

Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad

REVISTA LATINOAMERICANA

ISSN 1984-6487 / n. 40 / 2024 - e22301 / Gontijo, F. / www.sexualidadsaludysociedad.org

DOSSIER



National museums, decolonial heritage practices and persistent epistemic violence in the Philippines and Brazil: the (non-)place of sexual and gender diversity

Fabiano Gontijo¹

> fgontijo2@hotmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0003-4153-3914

¹ Universidade Federal do Pará, Belém, PA, Brasil

Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico, Brasília, DF, Brasil

Copyright © 2024 Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad – Revista Latinoamericana. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

<http://doi.org/10.1590/1984-6487.sess.2024.40.e22301.a.en>

Abstract: National museums are produced by national ideologies while simultaneously contributing to the reproduction of national narratives. They can be thought of as a biopolitical governmentality dispositive, thus representing tensions related to maintaining bodypolitics, biopolitics and geopolitics within and beyond national realms. They rarely address the sexual and gender diversity of their respective countries in their exhibitions. This paper aims to present the results of a reflection on the violence exerted by such museums in erasing sexual and gender diversity from their narratives and, consequently, reproducing a certain form of homolebotransphobia. Building upon the contested nature of the idea of nationhood, decolonial interventions carried out in national museums will be discussed, which have been attempting to problematize these issues through the diversification of their exhibitions, as seen in the National Historical Museum in Brazil and the National Museum of Anthropology in the Philippines.

Keywords: Museums; Nationalism; Coloniality; Gender; Sexuality.

Museus nacionais, práticas patrimoniais decoloniais e violência epistêmica persistente nas Filipinas e no Brasil: o (não-)lugar da diversidade sexual e de gênero

Resumo: Os museus nacionais são produzidos por ideologias nacionais ao mesmo tempo em que contribuem para a reprodução das narrativas nacionais. Podem ser pensados como dispositivos de governamentalidade biopolítica, representando as tensões relativas à manutenção da corpopolítica, da biopolítica e da geopolítica nos âmbitos nacionais e para além deles. Raramente abordam, em suas exposições, a diversidade sexual e de gênero de seus respectivos países. O artigo apresenta os resultados de uma reflexão sobre a violência exercida por esse tipo de museus ao apagar a diversidade sexual e de gênero de suas narrativas e reproduzir certa forma de homolebotransfobia. Partindo-se do caráter contestador da ideia de nação, discute-se as intervenções decoloniais realizadas em museus nacionais que vêm tentando problematizar essas questões por meio da diversificação de suas exposições, como no Museu Histórico Nacional, no Brasil, e o Museu Nacional de Antropologia, nas Filipinas.

Palavras-chave: Museus; Nacionalismo; Colonialidade; Gênero; Sexualidade.

Museos nacionales, prácticas patrimoniales decoloniales y violencia epistémica persistente en Filipinas y Brasil: el (no-)lugar de la diversidad sexual y de género

Resumen: Los museos nacionales son producidos por ideologías nacionales mientras contribuyen a la reproducción de narrativas nacionales. Así, Pueden ser entendidos como un dispositivo de gubernamentalidad biopolítica, representando tensiones relacionadas con el mantenimiento de la corpopolítica, la biopolítica y la geopolítica dentro y más allá de los ámbitos nacionales. Rara vez abordan la diversidad sexual y de género de sus respectivos países en sus exposiciones. Este artículo tiene como objetivo presentar los resultados de una reflexión sobre la violencia ejercida por dichos museos al borrar la diversidad sexual y de género de sus narrativas y, en consecuencia, reproducir una forma de homolebotransfobia. Basándose en la naturaleza cuestionada de la idea de la nacionalidad, se discutirán intervenciones decoloniales llevadas a cabo en museos nacionales que han intentado problematizar estos temas mediante la diversificación de sus exposiciones, como se observa en el Museo Histórico Nacional de Brasil y el Museo Nacional de Antropología de Filipinas.

Palabras-clave: Museos; Nacionalismo; Colonialidad; Género; Sexualidad.

National museums, decolonial heritage practices and persistent epistemic violence in the Philippines and Brazil: the (non-)place of sexual and gender diversity

Presentation¹

In the early 2020s, many countries in Central and South America, former Spanish and Portuguese colonies such as Brazil, celebrated the bicentennial of their political independence. In the Philippines, in Southeast Asia, the quincentennial of the arrival of Spanish colonizers to the archipelago was commemorated. These commemorative dates share a commonality in serving as dispositives for the fixation of memories related to forms of resistance to colonialism that, in ways particular to each regional context, spurred the process of decolonization. By establishing memories, these celebrations contribute to the characterization of symbolic forms that define the identity and exclusivity of a political group thus socially delineated over time and space, that is, a nation (Cohen, 1969).

In these former Iberian colonies, celebrations of political emancipation serve as genuine institutions for the exaltation of national identity through the construction of socio-cultural and spatial-temporal unity. Commemorative dates marking the arrival of colonizers have more recently been addressed as moments for reflection on the pernicious effects of colonialism and its persistence in the form of “coloniality.”² Celebrations in these “new” countries in the early 2020s were marked by various events—such as the inauguration of public monuments, the establishment of memory centers, toponymic revisions, the publication of literature and artistic productions, and the organization of festivals and patriotic parades. Among these, this discussion will focus specifically on interventions made in the permanent exhibitions of museums designated as national.

In the Philippines, the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC) was estab-

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) for the Research grant (Level PQ 1D).

² A broad definition of “decolonial” is used here, which overlaps with “post-colonial,” rather than the specific framework proposed by Latin American intellectuals from the Modernity/Coloniality Group. For these scholars, coloniality intertwines the process of colonization in the Americas and the Caribbean with the establishment of the capitalist world-system, grounded in hierarchical structures of racial, sexual, gender, and class inequality. Decoloniality, therefore, refers to the overcoming of coloniality (Lander, 2005).

lished in 2018 to prepare for the commemoration of three historical events considered seminal in the construction of national identity, viewed from “a Filipino-centric point of view.”³ The first two events are the anniversary of the Victory of Mactan and the Filipino participation in the first circumnavigation of the globe. Both events are linked to the figure of Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese navigator who, in the service of the Crown of Castile, sought a western maritime route to the Spice Islands (Moluccas) through seas defined as Spanish by the Treaty of Tordesillas. He arrived at Cebu, now part of the Philippines, in March 1521, where he forged alliances with several local leaders, primarily Muslims. However, he also encountered resistance from many non-Muslim chiefs, culminating in his tragic death while attempting to subjugate the formidable *datu* (chief) Lapu-Lapu on the island of Mactan. Although the navigator failed to accomplish his mission—to establish a new trade route via the Pacific Ocean to the northern part of the Moluccas—and did not return to the furthest point on the planet he had reached on previous eastern routes, he is considered “the first man” to have completed the circumnavigation of the globe.

It is noteworthy that the third event to be commemorated is... the quincentennial of the introduction of Christianity in the Philippines. Now, from a “Filipino-centric point of view”—and therefore anti-colonial?—the victory of a Filipino hero over the first attempt at Spanish colonization is being commemorated, but paradoxically this celebration also acknowledges the success of an alien religion brought by the very colonizers who were resisted at Mactan!

In Brazil, the celebrations for the bicentennial of political independence in 2022 were relatively subdued, despite patriotism and nationalism being prominent in the federal government’s agenda (the then president was also affiliated with the far-right, similar to the situation in the Philippines). In a somewhat uncoordinated manner, certain events marked the occasion, such as the inauguration of self-defined decolonial interventions in the permanent exhibition of the National Historical Museum (MHN) in Rio de Janeiro. These interventions actually celebrated the 100th anniversary of the MHN itself, which was established in 1922 to commemorate the centenary of independence. In the Philippines, the National Museum also implemented interventions—under a “Filipino-centric point of view” and decolonial in nature—within its long-term exhibition as part of the quincentennial celebrations.

This text aims to outline a reflection on some persistent effects of the “colonial situation,” particularly regarding the configuration of male domination and heterocentrism in national contexts arising from Spanish and Portuguese colonization.⁴ It will

³ “A *Filipino-centric point of view*”, as stated on the official NQC website: <http://www.nqc.gov.ph/en/>

⁴ For discussions on the “colonial situation,” see Balandier (1951) and Gontijo (2023).

present the ways in which, in the wake of the commemorations of the 500th anniversary of the Spanish arrival in the Philippines and the 200th anniversary of the political independence in Brazil, national museums have promoted initiatives based on decolonial heritage practices to reformulate their long-term exhibitions in order to suggest a national narrative—given their status as national museums—that is more attentive to the persistent effects of the “colonial situation” and its epistemic violences.

What would be the place (or non-place) of gender criticism and sexual diversity in these national museums within the framework of the decolonial interventions conducted? After a digression into the history of the Philippines, the long-term exhibitions of both museums will be presented, followed by the decolonial interventions. The relationship between the state, nationalism, and cultural heritage will be examined in the context of how national narratives perpetuate epistemic violences by framing, concealing, or silencing sexual and gender diversity, including within national museums. Finally, it will be possible to assess the importance of decolonial heritage practices in promoting an emancipatory utopia, countering epistemic violences.⁵

“Latinas/os” from Asia⁶

The Republic of the Philippines is comprised of an archipelago of over 7,100 islands covering nearly 300,000 square kilometers. The largest islands are located in the extreme north, near Taiwan—Luzon, predominantly Catholic and home to the capital, Manila—and in the extreme south, near Indonesia—Mindanao, which has a significant Muslim population, partly separatist (Boquet, 2017). Human occupation of the archipelago is believed to have occurred approximately 60,000 years ago by diverse ethnic groups, called “Negritos” by Spanish Catholic missionaries in the 16th century,

⁵ *Compulsory heterosexuality* exposes the culturally arbitrary and unnatural character of heterosexuality (Rich, 1980). *Experiences of sexual and gender diversity* refer to sexual and/or gender practices and identities and their multiple social and cultural dynamics (sometimes *expressions* will be used to emphasize the eloquent nature of these practices and identities). *Non-normative/dissident sexuality* designates experiences of sexual and gender diversity that do not align with established social, moral, and sometimes legal expectations, and are subject to some form of regulation. Lastly, *alternative sexuality* refers to experiences that are “other” in relation to normative frameworks but are not necessarily subject to categorization. *Homosexuality* is the most commonly used term in Western discourse, frequently employed by international bodies and governments. *Heteronormativity* refers to the normative system (and its mechanisms, technologies, and dispositives) that sustain the institutions of modern states, naturalizing heterosexuality, gender binarism, and sexual dimorphism (Warner, 1993).

⁶ Considering that the audience for this text will potentially consist of Brazilian and Latin American readers, a brief digression is necessary to historically contextualize the Philippines, which will not be done for Brazil.

most likely descendants of the earliest waves of Africans who populated Asia. From the end of the third millennium BCE, these groups were largely replaced by successive waves of migration from Austronesian ethnolinguistic peoples (Acabado & Martin, 2022; Fox, 1967b). Today, the population of over 100 million is characterized by significant cultural diversity (and strong genetic homogeneity), which has been joined by migratory waves of Chinese, Malay, and Indian (Delfin, 2015; Fox, 1967a; Francia, 2014; Tan, 2008).

At the time of the arrival of the Spanish “conquistadors” in 1521, the population of the archipelago was organized into a heterogeneous set of sociopolitical formations, the most well-known of which were the *barangay* led by local *datu* (chiefs), on the one hand, and, on the other, the kingdoms and sultanates led by Muslim rajahs and sultans (Francia, 2014; Scott, 1994). Intense commercial relations of continental dimensions contributed to the constant diversification of the population and their ways of life, often marked by cosmopolitanism. In the 1540s, a Spanish navigator named the archipelago *Las Islas Filipinas* in honor of the Castilian monarch Philip II (*Felipe II*), but it was not until the last decades of the 16th century that Spain succeeded, albeit not without resistance, in subduing the islands (Francia, 2014; Machuca, 2019; Tan, 2008).

Spanish colonization, from the 16th to the 19th centuries, was marked, on one hand, by the strong Catholic missionary power that unified almost the entire territory through *reducciones* and *encomiendas*,⁷ similar to Latin America, and on the other hand, by intense exchange (of goods and people) between the archipelago and the American continent (Francia, 2014; Pérez, 2021; Scott, 1994). Following the success of the “Reconquista” in Spain, the evangelization of the so-called “Indios” in the invaded territories became one of the justifications for colonization, granting considerable power to the clergy, especially in areas where “Moorish” groups could pose a threat, such as in the Philippines (Francia, 2014; Francisco, 2014; Rufo, 2013).⁸ Samuel Tan (2008) defines colonial Filipino society as composed of *indios* (native and mestizo individuals under the direct control of the clergy and administration), *infieles* (native peoples who did not recognize the clergy’s authority), and *moros* (Muslim peoples from the southern islands resisting Spanish domination).⁹

⁷ For further details, see Francia (2014), Machuca (2019), and Tan (2008).

⁸ The extreme southern portion of the country, particularly the region known as Bangsamoro, inhabited by a predominantly Muslim population, has resisted the impositions of Spanish, Japanese, and American colonizers in the past and continues to resist the national integration model of the country today (Boquet, 2017; Francia, 2014; Hedman & Sidel, 2000)

⁹ Filipino historiography links the origins of corruption and the unequal concentration of land—some of the country’s major issues today—to the excessive political power of the clergy during the Spanish colonial period. This power is believed to have been transferred to the landowning elites and has persisted to the present day, marking a continued promiscuity between Church and

Scholars from the Philippines indicate that there was generally a certain degree of sexual freedom, including practices of ritual cross-dressing and forms of transgender identity in many societies within the archipelago. This sexual and gender diversity was framed and constrained by the clergy on the basis of Christian moralities, as the clergy held true political and, to some extent, economic power, supported by the military backing of the colonial administration. The most widely spoken local languages, such as Tagalog, lack gender markers, suggesting that little importance was placed on gender distinctions in these societies (Atkinson & Errington, 1990; Cannell, 1999; Francia, 2014; Rufo, 2013; Tan, 1995). This phenomenon is also observed in other contexts subjected to European colonization worldwide (Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Due to the distance between the archipelago and the metropolis, as well as the division of the world between the Portuguese and the Spanish, Spain placed the Philippines under the direct administration of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico). The trade that developed between the two sides of the Pacific Ocean, without the threat of the Portuguese, became known as the “Manila Galleon.” The decline of this trade, resulting from Mexico’s independence in the 1820s, also marked the fall of the Spanish Asian empire (Álvarez, 2009). Taking advantage of the crisis, a mestizo intellectual elite, known as the *Ilustrados* (the equivalent of *criollos* in Latin America), formed movements that called for either greater autonomy or independence, with José Rizal as the principal figure, who is still considered the greatest national hero today (Hau, 2017).¹⁰ With the assistance of the United States, a new imperial power, the Philippines gained independence in 1898 (Francia, 2014; Tan, 2008).

Independence, however, was short-lived. The United States decided to make the Philippines its colony at the turn of the 19th to 20th centuries, with the declared aim of “civilizing” the Filipino people (Barrows, 1905). Some scholars argue that, given the popularity of eugenics theories at the time, which served as a basis for state policies in many countries, it is not difficult to understand this racially determined civilizing mission that characterized American presence in the Philippines throughout the 20th century. Not coincidentally, one of the first measures taken by the United States was

State (Francia, 2014; Francisco, 2014; Hau, 2017; Schirmer & Shalom, 1987). This context helps to explain the paradox of the commemorations of the 500th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to the islands, alongside events framed from a “Filipino-centric point of view” in 2021 (Rufo, 2013).

¹⁰ José Rizal, hailing from a family of Chinese descent and a tenant of a rice plantation owned by Dominican friars, wrote several books from a liberal and modern perspective that denounced the barbarity of colonialism, particularly under clerical rule. He was executed in a highly publicized manner by the Spanish in 1896. Today, Rizal is celebrated as the country’s greatest national hero, although he did not live to see the independence of the Philippines—and was perhaps more in favor of reforming the colonial system than pursuing outright independence (Claudio, 2019).

the implementation of universal education for the peoples of the Philippines, with a curriculum in English based on the teachings of metropolitan schools and teachers from the new metropolis (Shalom, 1986). Kristin Hoganson (1998) suggests that American involvement in the Philippine Revolution and the colonization model applied there were marked by a gender bias: American masculinity, racially determined, and heteronormativity were imposed over the more fluid gender expressions and sexual diversity of the Filipinos, which had been loosely controlled by Spanish friars and administrators. This further reinforced the American civilizing mission based on medical-scientific discursivities and legal-moral normativities, in addition to Christian moralities (Gontijo, 2021).

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, demands for greater political autonomy led to independence in 1946, following World War II and the Japanese occupation of the archipelago (Francia, 2014; Malay, 1967). Despite gaining independence and the intensification of nationalism in the latter half of the century—alongside the rise of communist movements—the country has remained, to this day, within the sphere of American influence, characterized by a strong military presence and, primarily, the almost direct involvement of Uncle Sam in local politics (Claudio, 2017; Hedman & Sidel, 2000; Shalom, 1986).

According to Vicente Rafael (2022), “neoliberal citizenship” is rooted in violence, which explains the ongoing human rights violations in the country and how this has contributed to the rise of a far-right president between the 2010s and 2020s, marking the country today. Scholars of sexuality argue that, under American influence, there is a confrontation between a more heterogeneous traditional model of sexual and gender expressions—locally summarized by the term *bakla*—and a framing under a more homogeneous and “Americanized” model, which aligns, to some extent, with homonationalist practices—or more *gay* and *queer* (Manalansan IV, 2003; Tan, 1995; Witham & Mathy, 1986).¹¹ It remains to be seen whether *bakla* or *gay* have a place in the decolonial interventions carried out in national museums.

National Museums in the Philippines and in Brazil

In Brazil, the National Museum (MN) was established, under a different name, even before independence in 1822, similar to what occurred in the Philippines, evolving in form and objectives throughout its existence (up until the tragic fire in 2018). According to Myrian Sepúlveda Santos, the MN originated from the European model

¹¹ For nuances of homonationalism, see Puar (2013) and Irineu (2016).

of museums aimed at the “history of civilization,” emphasizing a “[...] encyclopedic, evolutionary, comparative, and classificatory perspective” (Santos, 2002, p. 126).¹² While there were changes with the advent of the Republic, it was another museum, inaugurated in 1922 to celebrate the centenary of independence, that effectively served as a museum addressing the ideological construction of the nation and the unity of its people: the National Historical Museum (MHN).

The first director of the MHN, Gustavo Barroso, set the tone for what the museum should be, stating that the “true national history” had begun with the arrival of the Portuguese crown on the American continent, that the objects of the aristocratic elites would be highlighted in the museum’s exhibitions, and that there would be an emphasis on the objects of national warriors and military heroes (Santos, 1992; 2002). The museum continues to operate today within an architectural structure located in the center of Rio de Janeiro, which has served as a fortress, a war arsenal, a military academy, barracks, and a military museum.

If, in the early decades of its history, the MHN fit into what Santos (2006) referred to as a “museum-memory,” focused on the commemoration of the glorious past of the elites, it began to adopt, from the last decades of the 20th century onward, a stance of “museum-narrative,” that is, one that presents an “imperative historical narrative” based on a conception of linear and progressive time. In this context, we understand the need seen by the MHN’s management to undertake decolonial interventions at the beginning of the 2020s, and these will be discussed further ahead.

The National Museum of the Philippines (MNF), in turn, was established under Spanish rule as the Museo-Biblioteca, discontinued, and then resumed under American control in 1901, now as the Insular Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, with the aim of disseminating ethnological knowledge—not the “theological orthodoxy” of its predecessor (Pertierra, 1997). Throughout the 20th century, according to the booklet produced for its centennial celebration, analyzed by Richard Harris (2002, p. 90), it was “[...] founded, merged, divided, abolished, re-established, transferred, reorganized.” It became a national museum after definitive independence and began operating in a set of buildings constructed, some still under American control, during the reconstruction of Manila after World War II.

Until 2021, the MNF was responsible for the restoration and safeguarding of the country’s heritage assets, serving the role that in Brazil is assigned to the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (*Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, IPHAN). Currently, it comprises a complex of museums—alongside various regional national museums—consisting of the National Museum of Fine

¹² The excerpts of texts in Portuguese will be presented hereafter in English, translated freely by me.

Arts, the National Museum of Natural History, and the principal one, the National Museum of Anthropology, formerly the Museum of the Filipino People—also simply referred to as the National Museum—all located in Rizal Park, the most central area of the capital.¹³

After three visits to the MNF and several to the MHN,¹⁴ I observe that the former, despite its anthropological vocation, is increasingly emphasizing the history of the challenges of national identity construction from a perspective of cultural plurality. In contrast, the latter, which initially focused on the linear history of Brazil from the Portuguese invasion, now appears to be more interested in including the social groups (deliberately) forgotten by the official narrative in its exhibitions—namely Indigenous and Black peoples—thus becoming more anthropological in nature.

In 2024, the MHN features, on the ground floor, an exhibition gallery dedicated to the history of Brazilian urban transportation, alongside three courtyards—one named after Gustavo Barroso, showcasing busts and sculptures of Brazilian artists, and another, Epitácio Pessoa, primarily housing cannons. Additionally, there is a temporary exhibition hall and various services located in the Minerva courtyard, which provides access to the museum. Immediately after the ticket office, visitors encounter panels displaying decolonial interventions on the way to the hall featuring an equestrian statue of Dom Pedro II and the escalators leading to the long-term exhibition on the upper floor.

The visit to the long-term exhibition begins in a gallery focused on a ceiling adorned with allegories of Brazilian legal history. The next two galleries feature the exhibition “Iandê: Here We Were, Here We Are,” inaugurated in early 2023, which explores the pre-colonial occupation of Brazilian territory and the contemporary Indigenous peoples. Following this, visitors enter a gallery that discusses Portuguese presence worldwide and various aspects of colonial society, providing extensive information on the production system based on enslaved African labor. Another gallery initially addresses the French, Dutch, and English presences during the colonial period, then

¹³ Rizal Park is located southeast of the Spanish walled city and is the most important site of sociability in the capital. It features various national symbols, such as the official national flag, “kilometer zero,” the imposing monument honoring José Rizal, the site of this hero’s execution, and a collection of dozens of statues representing key figures in the country’s history, both men and women.

¹⁴ What will be discussed from this point forward is based, on one hand, on two trips to the Philippines, during which I visited the MNF: the first in 2012, without research intent, and the second in November and December 2023, for research purposes; and, on the other hand, on several visits to the MHN, the first occurring in 2000, also without research intent, followed by six more visits between 2022 and 2024, with research purposes. During the research visits, conversations were held with staff and visitors at both institutions. Additionally, the data collected includes a conversation with Professor Aline Montenegro Magalhães, the Acting Director of the MHN in 2022, to whom I express my gratitude for the information provided.

shifts to the economy centered on agricultural production and mining, as well as the autonomist movement of the *Inconfidência*. The subsequent room focuses on Baroque aesthetics, architecture, and colonial arts in general. The exhibition continues with a life-size reproduction of a colonial building representing a pharmacy.

Upon ascending a small staircase, a sign indicates that some galleries received private funding. Visitors reach the exhibition “Between Two Worlds,” which showcases objects representing the cultural exchanges during the colonial period between Brazil and the African and Asian continents, the racial hierarchies established by colonialism, and attempts by descendants of Africans to overcome social exclusion through literature and the arts. The next gallery addresses aspects of nation-building during the imperial period, following independence. A small room between two galleries presents utensils used by the Brazilian nobility and, in contrast, tools used to subjugate enslaved labor. Two additional galleries focus on the Second Empire and the abolition of slavery. The last two galleries cover the republican period, highlighting the development of national citizenship, Brazilian modernity, and some challenges in building a more just country. Finally, a concluding gallery invites visitors, as writers of their own history, to reflect on social injustices.¹⁵ The decolonial interventions are spread throughout the MHN and will be discussed further.

At the MNF, in turn, visitors are advised to start on the fourth floor, which, in 2023, featured five galleries that covered: the Spanish colonial religious architecture of various regions; the importance of rice plantations and the rituals related to them; the textile industry and its diversity; the ancient Filipino script (*baybayin*) and its preservation today; and basketry and the production of objects made from plant fibers.¹⁶

On the third floor, another five galleries presented: works by sixteen masters recognized by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts for their role in revitalizing and transmitting “traditional” knowledge; the syncretic arts, traditions, and lifestyles of the Bangsamoro region, which has the highest concentration of Muslims in the country, clearly aiming to integrate this area into the national Filipino identity; some “archaeological treasures” or “destroyed treasures” related to funerary practices found in different regions; the ways of life of the Negrito peoples, also highlighting their integral role in the nation despite their systematic decimation in the past; and the religious practices and “sacred landscapes” of the inhabitants of the northernmost part of the country.

¹⁵ For a virtual tour of the MHN, visit: <https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=8YYr6jqc7nX> Accessed on 04/21/2024.

¹⁶ In the corridor, photographs of Filipinos brought to the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair catch the eye. They were “exhibited” in their traditional daily activities, aiming to reinforce the alleged racial and cultural superiority of the United States and justify the occupation of the Philippines.

On the second floor, one room addresses the occupation of Philippine territory and the entire history of the archipelago up to the present, primarily through an analysis of the diversity of ceramic production. The other two exhibitions on this floor, while not officially part of the decolonial exhibit, are relatively pertinent: the first, *Alamat – Revisiting Philippine Folklore*, explores mythical narratives and *engkantos* (enchantments) through contemporary artworks; the second, *The HOCUS Paintings*, features works conceived by writer Saul Hofileña Jr. and executed by artist Guy Custodio, critically reevaluating the country's colonial history.

On the first floor, there is a room dedicated to a temporary exhibition showcasing twelve works that focus on Filipino cultural heritage with a strong nationalist fervor. The decolonial exhibition is dispersed across the second and first floors and will be discussed next.¹⁷

The "Indio-Genius" and their "other histories"

In the Philippines, at the end of 2022, the MNF reopened after the COVID-19 pandemic with the exhibition titled "Indio-Genius: 500 Years of Cultural War (1521-2021)." This exhibition features a series of sculptures and installations by Kidlat Tahimik, scattered throughout various areas of the museum. The artist is presented on an exhibition panel as a "national artist" whose works are based on traditional Filipino indigenous worldviews, aiming to integrate them into "popular culture" and offer "solid and interesting alternative views of the Philippines' past and present" that ignite the imagination of visitors.

In contrast, the MHN in Rio de Janeiro also inaugurated an exhibition in 2022 titled "Decolonial Brazil: Other Histories," which includes seventeen interventions within its long-term exhibition. These interventions feature the revision of identification cards, the introduction of objects and videos, and reinterpretations of works by Black artists. In both cases, there is a clear intention to present "other histories," this time from the perspective of those whose stories have not been told in these national museums.

The decolonial interventions at the MHN in Rio de Janeiro appear to align with the overarching goal of its long-term exhibition, as stated in its initial panel: to invite the public "[...] to engage in critical reflection on the past, enabling the joint construc-

¹⁷ Almost all the museum's galleries are named in honor of private companies and families of patrons who maintain partnerships with the MNF.

tion of historical knowledge.”¹⁸ These interventions are a collaborative effort of the museum, with the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UNIRIO), and the ECHOES Project, funded by the European Union, which reflects on colonial heritage in Europe and other continents.

The panel presenting the interventions asserts that the MHN has taken on the challenge of “[...] confronting other narratives by exposing the Museum’s choices, which open up to the construction and dissemination of new interpretations of Brazil’s history.” The aim is to “[...] provoke reflection and debate on sensitive memories of violence, silencing, and the invisibility of experiences that find no place in the pacifying and conciliatory model that predominates in the Museum’s narrative.” Throughout the seventeen interventions, the proposal is to reinterpret objects and videos that were already part of the long-term exhibition to acknowledge the subjects behind the objects and highlight the previously invisible protagonists.¹⁹

The exhibition features as its symbol a sculpture donated to the MHN in 1928 by the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks (Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos) from Ouro Preto, known as Maria Cambinda. This intervention questions the fact that the doll/mask was displayed in the room dedicated to Portuguese expeditions as an allegory of the African continent. It explores the “paths and detours” of the artifact within the museum, thus reflecting on alternative interpretations of the agency of enslaved people in Ouro Preto.²⁰

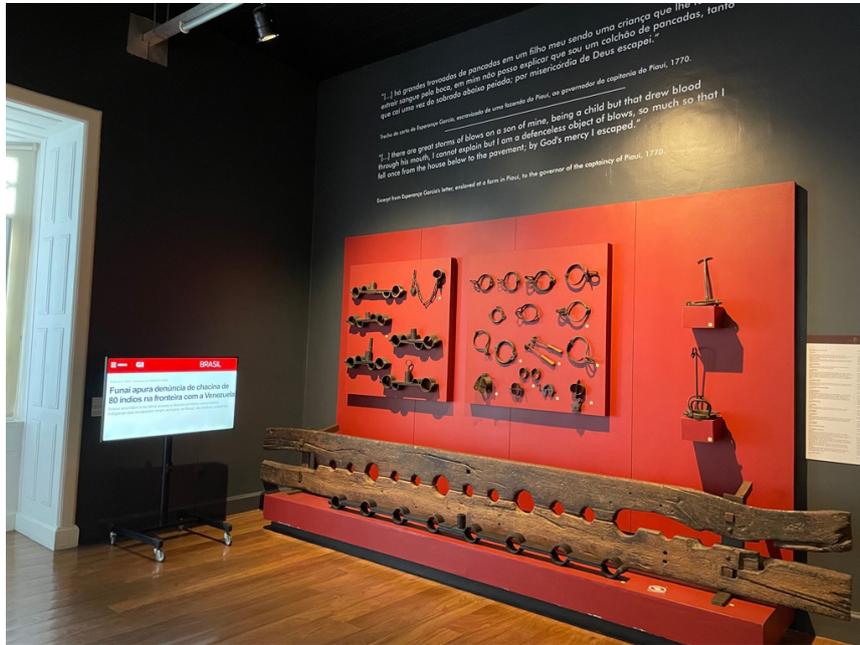
Another intervention is located at the entrance of the same gallery, which discusses the Portuguese presence in the world. Here, a video presents the success of Portuguese navigation. Following this, the same video is shown again, now titled “Museum of Invasions,” created by Emiliano Dantas, with revised images and texts. This version highlights the violence represented by Portuguese expansion or invasion, including the enslavement of Africans, and demonstrates that the success of colonial enterprise deserves to be contextualized—“success” for whom?

¹⁸ This objective is also in line with the latest definition of museums proposed by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) of the United Nations (Brulon-Soares, 2020).

¹⁹ The MHN produced a video to present the exhibition titled “Decolonize: a verb, an attitude,” available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZVhQevYSY9Y>. Accessed on 04/21/2024.

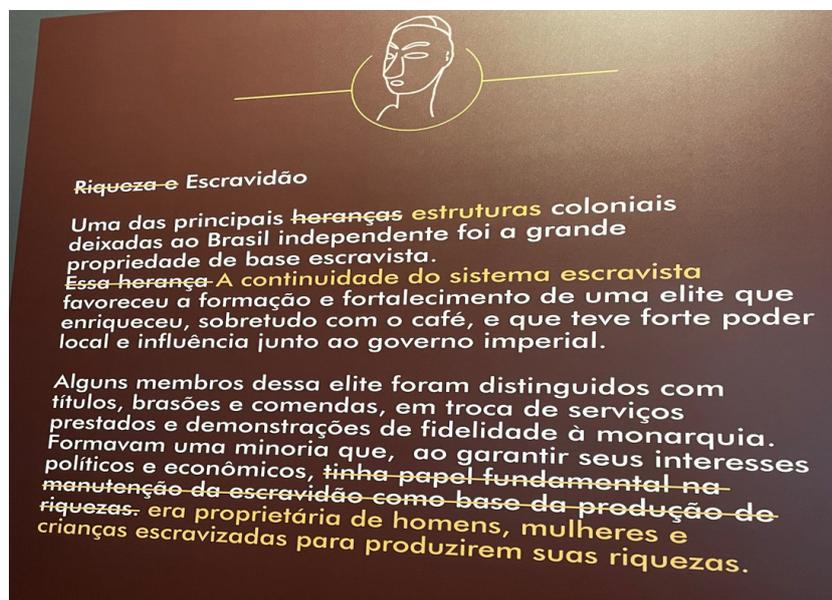
²⁰ Regarding this icon chosen to represent the exhibition proposal, see: <https://artsandculture.google.com/story/KgVRV6elZHH-dw>. Accessed on 04/21/2024.

Image 1: National Historical Museum, Rio de Janeiro, 2024 (photograph taken by the author).



The gallery that contrasts, on one side, the “tools” used to subjugate enslaved individuals and, on the other, the objects used by the Brazilian nobility, features four interventions. The first is the very act of referring to these tools as instruments of torture rather than simply tools. The second intervention includes an excerpt from a letter written by Esperança Garcia to the governor of the Province of Piauí in 1770, detailing the mistreatment endured by enslaved people—one of the earliest documents produced by an enslaved person claiming rights. The third involves revising a text that links slavery to wealth production, substituting certain terms and expressions with those that denounce the perverse nature of slavery. Finally, the last intervention is a video titled “Violence, Racism, and Discrimination: Ongoing Coloniality.” This video presents various headlines from newspapers and news websites that highlight that the primary victims of violence in Brazil are Black and Indigenous people. Some notable headlines address violence against transgender/transsexual individuals: “Brazil Hits Record for Murders of Trans and Travestis” (Portal Terra), “Student Matheusa Was ‘Judged’ Before Being Killed by Drug Trafficker, Says Delegate” (Portal G1), and “Brazil is the Country that Kills the Most Trans People; 175 Were Murdered in 2020” (Portal Universa UOL).

Image 2: National Historical Museum, Rio de Janeiro, 2024 (photograph by the author).



In turn, the title of the exhibition at the MNF, which is quite significant, sets the tone for what will be represented in the installations and addressed in eleven panels: over the last five hundred years, a battle has taken place between the peoples of the Philippine archipelago and the Western invaders who attempted to impose their culture, often without success. Using pieces of wood, plenty of straw, discarded objects, and construction debris, the installations reproduce mythical beings, imaginary animals, national heroes, and scenes of everyday life that represent the genius of the forms of resistance by Filipino indigenous peoples, hence the term “Indio-Genius.”

The first installation that visitors encounter is titled “Expats outclass their colonial mentors,” depicting a hut with Filipinos engaged in their domestic chores alongside two neon signs reading “MadExpo 1887” and “Nuestros Filipinos Civilizados.” A panel explains that in 1887, the Spanish Ministry of the Colonies held an exhibition to showcase what its most profitable colony had to offer to Europe. Not only elements of the fauna and flora of the Philippine islands were exhibited in Madrid, but also people who enacted their daily lives for visitors. Kidlat Tahimik contrasts these Filipinos, regarded as “savages” whom Spain believed it was “civilizing,” with the success of José Rizal in the fields of arts and, especially, sciences in Europe at that very time, as well as other “genius” Filipino artists and scientists, countering the racist view of the indigenous peoples with their intellectual contributions.

Next to another installation titled “Spirit of Rizal freed at last,” a panel discusses how the national hero’s writings were assimilated by the illiterate population through being read aloud in public squares, contrary to common belief, thereby fueling the Filipino revolt. Here, there is a critique of how Rizal is represented in monuments across

the country, always depicted in Western suit and tie. Tahimik then presents a statue of the hero in a suit and tie, posed as if at the moment of his execution, but revealing the *bahag* – a traditional red male garment – underneath the coat, symbolically “liberating” the indigenous spirit or the “Indio-Genius” of the hero.

Image 3: National Museum of the Philippines, Manila, 2023 (photograph by the author)



The most striking installations of the exhibition, due to their size, are located in the museum’s most impressive gallery. One of them is titled “Victory @ Sea – Enrique Conquers the Pacific.” Here, Tahimik makes a strong critique of the treatment given by official historiography to Ferdinand Magellan’s journey. He argues that the first person to circumnavigate the globe was Enrique, not the Portuguese explorer. Enrique was an enslaved Asian individual whom Magellan encountered in Malacca, Malaysia, brought to Europe, and then engaged in the 1521 voyage. Upon reaching the Visayas Islands in the Philippines, Enrique was able to communicate fluently with the local inhabitants, suggesting that this was his native language. Therefore, he would have completed the circumnavigation, and not Magellan, who died in Mactan before finishing the journey.

Enrique, who is purportedly Filipino, is depicted by Tahimik on a massive galleon alongside the Portuguese, showing the way to the “conquistador”. With his knowledge more suited to the realities of the seas and lands they traversed—referred to by Tahimik

as “supreme indigenous knowledge”²¹—Enrique would have translated for the European navigator the signs observed from the stars, currents, and marine life, as well as the mythical entities guiding them on their journey, all represented in the installation. The stern of the galleon features characters wearing masks that were used in Europe during plague epidemics, suggesting that the colonizers brought death and destruction.

Image 4: National Museum of the Philippines, Manila, 2023 (photograph by the author)



Another aspect of Tahimik’s blunt criticism of official historiography is evident in the installation titled “Victory @ Sea – Bulakna Conquers FMagellan.” In the account of the Battle of Mactan, the valor of Lapu-Lapu is often celebrated for killing Magellan. Tahimik suggests that women also participated in these conflicts, as there was frequently little distinction between genders in warfare. Among them was the hero’s wife, Bulakna, who would have been a *makata* (poet), *babaylan* (shaman), and an excellent arnis fighter (a Filipino martial art). The artist invites us to envision Bulakna as the one delivering the final blow to Magellan. At various points, the exhibition encourages visitors, through videos and paintings, to reflect on the lasting effects of colonization, including American colonization, on their bodies and the possibilities for overcoming coloniality. However, there is no direct reference to expressions of sexual and gender diversity.

²¹ In Tagalog, “supreme indigenous knowledge” (Kataas-taasang Kaalamang Katutubo) generates the acronym KKK (Kataas-taasang Kaalamang Katutubo), which is frequently used in the panels as a critical play on the U.S. supremacist movement, to address indigenous genius or “Indio-Genius.”

Image 5: National Museum of the Philippines, Manila, 2023 (photograph by the author)



The aforementioned Filipino decolonial exhibition retraces parts of colonial history from the perspective of the Filipino peoples marginalized by colonialism and imperialism, highlighting the “genius” of their resistance. Similarly, the Brazilian interventions recount the “other histories,” yet silenced, from the viewpoints of subaltern groups—Indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans. In both cases, there is a concerted effort to incorporate a more inclusive or equitable gender perspective within the proposed alternative (national) narratives, inviting visitors to develop critical and reflective attitudes about their social and cultural realities.

Perspective: National Museums Against Epistemic Violence?

The Philippines and Brazil are countries where expressions of sexual and gender diversity enjoy visibility, some legal guarantees from the state, and, to a certain extent, social permissiveness, when compared to other countries, including “Western” ones, that struggle to promote respect for diversity. Pride parades and events celebrating sexual and gender diversity organized in various locations across both countries attract tens of thousands of people and are reported by mainstream media, as are transgender beauty contests in the Philippines. There is, in both countries, a consolidated field of research on the subject—one example being the language used by gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, gender non-conforming, intersex, and other identities

(LGBTI+) for communication and creating a sense of community, referred to in Brazil as *pajubá* or *bajubá* and in the Philippines as *swardspeak* or *gayspeak*.

During election periods, politicians, including those on the far-right (as has occurred in both countries), vie for the votes of LGBTI+ individuals, although they often continue to perpetuate homophobic, transphobic, or homonationalist agendas. LGBTI+ celebrities are celebrated by the general public during their appearances and enjoy significant prestige—consider, for example, the overwhelming success of Vice Ganda, a singer, actor, presenter, and activist regarded as one of the biggest successes in Filipino television and cinema (who supported the far-right former president in his 2016 campaign but later backed the leftist candidate in the 2022 elections). In both countries, expressions of “modern” or “Western” sexual and gender diversity intermingle with “traditional” forms, acquiring representative forms of “other modernities” (Fernandes, 2015; Garcia, 2009; Manalansan IV, 2003; Tan, 1995; Witham & Mathy, 1986).

However, even in light of these examples of visibility and permissiveness, why is sexual and gender diversity still not represented in the two national museums in question, despite the decolonial interventions (although it appears very timidly, under the theme of violence, in the MHN)? Does it not (yet) deserve to be part of the national narrative? Paraphrasing Françoise Vergès (2023), can a national museum truly be decolonial? To achieve this, wouldn't it be necessary to effectively confront all forms of epistemic violence, which arise from the concealment of knowledge and existences—and is almost always formulated and exercised by the very institutions that uphold national identity?²² To be decolonial, shouldn't a national museum also include expressions of sexual and gender diversity in its exhibitions, as well as denounce the racist, sexist, and classist practices that have shaped its collections?

Donald Preziosi (2011: 58-9) suggests that “[e]very political regime [...] has always been fundamentally devoted to managing and controlling collective memory [that] entails a retrograde fabrication and projection of ‘cultural memories’ focused upon [...]” symbolic forms that originate from ancestors or common imaginary entities within a specific collective. Considering, with Jyoti Puri, nationalism as “[...] the belief and the practice aimed at creating unified but unique communities (nations) within a sovereign space (states)” (Puri, 2004, p. 2), the relevance of symbolism for constructing national projects becomes evident: there must be a minimum sharing of imagined materials for a communal form to be produced with national characteristics. Museums, then, serve as institutions for the continuous reworking of the perfect fit of these contents into

²² For a discussion on the conceptualization of epistemic violence as used here, see Castro-Gómez in Lander (2005).

specific forms, through symbolic agencies arising from materialized cultural memory (Vawda, 2019).

It is proposed here that national museums be regarded as yet another dispositif of biopolitical governmentality, thereby representing the tensions related to the establishment and maintenance of body politics or corpopolitics (discipline of bodies), biopolitics (control of populations), and geopolitics (regulation of states within the world system) both nationally and beyond (Castro-Gómez, 2019; Foucault, 2004).²³ To serve as institutions consolidating the foundational symbolic agencies of collective memory, national museums must represent what is defined as hegemonic by the prevailing biopolitical governmentality, ideologically supported by “modernity” and its medical-scientific discursivity (which establishes “good bodies”), its legal-moral normativity (which establish “good minds”), and even its religious moralities, typically Judeo-Christian (which establish “good souls”).

Sexual and gender diversity would not fit within the biopolitically shaped narrative of the national museum, given that since the 19th century, there has been a certain repudiation of gender dissidences and non-normative sexualities in both the context of Euro-American imperialism and the former colonies in the post-independence period. Museums might depict gender markers and some issues related to women’s participation in the creation of national symbols and/or the production of representative ‘things’ of the nation. In doing so, they would share the idea that gender binary and sexual dimorphism are natural and essential givens in a world inhabited solely by men and women, marked by masculine and feminine principles, as disseminated by medical-scientific discursivity, legal-moral normativity, and religious moralities that uphold Western modernity and hegemonic biopolitical governmentality—thereby institutionalizing the naturalization and essentialization of heteronormativity and heterocentrism. This illustrates how national narratives are being consolidated, including through heritage and museum practices, and consequently, the perpetuation of epistemic violence (Vergès, 2023).

Between the late 20th and early 21st centuries, there appears to have been a resurgence of interest in national museum studies among professionals in the social sciences and history. The analyses of curatorial processes and critical reviews of museum exhibitions are viewed by these professionals as opportunities to address power relations within the identity politics of contemporary societies (Kaplan, 2006; Rabelo, 2015). Decolonial interventions are part of this movement, alongside the development of social museology. Vergès, for instance, dedicated her latest book to universal mu-

²³ For the definition of governmentality and devices with biopolitical effects, see Foucault (2004: 111-112; 1998: 244).

seums situated in colonial powers, which have encyclopedic objectives and showcase the grandeur of the nation-state as “[...] an ideological weapon” (2023: 24). The author proposes the decolonization of museums through a “program of absolute disorder,” a concept borrowed from Frantz Fanon, in a “[...] irreversible movement of contestation against the museum [...]” (2023: 35).

Decolonization would only be possible, according to Vergès (2023), when the existing order marked by capitalism and its hierarchies of classist, racist, and sexist oppression is dismantled; when states cease to neutralize the conflicts and contradictions at their origin and assume responsibility for maintaining these violences; and ultimately, when museums question the fact that they are “[...] a total social space, traversed by class, gender, and race struggles, as well as cultural and ideological conflicts [...]” (2023: 24), serving to uphold processes of domination and state violence.

In previous writings, I highlighted decolonial interventions in two other national museums, in Costa Rica and Barbados, that dared to incorporate contemporary challenges related to respect for sexual and gender diversity into their exhibitions—in the former, in the wake of the 2021 political independence celebrations, and in the latter, in commemoration of the advent of the Republic in 2022. In the case of Barbados, at the time of the exhibition’s inauguration, the country still had laws from the English colonial era that criminalized same-sex/gender sexual practices. Although marked by elements of homonationalism, these interventions represent significant steps toward questioning the historical erasure of local sexual and gender diversity—and consequently, denouncing the naturalization of heteronormativity. In Barbados, a series of actions from organized movements, alongside these decolonial heritage practices, contributed to the repeal of laws criminalizing homosexuality at the end of 2022 (Gontijo, 2022; 2024).

The erasure of sexual and gender diversity in favor of heteronormativity has led to the current imposition of a “respectable” Euro-American “gay” or “queer” identity model, overshadowing the myriad real possibilities of being, existing, thinking, desiring, and acting in the world—the “other modernities”—that distinctly define the richness of sexual and gender diversity. This diversity has yet to penetrate national museums. To truly fulfill their role as national institutions—essentially tasked with promoting social justice through the production of emancipatory knowledge against epistemic violences—these museums could facilitate public understanding, fostering critical, reflective, and engaged knowledge and, thus, contribute to the establishment of social heritage.

In opposition to the epistemic violences still perpetuated by these national museums, a revival of utopias is proposed. Beyond museum-related utopias (Murta & Chagas, 2016), the emancipatory utopias suggested by Vergès (2023) are also relevant. Decolonial interventions can serve as a step in this direction, especially when supported

by anti- or counter-disciplinary practices, as well as being anti-racist, anti-patriarchal, and anti-capitalist. Moreover, as Vergès notes, we must “[...] have the courage to let imagination soar, to free ourselves from mental shackles, from the desire to ‘belong’ and be respectable” (2023: 80).

What if... Enrique were bakla and in love with Ferdinand Magellan? Or did he circum-navigate the globe to surrender himself to the arms of Lapu-Lapu, his lover? What if Bulakna were fighting the invaders alongside trans people in Mactan? What if José Rizal were subtly criticizing colonization in his writings for oppressing the bakla reality? What if the “supreme indigenous knowledge” in the Philippines and Brazil also addressed the sexual and gender diversity experiences of Indigenous peoples? What if Esperança Garcia, in her petition letter, were advocating for the improved living conditions of sexually diverse individuals subjected to enslavement?

These questions open up space for reinterpreting history, challenging hegemonic narratives that often silence the multiple identities and experiences that compose the social fabric. They invite us to consider how personal and collective histories could be reimagined to include the diverse voices that have been historically marginalized. In doing so, we are encouraged to reflect on the intersections of coloniality, sexuality, and gender, broadening our understanding of resistance and resilience in the struggles for recognition and social justice.

Received: 26/04/2024

Approved: 17/07/2024

References Cited

- ACABADO, Stephen; MARTIN, Marlon M. 2022. *Indigenous archaeology in the Philippines: decolonizing Ifugao history*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press. 249p.
- ÁLVAREZ, Luís A. 2009. *El costo del imperio asiático: La formación colonial de las islas Filipinas bajo dominio español, 1565-1800*. La Coruña: Instituto Mora. 372p.
- ATKINSON, Jane M.; ERRINGTON, Shelly (ed.). 1990. *Power and difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia*. Redwood: Stanford University Press. 498p.
- BALANDIER, Georges. 1951. "La situation coloniale: approche théorique". *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*. Vol. 11, p. 44-79. Disponível em: http://classiques.uqac.ca/contemporains/balandier_georges/situation_coloniale_1951/situation_coloniale_1951.html Acesso em: 21 abr. 2024.
- BOQUET, Yves. 2017. *The Philippine Archipelago*. Cham: Springer. 856p.
- BRULON-SOARES, Bruno. 2020. "Defining the museum". *Icofom Study Series*. Vol. 48, n. 2, p. 16-32. Disponível em: <https://icofom.mini.icom.museum/publications-2/icofom-study-series-archive/> Acesso em 21 abr. 2024.
- CANNELL, Fenella. 1999. *Power and intimacy in the Christian Philippines*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 344p.
- CASTRO-GÓMEZ, Santiago. 2019. *El Tonto y los Canallas*. Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.
- CLAUDIO, Lisandro. 2017. *Liberalism and the postcolony*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 248p.
- COHEN, Abner. 1969. Political anthropology. *Man*, vol. 4, n. 2, p. 215-235. DOI: 10.2307/2799569.
- DELFIN, Frederick C. 2015. The population history of the Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, vol. 63, n. 4, p. 449-476. DOI: 10.1353/phs.2015.0044.
- FERNANDES, Estêvão. 2015. *Descolonizando Sexualidades: enquadramentos coloniais e homossexualidade indígena no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos*. Tese de Doutorado em Ciências Sociais. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. 1998. *Microfísica do Poder*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. 2004. *Sécurité, Territoire, Population*. Paris: Gallimard/Seuil.
- FOX, Robert B. 1967a. *The Philippines in the prehistoric times*. Manila: National Museum. 20p.
- FOX, Robert B. 1967b. The archaeological records on Chinese influences in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, vol. 15, n. 1, p. 41-62. Disponível em: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42720173> Acesso em: 18 out. 2024.
- FRANCIA, Luis H. 2014. *A History of the Philippines: from indios bravos to Filipinos*. Nova York: The Overlook Press. 368p.
- FRANCISCO, José Mario C. 2014. People of god, people of the nation. *Philippine Studies*, vol. 62, n. 3-4, p. 341-375. DOI: 10.1353/phs.2014.0028

- GARCIA, J. Neil C. 2009 [1996]. *Philippine gay culture*: Binabae to Bakla, Silahis to MSM. Hong Kong/Manila: Hong Kong University Press/The Philippine University Press. 102p
- GONTIJO, Fabiano. 2021. Diversidade sexual e de gênero, geo(necro)política e alternativas heterotópicas: um mundo melhor (ainda) é possível? *Aceno*, vol. 8, n. 16, p. 15-40. DOI 10.48074/aceno.v8i16.11752
- GONTIJO, Fabiano. 2022. Discursividades nacionais, processos de musealização e diversidade sexual e de gênero: a ‘excepcionalidade’ na/da Costa Rica. *Aceno*. Vol. 9, n. 19, p. 49-80. DOI: 10.48074/aceno.v9i19.13814
- GONTIJO, Fabiano. 2023. Por uma antropologia antinormativa, pública e comprometida: algumas considerações sobre a diversidade sexual e de gênero no Brasil. *Amazônica: revista de antropologia*, vol. 15, n. 2, p. 50-72. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18542/amazonica.v15i2.14972>
- GONTIJO, Fabiano. 2024. Nacionalismo, *musealização* e (de)colonialidade em Barbados: algumas considerações preliminares sobre a diversidade sexual e de gênero entre legados indigestos e falsos paradoxos. *Revista de Antropologia*, vol. 67. DOI 10.11606/1678-9857.ra.2022.213947
- HARRIS, Richard. 2002. The National Museum of the Philippines: a case study in representation of national identity. *Chukyo Keiei Kenkyu*, vol. 12, n; 1, p. 85-108.
- HAU, Caroline S. 2017. *Elites and Ilustrados in Philippine culture*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- HEDMAN, Eva-Lotta E.; SIDEL, John T. 2000. *Philippine politics and society in the twentieth century*. Londres: Routledge. 224p.
- HOGANSON, Kristin L. 1998. *Fighting for American manhood: how gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine American wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 320p.
- IRINEU, Bruna Andrade. 2016. *A Política Pública LGBT no Brasil: Homofobia Cordial e Homonacionalismo nas Tramas da Participação Social*. Tese de doutorado em Serviço Social. Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
- KAPLAN, Flora E. S. 2006. “Making and remaking national identities”. In: MACDONALD, S. (ed.). *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, p. 152-169.
- LANDER, Edgardo (org.). 2005. *A Colonialidade do saber*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- MACHUCA, Paulina. 2019. *História mínima de Filipinas*. México: El Colegio de México. 254p.
- MALAY, Armando. 1967. *Occupied Philippines*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild.
- MANALANSAN IV, Martin F. 2003. *Global divas*. Durham / Londres: Duke University Press. 320p.
- MURTA, Marcelo L.; CHAGAS, Mário de S. 2016. Das “Utopias museais” ao pragmatismo estruturado. *MUSAS – Revista Brasileira de Museus e Museologia*, n. 7, p. 62-83. Disponível em: <https://www.iber museos.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/musas7.pdf> Acesso em 18 out. 2024.

- OYĚWÙMÍ, Oyèrónkẹ. 1997. *The Invention of women: making an African sense of Western gender discourse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- PÉREZ, Abisai. 2021. Law, war, imperial competition, and the colonial foundations of the sixteenth-century Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, vol. 69, n. 3, p. 397-426. DOI: 10.1353/phs.2021.0024 Acesso em: 21 abr. 2024.
- PERTIERRA, Raul. 1997. *Explorations in social theory and Philippine ethnography*. Quezon City: University of the Philippine Press. 262p.
- PREZIOSI, Donald. 2011. "Myths of Nationality". In: KNELL, S. et al. (eds.). *National Museums*. Londres: Routledge, p. 55-66.
- PUAR, Jasbir. 2013. Rethinking Homonationalism. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 45, n. 2, p. 336-339. DOI 10.1017/S002074381300007X
- PURI, Jyoti. 2004. *Encountering nationalism*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 258p
- RABELO, Aline C. 2015. *Makumbusho ni nyumbani? (Museu é lar?): coleções etnográficas e identidades em museus nacionais da Tanzania, Kenya e Moçambique*. Dissertação de Mestrado em Antropologia Social. Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
- RICH, Adrienne. 1980. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence". *Signs*. Vol. 5, nº 4, p. 631-660. Disponível em: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834> Acesso em 21/04/2024.
- RUFO, Aries C. 2013. *Altar of secrets: Sex, politics, and money in the Philippine Catholic Church*. Pasig: Journalism for Nation Building Foundation. 330p.
- SANTOS, Myriam S. 1992. "Objetos, memória e história: observação e análise de um museu histórico brasileiro". *DADOS*. Vol. 35, nº 2, p. 217-237.
- SANTOS, Myriam S. 2002. "Políticas da memória na criação dos museus brasileiros". *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*. Vol. 19, nº 19, p. 115-137. Disponível em: <https://revistas.uluso-fona.pt/index.php/cadernosociomuseologia/article/view/369> Acesso em 18 out. 2024
- SANTOS, Myriam S. 2006. *A Escrita do passado em museus históricos*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond/Minc/IPHAN/DEMU. 144p.
- SCOTT, William H. 1994. *Barangay*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 306p.
- SCHIRMER, Daniel B; SHALOM, Stephen R. (eds.). 1987. *The Philippines reader*. Quezon City: Ken Incorporated. 452p.
- SHALOM, Stephen R. 1986. *The United States and the Philippines: a study of neololonialism*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- TAN, Michael. 1995. "From bakla to gay". In: PARKER, Richard G.; GAGNON, John H. (eds.). *Conceiving sexuality: approaches to sex research in a postmodern world*. Londres: Routledge, p. 85-96.
- TAN, Samuel K. 2008. *A history of the Philippines*. Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press. 136p.
- VAWDA, Shahid. 2019. "Museums and the Epistemology of Injustice". *Museum International*, vol. 71, n. 1-2, p. 72-79. DOI: 10.1080/13500775.2019.1638031

VERGÈS, Françoise. 2023. *Descolonizar o museu*. São Paulo: Ubu. 272p

WARNER, Michael. 1993. *Fear of a Queer Planet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 334p

WITHAM, Frederick L; MATHY, Robin M. 1986. *Male homosexuality in four societies: a cross-cultural study of the United States, Guatemala, Brazil, the Philippines*. Nova York: Praeger.