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## THE DECOLONIAL DEBATE TERRITORIES

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## THE DECOLONIAL DEBATE: TERRITORIES O DEBATE DECOLONIAL: TERRITÓRIOS

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## Abstract

Starting from a problematization of the interests at stake in recent uses of the decolonial repertoire, we seek to expose the powers of the first decolonial formulations, describe the contributions that were later added to them and present their weaknesses. For this, we present its two main bases: the critique of Eurocentrism, particularly aimed at the diffusion of knowledge, and the debate on “race” as a structuring aspect of political-economic-cultural dimensions, theorized in the concept of coloniality of power. Then, we highlight some of the perspectives that add new understandings to the concept of coloniality and point out contradictions of the decolonial turn. We conclude by supporting the reclaim of the power of this approach from the exposure of its limits, with a view to its translation to Brazil and beyond fads.

**Keywords:** Decolonial Turn, Eurocentrism, Race, Coloniality, Epistemology

## 1 Introduction

*Scene 1.* An Afro-Venezuelan student attends a presentation on the decolonial turn of one of the authors of this text. Facing the screen showing images of the faces of the two female authors and the eleven male authors usually pointed out as precursors of this perspective,<sup>1</sup> he comments: “I understood why you identify so much with the decolonials, since they are a bunch of white men talking about indigenous and black people!”.

*Scene 2.* The two white people writing this article enroll in an online course on *decolonial thinking and the arts* at an important museum in Brazil, led by an admittedly competent researcher. In the first class, she shows the only one of more than fifty slides in which she quotes the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano and coloniality, warning that she is not guided by that author or concept, but by a broader idea of *decolonization*. We soon realize that the course is about black male and female artists from Brazil, and from different periods — in fact, almost all of which were influenced by European and US “canons” that have long colonized us.

*Scene 3.* One of us watches the interview of a Brazilian actor saying that the play by a Canadian author, a big hit among both the public and critics, is now very successful in France. “We staged the play in our language and the posters on the streets display the title of the show in Portuguese”, he says. And he concludes: “this is *decolonialism!*”.

*Scene 4.* The other one of us is given a pamphlet about a course of *dekolonial yoga* (with a “k”), which, among other wonders, promises to combine movements, pauses, and breathing exercises for the *recovery* (also with a “k”) of bodies and the dissolution of westernities, Brazilianities, binarities and other borders. Wow!

In Brazil, the decolonial turn has been getting attention very recently, but the first writings about it date back to the nineties, when Quijano conceptualized the idea of coloniality. However, the four scenes indicate that the decolonial lexicon has quickly established itself here, in the academic world and beyond, with disputes over its meanings. At best, discourses positivize, strain, or criticize such an approach. At worst, private interests of academic validation, identity valuation, or economic gains co-opt it. Sometimes, paraphrasing the Brazilian Funk, the decolonial turn is “ugly, but fashionable!”<sup>2</sup>

Not by chance, anti-decolonial works produced by haters have been circulated by groups linked to Latin American and Caribbean universities, who claim to be facing a “decolonial outbreak” (Makaran & Gaussens, 2020). We lead a research group dedicated to the decolonial turn and its scientific dissemination<sup>3</sup>, but we consider ourselves more like a moderate fanbase. Therefore, our objectives

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<sup>1</sup> Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Catherine Walsh, Edgardo Lander, Enrique Dussel, Fernando Coronil, Immanuel Wallerstein, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Ramón Grosfoguel, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Walter Mignolo and Zulma Palermo. Cf. Ballestrin (2013, p. 98).

<sup>2</sup> “*Sou feia, mas tô na moda*” [‘I’m ugly, but I’m fashionable’] is a song by Tati Quebra Barraco, Brazilian funk singer, in which she states that she is not beautiful, but has fame and Money.

<sup>3</sup> ¡DALE! — Decolonizing Latin America and its Spaces, registered in the CNPq research groups directory since 2016, has been dedicated to the production of dossiers in journals, events, and courses on decoloniality and related topics. This paper is also based on the teaching material prepared for a mini course

are different: we want to expose the powers of the first decolonial formulations and describe the contributions that were later added to them, but also present their weaknesses.

With regard to the powers, in the next two sections, we present a discussion focused on the two of the cornerstones that support the building of decoloniality. The first is the critique of Eurocentrism, with the participation of decolonial intellectuals anchored in the discussion about the relationship between the modern European-centered world-system and the diffusion of knowledge. The other is the idea of “race”, which geo-historically influences political-economic-cultural dimensions of the social world, theorized in the key concept of coloniality of power. Then, with no intention to delve into deeper discussions, we highlight some of the analyses on the modes of subjectivation permeated by racist and patriarchal tropes, which result in an addition of perspectives — and adjectives — to coloniality. Lastly, and before we proceed to our final comments, we correlate the initial scenes described in this text with the contradictions that we have perceived in the decolonial approach to highlight its limits.

## 2 The cogency of the critique of Eurocentrism

Numerous criticisms regarding the decolonial turn question its denunciation of Eurocentrism for allegedly denying or reducing the epistemological contributions of Europe, or more broadly the West. Jeff Browitt (2014), Australian literature scholar, and Daniel Inclán (2020), Mexican historian, agree with the idea that criticism is exaggerated, and discussions are binary, reductionist and self-referential. However, what some of the debates seek to demonstrate, which later align with decoloniality — such as those of the Argentinean philosopher Enrique Dussel, based in Mexico, and the North American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein —, is the operability of a specific ethnocentrism: which shamelessly attests that the European imperialist domination simply stemmed from European superiorities and good achievements throughout History.

Therefore, Dussel (1994, 2000, 2005) suggests four strategies for historical reimagination. First: to challenge Western parameters such as those that naturalize the stepwise progress of the ancient, medieval, modern, and contemporary ages. Second: to transpose the fallacious idea of a European individual originating from a Hellenistic-Roman-Christian linearity that lacks support in facts. Third: consequently, to overcome the conception of modernity as an event exclusively of European origin, resulting from a Greek civilization without Egyptian or Semitic influences, succeeded by a Christian civilization without Islamic influence, followed by a purely European Renaissance that culminates in civilization of the highest degree in sciences, arts, and humanities. Fourth: to reposition the beginning of modernity in the invasion of America in 1492, which gives Europe a central role in world history. The latter is supported by Wallerstein’s world-system formulation.

Drawing on long-term Braudelian logic, Wallerstein (2002, 2011) argues that the modern world-system emerges from the Conquest, due both to geographical expansion and increase in commercial circuits and to progressively solid methods of labor control and state apparatuses. Throughout the sixteenth century, America established itself as a geosocial entity, which resulted in the “deprovincialization” of Europe, shifted from its peripheral condition to the center in the global division of flows of people, inputs, goods and all kinds of wealth. According to the author, the modern-capitalist world has been shaped by a literally Eurocentric power geometry that is reflected in the domain of knowledge, especially in the social sciences: Europe also takes center stage in linear historiography, universalism, orientalism, and conceptions of civilization and progress.

Dussel and Wallerstein present formulations that are indeed anti-Eurocentric, but the critique of Eurocentrism is not restricted to their contributions nor is it a decolonial invention. We find it in writings contemporary with these two authors. A first example is the argument of the North American geographer James Blaut (1993), who compares Eurocentrism to a “time tunnel”, whose walls enclose only the achievements of Europe, leaving out its own failures and the achievements of other peoples and cultures. A second example is the work of the historian Alfred Crosby (1999), also from the United States, who emphasizes the role of measurement, quantification, and representation technologies in consolidating Eurocentrism as a hegemonic vision. A third example is the Turkish historian Arif Dirlik’s (1999) discussion of overcoming Eurocentrism from both the reaffirmation of History and historicity and the self-conscious

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offered in 2019 at three Brazilian universities: UFBA, UFMG and UNILA. For details on our way of doing geopolitics of knowledge, see: Name, Spyer & Cunha (2019); Name & Spyer (2022).

confrontation with the structures of modernity. It is noteworthy, however, that said literature adheres to the macro-scale of the geo-historical relations between regions of the globe. It is not always clear that “Eurocentrism” is not a term related only to a geographical location, but also to an ethnic identity based on whiteness (both as phenotype and behavior), which affects the conception and conduction of modernity. In other words, such texts tend to cover up the “race”.

### 3 The cogency of the debate about “race” and the coloniality of power

Following the path opened by the debate on the Western Self and the Eastern Other, promoted in the late seventies by the Palestinian literary critic Edward Said (2007), *postcolonial* studies are fundamental to the opposition to the naturalization of European history as universal and to the idea that modern white-bourgeois science can answer for all humanity. The Indian philosopher Homi Bhabha (2013), years later, defends non-essentialist notions of identity, by which colonized people claim agency and destabilize dominant narratives. At the same time, another Indian group of intellectuals — among many, Ranajit Guha (1983), Gayatri Spivak (2010) and Dipesh Chakrabarty (1992) — emphasizes the unfulfilled promises of European modernity, applies the Gramscian notion of “subaltern” to groups oppressed by ethnicity, class, gender, place, or religion and highlights the relationship between colonialism, imperialism, and the field of humanities.

In the nineties, part of the intellectuality that later adhered to decoloniality strived to translate post-colonial contributions to Latin America and the Caribbean. The Latin American Subaltern Studies Group included, for example, the Argentinean semiologist Walter Mignolo and Venezuelan anthropologist Fernando Coronil, both based in the United States; and the Colombian sociologist Santiago Castro-Gómez (cf. Verdesio, 2005). However, the subsequent attacks on the subaltern approach made by Mignolo himself (2000, pp. 183-186; 2000, pp. 213-214) and Ramón Grosfoguel (2008, p. 116-117), a Puerto Rican sociologist residing in the United States, are known: they betrayed their objectives of detaching themselves from the causal assumptions of dominant models by remaining backed by European intellectuals (the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci and the French post-structuralists Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Derrida, mostly), with Europe as the starting point of theorization.

The complaint results in searches for other references. Important findings are the writings, produced between the fifties and sixties, of the essayist Aimé Césaire (2020) and the psychiatrist and political philosopher Frantz Fanon (2005, 2008), both Martinican and *anti-colonial*. Césaire challenges colonization as a civilizing or evangelization project, defining it as barbarism through which racism empowers the white colonizer to be cruel. Fanon describes the psychic “zone of non-being,” in which people of color internalize dehumanizing attributes and yearn to assimilate the white cultural code. He also argues that decolonization can only emerge from the mass of “the wretched of the Earth”, surrounded by a violent atmosphere and capable of responding with another violence, necessary, and more intense than that of the colonizer.

Another finding is the *coloniality of power*, as conceptualized by Quijano (1992, 1999, 2005): a hierarchical differential order based on the idea of “race” and forged in asymmetric relations after the invasion of America. Since then, he says, “race” establishes a logic that is both binary and evolutionist, which attributes superiorities to the white colonizing Self and inferiorities to the non-white colonized Other, both considered natural (as they come from “biological”). If coloniality does not disappear with the end of colonialism and such racial constructs still objectively, subjectively, and intersubjectively permeate politics, economy and culture, liberal society is then considered both the most advanced and the horizon for what in, each time or place, is distinct from whiteness — and, therefore, said to be inferior. According to the author, Eurocentric epistemologies of justification lead to such domination.

Quijano unites the debates of the world-system and Eurocentrism with that of “race” — implicit in postcolonial writings and expounded by Césaire and Fanon — and thus inaugurates the decolonial approach. His radical critique, in a dialogue with Wallerstein, points out that constructions of the colonial matrix of power are adopted as categories of meaning (Quijano & Wallerstein, 1992). Given the dominance of the Eurocentric episteme, phenomena resulting from specific histories and geographies of power are scientifically distorted, as if they were ethnic, anthropological, or national data. However, it is crucial to highlight that the coloniality of power reveals that racism, persistent as a mechanism of oppression, is based on a contextually and socially activated *invention*: “race” — which, as Quijano warns, even intellectuals from anti-racist perspectives can inadvertently reify. That is why the author almost always uses quotation marks to refer to “race”, a strategy we have also adopted in this text.

#### 4 Additions to coloniality

As of the 2000s, the decolonial turn increasingly gains adherence from a broader set of intellectuals, which expands the thematic horizons of Dussel, Wallerstein and Quijano's theorizations. In this section, as a mere example of the developments of the approach, we list some of the many layers that have added to the idea of coloniality.

The Venezuelan sociologist Edgardo Lander (2005) and the Argentinean semiologist Zulma Palermo (2010), for example, define the *coloniality of knowledge*. The concept demonstrates that knowledge situated outside the centers of power, or of non-modern rationalities and non-European matrices, is marginalized, expropriated, subjugated, or silenced. Thus, Western thought is unique, albeit with limited and limiting parameters. These reflections are complemented by others, such as those by Mignolo (2020), Castro-Gómez (2005) and Grosfoguel (2015). The first sees the notion of *geopolitics of knowledge* as the translation of the power geometry of the world-system into the scope of the exchange of knowledge, including in the academic world. The second and third introduce the terms *epistemic violence* and *epistemic extractivism*, respectively, to describe some of the asymmetries of this interaction.

*Coloniality of being* is the notion used by Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007), a Puerto Rican philosopher based in the United States, and Mignolo (2003), to analyze subjective and intersubjective dimensions. As the coloniality of power seeks to dominate via racialization, while the coloniality of knowledge pretends to universalize a way for wisdom, both with some success, a way to conceive the perceptions of the Self and the Other change, reinforcing binarities. Thus, it affects the way individuals and groups interact and how they see, describe, and evaluate themselves and each other. Particularly through language, the coloniality of being establishes and amplifies markers of subalternity supported by situated understandings of "race".

María Lugones (2014, 2020) offers another contribution to the debate. The Argentinean sociologist, based in the United States, problematizes Quijano's (2005) indication of "feminine" and "masculine" as sexual categories subordinate to "race". In addition, inspired by the work done by Nigerian sociologist Oyèrónkè Oyěwùmí (2021), she says that there are no categories and hierarchies of gender of modern-European origin in pre-Conquest America: instead, they would have been inserted after colonization. Rita Segato (2012), an Argentine anthropologist residing in Brazil, disputes this approach as she identifies in tribal societies a *low-intensity patriarchy* in which less forceful gender asymmetries participate and are radicalized by the intrusion of colonial-modern-Eurocentric temporality. Both agree, however, that *coloniality of gender*, manifested in intersectionality with sex, class and "race", situates colonized, non-white women beyond otherness: in the zone of non-being.

From the 2010s, the decolonial perspective is taken to visual and audiovisual studies and then to the field of architecture. Joaquín Barriendos (2019), for example, links image production to epistemic racism, introducing the *coloniality of seeing*. In his analysis of colonial cartography depicting cannibalism in the Americas, the Mexican historian highlights the predilection for reductionist, stereotypical and degrading images. Such representation of the "savage" persists to this day in other images, widely reproduced, reinforcing binarities between civilization and barbarism through what may merely be visually apprehended.

Alex Schlenker (2019), a German visual arts researcher based in Ecuador, and Christian León (2019), an Ecuadorian sociologist, enrich the discussion. Schlenker questions the *colonial gaze* that frames images, imageries, and memory with a type of representation that necessarily classifies and hierarchizes. León argues that the coloniality of seeing is updated as *tele-coloniality* in contemporary audiovisual devices that play a fundamental role in the global circulation of images: they perpetuate the dichotomous imagery of the racialized Other for the geopolitical control of otherness.

In a close direction, researcher Mayra Estévez Trujillo (2015), also Ecuadorian, defines the *sonic coloniality* based on the relationship of the Western conception of art with classifications and hierarchies about "ethnic" and "racial" that come from the colonial matrix of power. Thus, she realizes that a local set of sonorities of European and white-bourgeois matrix is considered the "erudite" and the "universal" one, while other forms of sound expression are "exotic" or "folkloric". She also notes that colonization introduced violence manifested in sounds that evoke death, torture, rape, war, and extermination, narrated in songs or oral traditions in the colonized regions and updated by the racial violence of the present time.



Yasser Farrés Delgado (2015), a Cuban architect living in Colombia, takes another approach to coloniality, exploring the connections of forms of power, knowledge and being. His conceptualization of *territorial coloniality* exposes the patterns of power that establish hegemonic visions of the territory, privileging the modern-white-bourgeois cities and architectures and belittling other modes of existence, territorial arrangements, building techniques and aesthetics. Andréia Moassab, Brazilian, investigates more specifically the role of architecture in the production of colonialities (2016, 2019, 2020). She discusses the inclusion of indigenous, African, and Afro-Latin matrices in architectural education, the whitewashing of architectural heritage and racial segregation between design and construction site. Two other Brazilian architects with research in the decolonial subject are Leo Name (2016, 2021, 2023) and Gabriel Rodrigues da Cunha (2019). The first reflects on architectless architectures and edible, medicinal and ritualistic landscapes of African and indigenous matrices. The second inserts the term *techno-scientific coloniality* to analyze the standardization of modern materials that makes the tectonics of other ethno-racial matrices invisible and unfeasible.

## 5 Problems to solve and limits to set

The actor in *Scene 3* cannot be blamed for the inaccurate use of “decolonialism”. Decolonial intellectuals also have difficulties when it comes to nomenclature. Other statements compete with Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel’s “decolonial turn” (2007): for example, “modernity/coloniality research” by Arturo Escobar (2003) and “decolonial inflection” by Eduardo Restrepo and Axel Rojas (2010) — all Colombian anthropologists —, as well as “decolonial option” by Mignolo (2011). Furthermore, in writings in Spanish, for instance, there is a debate as to whether the approach should be called decolonial or *descolonial*. We recognize that we are accustomed to following the not so convincing argument of Catherine Walsh (2009, p. 14-15), an US linguist in Ecuador, about the suppression of the “s” not being an Anglicism, but the demarcation of the impossibility of undoing (*deshacer*) colonialism and coloniality. However, translation problems persist, while Grosfoguel (2020) has returned to using *descolonial* to emphasize his disagreements with the group and associate himself with the enormity of studies on *descolonización*.

But perhaps this is the least of the problems to solve. Two other problems are opened wide by the speech of the student in *Scene 1*. The male presence is dominant in the decolonial turn and if the ideas of “race” are the ones considered in Latin America and the Caribbean, its intellectuality is formed by a majority of white people (like ourselves, by the way) — a thorny theme honestly debated by Escobar (2003), but not so much by his peers. Our option to focus on women authoring decolonial studies whenever possible, as there are many more men in the bibliographic references of this paper, indicates how large the gender asymmetry is.

The other issue is more intricate. In the founding group of decoloniality, there are many intellectuals in universities in the United States. On the one hand, there are different understandings of “race” in this country and in Latin America, as informed by Segato (2007, p. 76). Thus, Mignolo, Grosfoguel, Escobar and Maldonado-Torres, for example, are never included in the “white” category — because they are necessarily “Latinos”. As “race” is an invention that is always situated and fluid, there are or overlaps and two-way routes between *blanquitud desde Latinoamérica* and *latinness from USA*, and intellectual trajectories can move through many of their combinations. On the other hand, Palermo recalls, in an interview, that her adherence to the decolonial debate on “race” is largely due to her origin in the Argentine province of Misiones (Palermo et al., 2019): for someone from Buenos Aires, for example, she may not be exactly white. It is in this sense that Mignolo (2015) is right to link epistemological sites to geographical spaces.

However, to the extent that enunciation privileges tend to prevail, there are more limits to set. For example: it is commendable that decolonial intellectuals recognize the influence of Césaire and Fanon. Maldonado-Torres (2006) and Grosfoguel (2006) consider Césaire’s thought to be the critical and Afro-Caribbean starting point for the crisis of European modernity and Eurocentric Marxism and, therefore, an influence on decolonial notions. Maldonado-Torres (2008, 2019), Grosfoguel (2012), Mignolo (2011, pp. 109-110, 126-127), Palermo (2019, p. 92) and Walsh (2017, pp. 37-56) emphasize the relevance of Fanon’s sociogenesis in their formulations. However, if it is questionable that, in *Scene 2*, the art of different people is called decolonial just because they are black, it is also questionable to treat these intellectuals as decolonial *avant la lettre*, even attributing to them the anticipation of the concept of coloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2009) and Mignolo (2009) do this with respect to Fanon, while Grosfoguel (2009, 2020) does the same with respect to Fanon and Césaire, among other unfortunate situations.

There is nothing more colonial — and racist! — than giving black people names they did not choose. What a shame!

These authors are not decolonial and we cannot say that they are, even so as not to disregard — imagine that! — the epistemological sites indicated by Mignolo. After all, *post-colonial*, *anti-colonial* and *decolonial* are not neutral and interchangeable words. Post-colonialism, post-colonial, and post-coloniality refer, first, to a historical period after colonization: the United States, Canada, Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa, and Oceania entered post-coloniality at different times and through various processes of decolonization. However, Said, Bhabha, and the Indian group of subalterns — who are *not* decolonial — represent the post-colonial as a theoretical, anglophone approach, centered on the conflicts of British imperialism, since the nineteenth century, in Africa and especially in Asia. The anti-colonial perspective, in turn, is francophone and in conflict with the legacies of French imperialism, situated in the mid-twentieth century, at the beginning of the still inconclusive process of decolonization of its territories, such as the Caribbean of Césaire and Fanon.

Decolonial and decoloniality, finally, are part of the vocabulary of a Latin American and Caribbean approach, especially Hispanophone — by Mignolo & company —, which emerged in the 1990s having as its first theoretical framework the displacement from the beginning of modernity to 1492, when the planet submits to the particular history and geography of European expansion. In addition, as the second, the delineation of the subordination of the world population to a racial classification. This results, in the first place, in an epistemic repositioning that gives centrality to America in the institution of the contemporary world. Secondly, the questioning of intra-European and diffusionist conceptions of modernity. And, thirdly, the identification of both overlaps and coetaneous aspects of transatlantic and intercontinental processes and of the transversality of the idea of “race”, from the scale of the globe to the scale of the body.

Then, it is necessary to be careful with terminological exchanges or misleading classifications of intellectuals, which divert analytical operators and, therefore, what to observe and how to evaluate the objects. No wonder, there are accusations of methodological problems in the decolonial approach (Puentes, 2014; Malheiros & Spyer, 2021): theories are addressed, but methodologies are neglected, ignoring that the field and fieldwork, for example, are also linked to the epistemological site.

## 6 Final considerations

The sequence of power, knowledge/being, gender, visibility/sonority, and territory/architecture, described in the section on the different concepts of coloniality, has as a positive aspect the adherence to themes in different phases of the decolonial debate. Each of them, to some extent, was guided by a generation of intellectuals committed to exposing the permanence and multidimensionality of racial structures and hierarchies. In addition, and we try to demonstrate this in this text, the geo-historical transversality of the idea of “race” and the understanding of Eurocentrism as a diffusionist project of imposition of knowledge and subjectivations are certainly the greatest contributions of the decolonial turn.

However, if we cross the walls of the university and move away only a little from the writings and intellectuals that we quote here, and that we appreciate so much, we may come across the *dekolonial yoga* of *Scene 4* at the beginning of this article. The proposition is indeed odd, but it infers that there is an exaggeration of supposedly decolonial statements and repertoires, in a way additive to a fashion initiated and stimulated by the Academy itself — and, in some cases, by intellectuals of the “turn”. It is from this scenario that emerges the danger of the conversion of coloniality to the wild concept, which, when explaining anything and everything, explains nothing else. To minimize such risks of exhaustion and rescue the power of the decolonial turn, one must both celebrate its qualities and especially point out its limits, which we also try to do here.

We agree with the Brazilian legal theorist David Gomes (2021), when he assertively states that not everything is a colonial problem and not all criticism of the colonial is decolonial. In this sense, on the one hand, at the end of the previous section we can conclude that the more distinct the local histories and geographies, the more varied the epistemological sites. Thus, on the other hand, it is necessary to take very seriously that knowledge is enhanced when it is situated and, therefore, more appropriately translate decolonial theorization to Brazil (Pires, 2017; Baldi, 2019; Name, 2022; Name & Spyer, 2022). As much as this set of writings undeniably redefines and reorients the debate on racism and the circulation of knowledge, many of them generalize processes of Spanish colonialism as occurrences of the entire American continent, focusing on conflicts of Andean indigenous groups and, misusing Césaire and Fanon, dedicating little attention to Afro-Diasporic legacies and problems of minoritized Afro-Latin American collectivities.

If all fashion goes by when the season's items are excessively consumed, perhaps the decolonial turn can be redesigned, by a good “pretuguese”<sup>4</sup>, with the clothes of “amefricanity”, “quilombism”, and the ancestral future (Gonzalez, 2020; Nascimento, 2019; Krenak, 2022). And if it is sad for concepts to lose power before they are truly understood, which is an eminent risk for the approach, it is sadder to waste the experience of parading through catwalks of knowledge about what constitutes us.

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<sup>4</sup> “Pretuguese” is an adaptation of the word “pretuguês”, which is the combination, by Afro-Brazilian anthropologist Lélia Gonzalez, of the words “preto” (black) and “português” (Portuguese).

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