

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/371113048>

National Social Identity in Guinea-Bissau: An Exploratory Essay Inspired by The Methodology of J. Cheek, S. Briggs, S. Smith and L. Tropp

Article in *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* - May 2023

DOI: 10.14738/assrj.105.14726

CITATIONS

0

READS

2

3 authors, including:



Carlos Sangreman

University of Aveiro

39 PUBLICATIONS 60 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Guiné - Bissau Lab [View project](#)



Impacto Económico da Língua Portuguesa - Projeto Instituto Camões (2005/06) [View project](#)



National Social Identity in Guinea-Bissau: An Exploratory Essay Inspired by The Methodology of J. Cheek, S. Briggs, S. Smith and L. Tropp

Carlos Sangreman

University of Aveiro. Center of Studies on Africa
and Development of the University of Lisbon

Raquel Faria

Center of Studies on Africa and
Development, Lisbon (CESA)

José Magalhães

Centre for Research in Economic and Organizational
Sociology (SOCIUS), University of Lisbon

ABSTRACT

The research (support of the Center of Studies on Africa and Development of the University of Lisbon) is defined as exploratory and aims to evaluate whether the methodology of inquiry and analysis of the identity of J. Cheek, S. Briggs, S. Smith and L. Tropp [8], can be adapted to a fragile state like Guinea-Bissau. This methodology consists in the assessment of the importance attributed by the respondents of 70 sentences from which the characteristics of individual and social identity (family and collective) are extracted (Cheek, J.M. & Briggs, S.R. [7]). The phrases were sent by digital means to 102 Guineans known in person or only by Facebook with a request for response and dissemination and obtained 183 responses. These answers, calculated according to the methodology adopted, allowed to define some identity characteristics of the respondents. We tried to interpret these results using other surveys conducted since 2014 in Guinea-Bissau with different themes. It is concluded by realizing that this is a method that can contribute to the knowledge of the national identity of Guineans, but insufficient. This conclusion remains to be demonstrated if it is carried out with a statistically significant sample.

Keywords: National Social Identity, Guinea-Bissau, Fragile states

INTRODUCTION - THE OBJECTIVES

National identity is a very difficult concept to define with sufficient precision to be measured, although it is increasingly used either by scientists and academics, by varied social groups, or even, by the media. Because it consists of multiple variables, it is evolutionary (that is, it changes with time and circumstances) and it wants to be the synthesis of personal identities

that are also very different from each other and evolutionary. Its usefulness comes from believing that this knowledge allows to characterize the social essence of a people and,

therefore, to seek more security ways to give cohesion to the social agreement necessary to live collectively.

Thus, the methods of defining identity are still in the experimental phase around the world, obtaining so far unconvincing results. This essay is an attempt to contribute to this process in the case of the fragile state Guinea-Bissau. Its main goal is to present a narrative that defines the identity of the people of present-day Guinea-Bissau, in an operational way, with the very clear awareness that the data collected are a sample without statistical representativeness. That is, we seek to build scientific knowledge on reality (Weber, [27]) as an instrument in the hands of public and private actors, national and international, residents and non-residents, who intervene civically and/or politically in the country. In fact, in the line of Amílcar Cabral when he says that one cannot confuse what "we have in our head with reality" with awareness that "Our reality, like all other realities, has positive and negative aspects, has strengths and weaknesses." (Cabral, A. [5]). To fulfill this objective, the methodology followed is explained in detail so that we can clearly understand what we set out to do.

Much of what is written in this essay comes from the knowledge derived from 37 years of consulting, research, advisory work in Guinea-Bissau and two years of residence in the country (86/87) of one of the authors and the contributions in multiple conversations of many Guinean men and women. If we are aware that in any society there are always many secrets, that are never revealed, we consider that the knowledge acquired after all these years is a basis that we hope will be sufficient with the help of the Guineans themselves who responded to the survey (as a first step in the research we propose).

THE STATE FRAGILITY OF GUINEA-BISSAU

Guinea-Bissau is a small independent state since 1973 (recognized by Portugal in 1974), after ten years of war against the colonial regime Portuguese. Situated in West Africa, with borders with Senegal and Guinea-Conakry, it has a young population estimated at 1.8-1.9 million people (the last census is from 2009), a diaspora mainly in Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Conakry, Cape Verde, Portugal, France, Spain, and the United Kingdom, with 32 ethnicities without any being a majority, who practice Christianity, Islam, and animist beliefs without religious radicalism.

After independence the characteristics of the politicized military during the war of liberation against colonialism led to three coups d'état (1980, 2003 and 2012), a civil war very centered in the capital, Bissau, in 1998/99, the assassination by the military of an elected president in 2009 and a permanent instability, although with frequent legislative and presidential elections. The difficulty of the transition process from liberation movement to state led to an instability with situations of violence against the media and people from opposition parties to those who support the government and the president (Lopes [16]).

The financial and monetary system is integrated into the Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) and aid from external donors supports about 75 percent of the national budget. (UNIOGBIS [25]). Which means a fragility of dependence on external decisions.

It has an informal sector that encompasses all economic and social activities and is the livelihood of most of the population outside agriculture. It has no industry and no tax system that covers the entire population. The main sources of public and private revenue are the export of raw cashew nuts (Vietnam, India, Singapore), the sale of fishing licenses (European Union, China, South Korea) and trade agreements for future exploitation of natural resources, such as bauxite (Angola), phosphates (consortium of companies from several countries), heavy sand (Russia), raw hardwood (China and Portugal) and oil (France, China, and Australia). Imports of all kinds of goods and services come mainly from the euro area (Portugal), the UEMOA countries and Asia (India, Vietnam, Pakistan, China, and Singapore).

It has water and river fish throughout the territory, a little mechanized agriculture, but fertile in rice, vegetables and fruit with enough production to feed the population (the fragility are the structures and means of transport between the producing areas and the consuming cities), cattle and domestic breeding of chickens and pigs, some electricity from thermal power plants and solar panels and communications via mobile phones and internet still of poor quality.

The regime is semi-presidential with separation of powers (legislative, judicial, and executive), with a National Assembly, multiparty since 1994 of 100 deputies, and a directly elected president of the Republic. The dispute of executive power between government and president is one of the sources of instability. The judicial and prison system works but could work much better (UNIOGBIS [25]). It has a strong and interventionist civil society (including various organizations defending and promoting the social identity of civilian and military women) that contrasts with weak state institutions unable to provide education, health, security, justice, etc. services that respond to the aspirations of the population.

The fragility of the institutions, the corruption, the interference of the military in political life, the scarcity of revenues and the existence of about 100 islands on the coast, led to the country being included in the drug corridors of West Africa between Latin America and Europe, with tentacular and transversal complicities in which the investigation of the justice and the judicial police is blocked by the military and by the politicians involved.

The overall result is a poor population (at a high risk of falling in poverty (Vários [26]) with little money, which is slowly raising education and health levels: since 1990, life expectancy in Guinea-Bissau has increased by almost 11 years – to 58 – and the average years of schooling by almost seven. The World Bank estimates a per capita income of \$698 in 2019. With permanent instability, the country has low levels of international indicators whatever they may be (SDO/Agenda 2030, Human Development Index, Doing Business, Democracy Index, Human Rights, Global Gender Gap, Index of African Governance, etc.).

METHODOLOGY

The research began with the design, execution, and analysis of an exploratory project, to test the methodology designed by Jonathan Cheek, Stephen Briggs, Shannon Smith and Linda Tropp. These researchers propose the classification of phrases with a Likert scale, of choice with 5 degrees of importance, namely:

1. I don't think it's important.

2. It has some importance.
3. It is quite important.
4. It is very important.
5. It is extremely important.

The phrases that these researchers use have been changed according to the objective of the investigation – identity of people of Guinean nationality – according to our knowledge of the country. A list of 70 phrases, defining values, individual, social, and collective choices that constitute the components of social identity was arrived at (see point below) – which was sent to 102 people, from files of students, friends, and acquaintances, with a request to disseminate. We obtained 183 responses, which made us realize that the theme is seen with a greater importance than we initially expected. With the results obtained, a matrix was developed, which without pretense of statistical representativeness, allows us to test the methodology by comparing the results with the already existing knowledge about Guinean society.

It should be noted that in an exploratory survey such as this one, no metadata were collected. That is, the respondents maintained the anonymity of name, gender, education, profession, residence, among other data of a personal nature, so that the determination of the answers is more limited, without cross-referencing of variables, nor stratification criteria.

If the process and results are satisfactory, it is possible to think of another project with a significant sample of the population by regions and autonomous sector and with meta-data collection.

The current results were determined by the sum of the values of each answer of the sentences that make up the different dimensions and components of the social identity (Personal-Family and Friends-Social-Collective) and the arithmetic mean of these sums (See the next section for the definition of these components).

Table 1: Example of scale values given by persons to each sentence and calculus of sums. Components Personal and Family Identity

	Person ence 1	Sente nce 2	Sente nce 3	Sente nce 4	Sente nce 5	Personal Identity (senten ces 1,2,5) Sum	Family Identity (sentences 3 e 4) sum	Personal Identity Mean	Family Identity Mean
1 ^a	1	1	2	4	3	1+1+3=5	2+4=6	5/3=1.67	6/2=3
2 ^a	5	2	3	5	4	5+2+4=11	3+5=8	11/3=3.67	8/2=4
3 ^a	3	4	2	4	3	3+4+3=10	2+4=6	10/3=3.33	6/2=3
4 ^a	4	4	3	3	3	4+4+3=11	3+3=6	11/3=3.67	6/2=3
5 ^a	2	4	2	4	4	2+4+4=10	2+4=6	10/3=3.33	6/2=3
6	3	3	3	5	3	3+3+3=9	3+5=8	9/3=3	8/2=4
7	3	4	2	5	3	3+4+3=10	2+5=7	10/3=3.33	7/2=3.5

From these calculations and the content of the sentences, the analysis should lead to a definition of identity. Other statistical indicators or a factor analysis can be calculated, but attention must be paid to the effective usefulness of such calculations and their interpretation according to Guinean society.

There is a set of phrases whose answers must be analyzed in isolation because they can be included in more than one component of the identity and help to interpret the results. These are the phrases that the researchers who created the methodology call "special items."

Subpoints of "Observations" were elaborated before the analysis of each identity dimension from the knowledge that the authors have of the country, from some reflection based on other authors and on previous surveys. The underlying idea is that these reflections will help in deepening this theme in future investigations.

THE THEORY ABOUT THE IDENTITY OF A PEOPLE

Talking about the identity of a particular population group means identify and reflect on a whole set of characteristics of a personal, family, social and collective nature. There are several dimensions that the theme contains, all of them being interconnected as a collectivity, expressing themselves in various ways according to the individual appreciation of each one. This appreciation is determined by education, generation, and sociocultural context.

Let's see, a fan of a certain football team (for example, Sport Bissau e Benfica) will, naturally and automatically, integrate into the social group of the fans of the same club, regardless of whether they are members or not. However, the simple fact of being a member or not, will determine the importance that this belonging has for each fan. If you are a member (greater the valuation), if you are not, it will be less important within the scope of your identity. This example shows how for someone to be able to claim that a certain characteristic is part of their identity, they have to consciously consider that they belong to the social group that is defined by that characteristic. The authors in whom we were inspired to create this questionnaire (Cheek, J. M., & Briggs, S. R., [3]) consider that Identity is composed of two dimensions, namely:

1. Personal identity: the intimate conception of oneself and the feelings of continuity and uniqueness;
2. Social (or public) identity: the structuring of each person's social relations, subdivided into family, social proximity and collective (or public).

The concept of family identity is quite instinctive and covers the group of people that we call the extended family, although it can be divided in some societies into people with the same blood and people integrated in the family, but who are not blood relatives.

The social identity of proximity has to do with reputation, popularity, relationship with other neighbors, co-workers or people who participated in a very intense experience (disaster, natural disaster, attacks, war, revolution) and kept in touch. That is, each person's relationship with those who are close to him/her or know him/her. Friends on Facebook, for example, and given the importance attributed to social networks, can be included in this feature,

although they may never meet in person. In Guinea-Bissau, the *Mandjuandadi* (*persons of the same generation*) have social identities of proximity.

Collective or *public* identity is related to belonging to broader groups, where people do not know each other, despite assigning to themselves equal categories: race, ethnicity, religion, naturalness (places where they were born or where they lived), patriotism, pride in being a native of a particular country, belonging to parties and associations in political or civic activity, people who are able to communicate in the same languages/languages and the profession they pursue. For Guinea-Bissau the *Tchon* or *Con* of each ethnic group as the place of origin and the *Guinendadi* as the name of the collective component of being Guinean. Emigrants who form associations of friends of a *tabanca* (small village) can assume a collective component. But if the *tabanca* is so small that all its inhabitants present or emigrated, know each other and plan joint activities (financing the school, organizing vigilance groups, working the land together, helping someone in difficulty) then it is a social component of proximity.

Reflection on what is and what determines the identity of a people is crucial for us to identify the collective "I" and our own "I". It is a dimension of knowledge, of being, of sociology, essential in the course and history of peoples. This reflection has only been made very recently, not least because, and at least until the mid-60s of the twentieth century, there was no talk of identities, but of nationalities. The evolution since the work *The Principles of Psychology* of William James, 1890 and of the one who remains as the reference author of the concept of identity as we understand it today, the Swedish psychologist Erik Erikson who began to investigate in 1933, but only in 1963 with the publication of *Enfance et Société* manages to spread his work among social science researchers, moving away from Freud's followers in psychoanalysis and approaching those who accentuated the social and evolutionary component throughout the life of each person's personality. Identity is defined by Erikson [11] with at least three meanings: 1) an unconscious search for a continuity in experiences; 2) a conscious feeling of individual oneness; 3) solidarity with group ideas. And it goes – changing over time as O'Neil [20] summarizes: "identities [...] they are changeable, manipulable, subject to transformation and adaptation or infinite reconstruction."

The self-understanding of this "instability" formed of multiple belongings is interpreted by Amin Maalouf as key to the construction of a relationship with others – that is, the central node of social identity: "If we see our identity as being made of multiple belongings, some of them linked to an ethnic history and others not, some linked to a religious tradition and others not; from the moment we can see in each one of us, in our own origins, in our trajectory, the diverse confluents, the diverse contributions, the diverse miscegenation, the diverse subtle and contradictory influences; from this moment on, a different relationship is created with others, as well as with our own tribe" (Maalouf[17]). This same author defends the idea that an identity that closes itself to evolution becomes dangerous, in the sense that it easily embarks on discrimination, violence, genocide, war (writing in 1998 he refers as examples to his contemporaries the war in post-Tito Yugoslavia, the genocide in Rwanda, apartheid in South Africa, the Iran of the Ayatollah and the war in Lebanon). Always in the name of defending its identity, which it supposes threatened by the transformation that national or international society is doing to it.

As Amílcar Cabral mentioned several times when he considered tribalism as the enemy of national unity, the formation of identity always arises in situations of confrontation with another or an external reality, as happened with colonialism especially in the colonial war.

That is why he tried to "accelerate" the transformation of Guinean ethnic identities into a national identity, knowing that it was always the division between ethnicities that allowed the installation of the colonial regime (Caomique,[6]). Onésimo Almeida summarized by stating: "*It is when confronting another culture that a national realizes the difference between this and the one to which he belongs*" (Almeida,[1]).

Current research on identity is based on the idea of self-categorization and the interpretation that authors such as Jonathan M. Cheek, Shannon Smith, and Linda R. Tropp [8] make of the components and processes of identity. That is, each person (and not another outsider) defines the characteristics that he considers composing her/his identity and what importance attaches to each one. It is from this self-categorization that patterns can be extracted for a given broader social group, such as the nationals of a country. Other authors make different interpretations, but within the same basic methodology of self-categorization seeking to define group identities (e.g., "academic identity," "youth identity").

An alternative outside this methodology would be the analysis of the historical and cultural construction of a collective identity made by outside observers, using interviews on various aspects of this identity (history, religion, social organization, family culture, music, language, and literature). The design work of Cheek and Briggs [3] results from the evolution of the characteristics that can be inquired of identity, present in Sampson, E. E. [21] and that respondents can evaluate in relation to themselves. When the focus is on social identity there are valences that contextualize the broader analysis that somehow approaches the concept of happiness, or subjective well-being, very intertwined with perceived security. In this context in Portugal, authors such as Marujo, Perloiro & Neto [18], have been present with their studies and interventions on the Portuguese reality. Inevitably, it is these feelings that can have an impact on the observation of a people's identity. The identity of the inhabitants or nationals of any country is supported by objective and subjective values that the experience of society provides due to the flows of social impacts that occur. One of the most visible situations in the context of the psychological social reaction has to do with the perception of safety.

That is, a country where cases of crime, terrorism and functional stability are disruptive and of a comprehensive visual dimension generates a transfer to citizens of a cognitive perception of insecurity and this reduces the feeling of happiness. In a logic of dissonant continuity of the social *status quo*, social identity inevitably crystallizes into values where disbelief, permanent pessimism and weak resilience weaken the self-esteem of populations.

Considering the assumptions defended by Cheek, J.M., identity is based on values that encompass personality, relation, collective and social. We are clearly referring to the similarity and difference that can occur between the personality (which somehow individualizes behavior) and the social (which otherwise establishes the impact of the relationship as social actors). Personal identity and social identity have lines of proximity and distance that can be perceived as "two poles that depend on each other" (Bus [4]). However, social identity unavoidably implies an analysis of these two factors.

The existence of a group identity (family, social proximity or collective) includes the presence of intergroup conflicts. That is, people may have the same social identity, but there may be conflicts between them. These conflicts are expressed for many reasons such as unequal access to resources, ambition for social, political, or economic power, family rivalries, etc., but

do not generally imply changes in identity that, when they happen, are strongly socially sanctioned by the original group (Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. [23]). For example, I may disagree with how teachers accept or reject the career system and fight against those people, but that doesn't mean it calls into question my professional identity as a teacher.

What we propose to do is to contribute to an investigation that articulates this individual self categorization with social identity in Guinea-Bissau. The impact of a social identity based on conventional factors allows, on the one hand, that society, constituted in the interaction of groups, consolidates a visibility that somehow transmits the balance necessary for stability in difference and, on the other hand, that at the individual level a sense of belonging can emerge that marks the subjective impact of well-being – a *Guinendadi* worked conceptually. In addition, this search for social identity allows to register what may be below the desired and to support its rectification and / or adjustment. This impact in psychosocial terms is fundamental for society, groups, and individuals, to believe that they are an integral part of this identity and, in another paradigm, to assume to build a process of development. The identity of each person is a composite among the components – the personal, family, social proximity and the collective or public (Buss,[4]; Maalouf [17]; Jonathan M. Cheek, Shannon Smith, and Linda R. Tropp[8]). In each of us there is a different balance between these and that can vary with age and with the circumstances of life. People with greater weight of personal identity give more importance to their experiences, dreams, fantasies, and feelings.

People with greater weight of social or collective (public) identity tend to identify more with social groups. They see themselves as social people, sharing attitudes and belongings with others. For example, in a situation of struggle (armed or not), to change policies or even a political regime or to defend against an aggression of an external enemy, the collective component becomes dominant, assuming itself as secondary when resolved. This is what happened to the Freedom Fighters in the liberation struggle against the colonial regime. Once independence was achieved, it was expected that many of them would develop their identity by giving more weight to their formal education, family, profession, income, etc., characteristics of the personal and social identity of proximity. Some achieved this transition, others chose to remain "closed" in the identity of "former combatant" (Barros [2]; Mendes, [19]). It should be noted that those characteristics of people such as the color of their skin, hair, eyes, their stature, physical disabilities, sex at birth, ethnicity, are only characteristics of identity when they are important for the individual or for the society in which it is inserted. The fact that one person has brown, and one has blue eyes, or one is 1.80 m and the other 1.60 m tall only matters if this is an attribute of physical beauty (or magical or divine power) for the society in which he lives. For a black African living in the Southern United States, his or her skin color has an importance in identity, which is greater than in France and zero if their home country.

This importance can also vary over time: the social significance of being born Balanta, Yoruba, Kurdish, or Lapan is not the same today as it was 100 years ago. It should also be kept in mind that the characteristics of family, social and public identity are always defined considering "who is inside belongs to a group and who is outside does not belong", even if this distinction does not bring any conflicts. A characteristic common to all is not part of anyone's identity because it does not differentiate group or individual from others: for example, everyone who is alive breathes air, so there is no one who breathes air and who breathes water or who does not breathe. And so "breathing air" has no individual or social meaning. The identity of each person evolves throughout life. The authors of Social

Psychology consider that the motivation to have an identity that the self considers positive is the central motivation for this evolution.

The result, as far as we are concerned, is a cluster of characteristics whose relative weight evolves with the life of each one, and this evolution can be positive or negative, although the person always tries to be positive, according to his own idea of which are positive and negative. If a person emigrates to another country, he can either consider the situation in which he finds himself as positive or negative. People fleeing war and in refugee camps consider the situation in which they find themselves positive, in relation to what they have lived, and negative in relation to what they hope to live or in relation to what they were before the war. If a person born into poor families manages to finish a college degree and get a more qualified job than any previous family member has had, he has evolved into an identity that he considers positive in relation to that which his family group of belonging has. The real and increasingly expanded possibility of obtaining information (via the internet, films, television, and social networks) of events around the world, of establishing contacts via mobile phones between physically very distant people, introduces elements into the evolution of identity that were not so intense before.

The debate about this influence and about the possibility of moving towards a uniformization of characteristics does not belong in this investigation, but it should not be ignored, because the signs are easy to find. As mentioned, identity has several levels: individual or personal (each individually), close group (family and closest friends), social group of reference (merchant, musician, painter, senior technician, civil servant, military, native of Gabu, Biombo, ...) and collective group or more general public (Guinean, Balanta, Fula, Bijagó, Catholic, Muslim, African, European...). Tendentially the smaller and closer the group, the more homogeneous (equality between members is greater) it is considered by its members. That is, it can be said that there is a group identity. But if the group is larger, although there is a characteristic that is common, the group identity is more difficult to define and in practice implies greater variations.

Guineans are a collective identity by common nationality, but in this identity, there are groups with very different people and characteristics. There are authors who consider belonging to an ethnicity as the collective characteristic that best defines this population, but each one is different from the other and, therefore, for these authors, the Guinean nation is an identity whose main characteristic is to be composed of 32 ethnic identities different from each other. There are other authors who do not consider this characteristic as the main one, but rather as one of the main ones along with others (such as being a man or a woman, being from the rural village or the town, having education or not having, among others). We believe that ethnic belonging is still present and important but tends to lose generational importance with the access to information that technologies provide and with the assumption of values transversal to this belonging, especially in the urban space, in families with members of various ethnicities, mestizos (Djaló, [13]) or in the Guinean diaspora. Or, to put it another way, ethnic identities are becoming secondary as national identity asserts itself, along the lines (but with a very slow evolution) of what Amilcar Cabral stated on the various occasions that he referred to "tribalism" and "national unity" or the liberation struggle as an act of culture.¹ In addition to the self categorization mentioned, reading, and analyzing the data from a survey in this area – such as the one we have done – implies the consideration of components that may not have been questioned, but which contribute to the identity of a people.

We refer to personal memories. Memory plays an important role in defining identity at whatever level. Be it a memory of your past life, of the current family or ancestors, of living or deceased friends, of myths and heroes or villains of society. This memory can contribute to identity with both positive and negative characteristics.

¹For example, see texts with varying dates by Amílcar Cabral (ed.1974), Guinea-Bissau, an African nation forged in the struggle (Editora Nova Aurora); National Liberation and Culture (1970) - Conference delivered at the first Memorial dedicated to Eduardo Mondlane, at Syracuse University, in the United States of America.

In history (e.g., the war between Mandingas and Fulas in 1867, which destroyed the Mandinka kingdom of Kaabu; the colonial period and resistance or collaboration against the colonial regime; the war of liberation; independence; the civil war of 1998/99). Each national identity remembers its history differently from what others might consider reality. That is, society at a given historical moment considers an interpretation of past reality as the most convenient.

In the myths: Amílcar Cabral as the country's greatest historical hero; Nino Vieira as the greatest combatant; National Unity, one of the main flags of the PAIGC, as the country's creative ideology; the ancestral myths that create ethnicities; the New Man born in the struggle for independence building a new society. The legends recall some other heroes mainly linked to the Fulani expansion, but we do not seem to be able to attribute the status of myth or national historical hero to these figures of kings and chiefs.²³

In the taboos (that is, the topics that one avoids talking about): the relationship between men and women; collaboration with the colonial regime; the impunity of the military; who was involved in the murder of Amílcar Cabral; the struggles and contradictions within the PAIGC since the time of the liberation war; the history of the relationship between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.⁴⁵

In the symbolic: each ethnic group has its own set of symbols that are expressed in the ceremonies, in the relationship with their ancestors and in the founding myths, in the festive manifestations, in the artisanal production, in the animist beliefs or in the way they live a religion.

In culture: expressed in literary creation, poetry, theater and cinema, music, and other arts and that can be reflected in the way of living, in social, cultural, spiritual life, in the organization and planning of the territory, in the construction of dwellings, in their style of clothing, in gastronomy. In the social political space where the collective choices we want to take as nationals of a country are debated, the identities of gender, ethnicity, culture, minority, and nationality have been gaining social presence to the identities based on ideologies, capitalism, liberalism, communism, socialism, left, right. This process is seen in the increasing difficulty that parties have in addressing ideologies in the electoral process (where they need to make themselves understood by very heterogeneous voters) and in the growing emergence of these other identities.

² The historical hero is a real figure, whose deeds changed the history of a population (or even of humanity), but at the same time, the stories told about him gained a dimension of myth. The hero would be the one who understands the mature social conditions and embodies in his leadership what his epoch determines. The hero, therefore, would be limited by the "culture" of his time (Feijó [12]) but his name is recognized in some way by much of the population of

any age, whether they have lived with him/her. Another author (Hook,[14]) broadens the field of hero identification by stating that it materializes in real people, in great men and women who had a decisive influence on their respective fields of activity. The contemporary hero is that living person who by his life so far may, or may not, enter the gallery of historians.

³ See the compilation made by Manuel Belchior, 1971, Legends of Portuguese Guinea, Editora Ultramar. ⁴Stephanie Urdang book "Fighting Two Colonialisms" [24] about this "taboo" is a rarity, because it starts from an "uncomfortable" phrase/idea verbally said by Amílcar Cabral to the Cuban Ambassador in Conakry, Óscar Oramas-Oliva: "the Guinean woman fights two colonialisms: that of the settler and that of the man."

⁵It is enough to look at the texts that emerged in the context of the 50th anniversary of the murder to perceive the questions still present. For example, José Pedro Castanheira in the Expresso of January 21 in <https://expresso.pt/revista/2023-01-22-Quem-mandou-matar-Amilcar-Cabral--b2057cf5> or the interview of Dauda Bangoura in <https://www.publico.pt/2023/01/22/mundo/depoimento/ate-assassinios-amilcar-cabral-certamente-arrependeram-minuto-seguinte-2035864>.

In this same social political space, the debate, explicit or implicit, always includes a variable of dependence on the outside world that reveals the distance that still exists between the ability to call oneself Guinean and the ability to assume the full responsibility of being one. This characteristic of chronic dependence that saves internal disabilities, accompanied by the miserabilist discourse about the country, is cultural, has ancestors in the colonial social model and is far from being changed despite the decades of independence. The role of Guinea-Bissau in the world, beyond the feat that was the victory over colonialism, is still, 50 years later, undrafted. The Guineans with the success in the liberation struggle and independence - which only very slowly and with advances and retreats fulfills the dream of that - star in "the triumphant challenge and the difficulty of calmly assuming this triumph". In fact, one can read the importance that Amílcar Cabral gave to children – the flowers of the struggle – as a message of clear clairvoyance to the generation of fighters: that independence would only fulfill its destiny in the following generations and not in theirs. Almost half a century after independence, the Guinean social identity is still under construction (which can be seen as a sign of a positive dynamism) but with the absence of those who can understand and pass on to the collective the situation of this construction. Or unwillingness of those who have the capacity to do so.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS ESSAY

This essay has at least three limitations that should be mentioned. The first is the survey methodology followed via digital without a target group other than Guineans known personally or Facebook friends with easy access to the internet. For a trial it is acceptable if one does not want to draw conclusions from the results of a broad scope.

The second is the lack of knowledge about the Guinean military. With an awareness of "Nation within a State" the military closes itself every time someone seeks to gather information on any topic. For example, in 2018 and 2021 the World Bank, on the one hand, and the European Union, on the other, asked for permission to survey military health facilities. In both cases the authorizations were not granted. This group culture coexists happily with the publication on the website of the armed forces of much information even of interventions in meetings reserved for military personnel (<https://farp.gw/>). With the influence that the military had and has in Guinean society, this lack of knowledge gives rise to a conviction that the analyses made, even if they are exploratory, are always flawed.

The third limitation has to do with the interventions of people with institutional or symbolic

responsibility, who are part of the political class in general, because they seek to intervene in the destinies of their country, express opinions in general negative, but with a coherence that must be considered in the more in-depth analysis of national identity.

See the speech of the president of the Guinean Ligue of Human Rights, Augusto Mário, at the distribution of the journalism awards in 2022, International Human Rights Day, under the motto "Dignity, Freedom and Justice for all". Or texts that people regularly post on Facebook, on the radio or in meetings. If the interventions of party leaders can be framed in a way of doing politics that implies being very negativist about reality while not in power, there are citizens, men and women whose opinions must be considered to think about the identity of their people whether they are negative or positive. ⁶ In this essay this was not done.

THE RESPONSES TO THE SURVEY

Personal Identity

The Sentences:

The sentences related to the characteristics of this type of identity under investigation were the following twelve (between parenthesis the average of the assigned classifications): 1-My stuff (average = 3.5)

2- My moral values (average = 4.3)

5- My imagined dreams (average = 3.3)

8- My goals and hopes for the future (average = 4.3)

11- My emotions and feelings (average = 3.4)

14- My thoughts and ideas (average = 3.8)

18- The way I deal with my anxieties and fears (average = 3.0)

21- My feeling of being different from others (average = 2.0)

25- To know that my inner self is always the same no matter what turns life takes (average = 3.2)

27- What I think of myself (average = 3.7)

32- My assessment of myself (mean = 3.7)

49- Having a job you like earn what you earn (average = 3.5)

Observations:

The personal identity in the same individual changes over time. In colloquial language it is said that the personality is formed in the first years (childhood and adolescence) and maturing in the following, but always evolving. Older people in Guinea-Bissau went through radical events such as the repression of the colonial system, the War of Liberation, the end of colonialism and independence in 1973/74, the coup d'état of November 1980, the Civil War of 1998/99. But the youngest, who are now up to 20-25 years old, have not gone through any of these events and their personality has evolved more linearly without sudden jumps comparable to the older ones, despite the instability of Guinean military political life. It should be noted that there are authors who consider childbirth as a strong experience for women with no parallel in the lives of men. For the formation of their personal identity, and unparalleled in men. The personality of young people in the age of access to mobile phones and the internet also evolves differently from those who did not had/have that volume of information, contacts, and people as reference models that these means provide. In the context of this evolution each person is aware and has the capacity to think of himself in his feelings, desires and imagined dreams (although with different levels of complexity dependent on his instruction and his ability to think). This evolution maintains the memory of previous states even if outdated and without any current influence. We are not interested

in this investigation to detail the various schools of processes of formation of this identity, but rather to articulate this idea with the methodology of self categorization. That is, if people have the capacity to think about the evolution of their own personality, then they are the best sources to state how their personal identity is composed.

⁶ (<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1leCfemijGtJYX3IRRT-VjQw73aBltEA2/view>)

The Analysis of The Answers:

Considering the sentences included in the survey, only one collects an attitude of rejection between 60% and 80% of respondents: sentence 21 about the importance of being different. And only one garners approval between 60% and 80%: sentence 2 on the importance of values. The latter has practically the same average as sentence 8 about the importance of future life goals and hopes. That is, Guinean respondents choose equality with values, goals and future hopes as the most important characteristics of their personal identity.

The averages of the remaining phrases vary between 3.0 (fears) and 3.8 (thoughts and ideas), having a positive valuation with relative unanimity in an attitude of "more or less" positive, in areas as varied as the taste / motivation for work, the opinion / evaluation about oneself, emotions, fears and dreams. It should be noted that for these questions it is more difficult than one might think in theory, to formulate an opinion in a survey, because it implies that there is a personal reflection on oneself that the respondent either did not do or considers that he should not manifest it to the outside because he is of the intimate forum.

These results mean a more valued orientation of respondents' personal identity to the other than self-centered introspection, although the difference is not very significant.

In the supporting sentences perhaps 19th on the importance of being male or female could be considered related to this Personal dimension of identity. But the average of the answers is negative (2.1). That is, the respondents do not give importance to this characteristic, which is consistent with the rejection of inequality.

Family Identity

The Sentences:

The sentences related to the characteristics of this type of identity under investigation were the following nineteen:

- 4- Being from a family with many known generations (average = 2.4)
- 22- My relationship with family and friends (average = 3.9)
- 26- Be a good friend of those I like (average = 3.7)
- 28- My concern about having a lasting intimate relationship (average = 3.7)
- 31- The ability to share important experiences with mine (average = 3.9)
- 34- Having an intimate relationship in which both are happy (mean = 3.9)
- 35- Connecting on an intimate level with another person (mean = 3.1 3.1)
- 39- My desire to understand my partner or friends well (average = 3.9)
- 41- Having close ties with other people (mean = 3.2)
- 43- My feeling of connection with those I am close to (average = 3.4)

- 46- Having the means to be able to talk at a distance with my friends and family (average = 3.7)
- 47- Have access to land to plant to eat (average = 3.5)
- 50- Having sons and daughters (mean = 3.6)
- 59- Be a good head of household (average = 4.5)
- 62- Knowing that if I work with motivation, I can earn money to live well (average = 4.1)
- 64- Older people orient young people about life (average = 3.4)
- 65- A man has money to have several women (average=1.1)
- 66- That the family chooses marriages (mean = 1.3)
- 68 The responsibility for putting food on the table lies with man. (mean = 1.8)

Observations:

Family and close friends constitute the first social space in which the person learns to assume a social identity. That is, it learns to deal with others. Learns the limits of his behavior towards others. In theory this configuration of family identity has lifelong consequences. The identity of a person who, as a child and/or adolescence, lived in a family environment with affection and material resources will evolve differently from another who lived in an aggressive environment with deprivations. From this group it can be said that affectivity, dreams, and desires are the cement that unites people. In principle, it is also in this group that values, norms of behavior, communication and attitude towards society are common and are transmitted between generations. Mutual responsibility also develops in this type of group. That is, in times of peace, the connection in which each one feels responsible for others, is made first with family and close friends. Family members and close friends are the social basis of the formation of the personal personality vis-à-vis other people in childhood, adolescence, sexual evolution, and the organization of the social life of each one.

In Guinea-Bissau this group is fundamental for each person, regardless of the level of education and the space (rural or urban) of housing. The Mandjuandadi as groups of people of the same age, fit into this type of identity. The anxieties of seeking professional life guidance, of understanding their place in society, of the choices between staying or migrating, of marrying or not, the acceptance of traditions with the submission or revolt to the authority of the elders, are placed partly at the level of personal identity and partly at the level of the identity of a family group to close friends, there being no rigid separation. This type of identity also includes the set of social ties that condition each person, being in general traumatic for those who try to escape. The Guinean example most often mentioned is the escape of girls from marriage decided by the family.

It should be noted that the hierarchical structure of families, the transmission of values, the expression of affection and the general relationship between their members is evolving, essentially by lengthening the period of life with better quality than at any other time in Guinean history, with the decrease in the number of children per woman and with the enormous increase in access to sources of information, that mobile technologies provide, about other countries, ways of living, thinking, having fun and communicating.

In Guinea-Bissau, the world's classic social elevator – formal education – has been gaining strength in families who, over the almost 50 years of independence, have their children and adolescents studying in school for as long as they can and seek scholarships to graduate from universities outside the country. The education of young people has become a strong component in the identity of each family even with very different levels of income and wealth

in a survey on democracy with results not yet published (2020) respondents accepted that the rulers had various privileges (house and service car, subsidies in addition to salary...) but among those not accepted was in the first place the access with priority of their children to scholarships.

The Analysis of The Answers:

Considering the sentences included in the survey, two collect a rejection attitude above 80% of respondents and one between 60 and 80%. Sentences 65, 66 and 68 on the relationship between men and women in the family and between generations. The view of the family has changed for these respondents regarding monogamy/polygamy, the power of decision over marriages and the financial responsibility of the man in the family. Such a transformation does not affect the notion of good family headship without specifying gender (sentence 59) with the highest average of the phrases of this type of identity.

The averages of the answers to the nineteen sentences allow the following reading: a) The respondents adopt a family identity that is constructed outside the aspects currently considered negative of family relationships; b) The respondents consider that the family structure, with a person considered primarily responsible "head of the family", remains very important; c) The remaining components of this type of identity have positive means between 3.0 and 3.9. That is, aspects such as the relationship and communication between members of the same family in general or in an intimate relationship and between friends, having sons/daughters, are important, but they are neither very nor extremely important.

In the supporting sentences there does not seem to be any related to this dimension of Family Identity.

The Identity of Proximity

The Sentences:

Considering the sentences related to the characteristics of this type of identity under investigation were the following fourteen:

- 3- My popularity. (mean = 2.2)
- 6- The way other people react to what I say and do (average = 3.0)
- 9- My physical appearance (average = 2.4)
- 12- My reputation or good name with others (average = 3.9)
- 15- The attraction of others to me (average = 2.4)
- 16- My age group (mean = 2.3)
- 17- The way others see my personality (average = 2.9)
- 37- Being able to listen to the opinions of others (average = 4.3)
- 40- My school education (average = 4.2)
- 44- My student role in college (average = 3.6)
- 48- Have a high salary whatever the job (average = 3.0)
- 51- Knowing that I can have help and that I can help relatives and neighbors (average = 3.8)
- 58- Have a neighborhood or tabanca committee in place (average = 3.9)
- 69- All adult men and women in the family should contribute to well-being (mean = 4.1)

Observations:

The key word in this type of identity is "culture." Social culture as a relationship with others who are not family or close friends, exists in different societies or different spaces in the

same territory and shapes identity. In Guinea-Bissau the dichotomy between the traditional rural social space and the modern urban space is evident and even constitutes an important component of the construction of the Nation and the State after independence.

It is our perception that this exploratory survey did not sufficiently consider this identity characteristic for an African country.

On a personal level, the contradiction between characteristics of this type of identity becomes a characteristic by itself. That is, a person can have a personality composed of several social roles simultaneously or in sequence throughout life. Being a researcher in an international university, *Djambacus* or *Jambakus* (*healer*) and strictly following a monotheistic religion, can be characteristics of the same person who composes his social identity of proximity articulating social roles and rules and behaviors considered in general inhomogeneous. This is the first level of consciousness and existence that goes beyond the individual/personal/family/close friends. It is in this social space of proximity that the personality of each one is molded to the existence of others outside the comfort zone of family and close friends.

Each person's identity may not actively pass this level. That is, a person can go through his whole life without ever having the collective component with the importance of personal identity and social identity of proximity. Or just considering very superficially the issues that the collective component raises. Today the possibility of permanent communication between friends and close acquaintances facilitates the weight of the social component of proximity, which ends up reaching a decisive weight: the need to share all the moments of life (however trivial) via digital, makes permanently present those with whom one shares, more than others, regardless of the content and the questions raised by what is shared.

This type of identity has a significant characteristic which is social recognition. Acceptance by those we consider wiser or more socially important can alter the importance we attach to this trait and shape our personality more intensely than any other, either positively or negatively, through contempt or "being ignored." It should be noted that in the family space this recognition also exists as a characteristic especially between generations. But it usually arises with importance attenuated or transformed by proximity and family relationship.

Work, that is, professional activity, has a significant weight in this characteristic of identity. Having an activity that is little valued socially (prison guard) or highly valued (judge) leads to identities that organize their lives in such a way that they are distant except in the space of the activity; The families of judges do not fraternize with those of prison guards even if they must see each other every day because of the activity they do. Or to create two identities: one at work with co-workers, one outside of work with family, neighbors, and friends.

In surveys carried out at different moments in Guinea-Bissau, families tend to consider, for example, agriculture as a moderately valued activity (more for older and less educated people, less for young people) and the absence of activity as socially devalued and often appears disguised as being a "student", being infrequent young adults, men, or women, declare that they have no activity. But for women, being a horticulturist is already a positively valued trait, as it means some autonomy in relation to men. In a survey conducted in 2022 of horticulturists in Bissau, Bafatá and Oio regions one of the respondents summarized it thus: *"This job is everything for me, because this is where I can support my home by selling the*

products I have, so I need a lot of help so I can have great income and save something."

Exercising an activity that is socially respected by those who are not part of its practitioners is an attractive positive motivation for the search for activity. For years after independence when people were asked if they had jobs it was understood to be asking if they were civil servants, as this was the only job with a long-term contract. Today this issue is no longer understood in the same way and the social status of the official has deteriorated following the growing fragility of the Administration in the provision of services to the population seen as having largely varying levels of corruption. For a sector of activity such as teachers, who every year have demonstrations and strikes, the profession exercised is an element of their identity stronger than other sectors without civic struggles.

The Analysis of The Answers:

Considering the sentences included in the survey, none has approval or rejection flagged by more than 80% of respondents, nor between 60 and 80%. Which means that there is a marked dispersion in the opinion of the respondents. The most valued block consists of phrases 37, 40, and 69, about the importance of listening to the other, of instruction/education and of seeking the contribution of all to well-being. The lowest averages relate to sentences 3, 9, 15 and 16, about popularity, physical appearance, the attraction that others feel for the respondent (charisma) and the way he is seen socially. That is, the respondents give importance to the relationship of listening and having the informed contribution of all, but not to what these others think of them, except their reputation or good name with others (sentence 12).

Sentences 58 on neighborhood committees or *tabanca* and 51 on help from neighbors and family have an almost identical average and higher than sentence 33 on the importance of belonging to an organized association or group. It seems to point to the attribution of importance to spontaneous organization of friends and acquaintances and less to associations (such as parties) to which one adheres for the objectives.

In the support sentences, in addition to the 33 already mentioned, note the 36 on the importance of the professional career that has a high average of 4.3, consistent with the answers to sentences of family identity about profession, salary and motivation.

The Collective (Or Public) Identity

The Sentences:

The sentences related to the characteristics of this type of identity under investigation were the following seventeen:

- 7- My ethnicity (mean = 2.4)
- 10- My religion and my belief (average = 2.7)
- 13- The places where I was born, lived and grew up (average = 3.2)
- 20- My social behavior (mean = 4.1)
- 24- My sense of belonging to a community (average = 3.0)
- 29- My pride in my country (average = 4.3)
- 38- My political/partisan commitment (average = 2.6)
- 42- My language, my regional accent or dialect or a second language I know (average = 2.6)
- 52- Have land with production to sell (average = 3.2)
- 53- Have a government that makes good schools and good hospitals (average = 4.8)

- 54- Have a trustworthy justice (average = 4.8)
- 55- Have a police force that guarantees security (average = 4.8)
- 56- Have a president who promotes development (average = 4.8)
- 57- Be able to vote for elections in whom you think best (average = 4.6)
- 61- Knowing that I can find a way to make money quickly (average = 2.3)
- 63- Having a male boss (mean = 1.3)
- 70- Have information about what is happening in my country (average = 4.4)

Observations:

Belonging to an ethnic group is in many countries an important differentiating element of collective identity, even if it does not give rise to armed conflicts. In this case, birth is determinant, although in the case of Guinea-Bissau, there is a huge mix in the families of people of different ethnicities as all the Census confirms.

Religion is another important feature in this type of identity even without the existence of fanaticism or mystical vocations that make it the absolute dominant. In Guinea-Bissau there is a mixture of religion (Muslims, Christians) and animist belief, and it is common that part of the identity of each person is a monotheistic religiosity and a belief in the power of the animists. And this identity characteristic is common to people with very different levels of education, income, and presence in society. In contemporary times the way each one lives this characteristic varies with time: tendentially each generation interprets in a somewhat different way the importance of religion/belief, but it is a very strong characteristic with a comprehensive role of influence on others.

We do not think that the tendency of individualization (that is, of belonging to the type of personal identity) that laicization has brought in many countries, has a significant weight. This is even though the answer about religion is "of little importance" going against the permanent reference to the divine that appears in the observations of different surveys. But this is the result of this group of people who have access to the internet without difficulties and, presumably, a high education on average. For more when both Islam and Christianity have managed to transform themselves by approaching the many faces and ways of believing of individual and community identities of proximity (Hervieu-Léger, 2016).

The Guinean nation of today is consolidated by independence, by colonial borders (including the northern one with Casamance / Senegal that separates in two a region where the ethnic community is identical), by the official languages (Creole and Portuguese) and by a collective feeling of independence that, in the civil war of July 7, 1998/99 unified most of the armed forces (and their "relatives" of Casamance) when neighboring Senegal and Guinea-Conakry intervened on one side in conflict. As already mentioned, the national social identity is composed, in theory, of a common history and ancestors, language (expressed in speech, literature and poetry), territory, heroes and villains, traditions, myths, taboos and symbolic, beliefs/religion and arts (such as painting, sculpture, music and theater).⁷

The Analysis of The Answers:

This dimension of identity was the one that had the highest averages with equal or more than 80% of respondents assigning the two "very" or "extremely" important levels to eight sentences (53,54,55,56 and 70) and between 60 and 80% assigning the same classification to three other sentences (29,57 and 60). There is only one sentence considered of negative importance - 63 about having a male boss in the profession - that gathered unanimous

opinion from more than 80% of respondents.

⁷ Keep in mind that "nationalism" as an ideology has nothing to do with the Nation as a component of social identity (Jaffrelot, C. [15]).

This is the dimension of identity in which the respondents assigned a more defined classification demonstrating that they had opinions made. In the sentences that can be considered to support the analysis of this dimension, there are only two to which the respondents attributed an importance below 2.5, that is, negative on a scale of 1-5: the 63, and the 60, on the importance of being able to consult Iran.

The set of higher ratings has to do with the exercise of power. The government, the president, security, justice, the free exercise of the right to vote and access to information, all these components of the system were flagged as having a high importance (very or extremely). The National People's Congress was not included in the sentences. Membership in a party, in an association, whatever the status, language, land tenure, and the possibility of making money quickly, had a minor though not negative importance.

Mention should also be made of the high rating (4.3) of the pride of being Guinean (the *Guinendadi*). Obviously, a single sentence is not enough to understand what Guineans think about this component. Having in the collective memory two historical achievements of which they can be proud – the victory in the war of liberation from colonialism and the refusal to allow themselves to be feuded by those who had helped them in that war (USSR, China, Cuba, ...) – they also has in mind the years spent after independence without fulfilling the expectations of development that the population aspired to and that were promised to them by the Greater Program of the PAIGC (the party that led the war and govern without plural elections till 1991).

Questions about the Sentences that Support the Interpretation of the Others These sentences refer to aspects of identity that are less fitting into the previous categories. Or that they can fall into more than one category. It is debatable whether some of these sentences should be framed. For example, sentence 23 - social and economic group - could not be included in the social or collective identity? Shouldn't sentence 33, which expresses the importance of associative in Guinean society, be included in the collective identity? Or is it considered that between the collective, the social and the personal one cannot decide? And if religion and belief (sentence 10) is included in the collective identity why is sentence 60 about being able to consult Iran is not included as well?

19- Being male or female (average = 2.1)

23- My social economic group (average = 2.3)

30- My physical form (average = 2.5)

33- Be a member of a sports club, village (tabanca) association, women's groups, informal discussion groups or political party (average = 2.9)

36- My professional career (average = 4.3)

60- Knowing that I can turn to Iran if I have any affliction (average = 1.4)

67- To know that one can turn to customs and traditional justice to resolve conflicts in the tabancas (mean = 2.3)

In the analysis made in previous points, we tried to integrate these phrases in the personal,

family, social and collective dimensions.

Resilience as a Social Identity Component

This point seeks other information obtained with a different methodology to articulate with the one used. Uses data from the final report of the two-year project contracted in 2018 between the Centre Common de Recherche (JRC) of the European Commission, and the CESA-Centre for African and Development Studies of ISEG, University of Lisbon.

For the UN, resilience is "the capacity of a system, community or society exposed to dangers, to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt, transform and recover from the effects of a danger in a timely and efficient manner, including the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions through risk management"⁸. Resilient subjects are expected to prepare and demonstrate flexibility and the ability to bend without breaking. They must be able to find proactive ways to overcome the crisis and seize these opportunities to improve or "rebuild better". It seems to us that this definition can be articulated with the concept of family and social identity of proximity, as it was defined elsewhere, considering everyday resilience as one of the components of identity.

From the survey carried out, two issues stand out that we believe to highlight this component: 1st - Questions about the relationship with others close to and with the authorities in a crisis, such as the sudden absence of the teacher from the school that the children attend, the appearance of constant criminal violence around residence and the destruction by fire of the house.

Question: If the head of the household is struck by a serious illness what does he do?	
a) Withdrew children from school to go to work	7.9%
b) He sent his children to relatives' homes	14.1%
c) He sold assets for the family to get better	31.7%
d) He brought a relative to take care of the family	39.6%
e) Other	6.6%

Question: If the schoolteacher leaves for lack of salary	
a) It helped the parents of the students pay the salary	38.3%
b) He turned to the educational authorities	38.1%
c) He put his children in another school	21.1%
d) Other	1.3%

Question: If there begins to be violence around residence	
a) Moves to another zone	3,5%
b) Participates in the defense and surveillance of your area	48%
c) Makes a complaint to the police	39,6%
d) Get guns	8,8%

Question: If your home is destroyed by a fire	
a) Rebuilds the house with the help of neighbors and friends	93.0%

The answers point to two conclusions: First the respondents seek to solve the problem by themselves, maintaining the family nucleus, second by resorting to another family, neighbors, and friends. And, in possible situations, without giving up the solution by these means, also

⁸ UNDRR. (2016). Report of the open-ended intergovernmental expert working group on indicators and terminology relating to disaster risk reduction.

involve the police or educational authorities. That is, we can affirm that an articulation between the family identity, social proximity without forgetting the collective one, is manifested. It is, in our view, a manifestation of resilience articulated with identity.

2nd - Question whether, in a situation of desperation due to lack of resources, he accepted to embark on illegal activities (drug transport, robberies, clandestine gambling, work for powerful people without asking what they did). That is, if he accepted to violate the values and ethics that he chooses to follow, in an extreme situation of difficulty.

Question: In a situation of severe lack of familiar resources would you accept activities such as:	
a) Transporting drugs	7.5%
b) Join a group of robberies	0%
c) Organize a clandestine gambling system	1.3%
d) Work for someone powerful with no questions asked	23.3%
e) None of these kinds of activities	67.8%

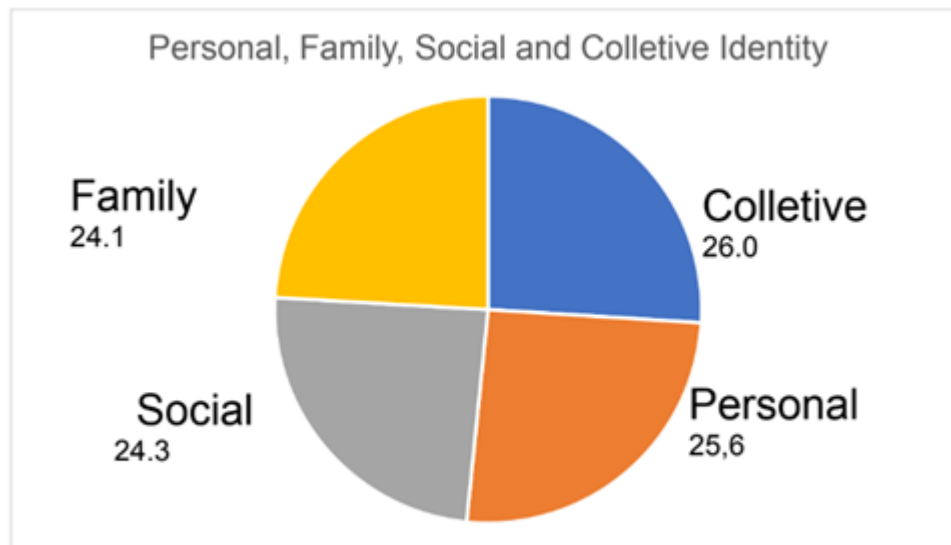
The majority response is the refusal to violate the social principles or morals or religion that they believe and that they make explicit in the observations collected in the surveys. Respondents further claim that such options would harm their "good name". Such answers

are consistent with the importance given to the phrases in the survey that follows the methodology of self-categorization and refer to the importance of moral values in personal identity. It is curious that in the observations who responded positively to the "transport of drugs" always justify the same practice made by people with power or "important".

CONCLUSIONS

What is the Guinean Social Identity According to The Respondents?

1^o - The Guineans surveyed have a very balanced social identity with very similar weights between the individual, the family, the close society and the collective.



Graph 1: Guinean social identity according to respondents.

2^o - They consider the values, goals, and hope for the future as the most important components of their Personal Identity.

3^o - They consider the organization in the family important, but reject the customs today considered negative of power of some members over others.

4^o - They are against inequality, not wanting to be different from each other, maintaining a resilience based on the link between the individual, the family, the close social and the collective.

5^o - Definition of Guinean Social Identity by The Positive

- They guide their personal life by values and goals designed for the future. • They orient their family life towards the goal of having a family with a stable life and being good heads of household.
- They guide their professional life by looking for a job and a professional career for which they feel motivated more than by the money they earn.
- They orient their social life of proximity by the pursuit of dialogue and the search for the contribution of all, considering that instruction/education is a very important contribution to this requirement of sociability.
- They guide their collective life by the importance given to security, justice, government,

the president, free and informed elections.

- They attach great importance to being proud of their country (*Guinendadi*).

6º - Definition of Guinean Social Identity by The Negative

- They refuse to attach any importance (average below 2.0) to a man having multiple wives, to the family deciding on marriage, to being able to resort to Iran, to its being the man's responsibility to put food on the table and to having a male boss at work.
- They refuse to attach importance (average between 2.0 and 2.5) to the search to be different from others, to the popularity and attraction of others to themselves, to age groups and social economic groups, to the ethnicity of belonging and to the possibility of resorting to traditional justice. Also, in the importance of knowing several previous generations of the family, the respondents attributed a low importance.
- They give little importance (average between 2.6 and 2.7) to religion, political parties, and language.

7º - The Areas of "More or Less" in Guinean Identity

There are several areas in the sentences presented for attribution of importance that reflect the feeling of "more or less", that is, they reflect an absence of opinion, which is also a defensive response of those who do not want, do not know, or have not thought enough to express positive or negative opinion. We consider these areas to be those with averages between 2.8 and 3.9.

Thus, Guinean respondents consider most of the phrases in personal identity (75%) and family identity (68%) to be of "more or less" importance, revealing little reflection on these types of identities. In social identity (43%) and collective identity (18%), evaluation opinions are better defined. Especially in the collective identity, the respondents clearly have opinions – positive or negative – on many of the topics placed in the sentences, thus evidencing their attention to the governance of the country.

8º - The Development and The Fragility

The theme of development has become the central issue in the future aspirations of Guineans. Already in 2008 Sangreman, Barros, Zeferino and Sousa Júnior[22], had stressed that the speeches of candidates for the presidency or the National People's Congress were committed, above other topics, to convince the electorate that they were the best to develop the country.

More than national unity, the idea of Amílcar Cabral that people fight first and foremost to have a better life and with dignity has been transformed into the synthesis of what Guineans aspire to from those who demonstrate that they can make the country develop more, regardless of ideologies.

That is why when they respond to the survey, they lower the importance of the sentences referring to the political parties, but the demand for government and presidency rises.

This is also why electoral votes go more to those who consider they can respond better to these expectations than to those who have a clearer and more coherent ideology. The answers do not give information enough about the idea of fragility these respondents have. That is, in self categorization, people do not include aspects of the fragility of the country in their identity.

References

- [1] Almeida, O.T. (1995), “Em busca da clarificação do conceito de identidade cultural: o caso açoriano como cobaia”, in Separata de Autonomia no plano sócio cultural, vol. 2, Jornal de Cultura. Ponta Delgada.
- [2] Barros, F. de (1999), Kikia Matcho, O desalento do combatente, Caminho. Lisboa.
- [3] Briggs, S.R. & Cheek, J.M. (1982). The role of factor analysis in the development and evaluation of personality scales, *Journal of Personality*, Vol 54, 1^o, p. 106-148.
- [4] Buss, A. H. (1980) *Self-consciousness and social anxiety*. Freeman, San Francisco. [5]
- Cabral, A. (1974) *Alguns Princípios do Partido*. Capítulo II Realidade, Seara Nova.
- [6] Caomique, P.G. (2022). Estado e poder tradicional na Guiné-Bissau: uma análise da (re) inserção dos líderes tradicionais de Caió no cenário político e administrativo (1991-2020) DEA, Universidade Federal da Bahia.
- [7] Cheek, J.M. & Briggs, S.R. (2013). Aspects of Identity Questionnaire (AIQ-IV). Measurement Instrument Database for Social Science.
- [8] Cheek, J.M., S. Smith., and Tropp, L.R. (2002) *Relational Identity Orientation: A Fourth Scale For The Aiq*. Wellesley College; Boston College Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Meeting, Savannah
- [9] Cheek, J.M., Tropp, L. R., Chen, L. C., & Underwood, M. K. (1994). Identity Orientations: Personal, social, and collective aspects of identity. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles.
- [10] Djaló, T. (1997), *O mestiço e o poder; identidades, dominações e resistências na Guiné – Bissau*, editado em 2012, Nova Veja, Lisboa.
- [11] Erikson, E. H. (1976), *Identidade, Juventude e crise*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores [12] Feijó, M. C. (1984). *O que é herói*. Coleção Primeiros Passos, vol. 139. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- [13] Hervieu-Léger, D. (2016), *La transmission des identités religieuses*. In Halpern, C. (org.) « Identité(s) L’individu, le groupe, la société », Éditions Sciences Humaines, Éditions Sciences Humaines, Ouvrages de synthèse, Auxerre.
- [14] Hook, S. (1945). *Os heróis através da história*. Editora Universitária Ltda. São Paulo
- [15] Jaffrelot, C. (2016). *Les origines idéologiques du nationalisme*. In *Identité(s) L’individu, le groupe, la société*. Éditions Sciences Humaines.
- [16] Lopes, C. (1987). *A Transição Histórica na Guiné-Bissau : do Movimento de Libertação Nacional ao Estado*. INEP. Kacu Martel. Bissau
- [17] Maalouf, A. (1998). *As identidades assassinas*, ed.2002, Edições Difel, Lisboa.
- [18] Marujo, H., Neto, L. & Ceitil, M. (2019). *Humanizar as Organizações: Novos sentidos para a Gestão de Pessoas*. RH Editora. Lisboa.
- [19] Mendes, P. R. (2013), *Guiné – Bissau: 40 anos de impunidade*, LGDH, Bissau. (2019), *Os militares e a impunidade legítima*, capítulo 4. In *Guiné-Bissau – Notas sobre o presente e o futuro*. CESA - ISEG/Universidade de Lisboa

[20] O'Neil, B.J. (1997), "A tripla identidade dos portugueses de Malaca", in *Oceanos*, nº32.

[21] Sampson, E. E. (1978) Personality and the location of identity. *Journal of Personality*, 46, 552-568.

[22] Sangreman, C., Júnior, F., Zeverino G. e Barros, M. (2008) Guiné – Bissau (1994-2005). Um estudo social das motivações eleitorais num Estado frágil, *Lusotopie*, XV (1), BRILL, Bordéus.

[23] Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (1979) *An integrative theory of intergroup conflict*, University of Bristol, UK. [24] Urdang,

S. (1979). *Fighting two colonialisms: women in Guinea-Bissau*. New York: Monthly Review Press [25] UNIOGBIS

(2021) *Together, we build peace*, Legacy Book, Bissau.

[26] Vários (2022) *Rapport d'Expertise Risque Pays Guinée Bissau Année 2020 – 2021*. Sciences Po Bordeaux.

[27] Weber, M. (1904). *A Objetividade do Conhecimento nas Ciências Sociais*. In: COHN, G. (Org.). *Sociologia: Max Weber*. São Paulo: Editora Ática, ed.2003.