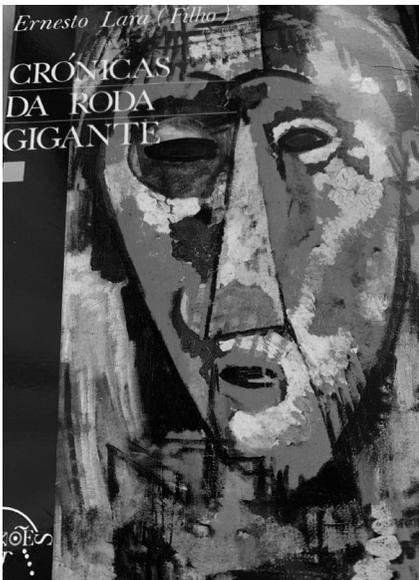




Angolan journalist Luís Fernando.



Angolan journalist Ernesto Lara Filho, and the cover of *Crônicas da Roda Gigante*, an anthology of his stories written between 1956 and 1962.

Memory and Trajectory: *Crónica* in the Portuguese-Speaking World

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Abstract: Literary journalism is a genre that narrates verifiable events using techniques and strategies that are culturally meaningful to their reading public(s). This cultural-specific approach in form and content is visible in Portuguese language texts that follow the model of *crónica*. Following a century-old tradition, *crónica* has evolved in at least three phases: medieval and *crónicas* of the East Indies; late nineteenth- to early twentieth century, written journalism; and the late twentieth- to early twenty-first century shift to a variety of platforms that include written and other than written. This study narrows focuses on *crónicas* written by two Angolan journalists, Ernesto Lara Filho and Luís Fernando, who, despite working decades apart, clearly demonstrate how literary journalism adapts to changing political, social, and economic circumstances. While Angola became independent in their lifetimes, Lara Filho's texts are pre-independence war, and Luís Fernando's are post-independence and post-civil wars. Their narratives show that the authors and their characters alike demonstrate understanding, denial, acceptance, and rejection as the events unfold. Lara Filho, a mid-twentieth-century Angolan journalist of European descent, tries to navigate his divided allegiance between his home country and distant Portuguese cities. Fernando, an Angolan who experiences his country's independence as a youth, fosters other influences he has acquired in Latin America. This study aims to show the path from memory texts to *crónicas* that depict current event trajectories. Angolan *crónicas* in the present show an African reality defined by African, not European, characters and life styles: the genre may be global, but the characters, situations, and writers' tone are local, and proud to be so.

Keywords: Angola – *Crónica* – Global South – Portuguese language – Ernesto Lara Filho – Luís Fernando

. . . que outra coisa não é errar senão cuidar que é verdade aquilo que é falso. . . . Porque, escrevendo o homem do que não é certo, ou contará mais curto do que foi, ou falará mais largo do que deve; mas mentira em este volume é muito afastada da nossa vontade. . .

[. . . as erring is no more than taking some falsity for the truth. . . . In fact, as man writes about the uncertain, he will eventually report too little of the events, or say more than indeed happened; however, this volume does not want to stray away from the truth.]

— Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*

Fernão Lopes (1380?–1460?), in the introduction to his volumes on the life and deeds of Portuguese King John I, discusses a distinctive trait that characterizes the historian's role, that is, his role in chronicling the life and times of the king. Lopes advises his readers that they will not find in his work a feature he recognizes in many contemporary counterparts: presenting their patrons in favorable image and action. He recounts the facts as he sees them and opposes the two King Johns of Portugal and Castile: "our wish was to write the truth without any mixtures, omitting any faked praise in successful events and showing the people any unsuccessful ones the way they happened."¹ And that is how the tomes of *Crónica d'el Rei Dom Joham de boa memória*, or simply *Crónica de D. João I*, were written.

Origins of the Portuguese *Crónica*

In Lopes's time, *crónicas* were written to preserve the memory of kings and warriors, the victors and the vanquished, in the never-ending struggles of power that took place all over medieval Europe and would continue for centuries. They have immense historical value because they depicted diverse contemporary events, even as they obviously paid more attention to the deeds of monarchs and noblemen. In the first Lopes volume there is a chapter, titled, in translation, "About the attempt of city folk to rob the Jews and how the Master prevented this,"² wherein the text covers battles all over the territory, but also popular chants such as the one girls sang about recent events in Lisbon:

This is cherished Lisbon, Behold it and leave it. If you want lamb like the one given to Andero; If you want kid like the one the Archbishop got.³

Both men in the poem—Andero, the Portuguese traitor, and the Lisbon archbishop who was Castilian—had been killed during the upheaval and were popular anti-heroes, justly slain symbols of an enemy foreign power. The presence of everyday people as actors in the grand narrative, not only of their own lives but as seen in the larger canvas of collective national life in these *crónicas*, is timid but opens the way to new generations of Portuguese language chroniclers, especially the ones who will be the topic of this study, the non-European chroniclers.

As Lopes wrote in the opening lines that set the tone for this text, “erring is no more than taking some falsity for the truth.” In the present times of fake news and inventive truths it is reassuring to recapture the lessons of a medieval historian and storyteller who, despite working for a patron, would not yield to interests that would keep his writing away from his desire to speak the truth.

Over the years, from medieval times, to the invention of the printing press, to early written journalism in gazettes, to current times, writing (in various genres) and reading have undergone radical transformations in usage and perception. Texts turned from pure artifacts—handcrafted pieces with minimum societal impact that held the “uniqueness, that is, [the] aura” that was derived from the original context of their creation and use: what Walter Benjamin called their “presence in time and space”⁴—to the current competitive situation of a plethora of platforms. Medieval chronicles generally were encomiastic, a charge ordered by an official source, authorized mouthpieces serving aggrandizement purposes. Later on, in the eighteenth century, Europe witnessed an increase in the number of periodicals. As a curiosity, the authors of *Encyclopédie* mocked the value of journalism. D’Alembert “scornfully called” journalism “the lower chamber of literature.”⁵ In France, “un nouveau journalisme” (a new journalism)⁶ appeared at the time of the French Revolution, proposing independence from power. Journalists wanted to move away from what was called “d’information-celebration” (information-celebration), to a model of a “court of public opinion.”⁷ This model served the purposes of seeking the truth.⁸

In the Spanish-speaking, Latin American world, Claudia Darrigrandi divides the history of *crónica* into three distinct periods: *cronistas de Indias* (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), modern *crónica* (nineteenth century), and current work.⁹ Darrigrandi does not mention the eighteenth century but an explanation for this interregnum in *crónica* outputs can be found in studies such as the one made by Botta.¹⁰ This division applies to Portugal and Portuguese-speaking countries as well. No direct connections can be assumed between the different phases, Darrigrandi says, with her term for these interregnums being “silences.”¹¹

Following Darrigrandi, the *crónicas* this article will analyze belong to the final, current period. Lara Filho's career arc is from the early years within the current era, yet it still has resonance for a variety of reasons, whereas Luís Fernando's *crónica* form, being much more recent, is clearly a twenty-first century, Global South form of literary journalism.

Angolan *crónicas* in the present show an African reality represented by African, not European, models: the genre may be global, but the characters, situations, and writer's tone are local, and proud to be so. Fernando shed the doubts and split fidelities and identity that Lara Filho had towards Angola and Africa, or Portugal and Europe. Fernando's *crónicas* may use an international, Global South genre to write, but his topics, allegiances, and heart go to Angolan people and their way of life.

Of Time, Place, and People: to the Present

In Portuguese-speaking countries, there are numerous examples of reporting that fit the characteristics of literary journalism, a plastic genre, one that is still subject to debate in matters that concern the most fundamental aspects of its existence, namely its designation.

The discussion about designations, and the nature of the kinds of texts to be included, is generated by the fact that, internationally, literary journalism has developed within different traditions and cultural, economic, political, and social circumstances. In Portuguese-speaking territories, certain kinds of texts could be considered literary journalism, namely journalistic reflections on travel experiences¹² and stories on topics that are more perennial than most pieces of news.¹³ Still, they are news stories because they contain verifiable facts drawn from research and are written up in a way that often accomplishes one of the tasks fulfilled by chroniclers such as Lopes. He was ordered to write the deeds of a king so that future countrymen would not forget the heroic accomplishments of the past. Literary journalists often assume the task of ensuring that the topics they approach are not overlooked by contemporaries, or next generations.

As noted earlier, and based on Darrigrandi's division, there are three major moments for *crónicas* written in languages originating from the Iberian Peninsula. The first includes the early royal and discovery chronicles, which affected a small contemporary readership, but are now seen as historical sources. The second, late nineteenth-, early twentieth-century social and customs *crónicas* were widely read at the time and are even now studied as examples of a journalistic subgenre that is included in literary journalism. And, finally, the twentieth- and twenty-first-century texts find a readership that is, in some cases, dwindling but still has societal impact and is included by the academic community in literary journalism.

The first (proto) phase, still distant from a writing genre that was yet to be born, told the deeds of kings, noblemen, and seafarers. The second phase reached peaks of readership at a time of popular, widely read newspapers, and enlarged the scope of topics deserving of journalistic treatment. The third, current phase has evolved over a number of decades up to the present but has been accompanied by a major shift in reading platforms. An increased range of themes and approaches has accompanied the growing variety of digital platforms.

Over time, examples range from Lopes's rendering of the deeds of kings, to Caminha's narrative of the discovery of Brazil, to Portuguese authors' renditions of dismal living conditions in London (by authors such as Eça de Queirós), to the basic issues confronting early twentieth-century African (Cape Verdean) islanders by author Pedro Monteiro Cardoso, in his *A Manduco* series of articles.¹⁴ In current times there are no less disturbing texts, such as Portuguese author Susana Moreira Marques's *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*, and Brazilian journalist Eliane Brum's collection, *A Vida que Ninguém Vê* (Life that nobody sees).¹⁵ Portuguese-speaking authors have taken on the role of chroniclers of diverse times and countries, and of their citizens' lives, under the most varied circumstances.

In fact, information is now so abundant that the main issue is not storytelling but rather the competition to find the audience. Hierarchies of importance in this field are established via the multiple criteria that senders and recipients of news set for themselves and their respective roles. The question is where literary journalism might find and hold its position in the Portuguese-speaking space of 261 million speakers throughout the five continents?¹⁶ If 3.8 percent of the population of the world is able to speak and understand this language, which forms are adopted (and adapted) by writers who work as literary journalists and regular journalists who also write literary journalism?

The focus of this study, of course, is the *crónica*, a journalistic kind of writing that has a respected, even ancient legacy. Massaud Moisés, in his 2004 *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, explains that this genre of writing dates back to ancient Greek times, to the use of the word *khronikós* (annals, from *khronos*, time). It evolved from the Greek into its Latin form, *chronica*, meaning a report on facts, a narration.¹⁷ As *crónica* evolved over the centuries, it remained connected to its original meaning—a chronological rendition of facts and people's deeds.

Crónicas written now can often be understood as texts to be read as literary journalism. The similarities are too close to miss: the deep knowledge of a topic, the detailed rendering of circumstance, welcoming quotidian matters

into the text, and reliance on facts and actual dialogue, as well as accepting the author's right to interpretation. The *crónica* has been a prolific source of information for readers interested in depictions of events and lives of people that inhabit African soils where Portuguese is an official language.

Portuguese but Not in Portugal

Portuguese is a language that originated in a small country in Europe, but most of its readers and writers now live in the Global South, as this concept is understood by Wendy Willems. This area of the globe, Willems argues, receives input from the Global North, though it no longer constitutes itself by "opposition," but within a framework of active agency, both receiving and producing media content.¹⁸ The same South African author and her colleague Winston Mano use data to support their observation of a new era in the African mediascape. Access to media content via digital devices, they note, is on the rise: "In the past decade, mobile phone subscriptions in Africa have grown exponentially, from 87 million in 2005, to 685 million in 2015."¹⁹ Thus access to media is growing via digital platforms, which are simultaneously receiving inputs from former colonial North, but also from the overall Global South, all the while developing within their own, varied patterns.

This shedding of previous media and message patterns, while constructing and appropriating others, is essential in the building of any mediascape model, as Arjun Appadurai describes in his 1990 article, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy":

"Mediascapes," whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience or transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places.²⁰

Appadurai formulated the mediascape concept, in response to his inability to recognize in the media the capacity to devise a reliable portrait of the reality surrounding the readers/viewers/listeners who use the media sphere to (re)build their own existence. Appadurai needed a concept like this to articulate his appreciation of the essence of media. Often, however, the difficulty found in the media environment of a country is the scarcity of media outlets, or the inexistence of a plurality of voices, opinions, and points of view.

The second decade of the twenty-first century has witnessed a global rise of born-digital media. Traditional media in digital form and the new forms that exist only on digital platforms have enhanced the possibility of contact and interaction with contents. Nonetheless, attention will next be devoted to the traditional, written *crónica*, be it in the original paper form, the newspa-

per, or the collected book form. In her review of a 2012 anthology of Latin American *crónicas*, *Mejor que ficción. Crónicas ejemplares*, Esperança Bielsa provided her own definition of *crónica*:

From this space of literary journalism, the intellectual turned journalist establishes a close relationship with mass audiences and provides urgent interpretations of the present moment. *Crónica*, in general, establishes itself as a source of information on nonofficial culture, where everything excluded from institutions and that has not yet crystallized into an established cultural pattern, may find its place.²¹

Bielsa begins by situating *crónica* under the umbrella term of narrative journalism (*periodismo narrativo*) and continues investing the chronicler with an intellectual role, that of provider of “urgent interpretations of the present moment.”²² Bielsa argues this ability to recognize and publish articles addressing events, people, artifacts, or immaterial elements of what she calls “nonofficial culture” is probably one of the most distinguished roles of the “*cronista*,”²³ that is, the chronicler.

This is the major shift between the first, second, and third phases of *crónica*, from a focus on patrons, as in the case of kings’ chronicles, or on reports to be made to kings or other major players, in the case of narratives of early European settlements in the Americas. There is an analogy that can be drawn from Turner’s descriptions of the forces that shaped U.S. institutions of all kinds as they were physically pushed west, in what came to be called his 1893 *frontier thesis*.²⁴ So, too, did the *crónica* change over time, as it was pushed in other directions in nineteenth-century journalism, to showing “The Other Half”—to borrow from Jacob Riis’s title for his text on poor New Yorkers.²⁵ More recently, political, social, and economic themes that tended to be overlooked by established media were incorporated into the *crónica* agenda. To name two examples, Brazilian authors Eliane Brum and Clara Becker have written about lives that mostly have escaped media attention: the homeless and the poor in Brazil, as well as the pathologists in Rio’s morgues that deal with thousands of victims on the streets.²⁶ In a country with widespread insecurity and an enormous imbalance in wealth distribution, journalists focus on both the causes and the consequences of this severe situation.

Time, place, and common people have been themes for *crónicas* for a century. The two authors’ *crónicas*, on which the analysis that follows focuses, derive from the same country but view it from their own analytical, time- and situation-shaped lenses. Drawing on the theory of agenda setting for insights into this phenomenon, Toshio Takeshita in 2005 wrote:

The original agenda-setting hypothesis asserts that the media are influential in deciding what issues become major themes of public opinion, while the newly developed concept of the *second level of agenda setting* or *attribute agenda setting* assumes that the media also have an influence on how people make sense of a given theme.²⁷

At different moments of *crónica* writing, decisions were made about what was supposed to be news. At first, the deeds of kings and noblemen were foremost in importance; then, in the nineteenth century, literary journalists felt a particular mission to educate the public, which turned them into the first field sociologists. Recently, south of the equator, in Angola, *crónica* writing has fulfilled the need for citizens to recognize themselves and, indeed, affirm their very existence—both of which had been denied, either because the country had been under colonial rule or consumed by civil war.

Portuguese Literary Journalism Going South

The Portuguese-speaking world has global reach and has enriched the southern hemisphere for more than five centuries. Brazil and African countries hold the majority of speakers, publications, and readers, and Brazil itself is the most populous nation of Portuguese speakers. The focus of this article is on Angola, an African country that acquired independence under a half century ago, in 1975. Recent Angolan history is tragic, with nearly fifty years of nonstop wars—both civil and for independence.

The two writers chosen for this analysis lived and worked more than a quarter century apart, are both well published and successful. Highlighting their work will allow for entering separate realities in the same country, as those are narrated by these two authors who have two different views of the same subject matter, but in diverse moments of its history, although a mere fifty years apart.

The first writer, Ernesto Lara Filho (1932–1977), wrote in the second half of the twentieth century, when digital journalism platforms did not yet exist. Lara Filho wrote under a colonial regime that was heading for oblivion, and he focused on people whose roots were in Europe. He was African by birth but Portuguese in ancestry and on his passport. His journalism depicts the identity crisis of white Angolans who were often ill at ease because of this double belonging. He portrayed a lifestyle centered in European and Western models, one that often conflicted with African habits and customs. He wrote about his own doubts and about Angolans' needs. One *crónica*, examined here, is about going back to the capital, Luanda, and how good it feels to come home, but also how difficult it is when, he wrote, "I am invested in the position of spokesperson for poor civil servants, for the inhabitants of *muçiques*, and for poor washer women."²⁸ Angola is Lara Filho's country, but

he often feels like a misfit, wherever he is. From 1956 to 1962 he wrote the texts collected in the Ferris wheel anthology, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*,²⁹ used for this study. The six-year time frame is crucial: this is the transition period from the end of the colonial era, to the beginning of the open struggle for independence to, eventually, the war of independence.

The second writer, Luís Fernando (1961–), is a late twentieth-, early twenty-first-century contemporary, and yet his work is still found only in paper form. Fernando writes of a contemporary, independent Angola, healing the wounds of decades of war and pursuing its own paths in a now-globalized world, as exemplified in his collection *Três Anos de Vida*.³⁰ Fernando was born when Angola was under Portuguese rule, but from his young teens onward lived in an independent country struggling to survive the Cold War clash that tore many African countries apart. The work under scrutiny was written in the twenty-first century and, apart from other factors, its importance lies in the length of time over which he focused on this issue. An African by birth and ancestry, Fernando does not doubt where he belongs, as Lara did.

These authors' texts allow for situating the relevance of a specific variety of literary journalism, one that cares about detail and aptly continues to describe the feats and mischief of common folk over the decades. The choice of subject matter, more than the intrinsic characteristics of people and events, is the best indicator of the contemporary mediascape of these authors and their texts.

Then: Ernesto Lara Filho

Ernesto Lara Filho was born in Benguela, Angola, in 1932, his family having arrived from north Portugal two generations before. He died in a car crash at the age of forty-five, in 1977, leaving behind an acclaimed but also controversial journalism and writing career. Lara Filho began to write in the 1950s and 1960s, and contributed to the recently created *Jornal de Angola*. Artur Queiroz, a fellow journalist and author of the preface to the collection of *crónicas* under analysis in this article, called that newspaper “the official organ of nationalist intellectuals,”³¹ a group that included Mário Pinto de Andrade,³² Viriato da Cruz,³³ and Agostinho Neto.³⁴ Lara Filho studied at the Escola Nacional de Coimbra (National School of Coimbra) in Coimbra, Portugal, where he was graduated as an agrarian technical engineer.³⁵

Lara Filho was a politically engaged Angolan. He criticized the Portuguese regime of the day but was also a bohemian who enjoyed a life of dissipation at odds with his social ideals. The Angolan liberation movements went on the offensive in 1961 and Lara Filho, because of his political involvement,³⁶ had to leave Portugal and go into exile—first Paris and later Brazzaville, Congo,

where he worked with the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). He was forced to return to Angola after the death of his sister in 1962, but he was having disagreements with the MPLA anyway, as Artur Queiroz refers in his preface to the collection of *crônicas*.³⁷

Lara Filho published a series of *crônicas* (1956–61) for *Jornal de Angola*, the *Crônicas da Roda Gigante* (Ferris wheel stories).³⁸ Artur Queiroz, in the preface (*prefácio*) to the 1990 book collection of the same name, wrote about the relationship established in the early decades of the twentieth century between the intellectual Angolan elite (black, white, and mixed) and the migrants from Portugal:

The bourgeois Angolans, now part of the elite colonial administration, do not miss the opportunity to display their literacy, as opposed to the settlers who were mostly illiterate, with a great many among them convicted felons (some were political prisoners) a circumstance that had led to their deportation. Great black journalists and chroniclers arise. *Crônica* was a popular genre at the time. And it kept on being so, until the independence of the country.³⁹

A book named after the Ferris wheel brings us the sounds and experiences of a journalist who, in Queiroz's words, "always wrote about the nationalist ideal."⁴⁰ The book title *Crônicas da Roda Gigante* seems to point to observations from a high vantage point, as if Lara Filho wanted to keep his distance from the subject matter. This detached, blasé attitude is confirmed in the text: "I honestly admit I do not enjoy working. I work in order to make a living."⁴¹ Nevertheless, the journalist is, even unwittingly, deeply involved in the life and events of his fellow Angolans.

For a number of years, in stories collected in *Crônicas da Roda Gigante*, as well as those published in other media from 1956 until 1963, Lara Filho wrote about a country in a period of transition in a censored media environment. "I suppose I was born to be the chronicler of the Realm."⁴² He chooses words and topics carefully, in order to dodge the censors. In another article, he discusses two topics: the official price of wheat bought by the government from farmers, and the divorce of the Persian royal couple, the Shah and his wife Soraya. Filho simultaneously presents one of the hot social issues of the day, the repudiation of a sterile wife by her monarch-husband, and Angolan economic troubles. The author adjusts the text of this *crônica* to fit the page as if it were a poem. This suggests the ploy was used to disguise its true goal, a criticism of the one crop system then imposed in Angola, thus avoiding censorship.

Everybody has grasped the emotional, ideological, and esthetic quandary now involving the Shah of Persia.

[Readers] may not have seized other issues.
 The wheat crisis.
 I am sorry to hear of that woman's fate.
 But I fret even more about wheat.
 Soraya is sterile.
 But wheat crops in Angola aren't.
 Ignoring the wheat crisis is the same as ignoring Soraya.
 In our lives there is always a before, a now and an afterwards.
 It is our human dimension.
 And that's it, friends, I have no more topic for this chronicle. I like to do
 this, as the poet says, to release doves amidst gridded words . . .⁴³

The author here fulfills one of the avowed aims of *crónica*, the search and development of topics that concern the lives of citizens—in this case, disguising his topic, the crisis of wheat prices, with a jet-set issue. Queirós, in his preface, says one of the main problems with the Angolan economy is the one-crop system: coffee or sisal.⁴⁴ This scheme began to be enforced in the 1940s and had dire consequences for an Angolan economy that had to import much of the food consumed, despite having rich and abundant agricultural soil. Inspired by other African nations, the Angolan intelligentsia rose up in the next decade to question these Lisbon economic edicts. Why should role models for an African nation such as Angola come from a distant, small European country such as Portugal? In Luanda, especially, differences between the white-colonial areas and the *muçeques*, the poor suburban black neighborhoods, were stark and clear. On one return trip to his beloved Angola, Lara Filho mentions the levels and kinds of distresses that await him, including personal. His financial life leads him to comment in writing that his creditors will have to wait for eventual payments.⁴⁵ His own troubles are not his main concerns, however:

Coming back is only difficult when I am invested in the role of spokesman for poor officers, for black people in *muçeques*, and the washer women. Coming back is only hard when truck drivers, the island fishermen and so many others, so many others, really need a spokesperson for their yearnings, someone who speaks their language, who can say what they feel, what they want, what they suffer, what they think.⁴⁶

Perhaps tellingly, it should be noted that Lara Filho did not show much concern for his own servant. At a certain moment, after settling back in Luanda, he buys a lottery ticket that, unfortunately, does not pay any real money:

I took advice from my black servant, Batista Gramophon—his name is Batista, but I named him Gramophon as he never shuts up and is never quiet even when he is told so—after having spent all the money I had won in a Luanda nightclub. It is fitting to say that he was upset with me, as I had not

given him any money. I excused myself, sort of, telling him that I was going to gamble again and, as I was surely going to get a prize, then I would give him a handsome sum.⁴⁷

Many of his texts share this mixed quality: Lara Filho's lofty ideals mingle with his everyday inability to integrate into established society to practice some of his ideals. In fact, he believed that no figure of authority understood his generation: "In each of us there is an individual who does not like work, abhors it, but we all hide that weak spot, we all feel powerless to openly admit it. Honestly. To the chief, boss, father. They would not understand us."⁴⁸ This outsider streak of disenchantment is reminiscent of the *ennui* of nineteenth-century Portuguese literary journalists, the Generation of 70s,⁴⁹ a group that could not identify with their country of birth and traveled to find their intellectual homes, but with no success. Lara Filho shared the same feeling of broken identity and troubled sense of belonging, if for different reasons.

On another note, the author mentioned joy—"Being joyful is natural to me"⁵⁰—even if it was a bitter joy: "Joy is tradition. Only the man who is in debt is joyful. Only the unemployed, the unhappy, the driver's aid is joyful."⁵¹ He assumed he was a dilettante: "I do not know why but I was born without any capacity to work . . . I work merely because I need to earn a living."⁵² These sentences reveal a shattered relation with society. He characterizes Angolans as joyful when they are unlucky, unsuccessful, or poorly paid; meanwhile, in his own role of social intervention, he does not seem to articulate thought and action in this direction.

Another of his articles reports the trajectory of a Diamantino, a friend and topographer who saved enough money working in his trade in Angola to resettle in Portugal, where he studied and underwent medical treatment for malaria for a number of years. Yet Diamantino's African love of warm weather convinced him to cross the Atlantic again, this time to Brazil, where he settled and quickly found work. Lara Filho writes: "And there he is, smiling, drinking some beers, working his trade, the way he did in Angola, laboring, suffering, growing."⁵³ Here, the search for an Angolan identity departs from European models. Life, work, and studies in Portugal only spur a move to Brazil. Diamantino seeks a country similar to Angola, the one that was left behind, but one with an imprint he was unable to forget.

Lara Filho shares with his friend a troubled sense of belonging: Being in Angola is his ideal, as well as the ideal of his compatriots, but is it possible to live there? Is the country a welcoming space, or is it turning into a space of non-belonging? The author does not seem to know where he feels at home, even when he writes that Luanda is his home. Sentimentally, he

belongs there. “Sundays in Angola are paradise for me,”⁵⁴ but they are lived in the past tense, in his childhood years: “I am experiencing a present of denial, of total contempt, a present that seems to be filled with silence and fear.”⁵⁵ He writes at a time of individual and collective questioning, where any country in which Portuguese is spoken is viewed as a developing possibility rather than a full-fledged reality. These multiple locations of belonging are displayed in texts that often refer to Angola, Portugal, and Brazil, and they represent the author’s enquiries in what he may have considered to be an *unquestionable* homeland. Yet a questioned sense of belonging entails the doubt that plagues Lara Filho’s authorial and personal existence.

Lara Filho’s *crónica* about Marcel Camus’s film *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*) clearly suggests this closeness to the Portuguese-speaking country across the Atlantic where “much of our blood is dripping far, far away down those hills in Brazil.”⁵⁶ The narrative of the Angolan society of the time shares some of the feelings of inevitability that crisscross the motion picture he so admires. The lyrics of *Orfeu Negro*’s title song, “*A Felicidade*” (Happiness), clearly states, “There is no end to sadness, but happiness always ends,”⁵⁷ anticipating the death of the female protagonist, as Lara Filho seemed to anticipate an era coming to an end.

Now: Luís Fernando

Around the time Lara Filho was writing *crónicas*, Luís Fernando, the second author, was born in Uíge, Angola, in 1961. At age seventeen Fernando became a journalist in his newly independent homeland. His life crisscrosses with recent Angolan history: he was born in a Portuguese colony, in a country that was torn by a colonial liberation war and then, along with his countrymen, suffered through the civil war that followed Angolan independence in 1975. After some years of working in the media, he was granted a scholarship to study journalism in Cuba, at the University of La Habana. Cuba at the time played an influential role in Angolan foreign and internal affairs, as it was one of the international actors involved in the post-independence civil war.⁵⁸ Simultaneously Cuba was, and is, a country where *crónica* has a large number of practitioners and readers, as evidenced by Cuban authors working both in- and outside Cuba.⁵⁹

Back in Angola, Fernando worked with different media, including Rádio Nacional de Angola and *Jornal de Angola*, and helped create the newspaper *O País* in 2008. Apart from his other work at *O País*,⁶⁰ he authored a *crónica* every Friday from 2008 to 2017, when he interrupted his career as a journalist to assume an official government position. For nine years, his *crónicas* closed the Friday edition of *O País*. Three volumes have been compiled of texts pub-

lished in the first three years. Fernando has confided, in one of several talks already held, that some other collections have been organized but are awaiting the opportunity to be published.⁶¹

When the new century and millennium began, Angola was at peace and stable. In 2008, Fernando began a quest in his writing to catalog the characteristics, identity traits, and flaws of his fellow big-city citizens of Luanda. He also scrutinized the territories and people of the neglected hinterland, especially his native village and region, Tomessa, in Uíge, a city about 200 miles northeast of Luanda. He wrote about the street vendors and the wise guys who shared their survival skills but not the hard work the former had to do most days. He wrote about the horrid traffic in the capital and the experience of traveling inland. He described the close family relations and traditional respect for one's elders. He wrote of the food and drink, and male friendship. He saw inventiveness and ingenuity everywhere, and wrote about these characteristics with humor, capturing dialogue in carefully drawn, short portraits of the people.

Street vendors, mostly women in Luanda, are called *zungueiras*. They will sell almost anything, but many of them stick to fish, fruit, and drink. One Fernando text discusses the mango season, November and December, and how Luanda is seized by a sudden craze fostered by the presence of hundreds of street sellers carrying cargo in plastic containers swaying on their heads, loaded with fruit that must be quickly sold, as it rots quickly in the high summer temperatures. This trade is against rules, and authorities try to catch these women in the act and fine them. The women, naturally, do their best to dodge the fines. Fernando describes these *zungueiras*: "It is time to add more resources to mere walking around. Accounting for leftovers at the end of the day may mean bankruptcy because mangoes resemble the oldest product announced on the streets of Luanda, fish, and it rots just as quickly."⁶²

It is clear that, as bright and colorful as these women may be, their lives are daily struggles that depend on selling a product that is no good the next day. Hard work is clearly valued in this and other texts that describe those daily struggles. But people who survive by ruse are also a favorite topic. In another text, Fernando transcribes a note scribbled on a piece of paper to an official in high places, who is being asked for a good position in any government office or state-owned company:

Cousin André, see if you can get me an opening in one of the Management Boards that are about to be appointed. I have a middle-school course in hydraulics, so I think I will fit just nicely in the Board of TPA; if that proves too difficult for you, there is also an opening in the Board of Angola Telecom; you can also try *Nosso Super*, as there is a director that is about to leave,

I can also be useful at the engineering Lab, that seems to have a pretty good vacancy . . . I leave everything in your hands, Cousin André.⁶³

Fernando finishes this *crónica* by saying that someone like this candidate for any position is the kind of job seeker who would apply to become NASA's president even if he had never heard of space travel. It is the kind of resourcefulness that does not seem to get along well with the author's interpretation of society.

Traffic and traveling are topics for some of Fernando's *crónicas*: the difficult life of drivers who move and park in Luanda is mirrored in "Parking in Luanda." An excerpt tells one such occasion, reported by Cousin Nando:

He was going to some office on an errand, when he noticed the havoc that had been raised on the sidewalk, by an old and nervous war commandant shouting he could not budge his practical Mitsubishi L200 because someone in a hurry had decided to park a powerful "Shark" Range Rover, right behind his pick-up.⁶⁴

Besides the usual traffic jams that may be found in any big city, two other everyday details are clear: one of the people involved is a war commandant (the war having recently ended), and the appetite wealthy Angolan car owners have for powerful SUVs. Information used by the author is, in this case, collected from another storyteller, a cousin (a kind of kinship that is used not only for blood relatives in Angola but includes friends and acquaintances of a similar age).

Fernando says traveling by car is a hazardous activity because drivers are by nature reckless: "I was one of the many that hit the road, always aware of the fools who believe F1 racing moved here, and also of others who believe that owning a car only entails filling her up and speeding."⁶⁵ But his attention was also taken by the reopening of the train line that connects the port of Lobito to Luau, a city close to the borders of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia. He writes of the opening through the eyes of an old lady who had known that train line when it was first built by the former colonial power. The woman's words are given the most importance when she says she is happy because her children and grandchildren will finally know what she had known years ago: the 1,000-kilometer stretch of train line brings the old Angola back, in a new period of peace.⁶⁶

Respect for the elderly is present in many texts, showing admiration for figures such as a Anglican leader Grandma Bia in "Avó Bia e a Morte da Matriarca" (Grandma Bia and the death of the matriarch): "Grandma Bia was not a political, arts, cinema, or business celebrity. She never needed to be. So, there is no point in trying to remember her face, perhaps as seen on TV."⁶⁷ There

are those elderly people who are remembered for their tender action, such as Grandma Bia or the author's grandmother in another text,⁶⁸ where Fernando reminisces about the odors of his childhood. And then there are the elders who are recalled for the discipline they imposed on their relatives, even after they were grownups. One of the articles refers to an inventive nephew who welcomed an uncle on his mother's side and therefore an especially revered relative in his original, Bantu culture. The article, set in the 1980s, intends to reveal the difficulties people experienced at that time, and the occasional subterfuges used to make life easier. In this particular case, the uncle discovers papers enumerating food and other goods his nephew had requisitioned to pay due respect to his recently deceased uncle—the uncle, in fact, who was reading the document that announced his own death. The result was:

The uncle slapped him as vigorously as he could and the next day they were both in the small village of Maquela, Zombo, exorcising with baths and ointments Eduardo Makenda [the nephew], who had become rich, by using horrible stratagems: he pinched personal data from relatives and friends and then declared them dead, so that he could requisition various items he would then sell at a huge profit in the black market.⁶⁹

This shameless episode is superseded in terms of ingenuity in moneymaking stratagems by the piece on a shop owner, “Dimas Bertaço Venceu na Vida,” who advertised the sweaters he had in stock: “sweaters at 10 kwanzas can't fit your head.”⁷⁰ The catch was that the sweaters did not have an opening for the head, so a play with words was made with actual fitting, versus comprehending that such a thing (sweaters with no opening for the head) might exist.

Fernando's writing describes some characters more often than others, and the street vendor, the *zungueira*, is appreciated again and again: the woman who is the pillar of a family, often the only provider; and the one who can also be an expert in branding new products, using the reputation of a coveted consumer product—the cell phone. When Motorola became a household word, *zungueiras* all over Luanda quickly devised a sandwich which they named Motorola, for a good reason:

The brand of these models, made famous due to the antenna that turned upward to the sky, searching for good signal . . . was turned into brand for a popular sandwich. Our people . . . took a roll of bread . . . and gave it a monumental turn. It was cut in half and filled with a good chicken leg, bone sticking out to the sky, all covered in spicy sauce, finger licking good.⁷¹

After Fernando received an Angolan writers award, he wrote, “I must flood the pages of *O País* with reportage that can be read by seeing.”⁷² Seeing, smelling, touching, hearing, tasting: all of the senses are present in these

crónicas, conveying messages so clearly to his own local audience, but also to other, more distant ones, who are touched by the sensory message the texts convey. Fernando, unlike Lara Filho, is totally at ease in his role of chronicler of the contemporary Angolan and does not share Lara Filho's existential issues or feelings of uneasiness. Fernando reports on his people, as a voice for shared memory, for keen observation of the present and for hope in the future. Authors Christina Hahn, Jane Jorgenson, and Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz revisited Kenneth Pike's anthropological "*emic*"⁷³ approach to observation, a view from within, even if considering the fact that each culture exists on its own, but within a universe of other cultural possibilities.

Author Manuel Carlos Chaparro wrote about information and journalism: "In this talking and institutional world what makes reality dynamic, and alters it is the disorganization and reorganization quality information possesses."⁷⁴ The same could be said about Fernando, who wants to convey a message that can be understood by readers in his own country to help them, and other readers in other countries, understand the deep changes Angolan society is experiencing, using a voice from within.

Final Considerations

Research, care, and detail in the writing of literary journalists enable texts to delve beyond the surface of the issues they approach, at least as deep as contemporaneity allows them. On the one hand, Ernesto Lara Filho dealt with his own torn and tormented stance regarding his native Angola: he loved his country but could not be reconciled with many aspects of his times. More recently, Luís Fernando has looked attentively around him and enjoyed portraying Angolans' recently earned peaceful times, even if the everyday lives of common people have been challenging. Whereas the first author pored over the life of his compatriots through the lens of his own life, the latter's point of view came from the inside, considering subjects in a more egalitarian way.

Decades and two wars separate the work of these authors. However, a colloquial, storytelling tone is found in both. The observation, research, and written depiction of contemporary, current events in detailed reports from within, so characteristic of literary journalism, are also present in both. The points of view differ because of authorial stance, time, and circumstance, but in both there is the wealth of detail, the sociological value, emphasized by Soares: "a stance implying that the study of the intricacies of social life is far too complex to be left to the social sciences alone."⁷⁵

The lineage of their respective writing styles may vary—Lara Filho proceeds in a line existing in Portugal for centuries, but especially in modern times, whereas Fernando clearly follows Latin American influences. However,

both use the lives of Angolans as their subject matter, in the same journalistic genre. From a colonial moment that precedes war (Lara Filho's texts were written before the outburst of colonial war, 1961) to the post-colonial, post-civil war period (Fernando's texts originate in a time span beginning in 2008, until 2015, after wars ended in 2001), this particular genre, literary journalism, in a regional, Global South variety, seems to be ideal to portray the reality of Angola. Both authors combine two traditions in the way they chose to approach their subjects and objects of writing: The first, the relevant tradition of storytelling, is conveyed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries by a written medium, the newspaper. These articles tell stories in which the first author writes mostly centered on himself, his troubles, doubts, and feelings of being a misfit, while the second works to formulate stories of the present, what he and his countrymen witness every day around them.

The second is the ancient but renewed form of *crónica* in its Global South/Angolan version, a written piece that is mostly concerned with accounts or real-life facts, events, and people that are depicted dynamically, as if readers can see them. The author is able to witness events from within, as a participant observer.

If we go back to the words by Fernão Lopes, when the author emphasized that *crónica* are true accounts, we bear witness to the fact that our truths are construed by our discourses and these may be co-construed by texts such as the ones that have been analyzed here.

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Notes

¹ Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, 1:17. Original Portuguese text, “. . . nosso desejo nesta obra foi escrever a verdade sem mistura, deixando—nos de fingidos louvores, nos bons acontecimentos, e nuamente mostrar ao povo quaisquer coisas contrárias do modo como aconteceram.” All texts originally published in Portuguese, French, or Spanish language books or articles have been translated by the author of this paper, unless otherwise noted.

² Lopes, 1:59–62.

³ Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, 2:132. Original old Portuguese: “Esta é a Lisboa prezada, miralda y leixalda. Se quisieredes carnero qual dieran ao Andero, se quisieredes cabrito, qual dieran al Arcebispo.”

⁴ Benjamin, “The Work of Art,” 225, 222. Benjamin writes, “The definition of the aura as a ‘unique phenomenon of a distance however close it may be’ represents nothing but the formulation of the cult value of the work of art in categories of space and time perception. Distance is the opposite of closeness,” 245n5. “Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be,” 222; and, again, “The uniqueness of a work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition. This tradition itself is thoroughly alive and extremely changeable,” 225.

⁵ Jean-Baptiste le Rond D’Alembert, “Reflexions sur l’etat Present de la Republique des Lettres (1760),” dans *Opuscles Philosophiques et Litteraires*, edited by Charles Henry (reprint Slatkine, 1967), 72, quoted in Paul Benhamou, “Le Journalisme dans l’Encyclopédie,” 46 (translation mine).

⁶ Feyel, “Le journalisme au temps de la Révolution: un pouvoir de vérité et de justice au service des citoyens” [Journalism during the Revolution: the power of truth and justice at the service of citizens], 21–22.

⁷ Feyel, 22–23.

⁸ Feyel, 22.

⁹ Darrigrandi, “Crónica Latinoamericana,” 124.

¹⁰ Botta, “A Imprensa Pioneira em Língua Portuguesa,” 155–65. According to Botta, in his study of eighteenth-century *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the oldest regularly published newspaper in Portugal, texts published in these early newspapers were mostly reproductions of other publications, national or foreign, reports on Court or commercial activities, without the characteristic authorial traits of the previous or later published crónicas.

¹¹ Darrigrandi, “Crónica Latinoamericana,” 125.

¹² Soares, “*South*: Where Travel Meets Literary Journalism,” 17–30.

¹³ Trindade, “Literary Journalism: Many Voices, Multiple Languages,” 92–107.

¹⁴ Brito-Semedo, *Pedro Cardoso: Textos Jornalísticos e Literários*, 77. Pedro Monteiro Cardoso’s *A manduco* series of crónicas was published in the newspaper *A Voz de Cabo Verde*, between 1911 and 1914. *A manduco* is a Cape Verdean expression that means by force. The crónicas coincided with the instauration of the Republican regime in Portugal and what seemed to be a new era for the colonies, especially

Cape Verde, and its leading intellectuals and journalists, such as Pedro Monteiro Cardoso.

¹⁵ Moreira Marques, *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*; Brum, *A Vida que Ninguém Vê* [Life that nobody sees].

¹⁶ According to information provided by Instituto Camões, the Portuguese entity that oversees language teaching and cultural services internationally. See “Uma língua para o mundo,” https://www.instituto-camoes.pt/images/eplp/Dip-tico_dlp16.pdf.

¹⁷ Moisés, *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, s.v. “crónica.”

¹⁸ Willems, “Beyond Normative Dewesternization,” 9–10.

¹⁹ ITU, Key ICT Indicators for Developed and Developing Countries and the World (Totals and Penetration Rates), 2015, quoted in Willems and Mano, “Decolonizing and Provincializing Audience and Internet Studies,” 1.

²⁰ Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” 299.

²¹ Bielsa, “Una Aproximación a la Crónica Latinoamericana en España,” 179.

²² Bielsa, 179.

²³ Bielsa wrote (author’s translation): “within the space provided by literary journalism, the intellectual made chronicler establishes close relationship with a massive readership and provides urgent interpretations of the present time. Crónica becomes, in its widest reach, a report on non-official culture, where everything excluded from institutions and all that has not yet crystalized into an established cultural pattern may find a place,” 179. Bielsa mentions in her review that Jorge Carrión, the author of *Mejor que Ficción. Crónicas Ejemplares*, defines *crónica* as a debate, not an actual genre, and how slippery the genre, if called so, is. Bielsa, 180–81.

²⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner wrote that “In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics.” Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” 23. Ray Allen Billington summarizes Turner’s frontier thesis in his 1960 discourse on its origins as arguing that the nature of institutions in the new nation of the United States evolved as they did, not because of the seed, or “germ,” of their origins—that is, what they grew out of—but rather, as they were “altered by the unique environment in which they grew to maturity.” Billington, “The American Frontier Thesis,” 203. See also, Billington, *The Frontier Thesis. Valid Interpretation of American History?*

²⁵ Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*.

²⁶ Brum, *A Vida que Ninguém Vê* [Life that nobody sees]; Becker, “Ouvindo os Mortos.” [Listening to the dead].

²⁷ Takeshita, “Current Critical Problems in Agenda-Setting Research,” 275 (italics in original).

²⁸ Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 48. *Muceques*, a word of Kimbundu origin, were, and are, shantytowns mainly for poor, black people, in the outskirts of large cities.

²⁹ Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*.

³⁰ Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*. José Lui Mendonça wrote the preface to this volume and gave it the title: *Ao Serviço do Deus Cronos* [At the service of the god Cronos], 11.

³¹ Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 9.

³² Writer Mario Pinto de Andrade was one of the exiled founders of MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) that still exists and is the ruling party in Angola. He had an ideological clash with the party which led him again into exile after 1974.

³³ Viriato Cruz, a poet and activist, belonged to the same movement and was expelled for ideological dissent. He died in the People's Republic of China in 1973, which means he never saw Angolan independence.

³⁴ Agostinho Neto would be the first Angolan president. A medical doctor and a respected author, Neto led a life of struggle for African nationalism in different countries and withstood arrests by Portuguese political police until he left for exile. Dr. Neto died in Moscow in 1979.

³⁵ Queiroz, *prefácio* [preface], 12. Artur Queiroz, in the preface to the volume of Lara Filho's texts, notes the journalist studied in Coimbra, not at the famous university, but in a technical college. The author always struggled with comparisons to his sister, poet and doctor Alda Lara, whom he admired but always felt he never quite achieved her standing. See also Ernesto Lara Filho, "Poetas de Angola," *Lisofonia Poética*. Accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.lusofoniapoetica.com/poetas-de-angola/ernesto-lara-filho.html>.

³⁶ Lara Filho was one of the supporters of the February 4, 1961, events that are considered the beginning of the colonial war in Angola. According to information collected in one of Agostinho Neto's books, *A Libertação de Angola, 1949–1974. Arquivos da PIDE-DGS*, Lara Filho's involvement eventually led to trouble with the political police, PIDE-DGS, and subsequent exile in Paris. See also, Domingos Cazuzo's 2014, "Quatro de Fevereiro. Roupas e catanas foram financiadas por Ernesto Lara Filho" [Fourth of February: Clothing and machetes were financed by Ernesto Lara Filho].

³⁷ Queiroz writes, "Colonialism could not forgive him [Lara Filho] for having joined the guerrillas of MPLA. MPLA could not forgive the fact that one of their own abandoned the fight and went back to Luanda." Queiroz, *prefácio*, 11.

³⁸ Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, includes a selection of these *crónicas*, numbered but without titles. See "Roda Gigante, *Jornal de Angola*, 1956/1958," 23, 25–55.

³⁹ Queiroz, *prefácio to Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 7.

⁴⁰ Queiroz, 8.

⁴¹ Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 29.

⁴² Lara Filho, "Minha Família é do Norte," 7–8. In this text Lara Filho reveals the origins of his family, who came from Northern Portugal.

⁴³ Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 32.

⁴⁴ Queiroz, *prefácio*, 8. The Portuguese government presented coffee and sisal

crops as the best agricultural products for Angola, but that eventually led to a neglect of other crops or even of the livestock industry. Consequently, this meant heavy dependence on food imports and an unsustainable agricultural system.

⁴⁵ Lara Filho, *Crônicas da Roda Gigante*, 48.

⁴⁶ Lara Filho, 48.

⁴⁷ Lara Filho, 30.

⁴⁸ Lara Filho, 30.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, Álvaro Manuel Machado, who designates the line of thought and work followed by authors such as Eça de Queirós as an “exile aesthetics.” Machado, “A Geração de 70,” 391.

⁵⁰ Lara Filho, *Crônicas da Roda Gigante*, 42.

⁵¹ Lara Filho, 43.

⁵² Lara Filho, 29.

⁵³ Lara Filho, 72.

⁵⁴ Lara Filho, 35.

⁵⁵ Lara Filho, 50.

⁵⁶ Lara Filho, 42, 42–45. The Brazilian film *Orfeu Negro* [*Black Orpheus*] was awarded an Oscar for Best Foreign Film in 1960. It was directed by Marcel Camus in 1959, based on the play written by Vinicius de Moraes that had been staged for the first time in 1956. This play was a premiere for black actors in the Teatro Municipal of Rio de Janeiro. Vinicius perceived a certain mythology that existed in samba schools and decided to adapt the tragedy of Orpheus and Eurydice to carioca Carnival. He cowrote the soundtrack with Antônio Carlos Jobim. Critics refer to this as a seminal moment for bossa nova in Brazil, with songs that include “Felicidade” [Happiness], “Manhã de Carnaval” [Carnival morning] and “Samba de Orfeu” [Orpheus’ Samba]. *Orfeu Negro* [*Black Orpheus*]. Accessed April 1, 2020, <https://blackorpheusmusical.com>.

⁵⁷ De Moraes, “A Felicidade” (Author’s translation). Vinicius De Moraes wrote the lyrics and Antônio Carlos Jobim, the musical score, published by V M Enterprises Inc and Corcovado Music Corp., http://www.releituras.com/viniciusm_bio.asp.

⁵⁸ More information on Luís Fernando may be found at the Government of Angola website, Secretary for Institutional Communication and Press Affairs, <http://www.governo.gov.ao/orgaos-auxiliares.aspx?t=61>. Fernando was born in a small village near Uíge, about 200 miles northwest of Luanda. He pays homage to his birthplace in one of his novels, *Silêncio na Aldeia* [Silent village]. In 2011 he won the highest distinction for Angolan writers, the Maboque Prize. He has since 2017 served as the press secretary of the Angolan president, João Lourenço.

⁵⁹ As recently as November 2017, *Granma*, the official journal of the Cuban Communist Party, reported that one of the regular meetings on the writing of crónicas brought practitioners and academics together in Cienfuegos, Cuba. Martínez Molina. “National Meeting of the Chronicle,” *Granma*, November 17, 2017, <http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2017-11-17/celebran-encuentro-nacional-de-la-cronica-en-cienfuegos-17-11-2017-20-11-43>.

⁶⁰ The newspaper *O País* is one of the media outlets owned by the Angolan group Medianova, <https://opais.co.ao/>.

⁶¹ Fernando, *Um Ano de Vida, Dois Anos de Vida, Três Anos de Vida*. The three volumes compiled in 2010, 2012, and 2014 are of *crónicas* published by Angolan newspaper *O País*: Vida (hence the title of compilations, one, two and three years of life). In addition, the author of this study conducted several interviews over these the years, one in person on March 20, 2017, when the author visited her place of work, ISCSP, one of the colleges of the University of Lisbon, for the public event that was a part of the visit, “Angolan Journalist Luís Fernando at ISCSP for the Meeting, ‘Conversations at the End of the Afternoon,’” March 20, 2017, <https://www.iscsp.ulisboa.pt/pt/noticias/iscsp-cultural/jornalista-angolano-luis-fernando-no-iscsp-para-o-encontro-conversas-ao-fim-da-tarde>.

⁶² Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 17.

⁶³ Fernando, 47.

⁶⁴ Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 101, in “Estacionar em Luanda” [Parking in Luanda], 99–101.

⁶⁵ Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 169, in “A Vida dos Municípios” [The Life of the municipality], 169–71.

⁶⁶ Fernando, “Volto Já, Vou ao Leste de Comboio” [I’ll be back soon, I’m taking the train to go to the East], *O País*, 66.

⁶⁷ Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 51, in “Avó Bia e a Morte da Matriarca” [Grandma Bia and the death of the matriarch], 51–53.

⁶⁸ Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 89, in “Cacimbo glorioso” [Glorious cacimbo—cacimbo refers the dry summer months that Fernando used to spend with his grandmother, Zola], 88–90.

⁶⁹ Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 78. In “A quase morte do Tio Manzambi” [Uncle Manzambi’s near death], 76–78.

⁷⁰ Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 68, in “Dimas Bertaço Venceu na Vida” [Dimas Bertaço made it in life], 66–68.

⁷¹ Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 28, in “Motorola Made in Angola,” 27–29.

⁷² Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 144, in “Manga não, Maboque” [Not Mango, Maboque], 142–44.

⁷³ In “A Curious Mixture of Passion and Reserve: Understanding the Etic/Emic Distinction,” Hahn, Jorgenson, and Leeds-Hurwitz use Kenneth Pike’s concept of “emic” to explain the value of having the possibility of comparison with other cultures when studying one culture in particular. This enables the researcher to get to know a culture from within, while bearing in mind its relative position to other cultures. Kenneth L. Pike, “Pike’s Reply to Harris,” in *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*, edited by Thomas N. Headland, Kenneth L. Pike, and Marvin Harris, 62–74. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990, as quoted in Hahn, Jorgenson, and Leeds-Hurwitz, “A Curious Mixture of Passion and Reserve,” 148.

⁷⁴ Chaparro, “O Acontecimento como Discurso” [Event as Discourse], 296.

⁷⁵ Soares, “At the Intersection of Risk,” 65.

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