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HOW PUBLIC ARE PUBLIC PROGRAMS IN MUSEUMS?
RETHINKING CARE VIA “JAMAICA IS PORTUGAL TOO”

Dissertation to Universidade Católica Portuguesa to obtain
a Master’s Degree in Culture Studies, specialization in
Management of the Arts and Culture

By

Joana Almeida Flor dos Santos Rato

Faculdade de Ciências Humanas

October 2023



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Under the supervision of Professor Luísa Santos

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*To my dear grandfather, João Almeida Flor,
who always believed in me, who always saw my academic path
with the utmost pride, who always nurtured my
curiosity and who had infinite patience to tell me stories
I still remember to this day.*

*To my loving mother Ana Margarida Flor,
who is my rock and my life.*

Abstract

Care encompasses numerous aspects of our lives and reflects our mutual interdependencies (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 5). The 1970's Ecomuseum movement brought to light the great power museums hold to create caring spaces, as well as to amplify the voices of the communities they serve, through practices such as accessibility, inclusivity, and representativeness. These can focus on visitor engagement, decolonization, or public programs, for instance. The latter may serve as a tool for care in those institutions, curated to engage with targeted audiences, embracing them as collaborative visitors rather than clients and providing a more human-centered approach (as opposed to an object-centered one).

This dissertation seeks to discuss the relationships and connections between art museums, care, and public programs, in addition to the analysis of “Jamaika is Portugal too”, a 2021 public program at the maat (museum of art, architecture and technology), through the lens of care. Inspired by *Model of Jamaika* (2021), a collaborative piece between artists Paulo Moreira and José Sarmiento Matos and CHÃO, with the residents of the Jamaika neighborhood, the event aimed to discuss the uncertain housing and rehousing experiences of the inhabitants over debates, performances, and informal talks. A program not *about* Jamaika but *with* Jamaika as an example of a care practice in the museum.

Keywords

Care / Museums / Public Programs / Inclusiveness / Representativeness / Accessibility / Decolonial Practices / Ecomuseums / Storytelling

Resumo

O conceito de *care* permeia, de forma intrínseca, todos os aspectos da vida humana, sendo também uma reflexão das nossas interdependências mútuas. (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 5). O movimento dos Ecomuseus, cunhado nos anos de 1970, veio evidenciar o poder dos museus como espaços de *care* e amplificadores das vozes das comunidades que servem. Isto pode ser possível através de práticas de acessibilidade, inclusividade e representatividade focadas nos visitantes, com métodos de descolonização ou programas públicos. Por sua vez,

estes podem servir como uma ferramenta de *care* nos museus, direccionados para determinados públicos, abraçando-os como visitantes e não meros clientes, e de uma perspectiva mais centrada nas pessoas (em vez de nos objectos).

Esta dissertação debruça-se sobre “Jamaika também é Portugal”, um programa público que decorreu no maat (museu de arte, arquitectura e tecnologia) em 2021. Inspirado na peça colaborativa *Modelo da Jamaika* (2021) - que uniu os artistas Paulo Moreira e José Sarmiento Matos, o CHÃO e os moradores do bairro da Jamaika - o programa promoveu debates, performances e conversas em torno das suas experiências de habitação e realojamento, convidando moradores de diversos bairros em situações habitacionais precárias a contar a sua história. Um programa não só *sobre* o Jamaika, mas *com* o Jamaika, como exemplo de uma prática de *care* nos museums.

Palavras-chave

Care / Museus / Programas Públicos / Inclusividade / Representatividade / Acessibilidade / Prática de descolonização / Ecomuseus / Storytelling

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADSV - Associação para o Desenvolvimento Social do Vale de Chicharos

AM – Assembleia de Moradores

AML – Área Metropolitana de Lisboa

AMVC - Associação de Moradores de Vale dos Chicharos

BAME - Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic

BLM - Black Lives Movement

CDH - Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação

CEA - Centro de Estudos Africanos

CGD - Caixa Geral de Depósitos

CMS - Câmara Municipal do Seixal

COVID-19 - CoronaVirus Disease of 2019

DGPC - Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural

EDP - Energias de Portugal

FRELIMO - Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

GAM - Grupo para a Acessibilidade nos Museus

ICOFOM - The International Committee for Museology

ICOM – International Council of Museums

IHRU - Instituto de Habitação e de Reabilitação Urbana

IPM - Instituto Português de Museus

LGBTQIA+ - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual and plus

maat – Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology

MACBA Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Barcelona

MDF - Medium Density Fiberboard

MINOM - International Movement for a New Museology

MNAA - Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga

MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

NEMO - Network of Museum Organizations

NGPH - Nova Geração de Políticas de Habitação

NSW - New South Wales

PALOP - Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa

PAIGC (Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde)

PER - Programa Especial de Realojamento

PRR - Plano de Recuperação e Resiliência

RASI - Relatório Anual de Segurança Interna

RPM - Rede Portuguesa de Museus

SCM - Santa Casa da Misericórdia

UK – United Kingdom

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USA - United States of America

ZUS - Zonas Urbanas Sensíveis

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Marina Abramović, *Miracle 3* (2018)

Photograph, chromogenic print, LED light box, wooden frame
MOCO Museum, Barcelona

Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation focuses on the relationships and connections between art museums, care, and public programs. Moreover, it aims to analyze the maat's 2021 program "Jamaika is Portugal too" through the lens of care, and describe and examine how and whether it was an example of care in the institution. Based on the testimonies of the residents questioned, as well as remarks from Joana Simões Henriques, José Sarmiento Matos, and Ana Rita Alves, it further interprets the program's continuance and the influence it had on the Jamaika community.

One day, while I was going about my normal workday at the maat, I saw an older lady sitting on the floor. I stood back and thought it was strange, but then I realized that the maat did not have any benches or chairs where visitors could sit. Since it is a large museum, this was a severe problem. I apologized to the lady for not having anywhere she could sit, pointing to the stairs, which might be more comfortable for her since the steps were high. The old lady said she did not mind; still, it did not sit right with me. That same day, I was going down those stairs and saw a mother breastfeeding her baby, sitting with her legs crossed. I thought it was inhumane not to have a proper, clean, and safe place for mothers to breastfeed.

Later, I got home and started to write the internship report I would later have to hand in to my former boss, stating the incidents, as well as other situations of carelessness towards visitors that I had experienced, not only regarding physical accessibility issues, but intellectual and social ones as well. As I talked to my grandfather about this, he mentioned that, when he lived in London, he and some of his colleagues would spend their lunch break from work at the British Museum. They enjoyed the light, the peace, and the ability to go there numerous times without paying, which meant they could visit calmly and throughout several days. I thought that was brilliant. As I wondered about this, one word would always come to my mind: care. As I read deeper and deeper, I realized that this theme is quite explored in Academia, but not exactly in the same way I was working on.

Sustained by theory in the fields of Culture Studies, History, Museology, and Sociology, this dissertation studies the contextual realities of care, the need for care in museums, and how public programs could create a deeply caring space. The main argument and common thread of this dissertation is how vital care is for the functioning of contemporary art museums and how it can, indeed, be an agent of social change for

communities. There are two main concepts vital to my research: public programs in art museums and care. What do we talk about when we refer to those words? The study of care is immensely covered by authors such as Joan Tronto, Nuala Morse, Carol Gilligan, Selma Sevenhuijsen, María Puig de la Bellacasa, and others. The fact that public programs are aimed at non-specialized audiences creates a myriad of opportunities to adopt care in their activities, from creating open and safe spaces for debate, considering disabilities – both visible and invisible – and adapting the program to people who may suffer from them (Keith, 2007), providing a clearer interpretation of the exhibitions, among several others. Nonetheless, I found a gap in my readings that put the two concepts together.

This dissertation is part of the outcome of a one-year internship (November 2020 – November 2021) that I undertook at the *maat* (the Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology) in Lisbon. During that time, I could observe the public’s interactions with the exhibitions and programs, an experience I will forever cherish. Nevertheless, this is a dissertation as opposed to an internship report, as it is not a reflection of my work at the *maat* nor an overview of the practicalities of the internship; rather, it delves into research on concepts such as the museum, care, public programs, accessibility, to name a few. It compares cases and cross-examines the literature review with the practical case study of “Jamaika is Portugal too”.

For a more accurate account of the public program, I interviewed six people¹ on their perspectives about the event: three former Jamaika residents – Aurora Coxi, Kid Robinn, and Vanusa Coxi (Jamaika’s spokesperson); the head of Education and Public Programs at the *maat*, Joana Simões Henriques; one of the artists of *Model of Jamaika*, José Sarmiento Matos; and CHÃO’s co-founder Ana Rita Alves. It was important for me to have at least one perspective from all the sides of the collaborative project in analysis.

On August 31st, I interviewed rapper and program participant Kid Robinn at Jamaika, as he toured me around the rubble and torn-apart buildings. Most of the iconic brick towers neighborhood are now demolished, and the rehousing processes are almost finished. By listening to and materializing the residents’ voices in this dissertation, I hope to shed light on their stories and share their opinions on how they exposed their lives in a private space and on the whole process of co-creation as a practice of care for museums.

¹ A short bio of each interviewee can be consulted in **Annex 1**

Chapter 2. Locating care in museums

“Care, caring, carer. [...] so common in everyday life, as if care was evident, beyond particular expertise or knowledge. Most of us need care, feel care, are cared for, or encounter care, in one way or another. Care is omnipresent, [...] To care can feel good; it can also feel awful. It can do good; it can oppress [...]. But what is care? Is it an affection? A moral obligation? Work? A burden? A joy? Something we can learn or practice? Something we just do? Care means all these things and different things to different people, in different situations. [...] Care is a human trouble, but this does not make of care a human-only matter.” (Bellacasa 2017, 1-2).

This chapter is aimed at defining *care*. Moreover, it expands on why care is vital for museums, as well as what kind of practices and politics of care can be applied.

2.1 Definitions of care

As the above quote states, care encompasses so many aspects of our daily lives that we cannot seem to dissociate from it. Since it is present in various disciplinary fields, this dissertation frames it within culture studies and curatorial practices.

There is indeed a growing number of studies around care in countless areas of knowledge. This raises a problem when choosing exactly what type of care I want to explore. Such a common word in the English language, used in numerous contexts and phrases, may sometimes depersonalize it, making it a vapid, bland word (Lookofsky 2005, 7). But the term is quite powerful.

Joan Tronto once wrote that “the world will look different if we move care from its current peripheral location to a place near the center of human life.” (1993, 115). Eriksson defends that care is innate “from the beginning, a natural human behaviour that has also developed into professional caring, such as in nursing” (Bergbom, Nåden, Nyström 2021, 2). Where does our inherent need *for care* and *to care* begin?

Tronto’s affirmation might sound like a utopia since “our world is one in which carelessness reigns.” (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 1). As Bellacasa puts it:

“the evidences of care have been challenged for more than thirty years now through nursing studies, sociologies of medicine, health and illness, and ethics and philosophy, as well as political thought [...], psychology, [...] business ethics and economics, [...] disability studies, [...] and in farming practices.” (2017, 2-3)

From this, we can conclude that virtually every single topic can relate to care, which, indeed, makes our task a bit more challenging. Jamila Prowse studies the fact that *care* is such a broad term that, sometimes, it may seem a distant and unimportant term when, in fact, it is very much intrinsic to our daily lives. Moreover, Prowse emphasizes that care is interconnected with trust, as it is never a one-sided relationship (2021).

Gilligan points out that care became a trending topic in the early 1970s, in the United States, amongst discussions of *Roe v. Wade*, which granted legal and safe abortions for women (2003, 10). This meant that women were gaining power not only over their bodies but also over themselves. The women's movement was providing them with a whole new world of opportunities: new jobs, divorce, access to political offices, and so on (Burkett, 2020). Now, these women were getting their voices heard, and the world was very slowly realizing that women did not equal caregivers.

Recently, I read an interview with artist Mónica de Miranda (Marmeleira, 2022) about her exhibition *Mirages and Deep Time* (Galerias Municipais de Lisboa – Galeria Avenida da Índia, July 21st – September 25th 2022), which approached the topics of decolonization, politics, identity, and geographies of affection. Among photographs, drawings, and sculptures, there was “No person is an island” (2022), an elevated wood table-like structure, filled with soil and plants. The interviewer explains the above artwork and writes about how the plants need to be taken care of for the piece to work properly (Marmeleira 2022) and that without care, they would die. The idea of the artwork is not to have dead plants, but rather alive and beautiful ones. This got me questioning the care relationship created here. On the one hand, if no one waters, prunes, fertilizes, and treats pests – or, in other words, cares for the plants – they would die; however, this creates an interdependent relationship. If the plants are sick or dead, the artwork does not reach its full potential and objective, as per the artist's vision. So, here, the artist needs the plant to thrive too. This example proves that care is a universal concept.

Recognizing that it is impossible to read and list all the definitions and theories of care, and the numerous contexts they can be applied to, I turn to the Care Collective's vision. They are motivated by the carelessness the pandemic brought and wrote *The Care Manifesto*, revolving around the numerous definitions of *care* from a sociological and political perspective. Essentially, they ask themselves, what “would happen if we were to begin

instead to put care at the very centre of life?” (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 5), similar to Joan Tronto. The manifesto focuses on how care should become a priority and the need to be “an organizing principle on each and every scale of life [...] [to be] understood as broadly as possible. (2020, 22). What does this exactly mean? “to put care centre stage means recognizing and embracing our interdependencies” (2020, 5). One crucial aspect of this theory is that to create a world that cares, it is first necessary to understand the intrinsic need for care. Munro tends to disagree with the interdependency in care, as he suggests that, sometimes, the “recipient” of care can have a passive role in a caring relationship; for instance, patients at a hospital, who are being taken care of by nurses and doctors, without return (2013, 55).

Tronto differentiates two aspects that are inherent to care: the sense of otherness, and action and both are connected (1993, 102). The example the author gives is quite explanatory. She suggests that saying “I care about world hunger”, but doing nothing to help tackle that battle, is not understanding the meaning of the verb. Care has reached, according to the Care Collective, a “systemic level of banality” (2020, 5). Tronto’s theory is that care is, essentially, “everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible” (1993, 103). She then exemplifies the military and war. Is it care? Some may say it is essential to maintain world order, therefore, care; others may agree it is destruction and murder, thus carelessness. Moreover, she raises the question of disposition: for instance, a nurse can be caring for a patient, checking vital signs or giving baths, while not caring about the person itself, simply doing their job (Tronto 1993, 105).

In the manifesto, one will also find a more precise definition of the term. “Care is our individual and common ability to provide the political, social, material, and emotional conditions that allow the vast majority of people and living creatures on this planet to thrive” (2020, 7). Thus, they emphasize the dependance aspect of care, as if everyone is dependable on each other. The authors state that we are currently living a “crisis of care” (2020, 3), motivated, mostly, by politics, as it prioritizes markets, financial capital, and resources, instead of people.

Nonetheless, care is not always connected to the other; it can mean self-care. We often associate it with relaxing, doing something exciting for ourselves, such as a skincare routine, resting, or buying unnecessary items. We must rethink our privilege, though. As the writer and activist Audre Lorde wrote in her powerful book *A Burst of Light and other essays*

(1988): “Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare.” (2017, 166). As a Black woman in the United States, Lorde felt that self-care meant survival. For Murawski, for instance, a white privileged man, it can easily be a synonym for indulgence, leisure, or vacation (2021, 130). It is the same principle when regarding care in general: one could always reflect on their own privilege and what they can do to help mitigate the space between their privilege and other people’s.

Etymologically, both care as a verb and a noun have the root *karō*, meaning “lament, grief” (Harper 2022), and Old English *caru*, *cearu* meaning “sorrow, anxiety, grief” (Harper 2022), perhaps implying that *care* has an intrinsicity with disposition. Wilken adds that the term “presence” is also inherent to care. He states: “Care emerges as a response to a need. With ‘caring about’ one starts worrying about someone, recognizing his or her needs”, as opposed to taking care of, which means “taking responsibility for improving the situation. ‘Caregiving’ implies the actual delivery of a service to respond to the need.” (2010, 10).

Our careless world has created “fertile conditions for the growth of notoriously uncaring communities that base their sense of shared identity on exclusion and hatred.” (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 3), in every sense and aspect of our lives. Geographers Christine Milligan and Janine Wiles have written extensively about “landscapes of care”, as “spaces that enable caring interactions” (2010, 738), which can combat this crisis of care, such as hospitals, nursing homes, homeless shelters, but also kitchens, schools, markets of the parliament (2010, 739 – 740). These places that allocate and create conditions for caring settings can also be museums. Landscapes of care encompass “[...] issues of responsibility, ethics, and morals, [...] social, emotional, symbolic, physical and material aspects of caring” (Milligan, Wiles 2010, 740)

Thus, we can conclude that care is intrinsic and it implies interdependencies. So, what about museums?

2.2 What is a museum?

As Claire Bishop states, the rise of technology and the constant changing of times have been provoking a “more radical model” (2014, 6) focused on political engagements and social issues in museums. In a world full of controversies, humanitarian crises, economic and financial crashes, and demographic shifts, “public expectations of museums are ever-changing” (Brown, Mairesse 2018, 526) and more demanding when it comes to the

museum's role in society. Institutions must question their *modus operandi* and their purposes; who are museums for? What do they want the visitors to feel, to learn, and to gain? How can these institutions become more accessible to a wider audience?

It is necessary to explore the definition of the museum, to understand its mission and how care can intertwine with it. As Lynch so correctly states “For at their core, museums continue to retain the two basic competencies left over from colonial times – they collect and they exhibit [...] they also educate” (Lynch 2016, 1). This creates a problem of hierarchy as if museums knew exactly how to teach visitors and, more likely, what to teach them. Is that a museum's purpose?

Bishop states that one “dominant mantra” in museum governmentality is “bigger is better, and better is richer” (Bishop 2013, 6) is now, slowly, changing around Europe. Deakin defends that the goal of museums should always be “[the] advocacy for the long term. It's about enticing visitors through a museum's doors, [...] all with the aim of delivering enriching experiences.” (2022). In fact, this idea of creating an audience-centered museum is not new. Since the 1990s, as Munro defends, audience development strategies have been continuously explored, focused on inclusion, accessibility, and diversity (2013, 56), terms which will be covered in the following chapters. In the European context, the 1970s brought a general rethinking of museums, especially in Europe. The 1960s had been years of renovation and political agitation, so, with the 1970s, the Western world was eager for change.

In 1972, the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, the result of discussions about the role of Museums between UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and ICOM (International Council of Museums), established that museums “have a primary responsibility to meet the needs of their communities [...] should be at service of society and its development” (Brown, Mairesse 2018, 529), in addition to displaying historical objects and collections. The basis for the conceptualization of the New Museology current born in the 1970s, but fully developed in the decades that followed, was set. It “emphasized the social role of museums and its interdisciplinary character, [...] [and] was particularly interested in new types of museums, conceived in contrast to the classical model in which collections are the center of interest.” (Desvallées, Mairesse 2010, 55).

Moreover, it created space for a “redefinition of the relationship that museums have with people and their communities” (McCall, Gray 2013, 2) and a change in focus regarding the audience and the issues covered. In 1974, ICOM issued a new definition of the museum:

“A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment.” (ICOM 1974, n.p)

It is important to note that this definition has its context: it was written as the result of a conference held by ICOM in Copenhagen, Denmark in the 1970s; this means it is applied to a Western and European context and, also, that it fails to include discussions of the post-colonial and colonized world, the intangible, and heritage. Moreover, the fact that this definition included the words “in service of the society” caused great debate, as scholars wondered whether this was a politicization of museums (Soares 2020a, 19). In 2005, ICOFOM (The International Committee for Museology) underwent discussions around the museum definition, which, for over 30 years, had remained roughly the same. The rise of technology and the turn to the 21st century were vital elements to take into consideration, in that year it was set:

“The museum is an institution for the benefit of society, devoted to exploring and understanding the world by researching, preserving and communicating, notably through interpretation and exhibition, tangible and intangible evidence that constitutes the heritage of humanity. It is a not-for-profit institution” (Lehmannová 2020, 3).

For the first time, the museum world acknowledged the terms “tangible”, “intangible” and “heritage”. Naturally, it is quite difficult to narrow down to one single and short definition of the pluralistic and multicultural world we live in, which is why some countries, mostly within Europe, use the ICOM guidelines as the law, whereas in other countries, namely outside of Europe, they serve merely as a basis for cultural policies (Soares 2020a, 22). Still, regardless of mentioning the benefit for society, it does not correlate to the New Museology movement and ideas that were well-developed in the Museum field by then. Therefore, at the ICOM Kyoto General Conference in 2019, a broader and more visitor-centered definition was suggested. Although never approved, it is more inclusive, and quite radical compared to past ones.

“Museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people. Museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing.” (Lehmannová 2020, 3).

This definition is far more comprehensive and suits more institutions; nonetheless, there was quite a lot of debate surrounding it. When thinking about the term “democratizing”, as Yunci Cai states, this word carries some power, since it legitimizes democracy over tyranny and dictatorship, which some countries are still under (2020, 1). However, most would agree that, ideally, a museum is a space safe for free speech, opinions, and diversity. It also introduces the idea that these institutions should promote debate and critical dialogue about current, past, and future issues, conflicts, and challenges, as well as being transparent. This is in sync with New Museology and the growing notion that museums can have an active voice in society. As explained by Pontus Hultén, museums are a “place where artists find the audience and where the audience becomes its creator.” (Santos, 2016, 165). One might question, what is the use of a museum without its visitors?

Museums can, indeed, be places of reunion, encounter with the other, reflection, entertainment, and learning. As Brown puts it, “museums and heritage organizations bear a huge responsibility for the communities they serve [...] and they therefore have an ethical obligation to support social cohesion and development” (2019, 1). These institutions hold power to create spaces of debate and help rethink some topics, such as decolonization or Western anthropocentrism; but they can also help combat isolation, increase the sense of belonging and identity, provide tools for children to learn and develop their creativity, reduce stress, expand knowledge, or contribute to boosting empathy (Velie 2022). Or, in other words, museums can be places of care and create a personal and intimate relationship with visitors. Their purpose is to become “agents of social change” (Munro 2012, 56).

The new 2019 proposal mentions safeguarding the future for the first time, as well as of community active and direct participation within the institution. Not only does it give the museum a wider social role and a sense of community, but it also encourages audiences to connect and take part in activities. Scholars have argued that care and affection go hand in

hand, and, in fact, some further explain that recent years have brought to museums an affective turn (see Varutti 2022, Munro 2014, and Morse 2022). This translates to the emotional nature of interactions with museums (Munro 2014, 45) and focuses on emotions as an intrinsic part of it. Varutti explains that museums are affective, “in the sense that they elicit emotional responses in visitors. This results from the synergy of various museum elements – architecture, display layout [...] the digital and the imaginative [...]” (2022, 2). The affective turn has, indeed, invaded museums explored them as places of care, affection, and emotions at the core of museums (Varutti 2022, 3)². This fosters an open space for free debate and reflection and deeper engagement. Munro adds that much of the work regarding emotion proposed by the institutions can benefit “those individuals who could be marginalized, vulnerable, or otherwise excluded.” (Munro 2014, 44). Morse also argues that museums can help repair society, as that care can lead to repair³. According to Kessels, “this form of communication between art and the audience has the ability to connect generations and societies separated by conflict, language, politics, distance, or even hundreds of years” (Idema 2020, 2). It is, however, important to note that, as Tronto explains, care and affective intentions may originate from a sense of paternalism, and the belief that know how to care for the visitors, creating a hierarchy of power (Tronto 2010, 161). This is often linked to the idea that the primary objective of these institutions is to educate, for instance, to learn more about history, traditions, or cults, or to gain awareness of certain issues. As Hopper-Greenhill notes, the debate around education in museums could easily be resolved with a matter of wording. “Museums, it is said, are about inspiration - and this is seen as separate from ‘education’. ‘Education’ as an expression, does have academic connotations for many [...] ‘Learning’ is more open-ended and multidimensional, and more focused on the person” (2006, 238). The word “education” may also carry a heavy burden, when thinking about its power – museums educate on what they think is important, conveying the narrative that they

² One example of this change is the Minneapolis Institute of Art, which has recently created a Center for Empathy and Visual Arts dedicated to the work of emotions in the institution. Varutti explains that this Center has developed empathy tours, where the normative idea of a guided tour with the guides explaining each artwork and contextualizing it is abandoned to a tour based on affect and emotion, in a way that visitors are invited to share what certain pieces of art make them feel and why (2022, 8).

³ ICOM has offered, at the peak of the pandemic, some guidelines to institutions on how to promote emotional support and community wellbeing (Varutti 2022, 4). To consult the guidelines, read here https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/CommunityResilience_UpdatedArticle_EN_final_20200930.pdf (last accessed May 2nd 2023).

want and identify with, and, sometimes, without a proper space to debate and reflect and with no opposing information, visitors can be doctinated or misled.

More recently, and within the affective turn context mentioned above, as well as the rise of technology, some museums have been adopting a posture of *edutainment*. This is a merging of ‘education’ and ‘entertainment’, to make the spaces more appealing, as well as to keep up with audience demand for newer, more exciting things. Resources such as museum apps, visitor-activated artworks, interactive QR codes, and performances, among others, are some examples of how a trip to the museum can be entertaining.

Edutainment can open new doors, as Addis defends, to enrich visitors’ experiences, making learning less heavy (2002, 47-48). Factually, visitors are gradually demanding more, thus the tendency might be to mitigate the line between museums and amusement parks. Where do you draw the line between an amusement park and a museum? Does playfulness belong in museums? As del Olmo argues, play also has the potential to “enhance adult’s creative thinking and generate opportunities of new learning” (n.d, 4), as it also fosters a place for imagination, curiosity, and confidence to run amok. Play is a fluid term (Brown 2019a, n.p) and can have diverse meanings in different contexts. In the museum, it can mean interacting with a specific artwork, doing an activity inspired by it, reflecting on certain topics and completing tasks, using imagination to create or build something, making use of the five senses to explore the space of the works, and so on. Play in museums is not only directed at children⁴ and can encourage participatory power when visitors choose what to explore (Simon 2010, 37)⁵.

⁴ Although there could be programs and activities specifically for children. MacKay gives a great example of a child’s actions at the museum in “Nurturing Empathy between Adults and Children” in *Fostering Empathy through Museums*, 2016, pp. 21 – 36.

⁵ The topic of playfulness in these institutions has been studied profusely by researchers as a positive and enriching experience. For instance, coincident with the New Museology movement, which advocated for new and dynamic types and approaches to museums, Danish artist Palle Nielsen created a site-specific piece for the Moderna Museet, in Stockholm, called *The Model*, consisting of an enormous playground for children and adult visitors (September 30th to October 20th 1968). Defying the idea that museums should be solely focused on the display of collections, the artist drew attention to the fact that playfulness, to learn and gain knowledge, does belong to museums. Some scholars have called this experience a “performative installation [...] a form of work that – expressed in didactic terms – creates learning through play or, even better, by involving the audience in an experimental investigation of scenarios [...]” (Petersen 2015, 31). *The Model* was also a response to the white cube convention of museums and art galleries and the passive attitude visitors should have that was the current mindset in the 1960s and 1970s (Petersen 2015, 32).

At the Prague Assembly in 2022, the most recent ICOM definition of a museum was presented. After years of debate, due to the bold suggestion made in 2019, the museum community reached an agreement.

“A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing”. (ICOM 2022)

This 2022 approved definition is far less ambitious than the 2019 proposal. Firstly, it does not mention that it is a place where democracy reigns. As we have seen above, democratizing a museum might be attributing it to a political tone. However, by not mentioning that it is a space of free debate, it lacks the power of critical dialogue about pasts and futures. By eliminating these words from the definition, and not even mentioning dialogue – only reflection, which is not the same thing, nor is communicating with the audience. By not acknowledging that museums can, indeed, be a space for free and open debate with communities, as well as by not recognizing the need to rethink their pasts and futures, they might be proving that they do not care or, perhaps, do not understand burning issues such as repatriation of stolen objects, decolonial practices, or accessibility for all (Cascone 2022). By engaging with its audience, as the Kyoto Conference suggested, in debates and critical dialogues, and, perhaps, museums would change. The 2022 definition states that it is “open to the public”, and that it fosters diversity with the participation of the audience. Nonetheless, it lacks a further explanation of what exactly community participation means. Moreover, museums are differently perceived around the world, so this narrow and not transformative enough definition is, by no means, inclusive, especially in museological contexts outside of Western countries. (Soares 2020a, 26).

Through this extensive reflection on the definition and purpose of a museum, one question arises – where is care? Are care practices implied in the new definition? The word care could be part of the definition when it comes to audience treatment. Taking the 1974 and 2005 definitions into consideration, when ICOM first mentioned the “benefit of society” as one of museums’ pillars, we can understand that much influenced by New Museology, museums’ teams started to become more aware of the audience. The 2019 proposal, although never accepted, has quite a lot of potential to be the definition of caring policies in museums.

It referred to a “democratizing space”, where opinions are respected, an “inclusive” place – thereby attending to the needs of specific groups or minorities – promoted “critical dialogue”, allowing visitors to express their thoughts freely, mentioned that they are “participatory and transparent” and, lastly, that they intend to do “partnership with and for diverse communities”, in this way amplifying the organization’s scope of audience. Conversely, the latest official definition, albeit not exactly as inclusive, does mention a few key points towards care – it is “open to the public”, “accessible and inclusive”, fosters “diversity and sustainability” and with “the participation of communities”. If we take *The Care Manifesto*’s definition of care and apply it to museum definitions, we quickly realize the effort to create more caring communities; “Care is our individual and common ability to provide the political, social, material, and emotional conditions that allow the vast majority of people and living creatures on this planet to thrive [...]” (2020, 6).

Nuala Morse considers community engagement as care work (2022, 2), since it is “founded on principles of access and inclusion and is driven by local partnerships with community groups and third sector organizations [...] providing opportunities to reflect, to make, to feel inspiration and joy” (Morse 2022, 2). Munro corroborates this perspective by stating that it functions as a space of care (Munro 2013, 62). Care is, then, implied in the interdependent relationship between institution and community. This relates to the constant need to rethinking and finding new ways to relate to their audience, and becoming progressively more visitor-centered (Anderson 2019, 81). Thus, it means that museums are not only focused on their usual audience but are also trying to engage with new audiences who might come to the museum (Anderson 2019, 81), or hard-to-reach museum audiences. Mohammed explains how community engagement helps to grow towards democracy (2022, 151). I tend to agree with this observation; as we have seen before, democracy is a relevant part of museums, and should indeed be fostered. Furthermore, there is audience development, a technique used by these institutions to break down the museum-visitor barrier to create an engaging experience for visitors. Anderson states that it is “a deliberate strategy aimed at cultivating new audiences, usually with a focus on those previously under-represented at the museum [...]. Audience development, with a focus on participatory experiences, has become a growing concern within the sector” (2019, 82). Essentially, it is based on audience research to create broader programs and activities for a wider audience. Walzl states that it is all about “breaking down barriers” (2006, 2).

Munro mentions that a key aspect of community engagement is “encouraging individuals to talk about themselves – to tell stories” (2012, 58). In fact, storytelling is a pertinent method of community engagement. It is

“about the people behind the art, the artifacts, and history on display [...] [it] shapes the relationship between ‘teller’ and ‘listener’ [...]. As a community engagement strategy, storytelling connects people with the larger socials, or even political, narratives that help them make sense of the world and their place in it.” (Lager 2022, x).

What is a museum community? Lynch finds this term problematic in the sense that it is rather difficult to define, but also dangerous (2014, 67). Who is a part of the museum community? Murawski quotes Peter Block, who writes “we are in a community each time we find a place where we belong” (Murawski 2018). A person can belong to different communities. Block also states that communities help us acknowledge our interdependencies (2008, 3), which is one of the main aspects of care. Davis brings forward an interesting perspective on the museum community: art museum communities are entirely different from railway museum communities (Davis 2011, 36); he goes further, calling “museum community” a meaningless expression.

Crooke tries to pin down a wider definition of museum community through two aspects: the official museum sector community – including artists, curators, directors, board members and mount makers, among others; and the “unofficial” museum sector – people who do not work in the museum area – but who in some way are passionate and active in the area – people who reflect on their experiences at these institutions, people who engage in different activities proposed, individuals motivated to help make the museum better, etc (2008, 8-9). However, I disagree with the latter, because every single person who engages with museums is part of its community: everyone is welcome. Museums should not be exclusive to motivated, educated individuals, but open to the audience, to everyone who wants to visit it, even if it is just on the outside. Its policies of care should embrace all these people. Lynch asserts that the underlying problem with this is that museums still acknowledge the notion of “center/periphery/ ‘us’ and ‘them’” (Lynch 2016, 3).

Morse explains Simon’s model of institutional participation in museums, which consists of four forms (2021, 42): contributory – when the audience has limited input opportunities; collaborative, where visitors are active participants in museum projects; co-creative, where the community and the museum staff work together on projects; and, finally, hosting – when the museum fully opens itself for the community to develop their projects with little to no

input from the institution. According to Simons, museums should assess which model fits their mission best. An example I find fascinating is the latest project⁶ at the Museo de Arqueología de Cataluña. In the context of the exhibition *Los bronce de Riace*, by photographer Luigi Spina, the institution received a proposal from the Club Catalán de Naturismo. The photographs display nude ancient statues, and the members of the club suggested a naked guided tour, an approach that culture worker Irene Vicente Salas agreed to, thus conducting these naked visits to the exhibition, open to all of the visitors who want to practice nudism, in a closed-door space⁷. Although quite bold, this is an admirable illustration of caring community engagement: visitors can get the museum experience while comfortable, in this case, nude – a relation of interdependence as it was previously covered. The institution wants visitors, and the visitors want to be nude – the museum has adapted to this proposal to create a safe (closed door event) and satisfying environment.

Why is care important in museums? As previously discussed, care encompasses every aspect of our lives, thus, it is logical that it would also be prioritized at the museum. Envisioning a museum that practices care means rethinking the institutions' social role. By applying caring methods, museums can help visitors feel valued and validated, help bridge societal, racial, financial, or other gaps, change colonial narratives, open space to expression, promote inclusion and accessibility, and so forth. Nuala Morse observes the efforts to seek the voices of the “non-expert” and the “ordinary people” (2020, 33). As she notes, by practicing care, museums can respond to “the challenges of representation and attempts to democratize the museum by including more voices [...] to better reflect contemporary society and redress previous exclusions” (2020 33). As a practice, care in museums is the “ongoing work of producing and sustaining spaces of care [...] where people are supported and are enabled to connect with culture and heritage” (Morse, 2020, 191). Furthermore, care recognizes emotions, inequalities, and vulnerabilities.

2.3 The need for care in museums

⁶ As of October 2023

⁷ For more information on this project, consult https://elpais.com/espana/catalunya/2023-10-17/barcelona-ya-tiene-un-museo-que-se-puede-visitar-totalmente-desnudo.html?rel=buscador_noticias (last accessed October 20th 2023). This initiative can be considered a practice of naked tourism. To read more on this topic, see here <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/angkor-wats-deported-nudists-are-part-of-growing-naked-tourism-trend-256978> (last accessed October 20th 2023).

Researcher Judy Rand compiled an interesting “Visitor’s Bill of Rights” in 1996, in which she places herself as a museumgoer and lists her needs as a visitor and exactly what she expects the museum to provide her. The needs, further developed are comfort, orientation, welcome/belonging, enjoyment, socializing, respect, communication, learning, choice and control, challenge and confidence, and revitalization (1996, 22-26). Concerning Museumgoers must feel safe to explore the exhibitions freely, with their level of knowledge and interest, without being socially or intellectually excluded. It is also worth mentioning communication: labels, accesses, and texts must be clear and simple so that everyone can understand and better navigate the museum. And lastly, choice and control: visitors need to have the freedom to choose what and how to experience the museum. Engster proposes that to create a caring environment, one needs three virtues. Firstly, attentiveness, “a caring person notices when another is in need and responds appropriately” (Engster 2005, 53). Then, responsiveness, or engaging with people to understand their needs. Finally there is respect when one understands and pays attention to others’ needs, respects them, and tries to help solve them (Engster 2005, 55). These three virtues to museum policies, can help foster a caring environment for their audience by acknowledging the audience’s differences in gender, education, social status, economic situation, and so forth. An organic one, where the true sense of community (staff plus audience) represents both parts equally, with no hierarchies. Recalling Tronto’s general definition of care as “everything that we to maintain, continue and repair ‘our world’” (Tronto 1993, 103), this world can indeed be the museum.

Jennings and her colleagues focus on empathy instead of care. They underline the importance of empathy on an institutional level. As museums are made up of individuals, it is natural, for the researchers, that empathy extends to those same institutions, both externally – with visitors and communities – and internally – the boards and staff to mitigate inequalities, oppression, privilege, and social exclusion) (2019, 509-510)⁸. Ivcevic, Maliakkal, and the Botín Foundation describe empathy as “one’s capacity to understand and share other’s feelings” (2016, 1). On the other hand, Carfagno and Rozan define it as “the

⁸ In this article, the authors provide a glossary on important concepts such as empathy, decolonization, intersectionality, or white supremacy, which I highly recommend consulting. Moreover, they have created The Empathetic Museum project, a network of cultural professionals that debate the topics of empathy as a solution to institutional challenges. Consult here <http://empatheticmuseum.weebly.com> (last accessed October 19th 2023). Another interesting platform on this issue is the Inluseum, a network of culture professionals that debates the importance of inclusion and inclusivity in the museum, rethinking the term and how institutions can apply it to their practices. For more information, see here <https://inluseum.com> (last accessed October 19th 2023)

art of stepping imaginatively into the shoes of another person, understanding their feelings and perspectives [...]” (2016, p. 204). Empathy can be a tool towards care in the museum; although powerful, empathy as a tool for care can be deceitful: a White male museum professional will never be able to step into a Black woman’s “shoes”, for instance; he would never understand her feelings. He can, however, recognize her difficulties and her stories, and work together in the museum, towards a caring environment for Black women.

Engster brings forward the interesting question of moral duty: should museums have care practices for their visitors out of obligation? Or because they truly care about them? (2005, 58). As we have read above, care practices do not always imply a true connection with the one you are caring for. Does this mean we only foster a caring relationship when someone is vulnerable? Engster defends, as does the Care Collective, that care mainly relies on interdependencies. Bellacasa would complement this by stating that “interdependency is not a contract, nor a moral idea – it is a condition. Care is therefore concomitant to the continuation of life [...] not forced upon by a moral order” (Bellacasa 2017, 70). Carfagno and Rozan argue that “people are programmed to form communities, help one another, care for, bond, protect, feed, mate, and, above all, belong.” (2016, p. 205), therefore believing that care is, in fact, innate to humans.

Sometimes, as Lynch and Morse would write, museums care, but not with intention. And this care not only pertains to the visitors, but also to the staff, curators, and artists the museum chooses to work with, which is a major aspect of any art institution. How can museums care? There is no guarantee of equal rights when exhibitions show white dominance or imperialist visions over minorities; or even when 85% of the museum staff is white (Salguero 2020). Museums have been perpetuating ideas of segregation, oppression, and colonization, and although “the definition claims that museums contribute to human dignity, it hides uncomfortable truths about the source of their collections.” (Fraser 2019, 504). How can museums state they offer equal access for all people when most institutions have high-priced tickets without discounts for underprivileged people? When curatorial texts are directed at a more educated audience? Some museums do not allow children in or do not have age-appropriate activities, which creates a big constraint on parents. Also, the opening times are questionable, since people work during the week, most of them until, let's say, 4pm - 7pm, when museums are already closing, unless there are late hours. How is this accessible to everyone? Why would people bother to visit a museum they do not identify with? There

needs to be more investment in making them more accessible for blind, deaf, or non-verbal people, as well as people who are on the spectrum, who are more prone to suffer from too many stimuli. Hanquinet goes back to Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital, explaining that "[...] cultural capital combined with economic and social capital positions individuals in the social space and shapes their cultural consumption by providing symbolic access to some cultural genres and items and limiting it to others." (2016, 66). Bourdieu has discussed, essentially, that the more cultivated in the arts someone is, the more prone they are to visit museums and other cultural places, and this is one aspect museum practitioners could take into consideration.

Claire Bishop explores the growing tendency for museums to radically redefine themselves, more experimentally and politically or socially engaged (Bishop 2013, 6). However, she notes that some museums can fall into the dangers of self-entitlement in this transition to a radically renovated institution (Bishop 2013, 12). Care in Museums starts outside the building. For instance, as Lord puts it, the admissions desk, the ticket counter and the first interaction visitors have with someone in the museum set the pace for the rest of the visit (1997, 124). This new wave for museums, as we have seen, has majorly been influenced by the New Museology current; however, it is necessary to mention Ecomuseums as well, since it is also a growing tendency that helps explain why Museums need to be more caring and have caring policies. Etymologically, *ecomuseum* comes from the Greek "oikos" (Davis 2011, 3), meaning a house or a space to live, and is sometimes falsely related to ecology. The "eco" represents human relationships and, as Rivière puts it, "it is a laboratory" (1985, 182). Rivière and de Varine were the main theorists behind the Ecomuseum, a term coined in 1971/1972, that would gain popularity mostly in the 1980s forward. Rivière saw it as "a mirror in which local population views itself to discover its own image" (1985, 182), meaning that this new way of experiencing the museum was more of a partnership between the institution and the audience. The major goal was to link people to their identity and make them part of a community. Even for a world that was starting to get shaken by the boldness of New Museology, the museum world was taken by surprise by this iconic and fearless movement of the Ecomuseums, as it not only implied constant innovation, it "advocates profound changes in the thinking and attitudes of the museologist." (Mayrand 1985, 200). It was not easy at first for Ecomuseums to pave their way into museology; however, ICOM decided to create MINOM (International Movement for a New Museology), which fostered

workshops around the world and mobilized museums everywhere to rethink themselves in the light of Ecomuseology (Varines 1996, 24). ICOM also played a part in defining Ecomuseums. It stated that the Ecomuseum is “a vehicle for public participation in community planning and development [...] in a liberal and responsible manner.” (Davis 2011, 81).

Are New Museology and Ecomuseums examples of care? It seems so. As we have traveled through care definitions and these modern methodologies, we can positively argue that they can be care practices since they work for the common good, involve the audience and recognize relationships of interdependence. “Care is our individual and common ability to provide the political, social, material, and emotional conditions that allow the vast majority of people and living creatures on this planet to thrive” (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 7). Museums can, indeed, through their policies, accessibility, inclusion proposals, emotions, community engagement, or audience development, to become great spaces of care. Recently, ICOM has been publishing and sharing articles, as well as numerous other resources, on the website and social media, raising awareness of the heterogeneity of audiences. For instance, in September 2023, they shared a book by the University of Leicester’s Research Centre for Museums and Galleries on trans-inclusive museum practices and how to capacitate museum professionals on this issue⁹; ICOM also promotes seminars around the topic of the decolonization of museums¹⁰; The institution shares testimonies and examples from museums around the world on innovative curatorial methods¹¹ and more inclusive approaches and resources for, for example, the mentally impaired¹². Additionally, ICOM holds at least one podcast, “Museums and Chill”¹³ on a wide range of topics on museum practice, which can affirm the institution within younger generations as they are sharing and exemplifying approaches to improve the museum in the path of inclusion and accessibility,

⁹ The ICOM article can be consulted here <https://icom.museum/en/news/sharing-is-caring-trans-inclusive-culture-guidance-on-advancing-trans-inclusion-for-museums-galleries-archives-and-heritage-organisations/#> The book can be consulted here <https://le.ac.uk/rcmg/research-archive/trans-inclusive-culture%C2%A0> (both last accessed October 18th 2023)

¹⁰ For instance <https://icom.museum/en/news/the-power-of-co-curation-the-kamcing-tribe-and-the-national-museum-of-prehistory/> (last accessed October 18th 2023)

¹¹ For instance <https://icom.museum/en/news/museums-that-created-22nd-century/> (last accessed October 18th 2023)

¹² Such as this project by the Dr Guislain Museum, “Mini-Guislain toolkit”. The article can be consulted here <https://icom.museum/en/news/the-mini-guislain-toolkit-a-pre-visit-service-for-visitors-with-mental-impairments/> (last accessed October 18th 2023)

¹³ The podcast can be listened to here <https://open.spotify.com/show/3XxscQzFw8Ry5PiLzLWn9w> (last accessed October 18th 2023)

therefore perpetuating this network of care for their visitors. Lately, other organizations have been engaging in these types of conversations and focusing on how an individual's health and well-being can benefit from the Arts and Culture. The project Culture for Health¹⁴, co-funded by the European Commission, and other partners, is one of those examples. A 2022 report provides guidelines for European institutions on how to develop better cultural policies to improve people's health conditions, exemplifying stress reduction, social interaction, feelings expression, critical thinking, and so forth¹⁵. The Handle with Care: Culture for Social Well-being Conference was the 2023 edition of Culture Action Europe's 'Beyond the Obvious' symposium. It focused on care as a compass to navigate uncertainties and concerns around social, economic, and political crises¹⁶. Moreover, the project issued a Manifesto that explores institutionalized care in addition to rallying cultural professionals to rethink their work and to put care at its core¹⁷; the document also contains suggestions on how cultural institutions can create a "culture of care" (2023, 1), mentioning the care for the climate, the care for borders, the care for the commons, communities of care, and so forth.

Doering stressed that there are three types of relationships between visitors and museums. Strangers, when the institution focuses merely on collections and its care, instead of visitors; guests, when museums acknowledge their presence and importance alongside collections and engage with them; and clients, when "the visitor is no longer subordinate to the museum" (1999, 1); here, the visitors have their rights to be entertained, learn, to be cared for, and the museum could provide all of that. Sandell has a similar vision when thinking about the impact that museums can have on people, essentially on three levels: individual or personal level, community, and societal. The first relates to the benefits one might gain from visiting these institutions, such as "enhanced self-esteem, confidence and creativity" (2003, 45); at the community level, museums can help social regeneration and community empowerment; and lastly, museums have the power to "promote tolerance, inter-community respect and to challenge stereotypes" (2003, 45). As Nuala Morse points out, by the late

¹⁴ The project can be consulted here <https://www.cultureforhealth.eu> (last accessed October 19th 2023)

¹⁵ I highly recommend the reading of this report, as it extensively describes numerous ways in which the Arts and Culture can be beneficial for society, mostly on page 7 and the challenges that come with cultural institution's responsibilities. See here https://www.cultureforhealth.eu/app/uploads/2023/04/C4H_SummaryReport_VI1LP_shortsmall.pdf (last accessed October 19th 2023)

¹⁶ Their website includes numerous resources and lists compelling projects on this topic. For more information, see <https://www.cae-bto.org/agora> (last accessed October 19th 2023)

¹⁷ The Manifesto "Handle with Care: Envisioning a Culture of Care" can be consulted here https://www.cae-bto.org/files/ugd/59983d_352704d2353c42af9c86923e3dad6464.pdf (last accessed October 19th 2023)

1990s, museums' missions had gone from mastery to service (2021, 37), and this applies to the audience: as the movement preached, treat them as partners, not as clients.

Luísa Santos exemplifies a European art institution with community-based mediation practices that foster social change: Tate Modern (UK), a publicly funded space (2016, 159 – 176). Tate Modern, has since 2015 held the goal of “activating people through art” (Santos, 2016, 169), as well as becoming an inclusive organization, both towards the audience and the workforce, with a commitment to diversity and race, gender, ability, and sexuality equality. At the same time, Tate strives to be a public museum, truly open to the community, meaning that, oftentimes, events happen without the staff's permission or approval. Tate also tries to provide visitors with a positive, respectful experience – a caring one: from creating communication cards for those with speech difficulties, a quiet room with a panic button, a comprehensive visual guide of the space¹⁸, the Clore Hub designed for families, accessible bathrooms, the provision of ear defenders, wheelchairs, magnifiers, colored overlays, hearing loops, and programs for all ages and schedules (they hold, for instance, Tate Modern Lates). Special tours for children and young adults with games and a website specially for kids to explore the collection and art playfully are offered¹⁹. All in all, Tate Modern is a good example of mediation practices that truly promote inclusion, accessibility, and a community-driven institution, therefore creating a caring setting.

It is equally important to discuss the decolonization of museums as a tool for care in these spaces, as it becomes more evident that these institutions' discourse must be reevaluated. Summarily, and although the term may have diverse meanings in different contexts, decolonizing the museum

“[...] concerns the proactive identification, interrogation, deconstruction and replacement of hierarchies of power that replicate colonial structures [...] is active, radical and potentially all-encompassing, having the scope to include almost any aspect of museum work, from recruitment to representation, audience engagement to repatriations, acquisitions to architecture, design to labelling, conservation to storage [...]” (Giblin; Ramos; Grout, 2019, 472).

Moreover, it entails dissecting Eurocentric and dominant interpretations of artifacts and artworks and being conscious of how colonial history has impacted contemporary art and institutions. Decolonial processes may be examples of care practices in museums.

¹⁸ More information here <https://www.tate.org.uk/visit/tate-modern/tate-modern-visual-story> last accessed August 13th 2023)

¹⁹ It can be consulted here <https://www.tate.org.uk/kids> (last accessed August 14th 2023)

Museums are not able to delete history, however, their teams can work to ethically acknowledge the colonial discourse and combat it while mitigating its mindset. These methods may contribute to a raised sense of community, a deconstruction of prejudice, and helping BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) communities feel represented, listened to, and visible.

It is imperative to acknowledge the systemic colonial origins of museums, as the 16th and 17th century Cabinets of Curiosities held the exotic and the other, different from “the European civilized” (Macdonald, 2021, 10). As Mongia writes, one cannot reflect on postcolonialism without mentioning Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), in which the author explores the Western view of the Orient based on colonialism and imperialism and how this perspective has shaped culture, politics, science, society, and further on (2021, 5). This relates to postcolonialism, a theory that focuses on studying the effects of colonialism on today’s society, as well as its imbrication within the power, hegemony, knowledge, and identity of both colonizer and colonized (Rattansi, 2003, 223). Nonetheless, the difference between this term and decolonization is that, whereas the first studies colonialism and colonization, the latter means a shift, an action of distancing; as Petrešin-Bachelez put it, “it is only by addressing the past and how it still lingers on today, that it is possible to move onwards” (2015, 6).

The 1970s and 1980s were crucial for the start of this discussion and implementation in museums, with the rise of New Museology and Ecomuseums (Soares, 2020b, 52). These community-based ideals are one of the methods for decolonizing these institutions; further practices may include collaborative creation and curation, diversification of the staff, rethinking and reexamining objects, artworks, and exhibitions, repatriation and restitution, and critical thinking. At times when these flaming topics are on the Art World’s agenda, museums must rethink their role and, primarily, their responsibility. Discussion has resurfaced around the topic of museum neutrality and whether it is possible. What does neutrality mean in a museum context? Museums are intrinsically susceptible to historical, political, economic, cultural, and societal forces. Raicovich remarks on the myth of neutrality in museums as a misconception that these institutions are powerless and that, if neutral, they are fundamentally neutralizing criticism, opinion, engagement, and debate (2021, 20). The myth is intricated by the notion that museums are objective, impartial, and unbiased, which is not true. Museums carry great responsibility and make choices every day:

choosing to address certain topics in lieu of others; choosing to implement decolonial practices; choosing particular artists and curators instead of others, how to interpret, and influences, and so on. Museums' choices and actions are challenged by these circumstances, as they are inherent; every choice made is proof that museums are not neutral. Evans and his colleagues affirm that museums are not, and never were, neutral (2020, 19), further adding that "the growing movement among museums to create equitable and inclusive experiences, decolonize their collections, and address social justice seem to be evidence of a commitment to jettison notions of neutrality" (2020, 21). Jennings and her colleagues claim that the inaction and indifference to burning societal issues is the "ultimate example of a lack of empathy on an institutional level" (2019, 509).

In fact, as Brulon Soares elucidates, debates on the postcolonial turn in the museum world have political roots: in the 1972 Round Table of Santiago de Chile – from which the Declaration of Santiago de Chile established a new definition of museum, as we have covered above, – it was proposed that these institutions would take on an active role in society, transforming its surroundings (Soares, 2020b, 54). Hunter and van der Westhuizen talk about "decolonizing the mind", unsuturing the wounds of colonialism, and, primarily, "rehumaning out of whiteness" (2022, 19), meaning that on all occasions we should step out of the white, Eurocentric systemic mindset; for museums, this means to realize their privileged position and rethink and debunk their narratives; Jamara Wakefield writes that "Museums could be one of our greatest allies in liberation struggles. They have the physical space, the means, and the confidence to partake in a large-scale social movement against colonial powers" (2019), however, some prefer to remain silent.

Nevertheless, this is not the case for every museum, as efforts to decolonize have been increasing, in part due to social pressure²⁰. For instance, the British Museum, in London, has been under constant pressure for several years to return stolen artifacts to Greece, Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and others. Recently, the debate was brought to the center of Museum conversations around the topics of decolonization and how restitution can help change the narrative. France is also currently taking measures regarding this issue, as a former colonizer, creating laws to reconstitute cultural property (Noce, 2023). Equally important

²⁰ Although this is taking place mostly in the United States, global movements such as the #MuseumsAreNotNeutral are examples of social pressure to fight museums' neutrality and demand action. For more information on this movement, see <https://www.bonfire.com/store/museums-are-not-neutral/> (last accessed July 26th 2023).

is collaboration with indigenous, former colonized or discriminated communities in creating and curating exhibitions and public programs, ensuring that their voices are heard and represented respectfully. The dismantling of colonial narratives through research, stereotypes, bias, and a deconstruction of the Eurocentric perspective are examples of decolonization practices, which museums can undertake by holding public programs, debates, research, and projects to effectively change.

In Europe, for instance, the art world has been reflecting this tumultuous situation, namely in the most recent years. Platforms that unite several institutions are namely the L'Internationale Online, a space that fosters discussion, research, curatorship, and artistic projects, bringing together seven important art organizations, such as Museo Reina Sofía (in Madrid, Spain) and Van Abbemuseum (Eindhoven, the Netherlands): one of the four main subjects tackled is Decolonising Practices²¹, featuring articles, resources, and publishing on the topic, namely Decolonising Museums, drawn from the namesake exhibition and conference held at MACBA (Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Barcelona) in November 2014²². ECHOES²³ is another project that addresses colonialism and decolonization of Europe, focusing on museums, partnering with the Amsterdam Museum, the Museum of Warsaw, the Shanghai History Museum-Shanghai Revolution Museum with the Academia. In 2020, the Museum Lab of Warsaw, the national Museum and the University, alongside ECHOES, promoted an international conference²⁴ on the topic of museum decolonization, inviting speakers from all over the world. In the Netherlands, one of the most active countries in Europe in the process of decolonization of museums, the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, alongside institutional partners, created a network of Dutch museums called Musea Bekennen Kleur²⁵ (Museums See Color) in 2020, to research, educate, and reflect upon diversity and inclusion in these institutions, uniting institutions such as the Rijksmuseum, the Rembrandt House, the Van Abbeemuseum, the Centraal Museum, the Stedelijk Museum, and the Van Gogh Museum (McGivern, 2020). The Amsterdam Museum

²¹ For more information, consult https://www.internationaleonline.org/research/decolonising_practices (last accessed August 6th 2023)

²² This publication can be consulted here <https://d2tv32fgpo1xal.cloudfront.net/files/02-decolonisingmuseums-1.pdf> (last accessed August 6th 2023).

²³ This project can be consulted here <https://projectechoes.eu> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

²⁴ This conference and its contents can be partially accessed here <https://decolonizingmuseums.pl> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

²⁵ This project can be consulted here <https://museabekennenkleur.nl/over-ons/> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

offers special guided tours of the colonial series of their collection and promotes discussion about it with its audience, besides having an ongoing exhibition as a result of research, and presenting it as a work in process²⁶. The Black Archives²⁷ project, also based in the Netherlands, was created as a unique historical archive that documents the history of black emancipation movements and individuals in the country. Not only does it hold thousands of books on race, slavery, and colonization, but it also works closely with Dutch museums, and Academia in the promotion of exhibitions, public programs, and talks. Moreover, museums such as the Tropen Museum²⁸ and Rijksmuseum²⁹ also dedicate a part of their website to research and exhibition overviews of the country's colonial inheritance and how to rethink it. An investigative line by the Museum Association which unites all museums in the country and inspires institutions to change lives through inclusion, participation, and sustainability - in the the UK (United Kingdom) provides resources for museums on decolonization³⁰.

In Spain, Museo Reina Sofía launched a four-year research project (2023 – 2026) called Museum of the Commons, which focused on the climate emergency, decolonial perspectives, and situated institutionalism, which is developed in the frame of L'Internationale³¹. Moreover, one of its force lines in public programming is “Action and Radical Imagination”, which explores decolonial and anti-racist dissidence, as well as feminism and other activist movements³². The project Decolonial Museology Recentered joins researchers to address the lack of decolonial discourse in Poland as part of a broad international partnership project named Thinking Through the Museum, , research clusters focus mainly on Race and Racism, Gender issues, Queer rights, and Heritage. Germany is

²⁶ More information on this here <https://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/en/exhibition/colonial-stories/2307> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

²⁷ More information here <https://www.theblackarchives.nl> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

²⁸ More information here <https://www.tropenmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/exhibitions/our-colonial-inheritance#>

²⁹ More information here <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/rijksstudio/1792386--luzie-louisa/collections/decolonize-the-museum?ii=5&p=0> (last accessed August 7th 2023). The Rijksmuseum has had quite a few interventions in this process of decolonization, namely the exhibition “Indonesi! Indonesia Independent” (February 11th – June 5th 2022), which has been both highly praised and highly criticized. More information about the exhibition here <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/exhibitions/past/revolusi> (last accessed August 7th 2023) and about this controversy here <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/10/arts/design/rijksmuseum-revolusi-indonesia-independent.html> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

³⁰ This can be consulted here <https://www.museumassociation.org/campaigns/decolonising-museums/#> (last accessed 7th August 2023)

³¹ More information here <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/museo-red/linternationale/museum-commons> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

³² More information here https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/buscar?bundle=actividad&f%5B0%5D=&f%5B1%5D=im_field_actividad_linea_fuerza%3A9495&items_per_page=15&pasados=1 last accessed August 7th 2023)

also making its way in this process, namely at the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, a partnership between four museums in one house, where different voices and histories come together. This organization has been developing exhibitions, podcasts, programs, and conferences around the topic of decolonial narratives, as well as giving BIPOC artists a space to be and share³³. In Belgium, the previous Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren has changed its name to AfricaMuseum³⁴, to decolonize, which pairs with resources, restitution processes to Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi, as well as monthly talks on the topic. In 2021, the Musée d'ethnographie de Genève in Switzerland also gathered an international panel on the topic, confronting the colonial past of numerous countries³⁵. This museum is also taking part in the restitution movement around Europe, to Benin and Cameroon, for instance. "Hidden Histories" (2020 – 2022) was a site-specific public program meant to reflect the cultural and historical heritage of Rome by LOCALES, an Italian platform dedicated to reflection on the public sphere through artistic practices. Although not connected to a specific museum, it is a Government-funded project. Numerous organizations have promoted training and debates as well, for instance, NEMO (Network of Museum Organizations), a network of organizations that represent the museum community in Europe³⁶.

In Portugal, specifically, this debate has also been gaining attention, mostly due to a controversy that took place in 2018, regarding the idea of a Museum of Discoveries in Lisbon. Hundreds of culture professionals rose against this idea³⁷, claiming that terms such as "discoveries", "diaspora", "empire", "Lusophony" and others were obsolete and in great need of revision, should this project go forward. Later, a letter³⁸ by more than a hundred black signers was written against all the ideals of glorification of colonial ideology that the museum entailed. The decolonization of museums in Portugal was a burning topic in society

³³ More information here <https://www.humboldtforum.org/en> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

³⁴ More information here <https://www.africamuseum.be/en> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

³⁵ The full program and more information can be consulted here <https://www.meg.ch/en/research-collections/decoloniser-recherche-provenance> (last accessed August 7th 2023)

³⁶ More information here https://www.nemo.org/search.html?id=437&tx_kesearch_pi1%5Bsword%5D=decolonisation (last accessed August 12th 2023)

³⁷ They shared a letter on Público, on May 22nd 2018, against the designation and mission of the museum, which can be consulted here <https://www.publico.pt/2018/05/22/culturaipilon/opiniao/agentes-culturais-contra-a-designacao-e-missao-do-museu-da-descoberta-da-camara-municipal-de-lisboa-1830756> (last accessed July 27th 2023)

³⁸ The letter was shared on Público on June 22nd 2018 and can be consulted here <https://www.publico.pt/2018/06/22/culturaipilon/opiniao/nao-a-um-museu-contra-nos-1835227> (last accessed July 27th 2023)

for a few months, ending up fading away due to a lack of advances in the project. No such museum has been built yet.

The controversy brought the debate to life, and the results of it were numerous actions, projects, academic research, and advocacy to decolonize the Arts in the country. Another factor that weighed on this was the mediatic discussion around the restitution of thousands of African historical pieces in France in 2018, which had an impact on Portugal, as a former African colonizer. In May 2021, ICOM Portugal conducted an inquiry into both public and private museums to understand the inventory of heritage stemming from non-European territories. A year later, it was leaked that the Portuguese Government was listing the heritage that was taken under robbery, violence, or others (Ramos, 2023). More recently, there have been some initiatives to debate the decolonization of museums, namely in Lisbon, Coimbra, and Porto³⁹. Furthermore, other agents, such as the project Acesso Cultura, which focuses on educating and promoting accessible culture to all, have advocated for this issue numerous times, through seminars, talks, and training⁴⁰. One of the most prominent names in advocating for the decolonization of museums has been researcher and curator António Pinto Ribeiro, who, in numerous instances, has written and spoken publicly about it⁴¹. I would like to highlight Hangar – Centro de Investigação Artística⁴², founded by artist Mónica de Miranda in 2014. This independent space holds exhibitions, and artistic and curatorial residencies, as well as research in transdisciplinary areas, in close interaction with the urban tissue and community. Moreover, it is a place of resistance and “African diaspora representation” (Brito, 2023). After her former years studying and being an activist in London, the artist created Hangar to “fight the system” (Brito, 2023) in the Arts world, and, although it is not a museum, it is an excellent example of an incredible decolonization and representativeness work, with exhibitions, research, lectures, workshops for all ages,

³⁹ For more information, consult this article <https://www.publico.pt/2023/06/21/culturaipilon/noticia/tres-debates-nacionais-descolonizar-museus-2054194> (last accessed July 28th 2023)

⁴⁰ Such as one that took place in 2019, entitled “Descolonizar os museus: isto na prática...?” with Wayne Modest and other guests. More information here <https://acessocultura.org/descolonizar-os-museus-isto-na-pratica/> (last accessed July 27th 2023).

⁴¹ Most recently, in this article for Público, entitled “Museus na Europa”, which can be consulted here <https://www.publico.pt/2022/05/17/culturaipilon/opiniao/museus-europa-2006421> (last accessed July 27th 2023).

⁴² For more information, see <https://hangar.com.pt/> (last accessed July 27th 2023)

performances, and numerous other activities⁴³ with Black artists and participants, that act as a strong voice in the pathway to decolonizing the Arts in Portugal.

Manifestly, the positive aspects of decolonization of cultural institutions are numerous, as it leads to diversity, inclusivity, and representativeness. This last aspect is quite relevant: as Thomas states, museums are places to be, to promote an “interest in what is novel, singular or different”, it is “conducive to empathy, to a readiness to encounter and acknowledge difference” (2016, 143). Naturally, it is implied that this difference and empathy not only come from the exhibition and activities themselves, but also from the audience targeted. Brulon Soares and Witcomb write, paraphrasing Mignolo and Walsh, that decolonization “is much more about the processes than it is about the end result” (2023, vi). Thus, the expectation of radical change is a process, an open discussion within and outside the museological field, engage with the audience and other professionals, and the realization their actions and move through the cracks and mistakes made. These authors also emphasize that decoloniality is an option, not a mission, meaning that the term itself implies choice. For instance, when Western museums choose to prioritize Black narratives over Indigenous, Native, White, or other narratives; there are no wrong or right options, but rather regulatory or liberating (2018, 115). It is vital to understand that decolonial discourse can also be used as manipulation, personal gain, lying, and fitting in, among others, as some museums are currently being accused of a lack of decolonization thinking and representation. Choosing a decolonial discourse in the museum does not mean that that museum truly believes or defends it; however, the reverse is also true: just because a museum is not immediately applying decolonial practices, does not necessarily mean its staff is not working towards it.

Decolonization in museums is closely linked to intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989⁴⁴, and a theoretical approach that acknowledges how a person’s identity elements – such as gender, ethnicity, political view, or class – overlap and influence their experiences. Additionally, it studies how these may intersect and frame the discrimination and disparities they might encounter, as it was named by Crenshaw, a Black

⁴³ For more information, see past and current activities on <https://hangar.com.pt/novidades/> (last accessed July 27th 2023)

⁴⁴ In her essay “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics” (1989), which can be consulted here <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf> (last accessed October 12th 2023).

woman⁴⁵. The researcher invites us to rethink the “single-axis framework” (Crenshaw, 1989, 140) and consider life as a patchwork of experiences. Decolonization in museums, as a practice of deconstructing colonial and oppressive narratives, and therefore creating a more representative environment, is, too, an intersectional question, as these establishments could take the complex aspects of people’s lives into consideration when employing decolonization.

Reflecting on these topics, I return to Lynch, who states, “the museum is failing... failing to support people’s rights as active agents” (Lynch, 2016, 1). She suggests museums should “unlearn their privilege” (Lynch, quoted by Morse, 2021, 46) and try harder. I would argue that one of the ways that museums can actively take part in social issues, while still guaranteeing community engagement, is through public programs. These are great tools that these institutions have offer to their audience as they can truly help make a difference. That is what will be covered in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Public programs as care

This chapter is intended to discuss the interconnection between public programs and care. In previous chapters, it was covered the importance of community engagement and audience development, and thus the relevance of one of those methods: public programs will now be assessed.

3.1 What are public programs?

This dissertation’s case study is a public program titled “Jamaika is Portugal too”, developed by the maat’s in 2021. To understand its context, it is necessary to define what exactly is meant by public programs.

“In museums, ‘public programs’ can refer to any participatory educational activities that are offered to the visiting public, either free or for an additional charge, often as an enhancement to an exhibition or object on display. There are many ‘publics’ that programs can be geared towards, such as children, senior citizens, ethnic minorities or gender specific audiences. [...] Much of the decisions about audience development and

⁴⁵ Julia Jordan-Zachery raises a thought-provoking question: “Am I a Black Woman or a Woman Who Is Black? A Few Thoughts on the Meaning of Intersectionality” in her homonymous essay, as the author rethinks her life as a Black woman through the lens of Intersectionality

which publics to serve fall under the purview of access and inclusion policies [...]” (Keith n.d, 2).

Moreover, they can mean “meaningful cultural experiences” (Bailey n.d, 1). Words such as inclusion, involvement, welcoming, accessibility, and community impact are also related to these programs, which, according to Bailey, besides attracting visitors that would perhaps otherwise not visit, “can make a genuine impact on community members, making people feel, think or behave in new ways” (Bailey n.d, 1).

In sum, public programs can be perceived as free or paid parallel activities to the exhibitions that help complement their content, make the museum more appealing, and, often, are a strategic tool to attract more or a specific type of visitor (Griffin, Abraham 2000, 336). Examples of public programs include workshops, talks with artists and curators, special guided tours, concerts, engaging and hands-on activities, festivals, programs for people with disabilities, children-directed projects, late-night events, film series, and debates, among many others. These community-oriented programs are often designed to engage with a diverse audience and bring together people from different backgrounds who would not normally, making them the “performers” instead of the observers (Munley 2004, 247). In other words, it’s an audience development strategy. Falk and Dierking raise another important topic, that programming must be community-centered rather than institution-centered to avoid results that the museums think the community needs or wants (2016, 297). Moreover, these researchers state that successful museums are the ones that “develop long-lasting, meaningful relationships with their audiences; that means thinking of those they serve as assemblages of individuals and not as some undefined mass ‘public.’” (2016, 298), which is why it is so important to emphasize the public part of public programs. They further add that programs must be open-ended and flexible to allow different outcomes and responses from all types of visitors (2016, 63), as does McLean, who warns that, sometimes, curators’ ideas and objectives may take an extensive toll on programming, and programs are often directed at scholars or other museum world workers, instead of the general public (McLean 1999, quoted from Griffin, Abraham 2000, 351). Problems such as stratification, lack of representation, or political disengagement can be issued at these programs, inviting public participation and, later, even action. Munley stresses that if museums can create an open atmosphere, where participants can be themselves without fear of judgment, thinking,

and feeling, then the institution can retain new ideas for improving programs, exhibitions, services, and accommodations in the future (2004, 245).

These programs can create a plethora of benefits for participants, such as encouragement of social and multigenerational interaction, recognition of minorities, provision of an open and safe place for debate, as well as encouraging reflection and critical thinking, helping with self-esteem, increasing the feeling of responsibility, stimulating creativity, among others (Worts 2006, 44 – 45).

Barbara Soren suggests that all museum experiences, namely within public programs, must be transformative; to achieve that, institutions must provide the space for knowledge transmission, debates to awaken visitors' minds and thoughts, new perspectives around the topics issued, and hands-on activities, just to name a few (2009, 234 - 235); therefore, the participants would live a transformative experience, and leave the museum a different person than they came in⁴⁶. Munley and Roberts present another dilemma, which is profit vs. cultural value, where sometimes museums put their financial goals – such as increasing ticket pricing, focusing on attracting more people, and developing items for the museum shop - instead of pivoting around the visitors and their needs and care (2006, 34). They are in a position to “invent a new future for themselves and their communities, or help create a desirable future” (Janes, Sandel 2019, 17), as well as to use their platforms to raise awareness. This means that, by creating programs focused on social issues, museums are raising awareness within communities, whether intentionally or not, therefore fulfilling their social role in society. The researchers also stress that these institutions want to avoid politically incorrectness and may be overly careful with the topics they address in exhibitions and public programs (2019, 18). However, they reiterate that as museums carry an activist obligation, they must adapt their actions to contemporary society; one that demands non-neutrality from institutions, more inclusion when it comes to the marginalized and/or impaired community; responsibility for their actions and mistakes, and the need to abandon their privilege position as powerful organizations to better serve society. This power should, according to Simon, be transported to the audience, as they get a voice by actively

⁴⁶ Although this is quite a bold statement. I can agree that one can leave the museum differently than when they entered. Not necessarily transformed, but rather introspective, playful, or just with a lot of good selfies and pictures for social media. All visitors are welcome and their motivations are valid, so I would not agree with the word Soren suggested.

participating in programs and activities, co-production, and engagement within the museum and its programs (2010, 5). Although there is controversy around the neutrality of museums, the fact is that these institutions are never neutral, so their public programs must reflect that.

From choosing exhibition themes and pieces, conserving collections, tackling social problems – such as racism, sexism, poverty, inequality, climate change, or others – campaigning against a specific ideal, or decolonizing or contributing to the decolonization debate in art institutions, public programs can be a powerful tool to fight neutrality. Nevertheless, there must be a balance between all the museum's functions and objectives; otherwise, they can turn into “a space that uses objects to lobby for social change” and “political advocacy organizations” (Shulman 2017, n.p).

One of the most important aspects of public programs is their ability to promote critical thinking, as people are motivated to engage more closely with artworks or topics in question. By observing an art piece, understanding its context and meaning, discovering curiosities about it, and engaging in activities, visitors can question all sides of a certain problematic or social issue from different perspectives, openly discussing them as well. For Kathrik, this dialogue “should not be comfortable [...] in fact, a feeling of comfort is diametrically opposed to the intent of this type of dialogue” (2018, 8), meaning that these programs help promote critical thought, form opinions, and raise awareness about certain topics that might feel disruptive. The researcher prefers to use the term ‘brave space’ instead of ‘safe space’ when talking about public programs, as it sometimes takes courage to speak up or to show up to them. For example, if a museum holds a debate around the topic of the restitution of stolen items to their original countries, visitors participating should feel that the space created for the debate is one of understanding, without penalizations for speaking up, and one thoughtfully designed to hear all ranges of opinions. Munley and Roberts also stress that when it comes to public programming, museums face a double challenge, as they are expected by the audiences to create programs and projects that address current issues, such as racism, urban culture, political stands, decolonialism, LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual, and plus) – and human rights, among others; at the same time, there is pressure not to turn them too drastic or too bold as to not jeopardize the relationship with donors and patrons (Munley, Roberts 2006, 29). Nowadays, these topics are being explored more often, as we have seen in the previous

chapter, with the rise of political tension, the failure of health systems, exposed by the pandemic, the cost-of-living crisis, social inequality, injustice, lack of safety, recurrent wars, global warming, and so many other problems that have been smothering the Earth.

Museums in Europe are engaging in these discussions, whether through restitution as covered above or through projects, public programs, and exhibitions. Frequently, public programs are part of the education department or an exclusive department; curators, educators, and programmers are among the museum professionals who work in this field. According to the *Code of Ethics for Curators*, for instance, the most important value for a curator to follow is to “serve the public good, by contributing to and promoting learning, inquiry, and dialogue, and by making the depth and breadth of human knowledge available to the public” (2009, 4). I argue that public programs can, not only be a means to serve the public good but also a tool of care.

Public programs are a method that imply reflection and change. According to Dodd, the sole purpose of museums must not only be systematic learning, but rather the building of self-esteem, networking, and critical thought, which, then, can lead to knowledge acquiring (2001, 132). Nonetheless, not all programs or initiatives have a learning purpose, often the promotion of critical thinking, community engagement, creativity exploration, activism, and audience development, just to name a few. Equally diverse are the reasons that might make someone go to a specific public program. In children’s cases, caregivers might want them to positively engage with the museum by playing or participating in workshops and activities directed at them⁴⁷.

Public programs are, indeed, a powerful tool. As Murawski puts it, “transformative change comes from a lot of little changes.” (quoted from Shoenberger 2019, n.p). In this same article, Shoenberger stresses that the social impact of a museum or its programs is not measured by what is done but rather by the effect it has on participants (2019, n.p). With what skills, thoughts, and additional knowledge do participants leave programs? Do they have a future impact on their actions and attitudes? Do museums keep in touch with

⁴⁷ Numerous studies (Buchernal and Grohe 2007; E. Hein 1998; Young et al. 2022) have shown the importance of museums in children’s education, from learning to attentively observe art or historical pieces, gaining consciousness of the importance of heritage, to learning through play, the museum’s impact in children’s lives does not stop when they leave the building; they might develop projects based on their visit at school and, therefore, perpetuate the memory of a visit, what was acknowledged and learned and, even, create an open space for debate around the topics in question.

participants afterward, to understand their experience and improve future activities? Do participants have a chance to come back and get a voice in future programs or exhibitions? Do communities, minorities, and impaired participants meet their needs? Do museums restrain themselves to one program, not fostering additional talks and collaborations with these participants? If the answer is no, perhaps one should assess the sustainability of the program. Was it worth it if nothing came out of it? Naturally, some participants will have learned and assimilated new ideas, perhaps even changing their actions; others will leave not feeling impacted or changed, which is also valid. But if programs are a one-time experience, never repeated, and never talked about again, and hold so much power, perhaps museums could reevaluate their strategies. A lack of financial support or a lack of interest can affect the decision to continue the work begun by a program. Nonetheless, the absence of long-term sustainability in these initiatives makes Falk and Dierking feel disappointed (2013, 169). Public programs can also be unrelated to exhibitions⁴⁸.

In addition, these initiatives are a useful tool to understand and engage with potential audiences and new visitors. Directing a program to a specific group of people must not be random, as Keith defends, but museum staff should do their homework (n.d, 1) to research what type of community needs there are, what returning visitors appreciate the most, the overall conditions of the institution, ethnographic work, and make sure that the program being designed is perfectly adapted to the type of audience, counteracting against the tendency to direct programs to a white, educated, and wealthy public (Keith, n.d, 2). As much as it can be a tool to investigate current audiences, it can also contribute to motivating new audiences and understanding their needs and preferences, therefore contributing to the audience development strategies we have covered above. Nonetheless, one must question how accurate this method is. This relates to what Pierre Bourdieu described as cultural capital, as familiarity with the culture, which, according to the research, varies with social class, meaning that people from a lower-class do not have the same abilities and opportunities in education and culture, and they would also be in a lower position of power compared to their higher-class peers (Sullivan, 2001, 893-893). Falk and Katz-Gerro agree with this perspective “that higher education, income, occupational prestige, occupational

⁴⁸ For instance, the maat has been developing mental health projects for a couple of years now, in partnership with an institution called Manicómio, and several initiatives that took place there had no relation to the exhibitions but to the museum’s mission of social inclusion and mental health awareness. For more information, see <https://www.maat.pt/en/event/roadmap-mental-health>

status, and class position tend to be associated with more frequent cultural participation.” (2016, 129), although this is progressively changing as research into audience development and survey analysis conveys a better understanding of visitors’ profiles. Research into what type of visitors a museum has can indeed be useful; however, there is not 100% accuracy. Furthermore, if we analyze this topic, we realize rather quickly that this method can come from a privileged and quite high-brow perspective. Museums can tend to be in a position of power, in how they know how to care for the visitors and what exactly their needs are. In Portugal, for instance, we also experience what Bourdieu defended: the 2020 Inquérito às Práticas Culturais dos Portugueses (Survey on the Portuguese’s Cultural Practices) presents. This was an unprecedented study covering two thousand people, statistically representative of Portuguese residents (continent and islands) of 15 or older and it covers pre- and during-pandemic times⁴⁹. The section covered here is of Monuments, Museums, Archaeological Sites and Art Galleries, therefore, we cannot take this data as 100% related to museums; nonetheless, it gives us an idea. The age group of the respondents that corresponds to almost half of the museum and monument visitors is 15 to 24 years old (2020, 29) The participation in public programs is quite small, given that merely 26% of respondents said to have been in guided visits, seminars, and other activities (2020, 31). Regarding the lack of interest in the cultural places mentioned above, the majority of respondents who do not have interest also do not have higher education, which is in sync with Bourdieu’s theory. Moreover, as Katz-Gerro mentions, factors such as education, income, job, status, and class affect individual cultural participation, and the higher it is, the more frequent participation (2016, 129) There is no mention of ethnicity.

In fact, museums have, in recent years, faced numerous challenges⁵⁰ that not only changed their perspective on audience interaction but also helped with self-reflection and accountability in a transformation at all levels. For instance, the BLM (Black Lives Movement), founded in 2013 in response to police brutality and systemic racism against Black people in the United States, is one of the events that helped shape new museum awareness. The murders of Trayvon Martin (2013), Eric Garner (2014), Michael Brown (2014), Ahmaud Arbery (2020), Breonna Taylor (2020), and George Floyd (2020) were the

⁴⁹ For more information, consult here <https://gulbenkian.pt/chronology-block/inquerito-as-praticas-culturais-dos-portugueses/> (last accessed August 13th 2023)

⁵⁰ In this article, McGonnell summarizes the challenges that museums have been facing post-pandemic with the effect of the BLM and other social issues. See here <https://www.thecollector.com/the-future-of-museums/> (last accessed August 13th 2023)

propelling factors that stirred up the world and made the BLM known. The Art world was flooded with a need for change, as these events brought the issues of representation, racial inequality, decolonization, and social justice to light again. Pressure from both the outside (the audience) and the inside (the Museum world) started to make museums reconsider their practices and apply effective changes. BLM was a catalyst for the recognition of the importance of diversity, equity, inclusion, and representativeness in museums. Accountability was now the order of the day, as museums were accused of perpetuating racist and oppressive narratives with their exhibitions, collections, and programs, besides the pressure to reconstitute stolen items during colonial times. Moreover, museums had to rethink their choices so that it reflected real diversity in terms of race and gender, as well as create new forms of engagement with communities and the audience. Although decolonization had previously been discussed in museums, the BLM amplified the need for care. Not only did the BLM promote a much-needed radical shift in the way museums worked, but it also encouraged a deeper connection between museums and their audiences.

Similarly, the COVID-19 (Corona Virus Disease of 2019) pandemic, which extended through to 2023 (when the World Health Organization no longer considered it a global public health emergency) also compelled museums to reinvent themselves, as they were forced to close for months, as a safety measure to avoid the spread of the virus, and to reflect on social issues, since COVID exposed so many social and economic inequalities. Confinement and the use of masks forced us to recognize, as the Care Collective would write (2020), our interdependencies and the fact that we are inherently linked to each other; this was reflected in museums as well, since it sparked the amplification of marginalized or vulnerable communities. Public programming was affected as well, as museums are now more focused on creating inclusive and collaborative programs.

3.2 Public programs meet care

In this chapter, we will discuss how public programs can act as a form of care within the museum, and how practices of care can help shape more inclusive, equitable, and thoughtful programs. Care can be a priority in every aspect of our lives, and we must recognize our mutual interdependencies (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 5). The Care Collective adds that “care is our individual and common ability to provide the political, social, material,

and emotional conditions that allow the vast majority of people and living creatures on this planet to thrive” (2020, 7).

Brüninghaus-Knubel stresses that, for successful programming, museums should see and treat visitors as “partners in the process of learning” rather than consumers (2004, 122). By interacting with targeted audiences – such as children, race and ethnic minorities, impoverished communities, the impaired community, or others – museums can try to ensure they embrace the cultural identity of some of those who feel underrepresented. The museum can become a safe place for these communities, as they feel more involved, heard, seen, and validated through these initiatives, or, in other words, a space that cares. According to the “Report on the Role of Public Arts and Cultural Institutions in the promotion of Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue”, museum programming “should cater to the multiplicity of existing needs and therefore create a variety of different programs, encouraging a real and equal participation” (2014, 27). Consequently, not only are public programs a fruitful opportunity to work on audience development, but they are also a beneficial way of creating and conserving a community. These initiatives are attempts to fight the predominant audience that visits museums, which, according to Keith, is “white, educated, male, and upper middle class” (n.d, 2).

The *Care Manifesto* suggests four core features that caring communities must have (2020, 46). Can public programs create such communities? The first aspect is mutual support, as “caring for a wide range of people by offering forms of support beyond immediate kinship networks is one hallmark of a caring community.” (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 47). In the case of museums and public programs, we do indeed acknowledge mutual support; the program itself can be designed to serve the needs of a specific community – existing or created by the program – and, at the same time, gain insightfulness, a bigger picture view of their visitors, ideas on how to help more, not to mention more visitors and participants, essential to the museum’s functioning. The second aspect the book refers to is a space to care, a place to foster conviviality, and connections, and a safe space held in common, not commanded by the museum’s interest, but rather by the community (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 47). Public programs can indeed represent a space to care, that joins communities or unrelated people, while encouraging dialogue, making them, as Falk and Dierking defend, a community-centered space (2016, 297). The third feature is material and immaterial resource sharing, which can apply to programs as well. Participants are normally

provided information and learning tools, resources to stimulate creativity and ideas, critical thought, self-esteem building, craft making, and soft skills acquisition, among others; at the same time, they are sharing their insights, and thoughts on exhibitions and the themes tackled, alongside their time and knowledge. Lastly, the *Manifesto* suggests that caring communities are democratic, meaning that participants are free to speak and engage in a safe space, while also expecting to be respected, heard, and seen by the museum. The topic of landscapes of care was already introduced in chapter 2.1. These are places that foster care, such as nursing homes, hospitals, and homes, but also museums and other “social spaces where caring interactions or an orientation towards caring occurs but perhaps in less palpable ways” (Milligan, Wiles; 2010, 740). In a museum, for example, there could be dimmed lights to better accommodate people with disabilities or light sensitivity, or several sitting spaces for visitors to rest throughout their visit. The type of care that happens almost in disguise.

Another important aspect of caring public programs is the staff that takes part in them. Nuala Morse refers to the term “affective labor” (2021, 142), which is the immaterial labor museum workers do. Material labor would mean providing tours, answering questions, giving indications, etc.; immaterial labor, here, means the emotional effort applied when engaging with the participants: the way to treat them, respect them, and change their perception regarding a specific matter, make them feel heard and seen, emotion management, active listening, comforting, communicating through positive words, posture, and facial expressions, attentiveness, proximity, among others. Public programs deal with the audience, therefore human beings, who have emotions and expect to be respected and acknowledged. This affective work is rather vital for a caring environment. A positive and open attitude makes someone trustworthy and accessible, thus, it might just motivate participants to go a step further, to try new things, to be creative, or to improve self-esteem. This is especially relevant when it comes to underprivileged or marginalized communities, or impaired people groups, who all suffer discrimination on the outside. The museum, as we have seen, should be a safe, welcoming space for everyone; consequently, the discourse used must be adapted to each audience and workers must be ready to provide such conditions, so that programs are, indeed, spaces of care. Naturally, affective labor is not innate to some people, which is why I argue that museum staff would benefit immensely from training with psychologists or similar professionals to better understand how to deal with different types of audiences, what to do, and how to act. In Portugal, for instance, associations such as

Acesso Cultura⁵¹ promote numerous workshops for capacitating culture workers on dealing with diverse physical and cognitive disabilities.

Nonetheless, despite promising, the result, as Morse suggests, can be generally dissatisfying (2021, 43), as oftentimes the extent of public participation, co-creation, and engagement might be questionable. The researcher highlights that some participatory processes can be easily manipulated, controlled by the museum staff, deliver less than expected, and, even, not produce any benefit to the participants. Sometimes this is not intentional; perhaps a lack of funding, time, knowledge, or efforts to continue working post-program led it to not achieving the goals intended. Lynch adds that, in initiatives like these, it is frequent that participants' experiences are undermined by the institution's agenda, strategic plan, or power holding (2014, 11), as if it were all an illusion or an "invisible power" (2014, 16) held by the institution, by manipulating, intentionally or not, the programs to align with their own views and agenda rather than maintaining a real social concern. Another aspect mentioned by the author is that the ambition to be of service to the communities can still be genuine and not patronizing but have disappointing results (2014, 16). I would argue that, in these cases, museums could rethink and analyze what was flawed, perhaps with feedback from the program's participants and staff on how to improve. Some academics, such as Cooke and Kothari, go even further in critique and state that participation is a tyranny, potentially systemic in discourse and practice, as a form of unequal power (2007, 4), therefore referring, as Lynch does, to the retainment of institutional control and paternalistic patterns over projects and participants. Elsewhere, this researcher states that museums are not giving anything nor doing any favor to their visitors and participants by including them more and creating adequate programs (2016, 255 – 256); rather, institutions are creating the conditions for a situation where both sides benefit.

One good example of a participatory model in public programs happened in June 2022, at the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, in Lisbon: a public program called "Art with all? Talks about art, accessibility, and inclusion"⁵² on the topic of how to act to create more inclusive, accessible, and diverse museums, in this case, a collaborative model. The program included tours of the space in Sign Language and panels of talks with curators, artists,

⁵¹ Portuguese project that focuses on inclusion and accessibility in Culture. To find out more, see <https://accessocultura.org/> (last accessed March 16th 2023)

⁵² For more information, see <https://gulbenkian.pt/museu/agenda/arte-com-todos/> (last accessed March 8th 2023)

activists, and other museum professionals. The panels were recorded with sound and captions, and interpreted in Sign Language and within easy reach online, so that non-attendees and people with other disabilities could still participate. This is a rather explanatory example of a museum that took an issue (lack of accessibility and inclusion in the Arts) and tackled it through an open, public program; and this included the deaf community, for instance, who perhaps would not visit the museum if it were not for this event due to a lack of accommodation for their impairment. By having been given a voice, the impaired community and activists felt, presumably, validated and represented, perhaps empowered.

It is compelling, however, to reflect on this term, empowerment. As François Matarasso asserts, “Empowerment doesn’t mean giving power to someone. Empowerment cannot be given. We gain power through building our skills, our confidence, our knowledge, our networks” (2021, 8). This means that, by creating public programs and directing them to targeted audiences, allowing them to make themselves heard while acknowledging their struggles and issues, museums are not exactly empowering the communities; rather, institutions are giving them tools to become empowered. Feeling of saviorism⁵³ must be mitigated, since one program on race inequality would not solve world racism. Korom questions the power and validity of museums to meddle in something that is neither their fight nor their right to intervene (1999, 259) – for instance, why would a museum tackle external racial problems if, internally, there is also systemic racism, underrepresentation representation within the staff team, artists, and curators chosen? What legitimacy do museums have to address these problems? Korom also mentions that, as museum professionals, we could debate whether public programs and approaches are fruitful instead of harmful for the participants since we might disrupt their dynamics, touch unhealed wounds that are not ready to be undertaken, or fall into the mistake of not keeping up with the community afterward (1999, 260), making the event a one-time thing - therefore contradicting the idea that public programs represent an ongoing relationship. Furthermore, there is the question of the power dynamic; who chooses the themes and intervenors? Which level of participation and control over the program do they have? Is it a program designed

⁵³ The terms “White Saviorism” and “White Savior Complex” are quite interesting. Although they fall out of the scope of this dissertation, I highly recommend reading these two articles: Felix Willuweit’s “Deconstructing the ‘White Saviour Syndrome’: A Manifestation of Neo-Imperialism”, 2020, here <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/07/13/de-constructing-the-white-saviour-syndrome-a-manifestation-of-neo-imperialism/> ; and Jamie Kherbaoui and Brittany Aronson’s “Bleeding through the band-aid: the white saviour industrial complex”, 2022, here <https://bit.ly/45xGHD3> pp. 269 – 279 (both last accessed October 15th 2023)

by the museum where the participants are mere accessories, while museum professionals talk and tackle the issues, or is it a program that gives voice to those oppressed? Do museums care? Conradson raises an interesting topic, that of acts of care being essentially only “apparently altruistic [...] linked to genetic selfishness [...] that people only engage with helping behaviors when there is something in it for them” (2011, 456).

Museums can, indeed, have a changing role in society, especially with public programs. Nonetheless, these thoughts could be taken into consideration to guarantee clear, non-invasive, respectful projects, creating steps in the process of gradual community empowerment. Museums could reflect on their goals and strategies and define if they are community-directed or not. In the case of public programs, these institutions might benefit from considering Keith’s question, how to put the ‘public’ in public programs? (Keith n.d, 1), to create more inclusive, accessible, representative, and participatory programs that serve both the museum and the public.

3.3 A brief overview of Portuguese Education and Public Programs

The case study in this dissertation is a 2021 public program that took place the maat. To better understand the context in which this project was born, it is relevant to do a brief overview of the current state of Portuguese education and public programs, to acknowledge the development of more inclusive and accessible museums.

The path has constantly been paved for more visitor-centered, inclusive, and accessible museums. In the last decade, Portuguese institutions have seen a considerable improvement in this area. According to a 2013 study⁵⁴, between 2000 and 2009, the number of national museums with an educational service grew by 18%; in 2009, 62% of museums had one, which constitutes a substantial growth (Neves, Santos, Lima 2013, 82). In 2015, that percentage grew to 83%, with only 8% stating they do not have any type of program, according to the Diagnosis of Cultural Educational and Mediation Services in Museums⁵⁵

⁵⁴ This study refers only to museums that integrate RPM. In 2001, when RPM was founded, 64 museums were a part of it; the data in this study, 2009, comprises 131 national museums

⁵⁵ As of 2021, the date of this document, 156 museums were inquired. As of 2023, there are now 165 museums that integrate RPM. For more information on this, see <https://www.patrimoniocultural.gov.pt/pt/museus-e-monumentos/rede-portuguesa/> (last accessed March 23rd 2023)

(Mourão, Santos 2021, 15). Regarding other types of activities, such as public programs, the growth is notorious: in 2009, 75% of museums held visitor-oriented activities throughout the year (Neves, Santos, Lima 2013, 84), from guided tours to school-directed projects⁵⁶, a percentage that grew to 91% (Mourão, Santos 2021, 28). Moreover, although there are no data regarding the spectrum of activities performed between 2000-2009, the 2021 study highlights that 49% of museums held projects with the local community's participation, and 30% developed accessible programs for the impaired community (Mourão, Santos 2021, 34). Nevertheless, these numbers could be much higher. With so many guidelines from ICOM international⁵⁷, conferences and laws, among others, how come the number is so low? I argue that perhaps not all museums have the resources, staff, and money to put the guidelines into practice. Most museums belonging to RPM (Rede Portuguesa de Museus) depend on government funds to thrive. The Portuguese government has not been directing a rather large amount of money to Culture; in the last 5 years, for instance, although there has been consecutively more funding, it has not corresponded to even 1% of the State Budget, with a disappointing 0,43% planned for 2023 (Salema 2022). In 2021, Portugal was the fourth country to least fund Culture in Europe, according to Eurostat⁵⁸. Thus national museums have quite a lot of financial limitations. Furthermore, change is something that always takes its time.

ICOM Portugal and RPM continue to promote congresses, debates, and workshops. Turismo de Portugal and DGPC (Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural) published, in 2017⁵⁹ a Guideline of Good Accessibility Practices, with the motto “nothing about us without us” (Mineiro 2017, 7), and listed numerous organizations that represented impaired people, foreigners, people with a low literacy level and the elderly (Mineiro 2017, 19) museums can collaborate with, thus recognizing the need for museums to be fully inclusive, promote good accessibility and inclusiveness practices, train museum professionals, propose

⁵⁶ For a more comprehensive study of the evolution from 2000 to 2009, see Neves, Santos, Lima, 2013, pp. 81 – 87

⁵⁷ For instance, the 2016 publication *Museum education and accessibility : Bridging the gaps. Proceedings* <https://icom.museum/en/ressource/museum-education-and-accessibility-bridging-the-gaps-proceedings/> (last accessed March 23rd 2023)

⁵⁸ For more information, see [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:General_government_expenditure_on_cultural_services,_broadcasting_and_publishing_services,_2021_\(%25_of_total_expenditure\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:General_government_expenditure_on_cultural_services,_broadcasting_and_publishing_services,_2021_(%25_of_total_expenditure).png) (last accessed March 23rd 2023)

⁵⁹ For instance, the 2017 guidelines for accessibility in monuments, palaces and museums https://www.acessibilidade.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/2017_com_inclusiva_monumentos_palacios_museus.pdf (last accessed March 23rd 2023)

initiatives and projects that accommodate underprivileged communities, migrants, children, victims of racism and gender inequality. Another great example, in this case, of inclusivity and accessibility, is Museu Bordalo Pinheiro's work with Acesso Cultura to help visitors with vision impairments to connect with the artworks: they printed relief drawings of Bordalo's pieces, an audio guide to the exhibitions and Braille information⁶⁰. In fact, Acesso Cultura is a great example of care for culture: its members works towards inclusiveness, accessibility and empathy, often promoting debates, training for professionals and valuable resources⁶¹.

Museums must have good accessibility, equality, inclusiveness, and diversity practices, grounded on international and national laws that help them achieve their goals. With this brief overview of the museum's educational and public programs systems, I aimed to explain the evolution of the awareness of these topics in Portugal, as well as to clarify which measures museums are taking towards change. As covered above, these are ingredients for a good care policy in these institutions which can, in fact, create caring educational and public programs.

Chapter 4. Jamaica: the origins

This chapter will focus on the history of the Jamaica neighborhood, from its origins to the current situation. This will provide context for the public program "Jamaica is Portugal too", that took place at the maat in 2021.

4.1 The housing problem in Lisbon: context

To understand the neighborhood's history, it is important to look back on Portugal's colonial history and how it helped shape today's Jamaica. This chapter is intended to provide a brief history of the neighborhood and the inhumane conditions that its inhabitants have been facing for over thirty years.

Portugal's long and controversial colonial history would come to an end in 1999, with Macau's sovereignty being handed over to China. Portugal was under the Estado Novo

⁶⁰ For more information, see here <https://www.facebook.com/MuseuBordaloPinheiro/posts/pfbid043iwGHEYeptvoXihPu4KobS6QhLsq3R2f97FioDA5kTG31zs5f5nULsJpkByPuSil> (last accessed October 26th 2023)

⁶¹ I highly recommend visiting the website <https://acessocultura.org> (last accessed October 26th 2023)

dictatorship, an extremist regime under António de Oliveira Salazar, between 1932 and 1974. During that time, the colonial mindset was reinforced as part of the nationalistic propaganda the State promoted, which viewed the ensemble of colonies as an Empire, reminiscent of the times when the country was a European power⁶². This was sustained by the fact that Portugal still maintained sovereignty over Angola, Cape Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé e Príncipe, which are still referred to nowadays as part of the PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa⁶³). International powers were pressured in the aftermath of the II World War (1939-1945) as Western countries were starting a process of decolonization. Portugal soon recognized this and changed Estado Novo's ideology of a white-supremacist empire to a nation that was complex in terms of territory and integrationist, that promoted miscegenation, and the term "colonies" was changed to "overseas provinces" (Rosas, 2001, 25). The result of this decision was the mass emigration of Portuguese people to Africa, namely to Angola and Mozambique to better explore their economic potential. At the same time, in the 1940s, the African domains were starting a period of rebellion and forming their groups to fight for independence, namely CEA (Centro de Estudos Africanos) in 1951; FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola) in 1954; MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola) in 1956; PAIGC (Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) in the same year; FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) in 1962. The Colonial War (1961 – 1974)⁶⁴ took place in these ex-colonies, starting with Angola in 1961, and opposed the Forças Armadas

⁶² These times are commonly known as the "Discoveries/Descobrimentos". However, this is quite a contested term, as historians debate if it still makes sense. This falls out of the scope of this dissertation, which is why I am not going into detail. Nonetheless, I would suggest reading the following articles for a comprehensive study of the debates, with a different range of opinions: "Esta palavra 'Descobrimentos'", by historian Luís Reis Torgal, 2018 <https://www.publico.pt/2018/08/12/culturaipsilon/opiniao/esta-palavra-descobrimentos-1840312>; "Ainda é correcto falar de Descobrimentos?" with historian Francisco Contente Domingues, 2016 <https://www.publico.pt/2016/01/17/culturaipsilon/noticia/ainda-e-correcto-falar-de-descobrimentos-1720297>; "Antes dos descobrimentos nenhum ser humano sabia como era o planeta", with historian João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 2018 <https://sol.sapo.pt/artigo/622391/joao-paulo-oliveira-e-costa-antes-dos-descobrimentos-nenhum-ser-humano-sabia-como-era-o-planeta>, among other relevant articles. (all last accessed August 16th 2023)

⁶³ Although officially Portuguese-speaking countries, Brazil and Timor-Leste are not part of the PALOP, because they are not in Africa. However, they are part of CPLP (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa), created in 1996 to strengthen the friendship between all of the countries, that is, the PALOP, Brazil, Timor-Leste, Guiné Equatorial and Portugal). For more information, see <https://www.cplp.org> (last accessed May 15th 2023).

⁶⁴ This is an extremely complex theme, which does not fall into the scope of my dissertation. For more information, read *O Fim do Império Português*, by António Costa Pinto; "Guerra Colonial – Uma aliança escondida", by Aniceto Afonso; "A Guerra Colonial 1961-1974) by Luís Alves de Fraga; "As Oposições e a Guerra Colonial" by Luís Farinha, among others.

Portuguesas to the independence groups in the province. In Portugal, the political tension between the State and the opposing voices, especially the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas) was growing exponentially, resulting in the Revolution of 1974, which consecrated democracy and dictated the end of the War in Africa. The decolonization processes were slow, but that same year, Guiné-Bissau achieved independence, followed by Mozambique (1975), Cape Verde (1975), São Tomé e Príncipe (1975), and Angola (1975). Thus, it is estimated that, from 1974 and 1979, half a million to 800 thousand residents of the former Portuguese colonies left the recently-independent countries and fled to Portugal (Peralta, 2021, 1). The sudden mass arrival of these “retornados”⁶⁵ was a challenge for the fresh democracy. According to this researcher, some “retornados” would leave everything behind to start a new life, thus they would not have many possessions. The State provided them with a welfare subsidy and temporary housing, which flooded Lisbon’s tourist accommodation (2021, 11). The majority, in those first years, were White people and Cape Verdeans, despite the fact that, later, the immigration was diversified and Africans from all the ex-colonies traveled to Portugal (Machado, 2009, 135-136). 65 thousand new jobs were created nationwide, as 45 thousand “retornados” were integrated into public service jobs (Peralta, 2021, 11). By 1990, 45.255⁶⁶ “retornados” already lived in the city of Lisbon (Góis; Marques, 2018, 129)⁶⁷. The country’s economic development, due to its integration in CEE (Comunidade Económica Europeia) in 1986, also attracted several African people to Portugal to look for job opportunities (Machado, 2009, 138) and more and more people from the PALOP continued their lives in this country. Thus, the sociological demographics in the country were rapidly changing, as a large number of these migrants would settle their jobs and families in Portugal⁶⁸. Almost half of them would settle in the AML (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa) due to better access to jobs and housing, despite the fact that the illegal appropriation of land would consolidate the already degraded neighborhoods. In the case of

⁶⁵ This term has been contested, as not all of the “retornados” are actually returning to Portugal. Some of them were born in Africa and had never been to Portugal. To deepen this debate, see “Retornados, refugiados, deslocados e colonialismo português”, by António Pinto Ribeiro here https://www.academia.edu/20100554/Retornados_refugiados_deslocados_e_colonialismo_portugu%C3%AA_s (last accessed August 16th 2023). For more detailed information, the sociologist Rui Pena Pires and the anthropologist have written extensively on this topic.

⁶⁶ This number may vary, according to the source.

⁶⁷ Although some had already started migrating in the 1960s, from 1975 onwards the number of African people migrating to Portugal grew exponentially.

⁶⁸ Fernando Luís Machado wrote a comprehensive study on these numbers and the sedentarization of Africans in Portugal from the 1970s to the 2000s. For more information, consult his article “Quarenta anos de imigração africana: um balanço”

the AML⁶⁹, a few families illegally inhabited some of the unfinished buildings in the 1990s and early 2000s; although some were rehoused, the majority still stayed there, and more would come over the next decade. In a report from CMS (Câmara Municipal do Seixal), in 2011, it was estimated that foreigners represented 6,16% of the total number of residents in Seixal, a rather superior number to the national average (3,41%).

The PER (Programa Especial de Realojamento), created in 1993⁷⁰, aimed to reallocate inhabitants of slums in 28 councils of AML (Meireles, 2023). However, as Cachado writes, the PER brought implicit stigmatization of slums, Black people, and the poor (2019, 142), the people Hélia Santos characterizes as “the invisible Portuguese” (2019, 2). This is an important point to stress. The PER only aggravated the hate and segregation these people were already facing for their origins and social condition.

Following the 2008 global financial crisis, Portugal faced a huge recession on the economy and finances, with an enormous tax increase, and, in 2011, the State was forced to call for financial assistance. In this same year, 800 people lived in Jamaika, waiting for rehousing (Fernandes, 2011). During this period, the PER was not a priority.

In the early months of 2017, the AM (Assembleia de Moradores) was founded by residents of 4 neighborhoods: 6 de Maio (Amadora), Torre (Loures), Jamaika (Seixal), and Quinta da Fonte (Loures) and, later, Apelação, with the support of several associations like Habita – Associação pelo Direito à Habitação e à Cidade, Gestual – Grupo de Estudos Sócio-Territoriais e de Acção Local da Faculdade de Arquitetura da UL, Chão – Atelier de Etnografia Urbana, Secretariado diocesano de Lisboa da pastoral dos ciganos, among others. Most of these inhabitants were from the PALOP or the Roma community, from Portugal’s ex-colonies (Falanga et al., 2019, 174). Many of them had been in these neighborhoods for over 30 years, in the same inhumane conditions. The AM wrote an open letter on March 28th, “in defense of the right to human dignity and housing” (Falanga et al., 2019, 174), directed to city councils, the Government, the president, and more, denouncing the degrading living conditions they were under, the lack of response from the State and local entities, the discrimination they suffered from, the failure to continue the PER, police violence against

⁶⁹ The AML is a metropolitan area composed of 18 municipalities. It includes Lisbon, Oeiras, and Cascais, and goes further north until Mafra, and west until Setúbal. For more information, see <https://www.aml.pt/> (last accessed June 20th 2023)

⁷⁰ Decree-Law n.º 163/93, May 7th 1993

them, the rehousing to even more peripheral areas when they would prefer to rehouse closer to the cities, and evoking constitutional and international laws that should have prevented this situation⁷¹.

In 2019, there were more than 1800 families in the AML (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa) (Franco; Bastos; Moleiro, 2019, 18) in need of rehousing⁷². Since then, joint efforts have been made to reallocate the inhabitants, however, all five neighborhoods are still waiting for full rehousing. Aspects such as bureaucracy, local tensions, drug dealings, gun carrying, and several other illegal activities, as well as politics, have caused great delays in this process, as we will discuss further, focusing on the Jamaika case.

4.2 The Jamaika neighborhood

“I’m glad to say that in Jamaika there are also starts that shine. We also have students there. It is not just alcoholism, prostitution and drugs that rule our corners. It is our own special place, where we hang out with friends and it is where we feel at home. [...] I am very happy that some black people are going places” (Manuela Pedro, at the debate “Urbanism and Politics: Who do public programmes serve?”, at the maat on June 25th 2021).

Jamaika is one of the tens of “slums” in the AML⁷³. With the migratory flux from the 1980s and 1990s, some people who came from the PALOP and some from the Roma community ended up living illegally in the Vale dos Chicharos neighborhood, also known as the Jamaika neighborhood, in Fogueteiro, a place in the parish of Amora, Seixal⁷⁴, on the outskirts of Lisbon. The name “Jamaika”, as resident Venâncio explains, comes from an

⁷¹ The letter can be read, in full and in Portuguese, here <https://caravanapelahabitacao.wordpress.com/carta-aberta/> (last accessed May 6th 2023). There are some pictures of the 5 neighborhoods as well.

⁷² To see the infographic with the exact number of families per neighborhood, see **Figure 1** in Annex 2

⁷³ For a comprehensive reportage on Jamaika and the events that led to this housing crisis, as well as several testimonies by the residents, it is vital to see the 2017 documentary “Jamaika também é Portugal” – whose title the maat adopted for the public program in case study – by Rita Colaço for Antena 1. See the documentary at https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/pais/grande-reportagem-antena-1-jamaika-tambem-e-portugal_a1012621 (last accessed May 15th 2023)

⁷⁴ To see a map of Seixal and its whereabouts, with Jamaika in highlight see **Figure 2** in Annex 2. To see a map of the Amora parish, see **Figure 2**. To see a map of Fogueteiro, see **Figure 4**

Angolan man who had lived there, named Jamaika. “Then he wrote it on the walls: Jamaika. And the name remained. Forever” (interviewed by Rita Colaço, 2017 [8:36min – 09:04min]).

There, a construction company had been building several brick towers to house people; however, after bankruptcy around the 1980s, the buildings were never finished or picked up by another company to complete. Numerous families from the PALOP came to illegally inhabit these unfinished houses, between 1994 and 1997 since it was an attractive zone, with “free housing spaces, strong solidarity and neighborhood networks and good access to the big cities – Almada, Lisbon – and to workplaces” (CMS, 2012, 132). Since the houses were incomplete, and therefore dangerous to live in, some families lived without running water or electricity, humidity problems, infiltrations, pests, and other issues that made the neighbors create illegal networks of electricity, water, and gas. Then, the terrains of Jamaika were sold by CGD (Caixa Geral de Depósitos, the largest bank in Portugal, and a state-owned banking corporation) to the Urbangol company in 2000, which allegedly had a plan to urbanize the area (Henriques, 2017). Although some buildings have been demolished, there are still unfinished houses in Jamaika that have maintained the same conditions for over 30 years⁷⁵. Still, some of the residents refuse to pay for electricity⁷⁶ and water, since there are no legal contracts on the houses.

The Parliament met in 2017, where, besides the deputies, some Jamaika inhabitants were present, represented by Salimo Mendes, the Vice-President of Associação de Moradores do Bairro da Jamaika. He voiced some of the problems they had been facing for nearly 30 years (Lusa, 2017). This seemed to have made a great impact, due to the rapid movements that followed. In December of that same year, CMS, SCM (Santa Casa da Misericórdia), and IHRU (Instituto de Habitação e de Reabilitação Urbana) announced an investment of over 15 million euros to reallocate the 234 families that lived in Jamaika (Malta, 2018). The initial idea was to have every single inhabitant out of Jamaika by 2022 (Lusa/Público, 2017).

December 17th 2018, one year after the official launch of the rehousing process, marked the start of the demolition of Block 10⁷⁷, the most dangerous of the blocks in Jamaika

⁷⁵ To see photographs of Bairro da Jamaika and its buildings inside and out, see **Figures 5 – 12** in Annex 2

⁷⁶ Although, in some cases, EDP came up with a solution of providing electricity at a lower cost.

⁷⁷ For photographs of the first demolitions in Block 10, see **Figures 13– 15** in Annex 2

due to the high risk of collapsing. It was also the first day of reallocation for the 64 families (230 people) that lived there (Lusa/Público, 2017). Dirce Noronha, who had lived in Block 10 for 19 years, stated that this was the day they had been expecting and fighting for years (Antena 1, 2018). Four days later, the new house owners received their keys (Carlos, 2019). Until the end of the year, the goal was to rehouse 74 more families from the two adjacent buildings, which would be demolished as well, and create a park or new housing there (Matos, 2019). Manuela Calado – the City Councilor for Housing and Social Development – recognized the “improper conditions” of Jamaica and explained the rents they would pay at the new houses would be low and according to family income (Moreira, 2018). In his interview, 25-year-old Kid Robinn told me that that day was when it all became real to him: he had been listening to rehousing talks since he was born, but never actually thought it would happen. Until it did, and he was excited but nervous⁷⁸.

The demolitions and rehousing continued, until the COVID-19 pandemic struck. The general confinement enacted by the Government prohibited the Portuguese from getting out of their houses for events other than basic needs; moreover, businesses were forced to close and people obliged to stay home for work and school. In Jamaica, for instance, numerous cafés and shops where the residents worked had to close (RTP, 2020). Indubitably, the confinement created numerous issues in Jamaica, while numerous families were still living in inhumane conditions, 74 of which should have already been rehoused due to the buildings’ risk of collapse (Lusa, 2020). In 2020, photographer José Sarmiento Matos visited the neighborhood to produce a documentary about them and their living difficulties⁷⁹. Edna Nazaré, one of the women who was featured, stated “with the kids at home, we went from being mothers to being teachers, right? It was very difficult, very stressful [...]” [2:36min – 2:44min] , as was the case for numerous families across the country. Telma Reis, who had her restaurant closed, continuously looked for other jobs to support her family and kids, however, was denied due to the pandemic and the scarcity of jobs. Nevertheless, Telma did not back down, and she decided to go do construction work, waking up at 6 AM every day⁸⁰. Another resident, Aurora Coxi, expressed her concern about the lockdown, “I was worried.

⁷⁸ Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

⁷⁹ As I will delve into in the next chapters, this documentary was shown continuously inside *Model of Jamaica* (2020) at the maat’s exhibition “X is not a small country”, as well as at “Jamaica is Portugal too”, the public program in analysis in this dissertation. To see the full documentary, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGtb5_t5DKc (last accessed May 15th 2023)

⁸⁰ To see a picture of Telma and her kid’s room, see **Figure 16** in Annex 2

Not for myself but for my kids, because of the poor living conditions. The house is cold and when it rains, we get water in the flat” [4:54min – 5:15min]⁸¹.

In March 2021, at the peak of the pandemic, there were, still, 74 families (1200 people) waiting for rehousing. One morning in November 2021, Jamaika woke up to dozens of police officers and construction workers who closed and demolished several illegal establishments, such as restaurants, bars, and cafés, due to complaints by some residents. In her article, Joana Gorjão Henriques writes that the scene looked like a “conflict zone”, due to the number of police officers, as well as their protection elements (Henriques, 2021)⁸². Police reinforced the concern for the safety and public health scene due to covid, as well as the fact that most of the places closed and demolished that day were, in fact, illegal. Tensions arose as the Jamaika residents were fighting back against the police, claiming no one was previously alerted that this would happen and this type of operation, with so many police forces involved, only perpetuated the stigma that Jamaika is an aggressive and violent neighborhood (Henriques, 2021).

The process finally resumed in October 2022. 37 families (about 90 people) were relocated by CMS. 133 families remained in Jamaika. Moreover, CMS applied for and gained funds from PRR (Plano de Recuperação e Resiliência)⁸³ (Lusa, 2022). In fact, in January 2023, 119 people were rehoused.

In April 2023, 98 more people started the process of rehousing, joining the 396 people that, since 2017 had been relocated. The most recent update on the process goes back to July 4th 2023, with the news of the rehousing of 69 more residents that week, as CMS reassures that the remaining 39 families will be rehoused until the end of the year (Lusa, 2023). A couple of weeks later, the widely known newspaper The Guardian published an article on housing and foreign money in Portugal, which featured Lizandro Batista de Sousa Pontes, one of the last remaining Jamaika inhabitants (Jones, 2023) and his testimony on the demolitions and rehousing process.

⁸¹ To see a picture of Aurora and her kids’ bedroom, see **Figure 17** in Annex 2

⁸² To see pictures of this encounter, see **Figure 18** in Annex 2

⁸³ This is a Government initiative, supported by the European Union, which helps with economic growth and social development, applied to 2021-2026. To read more on this topic, see <https://recuperarportugal.gov.pt/plano-de-recuperacao-e-resiliencia/> (last accessed May 15th 2023)

What about the Jamaica neighborhood's essence? In the rehousing process, the numerous families gained new houses, but what was once a place of companionship and friendship, where everyone knew each other and had fought together for so many years for proper living conditions, is now scattered through Seixal. The people who came from the PALOP and the Roma community, who had created a network of safety and trust among them, are now in places far away from each other. And the children? Their friends lived next door, and now, although they still frequent the same school, it has changed their dynamics. Dirce Noronha, president of ADSVC, has stated that this is a new beginning for many families, most of whom have children, and brings forward hope to those who are still in Jamaica (Moreira, 2018). Nonetheless, she felt torn. That was her neighborhood, her memories, her life. Now the residents of Jamaica are living in new places, integrated with the local community, which is exactly what CMS has always worked towards. Despite this, Dirce maintained her opinion that, in general, the rehousing was positive, as it gave people decent houses and the opportunity to start fresh, to be independent, and to "be someone" (Moreira, 2018). Still, Dirce recognized that Jamaica will always be their house and stated: "They can leave the neighborhood, and not take the neighborhood with them. Get out of the neighborhood, but do not take them with you"⁸⁴ (Moreira, 2018).

It has been a rather demanding and strenuous process for both the entities involved and the residents. There have been quite a few setbacks, but everything seems to be falling into place. During all of this, Jamaica has gained a negative reputation and was considered one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in Lisbon in 2022⁸⁵ and, quite recently, an article by the reputed newspaper Expresso highlighted the neighborhood as one of the most problematic ones due to drug trafficking, which is one of the 50 dangerous gangs in the AML (Franco, 2023). The data presented in this piece of news originates from the 2022 RASI (Relatório Annual de Segurança Interna)⁸⁶, where it is stated that juvenile delinquency and group criminal activity are mainly identified by neighborhoods, deemed ZUS (Zonas Urbanas Sensíveis). Additionally, it names the operations and types of police action called

⁸⁴ This impactful statement by Dirce was made in 2018, amidst the demolition of Block 10, but it is still very relevant to this day. "Eles podem sair do bairro, mas não levar o bairro com eles. Saíam do bairro, mas não o levam convosco". To read the full article, see Moreira, 2018.

⁸⁵ For more information on this, see <https://www.vortexmag.net/bairros-mais-perigosos-de-portugal/> (last accessed May 15th 2023).

⁸⁶ For more information, see <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3d%3dBQAAAB%2bLCAAAAAAABAAzNDazMAQAhxRa3gUAAAA%3d> (last accessed June 10th 2023).

to monitor, prevent, and act upon these criminalities. António Brito Guterres, researcher, artist, and curator, has responded to this article, debunking some of the false information it contained and raising rather relevant questions, such as why is the criminality rate so high? Guterres accentuates the lack of support and services, and furthers knowledge into the living conditions of the people in these gangs, stating that articles such as the previous one only contributed to constructing narratives of the “other”, instead of a common one, in the true nature and wishes of a plural society (Guterres, 2023).

Amidst this process, the inhabitants have also been facing public scrutiny due to gun possession, drug trafficking, and other offenses. The residents have endured discrimination, and racism, which was exacerbated by the violent confrontation between the neighbors and the police back in 2019, which led to political agitation amidst a presidential campaign, where representatives from various spectrums of the Parliament went to Jamaica to visit, hear the people, or offend them. Since politics is not the main concern of my dissertation, despite its relevance, it falls outside the scope of this study, thus, I will not go into detail about this matter⁸⁷.

Despite this history, there are success stories of former Jamaica residents. The most well-known case is football player Rafael Leão, born in 1999. He started at Sporting Clube de Portugal, one of the biggest clubs in Portugal, for which he played at the Qatar World Cup 2022, and currently plays for the Italian football club AC. Milan. He is also a member of BGang, a Hip-Hop/Rap group of musicians from Jamaica, under the artistic name “WAY45”, in which 45 represents the postal code of Jamaica, where he grew up. Also in this group are Kid Robinn and CiiJames - both performed at the public program “Open/Closed Systems” (April 23rd 2021) and “Jamaika is Portugal too”⁸⁸. Principe Missas, the artistic name of Emanuel Coxi, is another famous rapper from Jamaica, who has been working all over the world, created his merchandise brand, and also plays professional football in Sport Lisboa Cartaxo. Kxbra, the artistic name for Iuri Duarte, is also a famous rapper, born and raised in Fogueteiro, before moving to the United Kingdom and playing all over the world. One of his first songs to come out was “Visions”, entirely filmed at Jamaica. The lyrics and the video clip inspire young people to open their horizons and ambitions and

⁸⁷ For more information on what happened, see <https://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/pais/2019/01/24/focos-de-tensao-da-periferia-o-conflito-no-jamaica-explicado-em-10-pontos/138512/> (last accessed May 15th 2023)

⁸⁸ To hear BGang’s music, see <https://soundcloud.com/os-miny-boysting> (last accessed May 15th 2023)

flee from the streets, where their colleagues got lost to drugs and violence⁸⁹. Other young people are paving their way to the future. Some of them were already born in new houses with better living conditions than their parents⁹⁰.

As Henrique Almeida would write for Bloomberg, “Lisbon has a secret world on its fringes that’s now being exposed” (2020). I have covered how the Colonial War, the end of Estado Novo, and the decolonization of the former Portuguese colonies have contributed to a flow of African migrants to Portugal, namely to the AML. Moreover, I have reflected on the impacts of illegal housing and the long rehousing process that is not yet finished.

As of September 2023, the physical remains of Jamaika are one-half demolished Lote 13 and a couple of buildings, which will soon be demolished⁹¹ – as Kid told me, the demolition stopped due to structural problems in the building. The ground floor of Lote 13 was his grandmother’s house, where he also had his music studio⁹². Moreover, three original Jamaika buildings⁹³ still stand, as almost 40 families are waiting for new houses, amidst a legal issue with the State (Lusa 2023). Regarding the current ADSVC’s headquarters, it looked quite abandoned⁹⁴, but Kid reinforced that there were projects to transform it into a memorial to the neighborhood.

In the next chapter, we will analyze “Jamaika is Portugal too”, a 2021 public program that took place at the maat, in the context of *Model of Jamaika* (2021), a piece integrated into the “X is not a small country” exhibition.

Chapter 5. Understanding care via “Jamaika is Portugal too”

⁸⁹ To see the video clip of “Visions”, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_xMxklB8eU (last accessed May 21st 2023).

⁹⁰ I would add a note of remembrance for Salimo Mendes who came to Portugal from Guiné-Bissau in 1995 and illegally inhabited one of the Jamaika buildings. He had been a teacher back home, but his hopes of doing the same in this country were demolished, as he was forced to go work on construction, like several of his friends and neighbors (Colaço, 2017). However, he was a force of nature when it came to defending and fighting for Jamaika. As the president and Vice-President of ADSVC he gave numerous interviews, and spoke at protests and the Parliament. Salimo Safame Mendes sadly died in December 2020, and would not be able to see the full effects of his long-life fight.

⁹¹ See **Figures 19 – 22** in Annex 2

⁹² Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaika

⁹³ See **Figure 23**

⁹⁴ See **Figure 24**

This chapter is intended to provide a brief history of the maat and its mission to better understand the context of the public program “Jamaika is Portugal too”. Secondly, it will focus on the program itself, including testimonies from Ana Rita Alves (CHÃO – Atelier de Etnografia Urbana), Joana Simões Henriques (head of Education and Public Programs at the maat), José Sarmiento Matos (photographer and film-maker that works closely with Jamaika, and whose film and photographs were displayed in *Model of Jamaika*), as well as some residents and participants’ testimonies. Lastly, we will tackle the event and its aftermath through the voices of some of Jamaika’s residents who participated in the program.

5.1 The maat (2016-2023): a brief history

The maat (Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology) is an artistic institution founded in 2016, with the patronage of EDP (Energias de Portugal) Foundation, an organization dedicated to social, cultural, and scientific projects. Founded in 2004, this institution has proven it is one of the most relevant cultural patrons of our time. The EDP Foundation Art Collection crosses more than eighty years of art history and gathers artists from numerous generations and over 388 artworks and 74 artists (Antunes 2021, 11). In 2021, the institution launched a nationwide acquisition fund to buy artwork from young and/or emerging artists, to help them develop their careers in times of pandemic⁹⁵. Furthermore, since 2000, the institution has held two awards: the New Artists Award – which has consecrated, for instance, Joana Vasconcelos (2000), Vasco Araújo (2002) or João Maria Gusmão and Pedro Paiva (2004) – as well as the Art Grand Prize – which honored some of the most prominent names in Portuguese Contemporary Culture: Lourdes Castro (2000), Mário Cesariny (2002) and Luísa Cunha (2021).

The EDP Foundation Campus includes the maat itself and the former Tejo Power Station, built in 1909, a landmark in the Portuguese industrial heritage, that provided electricity to the Lisbon region from c. 1908 to 1972 (Eleutério 2018, 79). When the EDP Foundation was founded in 2004, it officially took the Museum under its wing and, two years later, it reopened after renovation with a more modern and dynamic governance and style.

⁹⁵ For more information on these acquisitions, consult Fundação EDP Energy Expense Reports under “Art Collection” here <https://www.fundacaoedp.pt/pt/conteudo/instituicao-reconhecimento-e-resultados> (last accessed June 14th 2023)

EDP was fully privatized in 2013⁹⁶. In 2015, the electricity museum was merged with the maat, forming a single museum and campus.

The maat has fostered hundreds of exhibitions over its seven years of existence, featuring renowned artists from around the world. Moreover, it is stated that the maat is dedicated to

“[...] advocate[s] for the museum as a catalyst platform to render discourse actionable and empower audiences to own their choices through the articulation of debate, the sharing of positions and the formulation of knowledge. With the aim of encouraging an open-ended and transformative relationship between cultural institutions and societal change [...]” (maat’s website, About)⁹⁷

This aspect is quite important, as the institution’s mission plays a great part in the case study: the public program in analysis “Jamaika is Portugal too” emerged from the intention of contributing to society. I believe there are two key points in this statement; firstly, the institution seems to be a place that fosters debate and rethinks knowledge, which, as we have seen, is vital to any art institution. However, part of the museum’s aim includes its connection to its visitors. Not only does it strive to empower them through argumentation, but it also encourages them to actively be a part of society and its change.

To sum up, despite being only seven years old, the maat has become a trendsetter in the national Art panorama and a place open for discussion, debate, and, oftentimes, controversial topics, as we will discuss in the next chapter.

5.2. Model of Jamaika (2021)

This chapter examines the piece *Model of Jamaika* by artists Paulo Moreira and José Sarmiento Matos in the context of the exhibition “X is not a small country” (April 5th 2021 – September 6th 2021), from which the public program in case study emerged. It was supposed to be inaugurated on March 18th 2021, however, due to confinement rules, the maat only reopened with three new exhibitions on April 5th: “Aquaria”, “Earth Bits” and “X is not a

⁹⁶ According to the EDP’s website, here <https://www.edp.com/pt-pt/historias-edp/privatizacao-da-edp> (last accessed June 14th 2023)

⁹⁷ For more information, see <https://www.maat.pt/en/museum-art-architecture-and-technology> (last accessed May 4th 2023)

small country”. According to the EDP Foundation, the museum received 36.571 visitors in total⁹⁸.

“X is not a small country” occupied the Oval Room and the Project Room at the maat and was curated by Aric Chen with Martina Muzi⁹⁹. It featured nine art pieces by: Bard Studio (Rupali Gupte and Prasad Shetty), Bricklab (Abdulrahman Hisham Gazzaz and Turki Hisham Gazzaz), Ibiye Camp, Revital Cohen & Tuur van Balen, He Jing, Liam Young, Portuguese artist Paulo Moreira (with CHÃO - Atelier de Etnografia Urbana and José Sarmento Matos), Rael San Fratello (Ronald Rael and Virginia San Fratello) and Wolfgang Tillmans. The name of the exhibition, which was intentional and relates to our case study, is inspired by a poster by Henrique Galvão from 1934 that promoted the idea that Portugal was indeed not a small country, overlapping the country’s now ex-colonies of Mozambique, Angola, and Guiné-Bissau over Europe, to show the nationalistic thought of an intercontinental nation. The poster¹⁰⁰ was created during Estado Novo. The premise of the exhibition was about unraveling the post-global era, exploring terms such as “frontier”, “place”, “colonialism”, “nationalism” and others. Every art piece presented a challenge or a problem caused by globalization.

The only Portuguese art work was *Model of Jamaica* (2021), a scale 1:10 maquette, with plastered MDF (Medium Density Fiberboard) and a metallic structure, created by architect Paulo Moreira, that stood on Oval Gallery, in dialogue with other art pieces¹⁰¹. *Model of Jamaica* was a walk-in maquette of Block 10, the then-recently demolished building in Jamaica’s neighborhood, as we have covered in chapter 4. The piece mimics the real conditions of Block 10 before it was demolished, with broken windows, unfinished parts of the building, and clothing on the rack, among other details¹⁰². Entering Block 10, visitors could see part of the reality in Jamaica: on the walls, there were several portraits of the residents and photographs of their houses and the inhumane conditions they are living in,

⁹⁸ According to EDP Foundation’s: Challenging Tomorrow Now. Expense Report 2021, p. 15. For more information, see <https://bit.ly/42USvyH> (last accessed May 22nd 2023)

⁹⁹ For more information, see <https://www.maat.pt/en/exhibition/x-not-small-country> (last accessed May 4th 2023). Note that the date of the beginning of the exhibition is incorrect since the museum was closed at the time. The official opening date was April 5th. For official photographs of the whole exhibition, see <https://bit.ly/3pW5y4q> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

¹⁰⁰ To see the map, consult <https://purl.pt/31062> (last accessed October 27th 2023)

¹⁰¹ To see an overview of part of the Oval Gallery, in which *Model of Jamaica* is present, see **Figures 25 and 26** in Annex 2

¹⁰² For pictures of the outside of *Model of Jamaica* (2021), see **Figures 27-29**

taken by José Sarmiento Matos¹⁰³. On the left side, one could also find a table with the manuscript letter¹⁰⁴ from March 28th 2017, in defense of the right to human dignity and housing, by Maria Cesaltina das Neves, and signed by the AM. Furthermore, on the right side, when entering, there was a model of one of the old mailboxes of Block 10, a chronology of Jamaika's history, written by CHÃO, and a television¹⁰⁵ the 2020 documentary "Jamaika", produced by José Sarmiento Matos which includes filming by some residents and their testimonies¹⁰⁶, as well as Jamaika's rapper Kid Robinn's original theme "Perspectiva" around the topics of discrimination and his experience in his neighborhood¹⁰⁷.

Photographer José Sarmiento Matos had received, in 2020, an emergency fund from National Geographic to work on a project in Portugal related to COVID-19 and social inequality, which began his connection to Jamaika, photographing the residents' housing conditions and how they were facing the pandemic with limited resources. One of the results of this interaction was "Jamaika", a small documentary featuring the testimonies of numerous inhabitants about their experiences and photographs. José's practice is quite humane in his approach, as he explained in an interview conducted by me in the frame of the current dissertation¹⁰⁸. The photographer sees himself as a storyteller, however, he wanted his documentary and photographs to display a portrait of Jamaika different from the mediatic negative view of a neighborhood of drugs, gangsters, and illegal activities. Thus, he provided the residents with numerous filming cameras, so they could film themselves and portray themselves to the audience as they wanted to be portrayed, creating their own narrative. Additionally, as the pandemic forced confinement, the residents had more time and opportunity to work on their testimonies, although José would visit them daily. He stated "What matters is the process, not so much the result. What matters is talking to the people. I made friends there."¹⁰⁹, referring to the working process he has been developing in the neighborhood¹¹⁰. Alda Pontes, Arioste Mandinga, Aurora Coxi, Asmir Djonis Bull, Diego Coxi, Edna Nazaré, Ivone Maxima, Leopoldo Pereira, Lurdes Pontes, Manuela Pedro, Naide

¹⁰³ See **Figures 30** and **31**

¹⁰⁴ See **Figure 32**

¹⁰⁵ See **Figure 33**

¹⁰⁶ To watch the full documentary, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGtb5_t5DKc (last accessed May 20th 2023)

¹⁰⁷ To hear the full 2021 song, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kawmAJh0-GA> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

¹⁰⁸ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via zoom.

¹⁰⁹ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via zoom.

¹¹⁰ Additionally to this documentary, a photography book about Jamaika is set to be launched in early 2024.

Jordão, Roberto Cravid, Salimo Mendes and Telma Reis dared to share their story for the documentary, which would also be displayed at the first exhibition-related public program Open/Closed Systems¹¹¹ (on April 23rd 2021, there was a live performance¹¹² by Kid Robinn and CiiJames, two rappers from Jamaica, as we have mentioned in chapter 4, as well as the viewing of “Jamaika”). José also highlights the collaborative choice of Block 10 for the exhibition:

“first it was going to be a maquette of the neighborhood, but then we had several meetings to come up with how to better represent Jamaica [...] with an activist tone, we decided to represent the neighborhood with a building that had already been demolished, Lote 10, the first one back in 2018. It was an important moment for Jamaica but, at the same time, four years later nothing else had been done.”¹¹³

Kid explained to me that at first, the inhabitants were skeptical of José’s work, as they did not know or trust him; but slowly, they were creating an affinity with him, as he spent and is spending so much time with them, actually getting to know them besides their precarious living situation stories¹¹⁴.

It is important to understand the whole process of how this *Model of Jamaica* came to life and how the entities and artists got to know and work with Jamaica’s residents. CHÃO – Atelier de Etnografia Urbana started working with Jamaica in 2015, due to a proposal by Ana Rita Alves, researcher and anthropologist. At the time, Rita and some of her colleagues met three members of the Jamaica’s AM, including the late Salimo Mendes. In 2015, there were no talks of rehousing for Jamaica as it was inserted in PER, leading to very few people being reallocated. “One thing that the AM asked us that made sense to them, was something that longed for quite some time: alphabetization classes for adults in the neighborhood”¹¹⁵. Although the researchers were not professionals in that field, they sought help and could, eventually, start the lessons at Jamaica. This was the beginning of a long collaboration with the residents that persists today.

¹¹¹ For more information on this, see <https://www.maat.pt/en/event/open-closed-systems> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

¹¹² To see the live performance, see <https://www.youtube.com/live/6eMOTNjOMrg?feature=share&t=19132> after 5:18:52. Note: it starts without sound, however, eventually, it returns and one can hear their songs

¹¹³ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹¹⁴ Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

¹¹⁵ Ana Rita Alves, interviewed by the author on August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa.

On the other hand, architect Paulo Moreira had, in 2020, approached the residents with a project idea of bringing his knowledge to help the neighborhood, and, as he stated, “I’m helping to build bridges instead of walls.” (Paulo Moreira, interviewed by Aric Chen and Martina Muzi, 2021). The artist took part, for instance, in Jamaica’s application for the Government’s public program Bairros Saudáveis, a small intervention project to improve health, well-being, and quality of life in vulnerable areas of Portugal¹¹⁶. Paulo Moreira joined CHÃO, ADSVC, Junta de Freguesia de Amora, and Tamanho Azul – Associação on the Project “Há Centro na Perifeira: Saber, Saúde e Saudade no Bairro da Jamaica”¹¹⁷, to requalify and improve the ADSVC’s headquarters, approved in 2021.

As Joana Simões Henriques – head of Education and Public Programs Service at the maat - explained in the interview conducted in the frame of the current dissertation, the maat’s intention for this exhibition was to invite the communities involved to “come and look at their neighborhood from a different perspective, as a sculpture, a maquette, an architectural piece; where suddenly their daily lives are there, stagnant in a museum”.¹¹⁸ Joana further adds that another goal for *Model of Jamaica* was to bring these topics to the museum, as an open assembly and a “neutral” territory, in the sense that it is similar to a “laboratorial context, where there is more freedom of speech”, a position a museum should maintain. When questioned about this same thought of a museum’s social role in society, Paulo Moreira underpins Joana’s belief: “I believe that museums should cause some discomfort” (Paulo Moreira, interviewed by Aric Chen and Martina Muzi, 2021). Additionally, the artist reinforces the fact that *Model of Jamaica* was displayed at a reputable museum, which meant that Jamaica is “celebrated and acknowledged as part of the city”

Rita explains how all these people came together to create *Model of Jamaica*. Paulo Moreira was invited to take part in “X is not a small country” in 2020, which led him to design a project around Jamaica, with which he then approached the AM. As Rita explained “Salimo Mendes [...] contacted us [CHÃO] and José Sarmento Matos, joined us all in the same room to think about how these four parts could collaborate and contribute to the installation” (Silva, 2021, 87). Therefore, the project was collaborative and co-creative. As

¹¹⁶ For more information on this Project, see <https://www.bairrossaudaveis.gov.pt/o-programa/o-que-e/index.htm> (last accessed May 21st 2023)

¹¹⁷ For full details see <https://jornal.bairrossaudaveis.gov.pt/projetos/00000903/index.htm> (last accessed May 21st 2023)

¹¹⁸ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

Joana would later stress in her interview, “Paulo Moreira, I think, was quite careful and respectful as to not appropriate the identity of those people [the residents] [...] so that the communities did not feel exploited through the artists’ work”¹¹⁹. The goal was to represent the iconic Block 10 as a symbol of residents’ resistance to a precarious and inhumane narrative they had been living for over 30 years (Silva, 2021, 88). Kid recalls the moment he was told that their documentary, featuring his song “Perspectiva”, was going to be presented at the maat: “I was happy. Zé kept it a secret. I was so happy!”¹²⁰, remembering that Jamaika had always been a point of curiosity to outsiders, namely after the police incidents and political attention it got in 2019 and 2020. But this time was different.

Model of Jamaika was presented as a collaborative piece, where architect Paulo Moreira, photographer José Sarmiento Matos, CHÃO and the residents of the AM, namely Jamaika’s – often represented by Vanusa Coxi - worked together and closely with the maat’s Production and Educational and Public Program Service’s teams to create both the artwork and the public program.

As José Sarmiento Matos stresses, bringing Jamaika into the maat is “a confrontation with reality [...] it is up to us to question, to open our horizons to understand what is happening” (Amado, 2021). The piece presents a contrast between realities: a landmark private museum, owned by a powerful and successful company, amplifies the voices of the unheard, of those who have battled immensely to have their needs met, just 20 kilometers away.

Before and during the time the exhibition took place, José Sarmiento Matos frequently took the residents to see the museum and *Model of Jamaika*. Jamaika’s inhabitants had been present since the very beginning. Both José and Rita fought hard for the residents’ presence in the museum, in events related to the exhibition, and in visits. Indeed, the pandemic restrictions did not help; nonetheless, it was vital that the inhabitants were able to see the space and the fruits bearing from their courage, resistance, and work. The photographer was there every week with residents, or on Zoom calls with them, and I recall seeing him there, proudly exhibiting the finished work. He explained that “all of them [the residents], except three or four, went to the maat. Oftentimes, people I did not even know would ask me to take

¹¹⁹ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹²⁰ Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaika

them to see the *Model of Jamaica*.”¹²¹ As Vanusa Coxi, one of the former inhabitants of Jamaica and the spokesperson for the neighborhood in the process of both the art piece and the public program recognized, “we were happily anxious to see the result of the film, the exhibition and to raise awareness of AML neighborhood’s problems.”¹²²

When interviewing José, I confided in him that, when I worked at the *maat*, I would very often hear negative comments or accusations about Jamaica – made, namely, by Portuguese visitors - and I wondered if *Model of Jamaica* was worth it, if “Jamaica is Portugal too” was worth it, since it received so much backlash from the audience, and if the inhabitants faced numerous racist situations there – besides the ones they faced daily, some of which were included in chapter 4.2. and quite mediatic – and if they exposed themselves so much. What José answered would be connected to what we have covered above, around the topic of care in museums:

“I think it is always worth it, even if it is just to bother those people [...] We cannot stop talking about it, even if there are negative comments – which are miserable. We just have to talk about it differently. If we stop, people will forget. We need to transform our language: it is not ‘the other’; it is me and the next person. I heard some comments, but I also heard plenty of positive ones. It is better to talk and make no difference, than not talking at all.”¹²³

He was right. This is the power of museums as “agents of social change” (Munro, 2012, 56), as we have read in previous chapters. These institutions oftentimes hold the power to share stories and make narratives visible. As formerly explained, in the 1980s and 1990s, Rivière and de Varine developed a theory around “ecomuseums”¹²⁴: that museums are “a mirror in which the local population views itself to discover its own image” (1985, 182), returning to the etymology of the word “eco”/*oikos*, as home, as museums can be that endearing safe space for some. Nuala Morse reflects on the practice of care in museums: “it is about providing emotional support through listening, encouragement, compassion and kindness, and providing practical support by offering opportunities” (2021, 186). These are all frameworks for museum practice: the practice of care, of making visitors feel represented, included, and safe, a co-creating between institution and audience. Decolonization, as we

¹²¹ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹²² Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author, August 10th 2023, via written

¹²³ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹²⁴ See chapter 2.3

have covered, can also be a practice of care. In fact, by deciding to host the *Model of Jamaica* and “Jamaika is Portugal too”, the maat is taking a stand, choosing support over criticism, representativeness, and inclusiveness over White supremacy. Moreover, as Vanusa would further add, “the maat gave us, the residents, the opportunity to present ourselves, to try and break some stereotypes”.¹²⁵

In the next chapter, we will analyze the public program born from this collaboration, “Jamaika is Portugal too” (June 25th and 26th 2021), and some of the residents’ words about it.

5.3. “Jamaika is Portugal too” (2021)

This chapter provides an overview of the public program in analysis, “Jamaika is Portugal too” to exemplify how the conceptual and practical framework of the event can be interpreted as a tool towards care adopted by the maat. Moreover, in this chapter, we will return to Joana Simões Henriques’, Ana Rita Alves’ and José Sarmiento Matos’ testimonies, as well as those of some Jamaica residents that participated in “Jamaika is Portugal too”.

The public program took place at the maat on the 25th and 26th of June 2021. It focuses on urbanism, politics, the work of outsiders/nonresidents and the right to housing and rehousing, and featured residents not only from Jamaica but also from Bairro 6 de Maio, Bairro da Torre, Bairro do Zambujal, and Bairro da Cova da Moura, numerous associations, members of the AM, CHÃO, and the artists José Sarmiento Matos and Paulo Moreira¹²⁶. Two performances showcasing the talent of Jamaica’s residents introduced Jamaica rapper Kid Robinn and a children dance group.

“Jamaika is Portugal too” is the title of a 2017 reportage by Rita Colaço for Antena 1¹²⁷, depicting and denouncing inequalities and housing problems, through some of the residents’ words. The maat’s 2021 homonymous public program aimed to “discuss the experience lived by these and many other people who face the same hardships in the most diverse latitudes of the territory”¹²⁸. The program had an audience of numerous Jamaica

¹²⁵ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author, August 10th 2023, via written

¹²⁶ For the full program, see <https://www.maat.pt/pt/event/jamaika-tambem-e-portugal> (last accessed August 20th)

¹²⁷ To see the documentary, see https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/grande-reportagem/grande-reportagem-antena-1-jamaika-tambem-e-portugal_a1012621 (last accessed August 17th 2023)

¹²⁸ See <https://www.maat.pt/en/event/jamaika-portugal-too> (last accessed May 21st 2023)

residents, as well as residents from the other participating neighborhoods, the maat's staff, the artists, some of the public that was already at the maat at the time, and some external people interested in the topic.

Joana Simões Henriques explained that the maat had invited Marina Gonçalves (the then Secretary of State for Housing, currently the Minister of Housing) and Joaquim Santos (the then President of Seixal's Council; he later renounced), however, none of them were present at any event. Architect and researcher Helena Roseta, who has a large legacy of political work in the field of Housing – and part of the coordination of Projecto Bairros Saudáveis, which Jamaica won in 2021, as mentioned above – was also named as one of the participants at the debate on June 26th, “The right to Housing and Rehousing: how, when and for whom?”; but she did not make it. Despite the importance of the public program, the presence of a politician such as Helena Roseta or any other – for instance, from the CMS (Câmara Municipal do Seixal) or the Town Hall – would have not only brought more attention to the event¹²⁹ but would also have enriched the debates, as another point of view would be explored, and solutions to improve the rehousing process would be debated among those who hold the power to do so.

José Sarmiento Matos remarked, “the maat saw an opportunity to bring people to the museum”¹³⁰, both in and out of their visitor circle. As Joana Simões Henriques brought up, “it would be easier for the museum to be that provocative voice, instead of a residents' association or such. The museum is, here, a neutral space.”¹³¹ Despite recognizing that these institutions are rarely neutral, as we have covered in previous chapters, Joana saw the maat as a platform that used its influence to bring up a polemic discussion, while inviting, in an unprecedented move, the Jamaica residents to tell their own story instead.

As Joana explained to me,

“When the museum approached Paulo Moreira, who had an artwork about Jamaica at the exhibition, it was already his will to execute some type of public programming to activate his art piece. [...] When

¹²⁹ The public program, although quite interesting and current, as the Housing debate was, and still is, a hugely debated theme, had almost no media coverage. Joana Simões Henriques justifies this by explaining that not only was it summertime (July 25th and 26th 2021), but the country was also under massive covid restrictions (Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat).

¹³⁰ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author on August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹³¹ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

we talked to him, we did not have a closed proposal, that does not belong in our methodologies of work”¹³².

Ana Rita Alves recalls that it was collaborative work¹³³. As Joana asserted, it would be an incomplete program if the residents were not summoned to debate an event dedicated to their problems¹³⁴. Apart from being active agents in the creation of the piece and the event, the residents had the opportunity to share their own stories, in a place where they would not feel judged. Moreover, Rita confirms that the programming was entirely suggested by the residents, CHÃO, and the artists, without any interference from maat. The *Care Manifesto* mentions that caring communities – as I argue, one was created with this program – are democratic; applied to this context, it means that participants debate and engage freely, and can expect respect from the museum.

The head of the Educational and Public Programs Service also mentioned something I found quite interesting when thinking about this event as a form of care: “We always have a budget, so instead of inviting 10 people, we invite 5. We cannot give everyone a voice. Whom do we silence?”¹³⁵. This silencing and voicing Joana mentions is related to the power museums believe they have over the people. This means, logically, the institutions will choose how many invitations they will make and who exactly they will invite; nonetheless, people already have a voice. By inviting Jamaica’s residents, the maat was not doing them a favor, it was not giving them a voice because they do not hold that power. The maat was using their internal and external resources to listen to the narrative of those residents. Moreover, giving someone a voice would also mean having the power to take it away. And that is not quite true in this case; surely, with the amplification of the neighborhood’s fight, the maat was helping the inhabitants, but if this public program and the exhibition had never existed, Jamaica would still continue to fight for its rights. Museums, for instance, can give a voice to artifacts or objects, due to their systemic inability to speak. Additionally, giving someone a voice would imply that they got it in the first place: how do you get someone’s voice? How did the maat get Jamaica’s residents’ voices? Matarasso explains, as covered in previous chapters, that “empowerment doesn’t mean giving power to someone. Empowerment cannot be given. We gain power through building our skills, our confidence,

¹³² Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹³³ Ana Rita Alves, interviewed by the author on August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa.

¹³⁴ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹³⁵ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

our knowledge, our networks” (2021, 8), therefore confirming my previous statement that voices cannot be given, rather empowered and amplified. Vanusa mentioned that the opportunity to make their story known was positive¹³⁶.

Joana would later mention that, in museums, it is important to check your privileges and where you are coming from, as

“we assume that we are privileged but, at the same time, that we must try to decrease that act of tyranny called programming. It is always a tyranny. There are strategies we can try to decrease it. I do not think it solves the problem, but we should always act and think about others. This public program of Jamaica held that difference: it was a thinking with and not a thinking for project.”¹³⁷

As all of my interviewees mentioned, this is a crucial aspect of “Jamaika is Portugal too”: the integration of the residents and their active role in building the events taking place, as well as the invitations. Moreover, as Brüninghaus-Knubel mentions, in public programming, museums must treat their visitors as “partners in the process of learning” rather than consumers (2004, 122). Another pertinent question is regarding the range of people invited to participate. Numerous residents attended the event, even though they did not talk. Moreover, since *Model of Jamaica* contained the letter produced and presented to the audience by the AM, inhabitants from those and other precarious neighborhoods were present: Bairro 6 de Maio, Bairro da Torre, Bairro da Cova da Moura, and Bairro do Zambujal.

Vanusa Coxi recalled the reactions of the residents upon the invitation to participate in “Jamaika is Portugal too”: “a lot of them said no, they did not want their lives exposed for many reasons, mostly shame”. Nevertheless, the motivation behind those who did participate, like Vanusa, was “being able to, once more, give the inhabitants a voice, to show our problems, how we feel, and our struggles as slums’ residents.”¹³⁸ Aurora Coxi would reinforce this idea, adding that “when José [Sarmiento Matos] told us that his film reached the maat and that we were invited to tell our story, I thought it was a great idea. I told him, ‘let’s go!’.”¹³⁹ The proposal was met with both excitement and fear, but Vanusa would call it a success: “Just the fact that we were invited is a great victory, a big step for our history.

¹³⁶ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

¹³⁷ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹³⁸ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

¹³⁹ Aurora Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 21st 2023, via video call

It is something we can tell from generation to generation.”¹⁴⁰ None of the residents had seen José’s film, so that was a considerable motivation for them to go to the maat and the audience viewings of the film, with both public programs: “Open/Closed Systems” (on April 23rd 2021) and “Jamaika is Portugal too” (June 25th and 26th 2021). Aurora explains, “I cried when I saw it. Zé showed our story as it is, and no one had done that yet”¹⁴¹. Kid would corroborate her experience, remarking that it was “so beautiful to arrive at the maat and see *Model of Jamaika*”¹⁴² because Lote 10 had quite recently been demolished, therefore, the maquette materialized the space and the residents’ memories.

As Joana summarized, “our invariable intention is that the museum works as a useful tool for society, as well as a provocative agent of certain themes [...] the museum is an entity with a public responsibility”¹⁴³.

Below is a summary of all of the activities that happened during the public program.

Date	Activity	Summary	Participants
June 25 th 2021 6pm	Urbanism & Politics: Who do public programmes serve?	The session shows examples of interventions in neighbourhoods in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, using public policy tools and promoted by the residents themselves.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rui Gomes (architect) - Tânia Brito (architect, Associação de Moradores e Proprietários do Zambujal) - Associação de Desenvolvimento Social de Vale de Chicharos - Isabel Raposo (coordinator of the projet África Habitat, FAUL) <p>Moderation: Paulo Moreira (architect and researcher)</p>
June 25 th 2021 8pm	Documentary & Music: Who do the works outside the neighbourhoods serve?	The session reflects on the impact of works carried out by people from outside the neighbourhoods, based on the documentary project by photographer José Sarmento Matos, in collaboration with the residents of the Bairro da Jamaica	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - José Sarmento Matos (photographer) - Kid Robinn (rapper) - Aurora Coxi, Manuela Pedro, Alda Pontes (residents in Bairro da Jamaica) <p>Moderation: Ana Rita Alves (CHÃO – Oficina de Etnografia Urbana)</p>

¹⁴⁰ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

¹⁴¹ Aurora Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 21st 2023, via video call

¹⁴² Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

¹⁴³ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

Date	Activity	Summary	Participants
June 26 th 2021 3pm	Corporealities & Expressions: What do the children say?	The session is a work of body expression from workshops (theatre and dance) developed with children and young people from/in the Bairro da Jamaica neighbourhood, guided by the art-educator António Ferreira (CHÃO – Oficina de Etnografia Urbana)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analise Reis - Carina Candô - Daniela Nascimento - Isabel Martins - Jucelma Candô - Letícia Diquiane - Lurdes Menezes - Sol Abel
June 26 th 2021 5pm	The Right to Housing & Rehousing: How, when and for whom?	The session features a conversation between residents, representatives of associations, grassroots collectives and politicians about questions that have so far gone unanswered by public bodies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Almerindo Prudêncio (Grupo Habitação Comunidades Ciganas) - Cátia Silva (Coletivo de moradores do Bairro 6 de Maio) - Francelina Silva (Coletivo de Moradores do Bairro 6 de Maio) - Helena Roseta (architect) NOT PRESENT - Ricardina Cuthbert (Associação Torre Amiga) - Rita Silva (Associação Habita) <p>Moderation: Vanusa Coxi (A.D.S.V.C.) and CHÃO – Oficina de Etnografia Urbana</p>

The public program started with a talk¹⁴⁴ moderated by architect Paulo Moreira – “Urbanism and Politics: Who do public programmes serve?”, on June 25th 2021. The debate featured three researchers: Rui Gomes – an architect from Bairro da Cova da Moura (Amadora), Tânia Brito – an architect from Bairro do Zambujal (Alfragide) – and Professor and architect Isabel Raposo, from the University of Lisbon. The maat opened its doors for an audience debate on housing that included other struggling neighborhoods besides Jamaica. One (unnamed) resident of Jamaica was invited but failed to appear due to illness. Paulo mentions, at the beginning of the debate, that the architects have been working on small yet meaningful projects to help neighborhoods on the urban margins, and called the sharing of experiences happening at the maat “important and urgent” (4:58min). Rui and Tânia have been doing local interventions in their neighborhoods to improve their quality of

¹⁴⁴ To see the full debate, consult <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iaGvRoOG7Gc> (last accessed August 24th 2023)

life, and solve social problems and present the numerous projects and initiatives they have started there, as well as rehousing plans¹⁴⁵.

Rui also presented an urbanistic proposal for Cova da Moura, that included the legalization and reconversion of the neighborhood. As Tânia claimed, the history of Zambujal, for instance, is quite similar to that of Jamaica, with the construction company's bankruptcy and unfinished houses (25:41min). But the architect also mentions that, contrary to Jamaica, Zambujal's residents do not want to be rehoused, they would rather have the city hall do improvement construction there (34min), although the city hall, with the PRR, wants to rehouse the residents. Some people from the audience made comments and questions. Not all of them were residents of these neighborhoods. At a certain point in the debate, Jamaica resident Manuela Pedro comments that she did not know of any other neighborhoods like her own (1:02:00), so "Jamaica is Portugal too", was important for her, as she claimed "I thought that Jamaica was an isolated case, a drop in the ocean [...] [this] has opened my horizons" (1:03:48). Vanusa would tell me the same: although she knew about other neighborhoods in precarious situations, the program was relevant to understand what specific problems the others were facing¹⁴⁶.

After the debate followed the screening of the documentary by José Sarmiento Matos, as well as another talk, "Documentary and Music: Who do the works outside the neighborhoods serve?" featuring the artist, Jamaica residents Kid Robinn, Aurora Coxi, Manuela Pedro, and Alda Pontes, and moderated by Ana Rita Alves, from CHÃO¹⁴⁷, as well as a performance by Kid. José told me, "that debate was the highest point of my career. I cried"¹⁴⁸, due to the beautiful words the residents spoke about him and his work. Aurora Coxi looked back on the fruits of the photographer's presence. "It was so valuable for us as a neighborhood to have someone so interested in our history and willing to share it. Sharing always helps. The impossible becomes possible."¹⁴⁹ For her and Vanusa, it was a spectacular

¹⁴⁵ See **Figure 34**. in Annex 2

¹⁴⁶ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

¹⁴⁷ This is the only part of the public program is the only one that is not published on the maat's youtube, for reasons I tried to uncover, but did not achieve. I have reached out to Joana Simões Henriques and the Communications team to try and get access to the recording, who confirmed to me on September 28th that such records do not exist.

¹⁴⁸ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author on August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹⁴⁹ Aurora Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 21st 2023, via video call

opportunity to have their story shared in a place such as the maat, as “in that way, we can end prejudice and false ideas around neighborhoods and their residents”¹⁵⁰.

Kid Robinn, the artistic name of Roberto Cravid, performed his original song “Perspectiva”¹⁵¹. Written especially for José Sarmiento Matos’ “Jamaika”, the song has a powerful message. As the artist told me, “this is our perspective, I do not know if you will understand it, but my wish is for you to respect it”¹⁵². Some of the lyrics include: “Sinceramente eu não quero ver o bairro a se destruir / Mas se peço um lugar com mais condições não é por mim / É pelos cotas, eles tão a ficar velhos e infelizmente aqui”; “Vou te abrir as portas do meu bairro / Esquece o que já ouviste no noticiário / Bairro da Jamaica não vem no dicionário”; “Trazemos a cor do pecado / Farto de ouvir “volta p tua terra” como se a culpa não fosse deles por nos terem colonizado / Por nos terem violado / Por nos terem roubado / E cá estamos nós no bairro abandonados pelo estado”.

June 26th 2021 was the second day of the program, and it started with a dance performed by nine children from Jamaika: Analise Reis, Carina Candô, Daniela Nascimento, Isabel Martins, Jucelma Candô, Letícia Diquiane, Lurdes Menezes, and Sol Abel¹⁵³, coordinated by António Ferreira (CHÃO). It is interesting to note that not only did this public program open its doors to adults from different neighborhoods but also to children. Public programs are generally directed at either adults or children, or even families, they are not often targeted at both¹⁵⁴. The session was called “Corporealities and Expressions: What do the children say?”. The last event was another debate session¹⁵⁵ with residents from some neighborhoods in the AML that live in the same situation as Jamaika: Cátia Silva and Francelina Silva (Bairro 6 de Maio), Ricardina Cuthbert (Bairro da Torre), Vanusa Coxi (Bairro da Jamaika); Rita Silva, from Associação Habita and Almerindo Prudêncio, from Grupo Habitação Comunidades Ciganas were also present¹⁵⁶. As mentioned previously,

¹⁵⁰ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

¹⁵¹ To hear the full song, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kawmAJh0-GA> (last accessed August 24th 2023). In the comment section, Kid posted the full lyrics in Portuguese

¹⁵² Kid Robinn, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaika

¹⁵³ This performance is also not published on the maat’s Youtube channel, for reasons I could not get; however, I would say it is probably to protect the minor’s identities

¹⁵⁴ Sometimes, naturally, public programs for children include the possibility of the adult’s presence, however, this was not the case. The children from the neighborhood in study were invited to participate in a program directed at adults but were given the opportunity to perform for them, to show their art in front of people from all over the world who watched it at the maat and online.

¹⁵⁵ The full debate is not available, however, to see part of it, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yfv1EZKsliU&t=411s> (last accessed August 29th 2023)

¹⁵⁶ See **Figures 35** and **36** in Annex 2

architect and former politician Helena Roseta was invited, but could not be present. Vanusa Coxi, from Jamaica, was the moderator for this debate, and mentioned the importance of reuniting all of the neighborhoods: “If there’s just one voice, sometimes it’s harder for that voice to be heard. If we’re together, we are more, our voices are louder” (7:12). Most of the speakers, as well as many members of the audience, already knew each other from the Assembleia de Moradores¹⁵⁷, but had not met in several months, due to covid restrictions. Vanusa also reinforced how relevant the program was for the AM:

“But that’s why we organized this event. Not just for us to talk about our experiences, which, as you have seen, are all different, each neighborhood had its own experience, but also for us to reconnect, exchange new ideas, and think about new ways to move forward with a struggle that has no end. We are always struggling for better life conditions. We speak for ourselves, but I believe we are also addressing a problem that exists nationwide. It’s our voice that is heard, but alongside our voice, many voices cannot be heard, but that we are here proudly representing”. (8:39-9:34).

Other topics discussed were the current priorities for the neighborhoods, the impact of media coverage on their conditions, political measures, the right to housing, the process of rehousing through the several projects and associations involved, and the future of these residencies. Ricardina Cuthbert mentioned the inhumane process of rehousing and how it has been affecting children (15:14); Vanusa explained the impact of evictions and how IHRU and other State institutions could improve their services in rehousing (18:00), as well as a quite impactful statement: “We are talking about people. They are not animals, so you have to do the things right and try to work things out the best you can, not resorting to violence (19:40)”. Almerindo brought up discrimination against the “gypsy” community¹⁵⁸ and how belittled they have been feeling (22:30). Cátia Silva manifested the fear some women in these situations feel of having their children removed due to inadequate housing (23:11). Rita Silva from Associação Habita suggested some public policies around housing, rents, and speculation (25:32).

¹⁵⁷ To recap, it was founded in 2017 with neighbors from Bairro 6 de Maio (Amadora), Bairro da Torre (Loures), Bairro da Jamaica (Seixal) and Quinta da Fonte (Loures) and, later, Bairro da Apelação, to fight for decent living conditions. For more information, see Chapter 4.1

¹⁵⁸ In his speech, Almerindo uses the word “cigano”, translated by the maat’s team on the video for “gypsy”. However, I am aware that the term “gypsy” can be considered insulting and pejorative for some; therefore I used the word Almerindo said, but with the great notion that the common name is Roma community. For more information, see this article by Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2015/04/roma-in-europe-11-things-you-always-wanted-to-know-but-were-afraid-to-ask/> (last accessed August 29th 2023)

A member of the audience asked if the residents felt journalists and the media were helpful or unhelpful. After some debate, Ricardina shared that she felt disappointed that the media would not cover the good things happening in these neighborhoods, only the negative ones, for instance:

“We also do good things, but they don’t show that on the news. [...] And when we had a block party with a thousand people, people from all around getting together with us, and everything went well. In September, we had people over from France and London coming to the Torre neighborhood for a party we usually throw. [...] No journalist has ever reported on a party we had in the neighborhood or the beautiful things that we do.” (29:12)

If the maat had not provided Ricardina with the opportunity to share her story and the story of Bairro da Torre, this memory of hers would have been kept to the neighbors. Ricardina and all of the other neighbors became storytellers, and, as we have covered previously, this can also be a form of care in museums. Moderator Vanusa Coxi thanked the maat for the opportunity and hoped “if possible, in the future, we can have more because they are really important and fruitful.” (36:14).

At the end of the debate, Cátia Silva, from Bairro 6 de Maio, mentioned one last aspect: “To people who are having housing problems, or who know someone who is having housing problems: do not despair, you are not alone. You are not alone, seek help” (34:20), then mentioning some organizations in Lisbon that are helping and fighting for that right; moreover, she encouraged everyone to share the word about these institutions, to be present for the people going through evictions, demolitions, and difficult rehousing processes, and to join demonstrations. Cátia ended her plea, “you never know when it is your turn to face housing problems” (35:03).

5.4 Jamaica is care too

The purpose of this chapter is to explain, investigate, and evaluate the extent to which "Jamaika is Portugal too" was an example of care at the maat. The experiences of some of the residents questioned, as well as statements from Rita Alves, José Sarmiento Matos, and Joana Simões Henriques, provide a deeper examination of the program's sustainability and repercussions for the Jamaica community. It is important to note that my assessment is somewhat unbiased, as I am neither working at the maat anymore, nor am I a Jamaica resident, an artist, or part of CHÃO. Nonetheless, I accompanied the process as an outsider

from a different department. My interviewees offered me their distinct views on the process and execution of the public program, and it is my job to impartially frame and connect all of the testimonies, and my experience to the current discussion. The ultimate question is: was “Jamaika is Portugal too” an example of care?

Here, I recover some of Judy Rand's (1996) thoughts in terms of the community's needs in museums and Nuala Morse's (2021) reflection on the social role of the museum. The latter reinforces the idea that those institutions are “agents of social change” (2021, 10) and spaces of “meaning-making” (2021, 11), that can connect people, dismantle narratives, amplify voices, bridge gaps, and advocate for causes, therefore bearing the utmost power in contemporary society.

Rand describes the fundamental needs of museum goers in the "Visitors' Bill of Rights" (1996): comfort, feeling of belonging, enjoyment, socializing, respect, choice, and control, among others (1996, 25 - 26), all of which may be labeled care. Inspired by these concepts, for this chapter, I frame my analysis into four core categories of care: accessibility, inclusivity, empathy, and sustainability.

Regarding accessibility¹⁵⁹, numerous factors must be taken into consideration. Firstly, it is relevant to mention that this public program took place in a private museum. According to the maat's mission statement¹⁶⁰, “maat advocates for the museum as a catalyst platform” to “empower audiences to own their choices through the articulation of debate, the sharing of positions and the formulation of knowledge”. In fact, the event provided, a space for debate and definitely acted as a catalyst for the fight of neighborhoods like Jamaika, which no such institution had ever done. More importantly, the museum admission is costly; at the time of the program (June 2021), the price for one general ticket (access to the maat's and Central Tejo's exhibitions) stood at 9€. The maat provided free access to all the participants whenever they would visit with José, and during the event. When compared to other private museums in Lisbon¹⁶¹, the value is not that distinct. However, not everyone has

¹⁵⁹ I highly recommend visiting the Tate galleries website and the “Accessibility tab. It provides excellent insight on how to promote inclusiveness and accessibility in museums, tending to the needs of a diverse range of people. For more information, see <https://www.tate.org.uk/visit/tate-britain> (last accessed October 27th 2023)

¹⁶⁰ To read more, see <https://www.maat.pt/en/museum-art-architecture-and-technology> (last accessed August 30th)

¹⁶¹ Private museums in the city that can be comparable with the maat, in name, size, and recognition, are the MAC/CCB (former Berardo Museum), and the Gulbenkian Museum. As of October 24th 2023, the MAC offers a price of 5€ for a general ticket (the main collection), and 8€ to all the exhibitions, as stated here <https://www.ccb.pt/museu-de-arte-contemporanea-mac-ccb/> (last accessed October 24th 2023). As for

the same financial abilities, and the will to go to the *maat*, spend that money – perhaps more, if there is more than one visitor – visit both museums, possibly eat at the *maat*'s café, therefore spending more money, and leave. In fact, quite often I saw families or individuals entering the museum and leaving upon knowing the prices, which is quite discouraging. The Culture sector is already so misunderstood that, on top of practicing care in admissions and offering more inclusive pricing, museums should not be losing visitors like this. Undoubtedly, there are discounts for children, students, seniors, families, or the unemployed, among others; but there are two factors to consider here: firstly, that, even with fee reduction, ticketing can be costly (8€ for students, for instance) and secondly, getting to the museum also costs money, whether it is gasoline, public transport, or other means. All in all, it becomes a quite expensive visit¹⁶² and, for someone with low income and living in precarious situations, going to the *maat* might not be their first priority. This is an example of a care practice: by offering admission, the *maat* is acknowledging that it is important for the residents to actually visit and see the work they co-created, to see their faces and stories represented, to engage them with the museum prior to the event.

As mentioned above, José Sarmiento Matos often visited the museum with residents, but this was his initiative, not the *maat*'s, and he was the one who paid for his car's gas¹⁶³. Despite the free entrance, the participants were not offered transportation to the *maat*¹⁶⁴. Vanusa¹⁶⁵ appreciated that all the participants' and residents' admissions were free, yet she voiced that no further tickets or membership cards¹⁶⁶ were offered to them after the exhibition closed. This was confirmed by Ana Rita Alves, who mentioned an unsuccessful attempt to visit another exhibition with CHÃO and a group of residents for free due to past

Gulbenkian, all-inclusive tickets cost 12€ and partial tickets cost 10€, as stated here <https://gulbenkian.pt/museu/bilheteira/> (last accessed October 24th 2023). On both cases, discounts can then be applied similar to numerous other museums.

¹⁶² Another aspect worth mentioning is that, in September 2023, national museums also increased their admission prices, as the demand for culture services in the country has grown significantly since 2014. The Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga currently stands at 10€, while Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis stands at 8€, for instance. For more information, see here <https://www.publico.pt/2023/09/01/culturaipsilon/noticia/museus-monumentos-gratuitos-domingo-feriado-residentes-2061860> (last accessed October 24th 2023)

¹⁶³ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author on August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹⁶⁴ When asked about this, Joana Simões Henriques explained that these visits were by José's and Paulo Moreira's initiatives, therefore external to the *maat*. I must also state that there were still pandemic restrictions, and some residents visited the *maat* when the museum was not even open to the public yet, due to lockdowns, which might have also affected this decision

¹⁶⁵ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on September 29th 2023, via written

¹⁶⁶ Usually, past collaborators, artists, and curators receive a membership card that allows them to visit the *maat* free of charge. As a former employer, I have such card, and when talking to Professor Luísa Santos, she mentioned she has one too, for her work as invited curator to some of the museum's projects.

collaboration¹⁶⁷. This means that, on top of having to pay for transportation and access to the maat, the residents who desire to visit must pay (either full price or discount, depending on the situation). In fact, admission is even more expensive now as ticket prices have increased¹⁶⁸, which might be discouraging.

The topic of transportation during the program (June 25th and 26th 2021) is also relevant. I received conflicting information: according to Joana Simões Henriques, all the participants were given transportation by the maat and Junta da Amora¹⁶⁹. Ana Rita Alves tends to disagree, but she could not remember who provided the buses. She adds that some of the residents were divided into groups and traveled by uber – Rita was not entirely sure who paid for it but was assertive in stating that it was not the maat¹⁷⁰. Vanusa Coxi and José Sarmiento Matos both mentioned the initiative was from the Junta da Amora, namely on the 26th, when the children traveled for their performance.

Due to the lack of continuity following the event, any seeds sown within the Jamaika community and any linkages formed between the museum and neighborhood were already brittle; this was made worse by the absence of a more compassionate and inclusive admission policy. As I have previously discussed, care practices in the museum involve recognizing and honoring the needs and vulnerabilities of others. For the recently rehoused Jamaika inhabitants, paying for transportation from Amora to the maat and return, on top of expensive admissions, may not be a priority.

When reflecting on accessibility, there are a few more aspects I would mention¹⁷¹. Firstly, regarding physical comfort. *Model of Jamaika* did not have a proper space around it or inside to accommodate a public program, let alone several performances and debates¹⁷². Thus, another location had to be chosen. Initially, as Joana Simões Henriques described, “we

¹⁶⁷ Ana Rita Alves, interviewed by the author on August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa

¹⁶⁸ As of October 2023, the general ticket price is 11€. At the time of the program, June 2023, it stood at 9€. For more information <https://www.maat.pt/pt/bilheteira> (last accessed October 24th 2023)

¹⁶⁹ Joana Simões Henriques, via written, August 1st 2023

¹⁷⁰ Ana Rita Alves, interviewed by the author on August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa.

¹⁷¹ Although I recognize that it has a different context, size, and prestige, I would mention the Tate Galleries in the UK as a remarkable example of a museum that actively works towards accessibility and inclusiveness. Definitely an example for other institutions, the galleries list numerous resources they have on-site to provide a better, more inclusive visit for a high number of participants. These include help for visitors with vision and hearing impairments, dyslexia, epilepsy, in the autism-specter, people who have guide and assistance dogs, wheelchair users, and people with mobility issues, among others. For further information, see <https://www.tate.org.uk/visit/tate-britain> in the “Accessibility” tab. In Portugal, Acesso Cultura has been, as mentioned above, promoting these initiatives in Culture, as well as creating resources such as this one <https://www.cultura-acessivel.pt/servicos/> (both last accessed October 25th 2023)

¹⁷² See **Figures 25 – 30** in Annex 2

had thought of carrying out part of the program here [at the maat], and the other part at Jamaica. However, technical and technological issues made it difficult to do it there”¹⁷³. Additionally, the head of Education and Public Programs stresses that they could have done the program in one of the museum’s auditoriums, with “all the chairs aligned, several speakers on a stand, higher than the audience, something more formal”¹⁷⁴; however, that would create an uncomfortable environment for the audience and the lecturers instead of an open space, where everyone sat at the same level, a safe place. Therefore, the program took place at *Tactile Cinema* (2021), by Saudi design studio Bricklab¹⁷⁵. This artwork was shaped as an amphitheater covered with soft carpet and provided visitors with several spaces to sit, rest, or enjoy the films shown on the three screens that composed the installation prior to the event¹⁷⁶. On the steps were the speakers¹⁷⁷, facing the audience, who was close, in the open space between *Tactile Cinema* and *Model of Jamaica*¹⁷⁸ and, due to an overwhelming number of people, standing on the ramp that leads to the Oval or, even, on the floor. And the “stage” was destined for the performances. As we have covered before, care in museums entails all of the museum, from its outskirts to the lighting, to the workers’ attitude, art pieces, and the general environment, among other factors. The decision to move the public program into *Tactile Cinema* (2021) was caring. The museum staff took all the points stated by Joana above and people’s comfort into consideration and then chose an enjoyable open space for the program. Interestingly, Paulo Moreira brings forward a riveting topic to this discussion when describing his piece and its dynamics within the museum: the metal structure that supported the whole maquette and its contents was made by “a metalworking company, Panoramah, which built maat itself”¹⁷⁹ (Chen, 2021).

In Figure 43. in Annex 2, there is a marked axonometric plan of the maat featuring the ‘X is not a small country’ 2021 exhibition. The blue arrows mark the bathrooms (one at the entrance of the museum and two on the lower level – Oval Gallery and Project Room), the green cross marks *Model of Jamaica*, and the red cross marks *Tactile Cinema*, where the

¹⁷³ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹⁷⁴ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹⁷⁵ To see an overview of the Gallery showing both art pieces, see **Figures 37** and **38** in Annex 2

¹⁷⁶ For photographs of this specific piece, see **Figures 39** and **40**

¹⁷⁷ See **Figure 41**

¹⁷⁸ See **Figure 42**

¹⁷⁹ This is an error. The Portuguese company is called Jofebar, which built the museum’s foundations and other components. Panoramah is the name of one of Jofebar’s projects dedicated to windows, namely the big glass window on the building’s façade. Nonetheless, the point is still the same: both the maat and *Model of Jamaica* have the same foundations.

program took place. In terms of the restrooms, they were close to the space, easily accessible, and included one adapted toilet. The elevators are also near the bathrooms, however, to go from the upper floor, where the entrance of the museum is, to the lower floor, where the exhibitions are, there is a big ramp on one side and stairs on one side and on the back of the Main Gallery. In terms of mobility, there were numerous chairs for the event, but also within the other artworks; still, there were people standing or on the floor.

Secondly, regarding the use of masks and speakers. Masks were still mandatory at the time, nonetheless, every speaker had a microphone, from which the sound was loud and clear, and there was another microphone for the audience, in case of questions or comments, which means that, at least the hearing-attendees could perfectly hear the debate. The maat's production team had numerous cameras for photographs and video footage of the event, some of which were later posted on the museum's social media and website. Thus, people who could not attend – from or outside Jamaica - could see and share the experience on their platforms. On top of that, the fact that it was posted in both Portuguese and English (and, in the case of footage, always with translation) meant that other people, nationally and internationally, who were not acquainted with the issues discussed and were not present, could get to know the housing situation in Lisbon or delve deeper into Jamaica's history, get to know Kid Robinn's music and the other incredible performers, as well as learn about what they could do to help. Vanusa mentions in her interview that this public program was important because “it also allowed us to make our voice heard directly in other countries and realities”¹⁸⁰. In fact, at the end of the last debate, on June 26th, Cátia Silva, from Colectivo de Moradores do Bairro 6 de Maio, reinforced how important the program was and encouraged everyone to read about the topics.

Lastly, Vanusa confirmed¹⁸¹ there were no food or beverages provided by the maat for the two days – and several hours – for the adults, only for the children. There was not the typical coffee break between debates, to cool off, to socialize, and to eat, which I find would have been relevant, since the event lasted for at least four hours per day. Joana Simões Henriques reiterated their excitement when the children first visited the maat for rehearsals, and to see *Model of Jamaica*: “I remember this vividly – and this would have happened with any child – that when they came to the maat, they were ecstatic with the museum, and our

¹⁸⁰ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

¹⁸¹ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on September 29th 2023, via written

backstage dressing rooms we had prepared for them!”¹⁸². This attitude of creating a space backstage just for the children was, in my viewpoint, a great act of care. This was a public program mainly tailored for adults, since it mostly consisted of debates on housing and rehousing processes, concepts that young children do not dominate nor perhaps are interested in. Thus, it was important that the maat’s team took the time to prepare something special to make their museum visit (even) more memorable.

The next category of care in the current analysis is inclusiveness. Decolonization in museums is a never-ending practice that museums are increasingly applying. As previously discussed, decolonization has the power to rethink and deconstruct colonial narratives and Western-centered and oppressive perspectives. In “Jamaika is Portugal too”, the maat aimed to discuss the topics of housing and rehousing in Lisbon, problems largely caused, as mentioned in chapter 4.1., by the lack of effort on the integration of African migrants in the country. Not only was this problematic, but it also created numerous problems for those who stayed in Lisbon and established their roots: the perpetuation of racism, stereotypes, violence, dehumanizing living conditions, and hate towards them. For years, Governments have ignored these concerns, and people continue to see residents from neighborhoods such as Jamaika as marginals and criminals. The maat took a big step towards decolonization when it hosted a piece about Jamaika on top of a public program dedicated to listening to the struggles of those who live in such neighborhoods. Museums have a big compromise with the people: not only to care for them, but also to care about them (about their stories, and to make them heard). Instead of creating a program about Jamaika, the maat created one with Jamaika, and this is relevant because it entails representativeness, inclusion, and accessibility. As Morse elucidates, the New Museology and Ecomuseum tendencies have influenced museums to include the non-expert voices of “ordinary people” that speak for themselves (2021, 33). Storytelling is a method that fosters a safe space for emotion, narrative, connection, different perspectives, interaction, and attention, and infers the act of talking as well as listening, sound, and silence¹⁸³. Lager notes the ethical paradox that museums may face when resorting to storytelling for their programs: they do not have control over the narrative that is being told, however, at the same time, they hold tremendous power

¹⁸² Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹⁸³ The concepts of listening, sound, and silence are quite important but fall a bit out of the scope of this dissertation. However, I recommend visiting the website of the Listening Biennial and reading this interview with the 2023 edition curators <https://listeningbiennial.net/articles/on-curating-listening-biennial> (last accessed September 1st 2023)

to choose whose voices to amplify (2023, xiii). Timpson adds that the process of storytelling is strategic and can accommodate “pluralism, inclusion, and accessibility” (2023, 23), further adding that a museum without connections to the audience is merely a repository of objects. The maat was quite open when proposing a public program, as Joana Henriques Simões explained. José Sarmiento Matos confirmed this and stated that the residents proposed and organized most of the program, resorting to their contacts in the AM to invite speakers from neighborhoods in the same situation as Jamaika¹⁸⁴.

Lynch and Morse reflect on community engagement practices. As we have previously embraced, community engagement methods (such as storytelling) can be considered a practice of care, as they are an example of interdependence between institution and community (Lynch 2016; Morse, 2021), which is intrinsic to the Care Collective’s definition of care. Morse also stresses the importance of museums having to unlearn their privileges (2021, 46-47) through reflective practices, such as public programs, giving up part of their power to the audience, and accepting that the outcome might not be fully controlled (2021, 47). By giving major control over the program to Jamaika residents, CHÃO and the artists, the maat could have unlearned the ideas that museums are superior to the people, that museums must retain power over them, and that museums must understand that, as the New Museology and Ecomuseums movements defended, museums are made of people, for people. Quoting Peter Block, Murawski reflects on the term community, stating that “we are in a community each time we find a place where we belong” (Murawski 2018). Thus, it the maat created a caring space for a community, one where they felt acknowledged and seen. In fact, as Joana Simões Henriques highlighted, initially, the maat wanted to reach people other than the residents for them to “learn more and reflect on the housing topic”.¹⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the outcome was that the great majority of the audience was composed of Jamaika residents. Like Vanusa, so many inhabitants wanted to see *Model of Jamaika* as well as the documentary by José¹⁸⁶. For the first time, Jamaika was recognized for its essence, for its people, and not for the conflict, drug, and criminality issues that usually make the news. For the first time, a museum had invited them to a different, powerful, space to tell their stories instead of having journalists invade their homes at Jamaika. Aurora stressed the relevancy of these types of initiatives, with hopes that more people like José wanted to do

¹⁸⁴ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author on August 18th 2023, via zoom

¹⁸⁵ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

¹⁸⁶ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

the same, if not for Jamaica, for other neighborhoods, because people always have a story to tell¹⁸⁷. Joana mentioned a riveting aspect: “to some of the people who came, coming to a museum is uncommon, it does not happen every day. It is an event, it is special”¹⁸⁸. Thus, the museum demonstrates a practice of care, of wanting to bring and include the inhabitants in something about them; so caring about their struggle and caring for them.

Inclusiveness in the program also comprised diversity in terms of ages (children, adult, and senior participants), education, backgrounds, communities, and genders. The event reflected on the history of Jamaica, but it also honored the micronarratives of women in the neighborhoods, of single mothers, of young adults with dreams and aspirations, of the elderly who came from Africa to start a new life, of children who have, for the most part, been born in Jamaica but then rehoused, of adults who went to college and got their degrees, such as Vanusa, and are successful. The *maat* brought a whole community to see the art work they helped create and the program they designed. Most importantly, I believe, is that the inhabitants had the opportunity to tell their story from their own viewpoint, therefore proving that they are more than what people see on the news. As stressed by Vanusa, when invited to participate in the program, “a lot of residents denied, as they did not want their lives exposed. But others, like single mothers who were working, unemployed, or in a couple, said yes. They thought it was a way of portraying their lives and the difficulties of living with prejudice in our neighborhoods”¹⁸⁹. Dodd observes that the process of introducing groups – who may have never been there, as it was the case for most Jamaica residents, as Vanusa and Kid mentioned – to museums

“is not about high levels of educational achievement. Rather it is concerned with negotiating, confidence-building and providing opportunities [...] to realize that museums are as much for them as for the elite, and that they too can have access to them culturally, physically and intellectually” (1999, 132)

Jamaica was not the only neighborhood present at the program, as participants from Bairro Cova da Moura, Bairro do Zambujal, Bairro 6 de Maio, and Bairro da Torre were also invited. This large representation of residents of precarious areas in Lisbon was quite important. It proved that Jamaica is not fighting alone. As I mentioned, in the first debate on the 25th, “Urbanism & Politics: Who do public programmes serve?” Rui Gomes and Tânia

¹⁸⁷ Aurora Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 21st 2023, via video call

¹⁸⁸ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the *maat*

¹⁸⁹ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

Brito shared their examples of intervention in Cova da Moura and Zambujal, which motivated Manuela Pedro, a Jamaica resident, to comment that, before their testimonies, she had thought her neighborhood was the only one in those precarious conditions. She felt seen and represented. The power of representation that museums hold is quite an impactful responsibility. However, it is a double-edged sword: a role and pressure that participants would also feel. As Kid explained, “I felt pressure because I was the voice of the neighborhood. Those who did not know Jamaica would know of it with my music”¹⁹⁰.

An additional reflection on the length and depth of the program concludes that it was an interesting choice to divide it into two days. Condensed into one day, it could have been quite exhausting. However, when thinking about the schedule, I wonder if a lot of care was put into it. Two days at the *maat* meant two days out of their comfort zone for the residents. But it also meant getting food and transportation for at least four trips. Moreover, the program happened on a Friday, the 25th, and a Saturday, the 26th of June. Although it was already summer in June, numerous participants and attendees were still working at 6pm, when the first debate started, which could have made some of them leave work earlier; and, if they had kids returning home after school, they would have had to get someone to care for them. Since it was Saturday, the children could attend and perform on the 26th, as could more adults who were not working that day.

Empathy is the next category of care I want to pin down. Varutti reiterates how relevant both concepts are in museum practices, as they can offer “a roadmap with which to navigate the emotional volatility and uncertainty of our times” (2022). As the ability to put ourselves in ‘the other’s shoes’, empathy has the power of emotion and connection, which are vital components of a care landscape. The museum actively worked to grasp the specific difficulties, experiences, and opinions of the inhabitants. Had “Jamaica is Portugal too” been a program in which researchers and/or White people were merely debating the neighborhood’s case and racism struggles, the outcome would have been exponentially different. Acknowledging that, as privileged White cultural professionals, the *maat*’s team does not fully comprehend the extent of Jamaica and other neighborhoods’ conditions, they invited the residents to autonomously tell their stories, their fights, and to prepare their own program. Joana Simões Henriques noted that the birth of the event was a symbiosis of

¹⁹⁰ Kid Robinn, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

“unlearning our privilege” and “trying to decrease this act of tyranny”¹⁹¹, as most of the power to ponder the event was given to the residents. Simine reiterates the idea that “mere knowledge about the past does not suffice to prevent the perpetuation of violent and traumatic histories” (2013, 1), which is why the storytelling method proposed was an excellent opportunity for the residents. We tend to resonate with personal narratives, as they evoke emotions, curiosity, and connection in us, more than objects, as Lager defends (2022 xi). Therefore, the *maat*, the artists, CHÃO and the residents were co-creators in an interdependent compromise that sought co-governance of the “Jamaika is Portugal too”.

As previously discussed, Joan Tronto proposes that care encompasses two main aspects: the sense of otherness and action, which also relates to empathy. The researcher adds that, although crucial for the conceptualization of care, this approach is quite complex; our impression of "the other" in need of care frequently has a weakness, as if caring is reserved for moments of disease (1993, 123) and not in our regular lives (as Tronto, the Care Collective, Morse, Munro, and Bellacasa have noted). Our subtle and, perhaps, unconscious failure to recognize that care is not necessarily linked to vulnerability and dependency has created a condescending view of the way we perceive and interact with others. Thus, this sense of otherness that Tronto mentions must be interpreted, in the museum context, not as someone who is weak or in need, but as someone who deserves to feel safe, comforted, welcomed, respected, and, ultimately, cared for. The Jamaica residents are not weak, they do not need the *maat* to save them. It is collaborative governance. The other notion is action; as previously discussed, after acknowledging the diverse audiences they serve, museums should put care into practice and work to create a caring environment. In fact, the *maat* created such a space, by inviting the residents to lead the program and to talk about their vulnerabilities and stories. This unprecedented invitation demonstrated that their fight is legitimate outside of its political scope. It validated their narrative since there was a piece of art at one of the most prestigious museums in the country about it. It reinforced that regardless of how educated or rich they are, or their skin color, they have a voice, and can use it. It helped build resilience, confidence, and self-esteem. As Vanusa noted, the fact that they “were invited was a victory. A story we can tell from generation to generation”¹⁹². The program fostered empathy, as it reinforced the dismantling of stereotypes and xenophobic

¹⁹¹ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the *maat*

¹⁹² Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

narratives regarding Jamaica and other slums in the AML. Moreover, it made use of the maat's wide platform to advocate and help generate solutions. Considering this, I recognize that micronarratives are and really were important for these residents. Numerous stories that had absolutely nothing to do with the program's theme were told, such as the one about summer block parties Ricardina told – mentioned in chapter 5.3. Storytelling is an act of care, displaying respect for the experiences of people in these situations, and contributing to the enrichment of our common cultural fabric. It fosters empathy, promotes well-being, and advocates for a society in which every voice is heard, valued, and respected.

A clear example of an empathy-provoking tactic was the fact that, to enter *Model of Jamaica*, people had to bow, as the entrance was low, as if they were paying their respects to the narrative told, and preparing themselves to what they were going to see inside. Moreover, only two people fit inside – one with covid restrictions – as to experience a tiny portion of how it is to be trapped in a small, uncomfortable space, engaging with emotion and empathy¹⁹³. The maquette was a materialization of the communitarian experience of Jamaica's residents, a mirror of the conditions many people currently live in. The intimate setting, full of residents from Jamaica and other neighborhoods in the same situation, turned the Oval Gallery into a place of empathy and respect. By listening to other testimonies, the inhabitants felt validated and helped dismantle – at least in theory – some preconceptions, as Vanusa remarked¹⁹⁴. Additionally, although the event did not take place at *Mode of Jamaica*, participants and Jamaica residents were nonetheless able to see it, which was relevant, as this brought memories, a sense of closeness to home, and personal identification with something physical other than the people. The Oval Gallery at the maat served as a place where the audience could “discover its own image” (Rivière, 1985, 182).

At the same time, I must mention a situation that happened in preparation for the program, a moment so impactful that all of my interviewees, except for Joana, mentioned it in their interviews. Racist and xenophobic comments were made by a member of the museum towards some of the residents. When it became known by Jamaica, the artists, and CHÃO, they voted to see if the program would be shut down or continue as planned. For them, it was unacceptable that the maat did not issue a statement or write an official apology

¹⁹³ Similar to the Jewish Museum in Berlin, committed to provide visitors with sensory deprivation and disorientation, to shortly mimic some of the conditions felt by the Jews in concentration camps. Varutti explains this project here <https://icom.museum/en/news/the-emotional-turn-in-museum-practice/> (last accessed October 26th 2023).

¹⁹⁴ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

to the children and their families. Naturally, the museum cannot control what comes out of the employees' mouths; but it has the power to put an end to it. Furthermore, as Rita Alves and José Sarmiento Matos told me, it was collectively decided that, although the vote was in favor of continuing the event, this story would be shared on the "Documentary & Music: Who do the works outside the neighbourhoods serve?" debate on June 26th. Both José and Rita agreed that this was a severe example of carelessness.

As Ana Rita Alves explained, all of the participants (residents, artists, and members of CHÃO) were paid for their work¹⁹⁵. Ultimately, though, the money was equally divided among all of the participant residents. The remuneration, according to Vanusa, was not even communicated until after the event, but the resident says she would still have done it regardless of payment¹⁹⁶.

The last category of care in my analysis is sustainability, in terms of the impact and effects on Jamaica over time. Programs will always differ according to the institution, its typology, size, exhibitions, audience-type, recognition, and more factors, and their impact will most certainly depend on those factors. The absence of a long-term link between a museum and a community following a public program might make participants view it as a missed opportunity. According to Shoenberger, museums should measure the social impact of their activities, because it means they hold themselves accountable, that their actions align with the institutional missions, as well as increasing the space for improvement in their work (2019). The researcher adds that this impact is variable and depends on the initial aims of the project or event. "Jamaica is Portugal too" was intended to "discuss the experience lived by these and many other people who face the same hardships in the most diverse latitudes of the territory".¹⁹⁷ This is exactly what occurred, so, in a certain way, the program was successful, as it achieved the intended goal.

A museum with a reputation such as the maat will naturally reach a wider audience. Although Joana Simões Henriques mentioned the fact that "Jamaica is Portugal too" did not have the same repercussions she and her team expected, she feels the goals of the program were all achieved¹⁹⁸. The head of Education and Public Programs explained that the event was less covered in the media than anticipated, due to the pandemic's restrictions, and

¹⁹⁵ Ana Rita Alves, interviewed by the author on August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa

¹⁹⁶ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on September 29th 2023, via written

¹⁹⁷ According to the maat's website <https://www.maat.pt/en/event/jamaica-portugal-too> (last accessed October 26th 2023)

¹⁹⁸ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

because it took place in the summer. On the other hand, José, Rita and the residents all felt that the program changed little to nothing for the community. Aurora told me that, post-program, there was no intent to reach out to the neighborhood, to go there, or to get close. Kid noted “All of a sudden, Jamaica is at a space like the maat. There is a maquette there, and the residents are represented there. There are people that are not going to be happy about that.”¹⁹⁹ Vanusa recalls that, for many inhabitants, the program was indifferent, that it did not alter anything; but she emphasized that it was important for it to happen, to destroy prejudice and to give residents the “confirmation that their voices are and will be heard. That neighborhoods are not forgotten.”²⁰⁰

As I have covered, Falk and Dierking mention the sustainability failure of public programs by stating that most of them are simply one-time events, with no aftermath, and no further deepened connection between visitor and institution (2013, 169). When asked about the aftermath of “Jamaica is Portugal too”, Joana confirmed that there was not, in fact, a formal continuation of the relationship between the maat and Jamaica, observing that the post-program is a concern when doing public programs, but that it is quite difficult to think about it in the middle of other exhibitions, events, meetings, lack of financial support and other museum tasks²⁰¹. Indeed, Joana recognized that, in this case, the way the relationship ended was abrupt and left people hanging, because it was not thought of as a long-term project, and that “perhaps when planning the programs, we should think of the post, not only evaluate its impact, but also create a solution so that, somehow, the program continues on”²⁰². She further adds that the fact that I am writing a dissertation on the topic is already proof that the program bore its fruit²⁰³.

When asked about the impact of the project on the community, Rita replied that these types of initiatives do not contribute to an effective change in people’s lives; nonetheless “considering the place it happened and the non-access for some, it spoke more to the whiteness” (Silva, 2022, 3). She added her wish that the project had contributed to making people rethink what they thought they knew about Jamaica. In fact, this process of decolonization of both museums and minds is ongoing, constantly changing and improving, according to the resources available at the moment, and is currently a vital aspect that

¹⁹⁹ Kid Robinn, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

²⁰⁰ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

²⁰¹ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

²⁰² Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

²⁰³ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

museums should cover. José Sarmiento Matos corroborates Rita's perspective and adds that, for instance, Kid Robinn could have been invited to take part in the "Interferences" exhibition (March 30th – September 5th 2022)²⁰⁴, which focused on urban cultures, or in a public program derived from it, creating "moments of encounter"²⁰⁵. The photographer was quite disappointed by the maat's attitude towards the program, as he felt like not enough effort was being put into the aftermath. Rita agreed that it was not enough, but explained that the choice of artists depended on the curators and that Kid was not invited, but other Black artists were, and that was positive for her²⁰⁶. As for Joana, she did understand my question about the lack of post-program care but stated that, on the one hand, the initial goal was not to continue the relationship, rather to debate the housing issue, and, on the other, the project did not have as many resources and partnerships allocated for as "Interferences"²⁰⁷.

The three residents I interviewed had a different perspective. Although Aurora remarked that no effort was made by the maat's team to go to Jamaica or to have any type of connection afterwards, she claimed, "it was so worth it, I would do it all again, no problem!"²⁰⁸, quite excited. Aurora remarked that it did not change people's opinions regarding Jamaica, as there will always be someone who judges the inhabitants because they live in an underprivileged neighborhood or they think they do not work or that they do not have the right to decent housing.²⁰⁹ When it comes to "Jamaica is Portugal too", it was never intended to be an event that mitigated any disgraceful opinions around them. Aurora's sister-in-law, Vanusa, raised an important question during her interview: despite Lisbon's housing problem not being recent, it is still relevant to talk about it and the residents' fight. "Nowadays, we have the opportunity to make our voices heard, in many ways, so, although not immediate, these types of programs always make a difference"²¹⁰. The fact that the program did not have any immediate repercussions was not relevant for Vanusa, as she was not expecting it. For her, just the fact that they "were invited was a victory. A story we can tell from generation to generation"²¹¹; what mattered was that another space made Jamaica's voice heard and known both nationally and internationally. Kid told me a similar thing when

²⁰⁴ More information here <https://www.maat.pt/en/exhibition/interferences> (last accessed September 4th)

²⁰⁵ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author on August 18th 2023, via zoom

²⁰⁶ Ana Rita Alves, interviewed by the author on August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa

²⁰⁷ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

²⁰⁸ Aurora Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 21st 2023, via video call

²⁰⁹ Aurora Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 21st 2023, via video call

²¹⁰ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

²¹¹ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author on August 10th 2023, via written

we were at Jamaica: he was quite excited when he got the invitation to sing at the public program because he loves doing concerts²¹². Not yet making his life solely as a musician, the rapper performed “Perspectiva” twice at the maat, a song he only performs if it is in a specific context, related to José’s project “Jamaika”.

Additionally, Kid explained that despite having been invited to talk at the debate “Documentary & Music: Who do the works outside the neighbourhoods serve?” on June 25th 2021, he did not talk, since what he wanted to do at the maat was to sing. When asked about the difference between performing in a museum and performing at a festival, for instance, Kid confided to me that the type of public was flagrantly distinct: the maat’s audience would not go to his future concerts, but that only meant, to him, that that concert was more important. He felt “this needs to be heard right here, people need to hear this”²¹³. For the rapper, this public program was relevant because it brought his music to other people other than his regular fans, as well as Jamaica’s history to music lovers. The fact that the lyrics were also translated by the maat’s team on social media might have helped him bring “Perspectiva” and “Jamaika” to other countries and contexts. Lastly, Kid added that it could have just been another program if José was not in it, but that the photographer made it clear from the beginning that he wanted the residents to be included and to participate in the preparation of both *Model of Jamaica* and “Jamaika is Portugal too”²¹⁴.

Chapter 6. Final Considerations

This dissertation contemplated the relationships between museums, care, and public programs, and how the latter could be considered a tool towards care. Additionally, I analyzed “Jamaika is Portugal too” through the lens of care, based on the testimonies of some of its participants.

I investigated the ongoing impact of care in our lives, alongside the possibility of adopting a radical mindset, as Tronto suggested, that care is in a "peripheral location to a place near the center of human life" (1993, 115), as well as the Care Collective's perspective that care means embracing our interdependence (Chatzidakis et al. 2020, 5). As defended by Rumschlag, Cascone, Varutti, Tronto, Morse, Munro, and other researchers, I reinforced the

²¹² Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

²¹³ Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

²¹⁴ Kid Robbin, interviewed by the author on August 31st 2023, at Jamaica

social role of museums in the communities they serve. Moreover, remembering the 2022 ICOM definition of museum, I developed this further, as museums should be “accessible and inclusive” and “foster diversity” (ICOM 2022). Community engagement, decolonization, storytelling, and public programs are methods that institutions can resort to to foster spaces of care. As covered in Chapter 2.2, I explored Ecomuseums’ emergence and effects on the Art world, as well as how contemporary museums can learn from this theory. Etymologically, “Eco” comes from *oykos*, which means “home” (Davis 2011, 3), an aspect that museums can take into consideration when reflecting upon care and how to incorporate care in the creation of an inclusive, representative, and safe place for their visitors to identify with and feel at home.

Indeed, public programs may serve as a tool for care, as they can be transformative (Soren, 2009, 234 – 235) and a method of engaging with targeted audiences, adapting to their necessities – such as impairments, age, or social condition. Rather than considering the visitor as a client or passive member of the audience, they can be considered partners and collaborators, as museums are in fact made for people, by people, as the name itself denounces *public* programs. In her interview, Joana Simões Henriques shared her views on the power of museums: “the intention is always to see the museum as a useful tool for society [...] there is always that caring relationship, with heritage, with people, with our history, as well as with the future”²¹⁵. Strauss brings forward an interesting point: “Museums retain power and decide how and when people can participate” (2023). However, by returning to the thought that people have a voice that museums can amplify – instead of “giving” them a voice. In fact, what Joana and Strauss mention is complementary: Strauss stresses the influence of these institutions; on the other hand, Joana explains their moral responsibility to a society they serve, as Brown also puts it (2019, 1).

As we have seen with Ecomuseums, the purpose and mission of museums have been changing and tending towards a more human-centered approach, as opposed to object-centered. Morse notes how, oftentimes, there is a (perhaps unconscious) tendency to categorize people into groups or problems to be fixed. In the case study analysis, the maat could have envisioned Jamaica’s residents as marginalized communities in need of a rehousing situation, as the white saviorism theory explains. Rather, it saw them as co-creators of *Model of Jamaica* and the program’s governance. It helped dismantle systemic

²¹⁵ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

racism and amplified the voices of inhabitants of underprivileged neighborhoods. In museums, empowerment is key, but semantics are important: “we don’t empower people, people empower themselves to change their lives” (2021, 144 – 145).

Delving into “Jamaika is Portugal too” and writing this dissertation, I wondered if it could be considered a care practice. And the answer is dubious. Brulon Soares and Witcomb note, about decolonization, that what matters most is the process, rather than the end result (2023, vi). It would not be wise to expect that, with “Jamaika is Portugal too”, the rehousing of the remaining residents happened overnight, nor that all prejudice, xenophobia, and racism against them would suddenly be mitigated. Museums are indeed powerful, but the change in mentalities is quite slow, museums cannot control it, but rather contribute to the change. Aspects such as politics, access, privilege, money, and others condition museums’ actions and what they can do. And although I interviewed the head of Education and Public Programs at the maat, I do not know every single detail and aspect taken into consideration when programming “Jamaika is Portugal too”.

To say that my Jamaika interviewees were incredibly happy to have participated in the program is an understatement. Vanusa explained that it was a victory to get Jamaika’s story into a museum as relevant as the maat, and that it will be something told generations on; Aurora enjoyed the experience and felt emotional recalling the moment she went to the maat and saw her neighborhood represented there. Kid mentioned that the audience that he performed for needed to hear his message through “Perspectiva”. Despite the fact that all of them recognized that the program had little to no actual repercussion, and that no efforts were made to foster a long-term relationship between museum and community, none of the three former Jamaika residents regretted participating in the program. By allowing the residents in, physically and in practice, the maat moved one step forward to decolonization, as it bore the ground for reflection on BAME narratives and to fight prejudice. Additionally, I demonstrated the social role and power that museums have to amplify the voices of the community they serve, therefore creating a landscape of care (as Milligan and Wiles proposed). Unprecedentedly, the Jamaika residents became storytellers in a museum that gave them a space to make their voices heard, appreciated, and respected while also generating empathy and boosting wellbeing.

Sometimes, if relationships are not maintained, communities may perceive the museum's involvement as dishonest or opportunistic. It is important to note that Vanusa

remarked that the xenophobia situation was the only negative aspect of the program; nonetheless, it was impactful enough to be prominent over the positives. She stated that “with this, I deduce that at the maat, people are treated according to their skin color and societal position, as well as the neighborhood they live in. Personally, I would not recommend it to family or friends”²¹⁶. This means that the program failed to foster a desire to return to the museum, to maintain the bond of interdependence created. Trust was broken and it felt like a missed opportunity. Returning to Engster’s proposition, I wonder if care is a natural or moral duty (2005, 58). Should museums practice care – such as public programs – whether or not they actually care about the issues tackled? Did the maat care about Jamaica? Do public programs bear the power of change? Was this program worth it if nothing changed in Jamaica? I found myself struggling with this throughout the entire process of writing. I do not have all of the answers to these final questions.

I do believe the program helped raise awareness about the rehousing process and demonstrate that Jamaica is more than what people read on the news. A quick search for comments on posts on newspaper websites, as well as social media, denounces a part of the public opinion regarding Jamaica and its inhabitants. Moreover, while working at the maat, I overheard numerous racist and xenophobe comments, because, despite the fact that visitors were entering *Model of Jamaica*, reading, and watching the documentary and the photographs, the word “Jamaika” is quite triggering. Museums do not suddenly change mentalities. But as José told me, it would be worse if we did not talk; if we do not talk, people forget²¹⁷. I also heard people comment that maat was leftist, since it was not condoning but promoting delinquent behavior. I do not intend to bring politics into this because it falls outside of the scope of this dissertation, but I will say this: respect and compassion do not have a political color. In the “Visitor Bill of Rights”, Judy Rand highlights the importance of thinking from the visitor’s point of view but differentiates: “not from what we hope to give them, but from what they really need” (1996, 22), which made me rethink the ethics and moral boundaries of care, empathy, and storytelling.

Did “Jamaika is Portugal too” fulfill its objectives? It aimed to “discuss the experience lived by these and many other people who face the same hardships in the most

²¹⁶ Vanusa Coxi, interviewed by the author, August 10th 2023, via written

²¹⁷ José Sarmiento Matos, interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via zoom

diverse latitudes of the territory”²¹⁸. Thus, the answer to this specific question is yes. The maat provided a safe space for free dialogue. It was a collaborative governance experience between the audience and the institution. It was not a program *about* Jamaica, but it was *with* Jamaica. Overall, I feel like a museum with as many resources as the maat could have done better; nonetheless, this was a landmark in public programs in Portugal’s museums. Moreover, with an exhibition as rich as *X is not a small country*, with over nine worldwide artists, it is understandable that resources must be evenly distributed and, as Joana mentioned, perhaps this was just a seed planted of a tree we will see grow²¹⁹.

Finally, I would like to add some comments regarding my experience with this dissertation and with Jamaica. I will not lie; I was afraid to go to Jamaica, because of all the stories of violence, drug use, and robbery that I read in the media. But then I realized that, firstly, it did not make any sense to be writing and researching about Jamaica and not ever visiting; and secondly, that I was criticizing the maat for not doing better and for not condoning racist actions when I, myself, was having a racist reaction. I tried to unlearn my privilege behind and understand that some residents might be different from me – because we have different backgrounds, histories, identities and, above all, opportunities- but that that does not make them less than me.

And I went there even though I was afraid at first. At the same time, I was incredibly touched by the pilings of rubble, by the emptiness, by the torn children’s playground, and the remains of what Jamaica used to be, concentrated in one single half-destroyed, half-built building. Kid told me so many stories about his childhood and adulthood there, he showed me where his music studio was, under the rubble of Block 13, where the kids went on vacation, where he first played Playstation with his friends, where he went to school. I understood that, as flawed as “Jamaika is Portugal too” was, it was also a moment of materialization of their memories. It was also the unlearning of white privilege. It was also one step closer to decolonizing the maat. It was a platform to amplify voices that are frequently called delinquent and other derogatory names. That is why my interviewees seemed happy about it. Who was I to evaluate if the program was worth it or not? That is not up to me. Yes, it could have been so much better. Having made a great step into decolonizing the museum, the maat still has a long way ahead. But museums are

²¹⁸ “Jamaika is Portugal too” on the maat’s website <https://www.maat.pt/en/event/jamaika-portugal-too> (last accessed September 4th 2023)

²¹⁹ Joana Simões Henriques, interviewed by the author on May 10th 2023, at the maat

continuously learning and roaming through the world of care, decolonization, inclusion, diversity, and representativeness. Comparing to other European museums, as we covered previously, Portugal stands a bit behind on the decolonization process in museums, but there is no such thing as a fully decolonized museum, and I am not confident that there will ever be one.

As Nuala Morse argues, by not reflecting on care and care practices, museums may face the risk of being eroded and of losing the “heart out of engagement with museums” (2020, 186). In addition, the researcher advocates for a “museumness of care” and for care practices that can create intimate settings for the benefit of the community (2020, 186). The social influence of a museum or its activities, Shoenberger emphasizes, is determined by participants' reactions rather than by what the museum does (2019). So, the answer to the initial question: was “Jamaika is Portugal too” an example of care? is dubious. As much as it was pioneering, it was flawed. An important effort, nonetheless.

I believe that this research was, much like “Jamaika is Portugal too”, a seed sown in fertile soil. For the future, perhaps it will generate a caring relationship with Jamaika’s residents, as I am quite fond of oral history, storytelling, micronarratives, and memories. I worked for four years on the research project *Memória Para Todos*²²⁰, that focuses on oral history and memory registration. It could be interesting to connect MPT with Jamaika as a way of materializing the history of a neighborhood that physically will soon not exist anymore. At Jamaika, Kid told me that the ADSVC was planning on remodeling their headquarters to create a small museum or memorial for Jamaika and its residents. Perhaps my research could help, as I intend to continue researching the connections between care and museums. All in all, my dissertation is just a seed. It does not, factually, represent any change or direct care for Jamaika or its inhabitants. Nonetheless, it may be, perhaps, an example of awareness of their struggle and another proof that those residents are not defined by their living situation. Carfagno and Rozan observe and express my hope that “today’s communities’ museums will become the room in the house where everybody is welcome” (2016, 25).

Chapter 7. Bibliography

²²⁰ For more information, see <https://memoriaparatodos.pt> (last accessed September 6th 2023)

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Alves, Ana Rita (researcher and co-founder of CHÃO - Centro de Etnografia Urbana). Interviewed by the author, August 25th 2022, at Jardim Fernando Pessa, Lisboa.

Coxi, Aurora (former Jamaica resident and participant on “Jamaika is Portugal too”). Interviewed by the author, August 21st 2023, via videoconference.

Coxi, Vanusa (former Jamaica resident and spokesperson for “Jamaika is Portugal too”). Interviewed by the author, August 10th 2023, via written.

Henriques, Joana Simões (Head of the Education and Public Programs Service at the maat). Interviewed by the author, May 20th 2023, at the maat café.

Matos, José Sarmiento (photographer and artist of *Model of Jamaica*). Interviewed by the author, August 18th 2023, via videoconference.

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Annex 1 - Biographies of interviewees

Ana Rita Alves, CHÃO – Atelier de Etnografia Urbana

An anthropologist, Rita is also PhD on Human Rights in Contemporary Societies. She has received numerous scholarships and research projects grants on institutional racism, segregation, urbanism, housing and rehousing processes, periphery, public policies, among others. Rita cofounded CHÃO – Atelier de Etnografia Urbana in 2015, which collaborates with associations and residentes of self-produced neighborhoods, namely Jamaika, in Seixal. Besides working as an activist for decent housing, Rita teaches Portuguese as a foreign language at Jamaika. For “Jamaika is Portugal too”, Rita worked closely with the artists, the residents and the maat to create the program, as well as *Model of Jamaika*, and moderated the debate “Documentary and Music: Who do the works outside the neighborhoods serve?” on June 25th 2021.

Interview: August 25th 2022 at Jardim Fernando Pessa

Aurora Coxi, 32 years old

Aurora has completed the secondary school and now she works as a security guard. She came from the Netherlands to the neighborhood at the age of 15 and was only rehoused from Jamaika in 2022. Her three children moved with her, one of which was already born in the new house in Seixal. Aurora is still in contact with the neighborhood, after 16 years of living there, although not as active in the ADSVC nor the AM anymore. For “Jamaika is Portugal too”, Aurora participated in the debate “Documentary and Music: Who do the works outside the neighborhoods serve?” on June 25th 2021.

Interview: August 21st 2023 via zoom

Joana Simões Henriques, Head of Education and Public Programs at the maat

Joana Simões Henriques is an MA in Cultural Management and Studies and has been working with the maat for over 13 years. Previously, Joana worked in numerous departments at Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian’s Centro de Arte Moderna (Communications, Curatorship, Conservation and Education). In 2010, the researcher started collaborating at the maat and in 2015, she became the Head of Education and Public Programs. For “Jamaika is Portugal too”, she was the maat’s spokesperson and main organizer, alongside the artists, CHÃO, and the residents.

Interview: May 10th 2023 at the maat; Sep 28th via written

José Sarmiento Matos, photographer

José Sarmiento Matos is a Lisbon and London based photographer who works as a freelancer to The New York Times, Bloomberg News, Le Monde, History Channel, Aljazeera, among others. His work as a photographer is to document social inequality and identity, street photography and people's personal stories, which he has done in Portugal, the UK, Germany, Switzerland, the Philippines, India, and a few other countries. In 2020, he received a National Geographic funding to work in a COVID-19 related project, which was when José started to work with Jamaica's residents. For the maat's project, the photographer created "Jamaika", a 2020 documentary on the neighborhood, contributed to the creation of *Model of Jamaika* and the "Jamaika is Portugal too" program, where he also participated in the debate "Documentary and Music: Who do the works outside the neighborhoods serve?" on June 25th 2021. José will launch a book on Jamaica in the beginning of 2024. To follow his work: <https://www.josesmatos.com>

Interview: August 18th 2023 via zoom

Kid Robinn, 25 years old

Kid Robinn is the artistic name of Roberto Cravid. Once a young promising footballer, Kid now focuses on his music: his rap group BGANG and his solo career as a rapper. When he lived at Jamaica, he had his own recording studio in Lote 12, in his grandmother's basement. Now, Kid lives in another neighborhood with his parents and his recording studio is in his room. For "Jamaika is Portugal too", Kid performed his song "Perspectiva" as well as a couple of his originals, and took part in the debate "Documentary and Music: Who do the works outside the neighborhoods serve?" on June 25th 2021. To hear his songs: <https://www.youtube.com/@KidRobinn>

Interview: August 31st 2023 at Jamaica

Vanusa Coxi, 38 years old

Vanusa resided in Jamaica for 20 years, and was then rehoused in the same city of Seixal. A mother of 8 children, Vanusa works and is also a social activist for Jamaica and decent

housing conditions. Although not living in Jamaica anymore, she is still quite active, as she often participates in the AM and is also a part of the ADSVC.

For “Jamaika is Portugal too”, Vanusa was the spokesperson of the neighborhood during meetings for the exhibition and the public program, and moderated the debate around Housing and Rehousing, with residents from other neighborhoods.

Interviews: August 10th 2023; September 29th 2023, both via written

Annex 2 – Figures

Figure 1.

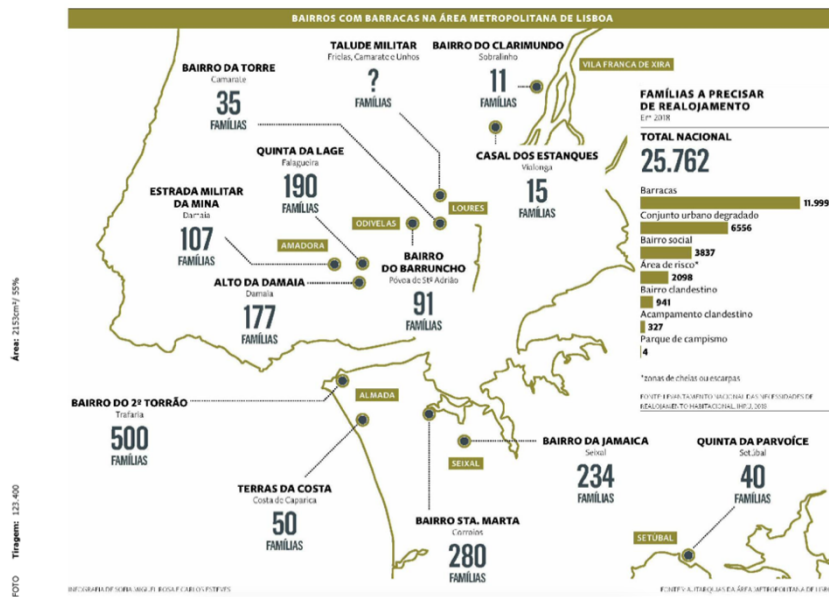


Figure 1. INFOGRAPHIC OF PRECARIOUS NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF LISBON (2019)

Colored infographic by Sofia Miguel Rosa and Carlos Esteves for Expresso, with the number of families needed to be rehoused due to precarious conditions

Image taken from Jornal Expresso, February 2nd 2019

https://www.ulisboa.pt/sites/ulisboa.pt/files/public/ha_13_bairros_jamaica_na_grande_lisboa.pdf (last accessed May 5th 2023)

Figure 2



Figure 2. MAP OF THE SOUTH MARGIN OF LISBON, WHERE BAIRO DA JAMAICA IS SITUATED (2020)

Colored map by Diário de Notícias from a news article dated May 26th 2020.

Image and information taken from

<https://www.dn.pt/pais/sobrelotados-e-sem-condicoes-bairros-sociais-podem-propiciar-o-contagio-da-covid-12241845.html> (last accessed May 5th 2023)

Figure 3.



Figure 3. THE AMORA PARISH (2023)

Colored map from Google Maps, made by the author May 7th 2023

Amora is one of the parished of Seixal. Highlighted with a yellow pin and a star is Bairro da Jamaika

Figure 4.

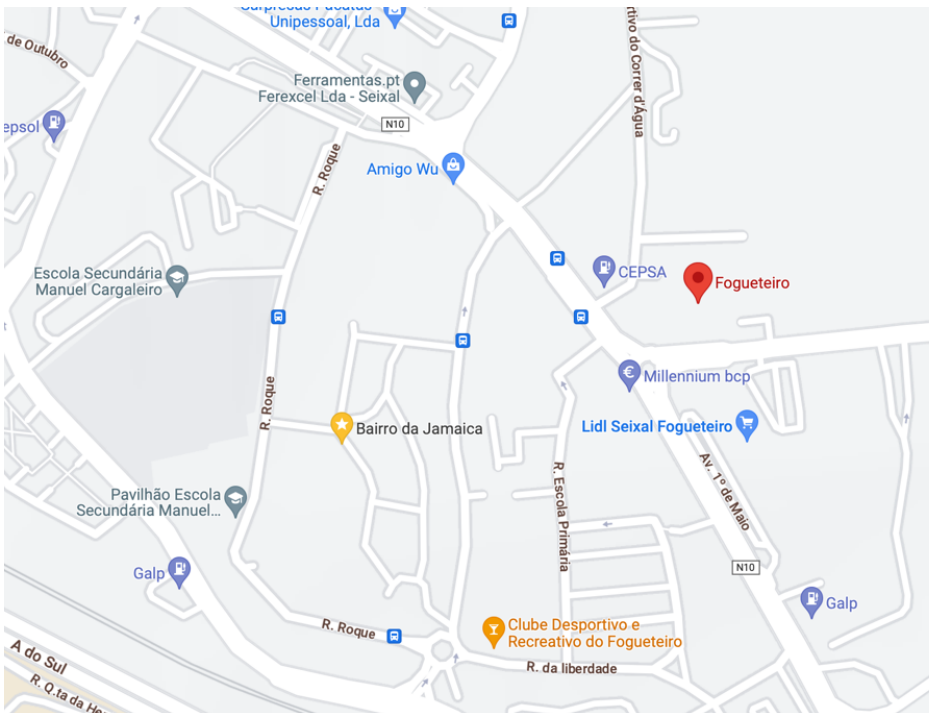


Figure 4. MAP OF FOGUETEIRO WITH BAIRRO DA JAMAICA (2023)

Colored map from Google Maps, made by the author May 7th 2023

Fogueteiro is a region on Amora, which Bairro da Jamaika is a part of. Here, you can see its whereabouts.

Figure 5.



Figure 5. ONE OF JAMAICA’S BUILDINGS BEFORE DEMOLITION (2021)

Colored photograph by José Sarmiento Matos, from his series “Jamaika” (2021). The artist worked closely with the families in Jamaica.

Image taken from <https://ext.maat.pt/cinema/model-jamaika> (last accessed May 7th 2023)

Figure 6.



Figure 6. OVERVIEW OF JAMAICA’S BUILDINGS (2021)

Colored photograph by José Sarmiento Matos, from his series “Jamaika” (2021). The artist worked closely with the families in Jamaica.

Image taken from <https://ext.maat.pt/cinema/model-jamaika> (last accessed May 7th 2023)

Figure 7.



Figure 7. OUTSIDE A HOUSE IN JAMAICA (2020)

Still photograph from “Jamaika” (2020), a documentary by José Sarmiento Matos

Taken from the photographer’s official youtube page

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGtb5_t5DKc min. 2:26 (last accessed May 21st 2023)

Figure 8.



Figure 8. OUTSIDE A HOUSE IN JAMAICA (2020)

Still photograph from “Jamaika” (2020), a documentary by José Sarmiento Matos

Taken from the photographer’s official youtube page

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGtb5_t5DKc min. 2:39 (last accessed May 21st 2023)

Figure 9.



Figure 9. INSIDE A HOUSE IN JAMAICA (2020)

Still photograph from “Jamaika” (2020), a documentary by José Sarmento Matos. Here you can see a young girl in her bedroom studying online during the pandemic, with her window broken

Taken from the photographer’s official youtube page

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGtb5_t5DKc min. 2:41 (last accessed May 21st 2023)

Figure 10.



Figure 10. JAMAICA’S BUILDINGS (2022)

Colored photograph by Orlando Almeida/Global Imagens

Taken from “Trinta e sete famílias do bairro da Jamaica começaram hoje a ser realojadas”, Diário de Notícias, October 17th 2022. <https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/trinta-e-sete-familias-do-bairro-da-jamaica-comecaram->

[hoje-a-ser-realojadas-15260798.html](https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/trinta-e-sete-familias-do-bairro-da-jamaica-comecaram-hoje-a-ser-realojadas-15260798.html) (last accessed May 7th 2023)

Figure 11.



Figure 11. DETAIL ON ONE BUILDING IN JAMAICA (2018)

Colored photograph by Daniel Rocha

Taken from “Saíam do bairro, mas não o levem convosco”. Começou o realojamento do Bairro do Jamaica”. Público, December 17th 2018. <https://www.publico.pt/2018/12/17/local/noticia/saiam-bairro-nao-levem-convosco-comecou-realojamento-bairro-jamaica-1855077> (last accessed May 7th 2023)

“Saíam do bairro, mas não o levem convosco”. Começou o realojamento do Bairro do Jamaica

Figure 12.



Figure 12. OVERVIEW OF JAMAICA (2020)

Colored photograph by Daniel Rocha

Taken from “Covid-19 no Bairro da Jamaica: Câmara do Seixal pede “mais informação” ao Governo para conter surtos”. Público, May 26th 2020 <https://www.publico.pt/2020/05/26/local/noticia/covid19-bairro-jamaica-camara-seixal-pede-informacao-governo-conter-surtos-1918230> (last accessed May 7th 2023)

Figure 13.



Figure 13. DEMOLITION OF BLOCK 10 (2019)

Colored photograph by Carlos Costa/Global Imagens

Taken from “Demolição do Bairro da Jamaica retomada e 74 famílias realojadas até ao fim do ano”, Diário de Notícias, April 12th 2019. <https://www.jn.pt/local/noticias/setubal/seixal/demolicao-do-bairro-da-jamaica-retomada-e-74-familias-realojadas-ate-ao-fim-do-ano-10789237.html> (last accessed May 7th 2023)

Figure 14.



Figure 14. DEMOLITION OF BLOCK 10 (2019)

Colored photograph by Alex Gaspar. In the picture, construction workers and Joaquim Santos, president of Câmara Municipal do Seixal

Taken from O Setubalense, April 12th 2019 <https://osetubalense.com/ultimas/2019/04/12/hoje-e-o-primeiro-dia-do-fim-do-bairro-da-jamaica/> (last accessed May 7th 2023)

Figure 15.



Figure 15. DEMOLITION OF BLOCK 10 (2018)

Colored photographs by Joana Bougard. In the picture, construction workers and trucks in the process of demolishing Block 10

Taken from Rádio Renascença Online, December 19th 2018 <https://rr.sapo.pt/el/134678/bairro-da-jamaica-agora-as-amigas-da-minha-filha-podem-vir-a-nossa-casa-antes-tinham-medo> (last accessed May 11th 2023)

Figure 16.



Figure 16. TELMA REIS' ROOM

Colored photographs by José Sarmento Matos for his project series “Jamaika” (2020), taken on November 16th 2020. Telma Reis lives in a basement of 3 buildings with her two young kids. Since it is a basement, there are constant water floods and high levels of humidity.

Taken from José Sarmento Matos’ official Instagram page <https://www.instagram.com/p/CTxj7R5A7to/> (last accessed May 21st 2023)

Figure 17.



Figure 17. INTERIOR OF AURORA COXI'S ROOM (2020/2021)

Still photograph from “Jamaika” (2020), a documentary by José Sarmento Matos. Here, you can see Aurora and her kids’ bedroom. The bucket on the window is to catch the water that enters the house when it rains. The ceiling is also moldy.

Taken from the photographer’s official youtube page

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGtb5_t5DKc min. 4:48 (last accessed May 21st 2023)

Figure 18.



Figure 18. POLICE AT JAMAICA (2021)

Colored photographs by Rui Gaudêncio. In the picture, police standing while Jamaica’s residents protest the closing and demolition of establishments.

Taken from Público, November 9th 2021 <https://www.publico.pt/2021/11/09/local/reportagem/camara-faz-demolicoes-cafes-jamaica-bue-policias-estao-partir-cafes-avisar-1984278> (last accessed, May 15th 2023)

Figure 19.



Figure 19. LOTE 13 AT JAMAICA (AUGUST 2023)

Colored photograph by Afonso Ribeiro. It depicts Lote 13, one of the few remaining original Jamaica buildings, with its foundational famous bricks and layers of other materials (tile, glass, etc).
Taken August 2023.

Figure 20.



Figure 20. LOTE 13 AT JAMAICA (AUGUST 2023)

Colored photograph by Afonso Ribeiro. It depicts Lote 13, one of the few remaining original Jamaica buildings, with its foundational famous bricks and layers of other materials (tile, glass, etc).
Taken August 2023.

Figure 21.



Figure 21. INSIDE OF LOTE 13 AT JAMAICA (AUGUST 2023)

Colored photograph by Afonso Ribeiro. It depicts the inside of Lote 13, one of the few remaining original Jamaica buildings, with its foundational famous bricks and layers of other materials (tile, glass, etc). In graffiti on the wall, one can read “BGANG”, which is the name of the rap group composed by Kid Robinn, Rafael Leão and Cii James.

Taken August 2023.

Figure 22



Figure 22. UNNUMBERED BUILDING IN THE DEMOLITION PROCESS (AUGUST 2023)

Colored photograph by Afonso Ribeiro. It depicts one of Jamaica’s buildings in the process of demolition. No one lives here anymore, but sometimes the homeless people sleep there, in spite of wreckage danger.

Taken August 2023.

Figure 23



Figure 23. KID AND THE REMAINING BUILDINGS OF JAMAICA (AUGUST 2023)
Colored photograph by Afonso Ribeiro. Kid Robinn looks at the last buildings still remaining from Jamaica, as they will soon be demolished and their inhabitants rehoused.
Taken August 2023.

Figure 24



Figure 24. ADSVC'S HEADQUARTERS (AUGUST 2023)
Colored photograph by Afonso Ribeiro. It depicts the ADSVC's headquarters at Jamaica, that are now seemingly abandoned. The ADSVC won the project "Bairros Saudáveis" in 2021 to regenerate it and, according to Kid, there are plans to transform it in a memorial of the neighborhood
Taken August 2023.

Figure 25.



Figure 25. EXHIBITION OVERVIEW - OVAL GALLERY (2021)

Colored photographs by Bruno Lopes/maat. It is an overview of part of the Oval Gallery where “X is not a small country” took place. On the left, He Jing’s *Arches of the Triumph* (2020-2021), on the back, *Teeter Totter Wall* (2021), by architect duo Rael San Fratello. On the right, Paulo Moreira’s *Model of Jamaica* (2021).

Taken from <https://www.maat.pt/en/exhibition/x-not-small-country> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

Figure 26



Figure 26. MODEL OF JAMAICA (2021)

Colored photographs by Bruno Lopes/maat

Model scale 1:10, plastered MDF, metallic structure, a maquette of Block 10 by architect Paulo Moreira. On the left, part of *Teeter-Totter Wall* (2019–2021) by Rael San Fratello.

Taken from <https://ext.maat.pt/cinema/model-jamaika> (last accessed May 17th 2023)

Figure 27.



Figure 27. MODEL OF JAMAICA (2021)
Colored photographs by Francisco Nogueira for ArchDaily

Model scale 1:10, plastered MDF, metallic structure, a maquette of Block 10 by architect Paulo Moreira

Taken from

<https://www.archdaily.com/963517/x-is-not-a-small-country-exhibition-daniel-zamabide> (last accessed May 17th 2023)

Figure 28.



Figure 28. MODEL OF JAMAICA (2021)

Colored photographs by Rui Gaudêncio for Público

Model scale 1:10, plastered MDF, metallic structure, a maquette of Block 10 by architect Paulo Moreira
Taken from Amado, 2021, <https://www.publico.pt/2021/04/15/p3/noticia/vozes-retratos-vive-bairro-jamaica-chegaram-maat-1958166> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

Figure 29.



Figure 29. DETAIL OF MODEL OF JAMAICA (2021)

Colored photograph by Ivo Tavares Studio for Neighbourhood Index. Detail of one side of the maquette of Block 10, where one can see the degradation of the building, as well as a person inside, since it is a walk-in installation.

Taken from

<https://neighbourhoodindex.org/index/9774e7cb-88a6-4cc2-9226-b4560a5a1f61/> (last accessed May 20th)

Figure 30.



Figure 30. DETAILS OF MODEL OF JAMAICA (2021)

Colored photograph by Pedro Pina, depicting photographs of the residents by José Sarmiento Matos. Taken from <https://ext.maat.pt/cinema/model-jamaika> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

Figure 31.



Figure 31. DETAILS OF MODEL OF JAMAICA (2021)

Colored photograph by Rui Gaudêncio for Público, depicting photographs of some of the residents (taken by José Sarmiento de Matos).
Taken from Amado, 2021, <https://www.publico.pt/2021/04/15/p3/noticia/vozes-retratos-vive-bairro-jamaica-chegaram-maat-1958166> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

Figure 32.

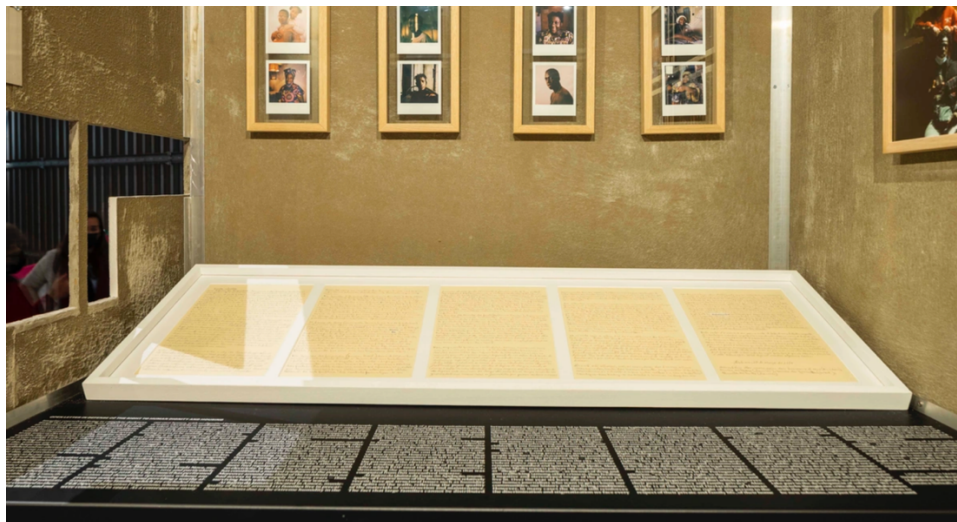


Figure 32. MANUSCRIPT LETTER BY CDH (2021)

Colored photograph by Ivo Tavares Studio for Neighbourhood Index depicting the letter in defense of the “right to human dignity and housing” by CDH, and its translation into English
Taken from <https://neighbourhoodindex.org/index/9774e7cb-88a6-4cc2-9226-b4560a5a1f61> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

Figure 33.

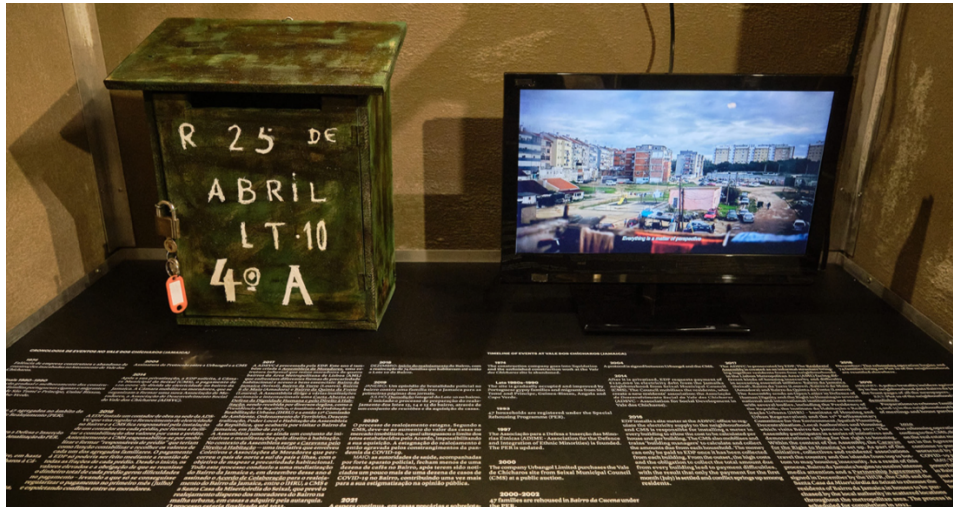


Figure 33. CHRONOLOGY, OLD MAILBOX AND TELEVISION (2021)

Colored photograph by Rui Gaudêncio for Público. In the picture, a model of one of the mailboxes in Block 10; a chronology of Jamaica's history; and a television which played the documentary "Jamaika" (2020) on loop.

Taken from Amado, 2021, <https://www.publico.pt/2021/04/15/p3/noticia/vozes-retratos-vive-bairro-jamaica-chegaram-maat-1958166> (last accessed May 20th 2023)

Figure 34



Figure 34. RUI GOMES AND TÂNIA BRITO (1st DEBATE)

Colored photograph by unknown/maat. In the picture, architect Rui Gomes, from Bairro Cova da Moura and architect Tânia Brito, from Bairro do Zambujal, on the first day of the public program (June 25th 2021).

Taken from maat's official Facebook page
<https://www.facebook.com/maatmuseum/photos/pcb.6331073543584746/6331066136918820> (last accessed May 30th)

Figure 35



Figure 35. RITA SILVA, RICARDINA CUTHBERTH E FRANCELINA SILVA (LAST DEBATE)
Colored photograph by unknown/maat. In the picture, Rita Silva (Habita), Ricardina Cuthberth (Associação Torre Amiga) and Francelina Silva (Colectivo de Moradores do Bairro 6 de Maio) on the last day of the public program (June 26th 2021).

Taken from maat's official Facebook page

<https://www.facebook.com/maatmuseum/photos/pcb.6331073543584746/6331069210251846> (last accessed May 30th)

Figure 36



Figure 36. FRANCELINA SILVA, ALMERINDO PRUDÊNCIO, VANUSA COXI AND CÁTIA SILVA (LAST DEBATE)

Colored photograph by unknown/maat. In the picture Francelina Silva (Colectivo de Moradores do Bairro 6 de Maio), Almeirndo Prudêncio (Grupo Habitação Comunidades Ciganas), Vanusa Coxi (Bairro da Jamaica) and, on the inferior step, Cátia Silva (Colectivo de Moradores do Bairro 6 de Maio) on the last day of the program (June 26th 2021). Taken from maat's official Facebook page

<https://www.facebook.com/maatmuseum/photos/pcb.6331073543584746/6331069370251830> (last accessed May 30th)

Figure 37.



Figure 37. OVERVIEW OF PART OF THE OVAL GALLERY (2021)

Still photograph from “April 2021: News shows at maat. Come in!”, a promotional video developed by the maat. On the background, Wolfgang Tillmans numerous posters (different dates); on the right, He Jing’s *Arches of Triumph* (2020-2021); in the middle of the Oval Gallery, *Model of Jamaica* (2021); behind it, barely visible, is *Tactile Cinema* (2021) by Bricklab

Taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IGOe4TL1pxo> (min 7:10) - (last accessed May 23rd 2023)

Figure 38.

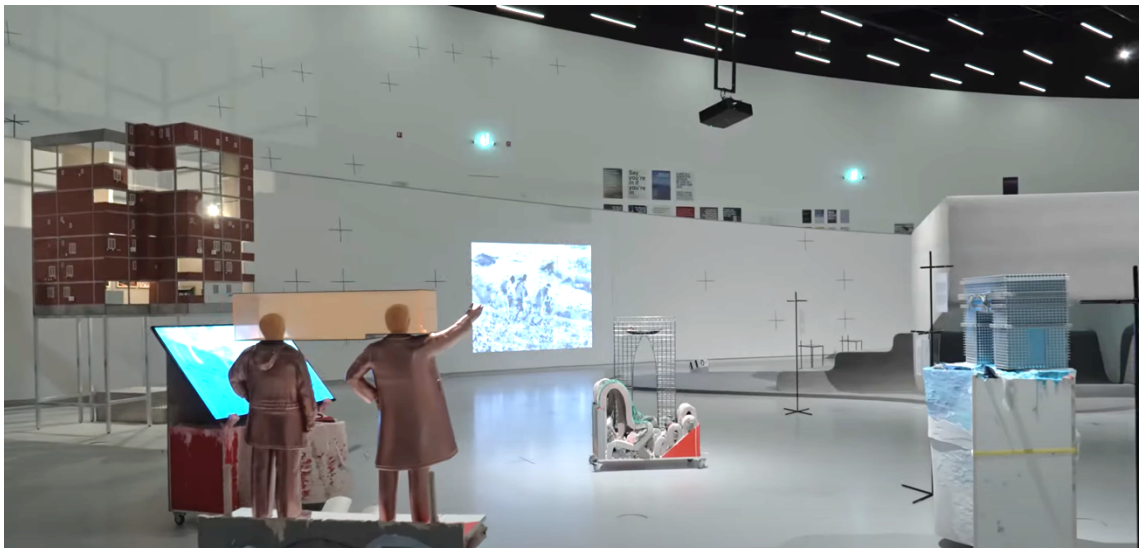


Figure 38. OVERVIEW OF PART OF THE OVAL GALLERY (2021)

Still photograph from “April 2021: News shows at maat. Come in!”, a promotional video developed by the maat. On the left, *Model of Jamaica* (2021) and on the right, *Tactile Cinema* (2021). In the center, He Jing’s *Arches of Triumph* (2020-2021).

Taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IGOe4TL1pxo> (min 2:24) - (last accessed May 23rd 2023)

Figure 39.



Figure 39. TACTILE CINEMA (2021), A PIECE BY BRICKLAB

Colored photograph by Bruno Lopes/maat. In the picture, on the corner of the Oval Gallery, is *Tactile Cinema*, an artwork developed by design studio Bricklab. It has a projector, which reflects on the wall and was used for showing films, debates, etc.

Taken from <https://ext.maat.pt/longforms/tactile-cinema> (last accessed May 23rd 2023)

Figure 40.



Figure 40. TACTILE CINEMA (2021), A PIECE BY BRICKLAB (2021)

Colored photograph by Bruno Lopes/maat. In the picture, on the corner of the Oval Gallery, is *Tactile Cinema*, an artwork developed by design studio Bricklab.

Taken from <https://ext.maat.pt/longforms/tactile-cinema> (last accessed May 23rd 2023)

Figure 41



Figure 41. DAY TWO OF JAMAICA IS PORTUGAL TOO (2021)

Still photograph from the official public program video. In the picture, the lecturers of the last debate (26th of June) sitting on *Tactile Cinema* (2021). From left to right: Rita Silva (Associação Habita), Ricardina Cuthbert (Bairro da Torre), Francelina Silva (Bairro 6 de Maio), Almerindo Prudêncio (Grupo Habitação Comunidades Ciganas), Vanusa Coxi (Jamaika) and, on the bottom floor, Cátia Silva (Bairro 6 de Maio). Taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yfv1EZKsliU> min 5:41 (last accessed May 23rd 2023)

Figure 42



Figure 42. DAY ONE OF JAMAICA IS PORTUGAL TOO (2021)

Still photograph from the official public program video. In the picture, the lecturers of the first debate (25th of June) sitting on *Tactile Cinema* (2021). From left to right: Isabel Raposo (FAUL) Paulo Moreira, Rui Gomes (Architect from Bairro Cova da Moura and Tânia Brito (Architect from Bairro do Zambujal). The audience sits between this artwork and *Model of Jamaica* (2021)

Taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iaGvRoOG7Gc> min 1:20:32 (last accessed May 23rd 2023)

Figure 43

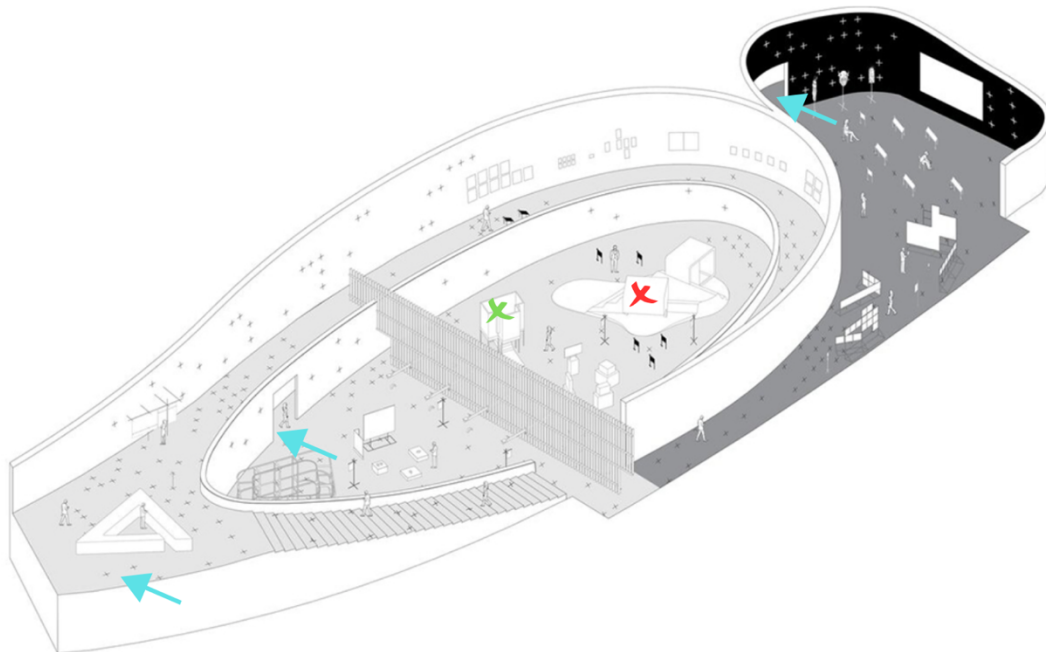


Figure 43. MARKED 'X IS NOT A SMALL COUNTRY' PLAN (2021)

Marked axonometric plan of the Maat featuring the 'X is not a small country' 2021 exhibition. The blue arrows mark the bathrooms, the green cross marks *Model of Jamaica* and the red cross marks *Tactile Cinema*. Original plan designed by BUREAU for the show, and taken from World of Architecture <https://worldarchitecture.org/article-links/evvhc/bureaudesigned-x-is-not-a-small-country-at-maat-looks-at-postglobal-conditions-in-the-pandemic.html> (last accessed October 25th 2023)