Gender memory: decolonial cartography in Martín-Barbero and Ecléa Bosi [a]

Memória de gênero: cartografia decolonial em Martín-Barbero e Ecléa Bosi

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ABSTRACT

This article mobilizes two theoretical-methodological perspectives in the place of enunciation of Latin America: nocturnal maps by Jesús Martín-Barbero and life stories by Ecléa Bosi. These are theoretical-practical perspectives that come close to decolonial translation ethnography, providing opportunities for field research that considers memory in its dialogical function of social mediation in the recognition and resignification of official history. Based on this, we propose a cartography based on women's narratives that configure what we call *gender memory*.

Keywords: Cartography, decoloniality, gender memory, nocturnal maps, life stories.

RESUMO

Este artigo mobiliza dois olhares teórico-metodológicos que se entrecruzam no lugar de enunciação da América Latina: os mapas noturnos de Jesús Martín-Barbero e as histórias de vida de Ecléa Bosi. São perspectivas teórico-práticas que se aproximam da etnografia de tradução decolonial, oportunizando pesquisas de campo que considerem a memória em sua função dialógica de mediação social no reconhecimento e na ressignificação da história oficial. A partir disso, propõe-se uma cartografia sustentada em narrativas de mulheres, que configure o que aqui denominamos de *memória de gênero*.

Palavras-chave: Cartografia, decolonialidade, memória de gênero, mapas noturnos, histórias de vida.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS ARTICLE AIMS to present the methodological path for constructing a cartographic map grounded in decolonial translation. To this end, it brings together theoretical-methodological insights from Jesús Martín-Barbero (1997, 2002), through his *nocturnal maps*, and from Ecléa Bosi[1](1994, 2003), through *life stories*. The goal is to demonstrate the counter-hegemonic and resistant stance of these two authors, highlighting their proximity to decolonial epistemology and the power of their convergence in deconstructing silences legitimized by official history. The proposed path unfolds through ethnographic interviews with gender research subjects—in this case, women—revealing the relationship between colonial and patriarchal modes of thought in the construction of individual and collective memory.

[1] To make visible the women authors referenced in this study, their full names will be presented upon first mention throughout the text.

To begin this journey, we must return to the 1980s, when South American countries were still living under the shadow of civil-military dictatorships. During this period, the relationship between freedom and power became even more relevant for communication theories, as censorship plagued both mainstream and alternative media outlets (Chinem, 1995; Kucinski, 2001). However, it was through the media that the totalitarian and dominant discourses of these regimes penetrated various spheres of social life—either through dictatorial pressure or editorial complicity. It was in this context that Colombian scholar Jesús Martín-Barbero published his most celebrated work, which would become a classic in the field of communication and social sciences: *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*, released in 1987.

In this work, Martín-Barbero (1997) proposed nocturnal maps as a method for questioning the relatinship between "three places of mediation: family everyday life, social temporality, and cultural competence" (p. 292). These mediation processes position communication as an object of study in its dialogical relationship with society, culture, and politics. However, in proposing this cartographic method, the author declared he was rowing against the "daytime logic." In other words, rather than producing a map with clear and hegemonic answers, his search would not be guided but groped in the dark of uncertainties, doubts, and multiple questions. A nocturnal quest "to explore that territory at the crossroads formed in Latin America" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 291). To undertake this journey, Martín-Barbero drew on Cultural Studies and the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School—which, although of European origin, make significant contributions to the tension between classical Eurocentric theories and the hegemonic values present in colonial discourse across media, cultural industries, and social representations (Martín-Barbero, 1997).

In the legacy constructed by Bosi (1994, 2003), there is a meticulously laid methodological path for social researchers intending to work with the category of life stories, especially when the research subjects—the "*rememberers*", as the author calls them—are elderly people. To this end, Bosi elucidates the ideological baggage of enunciation and interpretation of oral memory, demonstrating how social context and culture operate in the perception and reception of the past during the process of revisiting one's own history. This is the focus of *Memória e sociedade: Lembranças dos velhos* (Memory and Society: Reminiscences of the Elderly), published in 1994, which brings together diverse perspectives to conceptualize memory through theorists such as Maurice Halbwachs, Henri Bergson, Frederic Bartlett, and William Stern—an association that had not previously been made, according to Oliveira (2013), underscoring the originality of the study.

Adding to this are Bosi's contributions to the field of communication and gender studies. Although not explicitly decolonial or feminist, in the early 1970s the author published her doctoral dissertation, the ethnographic study Cultura de massa e cultura popular: *Leituras de operárias* (Mass Culture and Popular Culture: Female Factory Workers' Readings), in which she interviewed 52 women. Researcher Ana Escosteguy (2020) identifies Bosi as "a pioneer in exploring the lived experiences of working-class women and the meanings that culture acquires in an industrial society" (p. 113). Valquíria John (2023), in turn, emphasizes that the work, in addition to being a milestone in Brazilian social psychology, is also a pioneering contribution to media reception studies in the country, already adopting ethnographic interviews as the primary field research technique at that time.

In the cartography of gender memory presented in this article, revisited recollections take on form and life through spoken word, shaped throughout the subject's life by social, ideological, and symbolic mediations—memory is mediated by sociocultural interferences, with the researcher assuming the role of *researcher-mediator*[2]. In this sense, the dialogue between nocturnal maps and life stories guides the methodological path outlined here: the former offers the theory of cultural mediation, presenting communication study objects not only as ideological reproducers but also as translators of individual experiences within their historical time; the latter provides avenues for interpreting and mediating the memory of subjugated beings.

Accordingly, this article is divided into three theoretical-methodological parts. The first, titled "Decolonial Translation as a Methodology for Mediating Memory," introduces elements for understanding the perspective of decolonial ethnographic translation, as well as categories that support the development

[2] Based on Bosi's (1994, 2003) conception of the role of the "researcher-interviewer," we propose here the use of the term researcher-mediator, in reference to the concept of mediation introduced by Martín-Barbero (1997).

of decolonizing methodologies based on epistemic sociogeny (Fanon, 2008; Mignolo, 2013). Next, the section "Decolonial Translation in Martín-Barbero and Ecléa Bosi and the Construction of the Gender Memory Map" explores the relationship between the two authors, showing the proximity of nocturnal maps and life stories to decolonial translation. The subsection "On Translating and Mediating: Traversing the Gender Memory Map" positions the reader in relation to each cartographic and analytical category mobilized here, demonstrating the dialogical continuity between Bosi (1994, 2003) and Martín-Barbero (1997, 2002).

Thus, the *gender memory map* seeks to bring to light silenced stories, promoting recognition and appreciation of the resistances exercised by women in various socio-historical contexts, while also fostering debate about what it means to be a woman within the logic of the modern, colonial, and patriarchal world-system (Lugones, 2014; Wallerstein, 1974). This theoretical-methodological stance brings Jesús Martín-Barbero and Ecléa Bosi closer to the decolonial perspective to foster research focused on local realities, mobilizing the transversal relationship between *mediations, memories, and colonialities*, and problematizing the places assigned to social subjects often marginalized by localized official discourses (Haraway, 2009). In other words, it is a method that can be adapted to different contexts and research loci, as long as it maintains a decolonizing lens as a premise in the pursuit of recognizing women's memory.

DECOLONIAL TRANSLATION AS A METHODOLOGY FOR MEDIATING MEMORY

The post-war period and the instability of the Cold War in Europe, the United States, and Russia echoed differently in South American countries. Amid social, political, economic, and environmental crises, military dictatorships emerged, especially in countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. It was in this context of turbulence, questioning, and re-signification, between the 1960s and 1970s, that Latin American sociology developed an original body of work, also represented by dependency theory, liberation philosophy, and the pedagogy of the oppressed—concepts and theoretical perspectives that challenged reductionist notions of underdevelopment and globalization, linking them to relations of domination and (social/territorial) exploitation rooted in colonial practices.

Thus, the decolonial approach—epistemic, analytical, and methodological—aimed at studying the processes of the "decolonization" of being, knowledge, and power (Quijano, 2005), came to be adopted by the social sciences in the second half of the twentieth century. In this movement, Peruvian sociologist

Aníbal Quijano and American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein made important contributions: Quijano, part of the group of Latin American thinkers, was one of those responsible for developing dependency theory; Wallerstein, in turn, was one of the founders of the category known as the modern world-system (Castro-Gómez; Grosfoguel, 2007).

Added to this is the provocation brought about by postcolonial studies in South Asia (Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Stuart Hall, Homi Bhabha, among others), which gave rise to the Subaltern Studies Group[3] and intensified academic debates on the epistemic/paradigmatic dichotomy that distances West and East, denouncing the former as a result of the interrelation between modernity, coloniality, and capitalism. In this sense, the notion of colonialism as a finished historical phase is challenged, and its enduring effects of domination and power—entwining past and presente—began to be identified and questioned by a group of Marxist, neo-Marxist, and anti-capitalist intellectuals and researchers.

[3] Subaltern studies are directly related to the work of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), one of the key figures responsible for mobilizing the problematization of this category.

Héctor Alimonda (2011) argues that understanding coloniality as a set of violences, both physical and epistemic, is one of the key foundations of the decolonial turn, an epistemic movement that values diversity and the plurality of sites of scientific enunciation, fostering resistance practices and movements against colonial modernity. As Enrique Dussel (2015) points out, these critiques also invoke the "center and periphery" dichotomy, which addresses the dependency and subordination of Latin American countries, aiming to deconstruct totalitarian discourses around a false globalization, while exposing internal fractures and ongoing colonial practices of domination and exploitation.

Coloniality is characterized above all by practices and violences of domination and colonial power, legitimized by the fanciful idea of modernity as synonymous with salvation, progress, and happiness. This combines with a territorial and imperial epistemology that inferiorizes beings and knowledges—a fictional narrative whose goal is to dominate the "inferiorized" (Mignolo, 2017). For Alimonda (2011), these universalisms also reveal the bias present in the histories of societies, written and interpreted from a Eurocentric perspective that positions Europe as the referential model to be followed, legitimizing hegemonic discourses and paradigms rooted in colonialism. Therefore, to decolonize is to rewrite the "narratives of modernity from another place, revaluing the cultures and peoples that were dominated and their histories of resistance" (Alimonda, 2011, p. 27).

In this way, colonial and modern territoriality has subalternized beings and knowledges, solidifying a hegemonic distance that is not only geographic but above all epistemic. One of the responses or exits to break these silences and inequalities is the *grammar of decoloniality* (Mignolo, 2017), which rejects

the dichotomy of modern thought and "official history", and dialogues with the sociogeny articulated by Frantz Fanon (2008), denouncing and breaking with the segregation of individuals. Thus, "sociogenesis is sustained within border epistemology" (Mignolo, 2013, p. 17). By expressing the encounter between differences that coexist in the process of thinking decolonially and inhabiting the interstices of cultural borders, "sociogenesis incorporates everything: detachment, border thinking, and epistemic disobedience… from the dichotomy of modern territorial thought" (Mignolo, 2013, p. 15).

It is important to note that both terms "decolonial" and "descolonial" are used here, in keeping with the terminology adopted by the authors referenced. However, we understand "decolonial" as the theoretical-political perspective that breaks with classical social science frameworks and proposes a new sociological and philosophical approach, having Latin America as its main locus of enunciation. It problematizes and denounces the consequences of Eurocentric colonialism and coloniality by recognizing their structures of power and domination that segregate beings and knowledges. "To decolonize" thus refers to an awareness and praxis aimed at breaking with and disobeying the normativizing logic of the modern world-system, an attitude that embodies both resistance and (re)existence.

Carlos Walter Porto-Gonçalves (2010), in turn, invokes a de(s)colonial episteme that emphasizes the voice of the invisibilized, of subaltern groups and their ways of knowing, suggesting the perspective of (re)existence. When the subject resists the logic of coloniality and undergoes decolonization, they exist in their essence, culture, diversity, gender, and knowledge. This existence, resistance, or (re)existence is revealed in the way people interpret and resignify the world in their process of decolonization—which also encompasses communicational mediations, as "more than resistance, what we have is R-Existence, since it is not simply a reaction to someone else's action, but rather something that pre-exists and from this existence one R-Exists. I exist, therefore I resist. R-Exist" (Porto-Gonçalves, 2010, p. 47).

Therefore, decolonizing society and science is an epistemic stance recognized as both a political manifesto and an act of academic resistance, as it offers plural and critical perspectives toward the modern, Eurocentric, and colonial canon. This movement goes against the grain of a model of knowledge that seeks to be universal and hegemonic, instead promoting dialogue among differences and pluriversal cosmologies, giving voice to—and most importantly, listening to—subjugated knowledges, as advocated by decolonial studies and their methodological possibilities. In this sense, the cartographic proposal for field research presented in this article is grounded in the continuous movement between

investigation and translation, an alternative methodology of (co)investigation between the researcher-mediator[4] and women who hold historical memory. However, these women are not categorized as subjects or objects of research, as such an approach distances the researcher from the beings who represent the study's issue, and who must therefore be legitimized as protagonists of their own place of enunciation.

Thus, the women engaged through the cartography proposed here must be referred to as *rememberers*. Bosi (1994) uses this term to refer to interviewees, and in doing so, she provides clues about her recommended methodological approach: a bond of friendship and trust between the researcher and the rememberers. From this, the researcher assumes the role of mediator in translating the memory of the other, a crafted movement that requires sensitivity and respect in the face of the life story being revealed.

In the practice of the researcher–mediator, there are several elements of convergence between Ecléa Bosi's social psychology and the critical posture proposed by decolonial epistemology. This is evident in the author's theoretical--methodological choices, particularly in her attention to recovering marginalized memories, the articulation between collective and individual memory, and the various forms of memory she addresses in contexts marked by segregation and hegemonic invisibility. This highlights the political dimension of memory and the importance of local cultures in shaping the sense of belonging of enunciative subjects (Bosi, 1994). Similar points can also be found in more recent studies in social psychology, such as *Decolonizing Psychology: Globalization, Social Justice, and Indian Youth Identities by Sunil Bhatia* (2017), and *Movimento(s) indígena(s) e psicologia social: Desafios à decolonialidade* by Lucas Luis de Faria and Catia Paranhos Martins (2023).

The contribution of Martín-Barbero in the Latin American context is recognized by various researchers and studies, including the Colombian scholar Erick Torrico Villanueva, whose work offers a theoretical-critical approach to hegemonic communication theories in an effort to deconstruct Eurocentric thinking within media and society. In his article *La comunicación occidental* (Villanueva, 2015), for example, the author draws communication studies closer to the decolonial field, invoking Martín-Barbero's enunciative position in recognizing mediations as communicative and cultural practices, and thus as the enunciation of popular experiences and memories from an anticolonial stance. This is precisely the path proposed in this article: to bring Martín-Barbero, as well as Ecléa Bosi, closer to the nuances of decolonial thought in order to outline methodological possibilities.

[4] Based on Bosi's (1994, 2003) conception of the role of the "researcher-interviewer," this study proposes the use of the term researcher-mediator (in the feminine form), in reference to the concept of mediations introduced by Martín-Barbero (1997).

This perspective follows border thinking in the quest for the decoloniality of knowledge and being, with the aim of constructing new epistemological horizons that do not reproduce coloniality (Pérez *et al.*, 2019). Therefore, there is a dialogue between academic and non-academic knowledge, where theory and orality merge, revealing their coexistence in everyday social life. After all, in social research that aims to develop a methodology of memory:

> oral history broadens our research and knowledge horizons, breaks with the colonial frameworks imposed by official history, clarifies the interaction between the past and present of human societies, and presents itself as a collective effort of misalignment. (Pérez et al., 2019, p. 246)

Thus, decolonial investigation and translation must promote a decentralized perspective, grounded in the diversity of identities and alterity. Costa (2020), in turn, points out that ethnographic practice guided by the politics of translation must arise from pluriversal perspectives, according to which social research must not fall into the traps of language coloniality and colonial translation, as "in translation, there is a moral and political obligation to uproot ourselves, to live, even if only temporarily, without a home so that the other may also inhabit, even if only temporarily, our places" (p. 324).

DECOLONIAL TRANSLATION IN MARTÍN-BARBERO AND ECLÉA BOSI IN THE CREATION OF THE GENDER MEMORY MAP

The intersection proposed here navigates through oral history and memory, where the main locus of the cartography presented in this article corresponds to the mobilization and recognition of women's memories. From this, the aim is to promote a theoretical-methodological dialogue between *mediation, memory and gender*, identifying colonialities and resistances within the oral memories of rememberers who take part in ethnographic research, a movement of cartographic field research shaped by decolonial translation.

In this sense, the path to be followed turns to Ecléa Bosi (1994, 2003) and Jesús Martín-Barbero (1997, 2002). The work of Martín-Barbero contributes to the understanding of the process of cultural mediation experienced by the masses, in which memory and oral narrative are legitimized as categories of enunciation. This is because the author warns that discursive processes of meaning production and reproduction result from practices of domination, since the dynamics of mediation, in its dialogical function with reception and perception, operates in the identification or reproduction of narratives of power. From this

standpoint, he recognizes that mediation flows in Latin America have been permeated by discourses and identities shaped by a Westernized universality, which has affected cultural boundaries and freedoms (Martín-Barbero, 1997).

The relationship between oral history, memory, and narrative appears frequently in communication studies and is articulated with Martín-Barbero's theory of mediations, also surfacing in reception studies. Here, we briefly highlight three examples: the book *TV, família e identidade*, coordinated by Nilda Jacks and Sérgio Capparelli (2006), in which memory and narrative emerge through the ways families interpret and incorporate television content into their life stories; in *Histórias de ouvintes*, Jairo Grisa (2003) shows how radio serves as a space of articulation between memory, orality, and cultural identity; and in *Narrativas como estratégias de comunicabilidade*, Lourdes Pereira Silva and Maria Fontana Baseio (2019) argue that narratives are more than mere accounts, as they represent cultural processes that shape and re-signify collective memory.

With this counter-hegemonic stance, Martín-Barbero (1997) proposed his first nocturnal map in the 1980s. However, as noted by Maria Immacolata Vassallo de Lopes (2018), it is not possible to find a single definition for the mediation process in Martín-Barbero's work, since it evolves with the shifting character of society in its relationship with communication and culture. In this regard, Lopes explains that, across the 1987, 1998, and 2010 editions of *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*, one can trace the author's re-readings of his cartography of mediations and identify the re-signification of the first map, arriving at three versions of mediation maps. A fourth methodological map of mediations emerged from an interview Martín-Barbero gave to Omar Rincón in 2019.

It is important to emphasize that one map does not exclude or replace the previous one, "but rather appropriates, reinterprets, and expands on it, in a process that demands increasingly complex thinking" (Lopes, 2021, p. 19). From this perspective, the researcher–mediator may strategically choose which map to use in studies centered on communication and culture, as analyzed through the methodological lens of mediations—which we here align with the decolonial compass. Therefore, before proceeding, we must take a brief look at the Barberian maps.

Recognizing the plurality that constitutes the Latin American locus of enunciation, Martín-Barbero's first map places the mediations of communication in direct relation with culture, achieved through the interrelationship between communication, culture, and politics. Diacronic/historical axes intersect with cultural and industrial matrices, while synchronic axes address forms of production and reception (Lopes, 2021). The second map, published in the late 1990s,

confirms that the theory of mediations goes beyond reception, proposing the study of culture through communication—reconsidered in terms of relational flows and sociocultural mediations (Lopes, 2021). This map thus enables "the analysis of any social phenomenon that relates communication, culture, and politics, asserting itself as a dimension of articulation among producers, media, messages, receivers, and culture" (Lopes, 2021, p. 12).

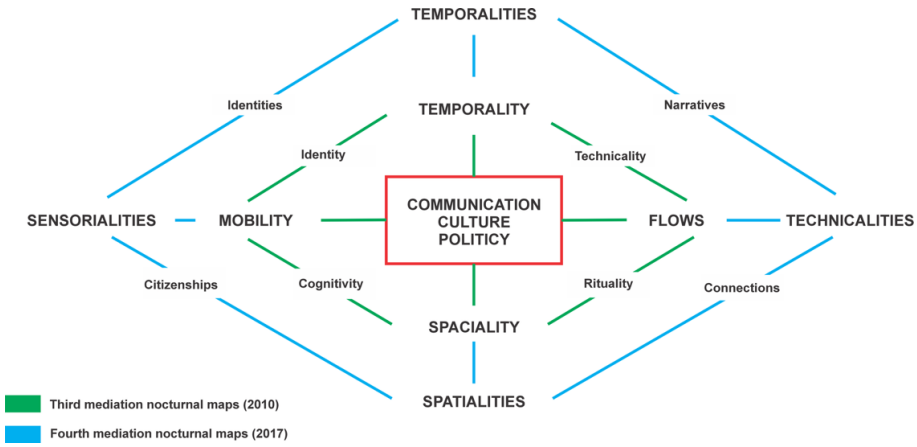
In the second map, the triad that sustains mediation—culture, communication, and politics—remains. The relationship between the logics of production and consumption, as well as industrial formats and cultural matrices, is also repeated, along with the diacronic and synchronic axes. However, as Lopes (2021) notes, the concepts of sub-mediations or multiple mediations emerge: institutionality, sociability, technicality, and rituality—which may also be recognized as basic mediations. The third map, published in 2010, lists temporalities, spatialities, mobilities, and flows as basic mediations. At this stage, the author is concerned with reflecting on structural transformations in time due to the acceleration of communication processes, which shape the simultaneous character of mediations. There is, therefore, inhabited spatiality, the dynamic nature of territory, and the fluidity of mobility, now also virtual (Lopes, 2021). Special attention is given to the category of technicality, inserted in the production and apprehension of knowledge.

The mobility of the first three maps allows them to be applied across diverse aspects of daily life, underscoring the dynamic nature of the cartography of mediations. When the first map was introduced in the 1980s, interactional flows between society, communication, and culture followed different dynamics. In Martín-Barbero's studies on the communicational and cultural transformations of our time, the fourth map reinforces the relational and theoretical complexity of the mediations of technicality and sensoriality, including the cartographic categories of identities, connections, citizenships, and narratives. It reflects a perspective on technology as engaged in cognitive and dialogical interaction with language and transmedia competences—that is, with the varied modes of appropriating cultural mediation (Rincón, 2019)—which, in turn, is also revealed in the mediation of memory.

Thus, the cartography proposed in this article brings together the theoretical--methodological categories from the third and fourth maps, as presented below:

Figure 1

Joint representation of the third and fourth nocturnal maps of mediations proposed by Martín-Barbero



Note. created by the authors based on Lopes (2021) and Rincón (2019), published in Cardenal (2024).

Accordingly, the *gender memory* outlined here draws from the following Barberian mediations[5]: temporalities; spatialities; technicalities; sensorialities; flows; mobilities; ritualities; cognitivities; identities; narratives; citizenships; and connections. The proposed dialogue with the work of Bosi (1994, 2003), in turn, mobilizes the following categories that guide the field insertion of the researcher-interviewer/mediator, as well as the analysis of the life stories of the rememberers: image-memory; memory-habit; memory-work; curves and detours; silences; family memory; individual history; corporeality; public memory; recollections; living memories of subjugated beings; ideologies. This methodological and conceptual relationship will be presented in the next section.

[5] Between the third and fourth Barberian maps, some mediations are repeated and, in the most recent version, reappear in the plural, while others remain in the singular—demonstrating the author's shifting perspective, as he re-signified his theory based on heterogeneity. In this study, we chose to use the mediations present in both maps, presenting all of them in the plural, evoking the gaze toward the diversity of beings and knowledges advocated by the decolonial lens.

On translating and mediating: traversing the map of gender memory

To propose a map, one must view cartographic ethnography not only as an analytical, exploratory, or documentary method, but above all as a socio-theoretical approach. In this disobedient and artisanal space, there is room for empiricismo—the same that, as the raw material of ethnography, translates "events, happenings, words, texts, smells, flavors, everything that affects our senses" (Peirano, 2014, p. 380). Thus, it is possible to go beyond verbalized statements, developing sensory, verbal-visual-auditory research, since smell, sight, and touch also have implications that can be analyzed (Ferrara, 2007).

In *Memória e sociedade: Lembranças dos velhos*, Bosi (1994) records the voice, life, and thoughts of elderly people, showing how collective memory intertwines family experiences with those of groups outside private life, based on the boundary that situates the subject in their place of enunciation—namely, their social function, culture, space, and time. The author points out that while memory represents the conservation of the past, recollection is characterized as its survival.

Although the book's focus is not on gender, Bosi (1994) evokes the visibility of women's experiences, demonstrating the historical silencing of women, especially regarding the historicity present in collective memory, which has traditionally been legitimized by masculine discourses. Through the stories and recollections of Alice, Jovina, Brites, and Risoleta, the author reveals accounts of submission and inequalities in family and work relations, as well as examples of female emancipation (resistance), as follows:

> At the beginning of the century, young girls were raised with domestic skills, to get married, and my father used to say: marriage is not a job. Aunt Brites was one of the first divorced women; that was never spoken of at home, it was very private. When she was left alone, my father encouraged her to study and work, to live on her own. He paid for her education until she graduated in pharmacy and dentistry. (Bosi, 1994, p. 305)

And also:

> Since the age of eight, I worked in a family household, I always had to do everything: set the table, clear the table, wash the dishes, polish that damned cutlery that had to be scrubbed with brick dust and potatoes… I polished everything until it shone and put it out in the sun before storing it. I knew the mistress liked things well done, so I wanted to do them even better. And I had to do it, or else I'd be punished. When I was thirteen, people would ask me on the street: "What do you do?" "I'm a full-time cook."… Until I was 22, I never received a penny for the work I did. (Bosi, 1994, p. 371)

Before turning to categories such as official history, life history, and collective memory, Bosi (1994) introduces the category work-memory. Here, the researcher-mediator, in the face of the woman's act of remembering, must prioritize what is recalled by the rememberer—that is, what the interviewed woman chose to revisit in order to preserve her life story. In dialogue with work-memory are the flows of barberian mediations, which constitute the construction of

meaning that is conventional and reproduced in society—and that, like what is perpetuated by the media, are disseminated en masse. These are "the types of relationships between character and society that help us understand the movement of transformations culminating in mass society" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 59). Thus, what has been normalized in the life stories of the interviewed women and, consequently, recurs in their oral memories, forms the analytical focus of enunciation.

Another important category identified by Bosi (1994, p. 49) is habit-memory, which "is part of all our cultural training" and therefore results from norms, standards, and ideals prescribed by the subject's social context. The search for traces of coloniality, as well as struggles and resistance present in women's narratives, can thus be identified through habit-memories: those that are naturalized, still present in their conventional daily practices, and which can also reveal tensions. Therefore, in order to be constituted, habit-memory must be understood in its dialogical relationship with spatialities—that is, with the subject's territorialities. For Martín-Barbero (1997), the urban physical space is in motion due to "cultural and political fermentations" that give rise to new popular identities, which end up "stitching back together" (p. 269) practices of solidarity and a new popular culture—especially in social contexts that receive migratory flows. However, in this space, although convention prevails, resistance also emerges.

For each memory revisited, there is the image-recollection—and from its most intimate character, emerges the retelling, the remembering in the materiality of memory through oral language. This "pure recollection, when updated as image-recollection, brings to the surface of consciousness a unique, singular, unrepeatable, and irreversible moment" (Bosi, 1994, p. 49). It is a revisiting of the silence of the supposedly forgotten past which, when awakened in the present, reconstructs life and returns to the place of something significant, because "the image-recollection has a precise date: it refers to a defined, individualized situation" (Bosi, 1994, p. 49). The dialogical process that crosses and resignifies recollections also constitutes what Martín-Barbero (1997) calls the narrative industry, in which cultural circulation is materialized in the modes of affirmation and existence—whether through literature, mass media, or stories shared orally across generations. More than just expressions of language, by translating ideologies and social norms, these narratives—intertwining official and individual histories—are revealed in actions and behaviors. After all, beyond narrating their life stories, the rememberers translate normative modes of their gender roles and social spaces, as well as the instabilities encountered in retelling their own histories.

Thus, memory is a key element of oral history for revealing lived experiences of those who shared the same era. It is up to the social scientist to search for common points and markers among the rememberers, for links and affinities that may denote a collective relationship between the life stories revisited (Bosi, 2003). However, the memory network is shaped by ideological representations, which cannot be seen as unilateral versions of a fact or social representation. In the dialogicity between memory and ideology, there are distances between public memory and individual memory—as well as collective and interpretive instances of history, whether official or personal (Bosi, 2003). The author offers the following reflection:

> How can we retrieve from the depths of the ocean of ages a "pure fact" preserved in memory? When we pull in the net, we see how full it is of ideological representations. More than a unilinear document, narrative reveals the complexity of the event. It is the privileged path to reach the point where History articulates with everyday life. Gathering diverse, sometimes opposing, viewpoints is a constant recomposition of data. (Bosi, 2003, pp. 19–20)

To clarify the recognition of public memory, Bosi (2003) notes that although memory operates freely in the recall of events within its own space and time of enunciation, there will always be "common markers"—that is, anything that represents collective meaning. The same occurs in the formation of identities, which, for Martín-Barbero (1997), result from social interaction, as well as the negation or exclusion of certain beings and knowledges—a movement in which sociocultural identities drive the development of (official) history. However, identity is shaped as a responsiveness to both popular and official narratives, as both traverse and create tensions within a given culture. For the author, "the community is defined by the unity of thought and emotion, by the predominance of close and concrete bonds and relationships of solidarity, loyalty, and collective identity" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, pp. 51–52).

Nonetheless, when discussing identity, Martín-Barbero (1997) correlates it to cultural memory, which is sustained by lived experiences and events, and whose function is not only to speak of the past but to "ensure continuity in the ongoing process of constructing collective identity" (p. 255). He further notes that there are specific places for the formation of these identities, which are shaped by the duality between public life (where formal relationships of interaction and work occur) and private life (the familial and domestic sphere). Hence arises the barberian view on the relationship between territorialities and identities, in which the neighborhood, for example, takes on the role of a social space that

catalyzes lived experiences. According to the author, "the neighborhood thus emerges as the great mediator between the private universe of the home and the public world of the city, a space structured around specific forms of sociability" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 274).

Bosi (2003) emphasizes that collective memory guides or influences individual memory—highlighting the relationship between official history and hegemonic history, as shaped by dominant class *ideologies*. There is thus a constant tension, as oral memory is vulnerable to "ideologization." In other words, the memory shared by the rememberer is influenced by the ideologies legitimized in the arena of social life. Bosi (1994) notes the intertwining of recollections, memories, ideas, representations, and ideologies in the process of recalling the past or recognizing the present. In dialogue with ideologies are the networks of collective interaction, which, for Martín-Barbero (1997), weave the fields of social life, shaped by popular sectors—not constrained by the materiality of media that articulate and disseminate official narratives, but instead emerging from processes that sustain expressions of popular culture.

Given the instability of oral memory—which sometimes falters, whether due to tension among conflicting statements or the difficulty of visualizing a recollection as clearly as before—Bosi (2003) points out that within the union of memory and ideology, there are also the bonds that tie public memory to individual memory, which allow one to understand the particularities of each rememberer's lived experience. This *individual history* also reveals itself through ritualities, that is, through the habits and customs that translate everything symbolic and ritualistic in communal life (Martín-Barbero, 1997). These ritualities of living arise in daily life, as well as in the beliefs and narratives that guide the return to the past from the social fields that host the experiences of women.

Thus, in the context of the oral history of elderly women of different ethnicities, classes, and professions, the researcher-mediator must adopt a sensitive and attentive posture, since the act of revisiting the past will never be exact. Therefore, the researcher must remain sensitive to the diachrony of time, because "the oral source suggests more than it affirms; it moves in curves and detours, demanding a subtle and rigorous interpretation" (Bosi, 2003, p. 20). In the avenues of memory travel both recollection and forgetfulness. These curves and detours, which constitute field research investigating the enunciative locus of memory, are confronted by the *mobilities* generated by constant social changes. This moving alternation of perceptions results in complex and nuanced transformations, also shaped by migratory flows: mobility between rural and urban areas, or the integration of people from other countries and cultures into different territories (Martín-Barbero, 1997).

Although, as Bosi (2003) explains, it is impossible to fully grasp or reproduce the past in its entirety, as researchers mediating memory, we must observe *silences*, as well as the responsiveness present in gestures, repetitions, and the absence of words. The author also notes that, just as important as interpreting recollection is considering what is left unsaid, because: "forgetfulness, omissions, the unraveling stretches of narrative are meaningful examples of how historical events impacted people's everyday lives" (Bosi, 2003, p. 18). To this end, the use of field diaries is advised precisely to record "the narrator's hesitations and silences. The slips and uncertainties of the witnesses are the seal of authenticity" (Bosi, 2003, p. 64).

To conduct socially sensitive and empathetic research in relation to the subjects who constitute it—here recognized as rememberers, based on women's stories and memories—it is necessary to mobilize the *sensorialities* of Martín-Barbero, which reject the hegemonic and dualistic model of thought and recognize the construction of new meanings from the massive interweaving of distinct logics of being, living, and feeling; a plural cultural matrix and a *sensorium* "that disgusts the elites" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 297). To mobilize and interpret life stories, therefore, requires moving away from the positivist lens that targets a normative science and claims to offer absolute answers. Here, it is not theory that holds the answers, but rather the oral histories of people—in all their diversity and instability.

The ethnographic gaze at the moment of the interviews must also consider the traces of the rememberers' daily lives or the elements that make up their familiar world—their home. In this sense, Bosi (2003) emphasizes the importance of recognizing and interpreting biographical objects, since they act as familiar references that connect individuals to the past, especially in the case of elderly people revisiting their own history. These often irreplaceable objects also carry stories, as they preserve memories and experiences; they might be a family watch, photographs, a piece of jewelry, among others. This *family memory* connects with *technicalities*, as it represents the crossing between past, present, and future. In this regard, Martín-Barbero (1997) understands technologies as mediations arising from environments that go beyond the notion of electronic media, highlighting that the interferences of everyday technicalities operate in social living spaces, such as schools, churches, workplaces, as well as in cultural productions tied to popular identity—like literature, music, soap operas, the press, among others. However, the author warns of technological colonization, since Latin American societies have been influenced to pursue an ideal of "modernization" imported from Europe and the United States, which has affected habitual ways of collective life, such as "walking through the city,

inhabiting the home, watching television, a style of social exchange, technical inventiveness, and moral resistance" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 115)—that is, it altered the way of being, dwelling, and interacting with the outside world, as well as with the social imaginary.

Therefore, memory and perception (or reception) are not synonymous, since every time memory is recalled and revisited in the present, its interpretation may undergo various interferences. Thus, matter, memory, and recollection interweave: recollection is embedded in the representations of matter and memory (Bosi, 1994), as there is a dialogical process—a mimesis—that links memories to present-day perceptions. However, each time memories surface, they are not necessarily reinterpreted in the same way; hence, as a mediation, recollection is an image (re)constructed in current consciousness.

According to Bosi (1994), while the recollections of elderly people often reflect a social history already developed, the memory of a younger or even adult person mobilizes struggles and contradictions of a present still in construction. Therefore, when mobilized as mediation, recollection returns to a past that reemerges in new versions, which often conflict with the twists of time. This dialogical process also includes the researcher-mediator, who must interpret the memory of the rememberer, becoming both subject and object. "Subject while we asked, tried to know. Object when we listened, recorded, being like an instrument to receive and transmit someone's memory, a means that someone used to share their recollections" (Bosi, 1994, p. 38).

In dialogue with recollections are temporalities, which refer to the ways of narrating everyday life and thus reproducing oral culture, as well as the discursive instabilities that characterize the multiplicity of temporalities of different social groups in their historical spaces and times, enhancing cultural heterogeneity (Martín-Barbero, 1997). This moving and unfinished diversity of cultural plurality is composed of "crossroads societies"[6], in Martín-Barbero's (1997, p. 258) view, who further argues that "the axis of the debate should shift from the media to mediations, that is, to the articulations between communication practices and social movements, to the different temporalities, and to the plurality of cultural matrices" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 258).

After all, *"what do I perceive in myself when I see images of the present or evoke those of the past?"* (Bosi, 1994, p. 44). With this question, Bosi demonstrates the relationship between corporeality, action, and representation, as the researcher, in addition to mediating others' recollections, receiving and transcribing memories, in their ethnographic translation practice, must also know how to measure silences and observe the interviewee's bodily responsivity. Therefore, the sensitivity of ethnographic research that mobilizes women's life

[6] From a decolonial perspective, Martín-Barbero's (1997) idea of crossroads societies resonates with the concept of border articulated by Walter Mignolo (2017, 2013), insofar as the latter argues that it is at the border where differences intersect. In other words, border thinking represents the praxis of thinking decolonially; such awareness must be revealed through the experiences of bodies and knowledges situated at the border.

stories must also attend to bodily singularities—whether through *corporeality* as social performance or in the face of bodily limitations—since the body is a communicative instrument for the rememberer: once agile in the past and, at times, slow in the present, often dictated by trembling fingers, crooked spines, deafness, scars, faded irises, or tears (Bosi, 1994). In this sense, Martín-Barbero (1997) identifies cognitivities as mediations of the body-world or world of the body—experiences that emerge through contact between the body and the outside world—which vary between men and women, rich and poor, white and Black, bourgeois and workers. This topography of the body—shaped by ethnic, racial, gender, and class diversity—also institutes norms and forms of obedience, valuing or devaluing bodies, beings, and knowledges.

Although recollection should not be viewed as absolute or unilateral truth, but rather as a snapshot of space-time (Bosi, 2003), it reveals the enunciative power of the social substance of memory, which manifests in oral memory, operating as a "precious instrument if we wish to constitute a chronicle of everyday life" (Bosi, 2003, p. 15). In this sense, the method contributes to ensuring that those at the margins of society can be heard—on their own terms, under their own conditions and knowledges—and be recognized as protagonists of social research and, above all, of their historical time. Thus, Bosi (2003) emphasizes that official history fails to reveal the individualities of living memories, especially when:

> The elderly, women, Black people, manual laborers—segments of the population excluded from the history taught in schools—speak up. A history based solely on official documents cannot account for the individual passions that lie behind the episodes. (p. 15)

In dialogue with the *living memories of subjugated beings* are the *citizenships* evoked by Martín-Barbero (1997), in which the author refers to the colonization of mediations, as well as the westernization of thought, to point out the limits of citizens freedoms and individual independence. It is worth noting that this is an author who focused his gaze on the communicational, social, and cultural dynamics of Latin America and was equally concerned with reception and the resistance movements of subjects in response to the enunciative and cultural responsivity generated by mediations. Thus, reflections on freedoms, powers, and dominations are central to his work, for:

> The culture of mass mediation is forged in the tension between these two dynamics: that of the economic interests of an increasingly monopolistic capitalism, which takes advantage of the weak and functional presence of the State, and that

> of a powerful civil society that defends and expands the boundaries of freedom. (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 194)

Faced with the search for narrated autobiographies, Bosi (2003) recommends the use of exploratory questions so that the rememberer can recall moments of their past with greater freedom. In this way, the author encourages the construction of "affective maps" created through the memories of interviewees, respecting the paths they choose to share their recollections. Thus, in the socio-historical context explored by the researcher when gathering and seeking connections between different life stories, it is essential to recognize that the biographical study allows for the subject to be understood within their social field, because:

> The more the researcher comes into contact with the precise historical context in which the respondents lived, cross-referencing information and memories from various people, the more clearly the image of the field of signification prefigured in the testimonies takes shape. For testimonies that are autobiographies, it is worth considering that these are, beyond historical testimony, the evolution of the *person* over time… Only through biographical study can we historically perceive the person. (Bosi, 2003, p. 56)

Throughout his work, far beyond relativizing the dialogical relationship between dominant senders and dominated receivers, Martín-Barbero (1997) sought to map contradictions, resistances, and struggles within the mediation process that communication and culture exert in society. Thus, it became necessary to understand communication from the perspective of mediation, rather than media—precisely because it mediates an increasingly plural society, constituted by "true culture", described by the author as the joining of cultural discontinuities where "official" memories and imaginaries merge with the Indigenous, the rural, the urban, and the popular.

However, it is not possible to consider mediations as a cartographic object of study without acknowledging economic, political, and cultural structures. In fact, it is in and through culture that voices and struggles emerge, going against hegemonic impositions and dominations (Martín-Barbero, 2002). Indeed, when speaking of the socio-historical and methodological construction of gender, it also traverses the cultural fabric shaped by the diversity that constitutes Latin America. This view is reinforced by Bosi (2003), who warns that in individual stories, "there is always a privileged collective narrative within a myth or ideology. And this explanatory and legitimizing narrative serves the power that transmits and disseminates it" (pp. 17–18).

Thus, it is important to recognize that collective memory, when revealed in the individual perception of the rememberer, encompasses the interior of a class whose diffusion is translated into images, feelings, ideas, and values (Bosi, 2003)—a locus that may also reproduce social traits of coloniality in its symbology of domination and power. This occurs in the fieldwork of ethnographic social research, through the altruistic and empathetic craftsmanship of the researcher-mediator, who recognizes not only the verbalized recollection but also breaks the Eurocentric veil to identify semiotic reactions that translate the act of remembering, because "the narrator is present beside the listener. Their hands, shaped by work, make gestures that sustain the story, that give wings to the events brought forth by their voice" (Bosi, 1994, p. 90). It is in this movement—of rejecting hegemonic models of thought through the oral histories of those made invisible in their historical space-time—that the union between mediation and memory enables the praxis of decolonial translation through the ethnographic interview.

In this way, the analytical and cartographic categories present in Bosi (1994, 2003) and in Martín-Barbero (1997), through the combination of the third and fourth Barberian maps, reveal twelve dualities (Table 1) that highlight the relational character between mediation studies and memory in life stories. These dualities are: a) narratives and image-memory; b) spatialities and habit-memory; c) flows and work-memory; d) mobilities and curves and detours; e) sensorialities and silences; f) technicalities and family memory; g) ritualities and individual history; h) cognitivities and corporeality; i) identities and public memory; j) temporalities and recollections; k) citizenships and living memories of subjugated beings; l) connections and ideologies.

Table 1

Relationship between the analytical categories of Martín-Barbero (1997), Bosi (1994, 2003), and colonialities of gendered memory

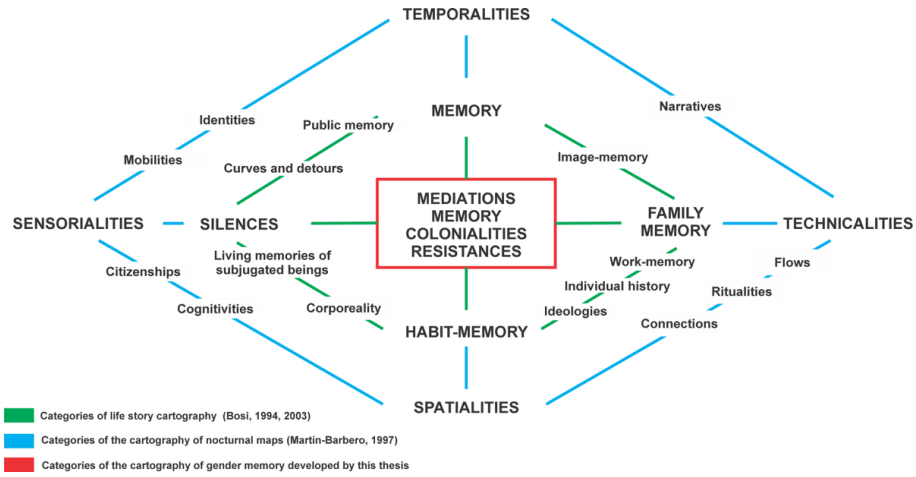
Mediation	Memory	Colonialities and resistances
Nocturnal maps	Life stories	Gendered memory
Narratives	Image-memory	The revisiting of meaningful memories that shaped the life and history of the rememberers.
Spatialities	Habit-memory	Norms and patterns present in the lived experiences of the rememberers.
Flows	Work-memory	A story told repeatedly, with recurrences that reflect values.
Mobilities	Curves and detours	Instabilities in the oral memory of the rememberers.
Sensorialities	Silences	The crafted translation of the researcher–mediator in the face of what is left unsaid.
Technicalities	Family memory	Biographical objects, technologies, and mediations that preserve memories.
Ritualities	Individual history	The manifestation of memories, ideologies, everyday customs, and beliefs.
Cognitivities	Corporeality	The signs of the body-world, perspectives on the identity and territorialities of the rememberers.
Identities	Public memory	Popular culture, official and media narratives.
Temporalities	Recollections	The re-signified memory in the present, narratives about the space-time of memory.
Citizenships	Living memories of subjugated beings	Marginalized histories, freedoms, and powers.
Connections	Ideologies	Tensions between collective and individual memory in the arena of social life.

Note. Compiled by the authors; first version published in Cardenal (2024).

At the center, as categories that traverse the theoretical-methodological perspective evoked here, are: mediations; memory; colonialities; and resistances. These categories are reproduced in a new map, *the map of gendered memory*, based on the interrelationship with the mediations presented in the third and fourth nocturnal maps of Martín-Barbero (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Map of gendered memory, created to chart the relationship between mediations, memories, colonialities, and resistances



Note. Compiled by the author; published in Cardenal (2024).

Thus, the analytical and cartographic categories are mediations that, throughout the process established in the ethnographic field, unfold into a triadic relationship to constitute a methodological model based on: a) the mediation proposed by the nocturnal maps of Martín-Barbero; b) the dialogue with the unfolding of memory through the ethnography of life stories developed by Bosi (1994, 2003); c) the intersection with the colonialities and resistances of being, knowledge, and power present in women's narratives, in order to identify what we here call gendered memories. This is the notion of complementary and moving dialogicality that we seek to present. However, the way we developed the map should not be interpreted as a fixed model, since its academic and methodological application allows for changes in the relational flow of the categories, creating new associations and versions of the map of gendered memory.

Therefore, in this proposal, the category of resistance assumes importance alongside mediations, memories, and colonialities, as within a decolonial perspective, the search for resistant movements becomes a compass for recognizing subjects subjugated and rendered invisible by official history/narrative. In this sense, we evoke Lugones (2014), when the author points out that women, even within hegemonic and oppressive conditions, also initiate actions of liberation, which may be both adaptive and oppositional. For Lugones (2014), resistance lies in the tension between subjectification—when a woman, even

within normalizing contexts, is constituted by knowledge and information—and active subjectivity—which would be the minimum notion of agency necessary to fracture the relationship between colonial oppression and resistance—both occurring simultaneously. Therefore, there is resistance within domination, and identifying it means enabling the self-recognition of the being as a historical subject, not merely as an object of silencing domination.

Thus, in evoking the role of communication in favor of the decolonization of being and knowing, it is essential to overcome the dualistic relationship between mediation and reception, placing these two phenomenological concepts within their dialogical and constructivist function—active in the consolidation of increasingly hybrid and plural societies, that is, "from mediations and subjects, that is, from the articulations between communication practices and social movements" (Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 17). Mediations, therefore, must be understood in the plural and in their moving nature, as the result of tensions and cultural transformations exercised by the masses—by those who, in most cases, do not have an active voice in the narratives crystallized by official history. This history, when viewed from the memory of subjugated beings, is questioned and can be rewritten from new terms, places, and perspectives, breaking with universalisms and the hegemonic logic of conceiving the colonial and patriarchal world-system (Segato, 2015). This is the disobedient role of academic practice in favor of the decolonization of the social sciences (Mignolo, 2008, 2017).

PARTIAL CONSIDERATIONS ON A MOVING MAP

Ecléa Bosi (1936–2017) and Jesús Martín-Barbero (1937–2021) share the same enunciative locus, as their lives and works were built within Latin America—she, a Brazilian scholar dedicated to Social Psychology and the memory of elderly people; he, a Spaniard based in Colombia, who contributed to the study of Communication through the lens of Sociology and its intertwining with cultural mediations. In their lifetimes, neither identified themselves as authors of the decolonial perspective; it is we who, in this article, respectfully propose bringing them closer to this enunciative place of resistance and epistemic disobedience.

In doing so, we demonstrate that decolonization has emerged from the contributions of various social researchers, evoking the place of Communication within critical theories aligned with the counter-hegemonic decolonial stance, which challenges us to look at Latin America as a space of diversity, resistance, and disobedience, going against positivist practices standardized by the Eurocentric model of thought that continues to render beings and knowledges invisible, something that also occurs within the social sciences.

To find or develop methodological crossings that engage with or dialogue with decolonial epistemology is a task that requires a craft-like movement on the part of the researcher. Thus, by proposing a cartography that unites Ecléa Bosi and Jesús Martín-Barbero to study the life stories of women—and, from them, to challenge narratives crystallized by official history—we are advocating for academic disobedience and resistance in favor of a decolonized and decolonizing methodology (Castro-Gómez, 2007; Mignolo, 2008).

Since we are dealing with a theoretical-methodological perspective that departs from the universal and totalitarian paradigms of modern science, there is greater freedom to combine and reframe qualitative research practices, especially those of ethnographic nature that do not forgo fieldwork. It was from this provocation that we evoked here the union between nocturnal maps and life stories as a powerful methodological path in the development of a cartography of women's memory.

This, therefore, is what we call a cartography of gendered memory: an ethnographic method grounded in decolonial translation that continuously mobilizes theory and methodology, encouraging field research through the intersection of *mediation* and *translation*. As a method geared toward social research in the development of exploratory studies, it can be adapted to different contexts, as long as its primary interest lies in the life stories of silenced beings, in which their narratives and memories take on an emancipatory role—going far beyond the reductionist dichotomy that separates subject and object. Here, the researcher–mediator is guided by the memory of the rememberers and seeks, above all, to break historical silences and invisibilities. M

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