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Decolonial Coalitions: Afro-Brazilian Feminisms and the Poetic-Politics of Quilombo

JULIANA M. STREVA

This Is Not the Beginning

This paper begins by recognizing that this is not the beginning.[1] As a relational movement, this research is an ongoing process engaged with an assemblage of repertoires. Such an assemblage, or better, "encruzilhada" (Martins 2003, 69) involves counter-archives, historiographical genealogies, political strategies, anti-colonial, anti-racist and feminist praxis. The erasure perpetuated by modern slavery constitutes, as the poet Dionne Brand (2001, 15) elaborates, "the end of traceable beginnings". Along these lines, the current 'apocalypse' is perceived as a symptom of an ongoing regime of violence, produced and reproduced by colonialism and racial gendered capitalism. In interrogating the colonial legacies of violence, this analysis brings attention to the political and cultural concept of "Améfrica Ladina" coined by the writer and founder of the Unified Black Movement in Brazil (Movimento Negro Unificado, MNU) Lélia Gonzalez. Written in pretoguês (Blackguese),[2] the category of amefricanidade moves the gaze from the white Eurocentric canon to the African-Latin-American narratives, and in particular, to the knowledge produced by Black and Indigenous women in the region (Gonzalez 1988a, 77-79; Pires 2020, 73; Rios 2020, 77).

While striving not for only being-in-the-world, but for articulating other modes of being and living together, Afro-Brazilian and peripheral women have been, in the words of the activist Silvia Baptista, "reconstituting quilombos as a *rede* (a web)" (Baptista/IPACS 2020). But what does it mean to reconstitute a "quilombo"?

The quilombo has been conceived by traditional historiography and legal rhetoric either as communities formed by runaway enslaved persons during the colonial re-

gime, or as a modern juridico-political collective/group identity, namely the "quilombo remnant communities" (1988 Constitution of Brazil, art. 68/ADCT – Act of Transitional Constitutional Provisions).[3] Moving beyond the mainstream definition and inspired by the work of the historian, poet, and activist Beatriz Nascimento, the quilombo is understood in this paper as a theory and a practice that is not limited to the historic runaway slave communities, but encompasses the continuity of memories, strategies, and everyday political practices.

In Nascimento's theorisation of quilombo, the body is conceived as a privileged political site (B. Nascimento 1989, 333 et seq). Engaging with her work, I propose the notion of "living archives" as a form of vitalizing what she calls "methodology of the oral history" (B. Nascimento 1982b, 253 et seq). To speak of the archive as a process, instead of as a thing, implies the destabilization of its institutional enclosure. The living archive presents an experience-based perspective of history and politics, in which the body is perceived as a document, as a map, as the territorialization of memory. It embodies the interplay between the oral and the written (Glissant 1990, 34; Martins 2003).

Drawing on the theory and practice of quilombo, this paper elaborates on the living archives of three Afro-Brazilian thinkers and activists: (i) Beatriz Nascimento's fundamental contributions on the political, material and symbolic dimensions of quilombo; (ii) the legacy and vision of Marielle Franco focusing on the necessity to ocupar (occupy) the institutional politics like a growing seed; and (iii) the work of Erica Malunguinho through the praxis of aquilombar (quilombo as a verb) the constitutional democracy.

The Living Archive of Beatriz Nascimento

In 1949, at the age of seven, Beatriz Nascimento migrated from Aracaju, Sergipe, to the suburbs of the city of Rio de Janeiro. There, she became a historian researcher and activist who played a relevant role in the MNU (Ratts 2007, 27). Despite her ground-breaking research focused mostly but not exclusively on quilombos, Nascimento's work has been significantly understudied not only in the international community, but also in Brazil.

The extermination of Indigenous, African and Afro-diasporic epistemologies configure what is called epistemicídio (epistemicide), a term that became known in Brazil by the work of Sueli Carneiro (2005, 61). Epistemicide configures a crucial dimension of the geographic spatialization of whiteness within academia and beyond (Gonzalez 1984; Bairros 2000; Ratts 2007, 42).

In the period of the Brazilian dictatorship (1964-1985), Nascimento faced not only the political terror of the civil-military regime but also the epistemic antiblackness violence. She openly mentioned in interviews how racism impacted both her professional and personal vitality ("Força Vital" or "axé") – a term preferred here to avoid any normative diagnosis from the domains of 'mental health'. In Nascimento words:

> (W)e (Black people) live in a *double or triple society*. This white society imposes in your head that your behaviour should be standardized according to white normativity, and you, as a Black person, annihilate yourself, start to live another life, floating without a ground to land on, a reference, or a parameter (B. Nascimento 1982a, 249).[4]

Her critique of an encompassing white world normativity for Black Brazilian people is deeply tuned with notion of "double consciousness" coined by W.E.B. Du Bois (1903, 2), as well as with Frantz Fanon's conceptualization on existing in triple, resulted from the epidermal racial schema (1952, 92).

After sharing the fact she was visiting three psychoanalysts (B. Nascimento 1982a, 249), she decided to leave the university in 1979 and to dedicate herself to cinema, poetry, prose, and essay (B. Nascimento 1992, 415). "Poetic knowledge is born in the great silence of scientific knowledge", once stated the poet cofounder of the Negritude Movement Aimé Césaire (1990, 17). From 1979 to 1989, she produced the film "Ôrí" together with the sociologist and filmmaker Raquel Gerber (Ratts 2007, 63-69). The film registers and poetically confabulates with the Black movements for democracy in Brazil, the relationship between Brazil and Africa, and the notion and practice of quilombo.

Confronting the structural racism from within the rigid spheres of academia, Nascimento returned to the university and wrote one of her most intellectually innovative and fascinating pieces, the essay "For a (New) Existential and Physical Territory" (1992). There, she problematized the academic schema of knowledge production and the impacts on her own body, "(i)t has provoked a physical repulsion to the written word", and drawing on that, she proposed "a rupture with strictly scientific thought" (B. Nascimento 1992, 416, trans. Smith et al. 2021, 306). This attempt put her into an ambivalent, or double consciousness position: "even as this thought fascinates me (I have been socialised in it, I cannot escape it), I reject it as being premised on colonization" (ibid.).

In 1995, Nascimento's trajectory was tragically interrupted: after advising a friend to put an end to an abusive and violent relationship, the activist was assassinated by her friend's partner (Torres 1995; Gramado 1995; Folha de S. Paulo 1996). The perpetrator was sentenced to 17 years in prison. Feminicide.[5] Antiblackness epistemicide. A body-map.

According to Nascimento's work, the land and the territory are the foundation of a quilombo. "(T)oday quilombo no longer means a geographical territory but a symbolic dimension of territory" (B. Nascimento 1989, 377). For her, the quilombo involves not just a geographic space or a community, but it also entails a practice, a verb, knowledge for dismantling and reinventing another regime of coexistence not based on antiblackness genocide, white supremacy, racial dispossession, and sexist colonial enslavement. Therefore, the quilombo practice is not limited to the formal period of slavery but is extended to confront the binary violence of today, in the continual legacies of colonialism (B. Nascimento 1989, 1990; Smith 2016, 79).

Since the first decades of Brazil's colonization, such communities were known first as mocambos and only later as quilombos (Gomes 2015, 6 et seq.). Far from a Por-

tuguese term, both derived from Central African words used to designate improvised camps, used for warfare or even slave arrests. In Brazil, the quilombos have been territories where persons from multiple trajectories, languages, and backgrounds formed communities and articulations to live together (A. Nascimento 1980). According to the historian Flávio dos Santos Gomes, the quilombo communities did not share a common economic system. For him, the common feature of a quilombo is that of non-isolation (Gomes 2015, 10), that is, the creation of a "rede" (web). Hence, the description of the quilombo as a type of utopic alternative society, where everyone would be free and equal, just as it would have been in Africa, has been considered within a critical historiographic framework as a romanticized reading of Africa (Reis/Gomes 1996, 11).

The most studied example of a quilombo as a historical anti-slavery community has been the Quilombo dos Palmares. Founded in the sixteenth century in the captaincy of Pernambuco (the modern-day states of Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe), the Quilombo dos Palmares is considered the largest anti-colonial settlement in Latin America (E. Carneiro 1966; B. Nascimento 1976). Since the 1970s, the MNU has been invoking the counter-narrative of Palmares and its century-long resistance against colonialism as a symbol of resistance (B. Nascimento 1990, 350; Gomes 2015, 41). An example of this can be seen in the Black Consciousness Day on November 20, every year: the anniversary of the assassination of the most famous leader of the quilombo, Zumbi, in 1695. It is significant that this day was chosen over that of the anniversary of the official abolition of slavery (May 13). That is, the MNU has adopted the notion of quilombo as a political expression of the struggle against structural racism, Black extermination, and other manifestations of colonialism, in a movement named by Nascimento as a "correction of nationality" (B. Nascimento 1985, 291).

Different from the mainstream definitions of running away or inability to fight, the practice of flight should not be defined as an action taken to avoid or not deal with a problem. On the contrary, "fugitivity" (Moten/Harney 2013) is conceived itself as fight, in the sense of a constructive practice (B. Nascimento 1975). More than the need to remain alive, the quilombo escape refers to the exodus, the exile, the abolition, the transmigration, the movement towards the disruption of the Othering mechanism that objectifies Black corporeality and forms of living. It "is above all the result of a whole process of reorganisation and contestation of the established order" (B. Nascimento 1975, 73).

In an innovative, and, I would say, feminist way, Nascimento (1975, 67) proposes an understanding of quilombo that overcomes the ultra-masculinized descriptions of the warrior, embodied by the figure of Zumbi. "It was up to the woman to sustain the escape" (B. Nascimento 1989, 335). Despite the absence of official reports on women's presence in the quilombos, Nascimento evokes the important role performed by Black women in providing conditions for the formation of a quilombo. Before the formal abolition of slavery, Black women used to prepare "oferendas"

(offerings for religious entities) as a means to leave food in areas remote from and surrounding the casa grande (the masters' house) (ibid.). Additionally, quilombo communities have been historically formed and governed by women, such as Aqualtune, the daughter of the King of Congo, who was brought to Brazil and enslaved in the 17th century. Moreover, Aqualtune's presumably exceptional story was not an isolated case.[6] Without denying the utmost importance and emphasis by the historiography on the figure of Zumbi, women have performed as protagonists of quilombo movements until today (Gonzalez 1981, 1988b; Almeida 2018, 97).

Moreover, and following the critique presented by Afro-Brazilian feminists such as Jurema Werneck and Sueli Carneiro, it would be misleading to frame Black and Indigenous women within an idealized, mythical, or heroic image of the superwoman or "guerreira" (female warrior). Such a rhetoric has been used to reinscribe the afterlives of slavery by glorifying precarity and romanticizing the burdensome conditions of their daily struggles (Werneck 2010; Carneiro/Santana 2017).

Tracing routes for other forms of liveability, Nascimento states the need to extricate ourselves from the binary thinking. For her, the narrow identitarian thinking has performed endlessly as a way to sabotage reality. "(W)e are Black / they are white (vice-versa) (...) we are poor / they are rich (vice-versa) (...) It is repetitive, unsustainable and unbearable" (B. Nascimento 1992, 416, trans. Smith et al. 2021, 306). Situating the colonial production and reproduction of identity categories, she argues that "(b)eing Black is an identity assigned by those who dominated us. For a different and better future, we must rethink ourselves within our condition as human beings" (B. Nascimento 1982a, 251).

Furthermore, Nascimento (1975, 76) brings to the forefront the peace as a crucial and dismissed element of the quilombo. Indeed, in a remarkable number of cases throughout the Americas – Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico, and Surinam –, colonial/settler forces had proposed to a quilombo community a "peace treaty". Freedom would be offered to the communities, and in return, slave-owners demanded "an agreement to end all hostilities toward the plantations, to return all future runaways and, often, to aid the whites in hunting them down" (Price 1973, 14 et seq.; Gomes 2015, 44). In this respect, Nascimento's concept of "paz quilombola" (quilombo peace) should not be read as a pacifist statement, a colonial agreement, or a depoliticization of anger (Fanon 1961; Lorde 1981). Differently, the quilombo is conceptualized by her as "a warrior when it needs to be a warrior", and it is "a retreat when the fight is not necessary" (B. Nascimento 1977b, 189 et seq.). By situating quilombo beyond the context of mainly war, Nascimento importantly defines it as not only as a reaction to the politics of extermination – necropolitics (Mbembe 2003) –, but also as a movement towards the continuity of life. Instead of understanding quilombo mainly in relation to violence or erasing its contradictions (B. Nascimento 1975, 67), quilombo is conceived as a complex politics of and for life.

The Living Archive of Marielle Franco

Within the Afro-diaspora frame, quilombo can be perceived as a living legacy and a horizon of the ubuntu philosophy, most known from the Zulu language, but also with variations from Bantu languages (B. Nascimento 1989, 329; Martins 2003; Moraes 2019). This does not equate with finding the "remnants" of African culture in the (South-)American continent. Following Lélia Gonzalez, the struggles against colonial, slavery and anti-black genocide carried out in Latin America are understood as Améfrica Ladina reinventions of life and living praxis in the diaspora (Gonzalez 1988a). The entanglement of quilombo and ubuntu in pretoguês conceives that "the flourishing of one human being is not separate from the flourishing of all other" (Cornell/Marle 2015, 5).

With a political campaign based on the ubuntu maxim "I am because we are", Marielle Franco was a member of the Socialism and Liberation Party (PSOL) and was the fifth most voted councillor for Rio de Janeiro municipality in 2016. Marielle grew up in the largest favela complex in the city, Complexo da Maré, and became a sociologist and human rights activist engaged with anti-racist and LGBTQI+ platforms (Franco 2018, 118). Her mandate was conducted in a collective manner, since she was convinced that "the (political) mandate of a peripheral, black, favela woman, must join together with social movements, together with organized civil society" (Franco/Fenizola 2020).

On March 14, 2018, after the public event "Black Female Youth Moving the Structures", Marielle Franco was assassinated, together with the driver, Anderson Gomes. On the day before the feminicide, Franco had asked on social media: "How many more must die for this war to end?" (Ibid.)[7]

Even though elections do not define the meaning of representative democracy, they do present a parameter through which modern democracy can be examined. In this respect, it is well known how white, cisgender, heterosexual men from the elite have dominated institutional politics not only in Brazil but also elsewhere (IPU/PACE 2018). In this respect, Franco stressed the importance of peripheric Black activist women to ocupar (occupy) institutional politics in a collective form, instead of an individualized 'exceptional' case (Franco 2018).

Different from the colonial invasion, and unlike the concept of "inclusion", the action of ocupar involves more than the symbolic representation or becoming included into the zone of being. The action of ocupar entails a disruption of the racial spatialization into zones of being and nonbeing, a transformation from below – from the grounds –, a dismantling of the political and the "juridical colonialism" (Pires 2020). "Today quilombo no longer means a geographical territory but a symbolic dimension of territory" (B. Nascimento 1989, 377).

Drawing on the quilombo agropoetics of land, soil and territoriality, Afro-Brazilian feminists have invoked the vocabulary of "semente" (seed) to address the continuation of Franco's legacy (Rossi 2018; Lima e Silva 2019). A seed encapsulates the organic and the spiral cycle of life. By reading ancestrality throughout routes, and not

only with roots (Glissant 1990, 11-22), the notion of seed moves beyond the imagery of the soil and entails the ubuntu spiral of interconnectedness. In place of rigidity or fixedness, it symbolizes a geopolitical location from the ground up and at the same time transatlantic, where peripheric bodies have been placed, and from where they have also been continually in movements.
Like growing seeds, Indigenous and Black women comprised a significant number of candidates for the 2018 presidential elections. While a far-right authoritarian populist was elected president, the first Black transwoman was also elected for São Paulo's state legislative house. Her name is Erica Malunguinho, and her political project is called "Mandata Quilombo".

The Living Archive of Erica Malunguinho

Erica Malunguinho da Silva was born in Recife on November 20, 1981, which, coincidently, is Brazil's Black Consciousness Day, as well as the International Transgender Day of Remembrance. The name, Malunguinho, can be related to at least two main references. Firstly, it invokes the diminutive form (-inho) – which is often used in pretoguês – of the word malungo. According to the New Bantu Dictionary of Brazil, malungo means comrade or fellow, used by deported and enslaved African people in the context of the slave ship (Lopes 2012, 156). Secondly, Malunguinho alludes to the Quilombo Malunguinho, located in Recife in 1836 (E. Carneiro 2001, 12).
Erica Malunguinho founded in 2016 the Aparelha Luzia, one of the main examples of a quilombo urbano (urban quilombo) in the country. Located in the city of São Paulo, Aparelha Luzia embodies a space of transatlanticidade where political, cultural, and artistic theories and practices merge (Malunguinho/Souza 2019). Aparelha Luzia is a prime example of quilombo as a praxis that goes beyond its territoriality. In the inauguration of the Mandata Quilombo, Malunguinho enunciated: "Welcome the 'reintegração de posse' (repossession). (...) Our project doesn't want war with anyone, we want to live well. (...) Black people demand 'alternância de poder' (alternation of power) and we are here to enter the Assembly through the front door" (Malunguinho/Vasconcelos 2019). The paper moves now to learn with the praxis of the two concepts: the alternância de poder and the reintegração de posse.
To discuss alternância de poder (alternation in representative power), we must first take on the concept of "identity politics", which brings to the forefront the contemporary exhaustion of representative democracy along with the debate on identity and difference. The notion of "identity politics" has often been translated as a very narrow frame of politics: a segmented struggle for individual rights carried out by a so-called "minority". Nascimento (1992, 421, trans. Smith et al. 2021, 309) interrogated how "minority", in an essentialized definition associated with "identity politics", has been conceived of as a "monolithic block" that dismisses the nuances, differences, and complexities within a particular group, "in an endless enunciation of stereotypes which serves to reinstate the domination and subordination of place and territory".

Joining Nascimento's early work, Malunguinho argues that the clash between "identity politics" and "traditional politics" configures a liberal discourse, in which the later would be fragmented and exclusionary while the former neutral and universal. Such narrative reinscribes the colonial rationale of Othering within democratic politics in Brazil – and elsewhere – today. As Malunguinho (2020a) asserts, "those who have managed power for centuries are people who, astonishingly, also have identities". On the one hand, traditional politics has been conceived as a 'non-identity-based' political mobilization. As a result, political movements carried out by white, cisgender, heterosexual, middle- and upper-class men are reinscribed as neutral and universal, as if they and their struggles were completely detached from personal features. As a result, this dynamic reinscribes what Malunguinho conceptualizes as a "vicious circle of representation" and "institutional dysphoria" (Malunguinho/Britto 2020; Malunguinho/Streva 2020). It is repetitive, unsustainable, and unbearable. On the other hand, the political organizations of historically marginalized people have been targeted as 'identity-based' and framed as a segmented particular form of politics exclusively concerned with self-interested agendas based on recognition and inclusion; as if the Afro-Brazilian feminist political projects were not engaging with the socio-economic, juridical, cultural, and political justice for the entire society.

In contrast with the dominant political usage and joining the anti-racist and Black feminist legacies, I situate the notion of "identity politics" within its first conceptualization by the Combahee River Collective (1983). The Collective was a Black lesbian feminist and socialist organization formed in Boston in 1974. They framed and conceptualized the racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class-based struggles as simultaneous, integrated, and interlocked. "The major source of difficulty in our political work is that we are not just trying to fight oppression on one front or even two, but instead to address a whole range of oppressions" (Combahee River Collective 1983, 7). Closely related to the notion of quilombo, the name of the collective was chosen based on the Combahee River raid of 1863 in which over 750 enslaved people were able to escape by a military strategy designed by a woman, Harriet Tubman (Harris 2008). That is, the collective refers to a fugitive politics, an attempt to find a way out in the "afterlives of slavery" (Hartman 2007, 6), a quilombo praxis.

In the same direction, Erica Malunguinho concludes that, "since we (Black women) have been subjected to every kind of structural violence, we have created the ability to see the whole and realize that if there is no peace for us, there will be no peace for anyone" (Malunguinho/Bernardes/Borges 2018). In this final passage, the notion of peace strongly resonates with Nascimento's concept of "quilombo peace", while reverberating Franco's question, "(h)ow many more must die for this war to end?".

Ubuntu relationality and quilombo fugitivity. Coalitions for dismantling the colonial structures of violence, in which race and gender are not only conceived as perspectives, but as grounding foundations (Malunguinho/Britto 2020). Malunguinho (Malunguinho/Vasconcelos 2019) emphasizes, "Our project doesn't want war with anyone, we want to live well".

Moving to the second outlined praxis, the juridical term of "reintegração de posse" (reintegration of possession) is defined by the Brazilian legislation as a traditional instrument to reclaim the possession of a property; such a right arises from the figure of 'legitimate' property ownership. (Law 13.105/2015; Law 10.406/2002). This has been a legal mechanism historically used to perpetuate the property ownership not for those historically dispossessed from their lands (Indigenous and African peoples), but for those considered as subjects of rights by the juridical colonialism (Pires 2020, 72), which has historically been the white elite men (Streva 2020, 129).
Instead of reinscribing the rhetoric of individual rights, Erica Malunguinho rewrites reintegração de posse in pretoguês. Transcending the territorial boundaries of private ownership, the notion of reintegração de posse entails both juridical and extra-juridical forms of addressing the historical dispossession of Indigenous and Black peoples' lands, memories, and knowledge (Malunguinho/Streva 2020) . Moreover, this praxis interrogates the role of legal reason in the enactment of categories such as property, identity and representativity combining grassroots movements and institutional mandates. Like the purpose of a living archive, the politics of reintegração de posse constitute a quilombo strategy and practice for reclaiming dispossessed lands, erased narratives, and unvalued knowledges, to write the history in first person. This praxis involves not only the symbolic but also the material claims for the right of housing and of the demarcation of traditional lands within the Legislative Assembly (Malunguinho 2021). A living archive and a politics of life, "because this struggle is for life" (Malunguinho/Bernardes/Borges 2018; Malunguinho/Streva 2020).

Opening Remarks

In 2020, more than one hundred Afro-diaspora movements came together in Brazil, formally establishing for the first time the Black Coalition for Rights. In the open letter written by the Coalition, they denounce the ongoing antiblackness genocide while stating the necessity to dismantle the whole range of structural oppressions. Constituting a quilombo net, they emphasize the principles of collaboration, ancestrality, circularity, orality, self-care, solidarity, collectivism, memory, horizontality, recognition, and respect of differences (Coalizão Negra Por Direitos 2020). They propose a politics of life, a quilombo politics. "No matter how much a social system dominates, it is possible to create a differential system" (B. Nascimento 1989, 334). The Afro-Brazilian writer Conceição Evaristo (2019) has already demanded in 2019: "It is time to form new quilombos, / wherever we are, / and may the future days to come, 'salve' 2021, / the quilombola mystic persists in stating: 'freedom is a constant struggle'". The poem is a call intitled "Tempo de nos Aquilombar": Time for us to aquilombar. The quilombo practice becomes a verb (aquilombar) that vitalizes transnational, non-binary, transidentitarian and transdisciplinary dialogues, articulations, and coalitions between decolonial, anti-racist, feminist fronts, movements, theories, and practices.

Instead of proposing closing remarks or final conclusions, this paper moves towards openings and breaches, anti-colonial fugitivities and futurities. "The Améfrica, the African and Indigenous Améfrica, is the future. If there is any possibility for a tomorrow, it is by joining these steps" (Malunguinho 2020b).

Notes

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2 Pretoguês should not be misunderstood as a dialect. Rather, the language spoken in Brazil is the result of processes of assimilation, acculturation and violence against African peoples in which, via resistance, it incorporated African influences transforming Portuguese into Pretoguês (Gonzalez 1988, 70; Pires 2020, 71).

3 Different from a top-down decision, the Constitutional provision was an achievement of the Brazilian Black Unified Movement, in which Lélia Gonzalez and Beatriz Nascimento were active members (MNU 1986).

4 All English translations of quotations published only in Portuguese are my responsibility.

5 The concept of feminicide or femicide is here understood beyond the liberal frame of criminal law and human rights, as "the political economy of violence in that universe that is usually referred to as 'domestic' in order to isolate systematic practices of abuse as individual problems and criminalize those who resist them" (Draper 2018, 685; Streva 2020).

6 For example, Teresa de Benguela, Maria Filipa, Dandara dos Palmares, Akotirene, Luiza Mahim, and the matriarchal Quilombo Serra Umã (Rezzutti 2018, 49-52). Moreover, a similar reference to Zumbi to be highlighted is the founding female leader "Nanny of the Maroons", who had a central role in the struggle against slavery and colonialism in Jamaica (Gonzalez 1988b).

7 Three years after her feminicide, the Criminal Chamber unanimously decided that the two former military policemen accused of the crime will face a jury for the murders (Leal 2021). Still, the question of who is behind the crime remains unanswered (Pennafort 2021).

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