> "It's funny because people deny it, many people in the group deny it, but then if people join the Church, they automatically leave the group. […] People say 'no! no!', but when they become evangelical, the first thing they do is leave the group" (translated from Portuguese by the authors).

The influence of different ethnic groupings, not only from the African continent but also from Brazil and Europe, is particularly evident in religious practices and places. Explicit reference to enslaved or Indigenous ancestors of certain ethnic groupings (e.g. *Tupinambá*) is made at Afro-Brazilian religious sites (*terreiros*). The syncretism of local Indigenous everyday religious practices and those from Africa has affected not only the intergenerational transmission of knowledge within different groupings, but also how they have intermingled and deeply influenced each other.

Commercialization and economization, especially in connection with tourism, is also evident here. We observed in several instances that religious practices from Afro-Brazilian religions were offered as paid services. For example, we were offered the opportunity to contact a divine being, an *Orixá* – via an intermediary – or the 'shell oracle' known as Ifá, in which the client's situation is 'read' in a set of cowrie shells. The strong commercialization of Afro-Brazilian religious objects, which can be found in all souvenir stores, is also striking.

During our next field visit, which is planned for the period September to November 2024, we will review our findings to date, pursue further research paths, and focus more closely on the questions raised in this report. This includes the conditions in which family dialogue and dialogue in the local community is possible on the topic of enslavement, as well as commercial and political interests in remembrance and memorialization. Indispensable for this research project are a historical perspective and contextualization to understand current and historical figurations. In view of our findings, the general question arises as to whether a progression from family memories and memories of local groupings to public memorials, and from localized processes to transatlantic discourses and negotiations, can be reconstructed, and what this means for the "future of memory" in Bahia.

Institutionalization and transmission of knowledge about slavery in classrooms and schoolbooks in Ghana and Brazil

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As part of our research project, we made a contrastive comparison of presentations of the past in respect of slavery and the slave trade in Ghana and Brazil, based on the analysis of schoolbooks currently used in schools, group discussions with teachers (n=4), and individual interviews with teachers and students (n total=5). The group discussions in Ghana took place in Elmina (southern Ghana) and Navrongo

(northern Ghana); in Brazil, in Porto Alegre (southern Brazil) and Salvador da Bahia (northeastern Brazil).[24] The participants belonged to different ethnicized and racialized groupings, which is relevant in terms of the contrasting involvement of their ancestors in the trade in enslaved persons. The discussions involved teachers with experience in public and private schools, representing significative sociohistorical power inequalities in terms of access to formal education in both countries. We present here the findings of our analysis of textbooks and group discussions thus far. We are currently analyzing four schoolbooks used in elementary school in Brazil and four used in primary and secondary schools in Ghana. It is important to stress that our findings require further empirical evidence.

An important finding from our fieldwork is that when we and our colleagues asked our interviewees in Brazil and Ghana about slavery, their answers mainly focused on the European trans-Atlantic slave trade.[25] Our analysis shows that this knowledge of the massive violence involved in the high number of enslaved persons shipped by Europeans to the Americas[26] significantly interrelates with the institutionalized versions of the past regarding slavery and the trade in enslaved persons that are transmitted in classrooms, often with the use of schoolbooks. In the following sections, we will present a brief overview of our empirical findings thus far.

Dethematization of conflicts and focus on nation building in Ghana and Brazil

Thus far, our analysis of schoolbooks shows a tendency to avoid openly addressing topics that could lead to conflict between groupings and we-groups in Brazil and Ghana. This particularly applies to conflicts that could arise because of the different roles played by the ancestors of members of different groupings in processes of enslavement in the past. The dominant goal pursued in the Ghanaian and Brazilian schoolbooks analyzed thus far is to foster a peaceful and diverse 'nation', despite the different collective histories of people in these societies (ethnic histories, experiences of different forms of slavery, unequal power chances, etc.). This presentation of a conflict-free past is contradicted by the experiences lived through in the families (nuclear and extended) and local communities of our interviewees. This applies particularly to interviewees belonging to groupings whose ancestors were targeted by violence and enslavement, or who experience prejudice in the present.

Marginalization of perspectives on enslavement in Ghana and Brazil

[24] Group discussions were conducted as follows: in Elmina by Lucas Cé Sangalli in English; in Navrongo by Artur Bogner and Lucas Cé Sangalli in English; in Porto Alegre by Débora Rinaldi in Portuguese; and in Salvador by Débora Rinaldi and Marcela Soares in Portuguese.

[25] For the case of northern Ghana, see Rosenthal / Bogner (in preparation); for the case of southern Ghana, see Cé Sangalli (in preparation) and Cé Sangalli / Rinaldi / Gomes (in preparation); see also Pohn-Lauggas / Rosenthal (in preparation).

[26] Historical records suggest that more than 12 million people were forcibly shipped from different regions of the African continent during the European trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved persons between c. 1501 and 1866. See: https://www.slavevoyages.org [Accessed on June 27, 2024].

Both in Ghana and Brazil, intra-African and intra-American forms of enslavement and servitude tend to be given less space in schoolbooks than the trans-Saharan, and especially the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In the Ghanaian schoolbooks analyzed thus far, the latter is mostly presented as being organized by Europeans: "Ghanaians were deeply involved in ethnic wars, slave raids and kidnapping just to satisfy the unjustifiable demand by the European merchants" (Kuffour 2021: 386). The trans-Saharan trade is presented as "the trade that developed between the Berbers of North Africa and the Negroes of the Western Sudan" (ibid.: 228).[27] Status differences based on slave ancestry within different groupings that currently are part of Ghanaian and Brazilian societies are barely discussed. An interim finding of our analysis of Ghanaian schoolbooks is that there is a positive, and even proud, presentation of empires and kingdoms that expanded through trade and the use of force over other groupings in the territory of what is present-day Ghana (e.g., Ashanti, Gonja). Our analysis shows that there is no similar presentation of the so-called Grunshi groupings, whose ancestors presumably were the most affected by wars of expansion and enslavement raids in what is present-day northern Ghana and southern Burkina Faso (see Mangiameli 2016).[28] Thus far, we have not found any discussion in Ghanaian schoolbooks of the contemporary stigmatization processes that associate the Grunshi with slave ancestry.

In Brazilian schoolbooks, African societies are often portrayed as powerful kingdoms, and experiences lived through by the ancestors of Brazilians with a family history that goes back to the African continent are only marginally addressed, such as capture in raids by neighboring groupings, being traded by the chiefs of their own groupings, or the potent ways in which slave ancestry remains a stigma in contemporary African societies inside and across different ethnic groupings. In Ghanaian schoolbooks, there is a tendency to suggest that those enslaved by local chiefs were criminals, for example. There are only rare references in schoolbooks and in the group discussion in coastal Ghana to how these different status ascriptions still shape power inequalities within and across different groupings in Ghanaian society.

In the Brazilian schoolbooks analyzed thus far, Indigenous groupings (Amerindians) tend to be presented from the perspective of the colonizers (Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch). They are often implicitly shown either as potential allies or workers (i.e., slaves) who fostered colonial interests, or as a threat to be countered when they opposed colonial plans. The historical perspectives of the Indigenous groupings (who nowadays are Brazilian citizens) are mostly absent from the schoolbooks when slavery is addressed, to some extent in contrast to Afro-Brazilian groupings. To date, we have not come across schoolbooks in Brazil that discuss what we

[27] We still need to reconstruct how images of 'us' and the 'others' used in schoolbooks, such as the racialized use of 'Negro', intertwine with the development and transformation of sociohistorical power interdependencies, including those of colonialism. This includes reconstructing how Portuguese and British occupation shaped the educational system and the institutionalization of certain forms of knowledge in present-day Ghana and Brazil.

[28] Grunshi is an exonym that homogenizes several groupings (such as Kassena, Nankana, Sissala) from present-day northern Ghana and southern Burkina Faso, but whose descendants also live in other parts of Ghana. This exonym remains a source of stigma because of its association with slave ancestry in some regions, such as Salaga, where one of the most important slave markets existed.

retrospectively regard as 'slavery' from the perspective of Indigenous groupings. There are also few references to relations of enslavement between such groupings. Similarly, the ways different Indigenous groupings had enough power and influenced changing alliances with different colonial powers is only marginally addressed. Differently from the case of the Indigenous groupings, the participation of Africans and their descendants in Brazilian society is a prominent topic in the schoolbooks. Their participation tends to be presented from the standpoint of how their actions have shaped Brazilian society, with a focus on economic activities and culture heritage, such as influences on the Portuguese language and Brazilian food (see Boulos 2022a: 203, 211).

Although the focus on the European trans-Atlantic slave trade is sociopolitically understandable in Brazil, a society in which *white* Brazilians enjoy more privilege and establishment than Black or Indigenous Brazilians, it hides the complexity of the concrete experiences lived through in families, groupings, and local communities in both countries.[29]

Contrasting representations of violence and slavery in Ghana and Brazil

In schoolbooks in Ghana, slaves are often pictured in chains and in positions of submission to others, who can be interpreted as *whites*, but also as Arabs or Berbers, as some schoolbooks say (Kuffour 2021: 233). This contrasts with the way local chiefs appear in photographs, often enthroned with their regalia and surrounded by male supporters, including those who can be interpreted as servants or assistants. There is a tendency in the Ghanaian schoolbooks we have examined to associate slavery with images of chains and shackles, and branding (with a hot iron). In other words, representations of slavery and those enslaved in the schoolbooks, especially in Ghana, often involve explicit relations of violence and submission. We will try to find examples of schoolbooks containing different images of slavery, as mentioned in our interviews, for example successful integration in the family of the slave owner. Thus far in our analysis, we have not found any images in Ghanaian schoolbooks representing the perspective of those enslaved by more powerful local groupings.

[29] Africans and their descendants born in Brazil have been sociohistorically referred to by different terms (e.g., *Mulato*, *Pardo*, *Afrodescendente*, among others) in different regions of the territory by members of more established groupings. The use of these terms by such groupings, who often self-define as *whites* with European ancestry, frequently implies pejorative meanings, which have important sociopolitical consequences even today. Especially after the 1970s, Afro-Brazilian social movements, such as the Unified Black Movement (*Movimento Negro Unificado*), have been actively reclaiming the use of Black as a we-image that represents *Pretos* (Blacks) and *Pardos*. One of the achievements of this collective contestation of sociohistorical power inequalities was the official adoption of these terms by state institutions in Brazil. With this in mind, we use the sociohistorically constructed term 'Black' because it is the emic term used during group discussions and other interactions in Brazil (Portuguese: *Negras*, *Negros* or *Pretas*, *Pretos*). We capitalize it to emphasize its sociohistorical institutionalization in Brazilian society as a marker of racialized prejudice appropriated through processes of contestation of power inequalities led by groupings that regard themselves as Black Brazilians. For similar reasons, we use the term 'Indigenous', aware that it conceals the diverse collective histories of many groupings who lived in this land before the arrival of people from Africa and Europe.

The Brazilian schoolbooks we have analyzed include other contributions made by marginalized groupings to Brazilian history and society besides their compulsory labor. Africans are not thematized exclusively in terms of slavery or as victims of violence. Representations of those enslaved include more than just references to experiences of violence. In some cases, authors include excerpts from texts by members of Indigenous groupings (such as the Tupinambá) to present the perspectives of Indigenous groupings in respect of experiences of violence (Boulos Júnior 2022a: 200). Contributions to Brazilian society by Indigenous and African groupings are discussed, such as Black associations that fought for civil and work rights (*associativismo negro*), and the development of a Black press, important for self-representation (see Boulos Júnior 2022c: 21f.). There are explicit attempts to reconstruct as far as possible the ethnic and regional origin of different Afro-Brazilian groupings, and the different regions inside Brazil in which different ethnic groupings from the African continent were forced to work in various sociohistorical phases (see Boulos Júnior 2022a: Ch. 10).
Our empirical findings relating to schoolbooks in Ghana show that the books do not thematize the existence of associations of former enslaved persons or their descendants fighting for sociopolitical rights in present-day Ghana. Similarly, there are no attempts to reconstruct the origin of descendants of slaves living in different regions of contemporary Ghana (such as the Grunshi of Salaga). They are often described by members of more powerful groupings in our interviews as 'not knowing their origins and history'. Thus far in our analysis, we have not found any concrete references to those responsible for the forced removal of people from their families and communities, for example in the northern part of present-day Ghana. This is a significant difference with regard to how slavery and the history of descendants of enslaved persons are presented in schoolbooks in the two countries. In the Brazilian schoolbooks, there is an explicit and comprehensive thematization of those "responsible for the traffic" of enslaved persons (*os responsáveis pelo tráfico*):

> "The Atlantic trade lasted more than 300 years and involved Europeans from various nations (Portuguese, English, French, Danish, among others), Africans (chiefs, kings and traders) and, later, merchants from Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Pernambuco. Many of these merchants, especially from Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, amassed fortunes from the trade" (Boulos Júnior 2022a: 224; translated by the authors from Portuguese).

Thus far, we have not come across any explicit thematization in Ghanaian schoolbooks of the responsibility of local traders and chiefs. The focus is firmly on the responsibility of Europeans for the trade. It is also crucial that while some schoolbooks in Brazil refer to slaves using the language recommended by Brazilian Black movements and historians in the country, such as *enslaved* (*escravizadas*, *escravizados*), Ghanaian schoolbooks tend to use the term *slave*.[30]

Differing relevance of resistance and revolutions led by enslaved groupings

[30] See: Sul 21, March 30, 2020. "Escravo, não. Escravizado!" (Slave, no. Enslaved!). Available in Portuguese at https://sul21.com.br/opiniao/2020/03/escravo-nao-escravizado-por-mauricio-da-silva-dorneles-e-nilton-mullet-pereira/ [Accessed on June 30, 2024].

There are important differences in the way 'slavery' and 'slaves' are presented in schoolbooks in the two countries. In Ghana, as the examples below show, the focus tends to be mainly on the sending of enslaved persons to the Americas and Europe: "They also sent some of the people to work in their factories in Europe" (Gyaa-Adiyiah 2021a: 90) and "others were sent to Europe including Portugal, Britain, France, Spain and Netherlands to work on the plantations of the Europeans" (Gyaa-Adiyiah 2021b: 68). There are only a few references to Brazil: "Sugar plantations were the norm from northeastern Brazil through the Caribbean islands, and plantation conditions brought the highest mortality rates" (Kuffour 2021: 376). We have found that Ghanaian schoolbooks lay emphasis on enslavement in the context of plantations, which corresponds to only one sociohistorical phase lived through by those enslaved in Brazil. In the group discussion conducted in Elmina in October 2023, a female teacher claims that in Ghana Brazilians are regarded as being the same as *white* Europeans in the context of slavery: "like the Europeans […] they see all the Europeans as whites."[31] In northern Ghana, however, the presentation of Brazil and Brazilians is not associated with Brazilians being *whites* but rather 'brothers'. Here, interviewees belonging to groupings in relatively remote villages (such as the Builsa in Sandema) explicitly refer to their enslaved ancestors as being taken to Brazil via castles in southern Ghana. In Brazil, schoolbooks tend to refer to African history more comprehensively (colonialism, decolonization processes). The Ghanaian schoolbooks we have examined rarely mention uprisings by enslaved persons, particularly by those enslaved in African societies. The focus is on the fight against colonial powers. In the book *Concise Notes on African and Ghanaian History*, the "rise and expansion of kingdoms and empires in the Ghanian society" (e.g., Asante), which was interrelated with wars for the capture of local individuals and families, is presented as a "positive effect" of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (ibid.: 385). This contrasts with Brazilian schoolbooks, in which the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) figures prominently, and is discussed as an example of anti-imperial and anti-slavery resistance. Certain resistance movements led by both free and enslaved Africans in Brazil are also a topic in the Brazilian schoolbooks, such as the Malê Revolt (*Revolta dos Malês*) in Salvador da Bahia (1835). In one of the Brazilian schoolbooks, resistance against the oppression of more powerful groupings during the Malê Revolt is explicitly thematized in relation to the need to put differences aside in this sociohistorical context:

> "Africans and their descendants, whether enslaved or freed, were exploited at work, despised because of their color and persecuted because of their religion. They had plenty of reasons to put aside differences of origin and religion and fight against their oppressors" (Boulos Júnior 2022b: 191; translated from Portuguese by the authors).

In both Ghanaian and Brazilian schoolbooks there are references to the participation of women in processes of resistance to colonial forces. In Brazilian schoolbooks, there are also explicit references to women who have become symbols of

[31] The group discussion was conducted by Lucas Cé Sangalli in English.

resistance to slavery, such as the Black Anastácia (Boulos Júnior 2022a: 231).[32] The resistance of Indigenous groupings in Brazil (such as the Guarani, Cariri, Janduí, Canindé, and Icó) against the Portuguese is explicitly thematized and represented in images in schoolbooks (ibid.: 269, 274).

Contrasting views on violence regarding slavery and colonialism

Retrospective interpretations regarding the different forms of violence experienced by Africans differ in the two countries. A female Afro-Brazilian teacher in the group discussion conducted in Salvador said that when her students discuss slavery in the classroom, they show a lack of sensitivity and empathy when speaking about slaves. She said that students react more empathically to the colonizers killed during the Haitian Revolution by those enslaved. She has the impression that students in general find it difficult to see things from the point of view of the enslaved persons who were traded, transported under conditions of violence, and physically tortured. We interpret this in connection with the sociohistorical stigmatization of slaves in Brazilian society, which fosters, among other things, the suppression of past experiences of enslaved persons in everyday discourses. By contrast, a female teacher in southern Ghana reports that slavery is regarded by students as an act of cruelty carried out by the "wicked whites", and that some children are taught by their families to be skeptical of *whites* even in the present. Teachers who took part in the group discussion in northern Ghana laid emphasis on the inhuman treatment of slaves by Europeans, especially the starvation, poor sanitation, torture, and commodification suffered by enslaved Africans in European fortifications and castles in southern Ghana. In Brazil, the violence experienced by Indigenous groupings in the context of processes of enslavement tended to be mentioned only marginally both in the group discussions and in the schoolbooks, in contrast to the violence experienced by Africans.

Contrasting presentations of biographical experiences and the collective past of slavery

The contrastive comparison between Brazil and Ghana shows differences in the way students interpret their biographical experiences in relation to collective histories of enslavement. Students and teachers with different biographical experiences, and different family and community histories, have different attitudes toward the collective past of slavery. Among other things, this interrelates with the knowledges transmitted in their families, local we-groups, and groupings, and the experiences

[32] The uses, appropriations, and reinterpretations of the image of Anastácia are a concrete example of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge among Afro-Brazilian groupings. The image originally depicts an enslaved woman of African descent wearing a punitive iron facemask over her mouth. Younger genealogical generations have depicted her without such stereotypical symbolic references to slavery, and the schoolbooks seem to be trying to keep up with these transformations in representations of enslavement.

See Sarah Juliet Lauro, November 28, 2022. "Anastácia Diptych". Available at: https://monumentlab.com/bulletin/anastacia-diptych [Accessed on June 29, 2024].

they and their ancestors lived through (such as racialized prejudice, or discrimination based on ascribed slave ancestry). Family experiences are only vaguely addressed in the schoolbooks in Brazil analyzed thus far:

> "[…] slave families had their own practices, visions and values. Moreover, they reacted to their masters' impositions, took initiatives and tried to live their own way" (Boulos Júnior 2022a: 211; translated from Portuguese by the authors).

In the group discussion in Salvador, a teacher said that students belonging to Indigenous Brazilian and Afro-Brazilian groupings challenge certain versions of the past presented in the schoolbooks during classes for representing a European perspective on history. The experiences of those enslaved in communities in what is present-day northern Ghana tended to be dethematized by participants in the group discussion in southern Ghana, including one female teacher from the northern region. The focus was mainly on European participation in the slave trade. By contrast, some teachers in the group discussion in northern Ghana criticized the focus of schoolbooks on the dynamics of the trade in coastal Ghana. This reflects a general difference between southern and northern Ghanaian memory cultures. For some people, this marginalizes the experiences of local families and communities whom they regard as being most affected by raids in the past (e.g., the different Grunshi groupings, such as the Kassena). One Kassena teacher in northern Ghana, who used older schoolbooks in the past, which differ from the current ones approved by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, sees a change in the authors of the books, which has affected their contents. He says that in the past schoolbooks were written by foreigners, and that they discussed more openly other forms of enslavement and servitude in African societies. We see this as a hypothesis to be followed up in the future, especially in its interdependence with processes of anti-colonial resistance and nation building in Ghana. Moreover, some teachers in the group discussion in northern Ghana claimed that the focus on coastal Ghana is a deficit in the school curriculum because, and here we must do further research, most schoolbooks are authored by southern Ghanaians. Some of them said they counter this tendency to focus on dynamics of more powerful groupings from southern Ghana by including oral history in their classes. In some schoolbooks in Brazil, there are explicit references to attempts to remove personal names from those enslaved by the Portuguese. An example used in the schoolbooks is the way new names were given by the Portuguese to those enslaved in Africa. The relation between the Portuguese actions, the origin of the ancestors, and the collective memory of slavery is explicitly thematized, with a gendered focus: "This name, given in baptism, was supposed to help erase from the African's memory all his past: his family, his friends, his language and his place of origin" (Boulos Júnior 2022a: 228).

Marginalization and stigmatization in contemporary Ghanaian and Brazilian societies in the context of the collective history of slavery

Our fieldwork in both countries shows that slave ancestry can still be constructed as a source of stigma and marginalization. In Brazil, some teachers who participated in the group discussion in Salvador believe that the standard curriculum

hinders students from interpreting sociohistorical power inequalities in relation to the collective history of slavery. However, this affects members of different groupings in different ways. Some participants report that Black students are able to interpret their present situation in relation to the history of enslavement because of their family history, or because of constructions of belonging to a community built around shared experiences of being Black in Brazilian society. By contrast, *white* students seem to refuse to regard their own individual and family histories as being interdependent with sociohistorical power inequalities related to slavery, be it as descendants of *white* enslavers and colonizers, or as migrants supported by the Brazilian state to 'whiten' the population after the legal abolition of slavery (1888). The attitude of potential descendants of enslavers in classrooms in Brazil, as mentioned by some participants in the group discussion in Salvador, differs from those reported by teachers in southern Ghana, in which African descendants of slave merchants are often aware of their ancestry. According to some teachers in the group discussion in Elmina and other interviewees in our sample, this ancestry is explicit in their European last names, in which they manifest pride. They claim that some students even regard European surnames as a sign of superiority in relation to other Ghanaians. In southern Ghana, some teachers reported that children are especially puzzled by the participation of local chiefs in the trade in enslaved humans with the Europeans in exchange for things like mirrors (as presented in some schoolbooks in Ghana). This differs from the experiences reported by teachers in northern Ghana. There, they tend to refer to sociohistorical inequalities in the region, such as hunger and poverty, and how it still affects local families and experiences in the classroom. They refer, for example, to situations in which they realized during classes that children were living in circumstances not unlike slavery (in view of the way they were treated by members of their extended family). The teachers comment on the sociohistorically marginalized position of northern Ghana in relation to southern and central Ghana, describing the aspirations of their students to migrate to the countries that colonized Ghana, and that benefitted the most economically from the trade in enslaved persons. This is a serious matter for these teachers because of the number of young male students who drop out of school to migrate. To a certain extent, the naïve and passive presentation of Indigenous groupings in schoolbooks, especially in Ghana, implicitly produces a notion of European superiority in relation to local societies. We can go even further and suggest that the way local histories are presented in relation to European history fosters aspirations to live in Europe. In this context, it is also relevant to mention that the schoolbooks we have analyzed and the educational systems are dominated by Portuguese in Brazil and English in Ghana to the detriment of local languages in both countries.

Conclusion and further research

Some of these findings require further empirical evidence. We will look for other schoolbooks that differ from the types we have analyzed here. Furthermore, we plan to include a comparison with schoolbooks used in the past, in order to reconstruct how the thematization of slavery and the slave trade has changed. We intend to examine how far this influences the knowledge and the collective memories of

groupings in both countries. This will help us to understand how political and public everyday discourses in these societies interrelate with the thematization of certain topics in the schoolbooks. It will also give insights into how discourses and images in the schoolbooks influence members of local communities and we-groups. In our interviews with members of different groupings, we have already been able to observe how schoolbooks have shaped collective memories in different communities or groupings (see Rosenthal / Bogner in preparation; Rosenthal / Pohn-Lauggas in this newsletter).

Schoolbooks

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