

# The decolonial nature of *comunicação popular*

Leonardo Custódio  
Åbo Akademi University (Finland)  
leonardo.custodio@abo.fi

## **Abstract**

This chapter contributes to debates about the sociopolitical character and relevance of decolonization as a term that denotes anti-hegemonic and transformative knowledge and action. The objective is to demonstrate the decolonial nature of practices of "comunicação popular" (in Portuguese, or "comunicación popular", in Spanish). "Comunicação popular" entails community-building and contentious processes of communication created by underprivileged, marginalized and structurally oppressed social groups. The chapter starts with a brief reflection on the contentious character of debates on decolonization. After that, it tackles positionality and what (de)colonization means for an Afro-Brazilian scholar in predominantly white academia. Then, the chapter turns to practices of "comunicação popular" as decolonial actions as observed among favela media activists active against the covid-19 pandemic in favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

Leonardo Custódio, PhD, is a postdoctoral researcher at Åbo Akademi University, Finland. He also coordinates the Anti-Racism Media Activist Alliance ([www.armaalliance.fi](http://www.armaalliance.fi)) together with Monica Gathuo. Custódio is the author of "Favela Media Activism: Counterpublics for human rights in Brazil" (Lexington Books, 2017).

# 1. Introduction

The anti-hegemonic urgency that the term “decolonization” entails seems evident. Centuries of European territorial expansion and domination through colonization have stamped today’s capitalist world with the blood of indigenous and enslaved people as well as the exploitation of natural resources around the globe. While most formal colonial structures have succumbed to struggles for independence, their legacies remain evident today in the primacy of whiteness in sociopolitical and economic relations, in the normativity of Western governance in politics, in the naturalized exploitation of underprivileged bodies for profit, in the destruction of nature by compulsive extractivism, and other aspects of contemporaneity rooted in colonialism. Therefore, the prefix de- added to the verb “colonize” and the noun “colonization” suggests a process of stripping, as much as possible, whatever effects of colonialism from all dimensions of life.

For these reasons, the perception that the term “decolonization” has become a comfortable buzzword in and out of academia is very unsettling. Scholars and activists who belong to social groups that have historically suffered from the atrocities and legacies of colonialism have denounced the danger of depoliticizing the term. From an indigenous standpoint in North America, Eve Tuck, an indigenous scholar, and K. Wayne Yang argue against the process of reducing decolonization into a metaphor. They denounce how well-meaning settler scholars who call for decolonizing schools, methods and curricula, for example, have in fact appropriated and depoliticized decolonial discourse in ways to alleviate their guilt and complicity to power relations established in colonialism. (Tuck and Yang, 2012) Similarly motivated, Dr. Nayantara Sheoran Appleton, an Indian immigrant in New Zealand’s academia, proposes a different vocabulary list for practical actions (including terms like “diversification of curriculum”, “devaluing of hierarchies” and “decentralization of knowledge production”) for scholars to avoid emptying “decolonization” of its political meaning (Appleton, 2019). Other voices from South America (e.g. Cusicanqui, 2012) and Africa (e.g. Hlabangane, 2018) have also contested the colonial legacies in decolonial discourses and practices in predominantly white and westernized academia (Grosfoguel, Hernández and Velásquez, 2016; Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancioğlu, 2018).

This chapter is a contribution to similar debates that reinforce the sociopolitical character and relevance of decolonization as a term that denotes anti-hegemonic and transformative knowledge and action. My objective is to demonstrate the decolonial nature of practices of *comunicação popular* (in Portuguese, or *comunicación popular*, in Spanish). In short, *comunicação popular* entails community-building and contentious processes of communication created by underprivileged, marginalized and structurally oppressed social groups. First, I position myself sociopolitically and reflect upon what (de)colonization means from my standpoint in academia and society. Then, I analyze practices of *comunicação popular* as decolonial actions for social change. I illustrate my arguments with examples of favela media activist actions to prevent the spread of covid-19 in favelas of Rio de Janeiro. The examples I present feature media activist collectives with which I familiarized through research and solidarity with favela residents engaged in media uses for social justice, human rights and changes in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. (see Custódio, 2017)

## 2. What does “decolonial” mean?

The unsettling feeling caused by the perception of depoliticization of decolonization as an essentially anti-hegemonic term arises from the situatedness of my learning and knowledge production (cf. Intemann, 2019). I am a Black scholar from the South in academia at the north of the North. The observation, in Finland (where I live) and elsewhere in Europe, of conferences and symposiums that call for decolonization has made fundamental questions be recurrent on my mind: what does decolonization mean? How does the meaning of the imperative “decolonize” vary according to those who call for it?

Political and epistemological questions like these, grounded on one’s self and positionality, tend to be derogatorily reduced and dismissed as a matter “identity politics” (cf. Alcoff, 2006). However, I am referring to my Black-Brazilianess not only as an identity, but as a historical, cultural and political evidence of the impact of colonialism and its legacies on people’s body, mind, social relations and actions as political agents (cf. Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva, 2008). In other words, quoting the late Abdias do Nascimento, one of Brazil’s leading Black scholars:

“I cannot and it does not interest me to transcend myself as social scientists declare to supposedly do in relation to their investigations. In relation to me, I consider myself to be part of the researched subject. It is only from my own experience and *situation* in the ethnic-cultural group to which I belong, interacting in the global context of the Brazilian society, that I can catch a glimpse of the reality that conditions and defines my being. *Situation* that involves me like a historical belt from which I cannot consciously escape without practicing lies, betrayals, or the distortion of my personality”. (Nascimento, 1978, 41, *italics in the original*)<sup>1</sup>

As a late 20th-century descendant of the enslaved in Africa by the Portuguese, I was not *colonized*. I *am* colonial. I have no experience of ancestry and life that is not colonial. Most people like me have no idea where their ethnic, linguistic and cultural roots in Africa are. Most of us cannot even trace back our genealogical tree beyond our grandparents. Most of us grew up with colonial values infused into us daily through white supremacist narratives of sub-humanity shaping our character and our relationship to the public space. (Nascimento, 1978) Take religion, for example. As a consequence of the imposition and assimilation of christianity over the centuries, those in Brazil who remained faithful to African religions continue, to this day, perceived as evil. (cf. Engler & Schmidt, 2016) In addition, many of us still have to wear white masks (Fanon, 2017) to survive and thrive in a capitalist world where whiteness is the standard for everything positive while Blackness - and the features of other othered social groups - remains as a trace of the dangerous threats to be surveilled and violently controlled (Mbembe, 2019), the culture to be commodified (Sansone, 2003), and the history of resistance (Santana, 2019; Mitchell, 2018) and struggle for humanity (Fanon, 1967) to be ignored or

---

<sup>1</sup> “Não posso e não me interessa transcender a mim mesmo, como habitualmente os cientistas sociais declaram supostamente fazer em relação às suas investigações. Quanto a mim, considero-me parte da matéria investigada. Somente da minha própria experiência e *situação* no grupo étnico-cultural a que pertenço, interagindo no contexto global da sociedade brasileira, é que posso surpreender a realidade que condiciona o meu ser e o define. *Situação* que me envolve qual um cinturão histórico de onde não posso escapar conscientemente sem praticar a mentira, a traição, ou a distorção da minha personalidade.”

mistreated as actions of a past of oppression that is wrongfully believed to no longer exist. (Alves, 2018)

It is from within this framework of shared histories that my questions about the meaning of decolonization arise. It is also in this framework that the thinking towards an answer takes shape by, as a first step, reflecting about what the adjective “colonial” means. For that reflection, I believe it is important to highlight the difference between “colonialism” and “coloniality”.

Colonialism is a term that designates a historical process. Indian scholar Ania Loomba (2015) reflects on how dictionary entries about the term do not often include the complexity of conquest and domination of other people’s land and goods. While Loomba acknowledges that similar patterns of colonial expansion have happened since ancient times, she also emphasizes the importance of identifying the difference that characterizes the colonial expansion of European nations. “European colonialisms involved a variety of techniques and patterns of domination, penetrating deep into some societies and involving a comparatively superficial contact with others, all of them produced the economic imbalance that was necessary for the growth of European capitalism and industry.” (Loomba, 2015, 22) Loomba also makes an important distinction (23-24) between administrative colonialism - as it happened in India to her native ancestors - and settler colonialism - as it happened in Brazil to my enslaved ancestors.

In contrast, coloniality is a conceptual construct that sheds light on the material and symbolic consequences of colonialism in social life (Mignolo and Escobar, 2010). The Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano coined the notion of “coloniality” in the early 1990s in an intellectual effort to re-think modernity from a Latin American perspective. In the essay “Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality” (2007), Quijano reflects on the history of European colonialism to argue that while the administrative domination in the Southern hemisphere has ended, the colonial structure of power built on social discriminations, Eurocentric knowledge production and legitimation, and the universal character of European culture has remained to these days. In other words, as Walter Mignolo defines, coloniality is the darker side of European modernity (Mignolo 2011). Following Quijano, the Puerto Rican scholar Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007) developed a definition for coloniality that is very important for its clarity.

“[Coloniality] refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspiration of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday.” (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 243)

The differentiation between colonialism and coloniality contributes to grasping another set of differences related to the meanings of the prefixes anti-, post-, neo-, and de- when connected to the adjective “colonial”. Each of these prefixes indicate specific bodies of political and/or epistemological discourses. For suggesting opposition to colonialism, “anticolonial” often refers to historical-political movements and the critical thinking engaged against colonial rule

across the colonized South (Elam 2017). “Postcolonial” designates both the historical legacy following the end of European colonial administration (Iverson 2018) and a diverse and conflicting field of scholarship across the humanities and social sciences dedicated to interrogating the colonial past, its aftermath and remaining relevance in culture, politics, economy and society (Gandhi 2019). Referring to a historical phenomenon, “neocolonial” suggests a mutation and the persistence of colonial characteristics in local and global power relations defined by cultural, financial and economic domination, control and subjection in today’s capitalist and neoliberal world (Ponzanesi 2018).

Finally, “decolonial” designates both the historical movements to rip countries apart from colonial rule and the intellectual action to dismantle coloniality during and after colonialism (Mignolo and Escobar 2010). That is, actions deemed as decolonial target four interrelated dimensions of the colonial matrix of power as defined by Walter Mignolo: the historical and systematic management and control of subjectivities (e.g. through christianism), authority (e.g. through colonial administration), economy (e.g. land exploitation), and knowledge (e.g. European epistemology. See also Blauner and Wellman, 1998). Racism (the control of non-white people) and patriarchy (the control of women) underlie the production of knowledge in this matrix. (Mignolo 2011)

Therefore, the notion of a colonial matrix of power provides us with a suitable blueprint with which to analyze symbolic and material levels of resistance against coloniality around the world. Brazil, where I was born, is still a deeply colonial society if we think in terms of coloniality. This is evident in how christianism and capitalism dominate Brazilian subjectivity, how political authority is still controlled by white settler colonizers, how the logics of exploitation of natural resources still define our economy, how westernized knowledge still enjoys institutional legitimacy, and how the intersection and hierarchies of race and gender, combined with class, still seem to determine sociability and power relations. (Jodhka, Rehbein, and Souza, 2018; Souza, 2011).

The theoretical understanding of coloniality combined with my lived experience as a Black Brazilian man makes me believe that the contesting character denoted in the term “decolonial” at both material/historical and symbolic levels resembles the contesting nature of *comunicação popular* at the levels of politics and epistemology.

### 3. *Comunicação popular* as decolonial action

The meaning of the adjective “popular” in the term *comunicação popular* is intrinsically connected with how coloniality has happened in Latin America. In English, “popular” primarily refers to the characteristics of someone or something who enjoys popularity among a large number of people. Still in English, “popular” also refers to people in general especially in contrast to those in positions of political, economic and cultural power. These meanings also exist in Portuguese and Spanish, but in Latin America the term “popular” also denotes characteristics and actions of the populations who are impoverished, underprivileged, discriminated and predominantly racialized as indigenous and black. That is, “popular” refers to qualities and actions of the *povo* (Portuguese)/*pueblo* (Spanish), the noun that often designates people disregarded as sub-citizens by the better-off, predominantly white classes that have built their wealth across generations by maintaining the colonial logic of exploitation

of low-paid labor and the inheritances of financial, political and cultural power (for studies on sub-citizenship and inequalities in Brazil, see Souza, 2003; Holston, 2008; see also Peruzzo, 1998, 116-118).

In such contexts of inequalities, the perception of “popular” as a positive or negative varies according to (a) one’s position in social hierarchies and (b) how threatening or beneficial to the maintenance of the unequal social order someone or something is. The more one benefits from coloniality (e.g. by having low-paid services, accessing high-quality public services and jobs with certain exclusivity, enjoying safety and protection of state-provided security without dealing with their violence, etc.), the more likely one is to despise popular expressions and actions. In contrast, the more one suffers from coloniality (e.g. being dependent on low-quality education and healthcare, forcedly accepting low wages for everyday survival, being surveilled and repressed by the State’s military apparatuses, etc.), the more likely one is to identify with, learn from, celebrate and act according to popular expressions and actions. In other words, for many beneficiaries of coloniality, popular expressions and actions represent backwardness, lack of manners, symbols of stupidity and ignorance and danger to their inherited welfare. For many who suffer from coloniality, the “popular” represents creative forms of celebration and resistance of the diverse knowledge, culture and worldviews among historically oppressed, but very diverse populations in their wisdom and creativity.

Unsurprisingly, “popular” phenomena are at times treated as inferior, criminal and/or opportunistically appropriated by representatives of the white supremacist values that dominate Latin American societies. In Brazil, the history of *samba* is very telling of how popular expressions and actions are treated. *Samba* appeared in the early 20th century not only as a music genre, but as a means for low-income black workers to record their oral histories, to historicize their everyday life, to celebrate their culture, and to mobilize and contest the persisting patterns of exploitation by the upper classes and the violent repression of the state. *Samba*, in cultural and political terms, is decolonial. Perhaps for these reasons the white political and economic elites and elitist middle classes deemed it not only as low-culture (or non-culture), but also as a crime. However, for being an expression of popular wisdom, culture and politics shared by so many people, *samba* gained popularity among black low-income populations and beyond. Gradually the elites saw this popularity as an opportunity. So, they appropriated it. Politicians used *samba* for their populist propaganda, media owners used *samba* to increase their audiences, the business sector used *samba* to increase the appeal of their products and to increase their consumption. Today, despite *samba*’s commercial success and its importance for the people who most identify with its messages, many still see and treat *samba* and its variations as less worthy cultural expressions than those of American and European origins. The logic of elites despising, discriminating and - depending on popularity - appropriating popular expressions seems to be recurrent in other forms of music as well as culinary traditions, dialects, arts, literature, and others.

As a social phenomenon, *comunicação popular* is similarly a kind of decolonial action in societies where coloniality remains a strong source of inequalities. In short, *comunicação popular* happens when people at the bottom of the social hierarchies in urban and rural settings collectively raise their voices and, with whatever means available, communicate politics that challenge the dominant colonial ideas and mobilize social change on their own terms (cf. Peruzzo, 2009; Suzina 2019a; 2019b). In Latin America, we could argue that the historically plural practices of *comunicação popular* are both antagonistic to communication by

mainstream media outlets (that have historically reinforced and reproduced coloniality) and dialectic as they contribute to cultural transformations and media democratization through often grassroots participatory processes. (cf. Peruzzo, 1998, 119) Rising from the context of struggles by people who suffer the most from inequalities, *comunicação popular* works as spaces for democratic expression and sharing of critical thinking instrumental for those involved to act as protagonists in the struggles against the consequences of coloniality (cf. Peruzzo, 1998, 124-129; Peruzzo, 2017).

#### 4. Decolonial *comunicação popular* against coronavirus in favelas of Rio de Janeiro

The way residents of favelas in Rio de Janeiro have engaged with media activism to help prevent the spread of Covid-19 in the places where they live are good illustrative examples of decolonial *comunicação popular*. Let me start by clarifying, as I have done in more detail elsewhere (Custódio, 2017), what I understand favelas to mean. Most people often associate favelas with two things: poverty and violence. It is undeniable that favelas suffer from high crime rates and low-quality public services (e.g. education, health care, waste management, water supply and leisure facilities). These two characteristics are perhaps some of the most perverse materializations of coloniality in the everyday life of low-income working class Brazilians. However, favelas have existed since the end of the 19th century because of the historical disregard of the country for the predominantly black and mixed-race poor who gradually and uncoordinatedly occupied uninhabited urban spaces (e.g. forests on hills, abandoned buildings and swampy areas) so that they could settle in the surroundings of work opportunities. As favelas grew in size and number throughout the 20th century, so did the community mobilizations by residents acting collectively for housing rights, security, respect and rights. The 21st century media activism in favelas is one of the contemporary faces of the history of popular struggles against the consequences of coloniality in everyday life.

What I refer to as "favela media activism" can be considered a form of *comunicação popular* (Giannotti, 2016). By favela media activism I mean the individual and collective actions of favela residents in, through and about the media. These contesting actions derive from and/or lead to the enactment of citizenship among favela residents. By engaging in media activism inside, outside and across favelas, favela residents raise critical awareness among peers, generate public debates, and mobilize actions against or in reaction to material and symbolic consequences of social inequality in their everyday lives. (Custódio, 2017) How does this idea of favela media activism characterize as decolonial action in practice? The (re)actions of favela-based media activist collectives during the covid-19 pandemic illustrate how this form of *comunicação popular* is decolonial.

Let me describe - purposefully in a superficial way - how some media activist collectives whose actions I have studied since 2013 have been active to prevent the spread of the coronavirus in favelas. Coletivo Papo Reto (Straight Talk Collective) was created in 2013 with the proposal of communicating in clear and direct terms with residents and outsiders about the everyday life struggles in the favela of Complexo do Alemão and other favelas of Rio de Janeiro. This communication includes intensive interactions on different social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, blogs), phone applications (e.g. WhatsApp) and face-

to-face conversations in meetings, events and demonstrations. Coletivo Papo Reto combines journalistic reporting with political mobilization strategies. A second initiative is called *Maré Vive* and was created in 2014 as an anonymous network of residents in the favela of Complexo da Maré. Its name means “Maré Lives” in reference to the vibrant local culture and social diversity. Maré Vive uses social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) and mobile phone applications (e.g. WhatsApp) to communicate and mediate communication among favela residents and to non-favela residents. The members of Maré Vive are very careful not to reveal their identities. Then, the group’s public page on Facebook has become one of the most dynamic spaces for denouncing police violence, governmental neglect, and for celebrating local culture and traditions.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, both collectives have joined forces with other individuals and organizations from inside and outside favelas to act against the spread of the virus in their impoverished and highly-populated neighborhoods. At Complexo do Alemão, members of media activist collectives have created a crisis task force. At Complexo da Maré, media activists have created the Mobilization Front of Maré. The timeline of decolonial actions was similar in both favelas. First, media activist groups in both favelas used their social media channels to call out the State’s neglect of impoverished areas when cases of infection started spreading in Brazil in March 2020. At the first stage, they also emphasized that some of the measures for prevention (e.g. self-isolation, home office) were not viable among low-income people who live in small and precarious houses shared with many relatives. The hashtag *#covid19nasfavelas* (Covid 19 in favelas), created and shared by favela media activists, contributed for the public debates in and beyond favelas about inequalities during the pandemic. This kind of contesting actions is decolonial because it denounces the ways in which the lives of favela residents - mostly direct descendants of enslaved blacks and exploited and impoverished mixed-race migrants from Brazil’s Northeast - remain treated as less important than those of people on the other side of urban segregation and social divide.

After that, both groups started informational campaigns to inform residents about preventive measures and how to get help if needed. For these campaigns, the activists realized that they would need to engage with other forms of communication than digital devices and platforms to reach as many people in favelas as possible. So, strategically the activists used “media” typical of what we could refer to as “favela mediascape”. Banners often hung on light poles in the entrances and corners of favelas to announce cultural events (e.g. music shows, church activities) were used to spread the recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO). In addition, the collectives recorded the recommendations and, through crowd-funding campaigns, paid the traditional cars with loudspeakers to circulate all over the favelas so that even more people would know what to do in their circumstances to prevent the spread of coronavirus. The decolonial character of these informational campaigns lies in the formation of for-us-by-us civic counterpublics (cf. Custódio, 2017) that contest the misinformation circulated by supporters of extreme-Right, pro-business president Jair Bolsonaro who, like the president, claim that the mass infection of the population is inevitable and that the recommendations for self-isolation will cause irreparable harm to the country’s economy. This way, favela activists are countering the elitist and neoliberal ideology that has washed over Brazilian politics in the elections of 2018 - one of the most evident legacies of colonialism in today’s Brazil - with the promotion of peer-to-peer practices of solidarity through practices of *comunicação popular*. Even though these counterpublics have a smaller reach and lower



budget than commercial media outlets, their power lies in their capacity to contest dominant narratives and mobilize actions at the local level in which they act.

One last example of decolonial practice in the *comunicação popular* by favela media activists in the context of the coronavirus pandemic is the protagonism and leadership of *favelados* (favela residents) in the mobilization of support from outside favelas. By using social media, peer-to-peer mobile applications, and even designated websites, activists from favelas have coordinated crowd-funding campaigns to finance their communicational actions, articulated the donations of food and supplies for hygiene, mobilized support to their actions from public figures and civil society organizations, and secured support from journalists in mainstream media outlets.

## 5. Final considerations

If, in Maldonado-Torres' terms, coloniality refers to "long-standing patterns of power" originated from colonialism, favela residents have historically been in the exploited, oppressed and subaltern end of power relationships with people and institutions outside favelas. The leadership of favela residents in these processes of media activism as forms of *comunicação popular* during the pandemic are an example of a resignification of what "place in society" *favelados* occupy. Their organizational skills not only for solidarity, but also for self-organized action to overcome governmental neglect have always been known within favelas. Now, they have been able to demonstrate to the whole society their capacity to lead, mobilize and promote change in ways that are educational to many in positions of power in governments, public institutions, parties, and civil society organizations.

In that sense, in *comunicação popular*, decolonization is not a comfortable buzzword, but a horizon towards which those who have suffered the most from the consequences of coloniality act. To be sure, *comunicação popular* is fundamentally a symbolic type of action. By collectively raising voices, the people designated by the term *popular* express their grievances, contest hegemonic narratives that discriminate them, call for justice and demand respect to their rights as citizens and above all human beings. However, as the cases in favelas demonstrate, these symbolic actions have very important material consequences. In the context of the covid-19 pandemic, actions by practitioners of *comunicação popular* have materialized in donations, hygiene supplies and food. More importantly, they have contributed to the dismantlement of the general perception of *favelados* as poor people in constant need of help and danger in need of violent surveillance and control. The Brazilian patterns of coloniality have historically deemed predominantly black and mixed-race favela residents as second-class citizens. It is against this history of discrimination and neglect not just in Brazil, but wherever else whole populations are discriminated and neglected, that *comunicação popular* proves its decolonial power.

## 6. References

- Alcoff, L., Hames-García, M. R., Mohanty, S. P. & Moya, P. M. L. e. (2006). *Identity Politics Reconsidered*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Alves, J. A. (2018) *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Appleton, N.S. (2019, February 4). *Do Not 'Decolonize'...If you are not decolonizing: progressive language and planning beyond a hollow academic rebranding*. Critical Ethnic Studies. <http://www.criticaethnicstudiesjournal.org/blog>
- Bhambra, G.K., Gebrial, D. and Nişancioğlu, K. (2018) (Eds.). *Decolonizing the university*. London: Pluto Press.
- Blauner, R. & Wellman, D. (1998 [1973]). Toward the decolonization of social research. In J. A. Ladner (Ed) *The death of white sociology: Essays on race and culture* (pp. 310-330). Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. & Zuberi, T. (2008). *White logic, white methods: Racism and methodology*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Custódio, L. (2017). *Favela media activism: Counterpublics for human rights in Brazil*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Elam, J. Daniel. (2017). Anticolonialism. *Global South Studies: a collective publication with the Global South*. Available at: <<https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/key-concepts/anticolonialism>>. Access date: March 19, 2020.
- Engler, S. & Schmidt, B. E. (2016). *Handbook of contemporary religions in Brazil*. Boston: Brill.
- Fanon, F. (1967) *The wretched of the earth*. London: Penguin Books.
- Fanon, F. (2017) *Black skin, white masks*. London: Pluto Press.
- Gandhi, L. (2019). *Postcolonial theory: a critical introduction* (Second edition). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Giannotti, C. S. (2016) Experiências em comunicação popular no Rio de Janeiro ontem e hoje: uma história de resistência nas favelas cariocas. Rio de Janeiro: Núcleo Piratininga de Comunicação.
- Grossfoguel, R., Hernández, R. and Velásquez, E.R. (2016) (Eds.) *Decolonizing the westernized university: Interventions in philosophy of education from within and without*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Hlabangane, N. (2018) Can a Methodology Subvert the Logics of its Principal? Decolonial Meditations. *Perspectives on Science*, 26(6), 658-693.
- Holston, J. (2008). *Insurgent citizenship: disjunctions of democracy and modernity in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Intemann, K. (2019). Feminist Standpoint Theory. In P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, A. Cernat, J.W. Sakshaug, & R.A. Williams (Eds.), *SAGE Research Methods Foundations*. doi: 10.4135/9781526421036747550
- Iverson, D. (2017). Postcolonialism. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/postcolonialism>> Access date: March 19, 2020.
- Jodhka, S., Rehbein, B., & Souza, J. (2018). *Inequality in capitalist societies*. London: Routledge.
- Loomba, A. (2015). *Colonialism/postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007) On the coloniality of being, *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 240-270.
- Mbembe, A. (2019) *Necropolitics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mignolo, W. (2011). *The darker side of Western modernity: Global futures, decolonial options*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mignolo, W. & Escobar, A. (2010). *Globalization and the decolonial option*. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, G. L. (2018). *The politics of blackness: Racial identity and political behavior in contemporary Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nascimento, A. (1978) *O genocídio do negro brasileiro: Processo de um racismo mascarado*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

- Peruzzo, C.M.K. (1998). *Comunicação nos movimentos populares: A participação na construção da cidadania*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2009). Conceitos de comunicação popular, alternativa e comunitária e as reelaborações do setor. *ECO-Pós*, 12(2), 46-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2017). Ideias de Paulo Freire aplicadas à comunicação popular e comunitária. *Revista Famecos*, 24(1), DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15448/1980-3729.2017.1.24207>.
- Ponzanesi, S. (2018). 'Neocolonialism'. In Braidotti, R. and Hlavajova, M. (Eds.) *Posthuman Glossary*. 279-281
- Quijano, A. (2007) Coloniality and modernity/rationality, *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 168-178.
- Rivera Cusicanqui, S. (2012). *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa*: A reflection on the practices and discourses of decolonization. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 111(1), 95-109.
- Santana, B. (Ed.) (2019). *Vozes insurgentes de mulheres negras*. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições.
- Sansone, L. (2003) *Blackness Without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Souza, J. (2003). *A construção social da subcidadania: para uma sociologia política da modernidade periférica*. Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2009). *Ralé brasileira: Quem é e como vive*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.
- Suzina, A. (2019a). Dissonância crítica e solidária: a contribuição das mídias populares ao processo de mudança social. *Chasqui. Revista Latinoamericana de Comunicación*, 0(140), 147-162.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2019b). Ruptura digital e processos de participação em mídias populares no Brasil. *Intercom - RBCC*, 42(3), 61-76.
- Tuck, E. & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 1-40.