eleison legislativa, e falta eleison autárquica para completar o ciclo da democracia e separação de poderes por zonas administrativas.

[C] ou seja, de alguma forma, a situação de não ter uma presença forte ou concreta, impossibilita o Estado a chegar na sua totalidade?

[V] precisamente, isto. é. porque o designado representante do Estado, num determinado zona, não tem poder de decisão, não tem capacidade de custos humanos e financeiros para promover o desenvolvimento local, depende totalmente do poder central aqui. é isso.

[C] e ter um poder tao centralizado..

[V] exatamente

[C] ... acaba por dificultar mais do que ajuda,

[V] exatamente. é isso.

[C] pois é ótimo. neste aspeto, um dos temas em que se houve muito falar é o da modernização do Estado. eu queria saber, nas suas palavras, o que é este projeto e quais os benefícios que pode trazer para o bem-estar da população.

[V] pronto, a modernização do Estado, ou, a modernização do Estado, pois, é verdade que terá os seus benefícios, porque, próprio como evolução tecnológico, ou conjuntura de órgãos múnديات e globais, com exigências também, Guiné-Bissau não é exceção. Guiné-Bissau tem que ir atras desta, deste progresso mundial para tornar uma administração mais... eficiente, mais fluente para satisfazer as necessidades das suas populações. e também tendo em conta a evolução própria da nossa sociedade, a chamada jovem de, de, de nova geração, de geração da tecnologia, então é imperativo que o Estado tente modernizar.

agora, isto passa por uns diferentes estágios. passa, no nosso caso em concreto, para trazer mais benefícios, deve passar para, eh... descentralização dos poderes. ou alias, organizar autarquias locais, permitir que...organizar as população na sua localidade através de recursos humanos que dispõe, através de recursos que dispõe para desenvolver na sua localidade própria, para provocar o desenvolvimento na sua própria localidade. só assim que podemos sentir os benefícios, as vantagens, da modernização de Estado. caso contrario, não será funcional. mantendo nesta linha de centralização de poder absoluta aqui na Guiné-Bissau, não terá grandes benefícios e vantagens para outras zonas, e outra parte... —

[C] na sua opinião, este processo, seja para o Estado guineenses se apropria dos avanços tecnológicos, seja para uma reforma das autarquias, em quais áreas maioritariamente é que a população vai sentir estes benefícios?

[V] aahhhh... para sentir, de facto, este benefícios, o povo da Guiné-Bissau, tem que ser na industrialização. na industrialização. então, nos, nos dispõem de vários, variadíssimos, produtos naturais, mas que acaba por desperdiçar. tem a sua — nem, para consumo, nem pelo consumo da população, nem por aproveitamento — com

clientes. então aquilo é uma desperdiço. mas se passamos pela industrialização e transformação, terá mais benefícios, empregabilidade de jovem, rendimento económico, e tem estado da população, ao passamos a ponte comigo, ontem — bem natural, evita riscos, de, de... doença. de vários tipos de doença... hipertensão, problemas diabéticos, e todos estes tipos de problemas que são associados à alimentação. então, na verdade a modernização essencialmente deve passar para industrialização, e a partir da industrialização, traz mais mão-de-obra, empregabilidade, e produção.

[C] pois é. é mesmo. agora queria lhe perguntar se, sobre os poderes tradicionais e religiosos. na sua opinião, ao dia de hoje, ao momento presente, quem são estes poderes e como os caracterizaria.

[V] certo. poderes tradicionais aqui... sabes que a Guiné-Bissau é constituída por vários tecidos étnicos. e cada tecidos étnicos tem a sua representatividade [emphasis] de forma tradicional, específico. poder tradicional, exercício de poder tradicional, na região de Biombo, Quinhamel, todas as etnias Pepéis que representam, tem a sua.. procuras, tem a sua especificidades, a sua cultura étnico, de forma a administrar este tipo de poder. nas etnias muçulmano de Leste, por aí, também existe, os seus poderes tradicionais, que eles chamam de GAGA, regulo, por aí. Felupe, para a zona norte, e para etnia Balanta também. então, isso só para ter ideia como é que o tecido étnico e a sua representatividade tradicional é constituído ca em Bissau. agora, como quer dizer este tipo de poder.

[C] desculpe? pode repetir?

[V] é isso. como que ele exercem este tipo de poder? sabes que, por exemplo, um regulo Pepel, quando ele pensa na sua Baloba, ali ele na esta na sua coluna, como juiz! para tomar decisões de forma tradicional, de qualquer matéria social. Então, acho que... o Estado da Guiné-Bissau aproveitou aquilo bem, mas há muita coisa ainda para fazer, para melhoria. porque, a justiça moderna, é muito caro, não é acessível para toda a população ca, em Bissau. e muitas das vezes, não traz a luz da verdade... aquilo que é justiça propriamente. enquanto que, o poder tradicional, esta mais próximo da população, é muito mais acessível, e tem mais eficiência e eficácia em termos da justiça, local. porque... um determinado individuo, quando chega na, na frente do regulo, Pepel, ele simplesmente pega numa galinha, e faz o ritual, e corta a galinha, e a galinha já esta na verdade! e a sua verdade é uma crença que o povo acredita.

ainda mais, se, a parte científica não foi justificado, ele convida para fazer, pegar naquele ritual e falar la, naquele... —, naquele irân que eles consideram, para jurar, para prestar juramento. aí, ninguém consegue, se já tem uma maneira de fazer, há que ser culpado. então, é uma forma de, de exercer, de exercer a justiça. para mim, do meu ponto de vista, que tenha um ponto de eficiência e eficácia da população. então, como é que isto seria útil para o benefício da população? se o Estado criar condições e associar esta parte tradicional, a justiça moderna, para ter uma... complementaridade, em termos de exercícios da justiça, da justiça, em cada diferente zona e localidade, de acordo com suas especificidades, de poder tradicional, tipo isto.

[C] ou seja pelo que entendi, o estado deveria estabelecer alguma forma de cooperação, com estes poderes tradicionais?

[V] exatamente. tem de ser uma cooperação. existe mas é muito fraco. por exemplo, na luta pela posse de terra. muitas das vezes é chamado o regulo para testemunhar. então, podia ser, somente neste conflitos de posse de terra. pode ser ianda mais para além. e eles sejam ouvidos e eles possam contribuir para esta eficácia da justiça.

[C] ou seja, deveria ser uma cooperação abrangente?

[V] exatamente.

[C] que coenvolvesse varias áreas. e estas deveria ser, a seu ver, pensando nesta forma de cooperação - porquê pelos vistos, até aqui, é muito escassa, deveria ser uma cooperação hierárquica, onde o Estado fica acima, e os poderes tradicionais mais em baixo, ou entre pares?

[V] pode ser uma cooperação hierárquica. porquê? porquê, aquilo também tem a vantagem, tem as suas desvantagens. a aplicação da —. porque, porque, aquilo é administrado pelo homem, o homem tem as suas ambições, tem as suas —, tem a sua fraquezas, tem, tem...então, aquilo é necessário numa forma hierárquica, para que o Estado esta, controla, e... seja vigilante também, aquela administração do poder tradicional, que não seja liberal totalmente libertal, e eles exerce como querem, como e mais lhe apetecer.. consegue uma forma de cooperação hierárquica, mas tem de respeitar, tem de ser normalizada, ali dentro uma norma ou uma legislação

que regulamente toda a sua atuação, dentro da sua zona, e reforma... para que não seja totalmente liberal no exercício do seu poder.

[C] de alguma forma, tentar encaixar o poder tradicional dentro das instituições do Estado e adaptá-lo.

[V] sim, sim.

[C] por um lado, uma coisa que aparenta, pensando nos poderes tradicionais, é que eles não sofrem tantas crises como os governos. na sua opinião, porque é que isso acontece?

[V] eheheheh. poder tradicional, neh? a-ah. não... eles... porquê. eles dependem totalmente de sua produção local. imagina, por que —qualquer regulo pode ser... guarda. tem, posse de terra, tem criade de maya, tem riquezas próprias locais, tudo bem. mas imagina que ele tem bulanha para fazer diferentes tipo de cultivos, mas sabemos que há um período que os cultivos não correm bem, eu sei que o — aqui, tem um período de abundancia, mas também tem um período de crise, de défice de alimentação. sobretudo, a maior altura de abundancia, que é o período de colheita de caju, que é um produto estratégico aqui, mas como produtores, eles não tem grandes benefícios, salva de poder de compras... é muito.. produto muitas das vezes é comprado por 250CFA e próprio comerciante tira mais beneficio do Estado, tira mais beneficio do próprio comerciante. durante este período eles tem, passa, passam um período de crise, falta de arroz, falta de alimento, falta de... instrumentos, para fazer face a este tipo de colheita, ou de produção. então não é totalmente, mas.. não ter mais uma economia ou produção mais local, este.. do que o próprio Estado.

[C] mas acha que são crises que levam até ao poder tradicional, o regulo, por exemplo, pode ser demitido?

[V] não. não, não. porquê.. porque, os regulos, eles... nas suas comunidades tem a sua forma, de instituição de regulo e gaga, por aí... mas cada um tem o seu modelo. e... o que é visível, que é frequente, é disputa. disputa, deste poder, houve violências, houve matanças, houve muito, muitas brigas. mas uma vez que estão instituídos, no poder, esvazia só depois da morte. só depois da morte. agora, no caso de GAGA, regulos de zona leste, há motivos, quando há motivos, o regulo pode ser destituído, mas aquilo não é muito frequente. não é muito frequente.

[C] é raro.

[V] é um caso... que acontece, não sei.. cada seculo... a destituição dele, já como uma pessoa já que foi instituído como o regulo, ou cerca ao poder tradicional. e houve, sempre briga, é frequente, é frequente, aqui é.. disputa de poder. eles tem disputa, leva até a morte..

[C] neste sentido, diria que o poder tradicional tem um caracter democrático?

[V] para mir, ali que começa a democracia. sim. consegue uma forma informal, porque... há regulos que é eletivos. antigamente, pela historia, o regulo é instituído através de roubo. e esse regulo, por exemplo, deste clã, esse vice-clã, chega um dia, tem que fazer bicha para indicar quem é, para escolher o seu regulo. para escolher o seu regulo. agora... mas agora é duma forma linear. é o... é o sucessor, por exemplo, eu nasci, eu tenho o meu apelido, as pessoas já sabem que eu sou designado de regulo. mas, eu tenho que, manifestar. há um período para manifestar. o exemplo de Biombo, que eu conheço muito bem... eles tem, eles tem... só na zona de Biombo, eles tem 4, 3 regulados. principais. mas tens aqueles outros regulos de tabanca, de diferente clã, dentro de seu território, chamada de ministro de regulo. entendeu?

então.. o regulo de Biombo, é considerado como regulo principal. a sua forma de designação, tem que ser... ele tem que nascer duma família de djaghra, as família de djaghra é constituído por diferente clã. então, ele primeiro tem que.. tirar, dar duma casa reservado de linhagem de regulo, se for sair desta casa, vai para outra casa, quando chegar na terceira casa, que é a casa considerado já com base mais avançado, ele fica ali, e espera, quando o regulo morrer, para ir fazer ritual, e assumir, e assumir a, o poder. mas, eles também estão organizados duma forma que consideramos ser um presidente da assembleia que... cada um... entre seu clã, tem um clã que... que tem de empossar, que tem mandar fazer aquele ritual para ele, para instituir como regulo, entendeu? agora, na outra tabanca, por exemplo, na Bijimita, não sei se ouviu falar aqui, em Quinhamel, da Bijimita..

[C] sim.

[V] eles tem outra forma! antes, eles tinham forma de instituição de regulo como Biombo, como regulo de Thor, mas chegou um período de briga. brigaram para onze anos. mataram os avos. os filhos de.. já estão em Bissau,



estudaram, papiaram com os seus avos que isto não é bom. mataram-se, tiraram vida para, na disputa de poder. escreveram... fizeram reunion, que cada uma pessoa.. qual é o acordo? eles acordaram que quando um regulo morrer, já não é possível fazer disputa. entre aqueles clã, entre aqueles clã, que pertencem linhagem de regulado, vamos ver quem é que tem maior idade. e identificada esta pessoa que tem maior idade, ele automaticamente vai tomar posse, o regulo, já... é otimado. eles já vem preparado e sabem quem é mais velho dentro da tabanca, de clã, de linhagem de regulado. se o regulo morrer hoje, será uma tomada, programa... organizado. então, hoje já não tem brigas de poder, neste regulado,

então, para zona de Leste, o exemplo, etnia de apelido Embaló, considera que, que são considerados a etnia de linhagem de regulado. aí eles também vem sucessivamente por ordem hierárquica. o mais velho, só vem — aí sucessivamente, para preencher a cobertura do porto de regulo. e enquanto que, no outros etnias, acho que tem um período de candidatura... é um período de candidatura, para a disputa de regulado quando tem uma vaga. mas há outras etnias aqui que não tem regulado, mas tem chefes, chefes de clã, chefes de tabanca, que tem a mesma autoridade e poder como o poder de regulado. é isso.

[C] ótimo. foi, exaustivo, muito obrigada. obrigada mesmo. Mudando de assunto, eu queria perguntar-lhe sobre a crença nas chamadas crianças-irân.

[V] ok. eheheh [uncomfortable laugh]

[C] pode não ser um tema fácil de tratar, portanto, se não se sentir a vontade, diga-me claramente, não tem problema.

[V] não, não, não... isto aqui... eu não tenho problema estou à vontade para falar. não tenho problema de... não tenho problema.

bem. dentro da realidade, da generalidade, para tratar as crianças, temos diferentes grupos ou perfis das crianças aqui que consideramos que estão na situação da vulnerabilidade e desproteção. falar das crianças talibé, falar propriamente dos direitos das crianças que não é exercido plenamente, não tem proteção, este direito não tem de... não gozam dos seus plenos direitos. falar da criança com deficiência, é como falar da criança com albinismo. falar com.. crianças-irân é um questão taboo aqui, porque é uma coisa que é associado a crenças religiosas e a feitiçaria. estas a entender. então, quando é associado a feitiçaria, e a questão religiosa, o assunto já passa de ser os pais da criança. ultrapassa esta dimensão dos pais da criança. passa a ser um assunto da sociedade ou da comunidade. porque, na interpretação desta comunidade, eles entendem que esta criança, irân, venha uma maldição, vem de uma feitiçaria, porque os pais, concebeu-lhe num ambiente chamado aqui MAU BENTO, apanhou o burtos de irân, atadora, estes conjuntos de mitos. então, .... comunidade assume, a família assume, tem que ser feito aquele ritual para desfazer daquela criança. é um infanticídio, o... desta criança, por aí...

[C] e na sua opinião, ao dia de hoje, é uma crença, uma pratica que existe, é atual?

[V] é. é uma pratica que existe e continua a ser praticados, mesmo em Bissau... é identificados, onde existe, este tipo de pratica, mas...

[C] neste sentido, é uma pratica que abrange todo o pais, ou é especifica de algumas regiões?

[V] abrange todo o pais, mas há... tem a sua predominância. especificadamente em algumas regiões. podemos considerar, por exemplo, na zona norte, zona norte, zona de Cacheu, região de Cacheu para zona de Oio, e podemos considerar na zona Leste, para zona de Bafata, Gabu, aquelas zonas.. e na zona Norte, para a zona de Biombo, tem esta pratica.. e nas zonas do arquipélago dos Bijagós. e também aqui em Bissau, estas que são zonas identificadas onde tem mais predominância deste tipo de pratica de crianças-irân.

[C] entendi. acha que há alguma diferença entre o meio rural e o meio urbano, em relação ao praticar este tipo de... infanticídio?

[V] olha, se pensar na zona urbana, onde é que esta mais pessoa esclarecidas, mais pessoas informados, com mais acesso a informação, diria que sim, pode ser a diferença. mas em termos da pratica, é mesma. as pessoas, bem esclarecidas, bem formados, caem nessa situação, porque, como eu digo, eu disse anteriormente, o assunto quando é o caso, já ultrapassa dos pais. passa a ser um assunto da comunidade. se a família que.. e o pai e a mãe da criança, já.. fica impotente de fazer alguma coisa para a proteger. então, é mesma. é mesmo em Bissau. em zona rural, em zona urbana, é na mesma situação, de infanticídio. porque tem de fazer, para - aquela feitiçaria, daquele irân,

porque irân é da pouca sorte, não traz sorte para a família, traz maldição. este tipo de coisa, é associados... então o assunto já ultrapassa a dimensão da família. dos pais passa para um, a dimensão da comunidade e da, da família onde é que os pais fica sem poder de decisão.

[C] entendi. neste aspeto, como é que considera o posicionamento... já que mencionou que é um caso, é uma decisão que ultrapassa simplesmente as famílias e os pais, como é que considera o posicionamento das autoridades tradicionais perante a pratica?

[V] é por... exatamente. o posicionamento da própria, dos poderes tradicionais, muitas das vezes, são eles que são chamados para tratar daqueles rituais. então eles também são cúmplices. são cúmplices. participam. concorrem, com o infanticídio.

[C] portanto, continuam a corroborar a pratica e a sua existência?

[V] exatamente. porque tem a crença de que aquilo é irân, e o feiticeiro é uma, e por aí fora... esse que é o problema.

[C] por outro lado, como é que considera o posicionamento do Estado perante este mesmo fenómeno?

[V] posicionamento do Estado perante este fenómeno é muito fraco. muito fraco. posicionamento é fraco. é insuficiente o mecanismo de proteção, é insuficiente lei para proteção ou punir os infrações... não existe uma medida próprio e efetivo de Estado, apesar, apesar, na lei, existe. mas é muito fraco. sem ter uma lidação específica. para a defesa e proteção desta chamada... mas não existem, não existe mecanismo de, de proteção nem lidação, nem norma para proteção desta chamada de criança de irân... então, o Estado propriamente não tem uma politica par banir esta pratica. ainda falta muito trabalho neste sentido a fazer. tem que consciencializar a própria comunidade, atores políticos, para criar a legislação específica para fazer face a esta situação ligada —

[C] então, é por uma lado, uma dupla falha, por assim dizer. falta alguma forma de, uma politica a seguir, ou a vedar a pratica, a condená-la, ao mesmo tempo que tem uma falta na ação.

[V] tem.

[C] pelo que disse, posso imaginar que o Estado também não agia contra, ou pondo punições contra quem faz a pratica.

[V] apesar do ato ser isolado, a pratica é isolado, mas continua a ser, eu continuo a dizer que o Estado joga um papel muito enfraquecido em relação a estes infratores. exemplo, existe na lei, infratores deste tipo de pratica é condenado a 8-9 anos de prisão. aquilo é fraco para quem tirar uma vida!

[C] é.

[V] é muito fraco. mas, ainda que o caso é isolado, ninguém denuncia. por exemplo, pode saber se existe uma criança aqui nesta casa. passam dois meses já não existe, não vai encontrar aquela criança la, não existe la, ninguém pode dar explicação, ninguém procura saber, ninguém faz... nada. já foi levado na floresta, ou deixado na mar, e ninguém responsabiliza por isso.

Estado? deve assumir, deve criar mecanismo forte para a condenação deste infratores deste tipo de atos

[C] mas acha que por parte do Estado há uma falta de conhecimento, acerca desta realidade, ou é uma falta de vontade, na sua atuação?

[V] bem. podemos cair nesta linha. nesta tentativa de pensar que o Estado não tem conhecimento, pois, porque é mito, é taboo aqui, todo mundo acredita que é uma crença, então... podemos pensar assim. mas, porque, eu também... é um assunto que não é muito falado. e agora acho que, em 2015, não leva mais de vinte anos que este assunto começa a ser debatido assim publicamente entre... alias, foi realizado dois estudo por um ONG, FEC, com o Observatório dos Direitos da Criança (ODC), realizaram dois estudos especificamente sobre este assunto. então, a ser já um documento, datado, que confere sobre esta matéria, então, a nível de informação, ainda é muito baixo. muito baixo. portanto é possível trabalhar na consciencialização dos atores para criar um mecanismo de proteção também, mas isto tem de ser em estreita colaboração com o Estado. tem de ser em estreita colaboração com o Estado. Agora, o problema é que... temos um Estado, tudo é prioridade para ele. a sua fragilidade... então, acho que esta matéria ainda não faz parte da sua preocupação, é possível, é possível... atores... atores que trabalham em defesa e promoção dos direitos humanos, trabalhar afincadamente até o Estado ouvir o seu eco para

dar atenção, para... a partir dali acho que o Estado vai saber o que é que deve ou deveria fazer em relação a esta prática. porque é uma pratica que é praticado a nível nacional, que acontece regularmente, nas zonas mais, em localidades diferentes, em forma isolada.

## **II. Response to structured interviews conducted with pregnant and puerperal women in Quinhamel (2016)**

Pepel		1	2	3
Age		31	26	29
<b>Feelings of pregnancy</b>				
Household		Has 6 children, 4 daughters and 2 sons, they all live with her Has one sister, but they don't live together Said she had no miscarriages, but she had two twins (not reported when) and only one is still alive	Lives in Reino do Tor with her dad; they are 5 people + her husband, father of the 3 children of her (1, 3, 5 years old) Her mother doesn't live with her; lives in another household	Lives with her husband and sons (oldest is 7 years old) + more six people
Marriage relations		Was married with the father of (all) her children, but they split up, don't live together anymore She married in 1990 or 1992, he's not sure, her early 20ies	Her husband has also another wife, but she's not ever got pregnant yet	
Reactions to pregnancies		She told her husband first; couldn't tell her parents because they had died Husband was really had cause she got pregnant after two years of troubles trying to have kids They didn't celebrate pregnancy nor birth	Said that people celebrated pregnancy, but she was not there She was feeling happy, her husband and parents as well	She was about 21-22 at 1 <sup>st</sup> pregnancy She told her husband first, he was very happy They celebrated when the baby was 2 years old
Feelings and emotions of pregnancy		Felt sick	No miscarriages She had doubts about her pregnancy, was not sure what was going with her	Felt sick, headaches and stomach-aches, she went to the hospital – found out she was pregnant Pregnancy is not tiring (ka cansa)
<b>Rearing the baby</b>				
1. Delivery		All her children are born in hospital		
2. Taking care of the baby				
	Daily duties (Bathing, feeding, washing)		Mother's duties	Mother's duties

	clothes, playing etc)			
	Schooling			Due to father's earnings
	Education and behaving	Mother's responsibility At school		Mothers' duties
	Helpers	No help received in rearing her babies; proud of having done everything by herself No help from father's parents Older daughter helps rearing her siblings	Her husband and husband's mother	Fathers is also responsible for rearing the baby, but he has less time due to work schedule
3. Fosterage				
4. Acquiring skills				
	Breastfeeding	Till 2 years old	Till 2 years old	Till 2 years old Food since he/she's 3 years old
	Bambool		No certain age till the baby becomes too heavy or she feds up	
	Crawl	From 4 months		
	Walk			
	Talk			
5. Name giving practices				
	Who chose the name?	All names chosen by the mother Única (1 <sup>st</sup> daughter, about 20y old – propitiatory + superstitious name: she born sick. Única = she's the only child this woman will ever have. This way she'll likely to have more cause Irân is mislead) Twins (12y old, same name Tonito) Last born, Deu = name of mother's Italian friend		
	When was it given?	Given at birth It is needed to receive vaccinations		
	Formal name giving ceremony	No	No formal ceremonies No baptism	
6. Features of healthy child		Health body (estar com corpu diritu) and have good enough food		

7. Number of desired children				
<b>Children death and diseases</b>				
Main causes of children diseases and death		Wind, climate/weather		
How to protect children or prevent diseases and death				
Treatments		hospital	Would always go to hospital	
Trust in "Mezinhu di terra"		Don't trust	Doesn't trust traditional medicine nor di terra nor ceremonies	
Children death		Ceremony done If kids died due to disease, he/she went back to the other world (ceremony is for he/she not to go alone and/or lose the way) If causes of death are others than disease, it is needed to verify what it died for before performing a ceremony		
Disabled children				
	Do you know any?	Had a CI in her tabanca		
	Who should take care of them?	CI's parents took care of the kid		
	How should they be treated?	Got vaccinations and went to school		
	Are they human?			
	Funeral			

4	5	6	7
22	31	28	32
Her son died [?] Lives with 6-7 people Has one daughter, 3 years old, and is pregnant	Said she bon in 1985 She lives with her husband, father of all her children: two sons, 7 and 3 years old	Lives in Bairro di Quinhamel In her household live 10 people Her sister Her husband, father of her two daughters, 9 and 7 years old	Lives in Pota Vitor Lives with her husband and her dad Her husband is the father of all her children; she has 4 11 9 8 and 5 years old
	Married Her husband has no other wives nor children	Married She's the only wife of her husband Never miscarried	Her husband has another younger wife
Her dad was very happy when he was told about the pregnancy Family didn't celebrate pregnancy but throw a party when the baby born	She told her husband first He was very happy Didn't celebrate pregnancy nor birth	She didn't tell anyone – it is tiring to always tell the same thing – expect her husband He was very happy He throw a party when the first baby born (2007)	She told her mother first, then to her husband They all felt very happy Didn't celebrate pregnancies, but they threw parties when babies born
She didn't feel any difference, but noticed her belly growing bigger She wasn't tired at all, was feeling normal	She felt headaches and something different in her body, went to the hospital; doctors told her she was pregnant She felt sick during the nine months, had to stay at home the all time	She went to the hospital went she started to feel something was wrong with/in her belly. She wanted to be done having a “big belly” Pregnancy is tiring	She noticed her belly was becoming bigger, wet to the hospital and they did her a pregnancy test, then she got to know she was pregnant She was feeling good during pregnancy. She could work or do whatever she wanted to
		Delivered at the hospital	Delivered at the hospital
Mother's duties	Mother's duties	Mother's duties – because a mother knows how to take care of her children	Mother
Mother and father will provide, the baby is still too young to go to school		Both	Father (financial aspect)
Mother and father	Mother's duties		Mother



Father is supposed to support her, even if he works	Father of the children No references to grandparents	Grandmothers (supposedly mother's mother) helps her, she even bambool the babies	No helpers
Till 2 years old	Till 2 years old Her youngest son is still breastfeeding	Till 2 years old, then soup and after that proper food had rhagades, another woman breastfed her baby on her behalf	Till 1 year and 8 months old
Till 2 or 3 years old; she stopped now cause she's pregnant			
		6 months	4 months
	1 year and 3-4 monhs	8-10 months	1 year
	(3) - 2 years	Some words at 1 year, proper talking since 2 years	A little bit when they're 1 year old, then a better/proper language is gradually developed
Mothers' choice, father was not asked	Mother's choice Because she liked the names	Mother gave them the name during the rearing Started to call her baby with that name and he got stick to it	Father chose all the names except first son one = Moneira – Pepel meaning: bonding/union of two people that permitted he came to life Name given at birth
Given at birth; she doesn't know the name of her baby-to-be yet		Unspecified	
No formal ceremonies No baptism		No formal ceremony	
Healthy body, be healthy			Is the baby who's not starving nor suffering any lack of food
No explanation given – it happens	Paludismo (malaria)	Paludismo (malaria)	Paludismo (malaria) Her 3 <sup>rd</sup> son: has troubles with migraines; most likely due to a fall when he was a small baby
Would always go to hospital	Would go to hospital	Would only go to hospital	

Don't trust	Don't trust	Not at all, they never know what's wrong with your kid	
Doesn't know disables children nor CI	Doesn't know any	Doesn't know any	



		8	9	10
Age		27	20	24
<b>Feelings of pregnancy</b>				
Household		Has two daughters, 9 and 5 years old She had another son born in between them	Lives in Bijimita, with her mother and her husband Has two children, 5 and 2 and a half years old	Born in 1992, twin Lives with 6 people all in the same house, doesn't have any children
Marriage relations		Married Her husband is the father of the three of her kids He has another wife and other children, but they do not live together	Married, she's the only wife of her husband	
Reactions to pregnancies		She told her husband; no need to tell people, they noticed because of her belly	She told her husband They celebrated when the first baby was born	Parents are happy when married woman gets pregnant If she's not, they can get sad or angry, it is bad luck and it is not how it is supposed to be However, it is to be happy in the end. People celebrate the birth if they have the means
Feelings and emotions of pregnancy				
<b>Rearing the baby</b>				
1. Delivery		First two children were born at the hospital, but the 3 <sup>rd</sup> one born at home – she was sleeping when labour started and didn't have time to go to the hospital		
2. Taking care of the baby				

	Daily duties (Bathing, feeding, washing clothes, playing etc)			
	Schooling			
	Education and behaving			Regard children to become quite independent about 4 years old; no average reference
	Helpers			In mother-in-law doesn't like her son's wife, this doesn't help. They'd fight each other and the wife won't receive any help from her husband's sister in rearing the baby while she's working/studying
3. Fosterage				
4. Acquiring skills				
	Breastfeeding			
	Bambool			
	Crawl			
	Walk			
	Talk			
5. Name giving practices				
	Who chose the name?			
	When was it given?			
	Formal name giving ceremony			
6. Features of healthy child				
7. Number of desired children				
<b>Children death and diseases</b>				
Main causes of children diseases and death				Mosquitos Garbage Witchery – FICA BOCA = obligation with Irân. Eg. One asks Irân to get pregnant and pay it a certain price if

				it succeeds. If one doesn't pay when the baby born, Irân will have its revenge, the baby might get sick or die. One has to pay what was promised. Still threat to death for the child! If the payment has been long delayed, it may result in disgrace for the all family, no women get pregnant, some die, etc. a ceremony has to be performed
How to protect children or prevent diseases and death				Children are more vulnerable than adults; they get sick more easily. Need special cares
Treatments		Only hospital		Ceremony are needed to solve Irân's business. If you don't mess up with Irân, he won't mess up with you.
Trust in "Mezinhu di terra"		Doesn't trust it; gives no garancies		Trust, but White people medicine works better
Children death		She had another son but he died when he was 3 years old (threw up a lot couldn't eat) buried nearby the house		
Disabled children				
	Do you know any?			
	Who should take care of them?			
	How should they be treated?			
	Are they human?			
	Funeral			

11	12	13	14
-	36	-	-
She lives in Col with all her family and all the tabanca [?], many many people, they live all together	Born 1980 Lives in Gors with her children – 5, the oldest is 16 year old	She lives in Fado with all her family, 7 people living together, she has 4 children with two different men	Lives in Bairro Cabo Verde, she has one child
Married twice First husband: lives in Angola, they had 5 children together Second husband: they have two children together, but he lives in Bissau due to work reasons	Widow, her husband died They married in 1997, she got pregnant about 3 years later (19-20)	First marriage (traditional marriage), she was 19; they ended after a while; two children Second marriage, 2 children	She is dating the child's father, but they are not married Her family accepted the child even without marriage bonding
She didn't tell to anyone, nor to her husband, but he knew it anyhow They didn't celebrate pregnancy nor birth		She told her husband because he was who one who made her pregnant, told her mother because she was asking about they having babies. They all felt very happy It is a duty to have children! To get married = to have children	She told her parents, but they did not believe her, it took them a couple months to realize it was true. They got pissed at first, then thy accepted it Boyfriend: he got pissed at first because he didn't want an unscheduled baby. No celebrations for pregnancy nor birth, but family went to visit her at the hospital
She miscarried several times She noticed because she felt sick, had fever and was feeling weird, she went to the hospital. She felt scared during the first pregnancy because it was her first baby		First pregnancy at 21 years old; she noticed because she hadn't had her period	When she already was three months pregnant, she felt something different and went to the hospital. During pregnancy, she felt tired and lazy. She could feel the baby, it was very good
			She went to the hospital for all pre-natal care Baby born at the hospital – it is always better for babies to born

			in hospitals. It is more safe and they take better care of babies
		Mother; father lives in Prabis due to work, she has to take care of them by herself	Mother and grandmother
		Mother and husband	Mother and grandmother
		Mother and husband	Mother and grandmother
Second husband helps her taking care of all the children		Husband is the one who plays most with the children; he comes and goes, stays only for the weekends	Grandmother, grandfather. He is willing to help, but can't do so much because he lives in Bissau
			Till 1 year and 5 months. She had a fight with her boyfriend, he took away their child and left for 5 days. When they came back, the baby had stopped breastfeeding and was given soup and food
			8 months
			1 year and 2 months - early
			Early, 1 year and few months
Father chose all the name, except one, it was up to an aunt			Chosen by the father Has 2 names – official and di terra
Given right after birth – to the baby be registered Also tabanca's name was given right after birth	First and second sons' names were chosen before they born Third son's name was given right after birth		Given later on when the baby was brought at father's parents place (Canchungo)
No formal ceremony	[Protestant] No baptism ceremony		Baptized (catholic) when she was 2 – she already had a name
	Garbage		

	Mosquitos Bacteria		
	Hospital If it doesn't work, seek help in traditional or di terra medicine lrân = second option		1 option: hospital; if it doesn't work, 2 option: traditional medicine, both natural treatments (roots, herbs) that can treat some diseases and lrân's medicine (ceremonies, djambacus)
One son of her (17) has some "troubles with his head", which is always falling down and hits the table. He wasn't able to go to school. Involved in church's activities. New troubles: he passes out, drolls himself, whistle during the night			She knows a baby who born with physical deficiency, it lacked its fingers on both hands and feet Th mother refused to breastfeed it because she thought it was CI, the baby died
Only she and her husband took care of the kid. Grandmother's sister also helped a little, but she and the grandparents are all dead now			
He started to be sick at 6; had fever, attacks, passed out frequently. They first sought help at nuns' hospital and did all what they were told to; he didn't get better. They went to Raul Follereau hospital in Bissau and with the treatments given the baby could go 3 to 5 months without having an attack. Then they lacked money to			If her child was a CI, or if she is told her child is, she would take her child to the sea because there is no other thing to do. You have to get along with mainstream; social pressure is very tough to endure; if she wouldn't do it, elders (omi garandi) would take her baby and bring it to the sea



buy treatments. They preferred to use medicine “di terra”			
<p>She was worried for her son’s health, not frightened  He born “normal” without troubles, he went to school for some time, could also read and write a bit  People told her the baby is Irân, but she refused to believe nor assume it, she always thought he is a person because of his normal birth – he can’t be anything else than a person</p> <p>He goes out and play with mates; frequently they argue/fight, he seems violent</p>			<p>Not humans  They don’t die  Irân goes back to his own world  When it goes away [dies] mother is forbidden to cry. It was not a baby, it was not her baby. If she does so, another baby like that, a spirit, can born in her next pregnancies.</p> <p>Se has doubts about unhuman nature of IC – there was a baby, alleged IC; e was brought at the sea to perform the ceremony. Someone passed by and saved him; today he is a grown up and healthy man [!!!]</p>
			No proper funeral

		15	16	17
Age		23	30	31
<b>Feelings of pregnancy</b>				
Household		<p>She lives in Biombo, with her husband and her son (4). Had another son, would be 5, but he died. She's pregnant. She's never been to school. Her dad is alive her mother died</p>	<p>She lives in Bijimita, with her husband and her four sons, 9 7 6 4 years old; she's pregnant They live together with her husband's second wife + child. She likes her but sometimes it is difficult cause younger women tend to overrate themselves, they think they are more skilled She doesn't like polygamy, it is troubling!!! Man has two women, don't have time nor means to properly provide for both, also live all together is complicated because he might show preferences to one or a wife's children</p>	<p>She lives in Bissauzinho in the house her husband built, with her 4 sons, older is 15 years old</p>
Marriage relations		<p>She's married, first husband; they married in 2009, she was 16</p>	<p>Married Her husband has another wife and a child with her. She also is pregnant</p>	<p>Married; her husband lives in Europe, he comes visit sometimes She got pregnant when she was 20, married after 8-9 months the baby had born</p>
Reactions to pregnancies		<p>She told to her husband, he was happy, but they didn't celebrate they threw a party for the baby's first birthday</p>	<p>Didn't tell anyone she was pregnant, only to her husband</p>	<p>Once upon a time, if an unmarried girl would tell the parents she is pregnant, they could even beat her up; girls were scared and didn't tell.</p>

				<p>She told he boyfriend, he assumed paternity of the baby and said that later on, as soon as possible, they would fix things and get married</p> <p>She told her parents; her dad was pissed and didn't react good; then he calmed down and accepted the situation</p>
Feelings and emotions of pregnancy		<p>She noticed she was pregnant (2010) because her stomach ached and she puked several time a day. Went to the hospital and they did her the test. She felt sick before she knew it was pregnancy; then she felt better/good</p>	<p>She didn't feel any difference, only headache every now and then Pregnancy is tiring She felt scared at the beginning, then it was all right</p> <p>She got pregnant 5 times – miscarried 5<sup>th</sup> baby</p>	<p>She noticed because she had no period, she felt different, something was going on in her body, she felt sort of sick Was feeling good, normal, it is better to be relaxed, being sad is no help</p>
<b>Rearing the baby</b>				
1. Delivery		Hospital	<p>At home Grandmother helped her Labour started and she had no time nor mean to go to the hospital Other children born at the hospital (Bissau and Quinhamel)</p>	
2. Taking care of the baby				
	Daily duties (Bathing, feeding, washing clothes, playing etc)	<p>Mother Her younger brother helps her when she has to leave home</p>	<p>Both mothers – do everything together, cook, wash clothes, eat Another wife can even breastfeed children of the other wife – not so common anymore due to medical</p>	Mother

			advices which discouraged it	
	Schooling	Mother and father	Both mothers	Mother
	Education and behaving	Mother and younger brother Baby: regarded independent at about 2 years		Father: financial help Baby: regarded independent since 1y 8m – 3 years
	Helpers	No help from grandparents, they live in Bissau		Grandparents; she said she couldn't take care of the children alone
3. Fosterage				
4. Acquiring skills				
	Breastfeeding	Till 2 years and 2 months, but from 2 years baby started to eat also some soups		1 year and 8 months
	Bambool			
	Crawl			
	Walk	1 year		9-10 months – early!
	Talk	Her baby talked late; she thinks it is normal for a baby to talk within 2 years age		
5. Name giving practices				
	Who chose the name?		She chose first and fourth children's names, father chose second and third	
	When was it given?		Given before birth. Only official name; they don't have tabanca's name	Right after birth, only first child's name was chosen before; they have only official name
	Formal name giving ceremony			All baptized
6. Features of healthy child		Baby is hungry, is healthy, plays		Eyes, skin
7. Number of desired children				

<b>Children death and diseases</b>				
Main causes of children diseases and death		They get sick more often and easily than adults because they can't properly look after themselves, malnutrition – it is a mother duty to properly feed her child in order for him/her to be healthy	God's will Food (poisoning) or any other thing a child puts in his mouth or sucks	Children need to be properly fed, have good food, eat at every meal. Nutrition is essential to keep the child healthy Hygiene (both body and clothes)
How to protect children or prevent diseases and death				
Treatments		Hospital		Traditional medicine for regular/not serious diseases; 2 option: hospital
Trust in "Mezinhu di terra"		don't trust	Don't trust	trust
Children death		Her first child born at birth. Delivery machine scratched and destroyed a piece of his cranium She felt it awful Funeral in Biombo buried in Bissau		
Disabled children				
	Do you know any?	One, [DURBA CABESA]	One, she's about 2 years and 3 months old She doesn't walk, mentally retarded  There are others, but since they can express their needs/communicate and walk, it is not that though a problem. Taken to baloba to verify their human nature [ser pekadur diritu]	Knows CI in Ilondé, can't hold its head properly  Another, already a grown up man, is mentally retarded  Another, he was already an adult man when was stroke with mental illness  It is said that there was another child, it came from

			There is one albino: can talk and walk, but the problem is his skin, he looks different than all the others. Chest: most problematic; eyes and head are ok	Bijagós, it became sick “in its head” because it saw the snake [ <i>boa constrictor</i> , Irân cego]
	Who should take care of them?		Her mother and her sister take care of the baby	The baby: only mother takes care of her, parents are not there
	How should they be treated?		It will be people in the village who’ll take care of her and perform the ceremony, take the child to the sea	
	Are they human?	He is human [pekadur] but he became sick	People in the tabanca say she’s Irân [Irân cego, <i>boa constrictor</i> ]  [she didn’t reply my question, looked away, seemed ashamed of my question and of answering it]	People in tabanca never talk about them nor to them
	Funeral			

18	19	20	21
29	43	26	28
She lives in Cachugu with her husband, her parents and her 4 children, 15 8 4 and 2 years old Second wife and her 2 children also live in the same house	She has four children, 23 18 16 14 years old, but raised 8, because her sister died and left she was in charge for raising her four children  She complied about lacking means to make ends meet – no good or permanent job, lack of money. Not enough resources to pay school and food for the children  Her parents are dead	Lives in Bijimita, with her husband, her son (11 years old), her husband's sister [not clear if she's his blood sister or his brother's wife] and her son (she is married, but her husband died)	She lives in Bissalanca with her husband, her child, 3 years old and first wife's 3 children pregnant
Married Her husband has also another wife, same age of her, she also has 2 children	Widow, her husband died in 2005, he had a heart stroke. Tried to go to Portugal to receive better treatments, but couldn't afford the travel	Married; she got married 16 years ago – she was 10 Only wife of her husband	Married, second wife. Her husband was already married with a woman older than her, they have three children. They broke up, first wife left and brought children with her. They decided to come back to their father's house
Everybody felt very happy when she appeared to be pregnant No celebrations		She told her husband He and her family were very happy about it They threw a party for the baby's first birthday	She told her husband, he was really happy; her family also was when they were told They threw a party when the baby born
She was already married when she got pregnant She didn't really find out, she just happened to be pregnant. People started asking her questions about pregnancy because she looked like and so she thought she was; also she wasn't having her period She felt heavy and tired; annoyed, bored	First pregnancy when she was 20	First pregnancy at 15 years old She didn't have her period regularly as usual, she realized she was pregnant She felt happy, never had any bad feelings related to pregnancy because she succeeded having what she wanted = marriage and children Couldn't become pregnant for the next ten years. Pregnant	First pregnancy: felt that something wasn't right, something was wrong in her body; she went to the hospital and did some tests  She feels really happy because it took her long to get pregnant

All children born in the hospital		hospital	
mother			Mother
Mother and father (financial aspect)	She alone succeeded pay school fees for all her children Father couldn't help		Father (financial aspect)
Mother and grandmother Children regarded independent with 2 year			Mother
She had breastfed the children of the second wife She has and is thankful for her mother help in raising her children, also and mostly on behaving aspects	Her husband was a lonely child, had cousins and father's cousins – they are not regarded as family! It is a duty to help family in need regardless of little means available; it is not a duty to help friends or people out of family in need; not a priority		Father is supposed to provide for financial aspects, eg. School fees, food, clothes
		Child doesn't live with her; she stays with her older sister in Bissau Her sister was so happy for her to have given birth the baby, decided to take care of her and make her living in the city [better possibilities?] when the child was 3 Mother: didn't feel sad, this is how things go. Child is not supposed to go back living with her parents, will stay with her aunt till marriage The man who will marry her, is supposed to ask for her hand to her parents and pay the bride's money will be husband's older sister property (she lives with them. Married with husband's older brother – most likely an acquired wife)	



Till 2 years or almost			1 year and 6 months
			It took her long to be able to bambool her children because she had to go through a ceremony first [lavagem] to “clean” herself up. She might have done something not regarded good (like wearing her mother’s undies) She performed the ceremony when her baby was older than 1 year; had to carry her baby with her arms
8-9 months (average)			9 months - early
		Her husband’s youngest brother chose the name	Father
		Chosen and given before the baby born, even before she was pregnant	Chosen and given before she was pregnant. She already know the name of the baby she’ll have
	All baptized		
Eyes – most important feature	Good, healthy and enough food: essential to keep body and mind healthy		
		5 female and 4 males [9]	4, 2 females and 2 males
Paludismo [malaria] Cold and flue		Witchery, makes children become ill God Mosquitos’ bites No cause of the weather or cause of the garbage – she’d never let a kid play around the waste!	Mosquitos Sun
		You can take really good care of your children, but one way or another, he/she’ll get sick	
Hospital	Hospital		Hospital
No trust	Don’t trust		

It is like punishing children			
Meninu ki ka sta diritu Knew one, but he/she's dead already She knows another one which dolls himself and is mentally retarded; not really tough problems			No
This second child: not serious troubles going on with him/her. He/she is human [pekadur]			



		22	24	25
Age		25 (22 on official papers)	21 (origins: Bijagós)	25
<b>Feelings of pregnancy</b>				
Household		In her house live 7 people, her parents, her children 10 and 6 years old, her second husband's first wife	She lives with her parents	She lives with her husband, their children and her mother
Marriage relations		<p>Married, but she doesn't live with her husband</p> <p>She was married when she got pregnant</p> <p>She married very early, "before my bubs popped"</p> <p>[in some ethnicities marriage is agreed by the parents when the daughter is still a baby (even 2-3 years old); when the girl is about 8-9 years old she'd go to her husband's house. She's reared and took care as a child, but since first menstruation she has to correspond marriage duties</p> <p>Her husband (and care taker): much older than her, already dead</p> <p>Second marriage, she chose her husband; her parents accepted him</p>	<p>Not married yet, but she will marry with the father of her baby. He is married already with a woman older than her, they have 4 children</p> <p>Promise of marriage (Bijagós tradition): the boy already brought a cabaz (first step of bride's request) to the girl's parents; then he'll bring a cow; last step: closure of the ceremony. He's staying in Bubaque to work, she lives in Quinhamel</p>	<p>Lives with her man, but they are not married yet. They have two children and she is pregnant</p>
Reactions to pregnancies		<p>She told her mother (they are very close)</p> <p>They felt very happy</p> <p>No celebration</p>	<p>She told her boyfriend, he was very happy; her family was also</p>	<p>She told her husband; he is the one responsible for her pregnancy so he's the first one who'd know</p> <p>He was very happy and her family too</p>
Feelings and emotions of pregnancy		<p>She doesn't remember how she figured it</p>	<p>First pregnancy. She feels strange, happy and worried, pissed sometimes, not tired</p> <p>She noticed she's pregnant because she was feeling somehow different, went to the hospital and did a test</p>	<p>She was (and is) not married when she got pregnant, was working with her mother</p> <p>She felt somehow different, went to the hospital and did some tests</p>

				During pregnancy, she was happy [interviewed together with #26. Shares part of her anxieties]
<b>Rearing the baby</b>				
1. Delivery				
2. Taking care of the baby				
	Daily duties (Bathing, feeding, washing clothes, playing etc)	Mother		
	Schooling	Father (financial aspect)		
	Education and behaving	Mother grandmother		
	Helpers	Grandmother. She's happy and thankful for her help Father is supposed to provide financially		
3. Fosterage				
4. Acquiring skills				
	Breastfeeding	Till 2 years		
	Bambool	Till 2-3 years old; or even later 6-7 years old if eg. They are sick		
	Crawl			
	Walk	8 months		
	Talk			
5. Name giving practices				
	Who chose the name?	Given by her sister		
	When was it given?	Given right after birth		
	Formal name giving ceremony			
6. Features of healthy child				

7. Number of desired children				
<b>Children death and diseases</b>				
Main causes of children diseases and death		Mosquitos Paludismo [malaria] God and Irân (decide if people get or don't get sick)	Garbage – children likes to play with that stuff, they might get sick or die Irân is hardly the cause of diseases or deaths	
How to protect children or prevent diseases and death		There is no shield from God's will If it is needed, you can perform or have a ceremony performed so Irân won't be pissed with you and will not make you or either you child sick or die		
Treatments		Hospital If it doesn't solve the problem, it is needed a ceremony (baloba, bota sorte, cabaz di terra) to find out what's wrong with the children		
Trust in "Mezinhu di terra"		Trust and use it – her children are catholic, not involved in ceremonies and stuff		
Children death				
Disabled children				
	Do you know any?	Her sister has some troubles, she passes out frequently	She knows Are CI	Woman who marries a snake would pass out often Troubling: women who bath not in certain hours
	Who should take care of them?			
	How should they be treated?	She was brought to a tabanca (Ponta Goia) to be given a traditional treatment, but it wasn't successful	They are to be brought at the sea	Mother should bring the baby to the sea – the baby is places where water comes but doesn't cover the baby and they hide themselves. Qhen Irân comes, he'd look around and if he finds someone he'd bring him/her with it, if he doesn't find

				<p>anyone, he would take the flour</p> <p>It is important to bring those “babies” to the sea, otherwise a more powerful Irân will hit her house (large family) with bad luck and disgrace</p> <p>When Irân gets older, he/she much less likely to go away; he/she will cause troubles; he/she can kill the mother or cause her serious problem (eg. Infertility)</p> <p>Take the baby to the sea is a form of self-defence</p>
	Are they human?	People talk about her, they say she had sex with the snake [boa constrictor, Irân cego], but she does not assume any responsibility	Now, they are CI	<p>A mother can discover (human) nature of her baby during breastfeeding even if her baby looks normal/human, she'd feel cold; as the time goes by, the baby will refuse normal interactions with other children</p>
	Funeral			<p>Mothers do not have to be sad nor cry. If she'll be sad, Irân or snake [Irân cego, boa constrictor] can come back</p> <p>It is to be sad only if a person [pejadur normal] dies</p>

26	27	28	31
29	19		
She lives with her husband, has two children, 17 and 8 years old; and her husband second wife and her two children	She lives in Reino di Tor with her to-be husband	She lives in Reino di Tor, lives in the house her husband built with her three children, 18 6 and 3 years old, and his other wife and her four children She's pregnant	She lives in Bandim (Bissau), with her husband and her two children, 10 and 7 years old. She's pregnant
She is married; her husband has also another, younger, wife	She lives with her man, but they are not officially married yet because they haven't undergone the washing ceremony yet	Married; her husband has also another wife (supposedly younger than her) Her father agreed the marriage on her behalf; she was 12 when she married the man. No matter she did not want to, she had to marry him	She married after she got pregnant
She told her husband, he was happy Her family: happy and satisfied, it was what they wanted (grandchildren)	She told her mother first and then to her boyfriend They all were very happy; her uncle (mother's brother) is not and they argued about it. Harsh situation; they had some fights about it, a short while ago they even had to call the police	She told her husband and her mother	She told it to her husband He and her family felt very happy They threw a party for baby's first birthday
She was feeling happy but a bit worried because she has a life growing in her belly; he prayed God to make her baby grow strong and healthy. Only after the birth it can be checked that he/she is all right and people can celebrate. Worried for the delivery	First pregnancy	She was 19 with first pregnancy, was already married Don't say how she found out she was pregnant She felt happy. You give birth t a baby, he/she grows up, becomes and adult and will help you (work and private life – children will cry you) Two of her children died, one with 3 (disease, struggled for some time and then died) and the other with 2 years (a stroke)	He thought she was pregnant due to lack of her period She was feeling good, happy and relaxed, not worried – are those single and pregnant girls the ones who get worried

		She was told it was because she didn't do properly some ceremonies, she had some lacks in praising Irân	
		First child born at the hospital; the others born at home, the labour was so quick that she did have no time to go the hospital	At the hospital
	Parents	Mother	Mother Her younger sister
	Parents	Her brother and grandparents provide for the fees	Father (financial aspect)
	Parents	Mother and father	Mother
	Financial help from grandparents or grandmother only; most support for school fees	Financial help from her brother and from grandparents	Her younger sister Father is supposed to provide with money – for food, clothes, school
		Till 2 years old	Till 2 years old
		Till 3 years old	Till the other children born
		6 months	6 months
		9-8 months	8 months
	Not yet chosen	All chosen by the father	Mother
		Given right after birth It is not good to hink about the baby's name during pregnancy – bad luck. It is yet not sure the bay will born and he/she will be healthy. It is better to think about it only after the baby is born	Given right after baby's birth
		No formal ceremony	Among Pepel people there is no formal ceremony for name giving; you start calling the baby with that name and that is it



		She'd like to have 8 children, 4 females and 4 males (all alive)	She'd like to have 3 children – it is hard to have many children when you live in prasa [Bissau's centre]
	It is lack of cares for the baby that causes him/her to get sick or die God is not a cause Don't really trust Irân's stuff		Weather and seasonal changes
		Mosquitos' net Hygiene Washing hands	Taking good care of the children
	Hospital	Hospital If it doesn't work, traditional medicine	hospital
	Not really		Don't – t is something ancient and backward
If a child born with disabilities it is cause of God's will. Eg., the baby's gender is up to God; same thing works for mental and physical health			Do not
Mother should bring the baby to the sea – the baby is places where water comes but doesn't cover the baby and they hide themselves. When Irân comes, he'd look around and if he finds someone he'd bring him/her with it, if he doesn't find anyone, he would take the flour It is important to bring those "babies" to the sea, otherwise a more powerful Irân will hit her house (large family) with bad luck and disgrace			

<p>When Irân gets older, he/she much less likely to go away; he/she will cause troubles; he/she can kill the mother or cause her serious problem (eg. Infertility) Take the baby to the sea is a form of self-defence</p>			
<p>It can be deduced from their physical appearance – when the baby born but has not a person's body [I ka tene corpu di pejadur]</p>			
<p>Mothers do not have to be sad nor cry. If she'll be sad, Irân or snake [Irân cego, boa constrictor] can come back It is to be sad only if a person [pejadur normal] dies</p>			

		32	34	35	36	37	34	35
Age		32	24	19	30	38		
			mandinga					
Feelings of pregnancy								
Household		she lives in Ponta Mendez, with her parents, her husband and her two children, 12 and 8 years old	She lives in Ilondé with her mother, her father migrated to Portugal – he died, but they lack clear information and contact of him so they could not even inherit anything	She lives in Bijimita with her parents and her to-be husband She's pregnant	She lives with her husband and 2 children, 6 and 2 years old She's pregnant	She lives only with her 6 children, three males and three females; the oldest is 17, they all go the nuns' school		
Marriage relations		Married	Not married	Not yet married – they will perform the ceremony soon		Widow Her husband died (thrombosis) and she was his only wife		
Reactions to pregnancies		she told her husband, first, and her parents; they were really happy no celebration	She told her aunt, even before actually knew she was pregnant Her boyfriend was very happy, her was speech less when he got the new, thanked God for his mercy	She told her boyfriend. He didn't say a thing, he only accepted it Her mother was happy Her father got pissed, no good reaction to the new				

Feelings and emotions of pregnancy		She missed the period, she thought she was pregnant During first pregnancy, she was scared and frightened – her daughter born before marriage ceremony was performed. She feared her father might get pissed and fight with her and/or her to-be husband	She was feeling somehow different, had troubles with her period She numbered pregnancy's symptoms – bigger bubs, puking, period missed – but she doubt about her status because she had blood leaches She talked with her aunt before going to the hospital She was feeling happy and anxious	She notes she's pregnant because she was feeling strange, different than usual. She said she noticed after one week only of pregnancy				
<b>Rearing the baby</b>								
1. Delivery		Hospital It is always preferable to give birth in a hospital		She'd rather deliver at home – ashamed to do it in the hospital				
2. Taking care of the baby								
	Daily duties (Bathing, feeding, washing	Mother				Mother		

	clothes, playing etc)							
	Schooling	father				Mother		
	Education and behaving	Father's younger brother			Mother	Mother		
	Helpers	Grandfather Father Her brother Fathers brother It is unavoidable to be helped because they live all together; still and ill she's grateful for their help because she really need it			Grandparents; they help only during holiday because they live far away. She would like them to live closer so they could help some more (rearing the babies, working, money)	No help, her uncle/aunts and grandparents have no money to help her out		
3. Fosterage								
4. Acquiring skills								
	Breastfeeding	2 years and 1 month old; 1 year and 10 months old						
	Bambool	First child till 2-3 years old, second one till almost 4						
	Crawl							
	Walk	1 year old						
	Talk	Very early, even if it was hard to understand what they were						

		saying; she could understand whatever they said and they wanted because she's their mother						
5. Name giving practices								
	Who chose the name?			Has not thought about the name yet	First child: father Second child: grandmother Third child: she's thinking about it			
	When was it given?							
	Formal name giving ceremony							
6. Features of healthy child			Body Eyes Being calm					
7. Number of desired children		How many God will give her 5	Would like to have 4 – 2 females and 2 males	Would like to have 5, 2 females and 3 males	Would like 4, 2 females and 2 males	She's happy with the children she already has – there is a limit		
<b>Children death and diseases</b>								
Main causes of children diseases and death		Paludismo [malaria] Sun – lack of caretakers attention. Shouldn't leave	Water Garbage Mother's lack in comply with her duties or contracts. Eg.	Garbage Water Sun Lack of cares Irân (catch the baby)		hospital		

		the kids stay long hours out in the sun Witcheries – people with super powers who wants to harm others	She asks Irã for help to have a baby and then she forgets about it and never thanks it, doesn't pay it back for its help					
How to protect children or prevent diseases and death		Take good care of the children		Taking good care of children Don't bath at night Go to church to protect the baby from Irã				
Treatments		hospital	hospital	Hospital (if you have the money) If the baby gets sick, you can pray God (if you have faith) for him to get better, or perform a ceremony to beg Irã forgiving you		hospital		
Pregnant women behave			Should not carry heavy things, do hard work Should go to prenatal visits at the hospital, eat more greens (vegetables)	Prenatal cares Avoid hard-works Don't bath at forbidden hours (from 11pm to 6-7am)	Use traditional medicine to keep stable baby's temperature and to keep herself strong			

Trust in "Mezinhu di terra"					trust			
Children death								
Disabled children								
	Do you know any?	Don't know Only one, had a malformation, born without anus; OR with Cuban doctors, now has an ostomy Lives in Bissau, Bairro do Aeroporto	She only knows a baby who had trouble with her eyes, probably blind	She knows disables children, are not CI  CI are other kind of children. Might be a real beauty a baby, but there's something different in them. Mother can understand their nature Features: adult like eyes/glance; odd moves; shake and move their head like Irân, not balanced nor firm				
	Who should take care of them?							
	How should they be treated?			There is no treatment Can ask help to other people The baby would taken to bolanha/sea Some parents keep their baby				



				till it naturally dies Others decide to take the baby to bolanha; would contact someone who “has knowledge” of the issue and would take the baby to perform the ceremony; would need cabaz, eggs, flour				
	Are they human?		She thinks that baby is a person	No It is a spirit that goes back to his own world IT IS NOT DEATH				
	Funeral			You don't cry for their death Otherwise the baby/spirit think you did like it and comes back again, more times				
				If she would give birth to such a baby, she wouldn't take it to bolanha, she would keep it with her till it naturally dies. She wouldn't cry, because she				

				know it would be Irân. She think she could never give birth to such a thing/spirit/baby				
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Balanta		23	29	30	33	5	6	7
Age		40			23			
Feelings of pregnancy								
Household		She lives in Ponta Romana with her husband, her parents and her 5 children – grown up already, the oldest daughter has children already; daughter still live with her but the niece lives with the father (at his mother's)	She lives with her husband and her three children, 7 5 1 year and 4 months old	She lives with her husband, has no children yet, she's pregnant	She lives in Quinhamel with her husband, her 4 years old daughter She's pregnant			
Marriage relations		First marriage, she had two children. They divorced and the children stayed with her. Married again, only wife  Washing ceremony [lavagem] as marriage ceremony – if a single woman gets	She got married 15 years ago [she has not done washing ceremony yet. Probably marriage = living together]	She did the marriage/washing ceremony [guassá] last year	Married Don't remember when it was celebrated			

		<p>pregnant, her boyfriend has to get along with her parents' wishes, but everything they want e bring them; afterwards the two youngsters go [bolanha], were the ceremony is performed; they take off their clothes and their bodies are wahed with sacred water and specific powder derived from roots and erbs. When the ceremony is done, they are bonded together in their souls – married</p>						
Reactions to pregnancies		<p>She told her mother first They didn't celebrate. She was not married to her boyfriend,</p>	<p>She told her aunt because she was staying at hers in Bissau</p>	<p>She told her husband</p>	<p>She told her husband, he was very happy They celebrated when the baby born</p>			

		people were less happy She was living with her grandmother at the time (grandfather had already died), after the washing ceremony went to live with her husband						
Feelings and emotions of pregnancy		Long time ago from the first time she was pregnant, she doesn't remember how many years ago nor the age of her daughter She was sad/unhappy because her family did not accept her pregnancy	Felt happy and good, no worries	Feels relaxed, not worried	She noticed she was pregnant because her period was missing She was feeling good during pregnancy [diritu] She also felt everything was all right because she already was married			
<b>Rearing the baby</b>								
1. Delivery			First child born at home, there was no time to go to the hospital	Wants to deliver at the hospital				

			Second and third child: at the hospital					
2. Taking care of the baby								
	Daily duties (Bathing, feeding, washing clothes, playing etc)	Mother and maid			Mother			
	Schooling	Father			Father			
	Education and behaving	Mother and father			Mother and father Landlord Grandmother			
	Helpers	Maid			Father: is supposed to provide for financial/economic needs, school fees, food, clothes Husband's sister is helping during her last months of pregnancy Landlord Grandmother She is thankful for the help she receives – it is possible that people who are not part of the family help raising and educate children eg. landlord			

3. Fosterage			<p>First child: lives with father's older sister  Second child: live with father's older brother  [ father = evangelic pastor - ??]  They were taken away from her when they were about 5 ad 6 years old, on May, 11<sup>th</sup>. If the children are taken earlier, the mother would suffer much more. When they took the first child, she sorrowed and grieved; after she could go visit him, she saw he was doing well and she felt better  She misses them, would take them back home with her  She sees them three times a</p>					
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			year, they spend holidays with her					
4. Acquiring skills								
	Breastfeeding				Till 1 year and 6 months			
	Bambool	Till her children are too heavy to be carried			2 years			
	Crawl							
	Walk	9 months – 1 year			9 months [early]			
	Talk				2 years			
5. Name giving practices								
	Who chose the name?	Mother and her sister	First child: a friend of her Second child: youngest husband's sister Third child: evangelic pastor	Has not think about the name yet	Father			
	When was it given?	Given right after birth	First children: before birth Second and third: right after birth		He had been thinking about the baby while she was pregnant Given right after birth They are thinking about the name of the baby she'll have soon, but they wont decide anything till he/she's born			



					because it is not know if the baby will born healthy and if it'll be male or female			
	Formal name giving ceremony							
6. Features of healthy child				The child is active Child with disease look lazy, calm	Have a strong, though body It can be misleading – sometimes strong children get very sick			
7. Number of desired children			She already has three, wants to rest a bit	Wants 2	Would like to have 4 children, 2 females and 2 males			
<b>Children death and diseases</b>								
Main causes of children diseases and death		Mosquitos Irân – it can kill people. We, as human beings, are different; there are some that have extraordinary powers and can use them to harm or to kill	weather	No supernatural causes It is because of the weather, garbage, mosquitos' bites	God Irân: kill			
How to protect children or prevent diseases and death		It is not easy because we do not have those same powers	Taking good care of them: mosquitos' net, good food, clean water	Hospital Praying, ask for God's help (evangelic)	Pray			

		<p>It is needed to perform a ceremony to find out who's after me and wants to arm me or my child</p> <p>It is necessary to ask for help to someone who "has" Irân [balobeiro, feticeiro, djambacus]</p> <p>They can explain how to get some protection</p> <p>Parents may ask their children for help</p>						
Treatments		<p>Hospital</p> <p>If it doesn't work out, traditional medicine</p>	<p>Go to church (evangelic), pray, pastor provides some pills or treatments for her</p> <p>If it doesn't work, would go to the hospital</p>					
Trust in "Mezinhu di terra"		Trust						
Children death								
Disabled children								

	Do you know any?	Are CI	<p>She knows a child who born as a regular human being but he “had luck”</p> <p>Fosterage in another city; another child with super powers stole his luck</p> <p>The former child started to get sick more easily, had “troubles with his head”, passed out. It all was so fast that there was no time for any treatment, the child died</p>		<p>She knows many Are CI</p> <p>Live far away from her house</p> <p>They born like that because of Irân, who caught them</p>			
	Who should take care of them?							
	How should they be treated?	<p>Baga baga [ant hills], bring them to the sea</p> <p>It could be a [bolanha]’s snake or a water snake, it is needed to verify it; the baby is brought to see where it comes</p>			<p>Knows many who were brought to the sea</p>			

		from – and where it has to return						
	Are they human?	They are beings caught by Irân Not human			<p>Some are person [pekadur diritu] Some others, most, are not [i ka i pekadur] They are snake [Irân cego – boa constrictor] In old times people could recognize person – snake. It is not so anymore today; even feticeiros have troubles distinguish who and who's not person [pekadur] This killed many “innocent” (human) children</p> <p>Parents: are the ones who know the nature of their baby. They need to agree for the ceremony be performed Family and friend over-tell em on baby's supernatural nature, that it's dangerous and threatening;</p>			

					<p>makes them more willing to perform the ceremony to relieve themselves and the family from the danger</p> <p>Not many parents refuse taking their babies t the sea!!!</p> <p>If she would deliver a CI, she wouldn't take it to the sea</p> <p>[she hesitates – no certainties nor strong will]</p> <p>[SOCIAL PRESSURE VS MOTHER LOVE]</p>			
	Funeral		<p>8 years old child, no proper funeral ceremony</p> <p>[toca-tchoro]</p> <p>Not performed for children nor for adults who have no children</p>					



### **III. Questionnaire submitted to members of the *Parlamento Nacional Infantil* (2016)**

Questionnaire submitted to PNI's members (December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Idade e etnia</b>	30 Balanta	18 Pepel	29 Pepel	16 Pepel	17 Pepel	16 Pepel	17 Balanta
<b>Direitos da Criança: o que significa, na tua opinião?</b>	Os direito da criança significa para me [Z/Jelar] interesse em todas as atividades da criança para que elas possam desenvolver as suas potencialidades com facilidade	Na minha opinião direito da criança significa aquilo que ele tem para aprender por exemplo deve ir a escola porque é direito dele	Os direitos da criança isso significa na minha opinião a libertação pelo as nossas crianças nas mãos dos nossos pais, também para mim se eu estou a ver a criança a ler um livro é muito bom	Direitos da criança significa para cuidar das crianças: direito da criança o próprio direito que criança tem	Direito da criança na minha opinião é muito importante porque deve respeitar direitos da criança eles deve saber da ?? Para o seu bem-estar	Na minha opinião os direitos da criança isso significa os diretos que as crianças têm	Significa para mim que seja aplicado em todos os países do mundo mas também é um dever para os pais
<b>conheces alguns direitos específicos da criança? Escreva</b>	sim conheço: a criança tem direito a um nome e a uma nacionalidade, à educação, liberdade de expressão, brincar, serem amados, protegidos, etc.	alguns direitos específicos da criança são: saúde, educação, alimentação, repouso, liberdade, tempo livre, proteção e um nome e uma nacionalidade	Alguns direitos da criança: a criança deve ter uma nacionalidade e ter uma boa saúde	sim conheces alguns direitos específicos da criança são esses: educação, atendimento médico, alimentação	o direitos específicos da criança que conheces as crianças têm direito a educação e o seu bem estar	sim, educação, saúde, proteção, alimentação	os direitos de criança são eles, 1. sair a escala, direito a família, 2. direito a um nome
<b>quais as atividades e a importância do PNI?</b>	uma das atividades é a sensibilização através das atividades realizadas	PNI as atividades é fazer as crianças brincar e	as atividades e juntar as crianças para fazer uma	as atividades que é importância do PNI e para	a importância do PNI tem grande importância	as atividades e a importância do PNI é para defender e	as atividades e de defender as crianças nos momentos

	e formação das crianças através das palestras e varias outras. Isto mostra o papel importante do PNI, fazê-los conhecer os seus direitos	aprender aquilo que é de bom. PNI tem grande importância porque hoje me ajuda muito em forma de falar e outros	brincadeira, a importância do PNI é de fazer as crianças centre felicidade e conhecer a sua importância numa sociedade ou num ambiente ou nos direitos	cuidar das crianças ou fizeram uma brincadeira como crianças	porque assegura [praria] criança para o bem-estar	promover os direitos da criança	díficeis e ensinar as crianças conhecer os seus direitos e dever
<b>na tua opinião, o que o Irân?</b>	O Irân é aquele que nós chamamos de Diabo, que tem poderes de fazer mal a qualquer pessoa que depende dele para resolver os seus problemas	Irân é um demónio	O Irân na minha opinião é primeiro criatura pelo Deus mas hoje dia Irân tornou um grande inimigo pelo deus, por isso tornou um grande demónio	Irân é o demónio	o Irân na cultura Papel é o segundo Deus	Irân é um dos Deuses adorados por infieis	não sei. Mas sempre ouvi a dizer que existe Irân mais para aprovar isso eu não consigo mesmo
<b>O Irân é bom ou é mau?</b>	Na verdade o que eu sei o Irân nunca é bom sempre procura cativar as pessoas, afim de manter o seu poder de mal	Irân é mau	O Irân para mim não é bom porque ele tem sede de fazer o homem tornar como ele mesmo, como que nós já sabemos do que ele é mau por isso eu não aceito o Irân	Não é bom Irân é mau	O Irân é bom na cultural Papel porque os Papeis dizem que Irân ajuda eles para ou pergunta morte ou doença e a ajudar para oferecer sorte	Irân é bom para os que lhe adorá-lo, é mau para os que não confiam-lhe nele	Pelas palavras dos meus avós dizem que é muito mau
<b>O Irân é uma questão mais importante para os</b>	Neste caso, depende da escolha de cama um que confie no	Irân é uma questão mais	O Irân hoje em dia torna-se para uma questão	O Irân é uma questão importante para	sim Irân é uma questão mais importante para	O Irân é uma questão mais importante para	sim. Porque eles acreditam que existe que eles



<b>velhos ou para os jovens?</b>	poder do Irân pode ser um jovem ou um velho e a questão de acreditar no poder do diabo mesmo uma criança, o Irân pode ser importante para ele desde que acreditou na maravilha do diabo	importante para os velhos	mais importante porque os jovens começam a adorar Irân como Deus, mas isso é falta de consciência humana ou falta de fé na Deus	os velhos e jovens mas não é importante para todos os velhos e jovem mais é importante para aquele que quer adorar. Para me não é importante	os jovens ou ara os velhos porque os jovens tem em conta para [levantar ???] Que considera como na cultura Papel como segundo Deus	os velhos que lhe adorá-lo e para os jovens que confiam nele	conseguem falar com eles mas também os jovens acreditam que existe mesmo Irân os [preevens] e também irem no Irân para pedir os sonhos
<b>O que è Criança-Irân?</b>	Para me não há criança Irân porque muitas vezes as crianças nascem com deficiência devido a falta de acompanhamento médico, a mãe pode ser que tinha outra doença e passou ao filho durante a gravidez ou parto	a Criança-Irân é a criança que não anda muito cedinho ou não está a falar, dizemos de que isso é Irân mas caso contrário não é Irân	O crianças-Irân para os homens é um mito mas não só mito as vezes aqueles crianças tornarei na verdade Irân, porque nós vimos muitas crianças que levado por pais para mar então aquele criança vai para mar	O Criança-Irân não existe, as pessoas diz a Criança-Irân para mim não existem crianças-Irân	A criança Irân é aquele criança que [e ???] E por isso que os mais velhos considera que aquela criança e Irân	Criança-Irân são aquelas crianças mais pequenas que não é famoso para os que adorá-lo ou aqueles que nascem com uma coisa admirável que os velhos nunca viu	Mas na verdade existe menino Irân pelo visto a criança começa a fazer algum gesta desagradável, com idade elevada sem andar
<b>Conheces ou conheceste alguma criança considerada Irân?</b>	Sim conheço	sim conheceste algumas crianças considerada Irân	sim conheceste alguma criança que foi considerada Irân aqui no Setor, mas hoje em dia alguns aquele Irân tornarei são criança	eu não conheço alguma Criança-Irân	sim algumas crianças consideradas Irân conheces - 2	não	sim: em Bissau na messa existia uma criança mas com o tempo perdeu a vida
<b>o que achas dos pais que decidiram levar</b>	Eu acho que esses pais precisam de serem	para mi acho que estes pais que decidiram	No tempo passado os pais levar a sua	Para me não é bom porque pais com a	eu acho que os pais que decidiram levar	eu acho que os pais que decidiram levar	no cada país existe etnias diferentes

<p><b>a sua criança Irân ao Mar?</b></p> <p>[CULPABILIDADE]</p>	<p>[CESIFOLIZADOS] porque muitas vezes eles <b>fazem contra a própria vontade</b> devido a tanto <b>medo</b> porque as</p>	<p>levar a sua criança Irân do mar para que eles sejam <b>presos até ao morto</b></p>	<p>criança ao mar disse que a sua criança é Irân, como por exemplo etnia Papel, quando nasce uma criança quando ele nasce tudo ele diz <b>aquele crianzinho é Irân por isso eles leva para o mar</b></p>	<p>compre I dia do médico quando médico diz trata a tua barriga de essa forma eles não fizeram de esses forma</p>	<p>a sua criança Irân ao mar e <b>uma crime para nós do PNI</b></p>	<p>a sua criança-Irân ao mar são <b>pais burros, infiéis, que não confiam no nosso Deus Pai</b></p>	<p>cerimonias, mas o mais popular consiga vencer pode ser lavado</p>
<p><b>Qual è a tua opinião sobre crianças com deficiência?</b></p>	<p>para me essas crianças são pessoas normais, infelizmente podem contrair doença e nasceram com problemas físicas ou mentais, o importante é procurar o tratamento adequado</p>	<p>minha opinião das crianças com deficiência deve ser respeitada em qualquer momento que seja</p>	<p>Acho que a deficiência vem da natureza não são coisas desejada mas se vai acontecer e destinario por Deus e na vida do um ser humano em qualquer parte do mundo</p>	<p>O meu opinião é para os pais cuidaram de essa criança deficiente se o governante tem meio para fazer um jardim para essa criança</p>	<p>a minha opinião das crianças com deficiência precisa de cuidado e o amor para o bem estar dele</p>	<p>A minha opinião sobre crianças com deficiência, são aquelas crianças que mas tem vergonha porque eles não pensam que são como os outros</p>	<p>as crianças com deficiência merecem ser tratados com amor e carinho em todos os dias</p>
<p><b>Quais cuidados deveriam receber as crianças com deficiência?</b></p>	<p>precisam de receber todos os cuidados necessários desde alimentação, vestuário, medicamentos, etc</p>	<p>As crianças com deficiência deveriam receber cuidados médicos, deveriam alimentar, deve cuidar dele muito</p>	<p>as crianças com deficiência deveria receber o carinhos como não deficientes, deve ter igualdade mesmo e também ter uma boa saúde, educação e as</p>	<p>os cuidados que deveriam receber as crianças com deficiência é para doutores Não desprezar esta criança, porque ele não sei como esses criança vai ser</p>	<p>a minha opinião das criança com deficiência precisa de cuidado e o amor para o bem estar dele</p>	<p>são os padres, irmãs, presidente, ministros, deputados, aqueles que têm disponibilidade</p>	<p>os cuidados são eles: uma boa perceção, um bom tratamento, para que todos sabem que merecem também o mesmo direito</p>

			eles deve estudar na mesma escola	no futuro e por isso os doutores deveria cuidar			
<b>Quem deveria tomar conta deles?</b>	são próprios pais e toda a família em geral, sem diferenciar com os outros filhos, acima de tudo procurar o tratamento	qualquer pessoa pode tomar conta deles mais o essencial é estar preparado para tomar conta deles	todos nós deveria cuidar deles quem sabe o destino de Deus amanhã aquela pessoa poderia ser um presidente em qualquer pais por isso nós devem ser escravo daquela pessoa	para me é nosso governante	quem deveria tomar conta deles e o nosso governante	O senhor Deus que tem de tomar conta deles porque ele é mais poderoso	os que devem tonar conta deles são as mesma família que lhe pertencem
<b>Achas as atividades do PNI úteis e viáveis para proporcionar maior sensibilização sobre este fenômeno?</b>	eu acho que atividade do PNI pode ajudar muito na diminuição de este fenômeno, porque hoje são crianças mas amanhã serão homens e mulheres com conhecimento sobre esta matéria. Na verdade não vão permitir discriminação de outras crianças deficientes no cheio da família	sim proporciona uma maior sensibilização sobre este fenômeno	sim	sim	sim	sim, eu acho as atividades do PNI úteis e viáveis para proporcionar uma maior sensibilização sobre este fenômeno	sim, porque é muito importante abraçar nas crianças nada dia fica a aumenta com essa sensibilização vai diminuir esses abrezos em todos os pais