

## Chapter 11 – Memory as a thing of the past and future: the power of naming and collective memory

Yasmine Hamdi Izoa

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## CHAPTER 11

# Memory as a thing of the past and future: the power of naming and collective memory

*Yasmine Hamdi Loza\**

*Memory doesn't remember but receives the history raining down on it. Is it in this way that beauty, past beauty come back to life in a song not suited to the context of the hour, becomes tragic? A homeland, branded and collapsing in the dialogue of human will against steel; a homeland, rising with a voice that looks down on us from the sky—a unique voice that unites what can't be united and brings together what can't be brought together. Speech has run far, far away. It has taken its words and flown. This voice is not the voice of our torture, not the voice of madness.*

Mahmoud Darwish (1995)

## Introduction

The aim in this chapter is to explore the continuous perpetuation or construction of memory through power structures that influence and shape social consciousness and action, with particular focus on Egypt. In a postcolonial governmental era and a world of increasing political, social and economic disparities, the inequalities, discriminations and divisions which are perpetuated through certain fixed memory schemas of national rule must be uncovered and challenged for the capacity of *alternative* memory(ies) as an

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\* PhD student, Human Rights in Contemporary Societies, Centro de Estudos Sociais (CES), University of Coimbra. Email: yasmine.hamdi.loza@gmail.com.

agent of change and emancipation. Analysis of the ideological and physical presence of memory in contemporary Cairo and Egypt highlights the powerful connection to the politics and power of naming of public spaces and dating/remembling national *history*. Influential discourses, the means through which they are produced and their capacity to both portray and transform how the politics and formal and informal power of naming function in society — glorifying or silencing past histories — convey the extent to which representations and records of the historical past continuously shape mental schemas, social consciousness and political struggles in transformation and human rights.

The potential of memory as a conditioner of the future rather than as a trapped, inescapable, past, is the focus of potential social transformation, self-defined cultural identity and representation. Hegemonic power discourses which rule society and public space are analysed for their power as markers of national pride, victory and for what they *remember* and make visible. Rothberg (2009:3) describes a “direct line [which] runs between remembrance of the past and formation of identity in the present”, the “articulation of the past in collective memory as a struggle for recognition in which there can only be winners and losers”- and the violence and injustice such epistemological imbalances in knowledge impose. At the same time, while such naming of public spaces, squares, statues, buildings and streets glorifies one particular past or element of national identity, city infrastructure also silences defeat, minorities which do not fit into the major *citizenship* groupings, and names of defeated dictators, thereby constantly reproducing and defining national hegemony. The contemporary power of alternative bottom-up narratives, including street art, social media activism, and individual written accounts, is explored for its ability to occupy the very public spaces which silence it in graphic, visible ways. Proper markers of national struggles are acts and devices of resistance and memory reconstruction, which embrace multidimensional inclusive

identities, shaping social consciousness and action rather than perpetuating the hegemony of passive narratives facing double if not triple forms of patriarchy and repression.

The theoretical analysis explores memory as a constant reconstruction of a past, in the specificity of a country from the Global South or so-called third world, whose historical past and modern-day realities clash in Memory and its production of narratives of influence, which must be recognised as a *thing of the future*. The question of knowledge production and memory is analysed from a vast time frame of national identity, from an ancient past to a modern, struggling country in a world of hierarchies and power structures which dominate mechanisms and regimes of truth. The case of Egypt is isolated neither from other Arab or African countries nor from European ones. Each city and its names of public spaces, bridges, glorified statues, and national holidays reflect a certain ideological apparatus of the power which creates it and makes it worthy of glorification, commemoration and recognition. In defining one history, existences and struggles outside this frame are silenced. Rothberg (2009:14) calls for a “multidimensional memory”, which is both “collective and historical, although it is never divorced from individuals and their biographies either”, and challenges what the global sphere regards as “more disturbing” in human rights violations. Public consciousness requires an analysis of memory appropriation, politics and the epistemological positions it assumes and perpetuates by recognising whose history, and therefore future, is worthy of recognition and remembrance.

Injustice, silences and the “awareness of the inevitability of displacement [...] [calls for] the re-articulation of historical relatedness beyond paradigms of uniqueness” (Rothberg, 2009:14). Narratives must neither be centralised in opposition to each other, nor as individualized singularities — but rather as a collective and continuous effort. The act of producing Memory has transformational power, particularly within counter-hegemonic, civil struggles which occupy

silence with sound, and act as opposition to the formal devices of the state. In the case of Egypt, for the purposes of this chapter the reflections of dominant memory constructors and markers, and the counteracting contemporary memory politics from *below* that challenge them, are being assessed at a time of political upheaval and transformation and persisting human rights violations.

Case studies of the production and use of public spaces, along with the naming and renaming of squares, monuments, national dates and holidays are examined to highlight how top-bottom structures and historical productions of national pride are imposed, silencing others. At the same time, the growing *informal* presence of contemporary narratives of the past and memory, and renaming in the public domain including art, revolutionary graffiti, and social media which challenge these by producing new markers of memory and identity, also directly impact collective consciousness and social action. Thus, Memory is analysed in terms of its appropriative politics as a national state apparatus, exploring the *power of naming* in what it seeks to reveal and glorify, and what it seeks to hide and silence, if not extinguish completely. The connection between memory and collective and individual social consciousness is thus drawn to highlight the transformative influential capacity in claiming individual and collective narratives of the historical past.

Repeated ideologies which are sustained through national collective memory intimidate basic freedoms, exclude ethnic and religious minorities, and erase and suppress the reality of the political present by instrumentalising the past. Globalisation, capitalism, patriarchy and social inequalities largely pollute what is remembered and what is silenced — bringing about political apathy with respect to such disparities and human rights violations. By constructing and realising memory's futuristic potential, memory becomes a form of emancipation. Constant constructions of multiple narratives that engage as non-isolated political events, expose,

mobilise and transform power politics and different exploitations that have operated and still persist today under different names.

In this chapter, I advocate a need to claim the situated epistemologies of memory and narratives of remembering and forgetting which influence social recognition, identity, culture and progress through the process of decolonising socio-political memory(ies) of the past. The process of recognising the ways by which memory largely affects present discourses of action and inaction when defined by dominant power structures has the capacity to produce a connectedness within and between societies, but also to the relationship of the present to the past, and thus, to the future as well.

## **1 Power Politics of Memory: City Infrastructure and National *Identity***

To a large extent, physical city infrastructure reflects the national history and identity and reproduces the hegemonic notions of victory and strength required to support them. Egypt echoes the politics of naming in its transformations, both nationally between monarchy and republic, with presidential rule and due to foreign influence under its occupation by the French from 1798 to 1801 and the British from 1881 to 1922 (with some military presence remaining till 1954). Evidence of this occupation is either silenced or somewhat glorified by the elites in society, as if they had themselves invited the foreign intruders and now choose to take pride in the opportunities, exposure to foreign languages and the European/Western impositions that were spread and knowledge that was produced on the so-called Orient, through the eyes of the colonisers. At the same time, names of streets and buildings inaugurated by French or British were replaced by Arabic names, thereby localising them and manifesting glorifications of national pride, either from Arab dynasties, Muslim conquest or Ancient Egyptian civilisation (names on tombs and statues of pharaohs, for example, Memphis

city and Ramses square). Defeat is largely silenced or overshadowed by a memory of victory, and colonization is appropriated almost as if it was appealing or that Egypt welcomed foreign power in the country, simplifying the complex realities. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, describes an adult in an attempt to reconstruct his or her past, rereading a childhood book:

What a gap continues to exist between the vague recollection of today and the impression of our childhood which we know was vivid, precise, and strong. We therefore hope by reading the book again to complete the former vague memory and so to relive the memory of our childhood. (Halbwachs, 1992: 46)

In a similar way, the nation's *collective consciousness* is reproducing an idealized, glorified time, an impression or idea of the time with which Egyptians associate their roots, despite the gap between the ancient era and contemporary society. In fact, Ancient Egyptian names and references that connect the present to a more-or-less erased past, for example the replication of statues, are *glorified* as identity traits, as pharaoh citizens, despite the huge and rather alienating differences between Egypt today and Egypt then; they largely formulate its identity, tourism, pride and political situation as a North African and Middle Eastern/Arab nation. The production of memory thus links to national and global power structures, including the legal system of rule, and the importance of memory in strengthening this process:

This means that they must appeal to their memory. These judges, even when they reason and argue, often without noticing it enclose their thought within forms that were introduced at a precise date, and that bear the imprint of a remote period. This indicates how deeply legal thought is pervaded by history. But all these traditions and precedents, all ritual



that is involved in the formalities of justice, the authority that clings to certain names, the prestige of certain modes of argumentation-is not all this a product of the function itself? (Halbwachs, 1992: 140)

Similarly, more recent pasts which physically portray this in visible public spaces and city infrastructure are acclaimed and honoured. The names of many bridges, including 6<sup>th</sup> of October Bridge (glorifying the 1973 Egyptian victory over the Israelis who had been occupying the Sinai Peninsula) and July 23<sup>rd</sup> Street (glorifying the revolution of 1952), reflect national pride and particular victories, which are selected for remembrance, echoing the silence of other losses and defeats against Israel. Displays of military strength and pride are loud in the city, where museums and military aircraft remain proudly on display in a physical portrayal of national strength and security. This is again seen in the date of June 5<sup>th</sup> 1967 which marks *El Naksa* (Arabic for calamity or curse), known as *Naksa Day* or *Youm el Naksa* (the day of the setback/curse). Israel's victory over and defeat of Egypt and Syria is a reason for glorifying the 6<sup>th</sup> of October War and, in addition to this, the date is remembered today for the strategic reopening of the Suez Canal on June 5<sup>th</sup> 1975, reflecting a national history of winners, rather than losers and pride rather than shame and weakness.

## **2 Occupying Spaces and Producing Memories of Consciousness and Action**

Trouillot states:

Presences and absences embodied in sources (artifacts and bodies that turn an event into fact) or archives (facts collected, thematized, and processed as documents and monuments) are neither neutral nor natural. They are created. (Trouillot, 1995: 48)

In this act of constructing memory and reflecting on wins and losses, they are not “mere presences and absences, but mentions or silences of various kinds and degrees”, adding that *silence* is an active process of silencing a “fact or an individual”, and in doing so “one engages in the practice of silencing” (Trouillot, 1995: 48). During the Mubarak era, hospitals, schools, cafes and other national museums were glorified with his name, as were other organisations which had the name of the former first lady, Suzanne Mubarak. Almost overnight, after he was ousted on February 11<sup>th</sup> 2011, the honouring names were removed, and replaced, including the metro station Mubarak which was renamed Al Shohadaa, Arabic for the *martyrs*, of the 2011 Egyptian revolution. Tahrir Square, *Tahrir* meaning Liberation, named after the 1919 revolution and officially renamed in the revolution of 1952, was the focal point of the 2011 revolution when it also became informally renamed as Martyr Square, as an act of resistance.

Informal naming and renaming was very active in forms of expression: the mass occupation of public spaces such as squares and using powerful names transformed the streets of the city into the stage for the revolution and displayed the strength in numbers and the persistence of the people in the street chanting: “Raise your head high, you’re Egyptian” until Hosni Mubarak was ousted on February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Occupying the public space, “artists helped humanise an area that during the worst clashes was littered with thrown stones and broken glass” and the “city’s walls have become complex documents, authored and re-authored like ramshackle Wikipedia pages” (Jankowicz, 2016), where citizens added their touch of colour and their self-documented memory of the developments, losses, and continuing struggle.

The instrumentalisation of nationalistic pride and citizenship distinguished the people from the ruler, and called for immediate social justice. The state reaction to expressions of freedom and struggles for emancipation conveys the threats to national

state apparatus and stability: “this year has already seen repeated assaults on freedom of expression, such as raids and closures of art spaces and publishers” (Jankowicz, 2016). The power of gathering, drawing, and spreading iconic images and flyers physically organises and displays the persistence of the population, and the loud, internationally displayed threat to Egypt’s previously seemingly untouchable national/civic structures were narratives which drove the revolution further and made it historical. The square remained occupied as an organised civilian meeting space and a place of protest, and the city streets were for the first time filled with colour. Graffiti and revolutionary art, occupied the memories of previous dates and victories with today’s realities, struggles, and human rights atrocities in alternative ways to expose the invisibilities that were reproduced. Despite being repeatedly erased, graffiti became documented online, and published in books, including *Walls of Freedom*.

The martyrs of the revolution were glorified by the protestors rather than the state with the act of informal naming, proving the power in renaming Tahrir Square Martyr Square, and producing strong visual displays of the people whose lives were taken. Art and revolutionary graffiti occupied public space, and more than five years since the onset of the revolution, they continue to face a problem: “the graffiti murals that sprang up on the walls of Cairo were a spontaneous reaction to Egypt’s revolution. But, despite their cultural importance, they’re being demolished in an attempt to clean up the city [...] or is it to erase the past?” Jankowicz (2016) states in an article in *The Guardian* entitled “Erase and I will draw again”. The struggle behind Cairo’s revolutionary graffiti wall specifically relates to the murals around Cairo, particularly in Mohamed Mahmoud Street near Tahrir Square. This was and still is a space of revolutionary art, conflict and struggle, and the graphic portrayal of resistance which the state apparatus would prefer to silence and erase. At the same, the power of locally producing narratives

of memory is portrayed by the struggle against the state to keep recording it in visible ways. The government actions of *cleaning up* the downtown areas and any colour or revolutionary art have been attempts to restore normality and order, and conceal any threats to national apparatus: “This wall is the last standing evidence that a revolution took place,” argues Morayef. “In terms of our national memory and our recent history, they are damaging something that we thought would remain one of the tangible icons. If you go to Tahrir now, it’s as if nothing ever happened.” ((Jankowicz, 2016). In reality, it has been a space for reconstruction, a constant struggle between constructing and collecting social memory, action and consciousness, and the powers that erase it and deny it. Sociologist Mona Abaza stated:

It is interesting to see how the public is reacting towards the murals. How some passers-by slow down and take time to meditate the walls. Some get very emotional when they see the martyrs’ portraits. Some want to communicate immediately with you if you happen to stand nearby. However, not everyone likes graffiti. You also get very nasty reactions that this is chaos, which should be immediately removed. (Abaza *apud* Boyne, 2012)

The act of redrawing powerful political messages and images, virtually occupying and reoccupying public space and informally defining the cities’ and peoples’ identities and realities is a continuous one, and therefore it continues to challenge, threaten, and persist, while being recorded and marked as a historical act of resistance to dominant discourses of power.

Institutions, particularly universities; represent physical and ideological controversy. The downtown campus of the American University Cairo (AUC) sparked controversy with ideological and academic attempts to claim cities and revolutionary acts, but in practice it erased the murals on its walls: “at a conference on that

very campus entitled Creative Cities: Re-framing Downtown, graffiti artist El Teneen distributed a version of the event's poster, overlaid with the phrase: 'How creative is taking down revolutionary graffiti walls?'" (Jankowicz, 2016). The struggle between hosting such conferences, promoting action and social justice, and at the same time tearing down the walls around it conveys the reconstructions of memory, their devices, and the power apparatus that tends to appease if not condemn *counterhegemonic* acts.

Human rights violations in the square were not silenced but recognised and spread, mostly through social media rather than any government controlled/national television channels or newspapers, including, from the outset, one of the main triggers that moved to unite protesters. This was the brutal murder of Khaled Said under police torture "We are all Khaled Said". Then came the tragedy of the Maspero Massacre resulting in 28 deaths and 212 injured Egyptian Coptic Christians, and the battle of the Camel. Despite segregation, social, ethnic, class and physical infrastructure means of division and difference (for example with walls, and what is within them and what is outside them or walled out), people stood in unison against atrocities. It is important to note that Maspero is the name of the Egyptian radio and television broadcasting union, which is a key news source and influences social action and memory. Each movement clearly distinguished the people from the state and security forces, and eventually made the police leave the streets, after magnifying sectarian tensions. Graffiti artists countered this by mixing religious symbols of Islam and Christianity in coexistence or *eed wahda* (one hand/united). Ganzeer, a well-known graffiti artist, conveyed a strong ironic message[1] by portraying the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces as a figure gagged and blindfolded, with the caption "Mask of Freedom: A Gift from SCAF to our beloved sons of our homeland...Currently in stock for an unlimited period!" (Steavenson, 2011). Despite national and global recognition, Ganzeer was arrested for spreading "Mask of

Freedom” posters, indicating the government’s reaction to any threat or criticism which influences people’s informal attempts, records and challenges to collective social memory.

Although no drastic changes have taken place since this day and the losses were many, it is evident that the memory of the revolution of 25 January, of these names and dates, of movements such as 6 April, are still ingrained in people’s minds and continue to signify a possibility for hope. Similarly, when the Muslim Brotherhood regime was ousted on 30 June 2013, conflict appeared about naming; it was asked whether this was a second revolution, a correction (or realignment) of the 25<sup>th</sup> of January revolution, or a *coup d’état*, as it was viewed by many countries not ready to recognise an *unconstitutional change of government*.

Trouillot (1995:151) emphasises that “historicity of the human condition also requires that practices of power and domination be renewed” and that it is “that renewal that should concern us most, even if in the name of pasts”. In the social media, activism, news, names of martyrs, political public opinion and alternative realities are expressed through images, hashtags and online discussions. There is the potential for transformation but the internet and social media are limited in terms of outreach and accessibility to the literate, to those who have access to the internet, a computer, or a global means of communication. This excludes those without such access unless someone writes on their behalf, or their story is uncovered and recorded by someone who has access. In addition to this factor of exclusion, whereby only the news of people with access to the internet, and even more to the global arena, is recorded and spread, and then largely by people who express themselves in English or a language other than Arabic, there are other flaws. The militia behind some organisations, even radical ones, depend largely on social media to control discussions and spy on the opposition. The question of who is producing what information must constantly be asked. Trouillot states that:

Authenticity implies a relation with what is known that duplicates the two sides of historicity: it engages us both as actors and narrators. Thus, authenticity cannot reside in attitudes toward a discrete past kept alive through narratives. Whether it invokes, claims or rejects The Past, authenticity obtains only in regard to current practices that engage us as witnesses, actors, and commentators — including practices of historical narration. (Trouillot, 1995: 150–51)

The power of naming, and memory construction and production is constantly evident on news channels, in history textbooks and the media. It almost always comes from a specific perspective of power, or is at least facilitated by and recognised through a power mechanism/ source. It is for these reasons that efforts to promote a plurality of knowledge production sources and experiences are echoed in society to expose and represent more than one narrative.

Bottom-up memory action for social transformation has made itself heard on social media, assuming responsibility for respecting, remembering and glorifying the martyrs — since the state did not — through speeches, articles, graffiti in spaces where they fought and fell, which allows their cause and fight to live on, alongside the cruel injustice of their deaths. Examples of this were strongest after the Port Said Massacre, Maspero clashes, and Khalid Said murder. Also, in response to global media coverage and the naturalisation of conflict, the use of the online hashtag (for example: *#notinmyname* of Muslims and Arabs standing against terrorism and Islamophobia) in activism has induced a revolution where people can speak for themselves and occupy public (real and virtual) spaces in visible graphic forms from multiple narratives, again showing the power of naming.

Naming and the power attributed to it are very important in the Arabic language for reproducing cognitive beliefs, for reflecting societal attachments and for representing non-secular or politically patriarchal matters of inclusion and exclusion. A name is in a sense

permanent, and through this attachment of traditional values, “the society of yesterday and the successive periods of social evolution are perpetuated today” (Halbwachs, 1992:120). Religious beliefs and tradition are a major driving force of Arab societies, where the line between the spiritual and the political is very confused. The ambiguity of the matter and yet the prevalence of political Islam in law and society links to what Halbwachs further argues:

This is undoubtedly because we still feel that religion has a function in our society just as in any other, and because we question whether preoccupied as we are with other objects, we could simply invent it, if it were not present. For we respect religion and hesitate to modify its forms. But it is the same in regard to most elements of the past that we preserve and of the entire system of traditional values that-as we know-no longer corresponds to contemporary conditions of law, politics, or morality. (Halbwachs, 1992: 120)

Further reflecting the strong attachment, symbolic meaning connecting naming and religion, and the deeper reasons linking to social consciousness and belief, “what is foremost in the consciousness of a person who speaks is the meaning of his [or her] words” (Halbwachs, 1992: 170), in language and systems of naming. Halbwachs states that it “seems that in some primitive or ancient societies each family has at its command a store of a limited number of names among which it must choose the names of its members” (1992: 73). Then, because names are attributed to societies’ repertoires, and given the prevalence of imposing some names, an individual may become “walled in by his memories, [when] he tries unsuccessfully to intermingle the preoccupations of present society with those of bygone groups; what he lacks is support precisely from the groups that have disappeared” (1992: 73–74). The power of naming poses the danger of this disconnected trap, a past alienated from the present, in naming both individuals and their surrounding societies in city



infrastructures. The non-hegemonic capacity of naming and memory can thus be powerfully reflected in the production of accurate representations, struggles and narratives of identities.

Distinguishing identity in the selection of names is also demonstrated by defiance and identity formation, for example, the tendency to change street names to strictly Arabic names: the main street in Heliopolis, an upper class quarter of Cairo which was named after its founder, the Baron Empain, now is called Elnazih Khalifa. An argument also used here is that of Nationalism versus foreign occupation. Anyone who calls for the preservation of the original street name is considered, in a sense, a traitor. The city embodies the country's national history, written by a few, and reflects and relives it by doing so:

Since people always die, feudal society must restore itself continually through an incessant renewal of homages, through new merits and feats of valor. It is not enough to put new material into ancient frameworks. Since the persons themselves and their actions-and the memory of those actions-constitute the frameworks of this social life, these frameworks disappear when the persons and families in question vanish. It is hence necessary to reconstruct other frameworks in the same manner and following the same lines, which however will not have exactly the same form or appearance. (Halbwachs, 1992: 124)

Thus, the reproduction of memory or legacy is associated with the power of naming and the social implications that such hegemonic structures produce and reproduce, thereby claiming one identity by completely silencing and defying another, to reflect the strong political, religious, and nationalist attachments binding Egyptian political and social society. Discourses of exclusion in daily social and political life are thus evident from the portrayals of history and the refusal to escape certain alienable pasts. However, they are also apparent in terms of human rights questions of visibilities, existence, citizenship, silences and the need for transformative memory devices

for other sounds and identities to be heard and defined, thus, rather than suffering the same constant repetitions bridging directly to societal patterns of production, transformation and development.

## **Conclusion**

The theoretical discussion of discourse production and memory as a device which directly reflects and shapes social consciousness and action was used to explore elements of identity found in the streets and public spaces of Cairo. The power of naming and using dates stemming from hegemonic recollections of the political past, in addition to strong religious affiliations, mirror the national pride of the country and its sense of order, identity and glorified pride. While the focus of this chapter was on the national level, the influences of the global sphere in representing histories, grieving for loss, and acknowledging diversity in the wider North African and Arab region remain questionable. Knowledge production discourses and the naturalisation of conflict, upheaval and unrest in the region evident from news reactions, coverage and discussion, do not do justice either to the individual identities of people or to a transformative memory politics of their societies. The historical mapping trajectory of remembrance and forgetfulness, silencing the past, continues to reveal and hide information and narratives from a hegemonic point of power. What is pre-European is not pre-history and what is pre-colonial is not before humankind. The writing, speaking and producing of narratives is growing all the time, particularly in the social media era with the rise of activism and a broader global stage for discussion. Differences invite more hate, but this is due to the previous alienation of the so-called Other. Social media and the internet are providing faster communication accessible to a wider audience, thus allowing the owners of narratives to grow, although still limited, the ability to speak and communicate in English or another language, read and write Arabic, access to internet, computer.

Even so, words and narratives are occupying the very spaces that stood against them, whether in the city's public spaces like the women and men in Tahrir Square during the Egyptian revolution, or through knowledge production sources and academia, occupying spaces to define and broadcast themselves and their own needs, or in the media from *below*, confronting mainstream accusations, Islamophobia, and deafening silences to atrocities and massacres, depending on their geopolitical location. Proper markers of memory and civil struggle would more accurately portray the diverse opposition to formal devices of the state and to the undocumented silences of powerlessness. The need for multidimensional memory to recognise and unite segregations (national, regional, Arab, African, South-South, North-South) in a non-isolated memory arena would continue to bridge gaps and alienations with solidarities and a politics of connectedness. Revealing and claiming what has been made to (dis)appear silent is necessary to nationally and globally challenge fixed histories of the winners' and losers' mentality, which do not exist in Egypt alone, but in cities that have been colonised and cities of colonisers as well, where they continue to repress realities.

History and memory must be recognised and instrumentalised as things of the future rather than of a fixed repetitive past to enable the more accurate construction of definitions, societal interests, representations and human rights progress. The era of resistance relies on the power of naming and the memory of pasts and futures to be claimed by counter-hegemonic voices, which do not always agree with formal devices of knowledge (and repression). Taking ownership of narratives and definitions in an attempt to partake in reconstructing identity and memory is a collective and continuous process of social emancipation. Graphic and visible efforts reflecting real citizens' concerns and struggles have been and will continue to be included as proper markers of memory construction and societal transformation, shaping and transforming repressive apparatus and destructive silences from the dominant canons of history production.

## Appendix

Figure 1 – ‘Mask of Freedom’ by Ganzeer



Ganzeer’s “Mask of Freedom” describing SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces) which had been ruling Egypt since Mubarak’s ousting in February 2011. Ganzeer meaning *chain* in Arabic is a pseudonym used by the artist who has gained fame and recognition in Egypt and internationally. A brave protagonist in street art and design, and reacting to the times and topics, he has been recognised by The Huffington Post which has placed him on a list of “25 Street Artists from Around the World Who Are Shaking Up Public Art,” while Al-Monitor.com has placed him on a list of “50 People Shaping the Culture of the Middle East.” (Wikipedia,, n.d.).

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