A new Conversation with Jorge Correia Jesuíno[1]

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To provide insights into policies, practices, representations, and professional identities outlined in the proposal submitted with this Dossier, we had a new conversation[3] with Dr. Jorge Correia Jesuíno, to whom I am immensely grateful.

The purpose of this interview is to problematize issues surrounding social, political, and cultural matters that end up affecting how we are, feel, and act, especially those of us who are committed to teaching and to Education, considering we are going through times of uncertainties, unpredictability and exclusions.

In this conversation, Dr. Jesuíno discusses aspects of his personal and professional life journey, reflects on the theories of Serge Moscovici and Pierre Bourdieu as a continuation of the previous interview

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3. This new conversation began in June 2023, at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in Lisbon/Portugal, and extended into virtual meetings held in November and December 2023. There were a few more moments later on, in 2024.

(Abdalla, 2022), and delves into the works of other theorists in the realms of Social Psychology, Sociology, and Philosophy. Also addressed were various other current topics, including matters related to violence, such as ongoing wars, Artificial Intelligence (AI), xenophobia, racism, and social exclusion. These topics stand in contrast to discourses that highlight diversity and human rights. Let's proceed with our conversation based on this brief summary.

MFBA - Dr. Jesuíno, as I mentioned before, it is a pleasure to once again have the opportunity to share these valuable moments, continuing from our previous conversation. Today, I would like to ask you about your educational journey. How did it unfold, and how did you make your professional choices? Briefly tell us about your educational trajectory. Please feel free to discuss the key aspects, both personal and professional, that have laid the foundation for you to form your professional identity.

JCJ - I was born in 1934, which means I am on the verge of 90, an age I never expected to reach. When I was 50 years old, I expected that I might reach 80, at best. Nowadays, the increase in life expectancy has become noticeable. Being able to remain interested is something I can only be grateful for. There are a few singularities in my educational path. My father's death, when I was at age 6, in 1940, in the first year of the Second World War. From that point on, my family consisted only of my mother and my brother, who is four years older than me. He, in a way, became the male figure I looked up to. A brother who would also die prematurely at the age of 49. In the year of my father's death, 1940, I was admitted to a primary school, a public school in Lisbon, where we lived, in a popular neighborhood. I completed my entire schooling in the public education system. From primary school I went on to secondary school, "Liceu," as it was called at the time, which lasted 7 years after the 4 years of primary school. This was followed by a year of preparation at the University of Lisbon's College of Sciences, before being admitted to the Naval Academy, where I became a Marine Guard, in 1955. The decision to pursue a military career was not driven by a calling. Instead, it largely stemmed from the fact that it offered a relatively fast and economical[4] path to a paid profession with security. I did not really fit the profile of a military person, and during that time, my interests and reading habits were focused on the Humanities. However, I reduced the cognitive dissonance, taking refuge in the myth of "join the navy and see the world," which somehow actually happened. In fact, back in those days, traveling and visiting other countries was a privilege that current generations have a hard time understanding. Given my interest in reading, and especially in Philosophy, a subject that fascinated me and in which I got high scores at the "Li-

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4. Dr. Jesuíno's answers will be kept in Continental Portuguese.

ceu", in 1958, I enrolled at the University of Lisbon's College of Arts and Humanities, from where I graduated in Philosophy at the end of ten years, presenting a thesis on innatism, confronting Leibniz and Locke. My interest in intertextuality may have originated from that period. The delay in completing my course was because I interrupted my studies after the sophomore year, in 1960, to embark on a long commission on a ship for a sovereign mission shared between Macau and Timor. I returned from this mission in late 1962. During the long periods of idleness aboard the ship, I was able to dedicate many hours to reading. This period served as a kind of sabbatical that was beneficial for continuing my studies. During the commission, I remember that, in 1961, the Indian Union annexed Goa and insurrections broke out in the North of Angola. Despite being far from the actual war scenes, those years were important for experiencing the agony of Portuguese colonialism. They were also marked by moral and psychological discomfort, as I belonged to an institution that supported a fascist regime struggling to survive despite facing international condemnation. I already had left-wing convictions back then, so the psychological conflict I faced was not easy, and I will never know if it left its mark forever. There was little room to reduce the dissonance. In 1963, I married a classmate whom I fell in love with, and our connection continues to this day. We do not have children. Between 1963 and 1970, I performed technical duties in NATO, which led me to travel frequently, mostly by plane, throughout Europe. These experiences greatly enriched me culturally. I was appointed commander of a corvette at the end of that period, which meant resuming life on board and going on a mission, again of sovereignty, in Cabo Verde, between 1970 and 1972. Cabo Verde was an African archipelago located near Guinea, where there was either no subversive movement or where such movements were still clandestine. I had the opportunity to contact local elites, namely writers who were opposed to Portuguese domination, but who oscillated between the desire for independence and the status of adjacency identical to the archipelagos of Madeira and of the Azores. This, which would be the last mission, was another experience in leadership, now even more demanding given the responsibility involved in serving in a position of command. It was later a likely motivation that reinforced my interest in the psychology of leadership, the theme of my late doctorate which would only take place in 1985. After returning from Cabo Verde, I held positions in the General Staff and began teaching in Higher Education, where I taught Developmental Psychology at the Higher Institute of Applied Psychology (ISPA) – a private institution, and Organizational Behavior at the Higher Institute of Labor and Business Sciences (ISCTE), a state-owned school. ISCTE, in turn, resulted from the implementation of a new University within the scope of a broad reform of Higher Education that became known as the Veiga Simão Reform, named after the minister who conducted it. The invitations to teach at both institutions

came about as a result of my interest in Jean Piaget's genetic epistemology, which I read and studied during many free hours in Cabo Verde. This interest led me to propose preparing a doctoral thesis in Philosophy on this topic. I even contacted a former professor from the college I had attended to guide and sponsor me. The invitation to teach organizational behavior at ISCTE, as an assistant rather than being in charge of organizing the subject, led to my integration into a team of internationally trained doctors. My collaboration was justified by my professional experience and familiarity with the language of Psychology and Organization Theory. Also, during this short interregnum, I had the opportunity to teach Philosophy at the Nautical School that prepared officers and the Merchant Navy. These many activities were interrupted by the military coup, in 1974, which deposed the regime and led to the decolonization of African Territories – Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, where an armed struggle was in course, and Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, where there was no war. Timor and Macau faced more complex situations that were only resolved later. I was not part of the conspiracy of the officers who launched the coup and who became known as the *April Captains*, but I was immediately integrated into it by co-option, having held ministerial positions linked to Social Communications in Luanda, the capital of Angola, in 1974, and in Lisbon, in 1975. The process gradually became more complex, evolving into a revolutionary dynamic that the rebellious military had difficulty controlling. This led to internal divisions that only became apparent 18 months later, on November 25, 1975. Being part of the group that was excluded was a factor that contributed to my dedicating myself solely to a career in Higher Education from then on. From that point forward, I resumed teaching exclusively in Social Psychology and Organizational Psychology, while still maintaining my interest in epistemology in general and in the Piagetian approach in particular. Within this framework, I published a series of texts on *Child Psychology* in collaboration with Orlindo Gouveia Pereira. For a couple of years, I also headed an optional undergraduate seminar on genetic epistemology at the University of Lisbon's College of Philosophy. My thesis on *Leadership Processes* aimed to ground the phenomenon of leadership in group processes. In this regard, it was more aligned with the approaches of Kurt Lewin and his disciple Robert Bales, whom I had the opportunity to meet and collaborate with, than with the positivist and functionalist approaches of American psychology. My interest in processes, and not so much in results or efficiency, was, in turn, what would arouse my interest in the Theory of Social Representations (TSR), which remains yet today. I taught in public education until reaching the age limit of 70 years as per the Portuguese law. However, this limit does not apply to research or participating in examination committees. After the age of 70, I taught at private universities for another 15 years, having, in the meantime, at almost 80 years of age, been a member of a Research Unit at the Center for Philosophy of

Sciences at the University of Lisbon (CFCUL), which gave me the opportunity to resume my old interest in epistemology.

MFBA – Dr. Jesuíno, how did you transition from Philosophy to Sociology? Why didn't you continue your doctoral project in Genetic Psychology? How significant is the topic of *leadership* in your teaching career? And what other connections stemming from this theme influence your approach to issues in Philosophy, Sociology, and/or Social Psychology today?

JCJ - The transition from Philosophy to Sociology, since this was the area I earned my doctorate in, may be surprising. Why didn't I pursue earning a Ph.D. in Genetic Psychology? In a sense, the brief summary of my career already explains why this was so. Furthermore, as Ortega Y Gasset said, life is very contingent, it is made up of encounters and, above all, circumstances. Our choices are always, or almost always conditioned. Looking back, while today I see myself split between two careers, first in the military and then as a university professor, this is largely due to the circumstances brought about by the Revolution of the 25th, as it became known, and the role that I played in that short, but very intense 18-month period, which reorientated my professional life. In counter-factual terms, I can imagine that if the 25th had not happened, I would likely have continued my naval career, cultivating philosophy as a mere dilettante. I might have accumulated a few classes as a guest lecturer, continuing the experience that had already started in 1972, but, once again, circumstances took precedence. Being invited to ISCTE largely determined my future path. ISCTE was created within the scope of a New University, that is, in fact, the name to this day, a University that was intended to be more professionalizing, less academic. Operating in Lisbon at the time were the University of Lisbon (UL), known informally as the "Classical University," organized into Colleges, and the Technical University of Lisbon (UTL), organized into Institutes. The New University of Lisbon (UNL) was a third University created in Lisbon. More recently, UTL merged with UL, so we once again have two public universities in Lisbon. ISCTE's main mission was to promote the study of business management with the backing of social sciences such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, and history. These disciplines, except for history, had little presence in public universities during the half-century of dictatorship. Consequently, at ISCTE, it was necessary to build these subjects almost from the ground up. In this endeavor, the role played by young Ph.D. holders, who had completed their training abroad, was crucial. My introduction to higher education was facilitated by senior colleagues with backgrounds in psychology from European and American universities. I owe to them a more systematic and less self-taught approach to the subject. In 1980, colleagues Jorge Vala and Maria Benedicta Monteiro, from ISPA, initiated a Meeting on Social Psychology in Lisbon. I would later collaborate more closely with them when they both

joined ISCTE. The meeting aimed to introduce the Portuguese psychology community to social psychology, a sub-discipline that was still relatively unknown and applied only timidly in auxiliary business management subjects at ISCTE. Renowned figures from European Social Psychology attended this 1980 Meeting, such as Henry Tajfel, Willem Doise and Jacques-Philippe Leyens, sociologists such as Michel Crozier and Stefan Stoer, with whom I established relationships and collaborated on research projects that were decisive for the future development of the subject in Portugal. Tajfel passed away prematurely, but he left a mark among us. And through Doise, who was always very generous and pedagogical, as well as through Jorge Vala's connections with Jacques-Philippe Leyens, among others, we gained access to the Theory of Social Representations (TSR). This opened the door for us to quickly engage with Serge Moscovici and Denise Jodelet, who always supported and assisted us. That is why 1980 was year zero of Social Psychology in Portugal. I believe that Professor Abdalla will be able to confirm that in Brazil the history of the subject is different and that it was only later, in the 90s, that Brazilian social psychologists and Portuguese psychologists came to cross paths through the mediation of our French masters. In the 90s, I used to say that in social psychology it was not the Portuguese, rather the French who discovered Brazil. It is this context that somehow explains my investment in the area of leadership. Here, however, I have to take a step back and remember my military side. I was surprised that nobody talked to us about this topic at the Naval Academy, as there was no subject dedicated to the psychology of leadership. It was assumed that learning would occur through the exercise of the activity itself, and it was also likely assumed that simply holding the status of an officer meant that one's authority would not be challenged, as having the necessary skills would automatically ensure obedience. We were still far from the need to legitimize the exercise of leadership. I did not feel safe at all, which in itself would be symptomatic of my doubtful vocation as a natural leader, and that is why I started reading about the subject, and even took a correspondence course on leadership that was taught to the American Navy. Being a man of books already back in those days, considering theory more important than practice, and finding myself inserted, years later, in an Institute dedicated to *work and business sciences*, brought natural continuity to my interest that culminated in the thesis I presented in 1985, which resulted in a book. The *leadership* theme was always present in my teaching and research career, even if it intersected with other emerging themes. It should be noted that leadership involves a multiplicity of skills and dynamics, which further explains why the topic, far from being exhausted, is in constant renewal. Leadership is linked to the themes of power and influence, to interpersonal and media communications, and to conflict management and negotiation. I dedicated a lot of my attention and studies to all these aspects. In my initial interactions with SM, I invited him to be

my doctoral advisor, a role which he accepted. However, we had to abandon this plan due to various practical difficulties. Working in this area of leadership and, above all, how it applies to organizations, led me to another area that has always aroused my curiosity: *Transcultural Studies*. Edgar Schein (2009) stated that there was a close relationship between leadership and organizational culture, which allows the operationalization of variables indicating not only organizational, but also national cultures, leading to psychometric comparisons at different levels of analysis. An example of this approach within the framework of TSR is the study conducted by Willem Doise (2002) on the social representation of Human Rights, which involved dozens of countries and in which I had the opportunity to participate. (I remember a session, in Aix, in which Doise presented the results of the study that he would later publish in a book, a session attended by SM, who, in the end, expressed reservations about what he considered to be an overly "structural" approach). The last of the studies of this nature, in which I participated, called GLOBE and directed by Robert House, another renowned name in the field of *leadership studies*, involved 62 countries and also gave rise to several publications. I must confess that I have always harbored a few epistemological reservations about these overly reductive methodologies. I accepted them as mere hypothetical and provisional indicators. On the other hand, as I mentioned earlier, I recall that my preference for studying leadership has always been rooted in the genetic perspective, particularly as Moscovici presents it in his theory of social influence. This is evident in the thesis regarding the role of active minorities as a driving force for social change. I will come back to this topic later. Hence my priority interest in the processes and mediations that led me, in a logic of progressive retreat, first to Robert Bales, then to Talcot Parsons, and then to Max Weber, but also to Durkheim and always in the company, although not exclusive of Serge Moscovici (SM) and Pierre Bourdieu (PB). This, on the one hand, because, on the other hand, questions of power and particularly political power invite sociologists such as Karl Marx and Jurgen Habermas to attend and, thus, participate in the debates of our time. I believe that today, young social psychologists are more inclined to explore a broader interdisciplinary field that is less constrained by positivist limitations. However, these limitations tend to resurface, almost like a return of the repressed, now under the undeniable evidence generated by the hegemony of Big Data.

MFBA – I agree, because Marx helps us reanalyze issues surrounding political power and the ways in which we assume awareness in the face of it. Listening to you, that famous phrase by Marx immediately came to mind: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousness" (Marx, 2008, p. 47). I also cannot help but think that we need to understand the way in

which contemporary society governed by a neoliberal logic conforms "its subjects" to a distorted representation of reality, leading to the "phenomena of alienation" and "commodity fetishism," as the author teaches us. Marx makes us see that we have an "economic reason" that monopolizes political discourse and shapes the structures and policies of our societies, as well as individualism and the processes of competition that end up enslaving us. This also leads us to consider Bourdieu (2004, p. 16), who states: "[...] the study of transformations in economic practices allows us to see better, and more completely, what they put at stake, that is, an entire lifestyle or, better, an entire system of beliefs." Based on everything that has been discussed so far, I ask: What paths did you take to write the chapter in the book "*Social Psychology*," organized by Jorge Vala and Maria Benedicta Monteiro (1993), and which is called "*European Social Psychology*?" Would the "points for debate" indicated in this chapter be the same if we consider today's reality? From this perspective, could you revisit a few aspects of Moscovici's Theory of Social Representations and that work in which this author wrote about active minorities? Also, could you revisit another aspect you mentioned, which concerns the "convergences and complementarities between SR and the notions of dispositions and *habitus* proposed by Bourdieu?"

JCJ - Why a chapter on European Social Psychology? The title itself is controversial. Can a subject with a scientific vocation be defined in regional terms? This historical incursion was suppressed in the ninth edition of the book Social Psychology, which was deeply remodeled and published in 2013 by Jorge Vala and Maria Benedicta Monteiro. In previous editions, this chapter was complemented by another one on American Social Psychology written by colleague Orlindo Gouveia Pereira, with whom I shared, as I already mentioned, several texts and research projects. This is an opportunity to expand a bit further, adding that he was the person responsible and to whom I owe my inclusion in Higher Education. Gouveia Pereira was a naval physician, a psychiatrist who held a doctorate in Psychology from Brandeis University, in the USA, with whom I became acquainted, given our professional proximity. He was well aware of the social psychology that was practiced in the early 1970s in Boston, and was comfortable illustrating how it contrasted with its European counterpart. Coming back to today, it makes sense, however, that the renewed edition of the guide does not include this division, perhaps due to dated circumstances. I would like to refer to two works to better clarify the meaning of this designation, which should be understood more in terms of capturing a few convergences between these two quite different, if not incompatible, criteria. I refer to the 1972 book titled "The context of social psychology," published by Joachim Israel and Henri Tajfel with the collaboration of several senior (European) authors, such as Rom Harré, Serge Moscovici, the editors themselves Henri Tajfel and Joachim Israel, as well as Mario von Cranach, Ragnar Rommetveit, Claude Flament, and Hakan Wiberg. Much more recent, the other book is due to SM

and Ivana Markova, and was published in 2006 with the title "The making of modern social psychology – The hidden story of how an international social science was created." In simpler terms, we can express the idea of contrasting the European approach to the American approach in social psychology with the somewhat inelegant distinction between "sociological social psychology" and "psychological social psychology." As an inter-discipline on the border between psychology and sociology, social psychology has always had, especially in terms of its methods, some ambiguity regarding the operationalization as well as the metrics of the variables. It is curious that the so-called European social psychology was created by the initiative of the American psychologist John Lanzetta (1926-1989), who, serving as an attaché at the Naval Office in London, decided to organize a Meeting of European social psychologists who, at the time, were dispersed, working individually with no group identity. From such an initiative, going back to 1963 and, particularly, to the efforts of SM within the framework of a Transnational Commission, that a European Association would later be established. This association published a journal that became a reference point, titled the European Journal of Social Psychology. It should be noted, however, and now less paradoxically, that this current of social psychology would quickly lose its initial vocation proclaimed in the 1972 book *A more social psychology*, to gradually and, almost exclusively, approach the positivist and experimentalist paradigm typical of the American way in which the magazine *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (JPSP) has become an absolute benchmark. SM, who played a fundamental role in the creation of the European Association, would later come to separate from the technical drift of a discipline incapable of rising to the shoulders of its genius founders. SM holds a unique position here due to his capacity to build a broad-spectrum, non-dichotomous work, where experimentalism was neither rejected nor deified, merely used as a means and not as an end as a way to validate hypotheses, as would be the case with laboratory incursions on the effect of minorities on social influence, a phenomenon that has just begun, leaving open the extent to which processes observed at the micro level can provide clues to better understand social changes at the macro level. On the other hand, SM himself introduces, as I have already mentioned, TSR, a macro theory, seeking to describe how common sense is built and works, and how it changes and is conditioned, how social thinking, the scandal of social thought, the thought that is created through multiple exchanges between individual subjects about common social objects, somewhere between collective, hegemonic, apparently non-negotiable representations, becoming a stable framework, a source of certainty and predictability, and individual representations, eventually emancipated or even controversial, and it is this semantic triangle that will give rise to the processes of change. It is curious to note how a type isomorphism - what leads social psychologists, who consider themselves closer to the

canon of scientificity, to not recognize this theoretical approach as valid? What, in turn and now within the Moscovician community, borders are once again being drawn between those who only recognize the experimentalist paradigm of social influence, but not that of the TSR. And, among them, even within the TSR, there are those who adhere to a more genealogical and ethnographic orientation and those who only feel comfortable with the cognitivist paradigm of the central nucleus. It is true that SM has always been loyal to the philosophers' "principle of charity." which Leibniz summed up well with the famous motto "je ne méprise presque rien⁵." Perhaps, therefore, this "new look" that SM introduced, not only in psychology, but also in the social sciences, continues to unfold its heuristic virtualities; however, it is not easy for me to anticipate the extent to which these epistemic approaches, less based on sociological imagination than on econometrics, that AI tends to apply to all social exchanges. To return to the question posed regarding the relations between the Moscovician notion of social representation and the Bourdieusian notion of *habitus*, the proposal to bring them closer together is mainly due to Doise. We also know that there was no great empathy or any resonance between both social scientists. I had the opportunity to examine, in some detail, the debate that took place between them in 1981, when SM's "L'Âge des Foules" was published, and which I published in Papers on Social Psychology, which I will not go back to here. I just remember that he already proposed that, although distinct, the notions were complementary. What is certain is that the *habitus*, in its triple component, as well analyzed by our late colleague Moisés Sobrinho, will be mainly in terms of aidos/ethos, which will match SM's "natural thinking," respectively in terms of the "operative level" and the "normative meta-level." As for the "hexis" component, Bourdieu seems to come closer to psychology by resorting to dispositionalism, with almost behaviorist accents, by placing emphasis on socialization processes, which I do not think has any matching element in SM. When commenting on PB's masterpiece "La Distinction," SM regrets that he did not go further in attempting to anchor it not only ethnographically, but above all anthropologically, as the formation of taste is a tributary of social thought. As Fernando Pessoa wrote, "the mask stuck to his face, and when he wanted to take it off he was old."

MFBA – When you quote our late colleague Moisés Sobrinho, I cannot help but remark on the effort we made at the time to reflect on Bourdieu and Moscovici, in those meetings of the Rio

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5. Ferrater Mora (1968) states that Leibniz (1646-1716) was a German thinker who focused on different areas, and was considered an eclectic philosopher, aspiring to be the heir of a "perennis philosophy." In this sense, his motto became known as: "Je ne méprise presque rien," meaning that nothing or almost nothing should be ignored; everything or almost everything can be integrated and harmonized.

Group[6] (RG), when you refer to him when introducing reflections on *reflexivity* (Jesuíno, 2022). Meetings held in seminars in Natal and Rio de Janeiro that resulted in productions organized by Abdalla, Domingos Sobrinho and Campos (2018), and Abdalla (2019). That was a precious time for collective reflection, and we counted on our dear friends, Moisés and Pedro Humberto, who are no longer with us, but who left us different and valuable contributions to continue our path... Dr. Jesuíno, given his words, the moments we experienced, and the positive memories that remain in our minds, and also considering Fernando Pessoa's poetic line, which you announced so well, I ask: How can Moscovici and Bourdieu still contribute to understanding what is happening in the world today? Could you reflect and let us reflect on this new geopolitics that is developing from neoliberal logic, and which is behind public policies aimed at both the global north and the global south? And I also ask, in view of this scenario, that you explain the importance of the notion of *reflexivity*, in Bourdieu, which you took up in a recent text (Jesuíno, 2022).

JCJ - Could SM and PB help us to gain a better understanding of our times? So, straight away, I would say yes. They are both recent thinkers who left us not long ago, they are both social scientists who did not just cultivate their own gardens, they are both intervener citizens, interested in their own current affairs and with relatively clear political and ideological options, somewhere in the center-left, not radicals. This is indeed one of the reasons for our interest in setting up confrontations, which attracted the group that Professor Abdalla helped to form and motivated us to publish a set of texts without fully exploring their potential. In my text "Paralelos" (Jesuíno, 2018), I aim to situate the confrontation within the realm of the sociology of science, an area to which both authors made significant but often overlooked contributions. This context is part of the traditional debate that traces its roots back to Popper and Kuhn, one that is now greatly attenuated or even forgotten. Being part of a Research Center dedicated to the Philosophy of Science gives me a place of observation, however superficial and limited it may be, allowing me to conclude that, today, the major problems that arise are, on the one hand, in the interdisciplinarity practices, and, on the other, within the limits of science and especially technoscience. More specifically, the ecological issue and the developments in the field of AI are the major challenges to which scientific communities, common sense, and political decision-makers are intricately linked, sharing the same ontic-epistemic uncertainties. Regarding the "natural question," using SM's formula, I am uncertain about the extent of our progress concerning the reflective insights this author foresaw, prompting him to label it as the central question of the

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6. When referring to the Rio Group (RG), these are the words of Dr. Jesuíno (2002, p. 25): "The Rio Group was named by the researchers who formed its first core: Jorge C. Jesuíno (Portugal), Maria de Fátima B. Abdalla, Moisés Domingos Sobrinho, Pedro Humberto F. Campos, Rita de Cássia P. Lima (Brazil), and Themistoklis Apostolidis (France). More recently, the Group added these researchers: Agustín Villarreal (Argentina), André Augusto Diniz Lira and Lúcia Villas Bôas (Brazil)."

new century. We were living in the 1970s back then. Above all, I am referring to the urgency in becoming aware of the issue, and not so much to the possible public policies to adopt to control technological hubris. The approach proposed by SM is part of his *active minorities theory*, which he not only studied in the laboratory, but also practiced as an activist, even running for municipal elections for that purpose. SM considered it essential to change his life and, to him, the best strategy was what he called working on the edges, that is, warning people locally to the harm caused by pollution and the need to adopt healthier and less polluting habits. To generate impact, it is crucial to engage in activism, which is effective when driven and sustained by internally cohesive minority groups. This involves adopting a contemporary, decisive, and consistent language, as well as embracing a shared identity or defending ethically justified causes, with the rhetoric of Human Rights serving as an example. Applying the formula to anomic groups, we will perhaps have the *modus faciendi* of terrorist groups, a modality that SM did not examine and to which the same praxical logic perhaps applies. The different movements we see today, from sexism to anti-racism, easily fit into the theoretical model SM proposed. As I see it, basically it is about introducing change, not from the majorities, that is, from the political elites, from the top down, rather through movements emerging in the public space and exerting pressure through social influence from the bottom up. Like his friend Alain Touraine, SM is not a party man, preferring the dynamics of social movements, which, in some way, explains why he became disconnected from the Greens, when the movement took-on a partisan character, moving from a strategy of margins to the games of the Center. Underlying the ecological issue, however, there is the question of positivity, that is, what scenario, albeit utopian, should we build? What possible world do we want to live in or, more specifically, what to do to avoid climate threats caused by the predatory action of nature by humans in their extractive fury? Answering this question is far from straightforward, as changing one's life, particularly when this means abandoning habits of comfort and security, is no easy feat. As President Bush (father) said: "The American way of life is non-negotiable." The socio-political debate, as well summarized by SM, opposes the liberal solution, which translates into investing more in technology - in terms of negotiation. What matters most is to increase the pie as a metaphor for energy, diversifying potentially less polluting sources; on the other hand, the socialist solution does not focus primarily on the size of the cake, that is, on energy needs, but on how both its benefits and risks are distributed. However, in ecological thinking, the question remains: Is the issue not so much about how we grow and distribute the cake, but rather, whether the recipe itself is tainted? SM is not, however, a pessimist. Faced with the Hobbesian chaos in which we currently find ourselves in terms of environmental risks, SM would not accept authoritarian, centralized solutions. His bet is pre-

-ideological, constructivist, decentralized, confident that the multiple identity activisms already constituted or that will be constituted, will contribute to leading not to the densification of chaos, but rather to overcoming it through the emergence of new forms of collective conviviality. To PB, as I understand it and as far as I know dealt little with environmental issues, this position close to rationalist anarchism shared by some philosophers of science, such as Popper, would not be acceptable. PB does not refuse ideological alignment and will, therefore, be closer to distributive socialism than integrative liberalism. Precisely, by not refusing ideologism, combined with a Pascalian epistemological scrupulousness, this leads him to introduce strict control of theoretical production through the exercise of *reflexivity*, theme that I address in the text that the Colleague generously refers to (Jesuíno, 2022). In this text, I refer to a passage from SM, which we could invoke as a reservation regarding the possibility of such a practice of cognitive activity, especially when we consider the third level of reflexivity, scholastic reflexivity, which, in BP's terminology, would consist of admitting as possible that the observer and the observed could coexist simultaneously - walking down the street and, at the same time, watching me from the window. This is, moreover, a central issue that Hofstadter (1979) examines in terms of Gödel's theorem, that is, the impossibility of a formal system validating itself. The attempt that PB makes to exemplify the application of reflexivity to his own autobiography does not seem to go beyond a superficial and complacent self-criticism and contrary to the little credit that PB gives to the biographical exercise. It will also come as no surprise that PB, unlike SM, assumes a less optimistic, perhaps even pessimistic, existential attitude when conceiving the social contract in terms of a model, in which majority influences and long-lasting mimetic convergences predominate, reinforced by mechanisms of reproduction through socialization at its successive levels. In the social logic of PB, power assumes a much more prominent role than in SM. Above all, power as *symbolic violence*, perhaps one of the most heuristic contributions that, to me, PB derives from the reading of Max Weber and Karl Marx. PB views symbolic violence as that which is exercised without being felt as such. Basically, it corresponds to legitimacy, the acceptance of norms and rules as almost natural. Daily practices that led to accepting that homosexuality was a crime or that women were not entitled to vote. *Habitus* it is made up of this complex of social norms and even bodily dispositions made automatic when they are naturally attracted to what will also be called the "zone of indifference." How, then, can social change take place? In other words, how is what many would call progress possible? Whether through economic, technological or just social means, or through a complex combination of such means, change will generally be incremental, but with regard to the delegitimization of apparently legitimate norms, the denunciation of symbolic violence, it will be hard to deny the role played by active minorities, if not even through the dis-

sent of just one, be it Solzhenitsyn (2017) or closer to us, Greta Thunberg, who courageously and persistently, for the first time, denounces what is wrong and calls for change, especially when this solitary voice starts being heard and followed.

MFBA – Based on what you just said, that is, the denunciation of symbolic violence and the role played by active minorities or the "dissent of one," whether by Solzhenitsyn (2017), or even Greta Thunberg, could you comment on the wars that are taking place in the world today, especially on genocide in the Gaza Strip and Israel in recent days? In this sense, I reproduce a phrase by Moscovici[7] (2011) that can make us think about the current situation of the wars that are imposed on us. It is as follows: "Credibility is, therefore, the main problem of domination" (Moscovici, 2011, p. 306). Could you remark on what you think about the beliefs that generate this type of violence? Why do we feel so helpless in the face of all this? Is there a way to alleviate this growing social suffering?

JCJ - I'm picking up our conversation now to discuss ongoing wars, particularly the conflict in Gaza, which has become increasingly significant. Today, December 7, 2023, two months after Hamas' terrorist attack on Israeli territory, causing around 1,400 deaths and 250 hostages. However, two months later, we have already witnessed the invasion of the Gaza Strip by the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) with occupation of the land, hundreds and hundreds of bombings, around 15,000 deaths, a brief three-day truce to exchange hostages for Palestinian prisoners in a ratio of 1 to 3, with the resumption of bombings in the Southern Zone of the Territory. I mention all of this briefly, without delving into great detail, focusing only on what has been covered in the information available to me. The topic remains relevant, prompting extensive discussions that often delve into a complex history reaching back to the First World War and the reorganization of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps the only positive aspect of this is that we are subtly forced to return to school benches and reopen the universal history textbook. But much of this effort is spared us by the work of commentators, some of whom well-informed academics that the media currently provides us with. The suspicious side is that much of this information is partial and biased, not helping to form a sufficiently clear picture of a situation, which, even without noise, appears biased and impossible from the outset. In one of the analyses I watched, English historians on the BBC summarized the conflict using the parable of a horse sold to two buyers, illustrating how the seller is removed from the inevitable unresolved conflict that arises from such a situation. The difference is that the horse, here, is a territory with an ancient history that is occupied by people in constant turmoil only inter-

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7. The phrase was taken from the book, translated into English with the title "The invention of society" (MOSCOVICI, 2011); in French, it is "La machiene à faire des dieux – Sociologie et Psyhchologie" (MOSCOVICI, 1988).

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rupted by a period of healthy coexistence despite the diversity of cultures and religious beliefs. Here, the horse in the parable is the territory of Palestine, the seller is England, the contract the Balfour Agreements, and the buyers are the Israelis and the Palestinians who, in part, already shared the same territory during the Ottoman period, even though the Jews in a very little significant percentage, a situation that would become progressively explosive after the end of the Second World War with the trauma of the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel. After several successive conflicts, wars and attempts at negotiation with a view to creating two states, which were obstructed by both parties and successively failed, we arrived at the current War in the Gaza Strip. The State of Israel has always been the winner and has therefore expanded its territorial domain and transformed the Palestinian People into an ethnic minority of refugees and stateless people divided among themselves. The Gaza strip is a narrow 30-km long, 11-km wide coastal strip where 2.5 million Palestinians live. Israel's superiority in economic and military terms and the US support it has always benefited from, as well as from the Western powers blamed for the anti-Semitism of which the Jews were victims for centuries, means that the imbalance between the parties is of the order of zero to infinity. From the former David, of the legend, Israel became Goliath, but a Goliath made invulnerable to the desperate stones of the Intifadas. The way I am summarizing things, the way I contextualize this War could already be interpreted as biased. And it is true that I tend to side with the weaker side, in this case, the Palestinians. Even when I was a teenager, I always wanted the Indians to win the wars in the Far West, although this rarely happened. In the American political areopagus, a provision was recently approved according to which it is now legal to consider that anti-Zionism is a variant of anti-Semitism. I was outraged when I read the news, but I can actually find some justice in this new interpretation. The Zionist movement is what led to the founding of a State for the Jewish Nation, a nation that throughout history had been condemned to have no history. It is not the sole instance, but it was the one that got the most attention. It is true, on the other hand, that not all Jews are Zionists and that many continue to be dispersed throughout the world and distance themselves from the path taken by the State of Israel in its 75 years of existence. From this perspective, it would be justified to distinguish Judaism from Zionism. But if we consider Zionism as the Jews' right to constitute themselves as a State, we can also understand that denying this right could be translated into discrimination and anti-Semitism. The political and legal question that arises is that of the possibility, in modern times, of starting from a nation and founding a state if by state what we mean is sovereignty exercised in a territory with well-defined borders. We come back to the analogy of the horse and the two buyers, but here the solution appears to be theoretically more intricate. Changing the metaphor, we could invoke the dilemma of Sofia, who

was forced to choose which of her two children could survive. If we examine the Maps of this Middle Eastern Region from the initial agreements to the present day, we can see how the initial division that allocated around half to each party was successively increased in favor of Israel, reducing the Palestinians to a minority and undesirable occupants. We are aware that responsibilities, let us refer to them as historical, are distributed among various parties. Only Israel got the formal recognition of the status of State, while the unclear figure of Authority was adopted for Palestine with a necessarily limited sovereignty, in addition to the internal divisions that occurred within its own community, giving rise to the emergence of the radical Hamas party, which governs in the Gaza Strip and is now at the heart of the problem. Hamas has been demonized and classified as a terrorist organization, but we forget that the founding fathers of Israel were themselves terrorists, just as we forget that terrorism appears in an extreme situation as a last resort for those desperate to make their cause visible. I recently watched an interview on TV with an American writer who lives in Israel, Nathan Thrall[8], who seemed to me to sum up the situation well in terms of its tragic and definitive aspects, leading me to have to accept as unavoidable that the reason of force always ends up winning the force of reason. In this case, as possibly in many others, the situation will, however, be much more difficult given that the asymmetry between reason and force will rarely be a zero-sum game. When we get into games of language, whose theme is domination, it makes perfect sense to use the quote from Serge Moscovici that my friend proposes. Allow me a little context here. The idea of associating credibility with domination is suggested within a reflection that SM makes in his work "La Machine a faire des Dieux" about four founding fathers of sociology – Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel, defending the subtle thesis that sociological rationality is always linked to psychological rationality. Max Weber is perhaps the sociologist who is closest to social psychology due to the role he attributes to subjectivity in legitimizing the powers of governance. Credibility means just that, in other words, it corresponds to the legitimization of power. The reading that SM proposes of Weber's argument is, however, very original. Weber distinguishes three types of legitimation - charismatic, traditional and legal rational. Weber's proposal is taxonomic, static and, as we well know, typologies are the zero degree of the theory. SM turns this classification into a genealogical process in which the three modalities are dynamically articulated in a narrative, and, in this narrative, the charismatic moment is what plays a decisive role in stabilizing social conflicts. Meanwhile, when exami-

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8. Nathan Thrall is an American author, essayist and journalist who lives in Jerusalem and authored the book "A Day in the Life of Abed Salama: Anatomy of a Jerusalem Tragedy," considered the best book of 2023 by several media, such as "The New Yorker," "The Economist," "Time," and "The Financial Tines", among others. Some of the interviews with this author are available at: https://www.google.com/search?q=interview+with_nathan_thrall_youtube&oq.

ning the charismatic relationship between leaders and followers in the previous work, "L'Âge des Foules" (Moscovici, 1985), SM attributes an irreducible - rationality or even irrationality - in the adhesion of the masses and in the phenomenon of widespread and consented obedience. Legitimation means this acceptance of power that distinguishes it from legality based on reason and expressed in law. A normal regime is one in which legality and legitimacy coincide. It is also one that tradition confirms, a tradition that somehow suppresses criticism, another observation that SM introduces and that may surprise or shock at an initial reading. But just remember that, for example, homosexuality as a reprehensible crime was once one of those truths that could not be discussed, one accepted as legitimate and non-negotiable. Social change, a theme, as we know, dear to SM, results from the voice of a minority, sometimes just one, who denounces the absurdity of such dogmas and manages to initiate the process of delegitimization which, when successful, leads to a rational change in the law. Social change will not always take place from these ascending processes of minority paths that we could designate as low-intensity charismatic moments. History brings us examples of changes of a more catastrophic and metamorphic nature, in which high-intensity revolutionary charisma recovers the order put into question by the struggle of all against all. Serge Moscovici's (2011) reading seems very consistent to me, and his concept of legitimacy as credibility is close to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, which the Professor knows well and about which we have already talked a lot.

MFBA – I agree with what you said, Dr. Jesuíno. I would like to highlight at least two of the points you addressed in what you said. The first has to do with the issue of *conflicts* that end up changing the global socio-political scenario through a *violence* that is not just symbolic, but physical, as we are witnessing. And, with that, think about what Moscovici (2011, p. 100-115) taught us about the *conflict* as "the crucial point of change," and, at the same time, "what gives rise to uncertainty" (p. 108). And the second point you mentioned, when talking about the concept of *legitimacy as credibility*, and which is close to Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic violence*. I also understand these intertwined notions, especially when Bourdieu (2014) reflects on *power relations*, stating that they revolve around *belief and obedience*, and determine and thicken *symbolic violence* (and even physics, as we observe not only in these wars, but also in different everyday situations). He says these relationships are established through communication and meaning relations for the subjects in interaction, thus defining their social space of dominant and dominated: "Since *power relations* are inseparable from *communication and meaning relations*, the dominated is also someone who knows and recognizes" (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 228, translation and emphasis added). This act of knowing and recognizing triggers what Bourdieu (2014) calls "acts of submission and obedience," which, as such, explains the author, "[...] activate cognitive structures of

perception, perception schemes, principles of vision and division, all a set of things that the neo-Kantian tradition puts in the foreground" (p. 229, our translation). What are your thoughts on this, Professor?

JCJ - We could go further and suggest that power, always ultimately sustained by force, tends to sublimate itself in the more subtle modalities of persuasive influence or cultural tradition that reinforces and comforts community identification. We return to Gaza. To what extent can we use this conceptual architecture to gain a better understanding of what is going on there? Let us face it, it will not be easy. How do the narratives of legitimacy and legality relate to beliefs based on reason and beliefs that have little to do with reason? How does reason operate in this story, Hegel would ask? To further complicate the picture, we are in the presence of communities founded on religion, contributing to the emergence of charismatic leaders who are more totemic than mosaics, to use another heuristic distinction SM introduced. In other words, among leaders who appeal more to reason than force - totemic images; and the leaders who, in turn, appeal more to the strength of reason, that is, to the reasonableness of the models they propose. I am not optimistic regarding the future of Humanity. On the one hand, I highlight the enormous advancement that science and technology have offered us, ensuring incomparably better living conditions; however, on the other, the same cannot be said with regard to social contracts, opening up to a globally fairer and more balanced world. But I recognize that there are authors, and I am thinking of the psychologist, now philosopher Steven Pinker (2012), who defends numbers to support that we live in an increasingly less violent world and that we could achieve the famous perpetual peace aspired by Kant. However, I have a hard time accepting that this is the case, simply considering military budgets, which leads me to accept the cynical inversion of Clausewitz's formula[9] (1984), that is, that politics is nothing more than the continuation of war by other means.

MFBA **–** Now with regard to educational policies, Professor, to you, what are the main aspects of the educational policies in Portugal? Are they different from those in place when you were a student or a young teacher? Could you mention a few aspects that you consider important?

JCJ - Educational policies in Portugal are currently aligned with the European ones, an orientation that was accentuated with the adherence to the so-called Bologna

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9. For further clarification, refer to "On War," by Carl von Clausewitz (1984), in particular, the introductory essay by Peter Paret, who, when commenting on the 1984 edition of "The Genesis of War," remarks briefly on Clausewitz's famous phrase: "War is not an independent phenomenon, but the continuation of politics through different means. Thus, the main lines of every major strategic plan are *largely political in nature*, and its political character increases as the plan applies to the entire campaign and the entire State" (p. 6, author's emphasis). Available at https://www.academia.edu/13807240/Da_guerra_carl_von_clausewitz. Visited on: Feb. 02, 2024.

Treaty or Process, signed by 29 countries in 1999, as an initiative to unify higher education systems throughout the European bloc, creating the so-called European Higher Education Space. When the treaty was signed, a lot of criticism was raised due to the fear of lowering the levels of requirements. The system introduced three levels in HE, which were designated 3:2:3, that is, a first degree level (e.g., bachelor's degree) of three years, a second master's level of two years, and a third level of doctorate of three years. The ES system is, on the other hand, dual, also operating Polytechnic Institutes that, initially, only gave access to the bachelor's degree and, currently, also to the doctoral degree. The history of the Higher Institute of Business and Labor Science (ISCTE), my former workplace, was marked by turbulence. Established in 1972 during the reform at the end of the regime, the Higher Institute of Business and Labor Science (ISCTE) started as part of the New University of Lisbon, which was also founded on the same date. However, due to the disruptions caused by the April Revolution of 1974, ISCTE was later excluded from the university. It acquired the unusual and distinctive status of non-integrated higher education, meaning it had no oversight from any university or polytechnic institution, and instead was directly dependent on the Ministry of Higher Education. The situation was adjusted over these five decades and, today, ISCTE has the status of the University Institute of Lisbon (UIL), it is attended by more than 10,000 students and offers quality courses in management sciences, social sciences and technologies. When the Bologna Treaty was signed, I was already a university professor at ISCTE, and like many others, I was concerned that the new system might lead to a widespread increase in higher education enrollment, potentially resulting in a decline in quality. Indeed, I observed a significant decrease in the standards for both master's and doctoral examinations. However, I now find myself questioning whether this was a mistake. On the contrary, and from the point of view of the competitive and meritocratic system that governs us, the reform ended up proving to be a success and an important step toward globalization. Not that the previous system I knew was less meritocratic, but, given the more restrictive policies, it ended up reducing the recruitment base. Portugal was the victim of a regime called Estado Novo (New State), which lasted almost half a century and was only overthrown with the April Revolution, in 1974, that is, fifty years ago. Today we can say that we have had more time with democracy than we had with dictatorship. But, in terms of education policies, the legacy of the Estado Novo was very heavy. The regime never encouraged education, the illiteracy levels ranked us at the bottom of Europe, a situation that only began to change at the end of the regime with successive reforms of education, both at the basic and at the secondary and higher levels. Currently, basic education is free, mandatory, and involves three cycles. The first cycle lasts four years, the second two, and the third cycle three. At the end of basic education, students are teenagers between

12 and 15 years old. Secondary education is also mandatory, organized in a three-year cycle, and essentially aims to provide access to higher education. This whole system is quite different from what I knew when I was a student, starting from what we used to call primary education, which lasted 4 years, high school, which lasted 7 years, and, finally, University, where undergraduate degrees were earned and doctorates rare. At the secondary level, there were professional schools, the so-called Middle Schools, which lasted 5 years. Education in Portugal is mainly public, a right ensured by the Constitution. During the old regime, when supply was restricted, there were only three exclusively public universities. Today, there are twelve public universities and four private ones. Private education was previously restricted to secondary education and was elitist, a tradition that continues today. The prevailing notion is that private education offers better quality at the secondary level, whereas at the higher education level, the situation is reversed. Currently, public secondary teachers have shown their discontent through consecutive strikes and demonstrations given the working conditions and, above all, their low salaries. I am greatly simplifying the issue, but there is no point in multiplying tedious details. However, I can briefly add that Portugal can be considered a success story, in terms of educational policies, if to this end we adopt the criterion of statistical indicators in a benchmarking logic. Allow me to point out that, between the years 2000 and 2022, the population between 20 and 34 years old holding a higher education degree rose from 11.1 percent (one of the lowest in the European Union) to 43 percent, above the European average; the school dropout rate slipped from 43.7 percent (the highest in the EU) to 6 percent (one of the lowest). Progress is also notable in terms of the DI, with expenditure on GDP rising from 0.1 percent to 1.73 percent, an increase that ranks Portugal above all nations in Southern Europe. But allow me to insist on denouncing the economistic criterion adopted as the only thought to evaluate education and which attributes so much importance to the underlying assessment practices, both to the rankings of Institutions, as well as individual PISA-type performances. I may have consistently reacted to the meritocratic practices that form the foundation of our educational system, which are distorted by inequality from the very beginning, as Bourdieu and Passeron (2014) aptly pointed out. Even if this were not the case, it would not diminish the accentuation of inequalities, which, if not present from the outset, certainly manifest upon arrival, thus reinforcing the perversity of homo hierarchicus, as already denounced by Max Weber. But although preferring, at least in theory, the extreme utopias of an Ivan Illych – in a society without school – and having no alternative left, I ended up collaborating with the system, realizing, however, and once again I resort to Bourdieu, that assessments are by no means what teachers of any level appreciate most, as it is a symbolic violence that is reluctantly accepted as a necessary evil. Furthermore, the tendency to externa-

lize assessment systems in this way seems to be gaining strength, freeing the teaching function from this burden and, thus, allowing it to dedicate itself to its most enriching function.

Finally, I cannot fail to mention the revolution that I was able to witness and even participate in with the advent of digitalization, which profoundly changed pedagogical practices, even leading to the question that entered the debate regarding the future of the role and usefulness of teachers, particularly at the higher education level. This was an inconceivable question when I was a student and even throughout my teaching career. And after leaving, I now observe as an astonished spectator the surprises that the generalization of AI brings us.

MFBA – Based on your observations, I would like to return to one of your texts, dated 2014, in which you discuss that "Being a teacher is not easy." And, right in the summary of this text, you instigate us when saying: "The teaching practice depends both on its dispositional characteristics and situational constraints, as well as on the systemic factors of pedagogical policies and cultures" (Jesuíno, 2014, p. 29). Could you explain that better? Do you remember any episode in your school and/or professional life that was memorable and that somehow influenced your professional choices and decisions? And, in this sense, how have pedagogical policies and cultures influenced your approach as a teacher and researcher?

JCJ - The text you refer to - "Being a teacher is not easy" - which is a few years old, is a chapter from a book published by colleague Susana Caldeira, from the University of the Azores, dedicated to issues of discipline and, especially, indiscipline in schools. My idea was to somehow pay homage to the difficult task of teaching and, more than teaching, training, which is mainly the responsibility of teachers at the primary and secondary levels. In higher education, this task is much simpler given the lower levels of attention and, above all, the somewhat arrogant attitude of university students that leads them to believe that at the University there is no teaching, just learning. It is true that with massification, we are now faced with less abrupt transitions, in addition to the fact that adulthood tends to begin later, and hence the first years of degrees sometimes resemble extensions of secondary education, not always assuming the alarming proportions that we see described in literature and cinema. In my experience, and starting with myself, as we get older we tend to dedicate ourselves exclusively to master's and doctoral courses and to avoid undergraduate education and, above all, the first years. In my text, I seek to discuss teaching within the framework of the social psychology of leadership, and I resort to Kurt Lewin, who to me seems to still be current, despite the eight decades that have passed since his pioneering experiences. We could argue that experimental social psychology found its paradigmatic model in the classroom, where the students became experimental subjects and experimental mani-

pulation is conducted through a complicit teacher. Kurt Lewin, a German Jew exiled in the USA in the 1930s, was interested in denouncing the authoritarianism that became widespread in European fascism, opposing it to the virtues of democracy, not to be confused, however, with the neoliberal anarchy that, at the time was designated as *laissez-faire*. The German scientist believed the classroom was a microcosm where different communication dynamics could be rehearsed in the exercise of power and influence. The results of the experiments he conducted, together with his collaborators Ronald Lippit and Ralph K. White, would lay the foundations of *group dynamics*, of which the classroom is one modality. Moreover, these results clearly indicate that democratic practices in schools, as a relational approach, are not inferior in terms of productivity. They offer the additional invaluable advantage of fostering freedom, and, through it, the capacity to make questions and find new solutions. Even today, for example, we can follow the criticisms directed at Confucian methods that deify the teacher as being an obstacle to the ability to go beyond the work of imitation, however efficient and perfect. Given the experience I had the opportunity to have, for several years, with Chinese students, both in Macau and Guangzhou, and also as a supervisor of master's and doctoral theses, I would not be so extreme as to consider that Easterners limit themselves to imitating and are incapable of innovating. All of this had already been announced in Kurt Lewin's experiments in the 1930s. The text concludes here, but we can certainly delve deeper into further framing and exploring these concepts. As my colleague would concur, it is worthwhile to elaborate on what I understand by "systemic policy factors and pedagogical cultures," a topic I merely mentioned earlier. We can apply the reflective path, which Pierre Bourdieu called for (2022), and examine the paradigm of group dynamics in a broader context, that is, in the context of the philosophical pragmatism of John Dewey and William James, which Kurt Lewin came to find in the American university and which he would somehow adopt. There is a change, a transition, from the previous genetic paradigm of "force fields" to the functionalist paradigm of the effects and consequences of behaviors and agents. I have already previously referred to these different epistemic models to discuss the phenomenon of leadership, and it is no less credit to Kurt Lewin for having shown how it is possible to move in both, without contradiction, rather, at best, complementarity. It will also be the case of Serge Moscovici, as I have already suggested, equally agile in changing paradigms, depending on the nature of the issue he addresses, a sort of methodological *polyphasia*. The functionalist paradigm somehow translates into a reduction of pedagogy to didactics, to the identification of techniques that translate into better results in conveying knowledge and skills. Its emphasis is strongly cognitivist and algorithmic, putting values and ideologies in brackets. Nicolas Condorcet, meanwhile, advocated that public education should be limited to instructing,

that is, teaching factual truths, with neutral methods, and never "to educate," that is, to discuss what a good life or values are. We know, however, that this requirement of neutrality is illusory, since values are unavoidable, no matter how hard we try to ignore them, or put them in brackets. And, even in the case of advocating the democratic path in Lewin's functional paradigm, it is not a question of opening the discussion to all horizons, but only in the strict and internal domain of positivities. These issues, in their apparently abstract apparatus, currently gain particular relevance due to the hegemony of cognitivism, which threatens to save any axiological mediation. I may be dramatizing; I should recognize that we have not yet reached such an extreme and that the simple fact of recognizing it as possible could help to avoid it. Here I follow Jean-Pierre Dupuy's idea of "enlightened catastrophism," in a certain way similar to Blaise Pascal's wager, in other words, that it is always advisable to believe in God. Just as it is always advisable not to give in to *nihilism* and to cynicism by continuing to try to find lines of escape and corrective devices, however provisional. And, in this aspect, the reflexivity that invites us to contextualize and relativize is the same that led Serge Moscovici to show us that minorities in Asch's laboratory become majorities, once the windows and doors of the black box were removed to be situated in the ecological game of the contexts that guide us, and we return to the classroom, from the room to the school, from the school to the city, from the city to the Nation, on the synchronic plane, but equally on the no less abysmal plane of diachrony. In this last aspect, I turn to the challenge it poses to me, to talk about my own experience, the reasons that conditioned my professional choices and, also, the effects policies and pedagogical improvements had on my teaching practices. The furthest I can go back in memory puts me in Lisbon, in 1940, in a public school watching a schoolmaster who, in front of us, humiliated a poor student by banging his head on the blackboard, shouting "learn, stupid, learn!" The child did not cry, did not react, which amazed me no less at the time, as it still does, as the scene was recorded as a "lightning memory" (FBM) and that today would hardly be possible in the cultural context in which we live. The school has long ceased to be the disciplinary institution that authors such as Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault described so well. I retain this retrospective look to convince myself that the concept of progress, even in the domain of values and the presumption of dignity, makes some sense. I do not have many exemplary memories from my time at high school and, later, both at the Naval School and at the University, but only those of some rare charismatic master mentors who shall remain with me forever. This is the case of my mathematics teacher - Nicodemos de Sousa Pereira, who I followed during my seven years in high school, or my Physical Education Master, José Esteves, in my final years, who taught us citizenship, and with whom I remained in contact at annual lunches until he died at the age of 93. From the University I remember above all the

Jesuit Father Manuel Antunes, who left good work, or even the Spaniard Oswald Market to whom I owe my transition to adulthood in the teaching of philosophy and at the university, in Lisbon, in 1963. The political and cultural context in which I lived the first half of my life, subjected as we all were to deliberate atypical mediocrity, did not help and only encouraged a clandestine self-education with consequences and traumas from which I never totally freed myself and which could somehow explain many of the limitations in the work I came to do. It was especially in the second part of my journey that doors opened to social sciences and to contemporary philosophy in my country, and where I entered, belatedly, compensating for the shortcomings of insufficient preparation, now as an adult motivated and reacting to an insatiable curiosity, but not always free from dilettantism. In any case, I consider that my passage through philosophy was beneficial, no matter how superficial and mediocre the training offered was, as it always helped me not to forget that it is the matrix from which social sciences sought to emancipate themselves, and which they succeed in doing to a greater extent the more they distanced themselves from this matrix. I tried to follow precisely the opposite path and hence, largely, the epistemological wager based on an interdisciplinarity that is more dialogical than dialectical; however, it remains to be seen whether such a discourse will have a minimum of illocutionary force.

MFBA - Dr. Jesuíno, now aiming to discuss pedagogical and school cultures, not long ago we read in a newspaper article[10] that "Brazilians decide to return after their children were mistreated in schools in Portugal." What is your opinion on "physical and psychological abuse" against children, especially when it is in a School and in current times? How can foreign children be welcomed and integrated into the school and country culture? How to deal with cases of symbolic and even physical violence? What is behind xenophobic acts?

JCJ - The questions you ask me about Brazilian families residing in Portugal returning to Brazil due to their children being mistreated in classrooms, are in the realm of the conversation we are having about pedagogical policies. We seem to be returning, to my great surprise, to the picture I described previously of the primary teacher humiliating a child who was probably more rebellious than inattentive or less gifted. Perhaps, in this case of Brazilian children, the aggression is more verbal than physical, but the situation would be similar. This is another example where we cannot separate the school from its context, particularly from a very current context that differs from what I experienced in this country in the 1940s. At that time, there wasn't yet a multiethnic population, nor were there racist issues stemming from it. I recall that during my seven years of high school, I only had two black classmates in different years. Our in-

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10. This article is available at https://tab.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2023/11/01/os-castigos-e-maus-tratos-a-brasileiros-nas-escolas-de-portugal.htm.

teractions were normal, but I was aware of the difficulties they faced getting to school. They often complained about being harassed, particularly by teenagers similar to them whom they encountered along the way. Among us, although they were part of the family, they were typical examples of what the literature describes in terms of "tokenism" (single copy). The article mentioned by my colleague, published primarily in the Brazilian media but also in Portuguese outlets, and extensively documented in videos with direct testimonies, although possibly exaggerated, serves an important purpose. If the claims are true, they deserve attention due to the seriousness of the issues raised. The article's warning is expected to contribute to correcting undesirable situations. I do not believe, however, that one can hope to believe that corrections will be made swiftly, given the extent of the issue, and that schools are just one among other symptoms of social disagreements of which modern times are filled. To provide some context, I would like to mention the recently published annual report of the Observatory of Migrations. According to this report, the number of Brazilian immigrants is 239,774. It must be acknowledged that if undocumented immigrants are included, however, the figure reaches approximately 400,000. It should be noted that, in 2005, that is, less than 20 years ago, the number of Brazilian immigrants was 47,284, so there was an almost exponential surge. Like the Portuguese, Brazilians tend to emigrate, with one percent of the Brazilian population living outside their country. The choice of Portugal as a destination has been interpreted in part as an entry into Europe in addition to ease of language combined with myth, says Eduardo Lourenço, from the *Portuguese-Brazilian community*, hiding a problematic and, above all, overly complex relationship. Returning to the initial topic, it is worth noting that there are currently 75,000 Brazilian children enrolled in Portuguese schools. Here, "children" are, officially, students in basic and secondary education aged up to 18 years. The complaints of parents which have, in some cases, led them to return to Brazil - those who had decided to emigrate because they thought they would find better conditions here, particularly greater security and better education - consist of mistreatment that can go to the extreme of physical attacks, not only from colleagues, but even from employees or teachers, as well as the predictable verbal racist and xenophobic insults that are still denied in Portugal despite all available evidence. However, there is no shortage of studies that clearly show that there is racism among us, although in the "image hierarchy," Brazil holds a less stigmatized position, at least when compared to black people and, especially, gypsies, who are of all ethnicities and are rejected the most. Allow me, Dear Colleague, to mention what our late colleague Celso de Sá told me, without any acrimony and with his usual sense of humor, that on one of his visits to Portugal, upon arriving at the Lisbon airport and taking a taxi, the driver exclaimed discouraged: "Look, another Brazilian!" And that was in 1997. Of course, we are not encouraged by

receptions of the sort. And I must say that in the dozens of visits I made to Brazil, from North to South, I never felt like I was a victim of any hostility. It may be, however, that the academic environment is rarefied, as we have abundant evidence of stereotypical reciprocal images of resentful brothers who both respect and detest each other. The case of Brazilian children in Portuguese schools raises several questions. A brief consultation of Brazilian legislation, and assuming that it is complied with, suggests a higher level of demand when compared to the Portuguese counterpart, particularly with regard to tolerance and bodily punishment. From this perspective, it would be desirable to have greater alignment between Portuguese criminal law and Brazilian criminal law. It is true that the statements I refer to are almost entirely Brazilian without contradiction. I have no studies available that report the Portuguese schools' sensitivity to the Brazilian students' performance. Personally, the experience I have at the university level is the best possible, particularly at the master's level in the field of communication sciences, where I have met students, especially Brazilian ones, of exceptional caliber. On the other hand, I was surprised that they are limited to the relational context and not to curricular aspects, to the quality of teaching. I remember a documentary I saw, at the turn of the century, about immigrants from Eastern European countries who at that time were immigrating *en masse* to Portugal - figures similar to those of the current Brazilian ones, where families interviewed reported wonders about the country that welcomed them, except for the education of their children, which they considered to be of very low quality when compared to the level practiced in their countries of origin. The widespread dissemination of this documentary was traumatic for us at the time, contributing to reinforcing our inferiority complex whenever comparisons of this nature are made at the European level. Participation in the international PISA tests has certainly been helpful in recovering national self-esteem and reinforcing confidence in the progress observed, as I have already mentioned. Among a few possible factors that could explain the complaints, language difficulties could play a role, since although the lexicon is the same, both phonetics and semantics are significantly different and may harm communication. Here, language works as a reflex stimulus, just like skin color for our eyes. Phonetics is an immediate revealer, as is the case with the Spanish spoken by South Americans or English by Americans. The Portuguese, like the Spanish or the British, tend to consider themselves the owners of "their" language, to nationalize it, condemning any deviation or freedom made in it, an intolerance of difference and a rejection of the very logic of the dynamism of language, as something that evolves from those who use it, their speakers. Today, the Portuguese language is spoken by 200 million Brazilians, around 50 million citizens of Portuguese-speaking African countries (palop), and by 10 million Portuguese. It is therefore no surprise that language, especially spoken language and not so much written language, is subject to

an increasingly accentuated dynamic, one that is spontaneous and resistant to any attempt at agreement. However, written language, especially that of an academic nature, tends to be more uniform and disciplined. Nowadays, when reading scientific texts, as well as essays and translations, I find it difficult to identify the national origin of the texts, something that was not so 50 years ago. I cannot say the same about the "spoken Brazilian," in which my experience varies a lot from North to South of Brazil and which I do not always follow as easily, nor am I understood when I speak. I recall an incident at an International Congress in João Pessoa, where there was simultaneous translation. During my presentation in Portuguese, the interpreter asked me to speak in French because it was easier for her to then translate into "Brazilian." From that point on, I became more attentive and began to realize that, perhaps due to a deficiency in my diction, much of what I said was not understood by my Brazilian colleagues. Out of politeness, they did not ask me to repeat myself, but the same thing happened in the opposite direction. In sum, I must confess that I do not know how to answer the question you ask me about how to integrate foreign children into the school culture of the host country, especially when the cases number in the thousands as they currently do. The problem is part of the broader issue of integration versus multiculturalism, that is, between assimilationist systems or separate developments or some combination yet to be invented that combines the best of both worlds. While in Portugal there are French, German and English schools, generally elitist and difficult to gain access to, why not Brazilian schools, with Brazilian teachers, with Brazilian curricula open to Portuguese who want to attend them?

MFBA - From this standpoint, the same applies to student immigration, especially concerning the internationalization process of universities. In the case of Brazil, students often undergo different and sometimes challenging paths to integration and assimilation in Portugal as the host country. And some studies and/or texts (Freixo, 2010; Merçon, 2020; Merçon, Martins; Santos, 2022, among others) are currently reflecting on the meaning of the social space of Lusophony[11] and social representations, which permeate the interrelationships of Brazilian students, for example, in Portuguese universities. This reminds us of at least two works by Gilberto Freyre: "Casa Grande e Senzala" (The Masters and the Slaves) (2003), and the "Mundo que o Português criou" (The World the Portuguese created) (2010). Could you comment on this?

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11. In particular, with the Brazilian participation in the process that culminated in the creation of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), in July 1996. However, the Brazilian administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) opted, as Freixo (2010) points out, to establish bilateral relations with some CPLP countries, in particular Portugal and Angola, and not for a community space for relations as was desirable at the time. Which can make clear, as Freixo (2010, p. 74) again points out, "[...] that the discourse of Lusophony is essentially a Portuguese construction and that for this reason it only achieved an effective resonance within Portuguese society, having not found an echo or finding it only partially in Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking countries."

JCJ - We are now confronted with the challenging question of reciprocal images between Brazilians and Portuguese, a topic that the Professor kindly introduced to me. This subject has become increasingly interesting to social scientists in recent years, not only those from our countries. In our case, considering the language and four hundred years of common history, while on the one hand they bring us closer together, on the other hand, they have also given rise to many conflicts and misunderstandings that time tends to make more complex. I will use an example that we could consider as a case study. It is a song composed and sung by Chico Buarque de Holanda, a renowned artist, titled "Tropical Fado." The song became extremely popular in Portugal when it was first introduced here in 1974, during the peak of our Revolution that overthrew the dictatorial regime and initiated decolonization in the African Colonies. The two verses of the song that touched us at the time said:

> *Oh! This land will still fulfill its ideal*
> *It will still become an immense Portugal*

Many of us somehow thought it was a tribute to the Portuguese Revolution and that "immense Portugal" referred to the prospects for liberation of oppressed countries by following the same example as Brazil itself. Keep in mind that, at the time, Brazil was still under the rule of a military dictatorship from which it would only free itself years later. In a way, it was also a brotherly country through the voice of one of its most distinguished bards, celebrating the Portuguese movement and feeling legitimate pride in belonging to the Portuguese-speaking community. However, not everyone shared this understanding. The album arrived in Portugal a few months before the Revolution got underway and, based on what I read in a 2002 thesis by Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, called "Ecos do Atlântico Sul" (Echoes of the South Atlantic), in its last lines: "When Chico Buarque's album arrived in Portugal, a famous Salazarian host on Portuguese television broke his copies with a hammer, one by one. The Nation could not bear the violence revealed in the poem." What did the poem actually convey beyond the stanzas that would later become the refrain of our April 25th? The poem is long, but perhaps the most problematic passage says:

> *Oh! This land will yet fulfill its ideal!*
> *It will yet become an immense Portugal!*
> *You know, deep down I'm a sentimentalist...*
> *We all inherit Portuguese blood*
> *A good dose of lyricism*
> *(Apart from syphilis, of course);*
> *Even when my hands are busy grinding*
> *Choking, slaughtering*
> *My heart closes its eyes*
> *And, honestly, cries.*

Maria de Fátima Barbosa Abdalla

The poem from which I extracted this excerpt was written by Ruy Guerra, a Mozambican poet whose voice intertwines with that of Chico Buarque, enhancing the Portuguese accent. The poem is part of an opera composed by both, called "Calabar, o elogio da traição" (Calabar, the praise of betrayal), completed in 1973. It was banned by the military regime and would only be shown six years later, in 1979. However, although censored the songs were released, as would be the case with "Besides syphilis of course." Who was Calabar, to whom the opera was dedicated? Domingos Fernandes Calabar was a wealthy 17th century mulatto, more precisely from the year 1647, and in Brazil there was war, a war of uprising in Pernambuco against the rule of the Dutch, who were opposed by a coalition of Portuguese forces commanded by Mathias de Albuquerque, Count of Alegrete, and local Portuguese-Brazilians, meaning the Portuguese born in Brazil and already holding an identity that would be the basis of their future independence. Those were difficult times, Portugal under the Spanish crown from which it had only become independent a little earlier, in 1640. Times when a figure like Father António Vieira recommended that Pernambuco be sold to the Dutch. In fact, there was not a unanimous agreement to maintain the unity of the Brazilian territory. This raises questions about figures like Calabar, an influential merchant who allied himself with the Dutch, prompting debate over whether or not he was a traitor. To a few counter-factual lines even today, Brazil would have had an advantage had history been different. In the opera by Ruy Guerra and Chico Buarque, the choice was to criticize the contemporary military dictatorship itself, using a real historical episode where the villain is portrayed more as the Portuguese colonizer than the alleged "traitor" Calabar, who the opera turns into a hero. The voice that sings the verses of the tropical fado in the opera is that of Mathias Albuquerque, the voice of the executioner who dreams of a "colonial empire," another stanza rhyming with "immense Portugal." He is also the one who confesses to crying, when tortured, which introduces another level of interpretative complexity as there seems to be a possible allusion to Luso-Tropicalism, sentimentality or cordiality that the historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda so clearly deconstructs. Fifty years have passed, yet "Fado Tropical" has remained among us, leaving its mark. Months ago, in April 2023, we were visited by Brazilian President Lula da Silva, recently inaugurated at the time, and, as I read in the press, Portuguese President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa at the official dinner sang the two illusory celebratory verses of "Tropical Fado." At best we return to the naivety that ignores or pretends to ignore the different semiotic layers of this complex narrative. In the past 50 years, geopolitics has evolved rapidly and significantly. Studies from two to three decades ago on the *Portuguese-Brazilian community* have quickly lost their relevance. However, we may question whether, in different forms, the ambiguity and ambivalence that always saturate our reciprocal images will resurface, giving

new nuances to our "Tropical Fado." The image of the dull and stingy Portuguese on Brazilian soil may be more distant today, yet it continues to be recalled in literature and in the diffuse social memory. Meanwhile, Portugal now welcomes Brazilian migrants, which some estimates put, as I already mentioned, at 400,000, including legal and illegal ones, a significant percentage for an aging and decreasing population like the Portuguese. In 1996, at the initiative of the Brazilian ambassador in Portugal, José Aparecido de Oliveira, and likely greatly encouraged by the Portuguese scholar José Agostinho da Silva, who lived in Brazil for many years and left a legacy of work there, the Community of Portuguese Language Peoples (CPLP) was launched. However, its contours and future are still in an early stage of development. Furthermore, Portugal, upon joining the European Union in 1986, lost much of its political autonomy, becoming, on the other hand, a reason of political and economic interest that could somehow justify the increase in migration. Today, we have an academic literature on the Portuguese-Brazilian partnership that has enabled us to delve deeper into the reading of not only our shared history but, above all, into decoding the ever-changing social representations circulating at the interface of our communities. These representations are increasingly mediated by the spirit of the times. I am pleased to quote here Portuguese authors such as Miguel Vale de Almeida, Cristiana Bastos, Valentim Alexandre, as well as Brazilian authors such as Bela Feldman - Bianco, Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, Igor Renó Machado, Lilia Schwarcz, and I am only mentioning the ones I know best, at the risk of being unfair to all of them, to whom I owe a lot for the help I got to form a more informed idea of the complexity that connects our two countries.

MFBA - Dr. Jesuíno, what projects have you been undertaking? Could you tell us a little about what you are researching and doing? And what is your opinion on the place of "social representations in changing societies," or better, in your own words: "what are the future developments of the paradigm of social representations in the interdisciplinary framework of an increasingly interdisciplinary social psychology" (Jesuíno, Mendes; Lopes, 2015, p. 11)?

JCJ - About twenty-five years ago, at the initiative of the late Celso de Sá, I participated in a study that involved an interdisciplinary group of Brazilian and Portuguese colleagues regarding the social memory of the discovery of Brazil, in 1500, by Pedro Alvares Cabral. We organized meetings in both Brazil and Portugal and published a book summarizing the various communications. It became clear to us, at that point, that our social memories did not match. While for the Portuguese it is always the adventure of the journey that emerges on the periphery of associations, for Brazilians it is the trauma of occupation that prevails, the arrival of the Other to change forever, and not necessarily for the better, the ecological architecture of those spaces and those

times. We Portuguese, and I include myself on the list, find it difficult to admit that we have only spread death and destruction throughout our 500 years spread across peripheral pseudo-empires. Reading Gilberto Freyre and, in fact, Hegel, makes some sense to us, although we easily recognize how fragile the argument is. Eduardo Lourenço[12] had the same realization when he acknowledged that exposing such weaknesses requires a second, if not successive, reading. This process gives the illusion that we have made progress through the labyrinth, only to discover that we have never truly left it. It is in it, however, that as a Sisyphus I will continue on my path in what will be the rest of my days.

In a way, your words, Dr. Jesuíno, helped guide us through this labyrinth of life, much like "Ariadne's thread," so that we could better understand the various themes that intersect in our lives, thus humanizing our journey. In this "same labyrinth," we must journey and return to ourselves, feeling the strength and warmth of unity as we face these challenges together. It is through this unity that we can make education a field that enchants the world.

Once again, thank you very much, Dr. Jesuíno, for sharing your life experiences and for us being together again!

Santos, March 11, 2024.

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12. Eduardo Lourenço de Faria (1923-2020) was an important Portuguese philosopher, essayist, literary critic and public intellectual, who has, as one of his best-known books "O labirinto da saudade: psicanálise mítica do povo português" (The labyrinth of nostalgia: mythical psychoanalysis) (Lourenço, 1992), published in the seventies, a few years after the Carnation Revolution. This is an author who lived in Bahia as a guest professor at the College of Philosophy of the University of Bahia, between 1958 and 1959, whose ideas on the "Portuguese cultural identity" are the best, and who reflects on the challenges of the period of globalization, without disregarding the Portugal-Brazil relations, such as Gilberto Freyre (2003, 2010). To reflect on Eduardo Lourenço and the Brazilian culture, we suggest reading "Eduardo Lourenço's challenge to the Brazilian culture," texts written by Boto and Cruzeiro, in Jornal da USP, on February 3, 2021, shortly after the death of this author. Available at: https://jornal.usp.br/artigos/o-desafio-de-eduardo-lourenco-a-cultura-brasileira/. Visited on: February 06, 2004