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Audiovisual Post-colonial Narratives: Dealing with the Past in *Dundo, Colonial Memory*

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Abstract
In recent years there has been increased interest in the debate regarding colonisation and the enduring negative consequences of the colonial wars. The subject, taboo for three decades, has now entered the Portuguese public sphere. Autobiographical documentaries that focus on the recent events of the post-colonial period allow for the analysis of the narratives of those who live and have lived "within and between cultures" - due to the processes of colonisation and enforced migration.
This paper centres on the filmmaker, Diana Andringa and her efforts to come to terms with the past. She directed the documentary *Dundo*, *Colonial Memory* (2009), in order to deal with her memories and experiences of racism and segregation in Dundo (Angola) during the colonial period.
This paper will analyse this documentary and an autobiographical interview with Diana Andringa. The outcomes of this research have led to three central themes: memories of racial segregation in Dundo; migration processes; and, finally, feelings of guilt and shame, and the ambivalence in her identity narratives.

Keywords
Social representations; narratives; identity; memory.

1. Introduction [1]

The theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1984) enables a deeper understanding of how the media and citizens construct current social and political issues. Social representations are constructed through social interaction and communication and cannot be studied without considering the historical, cultural and social contexts.

Portugal faces the need to reflect on the colonial period and how it is interpreted, in order to deal with the consequences of colonisation and colonial war that lasted thirteen years (1961-1974) in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. With the processes of (de) colonisation, many people were forced to move away from their places of residence and obliged to deal on a daily basis with the cultures of the countries in which they now live.

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These people who migrated are the product of several intertwined stories, experiences and cultures. The records of these experiences in an audiovisual format are now a reality and, hopefully, a guarantee that future generations will have access to the testimonies of those who lived through this period.

This paper centres on the filmmaker Diana Andringa and her efforts to come to terms with the past. Andringa made the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* (2009) in order to deal with her memories and experiences of racism and segregation in Dundo (Angola) during the colonial period.

In this paper we argue that autobiographical narratives are a privileged site for the investigation of cultural identity and its construction. In this sense, the analysis of the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* was complemented with an in-depth interview with Diana Andringa. This multi-method approach allows for a hermeneutic analysis of the social and cultural context in which she lived and facilitates enquiry about its meanings.

The outcomes of this research, combined with different complementary research paths (visual narratives and oral narratives) have led to a result that can be organized into three central themes: memories of racial segregation in Dundo; migration processes; and, finally, emotions of guilt and shame, and the ambivalence in the Diana Andringa narratives.

Social Representations and (Post)colonial Narratives

The efforts of Durkheim (1893/1989) to establish sociology as an autonomous science led him to create a dichotomy between the individual and the collective and between the individual and society, suggesting that individual representations were the object of social psychology whereas collective representations were the object of sociology. According to Moscovici (2001) it is impossible to make a clear distinction between collective and individual representations. While Durkheim (1893/1989) see collective representations as stable forms of collective understanding, with a coercive power that originated order in society, Moscovici (2001) is more concerned about exploring the diversity of collective ideas in modern societies. For the author, the very idea of diversity leads us to reflect upon the lack of homogeneity of modern societies, where we observe the unequal distribution of power, resulting in heterogeneous representations.

According to Moscovici's perspective, social representations are a product of our communication and they are reformulated in conformity with these processes of influence. For Moscovici (2001), communicating is part of the study of representation, because representations are generated in this process and expressed through language. This means that the way we perceive events is conditioned by our positioning in a given social context, our language and culture.

> "Individuals and groups create representations in the course of communication and cooperation. Representations are obviously not created by isolated individuals. Once created, however, they have a life of their own, circulating, merging, attracting and repelling each other, giving rise to new representations (…)" (Moscovici, 2001, p.27).

The relationship between communication and representation seems to be unbreakable. In fact, communication is the process of transformation of these representations in

which we merge our representations with those of other groups. In this sense, social representations are formed and transformed within and through asymmetries, conflicts, tensions and discontinuities (Marková, 2010).

Social representations concern the contents of everyday thinking and the set of ideas which give coherence to our worldviews, religious beliefs and political ideas. Social representations allow us to classify people and objects, compare and explain behaviors and target them as constituents of our social environment (Moscovici, 1988, p. 214).

All representations are intended to make something unknown familiar (Moscovici, 1984). The author refers to two socio-cognitive mechanisms of communication which generate social representations: anchorage and objectification. The first mechanism makes the unknown familiar, bringing it to an earlier sphere of social representations, so that we can compare and interpret it. The second mechanism, objectification, makes the unknown familiar by transforming representations into something concrete and perceptible.

Through communication, social representations are anchored again in new social representations. These new representations are incorporated into the already known, while simultaneously they are transformed by the new representations that emerge from this interaction. Gradually, ideas that are initially strange, become familiar and are turned into part of the collective reference frames of a society. Moscovici (1994, p. 164) states that the notion of anchoring intends "to express the relationship between creating meaning and communicating". Objectification makes the unknown familiar by turning it into something explicit, which we can understand and experience. To objectify is, according to Moscovici (2001), a much more active process and requires more effort than anchorage, which occurs almost automatically every time we are confronted with new phenomena.

The social representation theory focuses on society's social and cultural thought. It makes us reflect on how new social cognitions or representations of reality become familiar and how old representations are transformed through communication. By studying how the media and the public objectify and anchor "new" scientific, political and social problems we can obtain information about how collective social thinking and meaning are constructed (Wagner & Hayes, 2005; Hoijer, 2011).

This theory allows us to understand and intervene in social reality. The articulation of the social and cultural dimensions with history enables an interpretation of the processes and forms in which individuals and groups build and analyse their world and their lives (Jodelet, 1999). As a theory that can allow our understanding of the world around us, it is necessary to take into account the relationship between social representations and the dominant cultural settings, as well as the dynamics of the social context in the analysis.

For Sammut (2010), the difficulty in establishing positive intercultural relations has to do with the difficulties in bonding with others whose practices and worldviews we do not share or understand. In fact, the problem of intercultural relations is a problem of conflicting worldviews – or, in other words, social representations – and the inability of individuals to successfully understand the perspectives of others.

The (re)construction of the past is an integral part of intergroup reconciliation process because, at the end of a conflict, the collective memory underlies much of the animosity,

hatred and distrust between groups (Licata, Klein & Gély, 2007). Narratives, in audiovisual format, allow this conflicting experiences to be disclosed, shared and interpreted, promoting the (re)making of the social representations concerning past events.

Indeed, narratives can play an important role in the formulation and organisation of social experience (László, 2008: 99). According to this perspective, the "sense of community and social identity are both rooted in narratives: furthermore, even the social anchoring of our seemingly most individualistic memories takes place with the help of narratives". The author states that narratives have gained a stronger emphasis in social representation research in the past few decades. Jovchelovitch & Bauer (2000), for instance, consider that all human experiences could be expressed in a narrative form. Furthermore, as pointed by Cabecinhas (2010: 260), "studying how people tell stories (stories about themselves as individuals, stories of their group history) is essential to understanding how people create their own reality and its psychological meaning".

The autobiographical documentaries that focus on the recent events of the post-colonial period are tools that permit the analysis of the experiences that Bhabha (1994) calls "in-between". These audiovisual narratives of those who live or have lived "within and between cultures" - due to the processes of colonisation, migration processes, or because they live in countries where different cultures coexist - provide for the development of strategies for negotiating cultural difference, individual and/or community values, inter-subjectivities and collective experiences of nationality, all of which contribute to a permanent identity (re)construction.

The appearance of audiovisual materials, such as documentaries, constitutes an opportunity to increase our knowledge and our perceptions about the various experiences of the individuals who lived or live between cultures. Indeed, the generations that can better clarify the colonial period are aging and without them and their testimony, the next generations would not have access to a more pluralistic knowledge about the experiences of this historical period.

Thus, we consider that the production and dissemination of documentaries based on autobiographical memories reveal other versions of history, told in the first person, which when integrated into our knowledge of the past, will enable a better understanding of historical events and their meanings for the different socio-cultural groups.

3. Autobiographical documentaries

The golden age of documentaries started in the 1980s. Back then they were usually structured stories, but unlike fiction, they spoke about the world we shared and did so with clarity and commitment. Nowadays, with the potential of the internet and Youtube, there is a proliferation of documentaries which focus on new perspectives and alternative visions of the world (Nichols, 2001/2010). Through selected scenes, editing, sound and titles, the audience is often persuaded to adopt the filmmaker´s perspective on the subject matter. For instance, the documentary can be used to deconstruct the global discourses on the colonial period.

In an attempt to define the documentary, Nichols (2001/2010, p.14) states that "The documentary film talks about situations and events involving real people (social actors)

who are presented to us just as they are conveying a plausible proposal or a perspective on lives, situations and events portrayed".

The past has left many traces, sometimes visible in the expressions of our faces and in the aspect of the places we recall. Even the way we think and feel are unconsciously reproduced. In this sense, "is the lived past, far more than the past seized by written history, in which will later rely on our memory" (Halbwachs, 1950/1997, p. 71). The documentary film can be closely related to cultural memory. Besides seeking to reconstruct historical narratives, the documentary film can also be a historical document itself.

According to Rabinowitz (1993), the documentary film encourages the audience to participate in cultural memory by presenting a unique vision of reality. By means of cinematographic tools such as editing, voice-overs and long takes, the documentary brings the audience to new understandings of historical past and consequently new representations can emerge. Besides, it leads the audience to think about their place in the meanings of the films, as well as their responsibility towards the past and its interpretations.

Reflecting on the role that documentary films have in preserving cultural memory, the author states that Flaherty manipulated reality to create and convey a certain perspective about the world. Considered the fathers of the documentary film, the Lumière brothers were already practicing a type of direct cinema, before its institutionalised practice. Back in the 1890s, they sent teams across continents to document and display their inventions, filming the everyday lives of ordinary people. The Lumière brothers' films represent an important moment in the relationship between image and experience (Rabinowitz, 1993).

Because it is a cinematographic genre that seeks greater approximation to reality, the starting point for the production of documentary films is true stories, real situations. This idea is supported by Diana Andringa in an autobiographical interview (2011). She claims that the film and especially the documentary provide information about who we are. In her words, "the documentary is something that treats the noble part in people". Andringa (2011) adds that "the documentary is what presents people in all their dignity". She considers that this is a record that can give "voice to the other and you need to hear it, because you have never heard it, you have only heard [our] theories about the other".

In this regard Martins (2011, p.75) also considers that the film teaches us to look at the reality that constitutes us. It enables our access to "(…) a legion of images with which we identify ourselves (actually, it is the legion of images that constitutes us, it is the multiplicity of what we are made)".

Thus, the role of film in preserving memories as historical evidence is central. This type of document sets up a performative act which generates its own meanings and which requires a connection with an audience. As Miranda (2008, p.63) states, these memories, and the stories disseminated "provide to those who listen, see or feel the opportunity to understand fragmented parts of themselves, evoking memories, concerns and expectations".

The media has a powerful influence on who we are, how we see ourselves and how we see others, helping us build our representations of the world (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Indeed, the documentary can take as its starting point the record of these real stories witnessed in the recent past and simultaneously these records of reality can also be the point of arrival, an instrument of transformation of our representations about that same reality.

4. The filmmaker Diana Andringa and the documentary Dundo, Colonial Memory

4.1 Brief biography of the filmmaker Diana Andringa

Diana Andringa was born in 1947 in Dundo, northern Angola, the center of one of the most important mining companies, Diamang[2]. She is white, the daughter of an engineer working at Diamang. The author came to Portugal in 1958 where she completed high school, and chose to study medicine at university. However, student arrests, contact with hospitalized children and the floods of 1967 led her to choose journalism instead of medicine.

Her first journalistic experience came through Vida Mundial (World Life) magazine in 1968/69, until a collective dismissal obliged her to find other work. She then worked as copy-writer at an advertising agency, an experience interrupted by her arrest by the International and State Defence Police (PIDE)[3] in January 1970. Released in September 1971, she worked in journalism and advertising activities. She joined RTP – Portuguese Public Radio and Television, in 1978, working there for 23 years. In the meantime, she wrote articles for newspapers and radio. She also holds a postgraduate degree in Journalism, from ISCTE - Lisbon University Institute, since 2000.

Currently Diana Andringa is an independent documentary producer. Some of her most recent films are: "East Timor: The Crocodile Dream" (2002), "The beach rampage that never was" (2005), "This is our blood, our life" (2005), "Back to the Crocodile Country" (2006), "The Two Sides of War" (co-directed with Flora Gomes - 2007) and "Dundo, Colonial Memory" (2009). These films share common themes; all seek to disclose the colonial past, the struggles for independence and the memories of those who lived conflict experiences.

4.2 Film Synopsis – Dundo, Colonial Memory

The film begins with photographs of Diana Andringa, when she was a child in Dundo. As she shows them to her daughter, she explains what Diamang was. While showing her birth certificate she tells her daughter that as she had been born in Angola, she was considered a "second class citizen" in Portugal. She explains how the memories of her childhood in Dundo marked her and how those same memories led her to fight for the independence of Angola[4].

In the cinemathèque archive, Diana Andringa found older films about Dundo that showed images of its sponsors, the tennis games and entertainment organized by Diamang in an atmosphere of racial segregation. The images included in the Diana Andringa's documentary illustrate the racial policies of the company, recalling the controversy between the

[2] Diamang was a company exploiting Diamond mines in Angola. This company was formed on 16 October 1917 by financial investors from Angola's, Portugal, and also from Belgium, USA, Great Britain and South Africa. After independence, the diamond industry was nationalized along with all industry in Angola. According to Collier (2010: 72) "Diamang was nationalized in 1977 and in 1979 Angola passed a law giving the state exclusive rights to mining enterprises. Endiama was formed in 1981 and they took control of the 77% of Diamang owned by the government". Diamang was officially dissolved in 1986.

[3] PIDE – International and State Defense Police, was the main tool of repression used by the authoritarian regime during the Estado Novo (1926 - 1974) (Mattoso, 1993).

[4] The armed struggle for national liberation of Angola lasted from 1961 to 1975. Independence was achieved in 1975 (November 11) (Mendes, Silva & Cabecinhas, 2010).

Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre and the Commander Ernesto Vilhena (responsible for Diamang, 1919-1955)[5]. At Diamang's annual lunch for fomer employees[6], Diana Andringa collected some memories of the company. She found the image these people portrayed of the company strange and so left for Dundo with her daughter, to confront her memories.

As she relates in the interview, she took her daughter with her because she needed someone with whom to share their memories and the results of the confrontation with the people and places of her childhood.

5. Methodological Options

Having as a starting point the importance given to autobiographical documentaries as instruments which enable reflection and the (de)construction of pre-formed ideas about events of the past, we decided to examine Diana Adringa's documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory*. To complete this analysis, we have also developed a semi-structured interview with the documentary author[7].

We chose thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which allows us to locate the predominant themes in the narrative, i.e., the themes that are capable of representing the entire data set, forming a sort of thematic map of the documentary and the interview with the director. Although this is a flexible method, it was necessary to follow a set of procedures that allowed us to synthesize the central themes discussed in the documentary series in the following three topics: i) familiarisation with the data and transcription of verbal information; ii) definition of initial encodings according to the main topics discussed; iii) constant review of codifications and reflection on the central themes.

At this stage, to justify the methodology used, it is essential to draw attention to the fact that this documentary is a specific record of a reality and that the person who produced it has both a point of view on the subject matter as well as a script which guides her production. It is not a viewpoint that can be generalised, nevertheless it allows us to explore the identity dynamics that can result from the migration processes in the (post)colonisation period.

Three dimensions which prevail in the visual and oral narratives will be analysed below: memories about segregation, experiences in Dundo and the return, and finally, the feelings of guilt, and the idea of ambivalence in her identity narratives.

6. Memories of difference and segregation in Dundo (Angola)

With regard to memory, Cunha (2006) considers that there are moments that constitute markers in community life, setting as examples tragic events or those that represent discontinuities in the existing social order. For Diana Andringa having been forced to leave Dundo was one experience that marked her life-story.

[5] According to the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who visited Diamang in 1951, was the Belgian influence that justified the racial segregation in Dundo (Freyre, 1953/2011). This reference has generated the discontentment of the Commander Ernesto Vilhena.

[6] Annual lunch held in different regions of Portugal, since 1982. Information available online (cf. http://weblog.aventar.eu/lestedeangola.weblog.com.pt/arquivo/251567.html), indicates that in 2007 was held the *xxv Meeting of former employees and relatives of Diamonds Company of Angola*, in Azambuja, Portugal.

[7] Interview with Diana Andringa, Braga, January 6, 2011.

The period lived by Diana Andringa in Dundo is very present in her memoirs, especially the experiences related to social segregation and racism. She states that Dundo was a deeply classist and racist society. The author tells us that black people could not enter in the white people's part of the town, except to work. They had a card to return home and after certain hours there were only whites. Racial segregation was not the only form of prejudice in Dundo, there was also class segregation among whites. In the center there were the engineers, doctors, and teachers and on the periphery were the others, such as dam and electricity workers. Despite this segregation, the author states that the children were looked after by the black servants, "they were all black and they were the ones who cooked for you, fed you, told you stories, took you to the garden, i.e., all your affection came from [the] black skin" (Andringa, 2011).

The experiences of racism witnessed by the author marked her deeply, although she was, as she says, privileged in that context. Among her memories, there are two episodes that are important to quote. The first one is when she narrates about only been hit by her mother twice and one was because she acted the same way she saw other children her age acting.

> "(…) I kicked the servant, something I saw many children doing. I had flat feet and wore corrected orthopedic boots, used a lot at that time and hit him with the protectors and his leg bled and my mom slapped me and said 'apologize immediately, what do you think you are doing?' and I suddenly realized that something I had seen other people do and was socially accepted, must have been something very serious for my mother to have that reaction and I burst into tears" (Andringa, 2011).

Besides this episode, the director tells us that a servant whom she loved was accused of stealing a piece of clothing from a neighbor: "he was black, passing by, the garment vanished, so, he was arrested, beaten up to confess, and they beat him so hard" (Andringa, 2011). Diana Andringa is touched while recalling this event:

> "(…) I remember his hands so red from the slapping he had taken, swollen hands and I remember my father, who was a distant person, look at him, pick up his hands, look at him, apologize and burst into tears, I just saw my father cry for two or three times, but I remember that day, my father was so embarrassed. This is a shame that penetrates us, because it is a shame that there are people that somehow you perceive that it is on your behalf that they do those things, that you can beat up that person" (Andringa, 2011).

Social inequality marked the author's childhood experiences in Dundo. She recalls several episodes experienced. Among them the fact that she realized that the black children never had the opportunity to eat the steak that was cooked for her cat: "'steak for the cat, my daughter has never eaten a steak' and I heard this and burst into tears, because for me a child who had never eaten a steak was certainly the most unfortunate child in the world" (Andringa, 2011).

Even at school there was this segregation, this inequality. After school the white children would play, as we can see in the documentary, while the black children would do gardening to the whites' homes. About the school context, the interviewee mentions that one day the teacher, tired of seeing the notebooks of white children who did not care about their

things, took them the notebooks of black schoolchildren, which were clean, nicely organized, saying "'You know, they can not afford not to study' and I had never even thought about it, that it was a luxury not to study because there were people who had to study in order to improve their lives" (Andringa, 2011).

Beyond the social segregation witness the author also refers, both in the documentary and the interview, to the cultural repression that existed at the time.

> "Long ago, the Dundo choir of workers was formed to sing all over Luanda the so beloved songs from the provinces of metropolitan Portugal" (excerpt from the documentary).

> "And sometimes at night you were lying in bed and you would hear that fantastic music of drums, marimbas and cuícas coming and going with the wind, like a lullaby, it was a beautiful song … and then they would make them sing 'josezito I have told you?' and I think there is nothing more violent than grabbing people who have a beautiful culture and imposing others' culture (…)" (Andringa, 2011).

The very invisibility of the black person is referred by the author, having been aware of it as a child. Black people were extremely 'visible' as a group, but 'invisible' as individuals. Actually, the present-day racism also seems to involve refusing to recognize the singularity of the 'Other' (Cabecinhas, 2002: 24). As the author states, "racism is expressed in the treatment of members of minorities as 'representatives' of a homogeneous category rather than as 'individuals'".

> "(…) They talked about black people in front of them as if they were not there, as if they did not exist, this notion that the other does not exist, that I do not want to see him, an invisible other, is something that to me is the perfect racism, it is much more perfect than insulting him, because when you insult him, after all, you recognize him as the one with whom you can talk to, but not this way, you speak in front of him as if he were a dog or a cat, and people did that a lot and for a child this is an absolutely terrible feeling of oppression" (Andringa, 2011).

This invisibility and segregation existed in various public places in Dundo. Diana Andringa had to watch the films of that time to confront her memories and confirms that effectively there were no black people in the pool or in the sports venues, but for the director "at that time segregation was so natural that we did not even notice it" (Andringa, 2011). This segregation was defended by the commander Vilhena explaining the racial politics of the company with the following postulate: "it is not necessary, and it is also completely avoidable, that black and white people sleep in the same bed" (excerpt from the documentary). That is one of the strongest scenes of the documentary. In this moment we are confronted with events that seems so outrageous and at the time were naturalised, events that really happened only 50 years ago.

7. Migration experiences Portugal / Dundo and the sense of Home

The memories associated to the physical spaces where Diana Andringa lived for eleven years are very present, both throughout the documentary and the interview held. The excerpts that follow allow us to understand how the director was defined by the physical and also social places and by the elements that constitute them.

> "The fantastic roast beef that my godmother cooked, at the time, I liked meat well-done, but even rare it tasted fantastic. I remember the mayonnaise was fantastic, the taste of potato chips, those flavors I have them all ... mangoes, pineapples, papayas, the breakfast" (Andringa, 2011).

> "Then I remember stupid things, but that was perhaps later at the second house that I remember, so this was life in K10, I remember a beautiful palm tree at the end of our street, I mean, I remember the sounds, smells, all those things, plants, animals (...)" (Andringa, 2011).

> "Those are the memories of the earth, you know the red soil is completely different from the soil here, and then there were the rivers, there was the humidity itself (...)" (Andringa, 2011).

The difficulties experienced when she returned to Portugal (1958) are clear in her narrative, the school experiences and lack of freedom of expression particularly marked her. Indeed, we were living in an authoritarian regime (1932-1974) when she returned to Portugal. We were facing a society in which ideas could not be expressed freely. This repressive system - through the church, education, the police force (PIDE), censorship and propaganda - kept an apparent peace until the Carnation Revolution in 1974. In this sense, considering that she came to Portugal to live in a context of political and social repression, we can understand Andringa (2011), when she says:

> "Ok and that [Ramalhão[8]] for me was a period of real torture, because I did not like those people, because I did not get on well with that life, until after we had a little group in which at least three were Angolan, because it was the sense of place, it was the notion of another way of living that was not just about the parties that our colleagues talked about, it was very scary and so my return to Portugal was moving from paradise to purgatory, it was not hell, but purgatory full of stupidity, full of lack of intelligence (...) where every time we were trying to create a new idea we had the orthodoxy, the Portuguese state of India, I would say, 'there is not', and [I] was punished, to learn not to say that there are no Portuguese state of India".

In fact, the complex experiences of displacement and integration in a new context and the identity conflicts that the migratory process raised in the producer are notorious. For Diana Andringa it meant leaving a place where she was surrounded by people with whom she learned a lot and she comes "to a darn world where girls spoke about little parties in Estoril, the dresses, ah, it was all so boring" (Andringa, 2011). For the author, the school period lived in Ramalhão was deeply striking, recalling parts of experiences which showed how much she missed Dundo.

Diana Andringa returned to Dundo in 2008 in order to confront her memories, to see if they were real and to reencounter the places of her childhood. Although she was aware that they could have significantly changed compared to what she had left behind more than 50 years before. In her opinion it is important to register these memories, so that 60 years from now they are not completely lost "the traces of coexistence that marked both sides of those who lived colonisation" (Andringa, 2011).

[8] A college located in Sintra (a town in the Lisbon region, Portugal), in a building of the eighteenth century, that continues to operate today and was always ruled by nuns, having a strong religious and traditional nature (cf. http://www.colegio-ramalhao.com/).

> "I had been warned about the shock of seeing the destruction of a place where I was happy. But that happiness was from childhood, people and animals with whom I lived. After decades without being able to return home, it is enough to know that my memories were real, and be able to, finally, share them" (excerpt from the documentary).

Since her parents died early and her siblings have also died and were not with her in Angola - her sister was only there for a period of time - Andringa (2011) states that she needed to confront itself with her memory "to say 'did I dream or did those things happen?' No, those things actually happened, hospitals for whites and blacks…".

For Diana Andringa, her homeland is not Lisbon, because "Lisbon is no man's land". Even her parents' house in Portugal does not have the same meaning for the director "because it is not there that you are raised, that is, so physically I, despite being white, despite not being *tchokwe*, despite all this, I am clearly Angolan. Culturally, I am a mixed thing" (Andringa, 2011). Reflecting on who she really is, Diana tells us she is a citizen of the world, "this is a very friendly way of saying that I am a stateless person (…) that is what I am a person without land, a stateless person. It is a person who is constantly in need of their own country". About this feeling of need for their country, the author believes that "both left-wing or right-wing settlers, both those who supported independence and those who were against it are people who feel need for a land and [I] think that Portugal never understood that" (Andringa, 2011).

Andringa (2011) considers herself physically Angolan, having repeated this idea several times throughout her narrative. The author states she needs "a sense of space that is not this one, here I feel closed and oppressed; I feel like I am always being watched. Therefore, I need that sense of space; I need the concept of heat. (…) I need green, I need plants, and I practically only like tropical plants".

Is interesting to note that, in some sense, the narrative of Diana Andringa, of leaving home produces too many homes and hence no home, "too many places in which memories attach themselves through the carving out of inhabitable space, and hence no place in which memory can allow the past to reach the present (in which the 'I' could declare itself as having come home)" (Ahmed, 1999: 330/331). This notion of home, what it means to be at home, to inhabit a particular place, call us to question the relationship between identity, belonging and home, a reflection that should be developed in future works.

7. Collective Guilt and Ambivalence

Collective guilt, often referred to as group-based guilt or guilt by association, is an emotion that can arise to a greater or lesser extent in situations where members of the group with which we identify ourselves cause damage to another group (Etxebarria *et al.*, 2005). According to this perspective, the feelings of collective guilt have their origin in the feelings that group members experience when they accept that their own group is responsible for immoral actions against another group. This emotion is present in Diana Andringa's narrative. Rimé & Christophe (1997), argue that social sharing - like what Diana Andringa has done, disclosing her memories and emotions on audiovisual format - could play a major role in the processing of the emotional information and hence, in resolving

the psychological impact of the emotional or stressful event. In this case, the idea of guilt strikes the interviewee's memories and she believes it is something that does not go away with time.

> "And that is what I can not help feeling, it is a feeling of my generation, I can not help feeling guilty about it. Somehow, I was unwillingly accomplice: I was privileged. My privileges depended on people doing things like that. 50 years can go by and that stays with us. It is here… (Puts her hand on her chest)" (Andringa, 2011).

> "And, indeed, it was natural that they hated us, not that I, Diana, had caused any harm. It was not what I had done wrong; it was what my people had done wrong. My people from whom I could not differentiate because it was marked by the skin, as they had been marked by the skin. And so I began to turn the other way, naturally and gradually I was convinced of the injustice of colonialism and realized … I had already noticed the actual injustices, but suddenly it is the injustices of the system that you start to think about" (Andringa, 2011).

Facing her memories and the marks the experiences of racism and segregation had left was one of the main reasons for carrying out the documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory*. For Diana Andringa, Dundo is her homeland and the first of her memories: "Here I was happy, like all children are happy. Here I learned, still a child, racism and colonialism. For a long time, Dundo felt like a hidden wound. Now that I have faced my memory, I can return" (excerpt from the documentary).

In addition to the concept of guilt, the notion of ambivalence is also present in the interviewee, marking her reflection on the experience of returning to Dundo. The concept of ambivalence can be defined as the degree to which an object or attitude is judged positively and negatively at the same time (Thompson *et al.*, 1995).

> "Ambivalence. The word that haunts me as I walk through Dundo rediscovering the landscape of my childhood. Ambivalence in the words of former employees wishing that the Portuguese return, though not ignoring the perversity of the colonial system. Ambivalence in myself, between the discontent for the Diamang policies and the love for the land that grew under its direction. Between pain for what had disappeared in the meantime and the awareness that its disappearance was inevitable" (excerpt from the documentary).

> "I felt what I would call ambivalence, which is I hate Diamang and I love that land born under the Diamang orders. I am fully aware and I fully understand that it can not be preserved as it was and simultaneously it hurts that it is not as beautiful as it was, but I am perfectly capable of understanding that"(Andringa, 2011).

This concept is evident in interviews conducted by Andringa (2011) in Guinea-Bissau also, where, according to her, the popular feeling was that "as our comrade Amílcar Cabral[9] said, we do not fight against the Portuguese people, we fight against colonialism, you were victims of colonialism as we were". The discourse of Angolans interviewed by Diana Andringa also emphasizes this idea: the recognition of past negative experiences, but also a reflection on the importance of the other to the development of their country.

> "- So, what do you think is better? Having the Portuguese here or being independent?

[9] Amílcar Cabral was the founder (in 1956) of the PAIGC - African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Silva, 2006).

> - Today we already need everybody to come to work because no one can come to bother the other. There is respect already, you can no longer insult anyone, everyone must show respect, and it is mutual. Nowadays, we are considered people. Before it was not like this and it scared us.
> - Before you were not people?"
> - No. Before many thought we were not people, we were animals. We were not valued. Today they see that we are people. We are equal. The difference in skin does not mean anything" (excerpt from an interview in the documentary, 2009).

For the author, "that is marked in people" (Andringa, 2011). Indeed, the interviewees in the author's documentary state that what they most remember is that despite the segregation and inequality, in fact at the time of colonisation there was food, money, there were doctors. There is even some ambivalence in these narratives. We look at this concept as a phenomenological reality that allows for reflection on the dilemmas people face in close relationships, a phenomenon that should be considered when studying autobiographical narratives and conflict memories.

9. Concluding Remarks

Although images, products and ideas are currently being spread around the world at a speed never seen before (Giddens, 2004), there is, simultaneously, an identification with place, with physical spaces, sounds, tastes associated with specific contexts that marked the interviewee and lead her to state that she is continually in need of her own country, her homeland, Dundo. Like the producer, many other Portuguese people who lived in the former colonies were forced to return to Portugal, keeping, however, strong emotional ties to these places and hence certain cultural aspects. In this sense, they are forced to negotiate daily with the cultures in which they live.

This work shows the importance of collecting and analysing the memories of individuals who lived through this period of history. As in the case of Diana Andringa, these are memories that refer to people, places, times, feelings, smells, sensations that mark the hybrid character of their identities in a decisive way. When talking about her memories, the director seems to feel part of that recalled moment/space again, with all of the associated traces.

The results of the thematic analysis allowed an initial reflection on the three themes that prevail in the Diana Andringa narrative. On the one hand, the memories related to the social segregation and racism experienced in Dundo; on the other hand, the migration experiences (Portugal/Dundo) and the sense of home. Is interesting to note that the memories associated to the physical space where Diana Andringa lived for eleven years are very present, both throughout the documentary and in the interview held. Another idea that strikes the interviewee's memories and narrative is the idea of guilt. As she mentions it was not what she had done wrong, but what her people had done wrong. That people from whom she could not be differentiated due the color of her skin. The documentary *Dundo, Colonial Memory* acted as a means to disclosing her emotions in an audiovisual format. We believe that this type of narrative can play a major role in the processes of forgiveness among those who have lived through conflict and war.

In this sense, the films of autobiographical memories can be part of the struggle against forgetting past injustices, while taking the opportunity to contribute to the clarification of our interpretation of it, because the stories told enable the auto and hetero understanding of individuals who live in-between cultures, evoking memories, concerns and expectations.

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Crew of the documentary "Dundo, Colonial Memory"
Directed by: Diana Andringa
Type: Documentary
Duration: 60 minutes
Display Format: DVD
Developer: Movies LX, Portugal
Year: 2009