

## Article

# Reparative Realism in ‘Dry Ground Burning’

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## Abstract

This article investigates the reparative politics of resistance at the heart of the production model and formal strategies developed by Joana Pimenta and Adirley Queirós in the film *Dry Ground Burning* [*Mato Seco em Chamas*] (2022). Pimenta and Queirós propose an alternative to the tendency of global filmic realism to focus on the suffering of the impoverished. Their participatory approach fabulates heroic collective memories in the marginalised community where the film is set. I propose they are engaging with the Brazilian practice of *gambiarra*, a reframing of material and discursive possibilities given a lack of economic and/or social resources. By repurposing state financing to radically extend the duration of production, the filmmakers generate a reparative realism that expands the possibilities of World Cinema as well as the revolutionary ideals proposed by Third Cinema.

**Keywords:** *gambiarra*; realism; third cinema; speculative fabulation; documentary

## 1. Introduction

Who benefits from this game of reality? Who benefits from us making a film depicting that specific reality? For people from the periphery, reality is always a defeat.<sup>1</sup>

Joana Pimenta and Adirley Queirós ([Film at Lincoln Center 2023](#))

This article investigates the politics of resistance and repair at the heart of the production model and formal strategies developed by co-directors Joana Pimenta and Adirley Queirós in *Dry Ground Burning* [*Mato Seco em Chamas*] (2022, from now on *Mato Seco*). Their collaboration brings together two filmmaking approaches: Queirós’ “ethnography of fiction” ([Bittencourt 2018](#)) and the sensory ethnography Pimenta has crafted over more than a decade at the Sensory Ethnography Lab (SEL) based at Harvard University ([Pimenta et al. 2022](#)). Briefly, the filmmakers conceive of a fictional story and write a script to raise funds. After securing finance, they seek out local nonprofessional actors and offer them paid employment for the duration of the shoot. Dispensing with the funded script, they develop characters and scenes in collaboration with the cast. This second fictional narrative is then improvised by the performers and shot in an ethnographic documentary mode over an extended duration. *Mato Seco* was in production for 18 months and in postproduction for another 2 years before premiering at the Berlinale in 2022.

Pimenta and Queirós propose an alternative to the tendency of global filmic realism to focus on the suffering of the impoverished. The filmmakers suggest in the introductory quote above that merely documenting misery and deprivation entrenches defeat as the only possible reality for their collaborators. This poses a challenge to fiction and documentary films depicting characters facing wretched circumstances to audiences who producers might



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reasonably assume will pay money to watch them. Put another way, when does realism veer away from its presumably transformative aims into mere consensus for the status quo overwhelming its protagonists? For Pimenta and Queirós, forcing nonprofessional performers to act out the reality of their defeat serves only the liberal middle-class elites who usually make films and those who gather to watch them.

The filmmakers are interested in generating speculative realities by creating new collective memories that become local legends. The actors embody the adventures of their fictional characters in the neighbourhoods where they live, diffracting their performance through painful memories of their lived experience. Pimenta and Queirós attempt to shift the real struggle, imprisonment and defeat the actors have faced by fabulating spaces where they get to enact their strength, defiance and eventual victory over an oppressive status quo. As they put it, “Ethnography of fiction is a process we propose with the aim of arriving at a political fable which *re-signifies a collective memory*” (Pimenta et al. 2022, emphasis added). To borrow from Prysthon (2015), speculative hybridity of this sort need not indicate a hollowing out of filmic realism, but rather a complex elaboration of further possibilities both in what appears on screen and how it is theorised. This article elaborates one such further possibility emerging from *Mato Seco* that I call reparative realism.

My intervention argues that Pimenta and Queirós are extending the Brazilian notion of *gambiarra*—a makeshift solution to a problem one does not have the resources to officially resolve—to rearticulate aesthetic and political approaches to filmic realism. On a practical level, the filmmakers use state funding to provide salaries for their collaborators during an extended period of film production, a small but significant financial reparation to the marginalised and long-neglected black participants with no realistic avenue for accessing these public grants. On a conceptual plane, Pimenta and Queirós reframe the transformative potential of filmic realism by abolishing its association with subjugation. Using a participatory method that involves their nonprofessional actors in the development of fictional characters, the filmmakers create folk heroes both on screen and in the collective memories of the communities experiencing the film’s production. Reparative realism fabulates the triumph of marginalised people on screen to the point where it no longer feels like fiction. As Pimenta puts it, “we start off making a fiction film and we only stop when it becomes real” (Portugal 2022). *Mato Seco* includes the real oppression faced by its characters as part of its narrative, but rather than being weighed down by the yoke of history, the film fabulates their liberation from it. This, I argue, is a conceptual form of repair that unfetters the socially marginalised actors from their usual interpellation as the inevitable losers of neoliberal capitalism.

The final edited film is a formal, fragmented narrative about irreducibly complex characters. The stillness and long duration of shots formally approach what Tiago de Luca calls a “realism of the senses” (de Luca 2014), and yet the participants feel like documentary subjects even before events external to the film intrude upon the fictional narrative. As Cecília Mello once claimed about a different hybrid film, “Documentary is no longer the opposite of fiction, and fiction no longer the opposite of documentary” (Mello 2016). In a reparative realism the distinction loses its importance because it expresses an impulse to remake reality rather than re-presenting and entrenching its iniquities. To make my case, I analyse the final film and the process of its production, drawing from various recorded film festival q&as and interviews with the directors available online. I also apply critical approaches and theoretical precedents germane to this and other films by Pimenta and Queirós.

To better outline the limits of my use of the term, I begin with a broad overview of how the word *gambiarra* is already applied in a range of disciplines from art to architecture and urban planning. Following some brief context of the relationship between Brasília

and the community where the film is set, I analyse the production model of *Mato Seco*. Drawing from Nagib's (2020) ethics of realism based on modes of production and Rancière's (2011a) notion of dissensus, I will outline how Pimenta and Queirós forge new political and aesthetic paths for filmic realism. Taking this a step further, I suggest that *Mato Seco* also reveals reparative possibilities for the revolutionary ideals proposed by Third Cinema in the 1960s. Finally, I analyse the finished film's formal aesthetics, including its intermedial celebration of popular music as a key aspect of how it resignifies collective memory.

## 2. Gambiarra and Brasília

### 2.1. Gambiarra: Meanings and Applications

The range of meanings for which a Brazilian might employ the word *gambiarra* defies singular translation, making it worthwhile to map out a few definitions to clarify our use of the expression here. The most commonly deployed English translation is “kludge” or “kludging” (Debatty 2011). The negative connotations of a bodged together workaround undoubtedly apply to various examples of *gambiarra*s. In Portugal, the word refers to an electrical extension cord used to attach one or more light sources at a distance from the power source. This applies to any array of lights connected by electrical wire, such as fairy lights or footlights. The Brazilian expression shifts the Portuguese definition to primarily describe the illegal connections to the power grid common in urban areas of Brazil. This practice is also known as a *gato*—literally a cat—presumably because the *gateiro* who makes the illegal connection must nimbly and stealthily climb the electrical pole like a cat. In many cases, the makeshift electrical connections provide energy resources to informal communities that remain unrecognised and therefore unserved by state-sponsored infrastructure. The term is also used to refer to any makeshift solution to a problem. This ranges from using a waterproof boot to fix a broken drainpipe, as illustrated in a photo I took in São Paulo (Figure 1), to self-constructed, informal additions to houses in urban spaces (see Perpétuo 2024).

The meaning of the word is not limited to the assembly of material objects nor employed only by those who lack resources in the traditional sociological or economic sense. Fernando Meirelles, the film director and creative lead of the 2016 Olympics opening ceremony in Rio de Janeiro, thematised *gambiarra* as a national, patriotic characteristic after a slashed budget made a significant redesign necessary (Gibson and Watts 2016). In practice, this meant using lighting effects and digital projection mapping to produce an inventive, makeshift spectacle of Brazilian culture.

Artists, scholars and urbanists have highlighted the creative resourcefulness involved in many *gambiarra* practices (see Debatty 2011; Perpétuo and Fontes 2025). As Leonardo Obici points out:

[A] broad spectrum of meanings makes *gambiarra* a flexible and adaptable term across various contexts and involving diverse ways of working with objects and technologies. *Gambiarra* twists industrial design logic, establishing short circuits between a product's form and its functionality. (Obici 2017, p. 88)

With such a wide range of meanings and contexts, I draw from Rosas (2008) to narrow its focus for the purposes of this article. Rosas links the *gambiarra* to Claude Levi-Strauss' concept of *bricolage* in collecting and combining what is at hand to make useful assemblies without a preexisting design. Rosas' useful summary of specific characteristics that identify *gambiarra* as a creative practice of resistance closely resonates with our analysis here:

to understand the *gambiarra* not merely as a practical creative endeavour, but as art and intervention in the social sphere, there are certain everpresent elements that must be borne in mind: *the precariousness of the means; the improvisation; the*

*inventiveness; the dialogue with the surrounding or local reality and the community.* (Rosas 2008, p. 344, emphasis added)

Chiming with this article's proposal of reparative potential, Mattern (2018) links creative gambiarras employed by Brazilian artists as a form of maintenance and care. Drawing from Jackson (2014) and Gabrys (2012), Mattern suggests that if we take a late capitalist broken world as our starting point, an aesthetic of repair like gambiarra can play a role in steadily putting the world back together by salvaging and renewing the detritus of global commodification.



**Figure 1.** A gambiarra on the streets of São Paulo, Brazil. Author's photo.

However, a culture of resourceful making-do in a neoliberal context can lead to an exploitative reduction in resource provision by the state. As Ginger Nolan argues, the notion of modern bricoleurs who can make something out of the refuse of industrialised states also justifies a globalised “neo-liberal model of economic austerity” (Nolan 2018). She says:

The bricoleur justifies this model because they can cobble together shelter and commodities from the material detritus generated by north–south inequalities. They can turn the effects of austerity measures to good because the nature of bricolage is not to turn something into something else, but to make something out of nothing. (Nolan 2018)

*Mato Seco* counters this neoliberal austerity by appropriating state-sponsored public funding to provide gainful employment in the underserved satellite communities surrounding the Brazilian capital, Brasília. While there is no rule against this practice, it is not the national industry-expanding purpose for which audiovisual funding is designed. Adding to this monetary redistribution, the narrative aspects of the film make a case not for maintenance or salvage, but rather for burning down the political and social status quo to rebuild a victorious underclass from its ashes. We might also think, then, of the gambiarra as a creative refusal to adhere to the material-discursivity of the status quo, but also as a form of reparation, in the sense amending injustice.

In an important precedent to this article, [Rocha \(2017\)](#) has already applied the notion of gambiarra aesthetics to the plastic aspects of one of Queirós' earlier productions. Rocha illustrates her approach using his film *White Out, Black In* [*Branco Sai, Preto Fica*] (2014), highlighting the aesthetic and narrative possibilities of gambiarra. On a literal level, Rocha's deployment also applies to the set design of *Mato Seco*, particularly the derrick that appears to pump oil from underground. However, rather than using gambiarra to interpret a wider aesthetic trend in production design, my aim is to articulate how the directors' innovative, makeshift production model reconfigures filmic realism into a reparative politics of resistance in a way that also permeates the film's formal strategies.

## 2.2. Plot Summary, Geographic and Social Context

The protagonists of *Mato Seco* are a group of black and mixed-race Brazilian women living in Sol Nascente, an administrative region on the outskirts of the capital, Brasília. The women, led by Chitara (Joana Darc Furtado) in collaboration with Andreia (Andreia Vieira), build an oil derrick in a derelict corn plantation, tapping into an underground pipeline that transports crude into the capital. Chitara's half-sister, Léa (Léa Alves da Silva), joins them when she is released from a seven-year stint in prison. They refine the oil into gasoline and sell it at cut rate prices to a gang of motorcycle delivery couriers—motoboy—a commonplace profession for the urban Brazilian underclass.<sup>2</sup> This fictional narrative plays out in disordered vignettes, jumping back and forth in time. As the filmmakers put it:

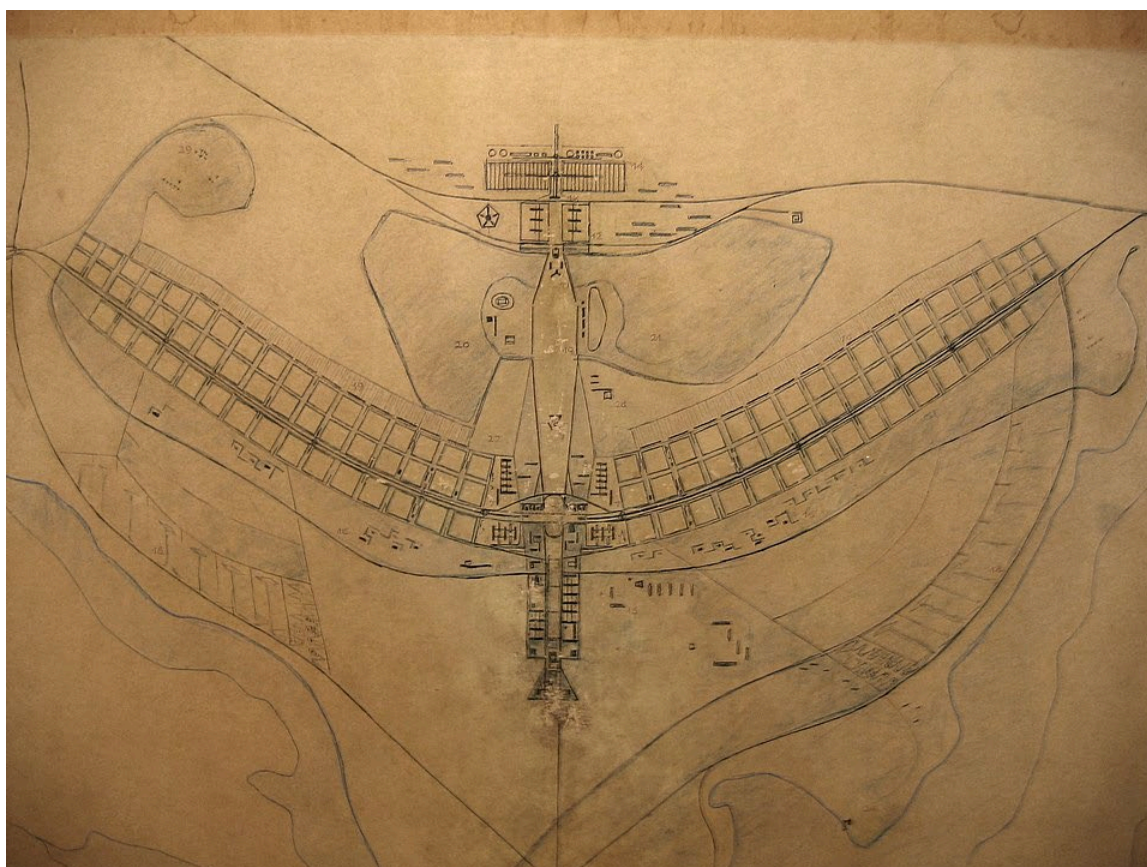
We wanted the film to have a circular structure, where past and present were confused, where a story that begins on the corner has its echo in the halls of Colmeia, Brasília's Women's Prison, gets resignified, and comes back to the space of the street corner. ([Pimenta et al. 2022](#))

We experience the different characters living their daily lives in drawn out scenes that encourage sensory engagement, often starting and ending with little to no contextual information. In long takes, the gang of women, who become known as the gasolineeiras, work the makeshift oil field, maintaining the machinery, pumping crude from the ground, pouring it in steel barrels. They negotiate the price of gasoline with the motoboy, showing the purity of the gasoline by spilling it on the ground and setting it alight. They smoke and look off screen for a good deal of the film's duration. They dance and cavort at various parties and Andreia goes to her local evangelical church to sing and worship.

In the middle of the film, Andreia starts a political party called the Prison People's Party, or PPP, to run as a candidate during the elections in 2018 that would eventually bring former military officer Jair Bolsonaro to power in 2019. After one of Andreia's rallies, the film cuts to a demonstration where Bolsonaro supporters gather outside Brasília's government buildings, one of few scenes shot in the capital itself. As Benjamín Schultz-Figueroa and Leo Goldsmith point out, the section "seems like a standard example of observational documentary" ([Schultz-Figueroa and Goldsmith 2025](#), p. 138). The camera slowly pans to record the mostly white revellers; many dressed in the canary yellow football strip of the Brazilian national team appropriated by the Bolsonaro campaign. Others sport t-

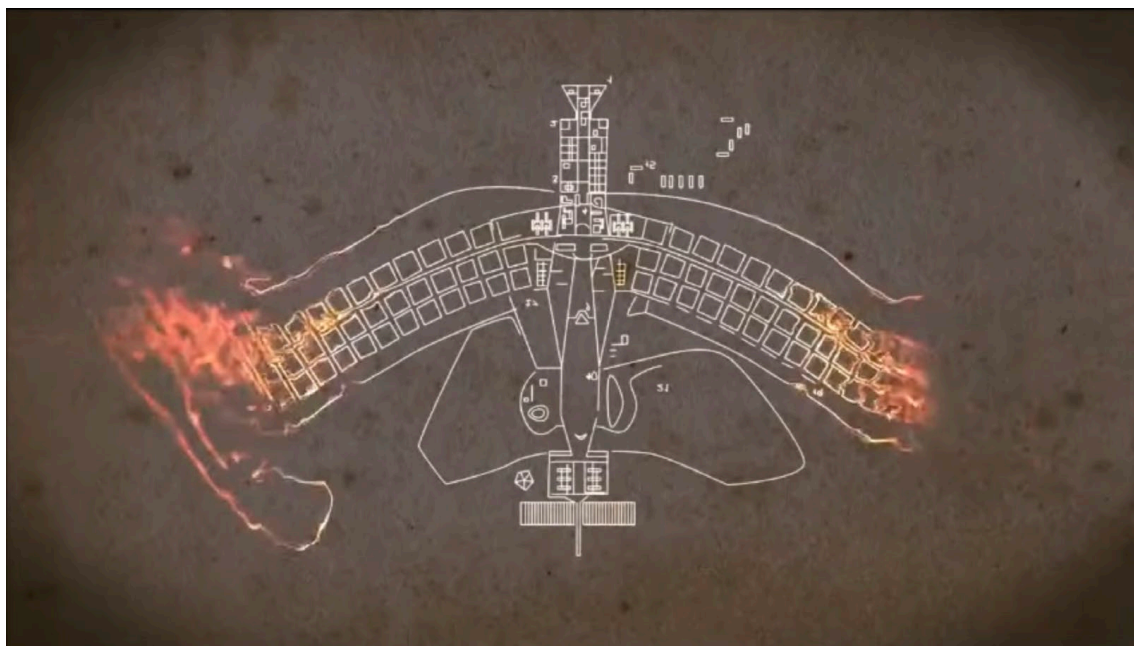
shirts with graphical images of his face or the iconography of semi-automatic weapons and skulls associated with the proudly self-proclaimed pro-gun and pro-violence Bolosonarista movement. In the last quarter of the film, the fiction is once again interrupted when Léa is arrested and imprisoned for dealing drugs. The film ends after her release, with the gasolineeiras disbanded and in hiding. A characteristically defiant and armed Léa rides in formation with a gang of motoboys who slowly emerge from the alleys of Sol Nascente before the credits roll.

Sol Nascente is a community (or favela) within the conurbation known as Ceilândia, where Queirós has lived since childhood and has set most of his films. Pimenta, a filmmaker originally from Portugal and now based at Harvard's SEL in the USA, previously partnered with Queirós on the hybrid science-fiction film *Once there was Brasília* [*Era uma vez Brasília*] (2017). Ceilândia and Brasília's shared history is far too complex to explain in detail within the confines of this article.<sup>3</sup> Briefly, the utopian ideal of building a capital city in the supposedly unpopulated central plain of Brazil, far from former capital Rio de Janeiro, resulted in the sizeable migration of manual labourers from other regions. These workers were either transported to the area or came of their own volition to work on the ambitious construction project, which began around 1955 under the democratically elected president Juscelino Kubitschek. The utopian urban design for Brasília, famously sketched out in the shape of a plane by architect and urban planner Lúcio Costa (Figure 2), did not include a significant strategy for housing the migrant population once the construction work was finished. By necessity, they settled in several nearby areas surrounding the urban centre.



**Figure 2.** The Plano Piloto sketch by Lúcio Costa, on display in the Espaço Lúcio Costa in Brasília. Source: Uri Rosenheck ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brasilia\\_-\\_Plan.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brasilia_-_Plan.JPG), accessed on 13 November 2025), CC BY-SA 3.0 2006.

A fascist military dictatorship illegally took power of the country in 1964, deposing elected leftist president João Goulart, and soon enforced a mass of eviction of impoverished residents to areas even further away from the capital city. Ceilândia was named after the acronym for the operation's official title, Campanha de Erradicação de Invasões (C. E. I.), literally translating to Campaign to Eradicate Invasions as the labourers and their families were deemed invaders or squatters. The suffix, 'lândia', is a Brazilian appropriation of the word 'land'. The history of Ceilândia is the subject of Queirós' more conventionally hybrid documentary *Is the City One Only?* [*A Cidade é uma Só?*] (2011), which begins with a graphic of the Plano Piloto drawing itself on screen before going up in flames (Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Screengrab from *Is the City One Only?* (dir. Queirós, 2011).

*Mato Seco* challenges the authoritarian consensus about marginalised people by documenting how they might imagine themselves, in all their contradictions, as main characters in a Ceilândian mythology. The many languorous close ups of the protagonists impassively smoking at night, often lit by fires, commonly includes the distant lights of Brasília visible on the horizon. The capital is a consistently present, oppressive antagonist, responsible for imprisoning the population of Sol Nascente, including several of the gasolineiras and members of their families. As Goldsmith (2023) points out, this dystopian scenario is “only slightly askew from present-day realities.”

Some elements of the mise-en-scène are subtly dressed up as dystopian science-fiction, leading Schultz-Figueroa and Goldsmith to call the film a Sci-Fi Doc: “a slice of direct cinema dropped into a dark, apocalyptic vision that resembles a *Mad Max* for the Global South” (Schultz-Figueroa and Goldsmith 2025, p. 138). This dystopian vision is largely expressed by a modified armoured car containing paramilitary police officers who roam the streets of Sol Nascente, with surveillance drones that accompany its patrols. At one point, the government agents practice typical fascist salutes while reciting a variation of Bolsonaro's blood-and-soil slogan: “Nation and Faith. God above all, Brazil above everything.” In the film's second to last sequence, when Léa is already back in prison, Chitara, Andreia and the gang of motoboys overwhelm the vehicle, executing the policemen after a brief gunfight. They take the vehicle apart, keeping any useful scraps before covering the stripped carcass with their bootleg gasoline and setting it on fire. The gasolineiras

emerge victorious in their face off with the oppressive state, lighting a pyre to fascist authoritarianism and leaving it to burn as they drive off into the dusty darkness.

### 3. Modes of Production, Dissensus and Aesthetics

#### 3.1. *Reararticulating Filmic Realism Through Ethnography of Fiction*

Nagib (2020, p. 23) has persuasively argued that “locating cinematic realism [...] in the way films are made” avoids filtering realism through the problematic universalising abstraction of the spectatorial body, a pattern she highlights in the usual engagement with the subject. Drawing from Alain Badiou and André Bazin, she posits that the ethical commitment to reality which grounds realism can be found in a film crew’s fidelity to the unpredictable contingencies of the pro-filmic event. Nagib summarises her hypothesis here:

the only clearly identifiable and measurable cinematic realism derives from [...] modes of production, relying heavily on: the physical engagement on the part of crew and cast with the pro-filmic event; the near-identity between the cast and their roles; real location shooting; the audiovisual medium’s inherent indexical property; and the engagement with works of art in progress within the film. (Nagib 2020, p. 30)

*Mato Seco* certainly fulfils these proposed requirements. I contend that the film’s production model extends Nagib’s theory. At the core of reparative realism is that it focuses its ethical commitment on its participants at the moment of production. The filmmakers shun the notion that an ethical approach means an accurate representation of conditions on the ground, particularly when destined to be screened for the entertainment of festival goers and cinephiles. Pimenta and Queirós speak at length about the funding and production process across various interviews, providing ample illustration of how a reparative realism works in practice.

The function of cinema, according to Queirós, is to be anti-status quo (Imoreirasalles 2023; *Film at Lincoln Center* 2023). This brings to mind Jacques Rancière’s argument that dissensus, or disagreement, is a central tension powering both politics and aesthetics (Rancière 2011a). He distinguishes politics from the power exerted by the state, which he classifies as the police. The logic of Rancière’s consensus is, according to Corcoran “the supposition of an identity between sense and sense, between a fact and its interpretation, between speech and its account, between a factual status and an assignation of rights, etc” (Corcoran 2011, p. 2). This is related to what Rancière calls:

the distribution of the sensible [...] in which the abstract and arbitrary forms of symbolization of hierarchy are embodied as perceptive givens, in which a social destination is anticipated by the evidence of a perceptive universe, of a way of being, saying and seeing. *This distribution is a certain framing of time and space.* (Rancière 2011b, pp. 6–7, emphasis added)

Consensus assumes the boundaries of facts and matter being one and the same, boundaries that are enforced and policed by those with the power to speak—literally the police. The politics and power of dissensus comes about when the voiceless speak, when they assert their disagreement to the consensual distribution of the sensible, thereby erasing the boundaries of who gets to exercise power. Aesthetics, for Rancière, is also political precisely because it has the potential to reararticulate the boundaries of experience.

Queirós claims that politically liberal cinema insists on the same generic standards for approaching narratives regardless of location, an authoritarian stance policed by the structures of exhibition (Imoreirasalles 2023). He proposes contradiction as a strategy to avoid consensus with the status quo. This follows a similar approach as Rancière, who posits that “disagreement is not only an object of my theorization. It is also its method”

(Rancière 2011b, p. 2). For Queirós, aesthetic and social contradictions enable a hyperlocal engagement with specific circumstances. He argues that each community in Brazil has its own individual set of cultural, geographical and social contradictions—a unique voice—that needs its own way of being told, its own cinematic language. These contradictions also change with time: the collective experiences of a particular generation demand a specific aesthetic approach. To borrow from Rancière, Queirós proposes that the function of cinema is to reframe time and space according to the precise, hyperlocalised contingencies of both performers and setting. This specificity informs the production model that he calls an ethnography of fiction.

In the wider context of contemporary documentary filmmaking in Brazil (particularly speculative or theatrical nonfiction films by Andrea Tonacci and Eduardo Coutinho, see Migliorin 2010), we can draw parallels between the speculative documentary approach in *Mato Seco* and the work of Jean Rouch. Stoller (1992) calls the films Rouch produced in Africa, particularly *Moi, un noir* [*I, a Negro*] (1958) and *Jaguar* (1967), “ethnofictions”. Stoller points out that “These films are stories based on laboriously researched and carefully analyzed ethnography” (Stoller 1992, p. 143). Rouch (2003) himself traces his ciné-ethnography to one of his earliest encounters with cinema, *Nanook of the North* (dir. Robert Flaherty, 1922), with a key difference being that *Jaguar* gave “three young Nigerian migrants the opportunity to tell of an imaginary though plausible voyage to Ghana” (Rouch 2003, p. 62). Despite the inclusive, participatory design of these films, by his own admission Rouch was inescapably a European making African films. As we will see, Queirós is always careful to point out that he will always be a white man making films about black people, his roots in the community notwithstanding. For Queirós and Pimenta, these inevitable contradictions are vital and productive aspects of their dialogic, collaborative mode of filmmaking that aims to abolish the consensus of the status quo in cinema and beyond.

Although this article does not aim to investigate representational aspects of race, gender and class that permeate this film and wider Brazilian society, it is worth pausing to consider the implications of these various social complexities. Writing about Brazilian films that feature domestic labour carried out by black women, Alessandra Soares Brandão and Ramayana Lira de Sousa have brilliantly outlined how “Brazil’s colonial past and [...] slavery has helped shape systemic racism, ethnocentrism, sexism and classism—and has developed as informal work in modern society” (Brandão and de Sousa 2023, p. 23). They conclude that several contemporary films made in Brazil featuring domestic workers are confronting these colonial injustices that continue to be enacted. The writers acknowledge that although these films are “as yet a timid contribution to the work of imagining historical reparation” (Brandão and de Sousa 2023, p. 39), they generate political possibilities by refusing to reify perceived stigmas permeating discourses around paid domestic labour. By engaging their actors in continuous conversations about the fictional characters they are playing, Pimenta and Queirós allow disagreements to help them navigate past any discursive blind spots. Both the production model and fictional narrative enable what María Lugones calls “active subjectivities” for the women featured in *Mato Seco*, which is to say subjectivities that resist subjectification as “forming or informing” practices by the state (Lugones 2010, p. 746).

The plan for this dialogic model begins at the funding stage, as the script that is pitched is never the one that the directors intend to produce. One funding proposal for the film states that it “is a film where women take over a city” following a police crackdown that dismantles a male-led drug network (Cinélatino 2016). While this bears little relation to the narrative in the finished film, the political intent is clearly stated in the pitch: “It’s a film [...] where imagined fables turn into real political possibilities, where female gas station workers become oil explorers [...]. It’s the film of a reconquered city, reclaimed,

blazing, a flaming city that burns from within.” By their own admission, the script Pimenta and Queirós developed to obtain funding (proposed budget: US\$750,000) was discarded as they cast for a film that was yet to be written. This manifestly violates the terms of audiovisual state support that would reasonably anticipate the funded film to resemble the pitched script. In this case, the financing of the project is the starting point for casting their actors who participate in the development of their characters and their fictional stories as salaried employees.

To cast their protagonist, they scoured the local community for a female gasoline attendant who was a smoker; someone who was always in danger of bursting into flames. After six months of searching, they found Joana Darc Furtado, whose name is a typical Brazilian appropriation of a European one, in this case Joan of Arc. When they proposed the film project to Furtado, assuring her it was not pornographic in nature, she said “I know how to shoot a gun, I smoke a lot, and I’ve worked in a gas station, so let’s do it” (Pimenta et al. 2022). The filmmakers had worked with Andreia on their previous collaboration and invited her to join the production too.

Once the principal cast was in place, a series of extensive conversations between Pimenta, Queirós and the actors, led to the fictional scenario that they all agreed upon. In their words:

We don’t work with a closed script, but we propose situations that we often repeat. We work together almost every day, but often we don’t even film. We drink in the corner, we talk, we watch the afternoon go by, we drive around, we talk while walking through the city. We propose to the actors a narrative structure, a series of situations, an archetype for their characters, an imaginary. They reconfigure them by bringing their memory and their experience to the film. From those conversations emerge the situations we want to shoot. The film happens in the present, it reacts to the present, to what is happening to our lives, to the life of the city, to the politics of a country. (Pimenta et al. 2022)

These discussions, Queirós posits, are where the contradictions of the cast and crew begin to bear fruit. Pimenta is a white European woman and a professional filmmaker, Queirós is a white, male filmmaker who grew up in Ceilândia, Léa, Joana and Andreia are black women from Ceilândia who do not have an education in cinema or professional acting experience. By working through the disagreements that emerged because of these contradictory perspectives, a new scenario was developed.

By positioning the fundamental debate about a film’s significance in the pre-production stage, this approach inverts one of the principles of Third Cinema. Film directors Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino’s famous 1969 manifesto (Solanas and Getino 2014) divided up global cinema practices into three binaries: First Cinema being commercial Hollywood spectacles; Second Cinema encompassing auterist cinema largely associated with Europe; with Third Cinema emerging from the so-called developing Third World, a revolutionary cinema “which is realised in conjunction between the artist and his people, united in a common objective: liberation” from neocolonial oppression (Solanas and Getino 2014, p. 251). However, the filmmakers point out that revolutionary ideals are never achieved—or taught—through a film’s exposition alone, but rather by the discussions it inspires. Indeed, their film *The Hour of the Furnaces* [*La Hora de los Hornos*] (1968), which Robert Stam calls “a tripartite political essay” (Stam 2013, p. 272), was designed to be interrupted during its projection to allow for the questions asked within the film to be debated by the audience. The model executed by Pimenta and Queirós stages these political dialogues with their on-screen collaborators before shooting a single frame. This compromise arises in part from the social conditions shaping the distribution of World Cinema and the absence of movie theatres in Ceilândia. Queirós has stated that:

My films circulate within a certain type of festival circuit, which brings recognition—you get the chance to make more films—but at the same time they end up communicating with a kind of audience that wasn't the one I immediately had in mind for the film. There's that contradiction. The audience I would like is made up of people who are outside that central sphere.<sup>4</sup> (Pitanga 2017, p. 287)

This concern with target audiences aligns with Mazierska and Kristensen's (2020) critique of the development in film studies that posits World Cinema as a historical development of Third Cinema, thereby weakening its political potential into an apathetic acceptance of the status quo. They argue that the rise of neoliberalism, globalisation and identity politics in the 1990s coincides with the decline of Third Cinema and its Marxist, binary worldview divided between the oppressor and the oppressed. Mazierska and Kristensen argue that World Cinema scholarship adopts a reactionary transnationalism that reflects a neoliberal world order incompatible with Marxist resistance. One strident difference they identify between World and Third cinemas is to whom these films are addressed:

Third Cinema is primarily addressed to the people whom it represents: the oppressed suffering from income inequalities and colonialism. [...] By contrast, the privileged topic of World Cinema, due to being addressed largely to First World audiences, [...] suggests gazing at the 'wretched' and underscores the role of Westerners helping them. (Mazierska and Kristensen 2020, p. 12)

Pimenta and Queirós are committed to transforming the lives of individuals in the community through the production of the film. In this sense, the film's production is "addressed" to the people who are depicted on screen and those who witness the filming process. However, Queirós is deeply suspicious of a patronising cinema aiming to educate the masses (Film at Lincoln Center 2023). Moreover, he explains that there as there are no local cinemas, the community is unlikely to ever watch the finished film. They will, however, collectively remember experiencing the filmed events as they were staged on location, as will be outlined in due course. This approach circumvents any condescending didacticism, an accusation that has sometimes been unfairly thrust at Third Cinema practices (Ritzer 2018).<sup>5</sup>

With the characters broadly developed and the scenario of a gambiarra that siphons oil from a pipeline passing under Sol Nascente established, Pimenta and Queirós hired their production design team to build the set. Trained architect Denise Vieira has worked as Queirós' art director since *White In, Black Out*. She builds the props so that they move and function as they would in real life: if a lever is pulled, the machinery springs into action. That the props are made on a low budget, the production design gambiarra outlined by Rocha (2017), only adds to the realism of their functionality on set. The actors immersed themselves into the scenes with working machinery, acting as they would if the fiction had been real. There is no dialogue written into the script, but the scenes are described in detail and often rehearsed multiple times.

While the idea of siphoning oil from a state-owned pipeline might seem like far-fetched fiction, only recently police arrested a group who perforated an official pipeline buried under a farm in Rio de Janeiro state (Freire et al. 2026). Indeed, Pimenta (Film at Lincoln Center 2023) says that the neighbours of the site where they built the oil derrick were so convinced the film was just a front for real oil extraction, they demanded a share of the profits to keep quiet.

As mentioned, filming continued over 18 months, the longest shoot of any of their films. Queirós suggests that their model of production obligates a makeshift reconfiguration of how the national cinema industry imagines itself:

Brazilian state competitions for film require you to submit an industry model for production when you apply, and that industry doesn't exist. It's not just that we don't want to be part of it, it's that it doesn't exist within the country. So, we fragment that idea of industry: We hire fewer people and try to hire everyone locally and extend the time they're employed by the film. (Rizov 2023)

The actors and small crew—never more than five so they could always fit in a car—were paid for the entirety of the production period. The fictional siphoning of oil from an official conduit is matched by the nonfictional redistribution of wealth from public funding allocated to cultural production that requires absurd models to justify the application, presumably based on standards inherited from other national cinemas. The filmmakers redistribute state-sponsored funds to members of a community who are underserved by the same government's resources. The financial, reparative *gambiarra* also facilitates the aesthetic form of the film by enabling the small cast and crew work every day. The performers become immersed in the fictional labour to the point where it becomes a daily reality, filmed as if they are the subjects of an ethnographic documentary.

Furthermore, the production model means the film can change directions when contingencies emerge. For the first six months of filming, the other actors kept talking about Léa, who was still in prison. Despairing at these regular accounts of a character who was not available to film, the directors considered casting someone to play her role. She was already a near-mythical figure once she was released. While incarcerated, she had also heard stories about the film's production and wanted to be a part of it upon her discharge.

Gainful employment for an extended period is obviously meaningful for the local community from a financial perspective, but being an actor in a film also produced a significant change in how the performers saw themselves. A line of defence used by Léa in pleading for a reduced sentence was that she was a film actor working for the Brazilian film agency Ancine (Imoreirasalles 2023). The production of the film had an even wider impact on the broader community who were not employed in its production but witnessed the filmed events, which then become a part of their collective memory.

Perhaps the most striking example is the storyline where Andreia runs for local office. The idea emerged when the directors were having a drink with Vieira, discussing the presidential and local election campaigns in 2018. They calculated that there was a good chance of winning a local ballot if a candidate targeted the sizeable population incarcerated while awaiting trial who are eligible to vote up to the point of being convicted for a crime. The leftist ex-president Lula was in prison, and they imagined he might become the party's figurehead. Thus, the PPP was launched. They hired local musician Débora Glamourosa to compose a campaign song for Andreia to rap from the top of a truck, surrounded by supporters on motorbikes (Figure 4).

The filmmakers did not have the budget to shut down the streets and record the multiple angles required for the scene to be usable in the edit. Out of practical necessity, they collected the signatures to make the campaign official and eligible for the multiple rallies in the streets of Sol Nascente. This *gambiarra* emerges out of lack of resources to realise scenes, producing the collateral understanding that the sheer number of people subjected to oppression through incarceration can be harnessed to resist the dynamics of state power.

Queirós claims that making films is not as important to him as one day starting a political party (Film at Lincoln Center 2023). Pimenta adds that the effect of running the campaign, even if they never intended to participate in the elections, created a collective memory for those who saw the rallies of the radically positioned PPP. There may be no cinemas in Ceilândia, but the community lived the events as they were filmed and remember it as a nonfictional event. This reparative approach liberates the local imaginary

from discursively imposed constraints: while the political rally was fictional, the registration of the party that enabled it was real, as was the possibility of winning the election. The filmmakers' commitment to the reality of the filmic narrative was transformative on a hyperlocal level at the point of production rather than the point of exhibition.



**Figure 4.** Andreia and supporters on the campaign trail. Screenshot from *Mato Seco*.

Although production is central to Pimenta and Queirós' model, this emphasis does not come at the expense of the film's meticulous formal qualities.

### 3.2. A Formal Aesthetics of Contradiction and Resistance

The contradiction between the directors results in a dialectical ethnography. Pimenta (Rizov 2023) articulates the image-making approach that she appropriated from the SEL as one based in contradiction. The SEL was setup in 2006 by Lucien Castaing-Taylor, an anthropologist, artist and filmmaker. In an interview with Scott MacDonald, he describes its origins:

Juxtaposing perspectives from the sciences, the arts, and the humanities, the aim of the Sensory Ethnography Lab is to support innovative combinations of aesthetics and ethnography, especially with work conducted through audiovisual media (video, sound, film, photography, and "new" hypermedia), that are at an angle to dominant conventions in anthropology, documentary, and art practice. (MacDonald 2015)

For Pimenta, the tension with the lab came from identifying as a filmmaker, not an anthropologist. As a result, she avoided filming people directly in her solo works: "I was trying to make films where the human subject was present without being filmed. I was searching for ethnography that could be approached through science fiction, that wouldn't be bound to the disciplinary grounding of anthropology" (Rizov 2023). This influence can be felt in *Mato Seco's* use of carefully framed, long takes of characters in the process of carrying on with their day-to-day practices. These sequences take on the quality of ethnographic recordings, maintaining a classic documentary distance from the on-screen labouring subject, set in tension with the improvised fictional narrative. This aesthetic strategy also highlights a key limitation of Rouch's influence, given his aversion to the

tripod within an ethnographic practice aimed at entering a “ciné-trance” with his subjects (Rouch 2003, pp. 37–39).

The formal strategies of *Mato Seco* are also a clear repudiation of a handheld aesthetic that one might associate with screen narratives set in black urban peripheries, a convention intended to signify gritty documentary authenticity. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Pimenta alone is responsible for the film’s formal design. The directors decided early on that their creative decisions would never be based on compromise (Rizov 2023). They committed to arguing until they could agree on a way forward, so that they both always felt ownership of the aesthetic choices made. In an interview about *White Out, Black In* (Canal E 2014), Queirós claims that the progressive elites who make and watch Brazilian cinema take for granted that filmmakers from the periphery are not capable of formal aesthetics. Films emerging from marginalised communities, he says, are judged only for their content, never for their formal merits. Railing against this patronising belief, he boasts of the formal rigour of his films that screen at top international festivals and win awards around the globe.

Disrupting assumptions made by liberal Brazilian urban elites about the sizeable, marginalised underclass also informs many of the narrative choices made in both the filming and editing of *Mato Seco*. The narrative setups introduce tropes from global and local genre cinema within its formal framings, long takes and fragmented narrative. Growing up, Queirós says, the only cinema in Ceilândia often played sex/karate double bills: a pornographic film followed by a kung fu movie. That was his cinema education before attending a film studies programme in Brasília, following an injury that prematurely ended his career as a professional footballer. Queirós thus claims the influence of *Mad Max* (dir. George Miller, 1979), with its similar dusty, arid landscape and steampunk aesthetic, as well as spaghetti westerns, or *bangue-bangue* films as they are known in Brazil, an onomatopoeic appropriation of cowboy shootouts. Brazil’s Cinema Novo in combination with the anarchic spirit of São Paulo’s Cinema Marginal of the 1970s and 1980s, particularly the films of Andrea Tonacci, are also highlighted as touchstones. The heroism of the outlaw or social pariah is the common thread connecting these references.

Bringing together mainstream and cult cinema orientations accordingly serves the objective of making the fictional outlaws—the *gasolineiras*—into local legends who live on in the community’s collective memory. This is also how he sells the idea to the cast: “let’s make a hair-raising *bangue-bangue* film” (Imoreirasalles 2023).<sup>6</sup> Generating a fictional space of speculative fabulation that can be lived daily by the actors enables alternative, triumphant, heroic realities to emerge and counteract the oppressive interpellation of the residents of Sol Nascente as peripheral, criminal and savage. With this approach, the film weaponises the realist aesthetic associated with World Cinema to produce the reparative possibilities for marginalised communities through the abolition of what late filmmaker Jill Godmilow calls “the pornography of the real”:

Viewers gasp, hold their breath, blink, and feel extremely sad. As viewers, we’re constructed as those who care very much about this sudden death and the shame of these parents— as those who would fix the problem *if only we could*. This is poverty porn. Or trauma porn. Or welfare porn. Or Black- family- Hispanic- family- Native- American- family- poor- white- family porn. But watching [...] is like an express ticket to personal exoneration. “We watched and we cared” seems sufficient. The problem is no longer ours. (Godmilow 2021, p. 14)

A recent postcritical turn has bemoaned the supposed relativism of speculative non-fiction practices, associating it with the so-called post-truth era epitomised by Donald Trump’s presidencies (see Balsom 2017). Toby Lee has incisively unpicked this yearning for an era of universal truth that never existed, highlighting how reality conceived in this way

has often been deployed as “a weapon or tool of oppression [. . . that] often serves unequal structures of power and domination” (Lee 2021, p. 17). World-making in documentaries focused on liberation, Lee posits, emerges from centuries of mobilising what she calls the “unreal” as a vital method of resisting hegemonic discourses of reality oppressively applied as universally shared truth.

*Mato Seco* partly grounds its rejection of subjugation and marginalisation in the heroic narratives found in Ceilândia’s rap culture, which has long rejected official narratives of defeat and criminality without minimising the tribulations faced by people in the community. This popular resistance to state and media discourses of race and class performs what Lugones terms the “infra-politics” of resistant subjectivity:

Legitimacy, authority, voice, sense, and visibility are denied to resistant subjectivity. Infra-politics marks the tum inward, in a politics of resistance, toward liberation. It shows the power of communities of the oppressed in constituting resistant meaning and each other against the constitution of meaning and social organization by power. In our colonized, racially gendered, oppressed existences we are also other than what the hegemon makes us be. That is an infra-political achievement. (Lugones 2010, p. 746)

Just before the title card appears, we hear the first song of the film, rapped by Léa as she patrols the watchtower above the oil pump, the lights of Brasília flickering in the distance. She cuts a striking figure, with her luscious, waist length, raven-black hair, loose t-shirt, surf shorts, and ankle-high work boots. The song she raps, *A Minha Parte Eu Faço* (Cirurgia Moral 1995), is originally by the Ceilândia based group Cirurgia Moral that includes DJ Jamaika, an interviewee in the short documentary *Rap, o Canto da Ceilândia* (2005) that Queirós produced for his university dissertation. That film features several disenfranchised young black men who embrace rap, a style associated with criminality, as a means of protest and taking narrative control of the quotidian violence in the area. The popularity and longevity of this collective resistance through local rap culture is made clear by Léa nonchalantly singing the fifteen-year-old song to herself to pass the time.

Rap reappears at the film’s conclusion as Léa, freed from prison, leads the gang of motoboys along the streets of Sol Nascente. The soundtrack that continues over the credits is called *Df Faroeste* (Mente Consciente 1998) by Mente Consciente. DF stands for Distrito Federal, or Federal District, the small region encompassing Brasília and the surrounding communities. Faroeste, another lexical appropriation, comes from the English phrase far west. The song features a sample of Ennio Morricone’s title song for *A Fistful of Dollars* [*Per un pugno di dollari*] (dir. Sergio Leone, 1964). Queirós suggests that while there is no longer a cinema in the periphery, life itself is a banguê-banguê (Film at Lincoln Center 2023). The narratives in rap songs and in daily conversation resonate like action films: stories of guns, prostitution, prison, death or survival. These are the realities of daily life mythologised in rap as part of Ceilândia’s local imaginary. Nevertheless, these tales are decontextualised and criminalised by politicians and the media, marginalising and making pariahs of the population. These negative depictions are then digested and reappropriated by local artists, resulting in a rich proliferation of homegrown cultural practices of political and social resistance, *Mato Seco* being a prime example.

This engagement with the local rap scene aligns with Nagib’s (2020) previously mentioned intermedial requirement to an ethics of realism, and *Mato Seco* further reconfigures its interpretation of Brasília’s peripheric community through an engagement with other forms of popular music. The film features various performances by Muleka 100 Calcinha, whose name is an untranslatable pun on the pronunciation of the number 100 (cem) and the word ‘without’ (sem), so that the band’s name sounds something like Brat with no Knickers. The title of the film comes from one of the songs they perform to a crowded

bar. According to the melodramatic lyrics, typical of the brega (translating to tacky or corny) genre the song employs, the dry ground burns and explodes with emotion, desire and passion. While Andreia and Chitara dance with male partners, Léa casually kisses a woman on the sidelines, with no uproar from the blasé crowd.

In another instance of recreational joy, Léa dances, drinks, smokes and cavorts with a group of lesbians on a moving bus to a baile-funk song with lyrics expressing breathtaking misogyny. In *Helicóptero* (Dj Guuga, [Dj Guuga, Mc Pierre 2019](#)), the rappers attempt to sexually coerce a woman unfortunate enough to have boarded their helicopter. If she does not comply, they will throw her off the airborne vehicle. The contradiction emerges through the women dancing and singing along to the lyrics in a clear moment of documentary pleasure. Funk balls in Brazil are often presented by the media as dangerous spaces of rampant violence and sexual predation. There is an anarchic thrill in diffracting the song through a female, queer lens that shifts it into an ironic register. The scene thumbs its teeth at middle class assumptions about gender and who funk songs are for, flipping this consensus on its head.

The sequence cuts sharply to the same bus in the daytime. We have leapt backwards or forwards in time. Léa and a group of women all dressed in the same white outfits sit in silence, observed by armed policewomen. Léa looks wistfully out of the window, lips pursed. The bus arrives in what appears to be an urban area of Brasília, where the women are instructed to disembark and presumably taken into custody. The collision of scenes first presents the women in a moment of disordered, relaxed freedom; a moment of active subjectivity directly opposing the confined, ordered conditions enforced by an authoritarian state.

Perhaps the most provocative sequence comes when Andreia attends an evangelical church. Over seven minutes, the film shows the community of men, women and children singing, listening and engaging in prayer rituals. The scene culminates with the pastor encouraging the crowd to repeatedly chant “I am more than a winner.” According to the 2022 census ([Loschi 2025](#)), a quarter of Brazil’s population identify as evangelical. These increasing numbers cause palpable anxiety amongst wealthy progressives, perhaps best illustrated by Petra Costa’s documentary on the supporting role of evangelical churches in Bolsonaro’s rise to power, *Apocalypse in the Tropics* [*Apocalipse nos Trópicos*] (2024).

For Pimenta and Queirós, this middle class distaste is pure arrogance; a case of claiming to love the proletariat while hating the people themselves ([Film at Lincoln Center 2023](#)). Queirós points out that religion has always been entangled in Brazilian politics, citing Catholic priests who resisted and were murdered by the dictatorship. The directors claim that the key to political resistance in Brazil is an engagement with what the evangelical church offers marginalised people. In Ceilândia, there is no cinema, but there is a church on every street corner. All the women in the film are evangelical, but they also drink, dance and are sexually active. People who attend evangelical rituals are treated like social pariahs by the press and the chattering classes of the metropolitan elite. In church, they are heard and valued. They are “more than winners.” Indeed, in the next scene featuring Andreia, she is beginning her political campaign. Pimenta and Queirós point out that progressives would do well to distinguish between evangelical institutions, often embroiled in corruption and criminal activity, and those who frequent evangelical churches. The latter may be swayed by political interventions and subjected to crimes committed by nefarious individuals in evangelical organisations, but there is plainly something the shared communal experience provides that is lacking in more official Brazilian institutions and wider society.

#### 4. Conclusions

Novelist Clarice Lispector once declared that “Brasília is a science-fiction” (Lispector 1978, p. 43). The government pinned their hopes on the planned utopia materialising the national imaginary promised by the slogan emblazoned across the Brazilian flag, Order and Progress. In the speculative universes Queirós has so far projected on screens, Brasília is the enemy that needs to be destroyed for the people of Ceilândia to thrive. Through its speculative ethnography, *Mato Seco* depicts the capital as a dystopia, with the communities that surround it as centres of resistance. Pimenta and Queirós thus provide a different view of the Brazilian present with the goal of a more equitable nation yet to be imagined. The existing reality—or science-fiction—of Brasília needs to be eliminated, counteracted with a reparative fabulation that becomes real through repeated performance. These daily repetitions of fictional scenarios are the innovative building blocks of a reparative realism. Furthermore, the production model developed by the directors and their collaborators seizes the means of national film production and of international distribution to generate a Marxist narrative in an aesthetic form often associated with World Cinema. Writing about *White Out, Black In*, Guilherme Carréra says that this binary presentation of Brasília as the enemy to be destroyed illustrates Queirós’ “Marxist way of reading social relations, underlining historically established hierarchical positions in Brasília’s society” (Carréra 2018, p. 361). Queirós acknowledges this legacy himself when he states in an interview about *Mato Seco*: “I think I made an old-fashioned Marxist film. Now let’s see what the future brings” (Portugal 2022).<sup>7</sup>

*Mato Seco* extends the possibilities of Third Cinema and filmic realism by giving equal importance to the reparative possibilities afforded by cinema during the process of a film’s production as well as its exhibition. A film is not only what appears on screen, but also a form of redistributing state funding by providing an extended period of employment for the cast and crew from the local community. Fabulating heroic narratives aiming to abolish the status quo functions not only as a political intervention during the film’s exhibition, but also in creating the conditions for the fictional narrative to become reality in the memory of participants and witnesses. While they have not seen the film in its finished state, four years later the community still remembers the events that took place. Thus, the interventions enabled by the film’s production supersede any message the film might address to the locals. Queirós gives the example of driving a fleet of motorcycles up a one-way street in Sol Nascente where the ex-first lady Michelle Bolsonaro’s family still live. The police would normally have refused access, but because they were making a film, they were allowed to proceed. That is what the participants remember: given the right circumstances, they have the power to bring disorder—dissensus—to the imperatives that oppress them.

The political intervention is not limited to the mode of production alone. The challenging aesthetic form of the film is primarily addressed to “First World audiences” who attend film festivals and buy expensive Blu-ray films, including privileged film scholars such as myself. However, as discussed throughout this article, in its finished form *Mato Seco* consistently confronts assumptions about marginalised communities in Brazil’s capital. Through their production model *gambiarra*, Pimenta and Queirós reconfigure filmmaking in a marginalised community into a form of state-funded redistribution. Their approach also attempts to shift spectatorial expectations by prompting audiences to interrogate any assumptions about those on screen. This double resistance to the consensus of the status quo generates a reparative realism that repurposes the liberation politics proposed by Third Cinema into a hyperlocal collective imaginary.

Pimenta and Queirós (Imoreirasalles 2023) claim they approach every film like it’s their last, given that the political instability in Brazil could signal the end of state-sponsored films at any moment. Every film is an adventure where they try to burn the house down.

Anything less, they claim, normalises the egregious inequality that continues to plague Brazil and other neocolonial states. For Pimenta and Queirós, cinema's only purpose is the abolition of the status quo to create the conditions for a reparative reality to emerge from its ashes.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> “A quem interessa esse jogo da realidade? A quem interessa a gente fazer um filme mostrando aquela realidade? A realidade para o povo periférico é sempre uma derrota”.
- <sup>2</sup> For a summary of the emergence, social dynamics of motoboys and the risks they face working in the urban metropolis of São Paulo, see da Silva (2020).
- <sup>3</sup> Derntl (2024) has written an excellent, brief urban history of Brasília's satellite towns.
- <sup>4</sup> “Meus filmes circulam por certo tipo de festivais, o que dá um reconhecimento, você tem chance de fazer mais filmes, mas ao mesmo tempo ele está se comunicando com um tipo de pessoa que não era o tipo de pessoa que eu pensava de imediato para o filme, tem essa contradição. O público que eu gostaria são pessoas que estão fora dessa centralidade.”
- <sup>5</sup> Solanas and Getino (2014, p. 252) clearly articulate that a film itself can never be revolutionary, or by extension didactic: it is only through contact and discussion with the audience who watch the film that it can influence revolutionary action.
- <sup>6</sup> “bora fazer um banguê-banguê cabuloso.”
- <sup>7</sup> “Eu acho que fiz um filme marxista à moda antiga. Agora vamos ver o que o futuro nos trás.”

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