



Colonialisms, Post-colonialisms and Lusophonies

Proceedings of the 4th International Congress in Cultural Studies

Title:

Colonialisms, Post-colonialisms and Lusophonies – Proceedings of
the 4th International Congress in Cultural Studies

Coordination:

Maria Manuel Baptista e Sara Vidal Maia

Editing:

Programa Doutoral em Estudos Culturais
ISBN 978-989-98219-2-7

IRENNE – Associação de Investigação, Prevenção e Combate
à Violência e Exclusão
ISBN 978-989-98912-1-0

Ver O Verso Edições
ISBN 978-989-8015-19-8

Editorial Coordination:

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Cover:

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Graphic Design:

Raquel Neves

Revision:

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Pagination:

Raquel Neves

Support:

Online Edition

April 2014

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4th INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
IN culturAI studies

COLONIALISM, POST-COLONIALISM AND LUSOPHONE

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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Paradox of functionality? On the postcolonial/post-conquest state in Africa

Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe¹

The concept “failed-state” carries an understandable melodramatic import! It refers to the inability or failure of a state to fulfil some of its key roles and responsibilities to its people(s) and others domiciled within its territory and consequently to its neighbour(s) and the wider global community of states. According to the latest Washington-based Fund for Peace think-tank’s annual research publication, “The Failed States Index 2013”, there are 12 indicators at which state failure materialises and these can be grouped into three broad spheres or categories with respect to the impact on the lives of the people(s): social, political and economic (Fund for Peace, “The Indicators”, <http://ffp.statesindex.org/indicators> [accessed 2 July 2013]). African countries, unsurprisingly, fare most poorly at each and across these 12 crucial variables at the centre of the fund’s research, but particularly in the following, with the inescapable crushing consequences on the lives and wellbeing of the peoples:

1. Legitimacy of the state
2. Rise of fractionalised elite
3. Chronic and sustained human rights violation
4. Uneven economic development
5. Poorly, sharp and severe economic decline
6. Massive movement of refugees or internally displaced persons

Thus, the highlights for Africa in the fund’s current research make for depressing reading and are as follows (Fund for Peace, “The Failed States Index 2013”, <http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2013-sortable> [accessed 2 July 2013]): 16 out of the world’s “worst 20 states”; 20 out of the “worst 30 states”; 34 (well over one-half of all the continent’s so-called sovereign states) of the “worst 54 states”. It is not inconceivable, given this rate of state failure, that by the time this ENABED biennial assembly has its first conference of the next decade, in 2021, “54 out of the worst 54 states” in the world could be in Africa!

For the purposes of this paper, the following two key empirical determinants of state failure are keenly explored: (1) the state’s inability to provide security and (2) the state’s inability to provide essential social services. Let us elaborate on each of them:

1. The state’s inability to provide security to its population – This situation may have arisen because the state no longer exercises control across part/parts or all of its territory. Factors such as catastrophic breakdowns in vital internal sociopolitical and economic relations, intra-regime fractionalism and rivalries, external invasion and occupation of territory, and unmanageable natural disasters would contribute to the failure. It could also be

¹ Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe is a British professor who is a specialist on the state and genocide and wars in Africa. He is currently visiting professor at the Universidade de Fortaleza, Brazil

due to the state's violation of the human rights of the people(s) including a deliberate state policy to embark on the destruction of one or more of its constituent nations/peoples/religious groups, etc., etc.

2. The state's inability to provide essential social services (communication infrastructure, health care, education, housing and recreation, development of culture) to its people(s) or the state's deliberate policy to deny or partially offer such services to some of its constituent nations/peoples/religious groups... This failure could be the consequence of a state's dwindling fiscal/material resources or just sheer incompetence in its management capacity. Alternatively, this inability points to the staggering nature of corruption and largely institutionalised norm of non-accountability in the access and control of public-owned finances by state officials and their agents.

Christopher Clapham has argued that the concept "failed-state" is "one of those categories that is named after what it isn't, rather than what it is" (Christopher Clapham, "Failed States and Non-states in the Modern International Order", paper presented at conference on failed states, Florence, Italy, April 2000, http://www.ippu.purdue.edu/failed_states/2000/papers/clapham.html [accessed 15 June 2013]). This is vital in the discourse to the effect that a state, such as Nigeria or Sudan for instance, that embarks on the genocide of its population or does not provide basic services for its people or immanently churns out successive regimes that fleece the collective wealth of the country can hardly merit such a definition in social science. All we need do to highlight the obvious flaw in applying this concept in Africa is to reflect on the fact that crucial state functions such as the provision of security, rule of law, a rationalising but flexible structure of management, accountability and open and unfettered competition, especially with respect to regime change, have not been in operation in any African state since the conquest and occupation of most of the continent by a constellation of European countries in the 19th century. Tragically, in the 57 years since the concerted African drive towards the restoration of its independence resulted in the supposedly 1956 breakthrough in the Sudan, followed soon in 1957 by Ghana, the situation has not changed significantly in Africa for the realisation of these attributes of the state.

Ultimately, the major limitation of the use of the "failed-state" concept to assess the catastrophic situation in contemporary Africa is that it confers an unjustifiable presumption of rationality to an enterprise in which a spectrum of outcomes ranging from perhaps "failure" to "outright failure" to "disaster" is predetermined; it is assumed that those who run the state in Africa (Obasanjo, Idi Amin, Taylor, Moi, Habre, Doe, Gowon, Mobutu, Ahidjo, Jonathan, Rawlings, Obote, Babangida, Mengistu, Abacha, Mugabe, Mohammed, Banda, Abubakar, Bokassa, Jammeh, Eyadema, Buhari, Toure, Museveni, Yar'Adua, Biya, Al-Bashier ...) are aware of this test and its evaluative scruples and, like any rational participant, would want to succeed ... If they do not do so well, at some instance, so goes the logic, they will try to improve on their previous score and, hopefully, do better ... Success is always a possibility! It is on the basis of this possibility that Roland Oliver concludes his own controversial contribution to this debate. If one, for a moment, ignores the gratuitous racism and paternalism embedded in the premise of Oliver's contribution as well as the highly contestable analytical category on which it is hinged, which I will be focussing on shortly, Oliver notes: "With its overriding population problem, Africa can hardly expect to achieve First World standards of economic development within the next century [i.e. 21st century] but with just a little more day-to-day accountability, it could at least recover the confidence to continue the uphill struggle with more success" (Roland Oliver, "The condition of Africa", *Times Literary Supplement* [London], 20 September 1991: 9). On the contrary, there is limited indication on the ground that African state operatives currently or indeed in the past 57 years have approached statecraft as a challenge to succeed in transforming the lives of their

peoples. “Success” is never a goal set along the trajectory of their mission. To that extent, Oliver’s conclusion is, ironically, quite optimistic. Furthermore, it should be noted that given the evidently limited concerns on just “measuring” the scoreboard of performance, “failed-states”’s discourses tend to overlook the much more expansive turbulence of underlying history – the kind of project that is being mounted here in this presentation.

So, rather than relations that bring benefits to many of its people, the state in Africa has “evidently been a source of suffering”, to quote Clapham (“Failed States and Non-states in the Modern International Order”), an imagery consistent with Basil Davidson’s description of the impact of this state on the African humanity as a “curse” (Basil Davidson, *Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* [London: James Currey, 1992]). Richard Dowden also uses a health metaphor to capture the legacy of the African state when he notes, alluding to its genesis: “[this European]-scissors and paste job [has indeed caused Africa] much blood and tears” (Richard Dowden, “Redrawing the outmoded colonial map of Africa”, *Independent* [London], 10 September 1987)]. For her own observation, Lynn Innes is in no doubt that the African state has created what she describes as a “deeply diseased [outcome]” on the continent (C.L. Innes, *Chinua Achebe* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1990: 151]). The health metaphor stretches even to the psychiatric as Thomas Pakenham observes: “One has only to think of the bloody ... wars that followed decolonisation to see the craziness of these lines drawn on maps in Europe by men ignorant of African geography and history” (Thomas Pakenham, “The European share-out of the spoils of Africa”, *Financial Times* [London], 15 February 1988). Chester Crocker points to the fundamental problem of the state in Africa. It is “not the absence of nations; it is the absence of states with the legitimacy and authority to manage their affairs ... As such, they have always derived a major, if not dominant, share of their legitimacy from the international system rather than from domestic society” (Chester Crocker, “Engaging Failing States”, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2003: 37). It is this question of *alienability* that is at the crux of this grave crisis.

These references help to underscore the lack of consensus among scholars studying the “failed states” of contemporary Africa on the terms of the evaluative parameters of this enterprise including the crucial constitutive timeframes of assessing and therefore concluding when this or that African state “began to fail” or/and when indeed it “failed”. There is a tendency by some experts, including the Fund for Peace, which we referred to earlier, to arbitrarily circumscribe the limit of the focus of interrogation to the so-called African post-conquest epoch (i.e., post-January 1956 – following the presumed restoration of independence in the Sudan from the British conquest and occupation) with the underlying presumption that the state, as formulated and constituted on the eve of the “restoration of independence”, has a definitive and enduring internal logic to its being. I would wish to question this presumption in this paper by arguing that, to the contrary, quite a number of African states were already “failed states” on the eve of the so-called restoration of independence. Furthermore, there is a surprising “missing link” in these studies. Fund for Peace and others do not interrogate the intrinsic capacity and performance of any of these African states on their pivotal role in the global economy all the while, essentially the primary reason for their existence – since their creation. An exploration and a restoration of this “missing link” is very important as we shall realise shortly, and is therefore the primary concern of this paper. It will enable us answer the question posed in the title of the presentation: The state in Africa – Whose state is it?

Africa has uninterruptedly been a net-exporter of capital to the Western World since 1981. The thundering sum of US\$400 billion is the total figure that Africa has transferred to the West in this manner to date (Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe, *Readings from Reading: Essays on African Politics, Genocide, Literature*, 2011: 41-42, 176-177). These are legitimate, accountable transfers, largely covering the

ever-increasing interest payments for the “debts” the West claims African regimes owe it, beginning from the 1970s. A 2010 study by Global Financial Integrity, another Washington-based research organisation, shows that Africa may have also transferred the additional sum of US\$854 billion since the 1970s (“this figure might be more than double, at [US]\$1.8 trillion”, the study cautions – “Illicit financial flows from Africa: Hidden resource for development”, <http://www.gfintegrity.org/content/view/300/75/> [accessed 25 April 2013]) through illegitimate exports by the “leaderships” of corrupt African regimes – with Nigeria, a state that I have argued severally failed in 1945 whilst still under British occupation (see, for instance, Ekwe-Ekwe: 136), topping this league at US\$240.7 billion. In effect, the state, in Africa, no longer pretends that it exists to serve its peoples.

Additionally, and this might appear paradoxical, trade figures and associated data readily obtainable indicate that these African states of seeming dysfunction have performed their utmost, year in, year out, in that key variable for which their European World creators established them in the first place: redoubts for export services of designated mineralogical/agricultural products to the European World/overseas. There are no indications, whatsoever, that any of these countries has found it difficult to fulfil its principal obligations on this accord – not genocidist and kakistocratic Nigeria, no. 16 on the Fund for Peace’s current failed states index; not genocidist Democratic Republic of the Congo, no. 2, which has 80 per cent of the world’s reserves of coltan,** refined columbite-tantalite, critical in the manufacture of a range of small electronic equipment including, particularly, laptop computers and mobile phones; not genocidist Sudan, no. 3; not Chad, no. 5; not even Somalia, the world’s no.1 worst state. This is the context that that seemingly contradictory aphorism, “Africa works”, becomes hugely intelligible. Appositely, the *raison d’être* of the “state” in Africa is not really to serve its people(s), African peoples; it is, on the contrary, to respond, unfailingly, to the objective needs of its creators overseas. And to that extent, Africa, contrary to popular, predictable perception is a success, is working!

For instance, thanks to the continuing inordinate leverage that Britain and France, the two foremost conqueror-states of Africa, exercise in these fundamentally anti-African principalities tagged “the state” in Africa, both European countries have a greater secured access to Africa’s critical resources today than at any time during decades of their formal occupation of the continent. France, right from the post-World War II leadership of Charles de Gaulle to the current François Hollande’s has such glaring contempt for the notion of “sovereignty” in the so-called francophonie Africa, ensuring that France has invaded most of these 22 African countries 51 times since 1960 (for an excellent study on French hegemonic control of the finances/economies of these countries, see Gary Busch, “Africans pay for the bullets the French use to kill them”, <http://www.afrohistorama.info/article-africans-pay-for-the-bullets-the-french-use-to-kill-them-82337836.html> [accessed 15 May 2013]). As for Britain, sheer greed and opportunism appear to be the guiding principle to attaining its unenviable position as the leading arms-exporter to Africa, including Africa’s leading genocide-states (See, for instance, journalist Charles Onyango-Obbo’s candid insight on the subject in a BBC interview, “UK arming African countries”, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/699255.stm [accessed 12 May 2013]). Indeed, France and Britain have never had it so good in Africa. This is the background to which the brazenly racist epithet “sub-Sahara Africa” is operationalised currently (see Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe, “Do you still read or hear of “sub-Sahara Africa”? ... ‘What is it anyway?’ ...”, <http://re-thinkingafrica.blogspot.com.br/2013/06/still-read-or-hear-of-sub-sahara-africa.html> [accessed 14 June 2013]).

Those crucial African capital exports referred to earlier, legitimate or/and illegitimate, are funds of gargantuan proportions produced by the same humanity that many a commentator or campaign project would be quick to categorise as “poor” and “needy” for “foreign aid”. In the past 30 years,

these funds could and should easily have provided a comprehensive healthcare programme across Africa, the establishment of schools, colleges and skills' training, the construction of an integrative communication network, the transformation of agriculture to abolish the scourge of malnutrition, hunger and starvation, and, finally, it would have stemmed the emigration of 12 million Africans, including crucial sectors of the continent's middle classes and intellectuals to the Americas, Europe, Asia and elsewhere in the world since the 1980s.

Yet, despite these grim times of pulverised economies and failed and collapsing states in Africa, we shouldn't ever forget that those who still ensure that the situation on the ground is not much worse for the peoples than it is, are Africans – individuals, working alone, conscientiously, or working in concert with others or within a larger group to feed, clothe, house, educate and provide healthcare and some leisure to immediate and extended families, communities, neighbourhoods, villages and the like. For example, the surgeon who not only works tirelessly in a city hospital, with very limited resources, but uses his scarce savings to build a health centre and an access road in his village with subsidised treatment and prescription costs; the nurse who travels around her expansive health district, unfailingly, bringing care to the doorsteps of the people who neither can afford nor access it physically; the retired diplomat who has mobilised her community to set up a robust environmental care service that has involved the construction of public parks, regular refuse collection and some recycling, after-school free tuition for children with a planned community newspaper in the pipeline; the coach transport operator who lays out scores of his coaches to ferry survivors of a recently organised pogrom 350 miles away to safety; the civil rights activist and intellectual who rallies members of his internet discussion groups within the course of a month's intense campaign to successfully apprehend a contractor who was about to abscond with millions of (US) dollars' worth of public funds meant for a crucial upgrade of an international airport initially built by the community; a stretch of individuals' programmes of scholarships for students at varying levels of school life, provision of staff salaries in schools and colleges, maintenance of libraries and laboratories in schools and colleges, construction and maintenance of vital infrastructure in villages and counties, etc., etc. These are the authors busily scripting the path of the renaissance Africa.

To cap these phenomenal strides of Africans, the 12 million African émigrés mentioned earlier presently constitute the primary exporters of capital to Africa itself. Africans now dispatch more money to Africa than “Western aid” to the continent, year in, year out. In 2003, according to the World Bank, these African overseas residents sent to Africa the impressive sum of US\$200 billion – invested directly in their communities (World Bank, “Migrant Labor Remittances in Africa”, Africa Regional Paper Series, No. 64, Washington, November 2003: 12). This is 40 times the sum of “Western aid” in real terms in the same year – i.e. when the pervasive “overheads” attendant to the latter are accounted for (cf. Fairouz El Tom's recently concluded informed research, “Do NGOs practise what they preach?”, <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/87395> [accessed 15 May 2013]). In a sentence: The African humanity currently generates, overwhelmingly, the capital resource that at once sustains its very existence and is intriguingly exported to the Western World. It is precisely the same humanity that those who benefit immeasurably from this conundrum (over several decades and are guaranteed to benefit indefinitely from it, except this is stopped by Africans) have consistently portrayed, quite perversely, as a “charity case”. The notion that Africans are in any way dependent on a European World/Western World or any other overseas's “handout” is at best a myth or at worst an all-out lie – perpetuated by a circle of academics and in the media who in fact in the not-too-distant-past would have been in the vanguard “justifying”/“rationalising” African enslavement or/and the conquest and occupation of Africa.

Surely, this historic big lie of characterisation can no longer be sustained. Africa is endowed with the human resource and capital resource (in all its calibration and manifestation) to build advanced civilisations provided Africans abandon the prevailing “Berlin-states” of dysfunction that they have been forced into by the latter’s creators as we shall be elaborating soon. Thus, Africa’s pressing problem in the past 57 years of presumed restoration of independence has been how to husband incredible range of abundance of human and non-human resources for the express benefits of the peoples rather than it being fritted away so criminally.

Population, food, future

There has often been a “politically correct” rhetoric bandied about incessantly by some in academia, media and elsewhere who discuss this grave crisis of contemporary Africa in the context of population (as a useful background to this rhetoric, see, particularly, Roland Oliver, “The condition of Africa”: 8, already referred to). Africa, it is concluded in these assertions, requires some “decrease” in its population and/or population-growth as an important measure towards achieving a “solution”. On the contrary, as we now demonstrate, Africa is, indeed, in no way overpopulated. The population argument is usually advanced on a number of fronts. First, there is a “theory” that the given landmass which presently defines Africa and its various so-called 54 nation-states cannot sustain the existing populations, but, more critically, the “projected populations” in years to come. We shall examine the degree to which this “theory” is able to stand up to serious scientific scrutiny first by comparing Africa’s landmass vis-à-vis its population and those of some of the countries of the world.

Africa’s population is currently one billion covering an incredible vast landmass of 30,221,533 sq km or about four times the landmass of Brazil (all the statistics here on countries’ population, landmass and the like are derived from The World Bank, World Development Report 2012 and United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2012). Ethiopia’s landmass is 1,221,892 sq km, five times the size of Britain’s at 244,044 sq km. Yet Britain’s population of 62 million is three-quarters that of Ethiopia’s 83 million. As for Somalia, it is 2.6 times the size of Britain but has a population of only 9 million. Sudan and South Sudan provide an even more fascinating comparison. Whilst both countries are 10 times the size of Britain, they support a population of 45 million – about 70 per cent the size of Britain. In fact the Sudans have a landmass equal to that of India which is populated by 1.22 billion people – i.e., more than the population of all of Africa! Britain is one-tenth the size of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) which has a landmass of 2,345,395 sq km, similar to the Sudans and India. In other words, the DRC is about ten times the size of Britain but with a population of 71 million, nine million more than the population of the latter. Even though the DRC landmass is about twice that of all of Britain, France and Germany (1,275,986 sq km), it has just about one-third of these three west European countries’ total population of 208 million. Inevitably, the evidence does beg the question as to where this population really is!

Second, let us examine similarly sized countries. France has a landmass of 547,021 sq km close to Somalia’s. However, France’s population of 65 million is about seven times the population of Somalia. Similarly, Botswana is slightly larger than France at 660,364 sq km but with a population of 2 million, a minuscule proportion of France’s. Uganda’s landmass at 236,039 sq km is about the size of Britain’s 244,044 sq km. Yet with a population of only 33 million, Uganda is about half that of Britain’s. Similarly, Ghana’s landmass of 238,535 sq km makes it approximately equal to the size of Britain. Ghana is however populated by only 25 million people, far less than one-half Britain’s population.

Southern World to Southern World comparisons can also prove useful in exposing the fallacy of either Africa's "large population" or "potential explosive population". Iran's size of 1,647,989 sq km is about two-thirds that of Sudan and South Sudan combined. Yet its population, unlike the Sudans' 45 million, is at least one and one-half times as large at 75 million. Mexico's landmass is 1,943,950 sq km. This is approximately the same size as the Sudans but with a population of 115 million, Mexico is two and one-half times the former. Pakistan's landmass of 803,937 sq km is just about Namibia's 864,284 sq km but Pakistan's population is 174 million while Namibia's is 2 million! Even though Bangladesh's 143,998 sq km-landmass makes it roughly one-eighth the size of Angola (1,246,691 sq km) as well as that of South Africa's (1,221,029 sq km), Bangladeshi population at 159 million outstrips Angola's 13 million and South Africa's 50 million. If we were to return to our earlier comparisons, Angola and South Africa are about 4-5 times the size of Britain but with one-fifth and four-fifths respectively of the latter's population.

Crucial reminders, genocide, post-Berlin states of transformation

Finally, we should turn to the question of resource, its availability or lack of it, and therefore its ability or inability to support the African population – another component of Africa's "over-population" fallacy. Well over 50 per cent of Uganda's arable land, some of the richest in Africa, remains uncultivated. Were Uganda to expand its current food production significantly, not only would it be completely self-sufficient, but it would be able to feed all the countries contiguous to its territory without difficulty, and GM free too! The overall statistics of the African situation are even more revealing as with regards to the continent's long-term possibilities. Just about a quarter of the potential arable land of Africa is being cultivated presently (FAO and IIED, "What effect will biofuels have on forest land and poor people's access to it?", 2008). Even here, an increasingly high proportion of the cultivated area is assigned to so-called cash-crops (cocoa, coffee, tea, groundnut, sisal, floral cultivation, etc.) for exports at a time when there has been a virtual collapse, across the board, of the price of these crops in international commodity markets. In the past 30 years, the average real price of these African products abroad has been about 20 per cent less than their worth during the 1960s-70s period which was soon after the "restoration of independence". As for the remaining 75 per cent of Africa's uncultivated land, this represents 60 per cent of the entire world's potential (John Endres, "Ready, set, sow", *The Journal of Good Governance Africa*, Issue 6, November 2012: 1). The world is aware of the array of strategic minerals such as coltan,¹ cobalt, copper, diamonds, gold, industrial diamonds, iron ore, manganese, phosphates, titanium, uranium, and of course petroleum oil found in virtually all regions across the continent.

Africa remains one of the world's most wealthy and potentially one of the world's wealthiest continents. What is not always associated with the profiles of Africa is its vast acreage of rich farmlands with capacity to optimally support the food needs of generations of African peoples indefinitely. In addition, the famous fish industry in Sénégal, Angola, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana for instance, Botswana's rich cattle farms, west Africa's yam and plantain belts extending from southern Cameroon to southern Sénégal, the continent's rich rice production fields, etc., etc., all highlight the potential Africa has for fully providing for all its food needs. Thus, what the current African socioeconomic situation shows is extraordinarily reassuring, provided the acreage devoted to cultivation is expanded and expressly targeted to address Africa's own internal consumption needs.

¹ Refined columbite-tantalite, coltan, is critical in the manufacture of a range of small electronic equipment including, particularly, laptop computers and mobile phones; 80 per cent of the world's reserves of this mineral is in the Democratic Republic of the Congo which is being currently subjected to a genocidal conflict where 5 million people have been murdered since the 1990s.

Land-use directed at agriculture for food output must become the focus of agricultural policy in the new Africa, as opposed to the calamitous waste of “cash-crop” production for export and/or the more recently observed “land-grab” – parcelling away of land to foreign governments and organisations – occurring across the continent (on this, see the excellent work of Emeka Akaezuwa’s “Stop Africa Land Grab” movement –<http://www.stopafricalandgrab.com/author/emeka-akaezuwa/>[accessed 14 May 2013]).

It is an inexplicable and inexcusable tragedy that any African child, woman, or man could go without food in the light of the staggering endowment of resources in Africa. Africa constitutes a spacious, rich and arable landmass that can support its population, which is still one of the world’s least densely populated and distributed, into the indefinite future. There is only one condition, though, for the realisation of this goal – Africa must utilise these immense resources for the benefit of its own peoples within newly negotiated, radically decentralised sociopolitical dispensations which must abandon the current murderous “states” or “Berlin-states” as they should be more appropriately categorised (Ekwe-Ekwe, *Readings from Reading*: 27, 41, 44, 69, 200). These principalities that dutifully go by the very fanged names of their creators (Nigeria, Niger, Chad, the Sudan, Central Africa Republic... whatever!) are an agglomeration of inchoate, inorganic and alienating emplacements that have been an asphyxiating trap for swathes of African constituent nations with evidently distinct histories, cultures and aspirations.

We now no longer require any reminders that the primary existence of these principalities is to destroy or disable as many enterprisingly resourceful and resource-based constituent peoples, nations and publics within the polity that are placed in their genocide march and sights. Here, the example of the Igbo people of west Africa cannot be overstressed. This is one of the most peaceful and industrious of peoples subjected to the longest-running genocide of the contemporary epoch by the Nigeria state. The Igbo genocide is the foundational genocide of post-(European)conquest Africa. It inaugurated Africa’s current age of pestilence. During the course of 44 months (29 May 1966-12 January 1970) of indescribable barbarity and carnage not seen in Africa since the German-perpetration of the genocide against the Herero people of Namibia in the early 1900s, the composite institutions of the Nigeria state, civilian and military, murdered 3.1 million Igbo people or one-quarter of this nation’s population. To understand the politics of the Igbo genocide and the politics of the “post”-Igbo genocide is to have an invaluable insight into the salient features and constitutive indices of politics across Africa in the past 50 years. Africans elsewhere remained largely silent on the gruesome events in Nigeria but did not foresee the grave consequences of such indifference as subsequent genocides in Rwanda, Darfur, Nuba Mountains, South Kordofan (all three in the Sudan) and Zaïre/Democratic Republic of the Congo, and in other wars in every geographical region of Africa during the period have demonstrated catastrophically. Just as the Nigerian operatives of mass murder appeared to have got away without censure from the rest of Africa, other genocidal and brutal African regimes soon followed in Nigeria’s footpath, murdering a horrifically additional tally of 12 million people in their countries considered “undesirables” or “opponents”. These 12 million murdered in the latter bloodbaths would probably have been saved if Africans had intervened robustly to stop the initial genocide against the Igbo people.

It is abundantly clear that the factors which have contributed to determining the very poor quality of life of Africa’s population presently have to do with the nonuse, partial use, or the gross misuse of the continent’s resources year in, year out. This is thanks to an asphyxiating “Berlin-state” whose strategic resources are used largely to support the Western World and others and an overseer-grouping of local forces which exists solely to police the dire straits of existence that is the lot of the average African. As a result, the broad sectors of African peoples are yet to lead, centrally, the entire process

of societal reconstruction and transformation by themselves. Surely, an urgently restructured, culturally-supportive political framework that enhances the quality of life of Africans is really the pressing subject of focus for Africa.

One immediate move that states across the world, especially Britain, the leading arms exporter to Africa, and the rest of the West, Russia and China and others can make to support the ongoing efforts by peoples across Africa to rid themselves of such frighteningly genocidal and dysfunctional states is to ban all arms sales to Africa. This ban must be total and comprehensive. A total and comprehensive arms ban on Africa will radically advance the current quest on the ground by Africans, across the continent, to construct democratic and extensively decentralised new state forms that guarantee and safeguard human rights, equality and freedom for individuals and peoples. Africans have both the vision and the capacity to create alternative states – for them it is an imperative upon which their survival is based.

Forty-seven years and 15 million murders on, Africans finally realise that there cannot be any meaningful advancement without abandoning the post-conquest state, essentially a genocide-state. This state is the bane of African existence and progress. It is in the longer-term interest of the rest of the world, especially in the West, to support African transformations initiated by the peoples rather than the “helmspersons”/“helmsconstituent nations” ostensibly entrenched in the hierarchical architecture that maps the typical continent’s genocide-state.

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On the edge of the river, between the waters and the forest, lies the privileged home of Amazonian enigmas. These enigmas have since been transfigured into world enigmas, evoking disputes on origins and destinies. It is the space where the river flows into the imaginary and the multiplicity of life and the rhythms of time can be taken, to reflect the uncertain borderlines between real and unreal, and the spontaneous stupefaction, in the face of chance, can be observed.

The privileged sense of contemplation leads to the mischievous aesthetic fluidity aided by the chimerical eyes that seek the mystery behind and emanating from things and, inside which, becomes alive, in the vast and bestowed enjoyment provided by the imagination. A journey through nebulous destinations, one that aims towards no port – nor needs none! The river's edge needs no logic to be coherent. It encompasses the most precious cultural archives of the amazon world – the symbolic mangroves of our culture, which form the submerged roots of the caboclo spirit.

The rhythm of the tides and its telluric regularity stimulate a multiple, though fatalistic view of the encompassing world, such as the Greek moira, that is, subdued by a predetermined and inevitable fate. Everything happens, as the stars would predict. The awareness of the limits of life instigates the search for the unlimited. An unsystematic exploration, although an impetuous one. Likewise, it is the recurrent and seasonal pororoca, the three colossal waves that throw themselves into the rivers sinking the boats and flooding the banks, showing the cabana rebelliousness of the river against the margins that imposes the limits and swallowing them with unexpected voracity.

Men, revealing cosmic affectivity, promote the aesthetical conversion of reality into signs by means of daily labor, conversations with the tides fraternal fellowship with the stars, solidarity with the winds that propel the boat sails, and with the patient friendship of the rivers. As if that world were one single cosmology, a huge and green cosmos allegory. A unique, indivisible real yet imaginary world where a sort of poetics of the imaginary dimension started being built and whose span interferes with the complexity of social relations.

The aesthetic imaginary impregnates everything around it with its spermatic and fertile viscosity, emphasizing the passage from the trivial to the poetic dimension. It generates the novice, the recreated. It enhances the self-expressive magnitude of the appearance and its meaningful ambiguity, which turns into the focal point of interest.

In the beginning of the current decade, the Amazonian culture may have represented one of the rarest constants of this spiritual atmosphere in which the aesthetic, resulting from a singular

Daydreaming meditation between the river and the forest (Amazonian Culture generating knowledge)

João Paes Loureiro

relationship between man and nature is reflected in, and mythically illuminates culture. This culture will remain an aural radiating glow, that persists until the flames of the forest burn, the river pollution and the changes in human relations do not irreversibly destroy the “locus” that allows this poetic - aesthetic attitude, to prevail along the vastness of the Amazonian boundless lands. The peculiar ways of life and reproduction cultivated by the caboclo as well as the ways found for a poetic production of life tend to remain alive and fruitful, for yet a third millennium cycle, as long as the essential socio environmental conditions of this “locus” are preserved,

Between the river and the forest, it is necessary to learn to see effectively, which means, a way of looking at things sustained by the sense of belonging to the emotion of the land, with an open sensibility to conceive the rarest of things, with the soul in the eye. The transfiguration of sight happens in the moment in which one perceives the diversity within the greens; pictures the corps of the ballet in the moving açai palms; the voluptuousness of the flocking birds; the waves that become lost in the eye of the canoe master; the girl at the window, the lonely portrait of a lifetime’s wait; one igité dancing on the waves and among the stars; the double reality of the river banks reflected in the waters and comparable to the pieces of an enchanted card.

Aligned with the bluffs, between the river and the forest, lie the archives of the Amazonian life. It is a truly school of vision, Pedagogy of contemplation. The education of sight. The vision that experiences the dizzying vertigo of a wandering soul. In the margins of the river and the forest, a dual life erupts. Between the river and the forest is the reign of ambiguities and the site of the ever-changing fluid contours. This place outlines the development of a science of libido where desire shines, the aesthetic mischievous fluidity is put into evidence, the pleasure of contemplation is dominant and the sharing with the nature is the greatest prize of all. A way of contemplation, which conjures up a real system. The system I call ‘poetics of the imaginary’ in the Amazonian culture.

Between the river and the forest, one experiences the feeling of the sublime existing in nature, to such an extent that it is imperious to populate this splendidly elevated reality with beings that live up to it – the divinities who inhabit the submersed Olympus of the rivers and the deepest heart of the forest – the *encantarias*. The *encantarias* are the sanctuaries of the gods of the Amazonian theology in the bottom of the rivers and inside the uncultivated thick woods. Each enchanted beach is an Island of Circe, of the imaginary dimension, inviting us in. The effect of the sublime is simply a way of feeling. It is the representation of the real by means of the unrepresentable. The boiúna, the mythical cobragrande, for example, is the effect of the sublime representing the unrepresentable from the rivers.

Between the river and the forest, the transcending experience results from what has been lived and felt. The serenity emanates from calm waters, the restlessness presaging stormy nights are trivial experiences, not Romanesque or Philosophic readings.

The admiration, the wonderment flourish from the contemplation of things and these peculiarities that bloom from the sensations cause the spirit to reach the essence. The sublime effect arises from the astonishment in the presence of the storms, and the pororocas. It is generated in the dazzlement before the awe-inspiring phenomena of the nature and the cosmos. The explanation - elucidation for such mysteries is metaphoric, allegoric and takes place under the poetic radiance of the liturgy of the myths. It represents the attempt to explain the unexplainable through the unrepresentable of representation.

This primacy of vision does not eliminate the role of the subject as a participant - spectator performing concurrently as an actor and a watcher of himself and of others. From the midst of the caboclo’s daydreaming meditation busts out the enthusiasm of imagination, revolutionizing the logical hierarchies between the real and unreal. In a scenery, which remains still largely untouched by

men, neither with modifying nor with moralizing purposes, the rivers and the forests offer themselves as welcoming spaces for the laboring and the daily routine of the caboclo, for the creation of the quotidian theology, the mysticism of their vertigo from the unlimited.

To lead an unrestrained life, the caboclo lives side by side with supernatural beings, because only imagination is able to transpose the horizons of rationality making him accept that it was the move of the boiuna, the mythical cobragande, which caused the boat to collapse; the curupira was the one to blame for the hunter who got lost in the woods; it was the Iara who seduced the man to drown, as he apparently had no reasons to die in the river; and that the melancholy did not come from the soul, but from singing of the acauã, the bird of bad omen.

Looking at the immensity of the river and the forest, men, incapable of dominating its vast limits, penetrates this enormity with an attitude that makes him superior to nature: he creates the enchanted beings and the gods alike, of his theology, keeping the overwhelmingly grandiosity which involves himself, under his control. He, then, becomes the first and foremost reason of all. The caboclo: a creature who creates the origins. This poetics of the imaginary does not turn the caboclo into a poet, but it keeps him involved in an atmosphere of poiesis, which turns the imaginary into the *encantaria* of his soul.

The infinite space induces the vision and the spirit to rest. The *encantaria* ends this compliance and accustomedness of vision with the diversity of imagination. Besides the apparent “sublime monotony” provoked by the magnificent nature of geography, there is a world of imaginary *encantarias* under an ethno dramaturgy overflowing with boiunas, botos, mães-d’água, iaras, curupiras, porominas, caruanas, tupãs, anhangas, matintas, etc. Whereas the eye calmly contemplates, the spirit works tirelessly in the underlying mines of imagination.

The desire to have the supernatural presence around is a response to the inevitable feeling of solitude men experiences before the splendor of nature.

The restless balance of solitude leads the caboclo to search for realities that hide beyond the surfaces, transferring the depths of his soul to nature. His nurtured belief in the enchanted beings liberates him and isolates him from the triviality of daily life.

Perhaps the river dwelling caboclos, resembling the old romantics, have found in the river and amongst the lush greens a privileged place in which to discover themselves. It is in this way that the intuitive Kantians also understood the subliminal aesthetic dimension of nature, which was magnified and poeticized in the imagination, in an ‘infinitezation’ of senses (which, in the words of Julia Kristeva, belongs to the poetic). The *encantaria* is not a lost paradise. Nor is it an Eden or Hell. It is an Olympus, a space of dreams and chimeras - it is not desired, nor feared. It is a world created by the very abstract poetry of contemplation.

The *encantaria* is a delve into the profoundness of things as seen through appearances, or, the way they are perceived, by the recognition and the creation through the vein of the aesthetic and poeticizing imaginary of the Amazonian culture. It shows a singular mode of creation and recreation of the cultural life, which has, at all times, evolved, portrayed by this sort of *sfumato* that hangs in the indecipherable margin between real and the surreal. “*Sfumato*”, which in artistic terminology and in the theory of Leonardo Da Vinci is described as the blurred, smoky looking contour of figures used to poeticize their relationship with the whole exterior world and thus, establishing an imprecise division with no delimitations, similar to what happens when different colored waters bodies merge, a typical phenomena among the amazon rivers. A precious sample of this iconographic image of the *sfumato* is the encounter of the light brown waters of Rio Amazonas and the black waters of Rio Negro, or with the green waters of Rio Tapajós. The limits of the brown, black, green or bluish waters is not clear, distinct or defined, but instead, the mix of the viscously interpenetrated bodies that creates

a green-black-yellowish tone shows up as an expression of the *sfumato* that ends in establishing a single reality, a coincidence of opposites, in the physical distinction which characterizes these rivers' meeting of waters. It is in an environment filled with such peculiar situations that the nocturnal Bachelardian man, from the Amazon, walks. Such nightly man faces situations of unclear borders and varying geographical conditions that are motivating for the creation of an actual surreality, similarly to the effect caused by the 'wonderful epic', an asset for poeticizing of history, in the epics, resulting from mixture between true history and myths. An everyday surreality, instigator of reverie, in which the senses remain both aware and awake, because it is inherent of this condition to be actively aware.

While depending on the river and the forest for almost everything, the caboclo uses the goods of nature, and transfigures them. This same transfiguring dimension presides over the symbolic cultural translations, the exchanges, and over the stimulated imagination impregnated by the sperm and fertility of the aesthetic dimension.

The transfiguration of the reality by means of impregnating the poetic imagination is a reflex of the passage from the quotidian to its aestheticized reality in our culture, which is achieved by valuing the self-expressiveness of appearances, in which the interested observer concentrates. It is this interest that leads the pleasing contemplative thoughts to the shape of the ambiguity of the aesthetic dimension.

Under this perspective of nature, the region is transformed into a conceptual, mythical, vague, unrepeatable, place (meaning that absolutely every part of this environment is unique). A place that is both near and far from those who see it. Be it for those who inhabit the riverbanks that appear to distinguish the borders of the forest and the dream, be it for those who inhabit the forest, or be it for those who inhabit the nearby villages, those small little ones which seem to be much more preserved from the influences of our times. The way our region is seen by the outsiders is full of this 'close yet distant' approach typical of situations that are involved in "mysterious auras". Walter Benjamin, in his studies of the multiplication of the artwork in our days, emphasizes and characterizes the aura of the original art. In his classic text, discussing unique art, before art reproduction techniques, he describes it as being "The unique appearance of a distance, no matter how close it might be."

When conveying the Amazon, one learns that this close yet distant, near yet far, touchable yet untouchable place where man lives a quotidian life is a common perception that manages to present the rarest of conditions. Even in the conflicts created by the increasing devastation of his celebrated nature, the 'auratizing' factors become evident: a single and universal good, impossible to be recovered once destroyed; fauna and flora's richness whose disappearance would be an irreplaceable loss; collection of incalculable life forms, as if it were the most fertile womb of the universe (in just over 1 hectare of forest still unaffected by man, there are more species than all of Europe's combined ecosystems); constitutive presence of untransferable and non-portable values. For both the ordinary traveler or the student, that is a founder principle, a postulate that establishes that Amazon is conceived as a unique and unrepeatable good, revealing a *hic et nunc* that is the result of an accumulation of signs of universal imaginary. The sign of a unique breed of nature, original and unrepeatable.

In order to understand the Amazon, the human experience it concentrates, and its surrealist humanism, one should, therefore, take into consideration the social imaginary. All true humanity should be founded on that which exists beyond scientific advancements, the economy, and all other exclusionary developments. It could be said that the cabolco – the Hesiodic figure of the tropics- in his attempts to live out his daily theogony and to spontaneously value the imaginary world full of representations, seems to believe in primordial realism of the images. For the caboclo, a planter and fisher of symbols, the image appears to be composed of its own force, as if it were the creator of a new world reality that is capable of entering the foggy space where the lost fragments of memory

lie. Love, for example, can be expressed by Tambatajá, a plant that sprouted in the place where the Macuxi indian buried his beloved bride. Love is also reflected in the enchanted dolphin, the Boto, the incorrigible seducer, which takes on a human form dressed in white, and then returns to the river as his mammal self. It could even be the appearance of fatal female glare of the deep waters of the Uiana River, the spot which attracts the young adventurers enchanted by the deep waters of love and death. It implies, that indescribable images such as that of love, for example, are being installed in the vast world around us, making the landscape meaningful, sensitive, and visible.

The landscape is nature penetrated by the sight. Through this perspective, nature is created by culture. When confronted with a normal landscape in appearance what changes is the nature of the soul. Through this perspective the landscape will always be new. It is not a continuous line of successive spaces, but of a circle that penetrates superimposed layers in the same space.

The river dwelling cabolco is a stationary traveller.

He sails through the abstract in search of some kind of origins. As Paul Zunthor affirms, “the landscape does not exist in itself. The landscape is the new “fiction”, a “construed object”. This fiction, I believe, “is an effect of the sailor’s navigating eye, in reverie, and creating the abstract. He renews the landscape that lies superimposed before him, similarly to the contemplation of successive landscapes, a typical routine of all travellers. The stagnant traveller- the caboclo- creates the landscape before him, constructing his own plasticized version of his ideal landscape. By creating the myths, this landscape is a represented object, which endows the scene with the theater of culture and the legitimization of beliefs. With these components, the ideal landscape is construed. The river banks, the legends, bridges, nights, houses, family, life in society, trees, and the rumor of silence in the lips of the wind are the essential components of creation. While inventing his scenery, the caboclo invents himself as part of the whole. He creates a new world to be lived and himself as a capable being to inhabit this poetized world. Everything seems to be governed by transcendental forces. Nature becomes part of the holy, an ideal landscape that involves the mythical allegory inside the sacred atmosphere of the *encantarias*. Inhabited by divinities, the *encantarias* comprise nature’s ideal and mild place.

The imaginary reinforces the freedom of our creation process. In this stage setting, we are equally placed as the mornings are. The margins of the river and the forest are the “*sfumato*” between real and non- real. These limits are the smoky, blurred area that contours things, making them vague and mysterious. The non – real is no longer what is hidden and submerged in real. On the contrary, it reveals itself within the *sfumato*, through a discovering game played by imagination – a vigorous exercise of our senses in order to reach understanding. This is the poetics of the imaginary in the Amazon culture.

The mythopoetic fictions of the riverside world aim at no ruling of morality; instead, they are created to reveal the beauty, to stimulate the pleasure of feeling and living. The caboclo does not lie or hides the truth. He does Coleridge named “suspension of disbelief”

First off and by principle, it is essential that we accept the compromise with fiction. The listener must acknowledge the contents narrated by an imaginary story, but should not think that the narrator is lying. This ‘fictional agreement’ is what Umberto Eco mentions in the precursor to the six walks of the fictional woods. Through this fictional agreement, we demonstrate our belief in the oral tradition and its truth. We free the free will that exists between imagination and understanding. We believe in one truth. We recognize the truth’s power of existence. Its verisimilitude. Its dreamlike logic.

The cabolco, when narrating his oral tales, makes us believe that he is telling the truth, just as he believes it to be true. He hopes to evoke some sympathy in us that builds his credibility. He cites details and adds rich effects referencing reality. This reality forming concept, created by Roland Barthes, tries to legitimize fiction through its references to reality and it’s habit of presenting recognizable

characters and actions, indicating specific dates – which adds to the extra literary element of the text. We have to enter in this game. We must enter into it with a suspension of disbelief. If we agree to believe in the spontaneous narration of the lived experiences in the reality of the cabolco, it would be unfair to separate our understanding of him into two faces: the honest narrator and liar. In many respects, he is always honest, be it as a friend or a family member. We have to cope with this ambiguity that is inherent in the concept of truth. On one side, the spontaneous belief, on the other side, a resolved acceptance. The surrealness comes from the legitimate similarities. The information condensed with the elements of reality attribute to the unreal characteristics of reality. The real world is essential in creating its unreal counterpart. We have to accept that the caboloco has imagination, a fact, which does not imply that he is a liar.

Given the practicality of life, it's a special and unobtrusive pleasure to invent stories different from reality and to be allowed to tell them and be heard. Even more so, once we are heard, we and all that surrounds us receives attention. The imaginary, with the exuberant erotic power of beauty in our legends is, to the caboclo, the testament of his freedom to be and create. The legends invented by caboclo populating the *encantarias* reveal his desire to partake in a higher reality that he acknowledges to be in the nature where he lives. The river and the forest are like origins, a ground zero, the place of all beginnings. The place of the dawns of the world, where, instead of a past, one searches the depths of what is around him. Aware of his mortal condition, the caboclo seeks eternity as being part of the *encantarias*.

The “imaginary”, this dreamly meditation, is understood as a cultural capital. According to Gilbert Durand, the set of non-free images and relationships that constitute the human being's epic center of thought and unconsciousness. They're not fantasies, in the sense of a false reality, but the symbolic substrate or psycho-cultural set of broad nature (present both in primitive thought as the civilized, in the rational as in the poetic, in normal and pathological), promoting psychosocial balance threatened by the awareness of death. Following Durand's logic, the imaginary is understood here, as a set of images and relations amongst images produced by man from, on the one hand, universal and invariant forms, as much as possible, and, on the other, from forms generated in historically determinable private contexts.

The meaning of riverine caboclo imaginary arises from an “anthropological path” of tension and exchange between nature and culture, having mankind as its synthesis. It is the ceaseless exchange between the subjective and the objective, integrating the universal and unique, the inside and outside, the individual and groups. The Amazonian imaginary is the pendulum of solution between nature and culture issues in which it is sustained. In such a path the things take on new meaning, in a set of interactions between opposites. The fantasy becomes driven by the transcendence or sublimation.

Facing the fluent and current matter of the water of the river crossing, the caboclo releases and opens his imagination, immersed in the freedom of a whimsical temperament, which grants his passage to the poetic. Therefore, more than just gazing, he dreams the landscape that makes him dream. He dreams seeking infinity not in space. He seeks the infinite in depth. Seemly inert, the caboclo continues his ceaseless work of imagination, inventing his theogony. Or better, his mythogony. And I hope that the inhabitant of the land does not have to culturally allegorize his own mythogony – that I call deep Amazon – as a consequence of society's current and expropriatory violations. That is, a mythogonizing process.

“We cannot forget that Amazonian rivers are freshwater. We are reminded of Bachelard, when he says, “freshwater is true mythical water.” We could add, then, that our mythopoetic drinks our rivers freshwater's milk and honey.

The freshwater river's liquid language unravels the nature's oral narrative. The storyteller's

fluid language. Language narrates the caboclo's dreamly visions that he recounts when explaining his tales and legends, in the liquid and fluid spoken current through the rivers' lips, and that is, in the end, the source of all language. A tide of languages speaking of the boto, boiúnas, porominas, macunaímas, tupãs, *encantarias*, expulsion of settlers and Indians from the land they belong. The tide also denounces river contamination from mining, witnessing landless men in the land of endless men. And, in an intercurrent way between the local and virtual life of electronic communication, the linguistic tide already starts to recount the stories in the popular orality that the satellite palm transmits to be passed on through the Internet.

In today's world, also one of the Amazon's more complex moments of existence, art plays a fundamental role in the cosmos (Guattari). The world today occurs as much in the Amazon, as the Amazon is a part of the world. Art, for its part, is capable of converting the local into the universal, and the universal into the local by being an expression of local culture (S. Langer). Art, in this sense, can represent a performative figure of the region when faced with diversity, globalization, consumerism and predatory exploitation. Art can reveal the culture's strategy of transaction, in which one does not superimpose over another, and yet, is capable to reveal paths towards strategic development. In regards to the 'riverflowing' language to discuss the geography of the culture, the artistic language is one viable path-yet, not a stagnant one. The artistic language is always an ever evolving entity.

The Amazon rainforest is an immense lush, green tapestry sewn with a spool of yarn made of all the world's fresh water rivers. The water is a visible silence. 'She' offers herself to an open journey through her inner self, in search of depth not of distances. The legend, in this poetic Amazonian imaginary, is like an allegoric expression of desire. The everyday impediments of practical life disappear, and gratuity diminishes the forces of rationality. The forest being, in his restful daydreaming, liberates the intuitive and creative imagination that is the source of this desire in the ideal world. Much more than for the fatalism of a life governed by natural determinism, the amazon culture, historically produced, structures itself in the logic of the dream.



SESSION 1

COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGIES, COLONISATION AND DECOLONISATION 1

Abstract: This paper is part of an ongoing research that aims to provide a comprehensive and current view of how Latin American nation-states are employing digital tools to narrate and decolonize national histories. Specifically, by surveying a wide range of Web sites resulting both from strategically planned government-funded projects, corporate sectors and autonomous initiatives in civil society, I have been examining the similarities and differences between online histories produced in the region. In addition to historiographical content *per se*, I investigate Web technologies currently employed in order to enrich the representation and interpretation of history, as well as graphic and Web design strategies used to attract and engage readers increasingly receptive to new media-based communication. Since a comparative and critical assessment of Latin American Web sites devoted to history remains a virtually unexplored territory, this research will constitute a significant contribution both to contemporary Latin American studies and to the field of Digital Humanities as a whole.

However, beyond a mere transnational survey of e-history projects, I also pay attention to past and ongoing relations between historiography, colonialism, decolonization and nation building processes. If print-capitalism, especially through historical-romantic novels and newspapers, promoted socio-cultural changes that contributed to the emergence of nineteenth-century *imagined communities* (ANDERSON, 1991), it is fair to assume that contemporary modes of communication continue to exert an enormous influence on the re-construction and negotiation of national imaginaries around the world. Therefore, far from a simple technological study, my research also discusses the role of Web historiography in the (re)creation of current national identity discourses and feelings of belonging. In particular, by approaching Latin American countries as *unfinished* imagined communities (ITZIGSOHN; HAU, 2006), I investigate how Internet-based projects – in alignment with exciting political and epistemological decolonization currently taking place in Latin America, both at grassroots and national/institutional levels, and particularly in Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela - are challenging the erasure of Indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants, women and LGBT/queer historical agency, which constitutes a central pillar of traditional Latin American histories published since the nineteenth-century.

1. Web, history and national belonging: or Imagined Communities 2.0

Studies on the formation of the nation-state have traditionally

Decolonization 2.0: Digital tools and challenges to Latin American historical discourses

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focused on the second term: the state. Indeed, the state's bureaucratic structure - heavily documented in its continuous (re)production of decrees, minutes, laws and correspondence - appeared, at one time, to be particularly appropriate for the historian's familiar methodology of interpreting the past through empirical, print-based sources. The subjective dimension of the nation, on the other hand, which becomes known and accepted through a gradual transformation of collective feelings of belonging to a community, posed a major challenge to the standard historical method (JANCSÓ and PIMENTA, 2000).

Demands for a more comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of national histories contributed to the popular 1990s reception of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* in most of Latin America (CHASTEEN, 2003). Particularly popular was one of its concise but judicious hypotheses: that widespread reading of print media - above all, novels and newspapers - advanced the cultural changes essential to the possibility of imagining the first nation-states at the turn of the eighteenth-century. Although Latin American scholars have embraced Anderson's approach toward nationalism as a cultural artefact rather than a mere political ideology, his book is increasingly viewed more as an audacious essay, whose merit consists of its overall theories and innovative conjectures, rather than for any direct applicability to specific national cases.

Consistent with this approach, rather than simply condemning Anderson's propositions for failing to stand up to empirical scrutiny, Latin American scholars have opted to emphasise both the importance and the limits of his interpretative model, and to benefit from a critical and selective use of his ideas. For example, some argue for the need to correct Anderson's chronology: if print-capitalism promoted feelings of national belonging in Latin America, this was more significant during and after independence movements than before them (GUERRA, 2003).

In this paper, I take Guerra's argument to its radical conclusion by suggesting that studies on the formation of the nations are not complete unless they also address the current role of post-print media - notably, the Internet - in disseminating and updating national discourses. Going beyond Anderson's print-capitalism, several studies have already pointed to the centrality of "electronic capitalism" such as television and cinema (WARNER, 1992; LEE, 1993) in the way twentieth-century populations imagined themselves as part of collective societies. However, although cyberspace is frequently used to strengthen nationalist discourses, it is symptomatic that relatively few scholars are investigating how the Web has also been playing a central role in twenty-first century nation-building processes (ERIKSEN, 2007) while, at the same time, providing a dynamic platform for heterodox post-national and plurinational voices.

As mentioned, this paper is part of broader ongoing research project. By means of a wide-ranging and critical survey of Web sites dedicated to history produced in Latin America, the research is trying to fill a substantial gap in the recent literature on ongoing relations between historiography, media and nation building processes. Specifically, by investigating what can be conveniently denominated as *imagined communities 2.0*, I "upgrade" theories of nationalism by shedding light on several aspects of how Internet-based histories published in Latin America are informing/transforming nationalism in the region. These include the following: the variety of digital technologies, as well as graphic and Web design strategies, employed to communicate with national citizens increasingly immersed in new media-based culture; how traditional publishers of (print-based) national history - such as leading universities, public museums, archives and libraries - are adapting to and managing to compete in increasingly hegemonic digital environments; the way state-funded online history projects are being supplemented (or often replaced) by corporate and private enterprises that engage with national historiography mainly for commercial reasons; how e-history content produced specifically for mobile and game devices are engaging with increasingly nomadic/diasporic national populations,

as well how national history discourses are being reconfigured by advertising and entertainment industries; how social movements and other autonomous initiatives in the civil society are taking advantage of virtually-inexpensive and non-bureaucratic e-publishing tools – such as blogs, social networking services and Wiki platforms - to draw attention to conflictive aspects and often tabooed historical issues common to most nations in the continent, such as enduring racism, ethnocide, sexual oppression, religious persecution and internal plurinationalities.

Because of constraints of time and space, I dedicated the rest of the paper to the one of key themes of this current research project: visual decolonization and multimedia literacy.

2. Visual Decolonization

For professional Latin American(ist) historians, an aspiration for multimedia literacy may seem impertinent, overwhelming and/or chimerical, especially for those challenged by the mastery of verbal conventions. If we are still learning how to competently write and read with words, why bother seeking proficiency in multimedia and Web design? After all, there are capable Web masters, programmers and graphic artists available to assist historians in need of their “technical” skills.

However, in evolving transdisciplinary enterprises such as the Web with its complexity and rapid changes, division of labour is inevitable. It is unrealistic to think that historians - or any other professional – can have expertise in the countless Web languages and technologies. Nonetheless, just as historians are able to perform basic structuring and formatting of their works in conventional text editors such as Microsoft Word, it is reasonable to assume that they would also benefit from producing basic multimedia content using simplified, off-the-shelf Web and graphic design software. Such a do-it-yourself approach is especially recommended given the increasing centrality of the Web for daily teaching and research tasks.¹

Above all, I argue that multimedia literacy can aid decolonial historians by providing an exciting tool to re-interpret colonial and neo-colonial-based visual material. I support this claim by focusing on nineteenth-century paintings from the Brazilian Academy of Fine Arts (AIBA)² As will be shown, digital tools can offer decolonial historians an unorthodox combination, yet a productive path, to study

¹ Although I emphasise that computer graphics and Web design tools offer relatively unexplored paths for art historians who wish to reinterpret and decolonize paintings, I do not naively suggest that every art historian embrace this approach. While I do assert that academic writers can enhance their work through the conjoint use of written, visual and aural media, I am not suggesting that this is a necessary path, nor do I claim that using multimedia in academic work is an “original” mode of historical expression. Also, I do not argue that technology itself can or will enhance historians’ writing abilities or enrich interpretations of artworks. In my view, historiography is, above all, concerned with reinterpreting evidence, with raising new questions and offering ethical, plural and plausible interpretations of the past. It is not simply a descriptive discipline. Therefore, if historians are willing to reflect upon the way they distribute their findings, they should be motivated, necessarily, by the desire to offer more compelling answers to the specific research questions they raise. Accordingly, I do not base my case on technophile suppositions that it has universal applicability or self-evident merits when applied to academic research. Rather, it is based on the pragmatic conviction that it provides specific ways to improve the interpretation of the historical works investigated in this project. Specifically, that it opens fruitful ways for historians to acknowledge and make visible the centrality of the historical agency of Indigenous peoples and Afro-Brazilians and, therefore, to challenge central pillars of Brazilian historiography produced since the nineteenth-century.

² Officially founded in 1826, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (AIBA) built on the works of a predecessor, the Royal School of Sciences, Arts and Crafts (Escola Real de Ciências, Artes e Ofícios) created by the exiled Portuguese King Dom João VI, in 1816. From the previous institution, the AIBA also inherited the responsibility both of refining artistic tastes and providing art education in the newly independent country. Its directors and teachers were given the task of assuring that artistic training would both develop local talent and, at the same time, keep up with the development and trends of leading European schools. This gave the institution a strategic and privileged place to create for the then emerging Brazilian society some of its first public, visual national symbols. In this pursuit, the AIBA would be situated among a few other select imperial institutions such as the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro - IHGB), the National Archives (Arquivo Nacional) and the Colégio Pedro II, all dedicated to the task of transforming intellectual and artistic labour into a proud national discourse. If the latter three were considered, respectively, as focal spaces for writing national History, for safeguarding it, and for teaching it to the new generation, the AIBA was commissioned the equally imperative task of imagining and creating a national iconography.

Indigenous groups' and Maroons' sovereignty throughout the nineteenth century. More specifically, this will be done by using computer graphics and Web design tools to deconstruct and re-interpret an iconic nineteenth-century painting that directly commemorates Brazilian independence, Pedro Americo's "Independência ou Morte" (Independence or Death):



Image 1. "Independence or Death!", Pedro Americo. National Museum of Fine Arts, 1888, 415 x 776 cm.

Américo's work³ has contributed significantly to a broadly accepted interpretation of Brazilian independence as a relatively peaceful and non-traumatic process, especially when compared to neighbouring nation-states emerging from the collapse of Spanish America. Also, Eminent academic Brazilian history painters such as Pedro Americo and Victor Meirelles, informed by nineteenth-century historiography, developed subtle and effective ways to erase non-European populations from their work. Importantly, the works of these and other academic painters helped to disseminate self-image of the sovereign nation-state of Brazil as a mainly "white" and/or whitening, civilised people who made the transition from colony to nation-state almost entirely peacefully. This serene interpretation stands in stark contrast to most other neighbouring nation-states, whose transition was usually depicted as characterised by violence, continuous border wars, decimation of large parts of all sectors of society and the destruction of much of the infrastructure, creating a lasting legacy of a divided and partisan political sphere.

But, contrary to this nationalist and teleological official⁴ Brazilian history inaugurated by

³ Pedro Américo was professionally trained and later became a professor at the most regarded artistic centre of his time, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (AIBA). As mentioned, directly supported by the monarchic regime, the AIBA managed to concentrate simultaneously the responsibilities of validating, producing and teaching Art of the period. Pedro Americo and other teachers at AIBA, thus, occupied a strategic and privileged place of supplying the Brazilian post-independent society with some of its first public visual national symbols. His paintings, therefore, can not be understood outside of this largely state-promoted "civilizatory" process that started with Portuguese king D Joao VI, which in many ways only increased during the independent reigns of both Pedros and, arguably, continues until the present republican days.

⁴ Brazilian "official" history is defined here as a knowledge of the past directly supported by the state both in its context of creation (funding research, inaugurating historical institutes, awarding scholarships to historians and artists, fomenting historiographical contests, building museums, national archives, public libraries, etc.) and of its dissemination (designing history programmes and implementing its teaching in schools and universities, celebrating/ritualising historical dates, subsidising the publication of books and textbooks, financing museum exhibitions, commissioning historical monuments, paintings, theatre plays, etc.). Naturally, no "official" body of knowledge about the past has ever been as stable and as coherent as most nationalists often suppose; national histories everywhere tend to change with the agonistic flow of new governments, with the shift of regional/class/ gender/ethnic powers inside a country and, not least, in face of the continuous new findings and paradigm variations in national and world historiographies. Despite its changes and disputes, the context of the creation of what is being called here a Brazilian "official" history in the nineteenth-century is relatively stable one, associated with one basic form of government (a constitutional monarchy), one main city (Rio de Janeiro) and few privileged state institutions (such as the IHGB, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, the National Archives, Museu Nacional and the Colégio D. Pedro II). It is important to note

nineteenth-century historiographical imagination, what was declared as the “Brazilian” state in 1822 was and continued to be a fractured and disputed zone for years. A significant portion of the Indigenous peoples, African and mestizo populations confined within the perimeters of what regional elites declared as the Empire of Brazil, continued to ignore concepts such as the Brazilian state or nation; and remained unfamiliar with any sentiment of belonging to national community as long as they could do so. While newly independent from the Portuguese monarchy, state administrators faced the enormous challenge of legitimising a common history among populations not only largely immersed in oral culture but also, in many cases, completely indifferent both to the concept of a previous Portuguese nation *and* to the newly-declared Brazilian one.

It is noteworthy that relationships between paintings and historiographical knowledge throughout the nineteenth century, beyond all artistic and epistemological elements to be considered, demand also an analysis of the political dimension of nation-building that characterises this period. That is, beyond evaluating the quality or amateurism of individual pieces of art, or their plausible or tendentious representations of past events, history paintings should also be contextualized inside what has been called a “politics of a national memory” (WEHLING, 1999): as part of an extensive and State-supported educational, scientific and artistic initiatives that would mark most of the Brazilian nineteenth century.

It is also important to realise that the emerging nationalism in post-independent Brazil, despite its often resentful rhetoric against former Iberian rule, was not necessarily incompatible with a profound identification of local elites with Luso-European civilization. On the contrary, if political and territorial autonomy underlined a distance from former metropolitan-colonial hierarchies, intellectual emancipation continued to be considered in relation to positioning Brazilian cities (and citizens) closer to its European counterparts. The fact that Brazil continued to be officially a Bragança-Hapsburg monarchy in the Americas only reinforced, among local elites, the idea of belonging to a wider and transcontinental Europeanized civilization (DUTRA, 2007).

As a result, political independence was followed by the continuation of most artistic, urbanistic and scientific projects initiated earlier with the Portuguese court transmigration. This was especially true in the imperial capital Rio de Janeiro, which was to be showcased as the foremost proof of local sophistication. Ironically, thus, the former colony continued most of the colonial enterprise. Indeed, in these early attempts to try to affirm a European-like society inside an overseas, tropical and multiethnic territory, one could already foretell the intricate identity disputes that not only Brazil but most Latin American countries would have for years to come:

Rio’s residents recognized that because the transfer of the court undermined the dichotomy of metropolis/colony, the transformation of Rio de Janeiro into the royal court had to entail a marginalization of the aesthetics and the practices that failed to reflect this change. It was an undertaking that anticipated the paradox of post-independence Latin America. To no longer be colonial meant embracing a colonial project: to “civilize”. (SCHULTZ, 2001).

that if contemporary historians have many reasons to call the knowledge produced at an institution such as the IHGB as “official”, because nineteenth-century historians’ economic and political ties to the imperial government are evident from a today’s viewpoint, many IHGB members at the time tended to see themselves as above political interests. As historian Manuel Luís Salgado Guimarães (1988, p. 9) noted, some of its most prominent members were “worried about defining the institution not as an official one, but as fundamentally as a scientific-cultural institution and, therefore, as neutral in relation to disputes of political-partisan nature”. For competent studies on the creation of an official history at the IHGB, see Lucia Guimarães (1995), Lilia Schwarcz (1999), Arno Wehling (1999) and Kaori Kodama (2005).

3. The Aesthetics of the Opaque

Although it has been the target of Art critics and historians since its first appearances⁵, Pedro Americo's painting, popularly known as "O Grito do Ipiranga" (The Ipiranga shout), has been regarded as an undisputable icon for Brazilian visual History. The massive canvas portrays what is regarded as the founding moment of Brazilian independence: the moment when Dom Peter I, travelling near the margins of the Ipiranga River, supposedly declared independence from Portugal by shouting "Independence or Death".

Beyond all profound iconographical readings that this painting deserves, for the purposes of this present analysis, Pedro Americo's work will be interpreted as having masterfully translated into images the above mentioned official, nationalistic and teleological, Brazilian historiography; while, at the same time, sidelining Afro-Brazilians and Indigenous nations from his visual narrative. However, with the support of auxiliary lenses from a computer graphics software, it is possible to challenge the main idea manifest in this heroic image. Namely, that after the year 1822, the whole territory assumed as previously belonging to the "Portuguese America" (and not *also to* the Quilombola and Indigenous Americas) would now be unilaterally declared part of *the* Brazilian national state:



Image 2.

The main point here again is to bear in mind how viewers, since this painting's first exhibitions until today's industrious reproduction in books and other media, are presented with a historiographical discourse that overshadows the acknowledgement of plurinationalities and the representation of simultaneities.

Computer graphics and Web design tools, in this sense, can be a powerful ally for decolonial historians wanting to challenge how official, teleological narratives has turned opaque the representation of most Indigenous and Afro-descendants, notably in iconic nineteenth century paintings such as Pedro Americo's, which are massively replicated and visualized to the present day. In order to achieve this, nineteenth-century paintings will be defined here not only as pictures executed (and finished) in paint, but also as unfinished canvases to which computer graphics and

⁵ Pedro Americo has been accused of romanticizing/misrepresenting this historical event basically by; 1- plagiarizing Ernest Meissonier's "1807, Friedland; 2- changing Dom Pedros travel clothing for a impeccable military uniform 3- changing the course of the Ipiranga river 4- changing the mule that effectively carried Dom Pedro through the mountainous region for a 'napoleonic' horse; 5- the anachronistic representation of the "Dragons of Independence" around the Emperor, a military force which would only be created after the independence.

Web design can add continuous and potentially infinite imagined pieces of meaning. Conventional art historical methods and theories provide the essential procedures for interpreting visual evidence; computer graphics and Web design, on the other hand, offer the tools to investigate what can be conveniently called the *aesthetics of the opaque*: the vast range of images dedicated to Indigenous and Africans' historical agency that were never painted:

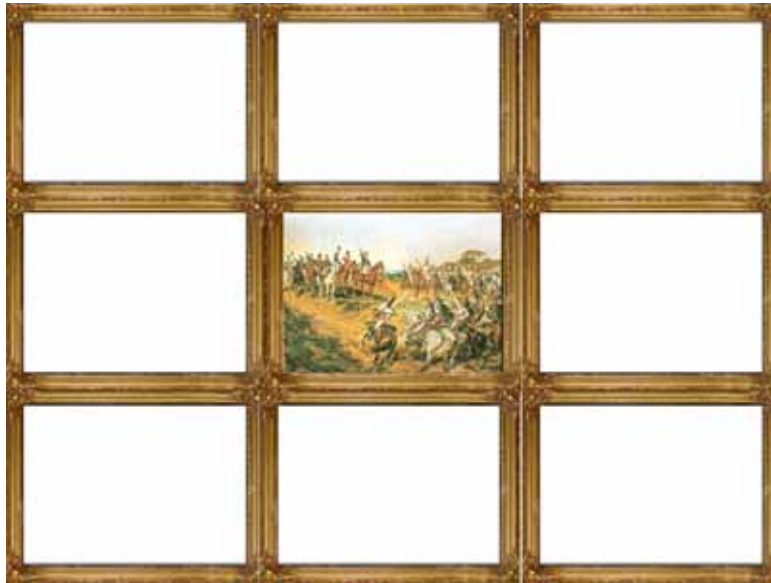


Image 2. *Aesthetics of the Opaque.*

The following images are part of an on-going attempt to debate the histories of more than 220 indigenous nations within the perimeters of the Brazilian national state. Against a long-established belief that indigenous populations would inevitably be extinct and/or be assimilated into a grand-mestiço-caboclo mass, most contemporary indigenous groups have not only managed to strengthen local and pan-indigenous identities but also to grow at a much faster rate than other populations inside the Brazilian territory. In addition to this, another interesting finding is that some indigenous nations that had been previously declared extinct by historians and anthropologists have been gradually “reappearing” while new ones continue to emerge through intricate processes of “ethnogenesis”.

The use of the term “nations” here is intentional. Despite inciting resentments of many Brazilians who prefer the term “ethnicity”, “tribes” or “groups”, most Indigenous nations and supporters in Brazil have insisted in using the term “indigenous nations” as a political instrument. The main reason for this is that, in a society such as the Brazilian, which tends to see itself as truly “unified” and “homogenous”, the optional terms of “ethnicity” or “tribes” have proved to be politically “weak” (RAMOS, 1994).

This political use of the term “nations” can also be extended to complement and conclude this present historiographical analysis. Indeed, if it is necessary to bring to mind how a Brazilian nationality was unilaterally declared at around the year of 1822 and gradually and “compulsorily” extended to every individual trapped in the perimeters of the national State, it is equally true that both an open research agenda and ethical responsibility demand the representation of a more heterogeneous picture of the “nations” that coexisted around the independence period.

As a contribution to this theme, the images that follow are the first phases of a sequence of historio(midio)graphical experiments to reinterpret nineteenth century Brazilian history through the

conjoint use of textual, visual and aural languages⁶. The individuals represented are contemporary descendants of many of the Indigenous nations that were predicted to absolutely assimilated or to become necessarily extinct with the passages of national time. The new faces that appear over the old canvas intend to reaffirm the need for heterogeneous, synchronical and plurinational narratives: Image 3 (right).

Different than Pedro Americo's original painting, in which a *pictorial perspective* leads to the commanding figure of Pedro I, in which *historical perspective* seems just a linear route to the unicity of the State and the Nation, the recreated painting suggests multiple paths of resilience, strength and adaptation⁷.



Image 4.



Image 3.

In the calm and defiant gazes of peoples whose very indigeneity was once considered a sign of weakness and of natural annihilation, one can perhaps read an ironic reminder: nations that *pre-dated* national states, nations that *coexisted* during and after the emergence of the national states, are nations that might be possibly, very soon, narrating the historical briefness of national states.

⁶ All of these images, along with other attempts to re-narrate chapters of Brazilian visual history with the help of multimedia tools, are currently hosted at www.genaro.me, a Web site conceived as a digital chapter of my PhD thesis and current postdoc project.

⁷ As it was anticipated, these draft images are part of an ongoing experiment to use multimedia to narrate Brazilian history from a decolonized point of view. Indeed, by the way they are reproduced in this article, one can inevitably point to the possible lack of agency and a-historicity in the representation of these Indigenous groups: first, they are all photographed as single individuals; second, they are facing the camera, doing nothing, which is ethnographic. Third, they appear to be subjects we are holding under a microscope for our own gaze, rather than humans engaged in some meaningful practice. Because of these understandable eventual critiques, it is important to anticipate that the next phases of this historiomedigraphical project will be tackling these issues, especially by emphasizing group-shots, in which Indigenous are engaged in historic, specific and meaningful activities. Beyond the sketchy examples above, the main task of this computer graphics and Web-based project, by reframing traditional history discourses exemplarily represented in Americo's painting, is to contribute to the general effort of those arguing for the need for decolonial and polycentric aesthetics (SHOHAT; STAM, 2000). There is no need to describe every feature of the Web project. Since it is intended to be a self-explanatory and self-sufficient narrative of the history of Brazil – intelligible also to those who will never read this article – I will limit the reference to indicate its on-line address: www.genaro.me



Image 5.

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Abstract: From the analysis of audiovisual production of TV Olhos d'água - of State University of Feira de Santana (UEFS) - we seek to accomplish a work whose proposition is to present the ex-voto object as immaterial heritage and primordial source of memory, aiming to debate the role of folk communication agents in perpetuating a tradition linked to the Sanctuary of Bomfim, in Salvador, Bahia.

Keywords: Social Memory; Folk Communication; Ex-votes; Tradition; Sanctuary.

1. The religious tradition

From analyses concerning to the historical process of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, It is understood here that Church is presented, linked to Portuguese Crown. The facts that prove a strong religious heritage are countless, reinforcing the action of the Crown to guarantee an adequate process of structuration for the objectives of the dominant groups at that time. The relation among church, colonization, communication and tradition continues to the present day, since the religious discourse is a testimony of religious experiences, both for a given past or present collectivity as well as for society.

Considering the plurality of facts pertaining to religiosity, we observe that the tradition of offering objects as a way of gratitude for a grace achieved is a practice observed in pre-christian civilizations, arriving at the American continent through Portuguese and Spanish colonizations. In the middle age, ex-votos were ordered by nobility, period in which Christian Church became the major institution of western Europe. Its incalculable richness and Greco-Roman cultural heritage allowed them to exercise the ideological and cultural hegemony at that time.

At that time, Church started the conversion of “barbarians”, being rewarded with crescent prestige and taking over several political attributions linked to culture, administration and spiritual control. Given the great cultural affinity between Brazil and Portugal. At that time the devout created his own language to establish a relation with God or the saint of their devotion: the ex-voto language.

2. Sanctuary of Bomfim

The devotion to Senhor do Bomfim was initiated in Bahia with the arrival of Captain Teodósio Rodrigues de Farias, in 1717. After passing through a storm with his ship and asking for the help of Bom Jesus of Setubal, if granted, he would arrive at the city of

Sanctuary of Senhor Bom Jesus do Bomfim, Salvador. A case study on tradition, memory and folk communication in audiovisual production

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Salvador and would build a hermitage for the Saint. From that, the construction of the church was completed in nine years. The location chosen was the highest point seen from the sea, where people who came through the Baía de todos os Santos could see the temple. For that reason, the church of Bomfim itself is also considered to be an ex-voto, once it comes from of a fulfillment of a promise.

From the Lusitanian perspective, the new land was, in fact, a gift from God, being, because of this, designated as Island of Vera Cruz and, shortly afterwards, as Terra Santa de Santa Cruz. In order to explain the force of divine presence, landforms such as mountains, rivers and islands are baptized with names of saints. Crosses, Oratories and Hermitages are spread in the summits of hills, crossroads or roadsides. Through the fields and roads echo the Hymns (bem-ditos) and processions and peregrinations make their holy way both through villages and towns, and through wild places and open fields, in a live testimony that the land is full of sacredness by Christian presence. As divine answers to these acts of religious fidelity, appearances and miracles multiply. In peregrination centers, ex-voto rooms are a constant testimony of celestial favors, highlighting even more the strength of the mythical conception of the blessed land. (AZZI, 1987)

Brandão (2004), in his article *Fronteira da fé: some systems of meaning, beliefs and religions in Brazil today*, emphasizes that popular religious traditions, frequently associated with Afro-Brazilian culture, are considered by members of other religious traditions as demoniac forms of perversion of the sacred.

Such deviation of the Christian sense of faith, associated to the necessity to secure the internal area of the Church of Bomfim from vandals activity during the festivity of washing (lavagem), led the archdioceses to prohibit access of pilgrims to the internal area of the temple on the day of the festivity, that happens on the second Thursday after epiphany, and kept the doors of the church closed. Then, the “baianas” started throwing water and washing the staircase and the church square. Also, since 1923, the traditional hymn to Senhor do Bomfim is sung.

As we are in a moment when cultural and symbolic manifestations are more explicit, the Washing of Bomfim has become an important milestone for the valorization of the sanctuary, that started to be understood as an element in the consolidation of the collective identity of Bahian people. Thus, TV stations production in Brazil has been decisive in the construction of citizenship and fundamental part in the production and circulation process of significations and senses.

3. Memory as Heritage

When Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes, states that “memory is in vogue” and not only as a theme of studies among specialists, he is confirming that memory is also a support of identity processes of a society and related to its heritage, more specifically to society as a whole. The words rescue, patrimonialization, preservation, are indicators of a fragility that demands special care in order not to lose its pure mutable essence of something that existed or is pre-existent. In this sense, mass communication, done in sanctuaries, reinforce that reification.

Therefore, memory, both as practice and representation, is alive and active among us. However, it does not mean stability and not even equilibrium and tranquility. On the contrary, its status is extremely problematic, so that many specialists, such as Richard Terdiman (1993), diagnose a true crisis of memory within western society. (MENESES, 1999: 13)

However, Santaella (2005) comments on, among others approaches, involving the contents of this very context about the challenge is giving a new scope to what is seen, proportioning new meanings to past legacies, adapting such technical inventions in one’s benefit, utilizing means and materials of their own time, doing a re-reading of languages and visual artifices, thus into quotidian information

exposed at all time and transmitted in mass media. However, while literate or considered erudite cultures somatize things and meanings, in non-literate cultures people considered marginalized, rural or mass communities, tend to assimilate and transform words into things.

Michael Foucault (1999) affirms that assimilating forms to contents, along with religious analysis, is something done since ancient Greece and elucidates that at a certain point, language is made of signals systems which individuals have chosen, firstly, for themselves. In other words, mankind has the gift of language, and it is through it that they communicate. However, man needs writing because if God taught man to write, that was because he did not trust in man's memory. According to Foucault (1999), memory is not only inside man, but in everything around him, because the material keeps the immaterial, remembrances, histories and things, more precisely, the immaterial preserved within the material.

Seeking to highlight the social character of memory, since all remembrances related to material and moral life in societies, places and people with which we exchange information and teachings consist of a cultural trade of knowledge and experiences, it is worth to say that not even the most particular memories can be thought in exclusively individual terms. Thus, this very work starts from an analysis of an audiovisual production in order to identify and debate the role of the diverse agents involved in perpetuating the devotion to Senhor Bom Jesus do Bomfim da Bahia.

Since 1980, cultural assets start to have a different sense in Brazil. The National Institute for Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) incorporated some elements beyond material assets in their list of heritage, as Camargo (2002: 91-92) cites, mainly assets of "popular origin, their procedures and, more recently, the immaterial heritage, such as festivities, dances, processions, gastronomy, etc.

In accordance with the international politics, Brazilian Federal Constitution from 1988 (BRAZIL, 1988), article 216th, recognizes the Brazilian cultural heritage as an element of material and immaterial nature, taken separately or conjunctly, carriers of the construction of identity, the activity, memory and cultural diversity of the constituent groups that formed Brazilian society, in which are included: expression forms; forms of creating, doing and living, scientific, artistic and technological creations; works, objects, documents, buildings, etc.

In that context, the ex-voto was and still is part of all that evolution, both artistic and evolutive, migrating from the past into the future, dialoguing with all varied kinds of groups. According to Oliveira (2009); [...] the ex-votos [...] are documents. Expositions performed by all types of people - peasants, workers, unemployed people, tourists, students, rich and poor people. They reflect the belief, faith and attitudes of man towards life, sickness, death, ambition, feasts, varied social, political and economic values. When keeping (and updating) tradition, those people look to the custom of going to a popular ambient to pray and to release the vow. (OLIVEIRA, 2009: 31)

4. Tradition and folk communication in audiovisual production

Unlike mass communication which is based on industrial processes, through which the communicator extends their messages in an impersonal manner, vertically to an informal and disperse audience, folk communication is, by nature and structure, hand-made and horizontal, similar in essence to the types of interpersonal communications, once its messages are elaborated, encoded and transmitted in languages and channels familiar to the audience, which, in turn, is known both psychologically and in person by the communicator, even if disperse".(BELTRÃO, 2001:168).

It is interesting to briefly synthesize the theme from its "creator", that gave birth to the term in 1967. When Journalist Luis Beltrão was defending his doctorate thesis in UNB, He was creating and bringing to life a new discipline, the folk communication, still greatly unknown and poorly understood.

Nowadays, it is more disseminated, with groups of researchers in Brazil and everywhere else, but still not as much as the most classic disciplines of communication. Until then, popular traditions were studied by areas such as Folklore and applied human sciences. It was through his work that the analysis of popular communication has gone new direction and research field, in which are placed the ex-votos.

From this assertion, the processes of understanding and judging popular culture, or massive culture, have come to be seen differently, principally towards an object that was not very much studied within the area of communication: the ex-voto.

Communication is a phenomenon that surges when information, as a novelty, needs to be interpreted. When there is nothing new, also there is nothing to be interpreted and communicated. That is why information and communication have little importance in systems established in the tradition. (STOCKINGER, 2003: 12)

Luis Beltrão was the pioneer in the fundamentation of the scientific study of communication in Brazil to fulfill the analysis of popular communication, later on, drawing attention to the social dimension of folklore notion that was disseminated around the globe. Thus, popular traditions became important sources of research in the fields of Anthropology, Sociology and Folklore, yet, according to the author, neglected by communication professionals. (BELTRÃO, 1965: 9).

The set of traditional assets and practices which identity people as “Bahian people” is, according to Canclini (2008), what we may call heritage. For him, we should not discuss the repertoire of a people, full of symbologies, but preserve it, restore it and disseminate it in order to keep unity among these people.

The first concern of the team of TV station Olhos d’agua, a station linked to UEFS, when they received the written request to be covering the lavagem do Bonfim which is a traditional religious festivity of Bahia, was to avoid neglecting popular manifestations and the role of the agents involved in that process, elaborating the production of an educational audiovisual content that could be different from daily reports produced by commercial TVs and presented Bomfim church as reference heritage for the understanding of aspects of religiosity of Bahian society.



Image 1. Mr. Erivaldo, a seller for more than 20 years, in the sanctuary staircase.
Photo by Genivalda Cândido da Silva

For the reporting team, two people were chosen to produce the report: Flávia Maciel and Genivalda Cândido, who has been GREC member for 4 years and also studies ex-votos and their typologies.

From material acquired by means of research on books, journals, as well as the images produced during documental research in photos, videos produced in previous years, also recorded interviews with devouts, local businessmen, ambulant and fixed vendors of the staircase and sanctuary’s

surroundings, including some travelers who come to the place to perform a ritual of tiding up the ribbon of Senhor do Bomfim with three knots and making three wishes, it was possible to produce an audiovisual content, in which is presented, not only, the sanctuary history, but also the roles of these agents in perpetuating the tradition of praising Senhor do Bomfim.



Image 2. *Couple in the act of tying the ribbons and make three requests in the churchyard of Bomfim.*
Photo by Genivalda Cândido da Silva

The preservation of social memory can be seen in the tradition in front of the sanctuary on a daily basis, for it exists in the place, for a long time, the process that Marques de Melo denominates communication of the promises fulfillers (2005), that goes through the phase of obtaining the object. It spreads itself beyond the square (S. image 2). It is in the miracle room and in the museum of ex-votos. In the room, people, freely, deliver their messages and information through the ex-votos; in the museum, the synthesis of all that effervescence, when some of the ex-votos will be classically exposed.

Speaking of memory is like getting into a museum and taking from there valuable information or curiosities of an (un)known world and discovering and perceiving it better. Relating collections and images is also a way of verifying the concretization of certain collections which result of, or compose institutions and/or places of memory, that in turn, can embrace the visible and the invisible in which both imagery and symbolism constitute themselves from a range of objects (symbolic, imagery-like ones, fantastic). It is worth outlining that the cultural importance of popular manifestations proposes both understanding and questioning. Roger Chartier (1995) deals with culture and popular manifestation as an erudite category, a symbolic system coherent and autonomous which functions according to a logic completely separated and irreducible to literate culture. (CHARTIER, 1995: 176).

Images of mass communication, principally those found in sanctuaries, which are spontaneous portrayings, carry within characterizing elements of the folk communication in sanctuaries and miracle rooms. They are represented by objects such as ex-votos that symbolize the link between men and the divine. Those elements, called hand-made of diffusion, can be observed in varied typologies, as paintings painted by “riscadores de milagres”, also traditional sculptures made of paraffin, photographs, unusual fibroids in vitro, among others that supported among promises and requests to obtain a grace via devotion, present themselves as media of the people.

Besides gratitude, the ex-voto is a source of information per se and, when it is considered as a communicative object, it is important to highlight the necessity of studying it in the context where it belongs so that a loss of signification do not take place and therefore, a cultural repossession and re-signification occurs. Régis Debray (1992: 372-3), asserts that the fetishization of the moment and of immediacy eliminates the explanatory continuities, the sign is transformed into a mere signal and the hyper-information results in disinformation.

In order to identify the sense behind an ex-voto image it is necessary to dialogue with the context in which it pertains to, not only focusing on the artistic expression of the piece, but on its diversion

finality, for it contains a double signification. Besides demonstration of faith, the piece carries within a socio-cultural experience that is common to their communicators, interlocutors and receptors.

In accordance to what is found in João de Deus Gois (2004), in his work *Religiosidade Popular*, the popular religiosity is a privileged expression of the enculturation of faith: It is not only about religious expressions, but also about values, criteria, conducts and attitudes that come from catholic dogmas and constitute the wisdom of our people, forming its cultural matrix” (Gois, 2004)

Although the miracle room of the sanctuary of Senhor Bom Jesus do Bomfim is composed of an important heritage, once it presents records of part of the religiosity pertaining to Brazilian and Bahian society, its signification is not yet as comprehensive as a vehicle of mass communication.

When we think about an audiovisual production that translates, at least partially, the religiosity of Brazilian society, from the presupposition that we are in the communication society, composed by several complex social sub-systems that create and re-create reality and re-signify ideologies as soon as new data, updated, are consumed, we must focus on the role of the observer of a second order, in this very case, a reporter that develops a fundamental role, reflecting about data supplied by the observer of a first order, the interviewed person, to produce an audiovisual content which enables the preservation and dissemination of that heritage.

Being linked to a TV station that follows the model of a public TV, when (re) elaborating that system of signs present in the social imagery surrounding religiosity, the producer of audiovisual content must not subscribe to videologies or preconceptions, many times implicit in the text, in the sound (interviews) and in the images exhibited or even in their suppression. The producer must keep an editorial independence and the commitment to impartiality, thus becoming an open channel to democratic participation, allowing that information about the tradition of praising Senhor do Bomfim could be selected by the individual, encoded, decoded, re-created and re-invented in a social process of communication until it becomes significant for the society.

When producing content that socializes information and knowledge concerning to the tradition of praising Senhor do Bomfim, more than enabling the debate about social memory of religiosity and about cultural manifestations as heritage, the audiovisual production can become one more element folk communicational, enabling an interpersonal communication about the theme hereby considered.

5. Conclusion

When we talk about heritage, memory and tradition, social memory is understood as a guardian, but it is necessary a history about what nourishes the visitations and re-signifies the heritage. In a miracle room, where the traditional ex-voto, gives room to CDs, cell phones, computers, where communication secretly goes through signs contained in gratitude planks or rosary offered as thanks, lead the receptors to more instigations, to (re)interpretations of the objects, thus completing a process of popular communication.

After analyzing the report produced, we can affirm that, beyond the transmission of the news about the festivities and praises to Senhor do Bomfim, the retake of the original history of the building of the church and the devotion to the saint, as well as the highlighted actions of the several agents (devouts, members of the church, street workers, business men and tourists who visit the sanctuary) and how these actions interfere in perpetuating this tradition, besides valuating the role of each one of them, it enables the understanding of Brazilian religious phenomena and of the social character of memory.

In doing that, we believe that the audiovisual production can be also understood as a folk communicational process, once it preserves the history of the tradition of praising Bomfim and re-

signifies it for the new generations from the popular culture.

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Abstract: Being today a discreet presence and perhaps not so much as a foreground means of communication, radio has, however, been playing a key role in building sound communities in the Lusophone space. Closely linked to the music industry, more than any other medium, radio has manifested in this field an exceptionality not always well acknowledged. At a time when we are all centered in the image as almost the absolute form of expression, we seem to forget that a very significant dimension of our identity is made of sounds existing in things and places. Recognizing, therefore, that lusophonies are also constituted by this invisible soul, we will intend to defend in this paper an argument about the potential of radio for the enhancement of historic and symbolic ties. A particular attention to the concept of community radio will be developed, taking as an example the Rádio Ás, an online station that results from a partnership between three municipalities – Aveiro (Portugal), Santa Cruz (Cape Verde) and São Bernardo do Campo (Brazil) – and is defined as a vehicle lusophony. The main goal is to think radio stations as like colonies of sounds inhabited by a spirit that only the ear can meet.

Keywords: Radio; Community; Lusophony; Identity

1. Radio and daily life

The history of radio has been the history of a discrete but persevering medium. Unlike many of the apocalyptic announcements of its disappearance, the radio has resisted to what has been generally recognized as some of its weaknesses: the lack of image and the support on sound resources exclusively. To these difficulties especially relevant in an era that is defined as a civilization of image, radio has always taken advantage of a set of virtues: technical simplicity, portability, discretion of its presence, whose listening does not require exclusivity (Portela, 2011: 27) and an extraordinary flexibility to adapt to new platforms, new devices and new ways of listening (Jedrzejewski, 2007: 11).

If in the early years of radio broadcasts, the radio came from large 'boxes' of sound, it is now integrated into everyday devices, the mobile phone and the car, where it became part of the components / core applications. It is also available on computers, especially through streaming websites of the stations as part of many workplaces, shops, public institutes, cafes and even public transport environment. Although it has lost the centrality in the media landscape – which actually it only had until the advent of television – radio has not exactly registered a loss of audiences. According to data from Bareme Radio Marktest (that is a regular study aiming at studying the medium of radio and measuring the

Colonies of Sounds: The role of radio in the sound expression of lusophony

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audience of Portuguese stations), at the end of 2013, almost 80 % of the Portuguese population (at the age of 15 years or more) listened to radio at least once a week¹, which means that radio is still one of the more present means of communication, if not the most present of all, in everyday life.

Considered “one of the most democratic and more open media to users’ intervention” (Alcudia Borreguero, 2008: 124), radio is, on the other hand, perhaps the most generous and kind medium within the landscape of social communication. Made of a language that is as rational as emotional (Balsebre, 2004), it is, both in technical and in literacy terms, the less demanding mass medium. That is why, in underdeveloped or developing countries, it has a particularly high penetration. It is estimated, for example, that in Mozambique radio reaches approximately 60% of the population, while the television is available at less than a fifth of Mozambique homes.

Based on four fundamental narrative elements – word, music, silence and sound effects (Balsebre, 2004) – radio has an undeniable relevance in terms of information (it is said that it is the first to give the latest news), but also from the perspective of aesthetic productions, it has played a very important function not always well recognized. In addition to being a medium adapted to the protection of language, it is also a sensitive source of cultural productions and the most important agent of diffusion and promotion of music.

Although contemporary society tends to value very little listening experience – one of the reasons why radio has been a means neglected in terms of research – the relationship of human communication with the ear is extremely deep. Because sound keeps an indexical nature², it is vibration and not only a representation of something which it is sound of, the sound experience is an experience of connection to the world. In a book on the history of sound and hearing, David Hendy considers that modernity is noisy, but he also recognizes that “the sound can help us understand human history in a new and enlightening way” (2013: x). Being sound a way of touching at distance, and being radio essentially made of sounds, it is, as we will reflect further on, also a means of cultural identity and connection, expression, in our context, of invisible lusophonies.

2. Radio and the sense of community

Being today not only the channel of information transmission invented by Marconi, radio is communication in the sense communication should be understood as contact, relationship and interaction, sharing not only ideas, but also emotion, sensation and affection. However, comprising all these actions, the spirit of radio is essentially to build community. From families that used to get together around itself, in the golden years, to listen to shows, music and theater, to the groups of audiences it reaches today, radio has intrinsic to its nature an aggregation effect, which is expressed in the intimate relationship it promotes. Although the contexts of listening are now much more defined by practices of individuation, tuning in a radio station is still a way to integrate a community, a community of listeners who share interests, habits, musical preferences and even, in many cases, humorous sensibilities.

The concept of community is usually associated with a set of socio-demographic characteristics and geographical delimitation which hides the cultural and symbolic side that communities can have. As far as the radio is concerned, it can be said that, in Portugal, the idea of community has also been reduced somehow to the idea of locality. For legal vacuum, there is not in the country a tradition of community radios (or community media, in the broadest sense of the concept). According

¹ Data available at Marktest website <http://www.marktest.com/wap/a/n/id~1c89.aspx>

² Andrew Crisell suggests that sound “seems never to exist as an isolated phenomenon, always to manifest the presence of something else” (1994: 43)

to the Portuguese law, radios are defined mainly by a categorization of programming, generalistic or thematic, and by the geographical scope of the broadcast, international, national, regional or local.

According to the Law on Radio (Law 54/2010 of 24 December), access to radio activity is an exclusive of “collective people whose principal object is the exercise of radio” (Art. 15). According to this principle, the access to the activity is not possible to other organizations or associations of citizens who could find in this medium a non-commercial way to promote communication³, training and promotion of a more committed citizenship. Unless this activity is performed through the Internet, which does not exactly require a license, but only a register, radio broadcast does not include, in Portuguese legislation, educational and / or cultural function not concerned to business activity. But the sense of community is much wider, not being in other countries connoted with commercial radio.

Although community radio stations are usually local and more or less thematic, since they are targeted to a more specialized audience, these categories do not sufficiently reflect the idea of community. A reflection on seven equivocal conceptions regarding community communication, Marcos Palacios suggests that it is inaccurate to consider that “the community is a social small-sized unit, characterized fundamentally by the physical proximity of their members” (1990: 106). According to the author, the concept of community has to be taken outside the ties of local communities, because “community is not only a place on a map” and “people can have diversified experiences of community no matter they are living close to each other or not” (1990: 107).

Thought from the radio experience, the idea of community should be taken in its multiple expression: affective, linguistic, cultural, symbolic, geographical, associative. With a vocation for the proximity, widely understood in terms of space and intimacy, the radio can be, in the Lusophone space, namely because the new opportunities created by the Internet, a medium of promise and linking.

3. Rádio Ás: an innovative project

Extinct in early 2014, by order of the Municipality of Aveiro, one of its promoters, Radio Ás was born as a pioneering project, which was also an exploratory design project on the utility radio can have for the promotion of culture and Lusophone solidarity . In accordance with Portuguese law, Radio Ás appeared as an online broadcaster with exclusive broadcast on the Internet, being its initiative of a partnership between three cities: Aveiro (Portugal), Santa Cruz (Cape Verde) and São Bernardo do Campo (Brazil). It was perhaps the first radio project based in Portugal to promote this type of connection between Portuguese-speaking countries.

According to its editorial project, Radio Ás had the following objectives: :¹ (a) “to motivate the civic participation in public space and to open the programming to associative organizations of citizens’; (b) ‘to reinforce the communities’ cohesion and to sponsor programming related to community life’; and (c) ‘to deepen the approach to urban culture and local identity and to promote the diffusion of tradition trends and local modernity through this medium”. In the scope of its mission, the radio was intended to (a) “consolidating the mutual knowledge, the cooperation and the friendship relation between populations from the three involved partners”; (b) “fostering the value and the multiculturalism experience”; (c) “supporting the diffusion of Portuguese language, by intending to be a vehicle of ‘Lusophony’”; and (d) encouraging “innovation and creativity”.

Based on a collaborative scheme, Radio As programming resulted of a dynamic participation of listeners, associations and other social organizations which took up the role of content producers.

³ According to Cammaerts (2009), community radios constitute an alternative to commercial and public models of radio broadcast.

Dependent, therefore, on the contribution of the communities themselves, this project was defined by an irregular programming concentrated especially in the evening hours. The majority of programmes was produced in Portugal, only one programme was made in Brazil, which is still broadcasted in other Brazilian radios. Apart from several individual producers and animators, Radio Ás programming also had the participation of some associations and other public bodies, such as the Portuguese Association for Environmental Education, the Section of Basketball Beira-Mar, the Library Network of Schools Group of Aveiro, the Aveiro Municipal Assembly, the Association of Immigrant Support and Mon on Mon, Association of Friends of Guinea-Bissau.

Besides a set of more or less institutional nature programmes, Radio Ás also included several musical proposals. From the initiative of individual authors, in general, these programmes presented themselves as dedicated to various types of music spaces, from jazz to hard rock, through punk and avant-garde. The music was actually one of the most frequent topics of programming of Radio Ás, whose frequency could vary between weekly and fortnightly biweekly. At registration for the provision of programmes, the authors were invited to present the proposal detailing the objectives of the programme in terms of theme, target audience, approaches to local cultures and local identities and referring concerns with multicultural themes and the promotion of Portuguese language and Lusophony.

Radio Ás has been online for two years, albeit with excessive flicker in terms of broadcast and regularity of its programming. Despite the initial enthusiasm, the project failed apparently due to lack of resources to support it and probably due to the fragile and little significant involvement of partners. Virtuos on the idea, the project of this community radio did not work to constitute an example to replicate. At least Three reasons contributed to the originality of this pioneering project: (a) the intersection of three partners from different countries; (b) the collaborative structure based on contributions from individual authors, associations and other social groups; and (c) the investment on exclusively audio content (beside the institutional information, the website contained only a kind of button to listen to the streaming).

Working as a kind of ‘colony of sounds’, the Radio Ás had the purpose of being a station produced by three communities for another target community, a community built by the contribution of the three partners. In this sense, although without having fully achieved the goal, this community radio was meant to be not a radio to the community, but a radio made by the community, thus pursuing the adage of the World Association of Community Radio according to which the “radio community has not to do with making up something for the community but to the community to do something for itself” (Mtimbe 1998: 34).

Constituting itself as a editorial project freer when compared with other commercial radios, this model of community radio, dedicated to the expression of cultural identities, presents itself as an opportunity for the dissemination of productions appropriate to the values and needs of communities (Peruzzo, 2006), but also as a vehicle of different sounds of the Portuguese language. Without obligations regarding phonetic standardization of the language, this kind of projects is permeable to the diversity of accents and the variety of rhythms characteristic of each region or country.

4. Lusophony and sound identity

Within the assumption according to which it is in diversity that unit can be recognized, it can be said that the model of community-based radio is not only desirable but essential to fight against the effects of globalization that tends to make everything homogeneous and undifferentiated. For radio in general and community projects in particular today it is expected a particularly important role in the

defense of linguistic identity concerns. Establishing itself as an alternative to the creative industry, it also increasingly adjusted to the imperatives of an alleged global language, the radio has here also one of the reasons for its resilience. Based on the word – which is its dominant plastic element – it offers a chance to insist on linguistic differentiation, which is a matter not only of grammatical code, but also of the sounds, rhythms, materialization of affect.

Understood as a space of culture (Martins, 2006: 50), Lusophony is built up in the area of visible elements, symbols, colours, landscapes, but it is also made of the music that exists in words, in literature, in songs and in the voices which acquire, despite the common language, sounds very expressive of ways of living and of feeling. It is in this dimension that radio is, or may be, complicit in the construction of an identity that, although invisible, because essentially acoustic, expresses the soul of communities that history and language made becoming like brothers. With the added advantage of overcoming the constraints of terrestrial space and no longer confined to a territorial definition thanks to the Internet, radio offers the debate on Lusophone the possibility of linking distant places in the intimacy that only the sound can provide (Oliveira, 2013: 187).

Trends in radio studies show a particular focus from research to technological challenges, the journalistic discourse, the dynamics of participation, themes of regulation and political economy of the sector and the promotion of the music industry. But radio is also space for aesthetic creation and the construction of narratives able to trace geographies of sounds. In a society not much stimulated for listening, researching and developing the role of radio for broadcasting the sound that there is in places and also do what we could call the soundscape is a challenge not only for studies of radio but for Lusophone studies too. David Hendy recognizes that “by its nature it is difficult to sound to be entirely owned or controlled” because “its natural tendency is to move freely through the air” (2013 : xiv). If a sound history of Lusophone is not possible, at least its exercise is at the reach of a bet on the radio and colonization of the ear.

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Abstract: The present work aims to bring reflections on the defense of the national language, its use and teaching, in the newspaper *O Cacique – jornal noticioso e recreativo*. This newspaper had circulation between 1870 and 1871, and it is part of a range of about 32 newspapers with literary and/or recreational character of the city of Nossa Senhora do Desterro (now Florianópolis) - Province of Santa Catarina. The objective of this work is to understand, inside the discourses of the newspaper cited, how was the construction of a linguistic identity of the Portuguese language. Concerns about the use and preservation of grammatical structure and spelling, as well as teaching these “skills” are some of the points listed in the newspapers, which are analyzed based on the concept of representation of Roger Chartier and regulatory and civilization concepts of Norbert Elias. The newspaper expressed concern about an entire maintenance of the language and what is considered a “good use”, being careful with the spelling, either by columns dedicated to the public instruction, presents in some editions, always paying attention to the patterns of spelling and grammar. Likewise the publisher concerned with exposing the justification of one of the poets of the province of Santa Catarina, although he did not agree with in the defense of its spelling governed by use and other variables. This tension appears as the construction of the national language, patchwork of rules and usages, grammar and regionalisms, scholarly and popular voices, which distanced itself from the European Portuguese, configuring what today is called Brazilian Portuguese. These are specific questions that open up other possibilities for the study of newspapers, as well as making possible to use these documents in the History of Education from different perspectives.

Keywords: National Language; Desterro; 19th century; Journalistic discourses.

Introduction

The study of newspapers as data for research on the history of education requires sensitivity about the period covered, as well as understanding the intentions, purposes and discursive devices through which one can see the political positioning of who writes them. It is noticed in the terms used more than simple questions of information or complaint, but rather aspects of the cultural life of the site in question.

In this sense it is possible to use the words of Iaponan Soares when he argues that every cultural reality has its own characteristics and, to understand it, we must examine it in the context in which it is produced. It is always marked by history,

The issue of national language in Nossa Senhora do Desterro in the nineteenth century: the speeches of the newspaper *O Cacique*

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habits, beliefs and customs of the human groups that live it. (CORRÊA, 1997, p. 10). Because of this it is possible to see in the newspapers much more than political or informational speeches, but a whole construction of meanings, discourses and representations present in the spheres that produced and read these newspapers: production of public officials, owners of commercial establishments and members of the local elite. The study of newspapers as a source allows the historian, particularly the historian of education, different approaches. This requires that the historian understands that History is not theory but experience; experience of living man driven by his creative and intelligent acts, at varying levels. It is a task for a historian, making people understand the past of the man recorded on the testimonies left by those who lived and settled in part by all sorts of documentation that can be accessed. Rereading, continuous review of documents, and searching for many new relationships between seemingly isolated facts and thoughts, may allow new and interesting interpretations. It should, whenever is possible, to everyone engaged, find new explanations, without that history becomes stagnant and loses its dynamism. (CORRÊA, 1997: 17-18)

It is also important to realize that the historian understand newspapers as constructions of the studied society, and each newspaper fragment, an element of a larger series of elements that precedes and follows it. Its historical value is not individual, but lies on this series, one should then consider all the surrounding circumstances and factors that enable every newspaper to exist in its time. The concept of the document/monument is therefore independent of any documentary revolution, and among its objectives is to prevent this necessary evolution to become derivative and divert the historian of its main duty: a critique of the document - whatever it is - as a monument. The document is not anything that is on account of the past, is a product of the society that produced it according to the relationship of forces that held power there. Only the analysis of the document as a monument allows the recovering of a collective memory, and permits the historian to use it scientifically, that is, in full knowledge of the facts. (LE GOFF, 2003: 536)

Literary, recreational and information newspapers from the city of Desterro in the nineteenth century (currently Florianópolis) totaled about 32 titles, among the most lasting and the most ephemeral. Among the various formats of printed materials, it is possible to classify two categories: general circulation materials and restricted circulation materials. The newspapers of limited circulation, only available via subscription, had targeted content to specific groups in local society, the aesthetic presentation was elaborate, in smaller sizes and erudite language.

The newspapers of general circulation were presented larger, using a more popular language, less aesthetic finish and could be purchased either individually or via subscription. As to the content of the newspapers of general circulation can be said that it was vast and aimed to achieve different groups in society and for purposes of entertainment, information and general utility, ranging from short stories and serials of humor and trading columns. Apart from these aspects is possible to highlight some positions in relation to public education and how the national language has been adopted and used. The study of newspapers is considered as an important vehicle of research to the field of History of Education and as a way to understand other discourses beyond prescribed. Such speeches are in a different sphere, not politics, and other intentionality, that is, without the purpose of regulating the behavior of the population. At least, that is not the initial proposal of the subjects responsible for the process. On the other hand there is no denying that there is an intention in the speeches of newspapers because the press creates a public space through its speech - social and symbolic - acting as a privileged cultural and ideological mediator between public and private, fixing senses, organizing relations and disciplines conflicts (BASTOS, 2002: 152)

The study of newspapers, as previously put, allows different research approaches. In this paper the approach is concerning the defense of the national language, more specifically in the newspaper

O Cacique – *jornal noticioso e recreativo*, that circulated in Desterro in 1870 and 1871.

O Cacique and the defense of a national language

The newspaper *O Cacique* used to have a weekly publication. It was listed among the newspapers with recreational and informative character and belonged to a specific group of scholars, that is, it had no binding, at least directly, with the political groups of Desterro. It circulated in the city of Desterro in 1870 and 1871. His manager, Mr. João Ribeiro Marques, demarcated the content of newspaper ads that were promoting the public interest, including information about public education, as well as news from outside the country, serials, biographies, commercial columns, riddles and columns of humor, denying to publish columns that say about the internal politics, as noted in the header itself.

Este jornal publica-se uma vez por semana em dias indeterminados, na typografia commercial na casa n. 49 na rua do Livramento, esquina da Carioca. Dá-se publicidade gratis aos artigos que digam respeito ao bem publico; negando-se porém as columnas áquelles que forem inherentes a politica interna do paiz, e aos que ferirem individualidades. (1870: 1)¹

It is inferred a varied universe of readers, since large spaces were reserved for the newspaper comic strips and also for some publications of poetry and letters sent by readers of the *Cacique*. Likewise, the news covered the European wars, the events of the Paraguayan War, and the commercial columns included everything from selling houses and riding equipment to slaves. Because of this utilitarian character, the sales of the newspaper *O Cacique* were not restricted to subscribers, since single issues could be acquired as needed or just by the interests of each reader, making the universe of readers was composed of merchants and government officials as well as people who simply wanted to continue reading the story that begun in the previous issue. On the other hand, the concerns and opinions of the publisher of the subjects covered are clear in the discourse of the newspaper trends, allowing the analysis of the newspaper not only through the content displayed but also making possible to comprehend some aspects of the reality lived in Desterro in 1870 and 1871. According to Le Goff, the document is something that stands, that lasts, and witness the teaching (to evoke the etymology) that it brings must first be analyzed, demystifying its apparent meaning. The document is a monument. It results of the efforts of historical societies to impose to the future - voluntary or not - certain image of themselves. Ultimately, it does not exist a document-truth. Every document is a lie. (LE GOFF, 2003: 538)

Although the header of the *Cacique* announce that the newspaper would not publish columns that discuss about the internal politics of the country it is possible to see on several numbers just the opposite. News of events at the Court were seen on the first page, as the dissolution of the ministry of July 16 in the edition of October 8, 1870, number 10 of the *Cacique*. On some occasions was treated about the public instruction, both locally as announcing dates for examinations and results of such examinations in Item 20 of the newspaper, as the events concerning public statement at the Court.

It is evident in the discourse presented in the newspaper examined an attempt to control the process of language use, but as Elias explains, the civilizing process is not in the hands of one or a few individuals in a rational and planned way. Clear is that it happened, in general, without any planning. (Elias, 1993, p. 193). Because of this, many problems persisted in teaching and decreased quality and desired results of the students. Thus, we understand that psychological change that civilization

¹ “This newspaper is published once a week on unspecified days in Typografia Comercial in 49, Livramento Street, corner of Carioca. We give free advertising for items that are related to the public good; we refuse, however, the articles that are inherent to internal politics of the country, and thosa that hurt individualities.” - Free translation by the author.

implies is subject to a very specific order and direction, although they had not been planned by isolated individuals, or produced by 'reasonable' or intentional measures. Civilization is not 'reasonable' or 'rational', as it is not 'irrational.' It is set in motion blindly and kept in motion by the autonomous dynamics of a network of relationships, by specific changes in the way people see themselves obliged to live. (ELIAS, 1993: 195)

The researches of Norbert Elias are not focused on school, but think the school as one of the agents of the civilizing process helps to understand this universe. Elias is considered a library researcher because he deals with various sources. He has versatility in methods, holding the most important theoretical enterprise, which is the society. He also seeks to build a kind of sociology in order to humanize relations and the construction of the civilization.

His thesis in the *Processo Civilizador* brings instruments to think how works the life of individuals and the western society and, for that, he seeks for specific aspects that give clues of that constitution. He finds manuals of civility that regulates, in a certain way, people's lives. With this, he notices in the manuals of civility the attempt to regulate people's bodies, excrement, dirt and also things related to the instinctual aspects (sex, violence, etc.). His contribution beyond the issues proposed by Freud is that culture will transform this regulation in *habitus*. The civilizing process is a process of self-regulation.

In the book *A Sociedade dos Indivíduos*, Elias shows that the object of sociology should be the relationship between individuals and society. Thus, it is not possible, to Elias, predict what will happen in the society, which civilization we will have. There is also the notion of network, each individual is born in a context. It is necessary to think the individual in relation to the social environment, the individual depends heavily on the context where it is located. The process of subjectivity of the individual is always social. Elias brings the weight of culture, cultural practices are subjectivized by the individual and appear in relations.

According to that, we adopt the civilizing process of Elias in order to understand how the discourses of the newspaper *O Cacique*, despite an attempt at impartiality, is permeated by a regulatory project. In this study, we show only the issues related to the regulation of language use by the population of Desterro, however, we do not rule out other issues to be studied in another opportunity. In the number 12 of this journal it is possible to read the following excerpt:

Instrução publica – Na sessão de 10 do corrente da assembléa legislativa provincial do Rio de Janeiro, foi apresentado e julgado o objecto de deliberação um projecto relativo à instrução publica d'aquella provincia, obrigando o pai, mãe, tutor ou protector à dar instrução primaria aos meninos e meninas que tivessem em sua companhia, logo que aquelles sejam maiores de sete annos e menores de quatorze, e estas maiores de sete e menores de doze. Oxalá que semelhante ideia tenha echo no recinto da nossa illustrada assembléa e seja por ella realisada. Só assim não teremos mais o desprazer de ver publicamente enxovalhada a bella lingua de Camões n'essas legendas affixadas pelas esquinas, como – ALUGAM-SE CAVALO – que ha por ahi algures. (1870: 1)²

Although not openly, *Cacique* conveys to its readers specific wills and needs, and creates them for its readers. As Bastos says, one of the privileged devices to forge the subject/citizen is the press, carrier and producer of meanings. From the need to inform about facts, opinions and events, the

2 "Public instruction - In the session of the provincial legislature of Rio de Janeiro in the 10th day of the current month, was presented and judged the subject of a draft resolution concerning public instruction of that province, forcing the father, mother, guardian or protector to give primary instruction to boys and girls who had in his company as soon the boys are between seven and fourteen years old, and the girls are between seven and twelve years old. We hope that similar idea has echo in the rooms of our brilliant Assembly. Only then we will not have the displeasure of seeing publicly destroyed the beautiful language of Camões in subtitles fixed at the corners like – ARE RENTED HORSE - which exists around." - Free translation by the author.

press seeks to engender a mindset - a way of seeing - for the addressee, constituting a readership. (BASTOS, 2002: 151-152)

If addressing public education can be justified as public interest, there is also a concern on the part of the editor in defense of the national language. This defense is shown directly and indirectly at different times and numbers of *Cacique*, as the direct comment in the number 12 “*Só assim não teremos mais o desprazer de ver publicamente enxovalhada a bella lingua de Camões n’essas legendas affixadas pelas esquinas, como – ALUGAM-SE CAVALOS – que ha por ahi algures.*” or resulting from contacts made between the publisher and a reader who sent text for publication. The following excerpt directly exposes this case in the number 18 of the *Cacique*:

Ortographia portugueza – De uma carta que o nosso amigo, o Sr. Eduardo Nunes Pires, vem de remetter-nos da cidade de Laguna, extraciamos o seguinte tópico, em que trata da nossa ortographia usual, para a leitura do qual enviamos os nossos leitores.

‘Ilm. Sr. - Tenho presente o seu estimavel favor de 3 do corrente, em que o meu amigo me falla dos erros que appareceram na minha poesia inserta em o n. 12 do *Cacique*, mas são erros de ortographia de todo o poncto desculpavel, porque muito differente é a ortographia etymologica de que uso bem ou mal, da chamada *usual* ou *vulgar*, que é um acervo de contradicções e barbaridades, de que, infelizmente para a língua portugueza, se-ser vem quasi todos, e sim porque os governos não tomaram ainda a deliberação de mandar que em todas as terras, onde se-falla tal e tão rica língua, se-adopte uma orthographia uniforme e baseada na logica. Assim o-inculca o Sr. Castilho José que é autoridade bastante. Com uma determinação d’essas as gerações por vir dos nossos neptos saberiam orthographia logicamente sem mais trabalho do que tivemos nos nossos paes e avós apprendendo o actualrio, porque, si se-escreve junto, pranto, neto em lugar de juncto, prancto, nepto (como deve ser), não é isso pela orthographia phonetica, segundo pretendem os seus apologistas e defensores, mas por uso e abuso, e tanto, que muitas vezes tenho visto os mesmos que erram ‘naquellas palavras escreverem tambem erradamente fucturo, debicto, addicção em lugar de futuro, debito, addição, como é certo e logico e até conforme à phonia. Não quero com isto dizer que eu não erro no orthographar, o que seria desmarcada philaucia, porque me-falta o saber grego para obviar os erros que já deviam achar-se obviados nos dictionarios, mas tão contrarios e divergentes ostemos em tal materia, que, em vez de illustrarem e esclarecerem, atrapalham e confundem a quem consulta mais de um. Irei pois corrigindo progressivamente, segundo m’o-for insinuando a boa razão, os erros que ainda commetto, e já não corrijo muitos d’elles *para me não tornar celebre*, como me-disse uma occasião um nosso amigo, mestre meu em muitas coisinhas de litteratura, e digno de todos os respeitos pela sua illustração e bom engenho poetico.

‘Já hum insignificante trabalho meu publicado na *Esperança* ficaram dictas algumas palavras a este respeito, e lá copiei intão um sabio conselho de Philiato Elysio. Estes os motivos por que lhe-peço cuidado na revisão das provas dos meus escriptinhos que o meu amigo se-presta a inserir no *Cacique*, revisão essa que, bem sei, nunca poderá ser tão e minuciosa como a eu desejo, attendendo ás mais occupações suas e do nosso amigo F. (1870: 1)³

3 “Portuguese Orthography - From a letter of our friend Mr. Eduardo Nunes Pires, sent from the city of Laguna, we take the next topic, which is about our usual orthography. Mr. - I’m aware of your estimable favor in the 3rd day of this month, where you, my friend, speaks me about mistakes in my poetry inserted in the n . 12 of *O Cacique*, but those are just orthographic errors easily excusable, because the etymological orthography that use well or ill is very different of the usual or ordinary one, which is a collection of contradictions and atrocities, that, unfortunately for the portuguese language, serves almost everyone, but because governments have not taken the decision to send to every land where people use such a rich language, for the adoption of an uniform orthography based on logic. In this way Mr. José Castilho insists, which is enough authority. With such a determination, the generations to come would know orthography logically, with no more work than we had with our fathers and grandfathers learning the current... because it is written together, [some examples in Portuguese], this is not according to the phonetic orthography as it is claimed for their apologists and defenders, but by use and abuse, and so, I have often seen the same erring on those words also writing words wrong [some examples in Portuguese] as is right and logical and even according to the phonic rules. I do not want to say that I do not err in orthographing, which would be a clear lie because I lack

In this letter is possible to see the conflict between two different conceptions of the Portuguese language: the usual and the prescribed. The editor takes the initiative to send a letter to the reader pointing him what he considered errors, thereby generating a response of that reader who, in turn, justified presenting his convictions. It is noteworthy that the newspaper published poetry posted by that reader at number 12, although the editor judged to be misspelled, and also published the letter – the reply of the same reader. The attitude of the editor can be seen as respect and opening to discussion about the national language, since the language is one of the most important elements for the formation of a national and sociocultural identity. The defense of the Brazilian language, an aspect of well-known literary romanticism, was something that had a broader scale, it is not only a struggle of writers like José de Alencar and Gonçalves Dias, but even before them and in a most widespread form, was something that was present for the builders of an independent Brazil. (LIMA, 2009: 469)

It is known that the process of formation of social identity does not occur naturally, but in a balance of power between the representations imposed by those in power to classify, and the definition of acceptance or resistance that each community produces itself (Chartier, 1991, p. 183) in which the regionalisms and popular talk not only came into conflict but mingled with the standards required and desired by most conservative cultural circles. Prescriptive grammar exercises over individuals a kind of centralizing power that includes or removes them of a certain form of social insertion.” (LIMA, 2009: 484). One can understand from this that the language has nothing static, as prescribed by normative grammar, but the movement to introduce these marks of orality put itself both as resistance to this normativity as a way to defend their nationality. The relationship between literature and the formation of the national language leads us to two related phenomena. The first is the role of literature, as printed word, which circulates in the spread of the language and the construction of certain standardization of writing, even if that standardization in the nineteenth century was still on in terms of spelling. The second aspect [...] was the reflection of the writers and critics on the specificity of Brazilian language, as one of the expressions of literary Romanticism in Brazil. The phenomena are related - the writers wanted to be read and began to listen to the common talk of the people, a figure of back-and-forth between the literary language and orality which began to be valued.” (LIMA, 2009: 486)

It is noticed before such evidence, that the defense of the national language is a recurrent feature in the newspaper, even though that movement is not available directly or conclusively and consensual manner.

Conclusion

After analyzing the newspaper *O Cacique*, we noticed a tension between the linguistic pattern used and defended by the editor and the quick language of poetry and variety columns. The newspaper expressed concern about an entire maintenance of the language and what is considered “good use” of that language, both for the care of the spelling of the newspaper, or by columns dedicated to public education whenever possible, paying attention to the spelling patterns and existing grammar.

In this sense, the reasons for the use of language are configured according to current Portuguese

the knowledge of Greek to remedy the mistakes that were already found in dictionaries, but instead of illustrate and clarify, disrupt and confuse whom consult more than one. I will therefore progressively correcting according to my good reason, the errors I still make, and I will not correct many of them in order to not become famous, as one of our friend said me in one occasion, my master in many little things of literature, and worthy of all respect and good illustration and poetic talent. I had an insignificant work published in Esperança were spoken a few words in this regard, and there I copied a wise phrase of Philiato Elysio. These are the reasons I will ask you a careful review of my little writings to be inserted in the *Cacique*, this review that I know, will never be as exact as I wish, according to your and our friend F.'s works.” - Free translation by the author.

grammar in the period. Moreover, the editor and publisher of the newspaper believes a disrespect to this same language, demonstrated by its use considered inappropriate, thus showing a small part of a larger network of discussions. The national language became the focus of political clashes after independence and gained more space in public and journalistic debates after the departure of the Emperor D. Pedro I of Brazil. A clash between pro-Portugal and anti-Portugal groups was formed, one of the points of discussion the use of language, which, for the anti-Portugal group should be according to the linguistic features of Brazil, not Portugal.

Likewise the editor and publisher is concerned with exposing the justification of the poet, though he may not agree with him, in defending his spelling governed by usage. This tension appears as a process of building the national language, patchwork of rules and usages, grammar and regionalisms, scholarly and popular voices, which distanced itself from European Portuguese and configuring the so-called Brazilian Portuguese today.

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SESSION 2

THE
DECOLONISATION
OF IMAGINARIES IN
LITERATURE 1

Abstract: This paper was carried out to present the different versions – an oral and a written one, a historical and a fictional – in the course followed by Ngungunhane, the last emperor of Gaza, region located in Southern Mozambique, according to the tenor of the novel *Ualalapi*, by Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa. In that polyphonic work, which will be studied from “historiographical metafiction” concept (Linda Hutcheon), the author challenges the alleged truth of the hegemonic European narratives, by building up the different images of the Nguni king, according to the Mozambican oral culture and cosmovision.

Keywords: Mozambican literature; Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa; *Ualalapi*; oral tradition; writing.

Introduction

Around the bonfire, at night, the tradition of African narrators (griots) an elderly man tells the story of Ngungunhane (c. 1850-1906), the last emperor of Gaza, Southern Mozambique, since the bloody usurpation of the fatherly throne, going through episodes of physical and psychological violence up to his imprisonment and embarkation on a Portuguese ship, toward perpetual exile overseas. Such images of ascension and fall of the Nguni king (Anguni) or Vátua, who had governed Gaza for eleven years (1884-1895) and died in diaspora, in the Terceira island of the Azores, make up the post-modern historical novel *Ualalapi* (1987), by Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, built up according to controversial oral and written sources.

An attentive listener, a guest in the Mozambican village, writes down notes of the oral memories evoked by the elder as a sign of the new time: the one of the endurance of writing in Portuguese which became another kind of communication vector provided by the settler.

The cultural sound, which overcomes and resounds through time, takes on another life in *Ualalapi*, in the double dimension of the polyphonic text: in the external printed characters (the commercialized narrative by Khosa) and the internal manual (the fictional journal of the heir prince Manua and the one by the Arab, Kamal Samade, as well as the text by the author-narrator who was in the village to listen to and to write down the narrative created by the elderly *griot*).

From a speech bequeathed to posterity to the words written by the young writer, who acts as a kind of alter-ego of Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, a pen name used by Francisco Esau Cossa (1957-), in *Ualalapi* several testimonies are collected: the verbal ones, told by Somapunga, Malule, and Ciliane, old members of Ngungunhane’s

From speech to writing: Mozambican history and memory in *Ualalapi* (1987) by Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa¹

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court, and the written ones, produced by civil and military officers of the Portuguese government and by a Swiss physician, historical characters, mixed with biblical excerpts and sayings about the last Gaza emperor.

Echoes from the late 19th century, a period of conflicts between Great Britain and Portugal, arisen from the dispute over the actual possession of Southern Mozambique (1895), possessed by Ngungunhane, come back at the end of the 20th century narrated by the Mozambican Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, published in 1987, which may be classified as a “historiographical metafiction” (Linda Hutcheon).

1. Historiographical metafiction (Linda Hutcheon)

In the work *Poética do pós-modernismo: história, teoria e ficção*, the Canadian Linda Hutcheon questions the traditional view of history which justifies the great narrative of positivist character by an only subject; she defines the current novel as “historiographical metafiction” and explains it:

Com esse termo, refiro-me àqueles romances (...) que, ao mesmo tempo, são intensamente auto-reflexivos e mesmo assim, de maneira paradoxal, também se apropriam de acontecimentos e personagens históricos. (...) sua autoconsciência teórica sobre a história e a ficção como criações humanas (*metaficção historiográfica*) passa a ser a base para seu repensar e sua reelaboração das formas do passado (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.21 e 22).

For Hutcheon, the historiographical metafiction retakes the text with historical essence which is going to be used as literary artifact, permeated with various perspectives. The historical fact may be told by distinct voices in a decentralization process. That is, the main characters are “ex-centric”, not in the center of power and narrate other view of history, distinct from the historical view taken by winners/settlers.

In *Ualalapi* (1987), by Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, the protagonist Ngungunhane’s power is a peripheral issue to the hegemonic European network, reinforced with the conclusion drawn at the formulated at the end of the Berlin Conference (1885).

2. Mozambique at the end of the 20th century: plaything between the English and the Portuguese and the war against Ngungunhane

The Kingdom of Gaza, which comprised Southern and Central Mozambique and part of Rhodesia (BRETES, 1989, p.76), was an object of covet by Great Britain due to the discovery of diamonds (1866), in Kimberley, in the Boer Republic of Transvaal (South African Union). To promote the English trade they built the railway Transvaal-Lourenço Marques, whose port was the main way out of the area. Besides, the British Crown aimed at uniting Cairo, in Egypt, to the Cape Colony, in South Africa, by occupying Mozambique (CABAÇO, 2009, p.62)

The African mineral wealth was an object of covet by the European nations, since some regions were effectively occupied by countries which justified their colonial possessions. To prevent major disputes they organized the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) and the final solution was the partition of great part of Africa. Portugal and France claimed their rights to the Atlantic and Indic coasts. (BRUNSCHWEIG, 2006, p.43). In the Mozambican coast the Portuguese Jesuits had lived since the end of the 16th century.

In 1884, Mudungazi, who belonged to the Nguni ethnical group,¹ orders the killing of his eldest-born brother, Mefaname, in order to become king. On that occasion, he named himself Ngungunhane, [In the novel *Ualalapi*, that episode is narrated in *Fragmentos do fim (1): Ualalapi*, the first chronological narrative of the ascension and fall of the Gaza emperor].

In 1885, Ngungunhane sent a private message to Lisbon, in order to reassert his vassalage to the Portuguese crown, a decision which was later disclaimed.

In 1887, D. Luis, the Portuguese king, makes a deal with Germany in order to divide Austral Africa: Portugal keeps the Rose Coloured Map aiming at uniting Angola to Mozambique. It was a decisive measure for the Portuguese crown in the process to effectively occupy the Mozambican territory coveted by Great Britain.

The already mentioned British interest in Mozambique in the 1860s, passed beyond the economical aspect, attaining a geostrategic feature: the government demanded the retreat of the Portuguese troops which followed along the Chire river toward the Niassa lake, where various Scottish missions were already settled. Portugal received an *Ultimatum* (1890) and had the territory evacuated. (SANTOS, 207, p.163 and 168).

Over the same year, The British South African Company (BSAC), owned by Cecil Rhodes, started an expansion project, and Ngungunhane granted that company a mining concession and access to the sea, in exchange for the payment of an annual tax, 1000 shotguns and 20000 cartridges. (SANTOS, 2007,p170).

The independent attitude shown by the Gaza king, who was considered by Portugal as its vassal, provoked the royal anger and measures were taken to fight him militarily. In 1895, the Portuguese army pillaged and set fire to Mandlakasi, the capital of the empire of Ngungunhane who was imprisoned by Mouzinho de Albuquerque (CABAÇO, 2009, p.64) in Chaimito, the holy village, where Manukuse, the king's grandfather, was buried.

In the morning of December 28, on foot, escorted by the Portuguese forces, the ousted king, with his seven wives, Godide, his heir, Molungo, the royal uncle, Matibejana, the kinglet Zixaxa, and his three concubines, they arrive at the Limpopo river, follow to Lourenço Marques, where they board on the ship "Africa" (December 29), before thousands of people who acclaimed the king of Portugal. [Such a scene is dramatically set in *Ualalapi* in *Fragmentos do fim (6): O último discurso de Ngungunhane*].

On March 23, they arrive in Lisbon and parade in an open car as prisoners of war. The women were sent into exiled to São Tomé. On June 27, 1896, Ngungunhane and the members of his entourage follow to the Terceira island of Azores, land on Angra do Heroísmo, where they were baptized and taught to read and write. Their captor, Mouzinho de Albuquerque, suicides in Lisbon, on January 8, 1902. The exiled king dies on December 23, 1906 (VILHENA, 1995, p.259).

Symbolically speaking, Ngungunhane's mortal remains, put into Mozambican carved wooden urn, were handed to the government of the Popular Republic of Mozambique, in Maputo, on June 15, 1895, a strategy designed to create a national identity, in a process encouraged by the government of Samora Machel of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique). (RIBEIRO, 2005, p.269).

In opposition to the myth created by Machel's government - the one of the native Mozambican who had offered resistance against the Portuguese settler -, Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa writes *Ualalapi* (1978), in which he deconstructs the myth of Ngungunhane, descendant of the Zulu branch which

¹ Around 1520, the Nguni people, a branch of the Zulu ethnic group, penetrate into Southern Mozambique and settle che Chopes, the Tsongas, the Vandaus and the Bitongas. Sochangane, later called Manukuse, becomes the first Gaza king and dies around 1858. One of his sons, Mawewe, usurps the power which is recovered by the lawful heir, Muzila, Mudungazi's father (Ngungunhane), born in 1850. He also recovers the throne fiercely.(PÉLISSIER, 2000, p. 119-128).

invaded Southern Mozambique, subduing some of its native people.

Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa includes in the novel excerpts of historical documents. At the beginning letter excerpts are mentioned written by a Portuguese and a Swiss who presented dialectical versions about Ngungunhane: Ayres d'Ornellas (1866-1930) had spent much time at the Gaza court, and George Liengme (1859-1930), physician and Protestant missionary who, from 1892 to 1895, had lived in Ngungunhane's village and spoke the Nguni language.

The passages referring to the views held by the Portuguese military officer and politician and the ones by the Swiss physician are presented in *Ualalapi* in the following continuous ordering:

“Entre estes vinha o Ngungunhane que conheci logo, apesar de nunca lhe ter visto retrato algum; era evidentemente o chefe duma grande raça... É um homem alto ... e sem ter as magníficas feições que tenho notado em tantos seus, tem-nas, sem dúvidas, belas, testa ampla, olhos castanhos e inteligentes e um certo ar de grandeza e superioridade...” Ayres d'Ornellas.

“Era um ébrio inveterado. Após qualquer das numerosas orgias a que se entregava, era medonho de ver com os olhos vermelhos, a face tumefata, a expressão bestial que se tornava diabólica, horrenda, quando nesses momentos se encolerizava”. Dr. Liengme.

“Só direi que admirei o homem, discutindo durante tanto tempo com uma argumentação lúcida e lógica”. Ayres d'Ornellas.

“... mas toda a sua política era de tal modo falsa, absurda, cheia de duplicidade, que se tornava difícil conhecer os seus verdadeiros sentimentos”. Dr. Liengme. (KHOSA, 2013, p. 11).

Author of *Cartas d'Africa. Campanhas do Gungunhana. 1895 e Cartas d'África e das Raças e línguas indígenas em Moçambique*, Ayres d'Ornellas Vasconcellos had bequeathed posterity positive images about Ngungunhane which are borrowed by Ungulani, in opposition to the negative observations made by Dr. George Liengme who in his work, *Un Potentat Africain - Goungounyane et son règne* (1901), had described the king's profile and several features of the Ngunis' culture. (VILHENA, on-line).

Ualalapi is divided into six parts called *Fragmentos do fim*: letter written by Ayres d'Ornellas about the splendid war hymn of the king's army, *Fragmentos do fim (1)*; Report made by Colonel Galhardo about the army march and the attack against Manjacase, kingdom capital, *Fragmentos do fim (3)*: Report made by the military governor of Gaza, Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque for the provisional governor of the Mozambique province on the imprisonment of Ngungunhane and other kinglets (1896), *Fragmentos do fim (4)* and Words of praise made by Counselor Correia, provisional governor of Mozambique, while receiving the prisoners of war straight from Mouzinho de Albuquerque, *Fragmentos do fim (5)*.

In the part *Fragmentos do fim (4)* the report made by the Gaza military governor, Joaquim Mouzinho D'Albuquerque was included, focusing on the king's prison (1895), in which the image of the defeated enemy is built up, sitting on the ground, symbol of the ruined empire:

Quando vi sair de lá o Régulo Vatua que os tenentes Miranda e Couto reconheceram logo por o terem visto mais de uma vez em Manjacase. Não se pode fazer ideia da arrogância com que respondeu às primeiras perguntas que lhe fiz. Mandei-lhe prender as mãos atrás das costas por um dos dois soldados pretos e disse-lhes que se sentasse. Perguntou-me onde, e como eu lhe apontasse para o chão, respondeu-me muito ativo que estava sujo. Obriguei-o, então, à força a sentar-se no chão (coisa que ele nunca fazia), dizendo-lhe que ele já não era Régulo dos Mangonis, mas um matonga como qualquer outro. (ALBUQUERQUE *apud* KHOSA, 2013, p. 70).

The issue concerning the truth (?) of the historical facts is commented by the Portuguese Augustina Bessa Luis the following way: “A História é uma ficção controlada”. (LUIZ apud KHOSA, 2013, p.12). Such a comment becomes the epigraph of *Ualalapi*.

3. Sound and printed words in *Ualalapi*, by Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa²

The facts concerning the ascension and fall of Ngungunhane (c. 1850-1906), historical character, provided the background to the novel *Ualalapi* (1987), which has the following structure: *Nota do autor*, six *Fragmentos do fim* which are inserted, in chronological order, between episodes concerning Ngungunhane’s life: *Ualalpi*, *A morte de Mputa*, *Damboia*, *O cerco ou fragmentos de um cerco*, *O diário de Manua*, and *O ultimo discurso de Ngungunhane*.³

Into that imbrication of historical and fictional episodes supernatural moments are inserted according to the Mozambican religious cosmogony of Nguni source.

3.1. The tradition of the oral narrative

In the paper *Literatura moçambicana: Herança e Reformulação*, Ana Mafalda Leite finds out that it is “uma constante nas narrativas pós coloniais, que partilham a autobiografia, a narrativa mítica, e utilizam recursos a procedimentos e formas orais”.

According to that author, in Africa the tradition of the art of narrating is preserved in the hinterland culture who adds: “Conversar não é apenas trocar idéias, antes contar histórias que exemplificam as ideias”. She remarks: “Estes novos narradores, repõem na escrita a arte griótica, o maravilhoso do era

2 Ungulani Ba ka Khosa is the Tsonga name of Francisco Esaú Cossa (1957), founder of the magazine *Charrua* and author of several fiction works, in which he uses standard Portuguese and incorporates some idiomatic expressions, popular sayings and proverbs typical of Mozambique. Published in 1987, *Ualalapi* granted the author the great award of Mozambican fiction in 1990. Other publications followed: *Os sobreviventes da noite* (2005), *Choriro* (2009), *Orgia dos loucos* (1990), *Histórias de amor e espanto* (1999) e *No reino dos abutres* (2002).

3 The narrative begins with *Ualalapi*, the episode of the homonymous officer, high member of the imperial army who, by orders of prince Mudunganzi, murders the legitimate heir of the Nguni, Mefamane. Under the influence of his aunt Damboia, the king, self-named Ngungunhane, starts a kingdom of terror in the subjugated villages, while the Portuguese besieged the Gaza lands with military expeditions.

In *A morte de Mputa*, name of another member of the king’s guard, Ngungunhane proves to be a sadistic tyrant when he ordered the execution of his loyal warrior (Mputa), due to intrigues carried on by his first wife who had accused Mputa of sexual harassment. In fact, the queen had been rejected by him and was driven by a desire for personal revenge. Six years later, Domia, Mputa’s daughter, entered the royal house planning to kill Ngungunhane who rapes her, on pure lust, since his thirty wives had been menstruating ceaselessly for four weeks. The girl tried to kill the king with a knife and he kept in secret a scar on his right thigh. Caught by surprise by the girl’s boldness, he mercilessly orders her execution.

In the episode *Damboia*, focusing on the king’s aunt, moments of the life of the woman who had voracious sexual appetite and ordered the death of the men who did not go to bed with her. Her last victim, foretold a terrible end for the devourer of men who started to menstruate ceaselessly, to the point that the nephew-king ordered the cancellation of the Nkuaia celebration, an annual and sacred ritual which was closed with the slaughtering of cattle and of a young couple meant for reviving the empire. Strange events frightened the vassals: a yellow and sticky rain, and the sudden appearance of corpses without face and name, the flow of Damboia’s blood dyeing the river and killing fish, and so on. Before such supernatural facts, Ngungunhane proved to be a vulnerable and violent man: on the one hand, he acted as a skinny sleepwalker and, on the other hand, he ordered his commander to scatter pain and death while attacking the chopos.

In *O cerco ou fragmentos de um cerco*, by the king’s order, Maguiguane, the military chief, approaches to a Chope village, besieges the fortified inhabitants and let them die from inanition, while they prepare the final attack which dyed the ground with blood. Such a kind of battle, typical of the European model, was known by the tradition of putting warriors face to face, in male combats fought in open areas. Ngungunhane exults at the boundless bloodshed.

In the episode *O diário de Manua*, one features the misfortunes of the heir prince, who studied at the lyceum and returns to Lourenço Marques, in a trip by ship in which supernatural events take place, due to the fact that he had eaten fish, a food forbidden for human consumption by his ethnic group. Totally acculturated, he starts writing his ponderings on the tyrannical government of this father and asserts that he would adopt the customs and practices followed by white men as soon as he ascended the throne.

In *O ultimo discurso de Ngungunhane*, the imprisoned emperor, on board of the ship which will take him to exile, addresses himself to his vassals and warns them about the disastrous future with the Portuguese.

uma vez e, refrânica e encantatoriamente, vêm contar a forma como se conta, na sua terra, encenando as estratégias narrativas, em simultâneo à narração”. (LEITE, 2003, p.89 and 92).

In *Ualalapi*, the everyday histories/stories of Ngungunhane within his court and in the subjugated villages, told in the light of night flames, result in a traditional cultural dynamics of oral source: the grandfather Somapunga (fictional), contemporary with the emperor, starts the narrative which passes through generations: that of this son and that of his grandson who told it to a writer, expert in Portuguese, the settlers’ language and writing system.

When he was a child, the *griot* had listened to the versions told by both his grandfather and his father, and had noticed that they presented some slight variations. He realizes that there is not only one truth and version of facts, such as in the case of Damboia, Ngungunhane’s aunt, considered to be a nymphomaniac who had received an exemplary punishment for chastising the men who had rejected her: an uncontrollable gynecological bleeding. The *griot* had explained to the listener that:

A pior coisa que aconteceu durante aqueles meses foram as palavras, homem! Eles cresciam de minuto a minuto e entravam em todas as casas, escancarando portas e paredes, e mudavam de tom consoante a pessoa que encontravam. A violência que Ngungunhane utilizou para sustá-las não surtiu efeito. Elas percorriam as distâncias à velocidade do vento. E tudo por causa dessas tinlhoco – nomeação em tsonga dos servos – que saíam da casa de Damboia com os sacos cheios de palavras que as lançavam ao vento. (KHOSA, 2013, p. 59).

The elderly narrator had explained that words – gossips – take on a frightening dynamics, and that one of his informers, the watchman Malule, who had carried out the wishes of Damboia, had tried to tell another version about the royal princess’ behavior:

[...] – Não liguês. São palavras do vulgo. Não tem fundamento.

Damboia teve a vida mais sã que eu conheci.

-Para onde vai o fumo, vai fogo, Malule.

-Nunca há de encontrar água raspando uma pedra. Deixa-me falar.

Eu conheço a verdade. Vivi na corte...

-Mas qual é o homem que não tem ranho no nariz, Malule?

Se Damboia teve erros não foram de grande monta. Ela meteu-se com homens como qualquer mulher.

E nisso não devemos nos meter. O tecto da casa conhece o seu dono.

-Mas o caracol deixa baba por onde passa.

-É tudo mentira o que ouviste por aí. Dá boca dessa gente, só saem chifres de caracol. Inventam histórias, fazem correr palavras, dormem com elas, defecam-nas em todo o lado. É tudo mentira. Eu vivi na corte...

-Mesmo que caminhes numa baixa, a corcunda há de ver-se Malule. (KHOSA, 2013, p. 60).

In the village, the writer had listened not only to the *griot*’s version, but also to the ones told by Malule and Ciliane, who were also elderly. The old servant had explained that in the very day of her death, Damboia found inner peace after suffering with the bleeding witnessed by everybody.

3.2. The heir prince’s writing

In the native Mozambican unwritten cultures, during Ngungunhane’s rule, from 1884 to 1895, the settlers were already there with their language in its oral, written, and printed varieties.

In *Ualalapi*, Manua, Ngungunhane’s son wrote, according to the novel, his personal impressions

on his father and his original culture from 1892 to 1895: The young man was an acculturated who had refused to accept his tradition after attending school at the lyceum of arts and crafts, in the Island of Mozambique.

Among the rubbles of the old Gaza capital Manua's journal was found, the one begun in 1892, when he returned to his family after completing his studies. While he was eating fish, a food forbidden by his ethnical group, he suffered a strange reaction, throwing up huge quantities of vomit which flowed on the ship floor. Puzzled about the manifestation of a tribal belief, he started writing a very personal text in which he criticized his father for being ignorant and a sorcerer and made comments about the ship commander who knew nothing about the Nguni cosmogony:

Se compreendesse alguma coisa talvez entendesse o fato de eu ter sido dos poucos na minha tribo que teve acesso ao mundo dos brancos, à sua língua, aos seus costumes e à sua ciência. Mas ele não pode entender o mundo negro, os nossos costumes bárbaros, a inveja que norteia a nossa vida e as intrigas que nos matam diariamente. (KHOSA, 1987, p. 94).

The introduction of reading and writing into Ngungunhane's family had brought about great transformations in the background and identity of Manua who foresaw:

Quando eu for imperador eliminarei estas práticas adversas ao Senhor, pai dos céus e da Terra. Serei dos primeiros, nestas terras africanas, a aceitar e assumir os costumes nobres dos brancos, homens que estimo desde o primeiro dia que tive acesso ao seu civismo são. (KHOSA, p. 94).

Maladjusted within in the royal court, the young man fell into ruin due to drinking. A foreigner, Kamal Samade (fictional), had also bequeathed in Arabic his views written on the decay of the heir prince, who died in 1895, when his father was sent to prison and the Ngunis' (Vátuas) empire collapsed.

In *Fragmentos do fim* (6): the last speech made by Ngungunhane, the king, prisoner of the Portuguese, on board of the ship, foretold many prophecies, among them he brought into relief the disastrous power of paper and the oblivion of native names:

Chamarão pessoa por pessoa, registando-vos em papéis que enlouqueceram Manua e vos aprisionarão. Os nomes que vêm dos antepassados esquecidos morrerão por todo o sempre, porque dar-vos-ão os nomes que bem lhes aprouver, chamando-vos de merda e vocês agradecendo. (KHOSA, 1987, p. 115).

At the end of the narrative about Ngungunhane's saga, the *griot* tells the writer visitor to the Mozambican village, that he was still a child when he listened to his grandfather, Somapunga, telling stories about the king. He shared the conviction of his mission to spread out the oral version:

Morreu a dormir, sonhando alto. De manhã, ao entrar na sua cubata, vi-o deitado ao comprido, olhando o tecto. Falava. A voz tocava-me profundamente. Durante horas seguidas ouvi-o falar. Quis acordá-lo, pois já era tarde. Ao tocá-lo notei que o corpo estava frio. Há muito que tinha morrido. Tiveram que o enterrar imediatamente para que os vizinhos não nos chamassem feiticeiros. E o nosso espanto foi ouvir a voz saindo de escarpas abissais. O meu pai teve que sentar-se sobre a sepultura e acompanhar, movimentando a boca, a voz do defunto. Os vizinhos e outros familiares distantes sentiram pena do meu pai, pois pensaram que estivesse louco. Noite e dia, durante uma semana e meia, o meu pai abria e fechava a boca. (KHOSA, 2013, p. 114).

The narrative of Ngungunhane's course told to a writer, who intended to find out the veracities of the traditional oral versions, raised doubts in his own mind:

Afastei-me da cabana que me estava reservada e virei o rosto em direcção à fogueira. Entre duas mangueiras enormes, o velho, com a cabeça entre as mãos, não via o fogo e a noite. Chorava. E eu afastava-

me da cubata, do meu quarto, e atirava-me à noite de luar. Algo me intrigava no discurso do velho e de Ngungunhane. (KHOSA, 1987, p.125)

Conclusion

The novel *Ualalapi* (1987), by Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, deconstructed the myth of the Nguni emperor, who belonged to the Zulu ethnical group, which had invaded Southern Mozambique, and oppressed its native peoples. The narrative may be viewed as an acid literary answer of the writer to a political process carried out by Samora Machel who had engaged himself in the repatriation of Ngungunhane's mortal remains (1985), adopting him as a symbol of the warrior against the military power of the Portuguese invader.

In her work *A literatura africana e a crítica pós-colonial. Reconversões*, Inocência Mata writes that: "O que importa...que participam do mesmo espaço interno". (MATA, 2007, p.40). Following the same trend shared by that author, Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa developed *Ualalapi*, in which he deals with asymmetrical relationships between the Portuguese and Ngungunhane and between the latter and his Choze vassals, among other subjugated people, in a period in which Southern Mozambique was object of covet by British.

The violent saga of the last Gaza emperor was narrated from two perspectives: on the one hand, by an African *griot* permeated by voices of the characters which he knew personally and who gave his testimony to the writer, who by his turn passed by collecting information about the eleven years of the royal journey. And on the other hand, the historical reports produced by Europeans starting with the testimonies of two Ngungunhane's contemporaries - Ayres d'Ornellas and Dr. Liengme - who had opposite views about the royal personality and were followed by reports made by Portuguese military officers involved in those combats: Colonel Galhardo (siege to the capital and the royal retreat), Mouzinho de Albuquerque (Ngungunhane's imprisonment) and Counselor Correia (the reception given to those prisoners of war).

Galhardo plays a role, as a character, in a short episode in which he orders the destruction of the capital of Gaza, in which surroundings laid out a great number of corpses. One notices that his horse trampled upon the living body of a native, to whom he asks about the king's whereabouts. (*Fragmentos do fim* (2)). After describing the cold and scheming colonel, the author includes an official document written by Galhardo and subverts it with unpleasant disclosures about:

-O facto de ter profanado com um ímpio o lhambelo, urinando com algum esforço sobre o estrado onde o Ngungunhane se dirigia na época dos rituais (...).

-O roubo de cinco peles de leão que ostentou na metrópole, como resultado duma caçada perigosa em terras africanas.

-O facto de ter, pessoalmente, esventrado cinco negros com o intuito de se certificar da dimensão do coração dos pretos. (KHOSA, 1987, p. 51 e 52).

The hegemonic narratives, reflections of the power of institutions which justified the national identifying discourses of European source, are challenged by Ungulani Ba ka Khosa in *Ualalapi*, who evokes the oral tradition to compose the king's image in literary reflections on moments which were decisive to colonial and post-colonial histories and memories of Mozambique, run by the Portuguese up to 1975.

In his novel, Khosa picked out Ngungunhane, an "ex-centric" protagonist ("historiographical metafiction", by Hutcheon) contrary to the expectations: a powerful kinglet in Southern Mozambique, an area located on the fringes of the center of the European hegemonic power, and ironically subverts

it, disclosing his oppressing profile as a Nguni invader. The writer manages to decolonize the hegemonic thought of the historical documents inserted into the novel, allowing the various narrators of the royal saga to tell their versions of Ngungunhane's history, who managed to be right only when he foresaw the final apocalyptic prophecy: the Portuguese colonization would be worse than his.

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Postcolonialism and religiosity in African literatures

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Abstract: This paper proposes to question and discuss the manifestations of religion and religiosity in post-colonial African literature, both in the context of the colonizer as the colonized, through its own aesthetic, showing ambivalence, symbolic struggles and political thought in the [post] colonial world. Thus, this text is constructed from the Marxist idea of class struggle, taken, however, to the sacred spheres, which the religiosity described in the African text isn't privileged about a purely theological point of view, but addressing the religious apparatus and its phenomenology as a literary strategy of creation or an aesthetic strategy of postcolonialism that sees in the discourse the inherent political struggle of the colonial place.

Keywords: post-colonialism; religion and religiosity; African Literatures; Cultural Studies.

1. A political and religious problematic

From the first impression, Karl Heinrich Marx's quote "Religion is the opium of the people" bothered me. Despite the fact that the idea of the quote is present in texts preceding his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right - Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie* (1844), it became disseminated after this publishing. However, Feuerbach, Bauer and Kant had previously sketched this quote, in similar contexts, relating religion, State and Politics.

Marx as well as Engels considered religion as a forefront of alienation and negative service to the class struggle. The conception of opium in the context of this quote was related to the evil torpor of religion, as the "illusory happiness of men", thus hindering humankind from seeing their true condition, in a way to "think and act and shape his reality like a man who has been disillusioned and has come to reason, so that he will revolve round himself" (2010:146). Marx was not that wrong. Especially when he mentioned Religion as a synonym for the monotheist creeds as institutions like Judaism, Islam and especially Christianity.

However, only one side of this drug addiction is observed in a way to unmask human self-alienation in its sacred forms. Marx spoke of the use of Religion by the oppressor in a way to subdue and cover the miseries caused by themselves, but, at the same time, he forgot that the oppressed can also make use of the same Religion in a way to pay back the oppressor and bring forth his 1844 thought: "Religious misery is, *at one and the same time, the expression of real misery and a protest against real misery. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions.*" (2010:145. My italics).

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The use of the terms “**at one and same time**”¹, reinstates that there are two approaches to the problem. In this sense, ‘religion is the opium of the people’ recovers the value attributed by Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), in his text about Ludwig Börne, in 1840, in which he refers to the Narcotic role of religion in a very positive way: “*Religion mixes sweet tranquilizing drops, like a spiritual opiate, into the bitter cup of humanity*” (*apud Löwy, 2006*). The same positive approach is mentioned, with reservations by Moses Hess (1812-1875), in his 1843 Swiss essay: “Religion can make bearable...the unhappy consciousness of serfdom... in the same way as opium is of good help in painful diseases.” (*apud Löwy, 2006*).

The contradiction in Marx about religious “affliction”, sometimes an endorsement and sometimes a protest, is a result of his point of view in 1844, when he was still a disciple of Feuerbach, a neo-Hegelian. Michael Löwy, in “*Marxism and religion: opium of people?*” (2006), underlines the importance of the fact:

o ponto de vista de Marx, em 1844, deriva mais do neo-hegelianismo de esquerda, que vê na religião a alienação da essência humana, do que da filosofia das Luzes, que a denúncia simplesmente como uma conspiração clerical (o “modelo egípcio”).[...] A sua análise da religião era, por conseguinte “pré-marxista”, *sem referência às classes sociais e sobretudo a-histórica*. (Löwy, 2006. Author’s italics)².

Only two years later, Engels, in *German Ideology [Die deutsche Ideologie]* (1846), that religion studies through the Marxist view is approached as a social and historical reality, opening discussions about the relations between Religions and the class struggle made by thinkers like Rose of Luxembourg, Ernst Bloch and Walter Benjamin, for example.

The religious phenomenon is a personal, cultural and collective/ individual composition, rising from the interaction between the subjects and what they consider divine. This way, religion is a consequence of the social group that practices it, hence its relationship in the classes’ context, as Ernst Bloch stated. He distinguishes two social opposite social streams: “the theocratic religion group of the official churches, the opium of people, apparel to mystification at the service of the powerful ones; on the other side, the clandestine religion, subversive and heretic” (Löwy, 2006), at the peoples’ service.

Marx and Engels thought that the subversive role, the paying back, commitment struggle, the defense and the counter-discourse present in the religious practices were elements lost in the past, lacking strength for the modern classes struggles. Those thinkers were mistaken, because they did not observe neither the decolonization processes, nor the post-colonial studies.³

2. Post-Colonialism, the religious phenomenon and the symbolic fight

Religion and religiosity become important within the colonial space, because they are elements present in those minds and discourses from the colonizer as well as the colonized people. The theme cannot be separated from the colonization process, once both antagonist groups used the religious phenomenon either to justify the colonial policies (Christian missionaries, colonizers), or to resist the process, paying back the oppression, deconstructing discourses, producing the process of decolonization (the colonized, medicine people, healers).

1 In Portuguese “A miséria religiosa constitui ao mesmo tempo a expressão da miséria real e o protesto contra a miséria real”. In the German original: “Das religiöse Elend ist in einem der und in einem die Protestation gegen das wirkliche Elend.” (my highlights).

2 Marx’s point of view, in 1844, comes more from the left neo-Hegelianism, that sees in religion the alienation of the human essence than the Enlightenment philosophy, that denounces it simply as a clerical conspiracy (the “Egyptian model”).[...] His analysis of religion was, therefore, “pre-Marxist”, without references to social classes and above all a-historical. (author’s tradition).

3 The relationship between the Post-Colonial Studies and Class Marxism is intimately linked through the dialectics between colonizer and colonized ones. Such binary game was thought from the Cultural Studies in the 1960’s, originated from the Frankfurt School.

Inside the colonial (or post-colonial) world, the fact is that, before the process of invasion, very few of the colonized peoples had a set of beliefs, myths and rituals of their own, in order to praise their past and all those who inhabit it (ancestors, heroes, creational divinities, etc). Within this, belief becomes an answer to the unexplained, a source for blessing, for the land fertility, against diseases, that is, the consolation and resignation. Religion becomes a reflection of this group that now is 'outcast', 'othered' and 'invaded', a foundation for endorsement and comforting that, because of this, makes it (religion and its features) a social resource to strength: "We are born weak and defenseless [...] the faithful who contacted God [...] is made stronger. He feels stronger inside, either to bear sufferings or to win them." (Alves, 1989:64)⁴.

Belief is not an isolated phenomenon, but it develops in a plural, social economical and cultural context. Faith, belief and religion are part of human nature, both from the victorious and the defeated ones, the invaders and the invaded ones because, as Rubens Alves states (*quoted by Loiola, 2011:162*) "When the resources of technique are exhausted, the representative of the Sacred flourishes: priests, warlocks, healers abound [...]"⁵ – the way these characters abounded during the colonial conflicts!

Faith permeates all contexts, ending up in the politic context, so this same strength is revealed by the European colonizers in a way to justify the colonial conquest and impose their hegemony. Novinsky (1972:19) synthesizes well the idea of religion in the colonial sphere, because, in the words of this author, "Religion is a pretext for fighting [...]"

Such a fight, as in the case of conquerors, was moved by Christ`s words (Mark 16:15. New Testament): "*Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation.*", and constructed a mercantilist line of thought of the Christian Empires, such as the Portuguese Empire, who believed that its territory expansion and the increasing of Christianity were divine will. While religion worked as a social and cultural tool for people in Africa, even arabized in some parts, it was also a tool to empower the Christian Europe: "More than ever, the illusion of the homogeneity, canonically defended since the first Catholic priests, was relentlessly tearing apart facing the radical otherness of new places and peoples"⁶ (Chain, 2003:12).

The myth of the Divine Will was always the driving force of colonization. The Venerable Bede, a Benedictine monk who lived around the 8th century, defended even at that period the unification of the Anglo-Saxon Island under only one British flag, under God`s exclusive will (Fanning, 1991). Centuries later, the very England would give an example of indissolubility between Church and State when, in 1534, *King Henry the 8th creates the Anglican Church becoming its supreme leader* – and, as the Catholic Church, unified temporal and spiritual powers.

However, of all colonizer empires, Portugal was the one who questioned most of all the colonialist politics and religion. There, in Portugal, the Catholic Church was equally as the monarchy worried in investing against heterodoxies (Chain, 2003:38). In *O diabo e a terra de Santa Cruz - The Devil and the land of the Holy Cross* (2009), Souza observes that the archaism of the Lusitanian social body, the feudal minds and the modern ideas coming from other European nations arranged the geography of the Holy Inquisition birth, in 1536. The Portuguese church, more than a State inside a State, was a "State" over the state, playing the leading role in decisions, rules and powers.

It doesn`t matter whether they were English, Portuguese, Dutch, French or German, the fact is that the relationship between religion and colonization could not be separated and produced an

4 "Nascemos fracos e indefesos [...] o fiel que entrou em contato com o seu Deus [...] se tornou mais forte. Ele sente dentro de si, mais força, seja para suportar os sofrimentos da existência, seja para vencê-los" (original text).

5 "quando se esgotam os recursos da técnica, florescem sempre um representante do sagrado: o padre, o feiticeiro [...]"(original text).

6 "Mais do que nunca, a ilusão da homogeneidade humana, defendida canonicamente desde os primeiros Padres da Igreja, estilhaçava-se irremediavelmente diante da alteridade radical de novas terras e gentes" (original text).

ambivalence mentioned by Fanon (1961), that both groups create each other. Iza Chain explicits:

Tomava corpo, neste contexto, a ideia de que os deuses do povo vencedor subjugariam e se apropriariam do território, corpo e mentes da população vencida, submetendo e extinguindo as divindades relacionadas a ela. O povo vencido, por sua vez, reagiria num processo de retaliação que colocaria a responsabilidade de todas as suas penúrias nos deuses do povo vencedor, vendo-os como entidades de cunho negativo (Chain, 2003:43)⁷.

In this approach, rereading religion in the post-colonial studies, rises a way of religion analysis, at times compared, thus producing a strong and needed turmoil in the epistemological superiority of the Christian-Cartesian theology.

[...] Rejeitado o preconceito teológico da superioridade da revelação cristã, [...] [procura-se] abolir qualquer fronteira entre o mundo cristão e o mundo não cristão. Além de nomear e classificar os fatos religiosos, reagrupando-os em determinadas “espécies” (fetichismo, magia, tabus, culto dos mortos, astrolatria, etc), esses estudos colocavam-se o problema de captar, graças à comparação, aquilo que unia as várias religiões [...] (Filoramo & Prandi, 1999: 28)⁸.

This unity among the ‘diverse religions’ is their very ability of revealing new functions other than the *religare* and the *relegere*. It is the one of presenting the discursive strategies of an ideological and political nature in their sacred symbolisms. Besides, if the studies of religion were born attached to the texts, once the great religions had as their source their textual narratives – Christianity (Bible), Hinduism (*Bhagavad Gita*), Islam (Koran), Judaism (*Tanakh [Torah, Nevi'im and Ketuvim]*), Zoroastrianism (*Zend Avesta*), Bahá'í (*Kitáb-i-Aqdash*), etc., currently literature contributes to such studies and, together with the postcolonial studies, literature helps to re-evaluate the conceptions of the sacred in the ambivalent world of the post-colonial literature.

Então, poderíamos estabelecer como objetivo geral para uma fenomenologia pós-colonial da religião o seguinte; Analisar o fenômeno religioso em perspectiva pós-colonial, atribuindo como válido todas as teorias e teologias que reforcem a alteridade nas tradições escritas ou não. Um segundo objetivo geral seria; aprofundar uma análise crítica da retórica discursiva tanto dos textos sagrados, quanto da linguagem ritual. E mais especificamente; a) Usar nessa análise tanto os critérios científicos, quanto os do senso comum. b) Identificar nas experiências religiosas, formas de harmonização entre as premissas das ciências sociais e naturais (Loiola, 2011:171)⁹.

Religion is still a theme a little absent from the post-colonial studies as a mark of the literary construction that approaches the ‘political’ discourse adherent to those studies. This means that the religious phenomena in the post-colonial literatures were not systematized and theorized suo modo for the aims of the post-colonial studies that is analyzing the strategy marks, attack and defense in

7 In this context, an Idea was rising that the gods of the winner people would subdue and take over the lands, the bodies and minds of the defeated population, subduing and vanquishing their related divinities. The defeated people would put the responsibility of all their penances in the gods of the winner people, seeing them as entities of a negative nature (Author's translation).

8 [...] Rejecting the theological prejudice of the superiority of the Christian revelation, [...] [it is sought] to abolish any border between the Christian and non-Christian worlds. Besides naming and classifying the religious facts, grouping them in a determined “species” (fetishism, magic, taboos, cult of the dead ones, devotion to the planets, etc), these studies put up the problem of observing, due to comparison, that which united the diverse religions [...] (Author's translation).

9 Then, we could establish as the general objective for post-colonial phenomenology as follows: to analyze the religious phenomenon in a post-colonial perspective, considering as valid all theories and theologies that reinforce otherness whether they are in written traditions or not. A second aim would be: deepen a critical analysis of the discursive rhetoric from the sacred texts as well as their ritual language. And more specifically a) By using in this analysis both in the scientific criteria and in the common sense. b) By identifying experiences, forms of harmonization between the premises of the social sciences and the ones in the natural sciences (Author's translation).

the literary object. However, religion was the most interfering element in the colonization processes between the 15th and the 20th century all around the world. Stephen Greenblatt, in *Marvelous Possessions* (1996:24-25) analyses the meaning of rites and feasts, process of conversion, nature of gifts, ways that Christians deal with the false beliefs of the others, authority that supported and endorsed the interpretation of the scriptures, among other elements that appeared at the same time of the second generation of European travelers. Those were issues of a capital importance, which marked some very clear divisions.

It was starting from that which one believed that separated the colonial world between I and them, and it is in the African literature that this view becomes notorious.

3. African Post-colonial literature and religiosity

In 2006, starting on my scientific initiation Project, I was worried about issues regarding Religion and Religiosity in post-colonial literatures. My paper presentation *The panoptic view of the colonizer and the resistance ways of the colonized in The Fakir's Island*, by Alice Perrin approaches the Idea that the colonized (in that case a fakir) resists to the domination process by using his religious knowledge, in that case, a curse, based on his ascetic Hindu knowledge as a way and strategy of paying back (Paradiso: 2006). I stated, then, that religion and religious phenomena were also ambivalent, in the binary game defense/attack, resistance/oppression, colonized/colonizer, becoming a weapon for attack and controlling by the colonizers or defense, resistance and counter-attack by the colonized people (Paradiso 2006; 2007; 2008).

The need is confirmed and supported by the important writers of the post-colonial theory. One year later, in the second version of *The post colonial studies: key concepts. Second edition* (2007:188), Ashcroft et al., state the need of starting to attach the religion studies to the post-colonial studies, once the religious and politic ranges are linked to the post-colonial scope, and they propose the discussion: "Religion could therefore act either as a means of hegemonic control or could be employed by the colonized as a means of resistance".

But not only the theorists understand the value of religion studies to the post-colonial literary studies. Many African writers, such as Chinua Achebe, Pepetela and Mia Couto, for example, believe that writing about Africa and colonization without giving the due importance to religion is not writing about Africa and colonialism at all. In an interview, Achebe states his desire of discussing better the Igbo and Christian religions.

I was steeped in religion, the religion of the foreigners, because I wasn't there when my father converted, and so that was one aspect of life. I wasn't questioning it. In fact, I thought that Christianity was very a good and a very valuable thing for us. But after a while, I began to feel that the story that I was told about this religion wasn't perhaps completely whole, that something was left out. There was no attempt to understand what was behind the Ibo religion. It was simply dismissed as the worship of stones and, you know, not as good as Christianity. (Achebe, 2008)

On the other hand, Mia Couto criticized the Mozambique Liberation Front in 1964 because they did not understand the reality of African religiosity, that is, the war needed to be 'Magical-religious', once politics and religiosity should not be distinguished from one another when the issue is Africa:

Eu acho que quando se fala em África, e agora já posso falar em África, normalmente se fala em África de uma maneira tão simplista, como se fosse uma coisa só. Mas em geral em África não se dá a devida importância àquilo que é a religião, o fator religioso. [...] eu não posso compreender a África se não

compreender uma coisa que nem tem nome, que é a religião africana, que chamam às vezes de animista. Os próprios africanos também não entendem que têm de procurar esse entendimento do que eles são, das suas dinâmicas atuais, a partir deste entendimento do que é a sua ligação com os deuses. E eu acho que a Frelimo falhou [...] (Couto, 2002)¹⁰.

The writer Pepetela also evaluates that “in a general way, Angolan people is religious [...] [Thus] it is obligatory that Angolan literature get a lot in touch with the aspect of religiosity” (apud Chaves, Macedo, 2009:39)¹¹.

Besides that, the religious matter is not finished in the conflict between colonizer and colonized. It goes far beyond that, as in the cases in which the importance of the sacred is present in the post-independence period, or in the result of civil wars, as in *No fundo do canto* (2007), by Odete Semedo.

By means of religious dialogues exposed in the African texts, one can verify the cultural and religious dispute in a political perspective, produced in the struggle of the “classes”. In this, the colonized subject gives to the colonizer the response and the payback, using the most powerful of the weapons, faith, and exposes the faith of the colonizer as a support for the colonial politics. If the Post-colonial studies attempt in the way by which the literary text reveals its creation of the other in an ideological, cultural and ethnical scope, the focus will lie on the religious issues, in which, together with the individuals, their rites, dogmas, beliefs, even their god will also be left aside. The privileged investigation will go beyond the literary, but will be “historical, social and literary” (Culture, History e Religion in Literature), in a way to analyze the presence of religion in those post colonial African literatures as having the leading role of the colonial resistance and criticism.

The African texts of a post-colonial nature allow a questioning about the Western ‘supremacy’ which invades and oppresses peoples unknown up to that period, part of the literary imagination of several writers, who presented in their short stories and novels countless representations of the sacred.

Thus, there is a questioning about the post-colonial studies and the religiosities of their agents. So, why aren’t there many analyses where religiosity and post-colonial discourse are gathered together in an adequate and coherent relation, thus establishing the social and political nature of religion in the post-colonial text? The answer may be in the theoretical literature about post-colonialism, which does not value religion as a conception to be worked under this approach.

That’s the reason why my thesis (2014) “Religion and Religiosities in Post-Colonial African Literatures: Achebe and Mia Couto”, presented to the Universidade Estadual de Londrina (PR State, Brazil) raised and approached the hypothesis on how the religious phenomenon of the colonized ones and the colonizers are presented in the post-colonial text by African writers, starting on a particular esthetic, in which those phenomena are observed by the political approach of a colonial struggle. This way, I set the African writer to the commitment of the ‘citizen-writer’, discussed in Benjamin Abdala Junior, in *Literatura, história e política – Literature, History and Politics* (2007), where the writer discusses writing starting on the political commitment, in our case, underlying the religiosity discourse. The thesis (Paradiso, 2014) was one of the many starters about the religious studies inside the African narratives as a decisive element for the construction of an anti-hegemonic political

¹⁰ I think that, when we talk about Africa, and now I can talk about Africa, because one usually talks about Africa in a very simplifying way, as if it is just one thing. But in general in Africa, no importance is given to that which is religion, the religious factor. [...] I cannot understand Africa if I cannot understand something that even doesn’t have a name, which is the African religion, that is sometimes called animist. The very African people also don’t understand that they have to look for this understanding of what they are, their current dynamics from this understanding of what is their attachment to the gods. And I think that FRELIMO failed in that. [...] (Author’s translation).

¹¹ “de um modo geral o povo angolano é religioso [...] [Assim] é forçoso que a literatura angolana toque muito no aspecto da religiosidade” (Author’s translation).

discourse, a singular feature of the post-colonial texts. So, it is my intention that other researchers may continue to study this theme, as many writers of the Black continent approach the matters: that faith doesn't move only mountains, but also the wreckage brought about by the [post]-colonial discussion.

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Abstract: In this paper, we discuss the gap between the discourse and the project regarding Lusophone world. The first is related to the notion of unity of the Portuguese language and the second shows the lack of actions for building an effective relationship between the countries of the CPLP. We chose to focus our discussion on literature, which may reveal the gap between discourse and project in its contents and circulation. For this, we analyze the book *O Anjo do Timor* by Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen . This book may be read as a symbol of Lusophony and , more specifically , of the way Timorese people belong to it. In contrast, we present the concrete experience of working with the book in the classroom, along with Timorese university students. Through discussion of the booking and the teaching experience, we will point to the wide gap between the discourse and the project of Lusophony and to the way it is marked by violence, not only historical, but symbolic.

Keywords: Lusopnony; East Timor; reading; Portuguese language; literature

Introduction

In this paper, we aim to discuss the concrete distance between countries, despite the project of unification and the existence of a common language. We certainly do not value uniformity, which is contrary to multiple aspects of identity, but we intend to show the tension between the discourse and the project of Lusophony. We base our considerations in Fernandes' words:

Lusophony in its immense symbolic representation can mean a discourse of singular circumstance of a ritual ceremony, as well a consistent project on behalf of which we should unite to overcome the natural difficulties, while the embryo of a set of communities, equal among themselves regardless of their size or creed, and with a common imperishable mark - Portuguese Language - with the differences caused by the creativity of those who use it as a higher form of communication. (Fernandes, 2006, p. 119)¹

In his speech during the Opening Conference of the *X Congresso das Ciências do Desporto dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, Fernandes states quite objectively about the

¹ Free translation. Original text: "Ora, a lusofonia, na sua imensa representação simbólica, tanto pode significar um discurso de circunstância próprio de um ritual de cerimónia, como um consistente projecto em nome do qual nos deveremos unir para ultrapassar dificuldades naturais, enquanto embrião de um conjunto de comunidades, entre si iguais, independentemente da sua dimensão ou credo, e com um traço comum imperecível – a Língua Portuguesa –, com as diferenças próprias da criatividade de quem a utiliza como forma superior de comunicação". (Fernandes, 2006, p. 119)

Lusophony in East Timor: between discourse and project

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possibilities of intervention for the construction of a Lusophone project. He points out actions which should follow the discourse about Lusophony. Thus, even without agreeing with some of the placements of the author, we believe that it takes a significant step to establish specific parameters for supporting an ideal.

In this paper, we aim to follow Fernandes steps. It will be discussed an object that can be considered a Lusophone symbol: the book *O Anjo do Timor* written by the Portuguese Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen. This work will be analyzed considering its circulation in East Timor, in a teaching experience with Timorese students. Thus, we reflect about the gap between the discourse and the project of Lusophony and about possibilities of bring both together.

1. The discourse about Lusophony in literature

Among other elements of culture, literature is fundamental to the formation of a country. In Brazilian case for example, according to one of our most important literary critics (Candido, 2007), just in Romanticism it was achieved a truly Brazilian literature. Just in this period could be found an autonomous literary system, independent from Portugal.

In the case of East Timor, it may be more difficult to identify its own literature because the country is independent just over a decade. It can be easily seen marks of Portuguese colonization and Indonesian invasion. Esperança (2004), in text rightly called “Um brevíssimo olhar sobre a literatura de Timor-Leste”², gives in a few pages an overview of the (not oral) literature related to the country. Already in the beginning of the article, the author explains he chose “Literature of East Timor” and not “Timorese literature” because he included texts not just by writers born in the country. From these considerations, Esperança makes a survey of some fundamental works of the history of East Timor - from travel books to those about the contemporary situation of the country.

Without tracing aesthetic judgments, the only criteria pointed out by Esperança would be in favor of an expansion of the limited set of literary works in the country. Far from being neutral, this action reinforces the presence of Portugal in the Literature of East Timor because it embraces authors born in this European country. We should understand Esperança’s intent in the light of ideology, once we agree it can be always recognized in the selection of works any national literature. In this respect, states Eagleton in his attempt to define the literature:

What we have uncovered so far, then, is not only that literature does not exist in the sense that insects do, and that the value-judgements by which it is constituted are historically variable, but that these value-judgements themselves have a close relation to social ideologies. They refer in the end not simply to private taste, but to the assumptions by which certain social groups exercise and maintain power over others. (Eagleton, 1996, p. 14)

Eagleton’s book shows how the definition of the literary is related to aspects which far surpass the materiality of the text. Thus, we cannot disregard the “filter” existing in this demarcation of “Literature of East Timor”, established by a Portuguese priest. In this context, we place the question: the need to expand the criterion of “Timorese literature” to “literature of Timor” would indicate not only a concern of thinking about Timor’s cultural production within the Lusophony, but also a desire to accentuate the importance of Portugal in Timorese culture? Although this question is apparently anchored in two very similar conditions, it indicates two different approaches: in the first case it is focused in Timor, and in the second in Portugal. This double possibility reveals the gap between the discourse and the

2 Free Translation: “A very brief look at the literature of East Timor”

project. After all, the critical effort to define the literature of a country may reveal a project which does not put the country as the protagonist of their own culture, but as one more character.

Because of the extent and purposes of this article, we do not aim to deal in depth the hypothesis raised earlier. But we let it in the air. It will be a question present in discussion to be developed below, in which we intend to make more concrete the gap between discourse and project – similar to the complex relationship between East Timor and Lusophony.

2. A symbol of Lusophony

O Anjo do Timor, written by Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, is undeniably a beautiful book. The simple text bears the mark of the poet, with precise and striking lexical choices, which lyrically portray a request for peace. To reinforce the construction of the text, there are the illustrations by Graça Morais, who painted in shades of brown the story of a people who survive under the sun. Thus, we have materialized in a small book a coordinated effort of word and image, representing the quality we always expect to find in literature.

The book presents the life of a “liurai” (a kind of Timorese local leader) who decides to travel the world to become wiser . On one of his stops, he meets a merchant who told about the existence of people who believed in one single God and expect His return to save humankind. After hearing this story, the “liurai” desires to know where live these people, but the merchant tells that it would not be possible because the country was too distant. Because of this impossibility, the “liurai” concludes that he does not want to travel anymore and decides to return to his homeland . Arriving home, he heard in his dreams he should wait for a call from God. And he did it over a long time: during the day he was the just and wise chief and during the night he was a man waiting for the sign from God. In one night, the messenger of God appears before the “liurai” and announces that the expected God had finally come to earth as a baby. The angel informs that the Wise Men were on their way to carry gifts to the boy. The “liurai” tells to the angel he would also like to join the Wise Men, but the Angel, as the merchant, explains it would be impossible because Bethlehem was far from Timor. This time, with no frustration, the “liurai” understands the distance between him and his God and just asks the angel to give him a gift: a box of sandalwood with some stones he used to play in childhood.

Since this event, every Christmas The Angel of Timor stands before Jesus to offer him the gift of “liurari”. In a special year, the angel repeats this action and says Jesus the following prayer:

– Baby Jesus, Prince of Peace, Almighty God, remember that people of Timor has been entrusted to my care. Hear their prayers, see their suffering. See how they ceaselessly invoke You even in the midst of the massacre. Lord, set them free from their captivity, give them peace, justice, freedom. Give them the fullness of your grace.

Glory to the Lord! (Andresen, 2003, p.34)³

In a singular Christmas, The Angel of Timor cannot just reinforce his usual gesture of praising the Timorese people. In an attitude of deep faith, the angel prays for help to the people who are faithful in Jesus even being so distant from him. The prayer sets the desperate plea of a population who was being decimated, suffering all the violent consequences of the Indonesian invasion⁴. This request for

3 Free translation. Original text: “- Menino Deus, Príncipe da Paz, Deus todo Poderoso, lembra-Te do povo de Timor que por Ti foi confiado à minha guarda. Escuta as suas preces, vê o seu sofrimento. Vê como não cessam de Te invocar, mesmo no meio do massacre. Senhor, libertai-os do seu cativeiro, dai-lhes a paz, a justiça, a liberdade. Dai-lhes a plenitude da Vossa graça. Glória a Ti, Senhor!” (Andresen, 2003, p.34)

4 We will not dive into details of the tragedy in East Timor. In order to indicate the size of the violence, we resorted to findings

help testifies the profound belief of Timorese in Catholic faith, which remains as one of the deepest marks left by Portuguese colonization, something recognized even in the Constitution of the country⁵.

The synthesis of the book shows in its simplicity profound reflections on wisdom, peace and distance. Even if the Timorese old man is free to seek more knowledge, he is locked into a space whose distance separates him from the important events happened in another country. However, the spatial limitation is disrupted by faith, by the deep desire to pay tribute to the one regarded as source of salvation and hope. Because of the impossibility of physical presence, “liurai” and his people will be represented through the simple gift.

The angel of Timor becomes himself the bridge which unites such distant places. He breaks the concrete barrier of the continents with his wings and he is able to be with baby Jesus to intercede for the suffering people. In this sense, we can consider him as a symbol of Lusophony especially because of his speech to unify such different countries around the supposed unity of the Portuguese language.

Through the Catholic faith, fundamental to spread the Portuguese language, it is represented in Andresen’s narrative Andresen how the Timorese people belong to the Lusophone community. This people have their Lusophone identity represented especially by the singular gift sent to Jesus: a box of sandalwood, one of the symbols of the country, with the pebbles, which represent the simplicity of Timorese people. There is no intention of causing a good impression with an expensive gift, just the real intent to give something really suitable for a boy. Once The Angel of Timor takes an object which has always belonged to “liurai”, it may be considered that he carries the memory of the Timorese people, presenting Jesus with their moments of fun and peace experienced in childhood.

The gift chose by the “liurai” is a vote of joy and tranquility, common feelings in the past of the Timorese people. The gift is offered to Jesus in an act of generosity, which can represent the desire of taking part in His blessing to the mankind. However, in a moment of deep despair of the people, that past of tranquility becomes a symbol to ask Jesus an action to build the future to the people with the same feelings offered to Him by the “liurai”.

In the reading we suggest in this article, centered in the gap between the discourse and the project of Lusophony design, we believe that *O Anjo do Timor* may be taken as a significant example of how this process occurs. The Angel materializes the possibility of union between people around a strong common cultural element (in this case the Catholic faith) and the overshoot of any distances (in this case, physical) between them. In response to their offering, to their desire to belong to a God who is so far away from that people, there is the request for aid and attention in a moment of deep pain and despair.

The literary request to Jesus is similar to what motivates Sophia Andresen to write: the need to draw the attention of the world, especially of the Portuguese people, to the absurd suffered by the Timorese population. Then it is requested that the discourse of Lusophone integration becomes a concrete project: action to save lives.

In the next topic, we discuss an effective case of reception of the book, which makes even more evident the gap between discourse and project: not just as literary matter, but as daily substrate to the education of Timorese population.

of Indonesians themselves, as recorded by Magalhães: “Disseram-me que cerca de 60.000 timorenses tinham sido mortos até agora. Consideramos este número muito elevado porque isto significa que 10% da população tinha morrido. Mas quando referimos esses dados a dois padres de Dili, eles disseram-nos que segundo suas estimativas, o número de mortos rondava os 100.000. O desejo de integração na Indonésia começa a diminuir devido à má experiência da ocupação das forças invasoras (roubos, incêndios, violações de raparigas, etc).” (2001, p. 34)

5 “Na sua vertente cultural e humana, a Igreja Católica em Timor-Leste sempre soube assumir com dignidade o sofrimento de todo o Povo, colocando-se ao seu lado na defesa dos seus mais elementares direitos”. (Timor-Leste, 2002, p.7)

3. The huge gap between discourse and project

O Anjo do Timor was one of the objects we choose to our Portuguese language classes with East Timorese students. The reason why we opt for this book may be inferred from the above description, the simple language and its theme, which was lyrically showing the way East Timor could be inserted in Lusophone culture.

In the gap between the potential of the book, with its conciliatory discourse, and the project materialized in classroom, with the difficulties of the students, there was the inability to work effectively with the Andresen's work in the course of Philosophy at UNTL (National University East Timor).

Students who started to study at the University in 2012 represent the first group, who theoretically had classes in Portuguese during Elementary School and High-School. Despite this, however, the difficulties they showed with the Portuguese language were immense, creating high barriers to communication between teachers and students.

During the correction of the first essays, it was possible to note that the problems in the use of the Portuguese language went far beyond spelling mistakes or syntactical aspects. Indeed, it was difficult to understand the general idea students wanted to express in their texts.

But there was not just linguistic boundaries that separated teachers and students. There was also, and perhaps primarily, a cultural vain separating them: the students almost never gave their opinions in class because of their utmost respect and timidity. Given this complex situation, work with literature was greatly compromised. If not even the first step of reading (the decoding of a text) was reached, how could we advance to the interpretation, so necessary to literature? In this sense, perhaps the story of the students themselves should be prioritized in relation to the stories told in books:

More than presenting stories of a different world with the Portuguese language, we found that the most important thing was to know the stories of those students, tell them, in everyday life, how their voice and memories had value. Facing their experiences, we show our deepest concern and respect. Facing those students, we recognize them as active subjects in the process of constructing meaning, which reveals the need for education in a broader sense: *Bildung* (Nakagome, 2013, p. 97)

O Anjo do Timor allows students to have access to a cultural space to which they belong: the world of Portuguese language, the official language chosen for themselves along with Tetum. But this scenario will not be entirely true before people have wider access to their own history: the history of the individual, his family and his country⁶. In a context in which all this was denied, especially by years of schooling devoid of a broader concern about the construction of meaning⁷, it is not possible simply intend to fill it quickly with Lusophone discourse.

East Timor has suffered over the centuries with the actions of foreign countries in its territory. If in the case of Indonesia it became marked by exterminating, in the case of Portugal, we can consider that the keynote was the negligence, which hindering an effective dissemination of the Portuguese

6 The need of studying the own History is indicated by Gunn: "É óbvio que os 24 anos de ocupação indonésia constituíram uma ruptura significativa nos 500 anos de contacto europeu. Temo que, a menos que a geração mais jovem de Timor-Leste comece verdadeiramente a estudar esses 500 anos de História, a sua verdadeira importância não perdure." (2001, p. 22)

7 Bassarewan & Silvestre state about the teaching of reading in East Timor in Elementary School: "As orientações do programa curricular aplicadas pela escola com os alunos não promovem o desenvolvimento da leitura reflexiva. Além disso, muito do que é proposto não cria situações em que a criança possa expor suas ideias, possa comunicar-se, ter o texto como tema para uma discussão coletiva. Em muitas situações, a leitura do concreto, a leitura para o desvendamento do mundo e a leitura para a libertação não são consideradas um direito da criança, que, por isso mesmo, deve ficar reduzida à leitura mecânica e à decodificação de palavras." (2010, p. 503)

language, even while Timor was still an European colony⁸.

Despite this complex scenario, Timorese decided to have Portuguese language as official and show proud to belong to the CPLP. Thus, our didactic choice for *O Anjo do Timor* was part of an effort to accomplish the desire of Timorese people to belong to the Lusophone community. However, as described above, such activity may have revealed, on the contrary, albeit unintentionally, an act of symbolic violence. The violence of the unknown word, of the word demanding silent. But the word in Portuguese language should precisely unify people who overlying under the banner of Lusophony.

Conclusions

The major Australian linguist Geoffrey Hull stated that the choice for Portuguese language as official indicated the desire of East Timor to not becoming a “nation of amnesiacs” (Hull, 2001, p. 39). Therefore, Timor opted to maintain a link with the past and, consequently, was inserted permanently within the Lusophony.

To the future, as a project, it has to be seen how the CPLP members will effectively act on behalf of its newest member, of this country so recently independent.

As we have seen in relation to Esperança’s paper and to the described didactic activity, the discourse of Lusophony can materialize, however unintentionally, the denial of the unique experience of Timor and the Timorese regarding Lusophone culture. For this act of violence ceases to happen, the Lusophone discourse need to be part of a concrete project for assistance and support to the country, especially by strengthening its educational institutions. It is fundamental to fill the gap between discourse and project of Lusophony with something more than words. It is especially necessary because the words written in Portuguese are still poorly understood by the Timorese population.

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⁸ The president of East-Timor indicated in a paper published few years before his election the low investment of Portugal in the diffusion of Portuguese language: “O esforço dos missionários não era correspondido pelo governo português que só em 1915 abriu em Timor a primeira escola oficial e, durante mais de 50 anos, talvez com certo arrependimento, tentou equilibrar o esforço feito pelos missionários, expandindo a língua portuguesa através de abertura de mais escolas, empregando até para o efeito soldados portugueses em serviço nesta meia ilha. Como era de esperar, não obstante esse tardio esforço, até 1975, apenas 5% da população se podia exprimir em português e talvez menos de metade se comunicava na mesma língua, oscilando esta apenas da elite administrativa para o clero católico.” (Ruak, 2001, p. 40)

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SESSION 3

COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS

Abstract: The text comments on aspects of research project entitled *Through the eyes of others: power and imaginary in news coverage*. Approach chosen is that of the cultural critique of journalism in its action of colonisation of the social imaginary concerning the relationship between Brazilians and their nation as well as between nationals and their South-American neighbours. The dimension of the power project is raised as a hypothesis to explain claims for the presence of the State by Brazilian media, which we understand to engineer a paradox between dimensions of national security versus public security. That paradox responds by adopting a mimetic structure of news coverage, expressed in the usage of framing that is particular of International Journalism in treating events that took place in the distinct Brazilian borders (international borders, *favelas*, and the Amazon). Different implications were extracted from that process and studied by focusing on news stories referring to local events of national interest. The claims for actions of power projection by the Brazilian State in its peripheries generate the conflict manifested between the exercise of journalism based on international information flows (news agencies catering to interests of globalised economic power) in face of the plurality of claims by the national society. Another observable result is the unsuccessful coverage holding a specific and attentive regard to particularities, reinforcing the colonisation of the imaginary by part of the media, consecrating a view of Brazil by Brazilians ‘through the eyes of others’.

Keywords: journalism; communications; media; communications community.

1. Media, peripheries, and news coverage

The current account approaches a research proposal continuing a previous investigation on the matter of ambivalence in news coverage of national peripheries (International Borders) and metropolitan peripheries (*Favelas*), now incorporating the required specificity demanded by the coverage of the Legal Amazon¹. Approach chosen is that of the cultural critique of journalism in its action of colonisation of the social imaginary concerning the relationship between Brazilians and their nation as well as between nationals and their South-American neighbours. The dimension of the power project is raised as a

¹ The project was awarded funds from CNPq’s 2011 Edital Universal on top of funds from CPES-FAPERGS doctorate scholarship, besides shares from scholarships from IC PIBIC, PIBIC-EM, and PIBIC-AAf from CNPq.

The south-american condo: colonial insertion and news coverage by Brazilian mainstream media

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hypothesis to explain claims for the presence of the State by Brazilian media, which we understand to engineer a paradox between dimensions of national security versus public security. That paradox responds by adopting a mimetic structure of news coverage, expressed in the usage of framing that is particular of International Journalism in treating events that took place in the distinct Brazilian borders (international borders, *favelas*, and the Amazon). Different implications were extracted from that process and studied by focusing on news stories referring to local events of national interest.

The analysis of mainstream news coverage allows us to note that the claims for actions of power projection by the Brazilian State in its peripheries generate a conflict with nationality and are manifested in the exercise of journalism based on international information flows (news agencies catering to the interests of globalised economic power), strictly kept in face of the plurality of claims by the national society.

Another observable result is the unsuccessful coverage holding a specific and attentive regard to particularities, reinforcing the colonisation of the imaginary by part of the media, consecrating a view of Brazil by Brazilians ‘through the eyes of others’.

2. News coverage and colonial insertion

We initially present an antecedent which led to the current research project. In the 2000s, we analysed the model of news coverage concerning a set of Latin-American dailies. Approximately twenty years later, seminal study *Dos semanas de la prensa latino-americana*² (Lozano-Rendón, Silveira, Matiasich, *et al.*, 2000) laid aspects of our dependence on the North-South flow of international news. Drawing on both studies, we approached the existence of an international pattern of news coverage, which would be guiding newsworthiness beyond the simple unfolding of events, ordinarily deemed in the media jargon as ‘facts’.

When we study the critique of the content reiterated in news coverage of Brazil’s international borders, for example, professionals (as well as many politicians) incisively argue that facts are as such, that youngsters are dying, that crime proliferates, and that weapons and drug trafficking befalling metropolises come from the border. That stand holds important antecedents competing to reinforce their argument.

That reality along with its dramas translate into *problems with the pattern of news coverage* and point to deep ethical problems of our times in face of the emergence of an uneven globalisation.

Nevertheless, that perspective produces a great disillusion parallel to the loss of impact of newsworthiness pattern practiced by mainstream media. Disillusion accruing because of the fact that the news coverage betrays the idea of a possible Brazil inasmuch as it does not understand the global extent of locally-grasped events. The media establish themselves within tendencies pointed by Bauman (2002, p.98) as responsible “for the growing impotence of existing collective political action agencies”. That is, journalism as a media agent ascribes itself the promotion of the current negative conscience.

In studying newsworthiness as from the national socio-historical formation, we note that the mimetic structure of news coverage expresses itself in the usage of a set of practices especially active in the Northern hemisphere, promoter of values of a globalised world, which act on principles and norms that often go against local ordering. A paradox that, concerning Brazilian media, for example, engineers the systematic claim for actions of power

2 Two weeks in the Latin-American press.

projection by the Brazilian State in its peripheries – international borders, metropolitan *favelas* or the Amazon.

In our investigation, we reached results that point to the conversion of national peripheries into territorial property of the State, considered as guarantees regarding a deposit amount secured by the borderland society. The reiteration and the continuity of discursive framing observed in the analysis of news coverage of situations involving events about Brazilian international borders establish a broad implication between coverage of the borderland everyday life and the sores of nationality (Silveira, 2012).

3. The three Brazilian peripheries

The research project which we report on in this paper gives continuity to project contemplated by research productivity funding from CNPq between 2008 and 2011, entitled: *Brazil, show your face. The ambivalence of borders and favelas in news coverage on the periphery*³. This project's question laid on the socio-semiotic reconstruction and on the signification comprehension of ambivalence in news coverage on national and metropolitan peripheries.

Results obtained allowed to reflect upon news coverage performed by the media concerning the everyday of national peripheries (Brazilian International Borders) and how their representations keep them tied to an imaginary of frequent situations articulated by the absence of the State, chaos, and violence persisting even after the end of the Ideology of National Security and the Cold War. National media observe similar practice regarding the coverage of events taking place in metropolitan peripheries (*Favelas*). To a certain extent, it ends up contaminating the coverage that local borderland media realise their own everyday. We posit that the socio-semiotic interpretation of media discursivity allows to understand how the allegories of the nation keep constituting themselves in political, social, and cultural limits in a globalised world. Before being the representation of unbearable and precarious reality, this discursivity expresses ambiguities within this commencement of a global society (Silveira, 2008).

Another analysis covers the matter of ambivalence and was approached by Silveira (2009) through the appropriation of the other in news coverage, taken as vicarious to the modern project, which has two facets according to the interpretation of Zygmunt Bauman (1999): (1) the trap, and (2) the revenge of ambivalence. The making into news of events that took place in peripheries such as the metropolitan *favelas* and the international borders comes into being through an ambivalent framing that generically takes them as *an other* marked by the anxiety of expansion of the modern project, which holds an archetypal case in the imaginary about the peripheries.

In observance of Fredric Jameson's propositions (1995) about the transformations of regard, we evaluated the news coverages of both peripheries in four Brazilian weekly magazines (*CartaCapital*, *Exame*, *IstoÉ*, and *Veja*) between the years of 2006, 2007, and 2008, according to the incidence of a colonised, bureaucratic, or post-modern regard (Silveira, 2009). We found that the incidence of regards introduces the ways of devouring the other, which assume several ways of regarding. Jameson (1995) points to the emergence of the bureaucratic or Foucauldian regard in to 1970s; i.e., when regard combines itself with knowledge (*savoir*), becoming an instrument of mediation. Thus converted into the other, borders and *favelas* are at the mercy of journalistic appropriations which become vicarious of the modern project.

³ The original title, in Portuguese: Brasil, mostra tua cara. A ambivalência de fronteiras e favelas na cobertura jornalística sobre as periferias.

The paper exposes the implications for journalistic newsworthiness aiming at comprehending how *the exercise of coverage acts as an interpreter conferring a rigid character to the peripheral sameness*. The reification obtained with the mensuration of the other and its worlds via the bureaucratic regard stands out in the analysis, which leads to denying alterity, denying difference of visibility; profiling the claim for discipline, for control, and for domination. Therefore, it is difficult not to relate certain journalistic practices to the moment and the bureaucratic regard, as well as to the dimension of power within. Inasmuch as it aligns itself so rigidly to the perspective that the established power builds in relation to the ways of regarding, it suggests that journalism has been appropriating an exercise of domination by judgment through newsworthiness.

The utility of the peripheral alignment and its construction of common sameness favour the establishment of an expressway linking events produced at the International Borders and in the *Favelas*, configuring themselves as articulated activities for which signification ambivalence allows to consecrate heads or tails: Rio de Janeiro's sores originate from the uncontrolledness of borders inasmuch as gun and drug trafficking are permitted. A market which, in its turn, feeds the commercial turmoil of international trade at those borders.

Established the interpretive script lending sense to the events stormed by the everyday factuality, we note that another dimension sums itself to the metaphor of the broad jigsaw puzzle that the common sense lends to the news. Weekly magazines' coverage stands out as a copycat as it reports on facts affecting one of the dearest treasures of the Brazilian nation and a permanent source of international concern, namely the Amazon:

A systematical analysis of *Época* and *IstoÉ* in April 2008 exposes the issue. Three schemes can synthesise the approach built by both magazines. Firstly, the Amazon is presented as border and problems related to the absence of the State in that region are attested. Articles cover slash-and-burns, deforestation, wood smuggling, drug trafficking, guerrillas, indigenous peoples, and dispute over lands. The second scheme focuses on diplomacy amongst countries, including notes that present relations in terms of rivalries, financial competitions, political quarrel, and dispute over hegemony at the borders. Even when conflict is not the main argument, the issue is indirectly fomented. Articles categorised expressively as territorial borders — a third scheme of approach — are almost inexistent. Their registers, when they occur, follow the same reasoning as the previous ones: conflict, tension, disorder, neglect (Silveira, 2009, p.8).

From the analysis and reflection hitherto performed, we acknowledged the other periphery, besides the two others already identified. Therefore, the Legal Amazon, consisting of 60% of the Brazilian territory, summed itself to the acknowledgement of the pertinence in studying the presence of International Borders and *Favelas* in national news.

The incorporation of the Amazon as a third peripheral space implies the application of issues approached by news coverage.

As we have registered in the previous project and highlighted in its resulting publications, the study of print media coverage on the issue of Brazilian international borders reiterates the conditioning of the professional attitude that reproduces news addicted to some recurrent elements: *urban and rural violence* (burglary, murder, political persecution of citizens from neighbouring countries in Brazilian territory); *terrorism* (connections with Islamic and Colombian terrorist groups); *social exclusion* (immigrants and foreign workers holding no papers and/or legal rights, clandestinity, poverty); and *legal contraventions* (genetically-modified seeds, food,

clothes, and electronics, cattle raiding, sexual trafficking, guns, and drugs). A great deal of those problems repeat themselves in the everyday reports of metropolitan *favelas*: *urban violence* (burglary, murder, robbery); *gun and drug trafficking* (links with organised crime and international cartels); *social exclusion* (foreign immigrants and workers from other regions in Brazil, deficit of citizenship, poverty); and *legal contraventions* (child prostitution, undocumented sales of electronics, distribution of guns, drugs, pirate copies of softwares and audiovisual material).

It is the events about wrongdoings (*descaminhos*), a generic legal title for crimes against the tax system, that affect the criteria of news selection the most, taking peripheral spaces as the Nation- State's private periphery. Such activity brings sensitive repercussions in terms of identity policy and reverberates in the formation of a deteriorated identity of national spaces.

The category of wrongdoing, thus, encompasses activities deemed illicit and susceptible to legal imputation applicable to large-scale importers, traders of any sort or travelling salespersons (*sacoleiros*) who support, with their own physical vigour, merchandises that will be later distributed in urban centres miles away.

Nonetheless, the space of the Amazon adds to the scroll another ingredient: *environmentalism*. Congressman Aldo Rebelo comments on environmentalism in terms of providing us with its incorporation into the existing paradox between the dimensions of public security and national security, already established over issues aforementioned.

The internationalisation of the environmental issue points to what he takes as lack of zeal for the territorial property of the Brazilian State (Rebelo, 2010, p.200). That is exemplified by the possession of Guyana by England in 1904 in a dispute with Brazil. He states that "sovereignty and intervention in environmental issues need to be stripped of the traps raised to conceal interests" (Rebelo, 2010, p.204). He also emphasises that, if the topic of sovereignty has already been laid, the one of interventions still needs debating. Fittingly, debating is not possible without public awareness, of which news coverage is a fundamental instrument.

Yet in another paper, presented at the *XX Encontro Nacional da Compós* (Silveira, 2011), we continue the reflection on the dialogue between notions of the media imaginary and the imaginary of national culture, intending to proceed onto some kind of evaluation of how the news communicational processes effect control of political power over wide layers of society in the peripheries. One of the main characteristics analysed manifests itself through the trap of signification ambivalence, which we believe to characterise a fundamental aspect of the framing chosen in covering events taking place in distinct Brazilian peripheral spaces. Clear in their concreteness and historical context, the *favelas* taken as metropolitan peripheries are aligned to other peripheries, such as those located at the international borders. News on them lead to a constraining of a polycentric imaginary which is segregated.

Segregation is so fierce that escaping from it seems possible only in examples taken as the shelter of the different, that is, exceptions portrayed in articles framed as *faits divers* or even as economy of culture. In claiming the appearance of the revenge of ambivalence, we remember what Bauman says (1999, p.190): "it is not to be mourned, but to be celebrated" since it is the limit of the power of those in power. Our reflection ponders that, if it is accurate that peripheral populations live in ambivalence, their everyday reality, when deprived of the lens magnifying the sense given by the international perspective, has no appeal to great part of the news. They are documented only in their dialectical opposite of artistic productions having a broad and secured consumer market (*hip hop*, *Nollywood*, amongst others).

This paper, thus, analyses how the signification ambivalence discursively affects such distinct

processes such as those of public security, of identification and self-recognition or of international relations (Silveira, 2011), reiterating the perspective of vigilant panoptic device. Something that, in the current project, already outlines *grosso modo* the conflict between two dimensions: on the one hand, the dimension of public security facing, on the other hand, the dimension of national security.

4. The paradox of national security versus public security

It was, therefore, during the elaboration of the aforementioned paper that we pointed to what we would later recognise as the paradox resulting from the *confusing coverage of topics intertwining national security versus public security*. If the inheritance from the ‘years of lead’ – as the military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 became known in Brazil – still maintains ideological debris that do not allow its discernment, on the other hand, as Alberto Pfeifer would point (2010, p.510) regarding the Mexican case (which affects us due to its obvious derivation from the globalising influx of news agencies), it was not possible to fully disembowel its distinctions, turning the news into a hostage of the overlapping between those two dimensions, as well as a consequence of poor political debate about the issue.

Therefrom emerges our hypothesis that the news coverage about the national peripheries shelters the dialectics of contemporary confrontation placed between the dimensions of national security versus public security. It also engineers, on behalf of the news coverage, the claim for actions of power projection by the Brazilian State in its peripheries – International Borders, *Favelas*, and the Legal Amazon.

Results obtained and exposed in the papers previously referred to confirm the working hypothesis that the incidence of agency and newsworthiness about the peripheries keeps them in an ambiguous discursive condition, randomly framing their events as panoptic devices that continuously alert the local/national community about their perils through the ambivalence in news coverage. The aspect of framing as a fire alarm is still being analysed in another paper under production based on empirical data collected.

The research project fits into the research strand of the Postgraduate Programme in Communications at the Federal University of Santa Maria, entitled *Media and Contemporary Identities*, inasmuch as it reflects upon singularity and difference in a globalised world. Issues concerning emergent notions such as situational or positional identities (travelling salespersons, for example, also known as *sacoleiros*, wander at the international borders, often under the label of smugglers); cultural hybridisation (the peripheries); the borders and the Nation-State, immersed in the context which Homi Bhabha (1990, p.21) points from the continuous slithering of categories such as sexuality, social class, territorial paranoia, or cultural differences; they all constitute a universe of quivering issues, for which institutionality has no answers.

Results obtained from the research can be briefly highlighted consisting of:

- discursivity of the reality in the peripheries as representations of an unbearable and precarious reality which expresses itself in the ambiguities contained by this commencement of global society;
- the everyday reality of peripheries as deprived of the lens magnifying the sense given by the international perspective and as unappealing to great part of the news, except for certain artistic activities having a broad and secured consumer market;
- the incidence of the colonial, bureaucratic, and postmodern regards introducing the way of devouring the other;

- the trap of signification ambivalence leading to a constraining of a polycentric imaginary which is segregated;
- the revenge of signification ambivalence which is not built as the beholder of attractions for most part of the news except as *faits divers*;
- the peripheral alignment of International Borders and *Favelas*, group to which the Legal Amazon was added;
- the signification ambivalence discursively affecting such distinct processes such as those of public security, of identification and self-recognition, or of international relations.

These results support the proposition that the amplification of the current investigation proposal of this research project develops from the previous one.

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Abstract: The crisis makes way for an imaginary of the evil, where culprits are identified and punishments applied, called sanctions. A study of the discourses of international press allows identifying a new type of colonization of the Southern countries by the Northern countries. In these discourses, we foresee a new symbolic order of the financial crisis. An order that dictates the ways of saying, thinking and acting to overcome the crisis. An order that feeds of the Promethean imaginary and that thinking conquer evil, the danger, the unexpected, the fall, opposing him antitheses, like good, safety, anticipation, progress, growth, full employment. The identification of monsters, diseases, and the projection in metaphors of his incarnation is the prelude of a fight against evil, an evil that adopts a human face: the southern countries who lived beyond their means, who consumed instead of producing, who spent instead of save and who are subject to disadvantageous reimbursement of the redemption or to aid plans that act as a form of punishment and expiation.

Keywords: Crisis; Colonization; Prejudices; Rumors; Domination.

1. The myth of economic harmonies Stereotypes

A new wind blows on the finance world. This is not a slight sea breeze that tempers and cools carelessness typical of torrid summers. This is a matter devastating and stormy wind. The miracle of Christ who calmed the sea is not on the point to happen again. No one today takes up the words of the Gospel of St. Matthew: “Who is that who obey even the winds and the seas?” (Chapter 8, 22-27). None of those prophets that we meet in economic and financial circles is now able to predict the outcome of the crisis which triggered in August 2007 in the United States and that, like a snowball, spread all over the planet. No disciple dares today to announce better days. No disciple today believes in the miracle of a sustained economic recovery. The spirit of the time is in the lack of faith, of enthusiasm, in the general distrust: in relation to the Men in black of the Troika. If the doubts about the future are urgent because the crisis is general, is not only an economic crisis, one of the many bubbles that often explode (stocks, real estate, Internet, to name the latest), because the spirit that presided modernity was struck in the heart. The crisis for the ancient Greeks indicated a critical moment that demanded a judgment, a split, requiring a decision that, in its turn, made envision a way out of the crisis. Today, by contrast, «the crisis seems marked with the seal of indecision, what cannot be decided. What we feel in our time of crisis is that there is nothing to split,

The southern colonization by north: the financial crisis in the international press

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nothing to decide, because the crisis became permanent» (Revault d'Allonnes, 2012: 10). The current crisis can be seen as the end of modernity and of the certainties that their discourses afforded.

Indeed, the grand narratives, correlative of an inalienable belief in the potential of reason in guiding the world and in leading it on the path of progress recoilless were repeatedly shaken by events of a varied nature. Since the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, that caused consternation in the philosophers of the Enlightenment to the Nazi and Communist concentration camps, the progress, the history has not been the path of realization of reason, as still believed Hegel. The long awaited adequacy between the rational and the real, which Hegel prophesied in his book *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, for Horkheimer culminated in the abandonment of objective reason, in favor of a objective reason, which forgets the latter purposes, highlighting only the means. The reason resulted in its contrary, the unreason, with the imposition of a last societal criterion, the instrumental rationality. This submits the production of truth through science to the usefulness of technical manipulation: thus, the reason «has become an endless purpose, and therefore can adapt to all purpose» (Horkheimer, 1983: 99). The economy did not escape to this process: became autonomous, moving away from the bases that served it as a support. The rationality of the capitalist economic system that Weber describes in his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* gave way to delirium financial system that being grounded in abstract operations completely disconnected from the reality, just turning on itself and consecrating «the dissimilarities that abysmal, open between the Exchange casino and the real economy» (Serres, 2009: 112).

The economic certainties have not escaped the turmoil of chance: nobody else would conceive a philosophy as a way to tame the uncertainty. It is true that the constant economic progress since the Second World War, with a sustained growth in Europe, but also in many other countries of the world, and the intervention of welfare state able to contain the crisis, like the oil shocks, let us believe in an exponential and continuous growth and prevented us from designing the most raw and cruel evidence of historical experience, the existence of chances that Nassim Taleb called black swans, these imponderables and uncontrollable elements that come shake the linearity of time. Rediscovered a truth of common sense, there is no order without disorder, growth without recession, progress without retrocession, according to the Pareto theory of undulatory form that the social phenomena coated necessarily. The idea of continuous growth is a total ineptitude, as demonstrated sovereignly by the geophysicist André Lebeau:

«The phenomena of exponential growth always have a temporary character. It's easy to understand the reason of it. Consider a phenomenon of growth characterized by a rate of 2% per year, which, in the case of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), characterizes a moderate economic growth. An elementary calculation, that we can make with a simple calculating machine, shows that, kept for a period of two thousand years, this growth rate multiplied the GDP by 1,6.10 (160 million billion). With all the evidence, such growth cannot be maintained in historical time. Considered as population growth and applied to the entire population of the Earth, i.e. 6 billion humans, this growth would lead, in a century, to a population of 43 billion people. In order for, in this same period, the increase of the population was confined to a split, it was necessary that the growth does not exceed 7 mils per year. But, if it were maintained for two thousand years, this rate of 7 mils still would multiply the population by a factor of a million. This means that locutions, such as sustainable growth and sustainable development, are dangerously antinomic. Characterized by constant rates, growth or development can only be transient» (2005: 154-155).

Well, the economic progress has always been concomitant with the belief in the unlimited potentialities of the reason that it would spread its benefits on human activities and on themselves. Men morally improved as the society improved materially. The idea of a adequacy between the

economy and the association, between abundance and peace, exchange and sociability, trade and civility, liberalism and welfare, the private interest and public interest, and the work order, the division of labor and collaboration, the value and work, usefulness and happiness, the property and the community, selfishness and sympathy, eudaimonism and ethics, was shared by many authors. Bastiat tells us that human conviviality lies in a «mutuality of services» (1982: 191), and that «the exchange is the political economy, is the Society as a whole» (1982: 74). Mario Vargas Llosa refers to «trade, civilizing and pacifying practice for excellence» (Llosa, 2003: 286). Well, crises come regularly contradict this tendency to harmony. Weber showed that the economy is one of the components of the assertion of the power of States, by more masked than that reality. A quote of his book *La Bolsa* is instructive:

«While the nations, even though they live in peace militarily, they enter into a relentless and inevitable economic struggle for their national existence and for the economic power, the realization of purely theoretical and moral postulates had been narrowly limited, since of an economic point, the unilateral disarming is also not possible. Precisely, a powerful stock exchange cannot be a club for the “ethical culture” and the capital of the big banks are not more “charitable organizations” than gun and cannons» Weber, 1987: 121.

The Italian thinker Cassano, in its turn, insisted about the dominant character of the whole economy: if the movement of globalization and universalism that it induces contributed to the erasing of borders, they never cease to exist. Cassano defines the trader, as one who does not know balises and fight for its repeal, like a «non-violent rapist of borders» (Cassano, 1998: 68). Thus, the alleged universalism of thought and action that presupposes the market is not without of conflictuality, “even within the mobile universe of racing and of competition, there are centers and peripheries, capitals and borders, the elect and the damned” (*ibid.*: 71).

2. *The strength of the rumors, stereotypes and prejudices*

A reading of the articles that the press consecrated to the crisis in various countries allows showing the real and imaginary cleavages that separate peoples and countries, as proven by the existing stereotypes and discriminatory practices of some in relation to each other. These are particularly notorious in regards to relations between the North and South countries. The articles studied implied a relationship of domination and even a form of colonization of the South by the North.

It seems that in the united Europe, nobody wants to be the other. In one of his articles, the Austrian journalist Wolfgang Luef, did a survey of a series of quotes from national leaders that illustrate the mutual distrust between Europeans and that we reference in a different order:

“France is not Greece.” (Christine Lagarde, director of the International Monetary Fund, May 2010); “France is not Greece and it’s not Italy either.” (Barry Eichengreen, American economist, August 2011); Spain is not Greece...” (Mariano Rajoy, leader of the Spanish opposition, May 2010); “Spain is not Greece.” (Richard Youngs, head of the Madrid-based think tank FRIDE, May 2012); “Ireland is not Greece.” (Angela Merkel, German Chancellor, November 2010); “Ireland is not Greece.” (Michael Noonan, Irish Minister of Finance, June 2011); “Ireland is not in Greek territory.” (Brian Lenihan, Irish Minister of Finance, November 2010); “Portugal is not Greece, and Spain is not Greece.” (Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the European Central Bank, May 2010); “Portugal is not Greece, and it will not turn into Greece.” (Antonio Saraiva, head of the Confederation of Portuguese Industry, February 2012); “Portugal is not Greece.” (Pedro Passos Coelho, Portuguese Prime Minister, June 2012); “Italy is not Greece.” (Rainer Bruederle, Germany’s FDP parliamentary party leader,

August 2011); “Italy is not Greece.” (Silvio Berlusconi, Italian Prime Minister, October 2011); “Italy is not Greece.” (Christian Lindner, FDP general secretary, November 2011); “Austria is not Greece.” (Karlheinz Kopf, parliamentary faction leader of Austria’s People’s Party, November 2011); “Hungary is quite obviously not Greece.” (Gyorgy Matolcsy, Hungarian Finance Minister, June 2010); “Russia is not Greece.” (Vladimir Putin, Russian Prime Minister, March 2010). In the absence of anything better, the Greeks also found their point of comparison element: “Greece is not Argentina.” (Yiannis Stournaras, Greek Minister of Competition, July 2012)» (Luef, 2012).

In the absence of better, the Greeks also found their point of comparison: «Greece is not Argentina» (Yiannis Stournaras, Greek Minister of Finance, in July 2012) (ibid.).

One article of a Swedish newspaper insists on the absolute irreducibility of the differences between Europeans, leaving us understand that the approximation of European countries in legal terms, with the proliferation of political treaties, with the opening of borders, with the creation of a common currency, does not contribute to the effective understanding between peoples:

«So let’s not forget that a Greek will always be a Greek – in other words a thief. Germans will always be Germans – that is to say, the Nazi perpetrators of war crimes – while Swedes will remain a marginal group of borderline autistic know-it-all who stoop to give advice to everyone. The cracks that are beginning to appear in the carefully varnished vision of Europe with its own flag and anthem, are a testament to all of the singularities, differences and historical distinctions, which have persisted in spite of the European project. And as no one has taken the time to filter and analyse these notions, they have the potential to re-emerge as unshakable prejudice in the minds of European populations» (Swartz, 2010)

The crisis gave rise to stereotypes that marginalize and criminalize the other. It seems that the beasts of the Apocalypse, referred by Gilbert Durand, reborn from its ashes. Just see how the rivalries are expressed in public space, these rivalries that the press reports: the crosses stolen of the walls from the Greek cities, portraits of Merkel with Hitler’s mustache and making the Nazi salute. An article in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* insists in the irreducible antagonism of the values: «Greeks are cheats who aren’t worth bailing out. Germans should pay Greece’s way out of the morass because the Nazis plundered the country» (Strittmatter, 2010). The French, in turn, criticize the Germany, although not as virulent. Accused her of developing at the expense of others, especially when reprove her overly favorable trade balance, due to the good performance of exports, supported by an overvalued euro. The French economist Jean-Paul Fitoussi rebukes to Berlin «uncooperative economic strategy» (*Presseurop*, 2010). The French newspaper *Libération* in turn criticizes the rumors, ‘at the limit of criminality’, in the words of George Papandreou, allegedly launched by international financial organizations, to destabilize Greece. Thus, at its meeting of April 17, 2011, the Institute of International Finance, that groups banks, monetary institutions, investors, namely by the voice of one of his stakeholders, Nouriel Roubini, launches the rumor of the imminence of an Greek debt restructuring. Roubini gave to understand that is it which infers of a meeting with Greek Finance Minister, at the time, George Papaconstantinou, even though he has said repeatedly that Greece would not need to resort to this restructuring. The news agency Dow Jones seized the news to disseminate it. And the news will be broadcast by all the financial press. Greece then actually restructure its debt.

«Roubini wants to orient the market: as he puts it, a bet on Greek default cannot fail to come in. (...) But who stands to gain from the crime? Investors who are currently holding anti-Athens positions. Especially those who have bought Greek credit default swaps (CDS), who will lose their investment if default does not happen. Or those who are indebted in Greece or who have withdrawn money from the country, who have every interest in a return to the drachma. The rumour mill is set to keep on turning» (Quatremer, 2011).

Just read the book of Edgar Morin about the rumors (*La Rumeur d'Orléans*) to repair its harmfulness. Incredible facts like the abduction of young creatures at the rear of the Jews' shops, in the context of a heavy traffic in human beings, became the object of a belief that spread in depth in the social fabric of French society of the seventies. Reminding us mechanism's operation of the complot in his book *The Foucault Pendulum*, Umberto Eco, in turn, tells us the fate of the false news of a conspiracy, by the mere fact to spread, on the simple basis of fears and unfounded beliefs, but shared, which eventually ends in a real conspiracy.

In the area of stereotypes, the metaphors used to disqualify a people abound. In an article that tries to demystify the hypocrisy of the North, Jürgen Kaube shows that the accusers who reprove the Greeks have resorted to lies and data manipulation to force their entry into the euro, were their accomplices. In this complaint, we recognize the compelling force of stereotypes:

«All Cretans are liars, says the Cretan philosopher Epimenides. Epimenides' paradox, a paragon of irresolvable circular logic, sounds even nastier as rehashed in Saint Paul's Epistle to Titus: "One of Crete's own prophets has said it: 'Cretans are always liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons.'" The paradox has now taken a political turn: everyone is aghast that the Greeks lied. That they are living above their means, incurring more debts than they'll ever be able to repay, and counting on the rest of Europe – or more precisely, part of the rest of Europe – to foot the bill. Not unlike all those banks that put Greek bonds in their portfolio, presumably on the assumption that a state can go bankrupt, but not an EU member» (Kaube, 2010).

A *Financial Times* article refers to the «irresponsibility of southern Europeans» (Rachman, 2010). An article of the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet*, denounces the blossoming of prejudices with the crisis: «Greek sloth versus uniformed Germans, southern European corruption against the hardworking men and women of the Lutheran North» (Svenning, 2012). *The Dutch newspaper NRC Handelsblad* reports a question asked by Chinese bankers: «"How can we distinguish a Greek euro banknote from a German euro banknote?"» (Gruyter: 2012). Massimo Giannini talks about the possibility to create two euro coins, one of them more adapted to southern countries, less stringent, and another one to northern countries, most deserving: «German economists and Anglo-American bankers like Taylor Martin have publicly aired this scheme and even come up with names for the new currencies: the "neuro" and the "sudo"» (Giannini, 2010).

A Dutch writer refers to the dishonesty and laziness congenital of the Greeks:

«In northern Europe, fir trees grow and life is duller, people work harder, save more money and are generally pretty responsible in their dealings with the state. In the South, in contrast, people take a siesta and don't sit down to supper till 10 o'clock at night, they run bulls through the streets, and cheating the authorities is a national sport. Thanks to the rules the establishment has laid down, we northerners are now being saddled with the southerners' debts. The problem is I don't feel any solidarity with the Greeks or Spanish. I like the Greeks and Spaniards I know a lot. But I don't feel duty-bound to burden myself with their financial troubles» (Winter: 2010).

An article in the weekly *Der Spiegel*, we read that «the "Greek statistics" formula is a new buzzword. It stands for political wheeling and dealing and creative accounting, for the whole sad Greek saga...» (Steinvorth, 2010).

In general, the countries of the North reprove to the South countries because they live beyond their means, and because they have favored the consumption over production, leisure over work, the tertiary sector over industry, and the public sector over the private. They reprove them for having expanded at the expense of private and public indebtedness, and of credits that they would never be able to repay. This disapproval clearly adopts religious, messianic and apocalyptic traits. The

religious terms are particularly efficient to establish fracture lines between the good and the bad, the righteous and sinners, the elect and the damned. And also efficient to establish punishment. We know that the austerity is seen by many such a way to punish the lax with regard to budgetary control. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the notion of debt is associated with moral guilt. Within this tradition, Protestantism, especially in its Calvinist strand, came still accentuate the feeling of moral guilt for those who are indebted. So, the moral eventually overwhelm the economy, both with regard to the diagnosis of the crisis, as the recipe prescription for healing. Paul Krugman tells us that «the problem of confronting this crisis is usually formulated in moral terms: countries have problems inasmuch as they sinned and now have to redeem themselves through suffering» (Krugman: 2012). This has also been highlighted by the Italian journalist Massimo Franco:

«Perhaps you don't know it: in northern Europe many people think that the "spread", the difference between the interest rate for the sovereign debt of his own "virtuous" country and the rate for those countries in a sorry state to the south, is the fruit of a Catholic sin. In German the word "Schuld", for debt, also means 'fault'. This semantic nuance reflects profound cultural differences and helps to better understand the distrust – or prejudice – of some nations of northern Europe towards countries considered members of a blithe "Club Med"» (Franco, 2010).

And it is in terms of sinners that Northern countries face the South:

«Less "virtuous" countries pay dearly for their sins – and then some. Indeed, Nordic Europe also proves the most virtuous in terms of the debt/GDP ratio, where Portugal brings up the rear along with Greece, Spain and Ireland – the unfortunate "PIGS", to use the somewhat racist acronym coined by Anglo-American market analysts» (Rampoldi, 2010).

3. A new logic of domination

The economic domination represents a form of smooth and tempered neocolonialism that northern countries exert on the southern countries, within the European Union itself.

Knowing that the economy enjoys today, of a primacy in terms of scientific legitimacy, that it is granted to it by its quantitative aspect (formulas, calculations, equations, statistics, etc.), no one is capable of contest neither their methods, nor their receipts. A German newspaper recognizes that European states are interdependent and that the Northern countries shall only thrive with a cooperation policy with the countries of South and not to let starve their people, as punishment or retaliation form.

«Is this the prospect for a united Europe? Transforming the land in which Western culture and democracy were born into a protectorate of Brussels – with no hope for improvement? (...) The German economy prospers only because our firms do business to the detriment of weaker countries. But who, in the future, will still be able to buy German products? Would it not make sense to admit that we do not need to be associated with countries in crisis that cost us money? However, anyone who thinks along these lines is making a serious mistake. The country that is deriving the most benefit from the programmes to save euro is not Greece, but Germany. (...) No, this is not the Europe in which we want to live: a Europe where the banks and investment funds decide which countries will survive and which will not» (Greven, 2012).

Raising the issue of the colonization of South by the North, when we know that this finances it, in the form of bailouts to avoid countries' bankruptcy that comprise it, it may seem strange. Talking about colonialism in a post-colonial era can not make sense. Talking about colonialism when European

construction is made, not only economic but also political, legal and culturally can be anachronistic. However, it would probably be helpful to refer the thought of Stuart Hall: «We always knew that the dismantling of the colonial paradigm would release tins demons from the depths, and that these monsters would bring to the surface all kinds of underground materials» (Hall, 2007: 288). Which are these materials which the distinguished representative of Cultural Studies refers to? In the subject that concerns us, a new domination form, based on subtle economic mechanisms: «the imposition on the poorest majority of the interests of the richest minority. And most of the time, these interests coincide with those of a single nation, which nothing in recent history should encourage us to see as exemplar» (Agamben, 2013).

Before the blossoming of the crisis that hit on the southern countries of Europe, from 2008 - which is not, contrary to what their politicians say, a crisis of state debt and budgetary imbalances, but a subprime crisis, of the mortgage credit of the housing and consumption, which took bit cautious banks and governments conniving with banking to grant cheap loans, but risky, to families and companies facing near bankruptcy or insolvency - the Germans were able to drain to these countries its impressive and attractive fleet of upmarket and luxury cars. Ever since the crisis manifested itself openly in Southern countries, the Germans knew how to take advantage of the existence in Europe of a large area of free exchange to stimulate their exports on the basis of a strong euro that favors countries with high evidence of productivity and competitiveness. And since that some countries have been rescued, the creditors, including the Germans took advantage of highly profitable interest rate. More, they began to speculate about the debt of countries in difficulty.

It is true that the Germans can not be blamed for propensity the luxury of the citizens of the southern countries. We recall in this connection the etymology of the word luxury, which refers to the futility, to the unnecessary expense, and its analogy with the words of luxation, a member who becomes useless, and lust, useless sex, turned hedonism and not for the mere reproduction. It is also true that the Germans knew to contain expenditure, imposing rigorous in fiscal policy and reforming the labor market, while the Greeks, Italians, Spanish and Portuguese grew on the basis of expenditure, private and public, with the loans bestowed. But it is also true that the requirement for sacrifices and the imposition of austerity measures, mainly in the state field, with much cuts in the field of health and education, allowed rescuing banks and satisfy numerous private interests. In this context, a question from the audience who attended in the presentation, in Portugal, a book by the German writer Ingo Schulze proves pertinent, precisely due to its impertinence: «Were we – meaning myself, a German – now taking over with the euro what we had failed to take over with our tanks? (Schulze, 2012)». In the background, the colonial domination of the North is not more than the unidimensional imposition, on all countries and on all walks of activity, of a liberal reason that Moisés Martins relates as follows:

«It is liberal reason that rules the world now. Liberal reason, that which Lyotard simply called “the system”. And the system, up until recently (up until the Wall Street crash in 2008), might not have allowed for peace, but it guaranteed safety; might not have promised progress, but it guaranteed growth. By what means? Doubtlessly by the market and by competition. The system did not have others. And it still does not have them, even if today it does not even manage to guarantee safety, let alone growth» (Martins, 2013: 69).

Colonizing the South, ostracizing it, at the basis of rumors, of the prejudices, of politics domination, in the Weberian sense of the word, Northern countries forgot that Europe is composed by a group of different and diverse entities, and that there is no unity without the recognition of differences and disparities. That would be an amputee Europe of the Mare Nostrum, of its Mediterranean component. It would be the end of European dream, that is, the end of Europe. And

that is the dream who suffer the Northern countries, as shown by Eduardo Lourenço: «In Southern and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the European dream is alive and well. But these areas are limited and marginal, if not marginalised. The North, for its part, seems to belong to a continent whose dreams were frozen long ago» (Lourenço: 2012).

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Abstract: Disabled people have been represented by the media from their differences and their identity is often treated as abnormal. Many are the young people who go through the process of learning to live with their own shortcomings and who need to deal with this new aspect of their identity in face of a society that ignores that process. Their representation in the media serves as a space for social reflection and it can either keep a stereotypical view of disability or give it new meaning. In this paper we analyze the representation of disabled youth in the American TV show *Glee* from the point of view of Disability Studies.

Keywords: Representation; Disability; Television.

1. Introduction

Television, more than an instrument for sharing information, is a means of legitimizing the issues problematized in society. Fiction in television signals the changes that take place in society, creating narratives in a way that the spectators can somehow recognize themselves. According to Magalhães (2008, p. 68), “being on TV, becoming visible through television, seems to underline the existence of something that, if not there, needed not be mentioned or faced, about which we would not need to position ourselves.” Visibility in the media can be understood as a space for negotiation of meaning in society. Showing disabled characters could contribute to new insights on disability as well as it could reinforce old stereotypes on the matter. In this paper we ask ourselves where television places the disabled person in face of the fact that in our time the knowledge of the “other” is also built through the images of television.

We see the American TV show *Glee* as a media product that operates in the construction of identities for the youth as well as the whole of the media, in general. We agree with Woodward (2000) on the fact that media representations interfere in the individual and collective perceptions of the world and on the fact that creating meaning is what gives us our place in the world as subjects. Such meaning brings sense to our experience and to what we are. Thus, we see representation as a way of seeing and positioning oneself in society.

If when we think of youth¹ we think of vitality and healthy bodies, speaking about youth and disability seems counter-intuitive. However, it is in youth, in their most productive years,

¹ We will not get into the discussion of the use of the words youth, young or adolescence/adolescents, for it is not the object of this discussion. However, we believe that it is important to highlight the multiplicity of identities that shape the young person we refer to.

I'm still standing: the representation of disability in Glee

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that most people with disabilities are faced with such reality and need to learn how to deal with this extra aspect of their lives. In addition, if we view youth as a time of instability, of transitioning from childhood to adulthood, going through a rupture such as acquiring a disability can be a great shock, as much for the young people themselves as for the people who live with them. Young people, who constantly seek identification with specific groups of peers in order to differentiate themselves, when disabled become automatically the “different ones.” If the teenage years of a young person considered normal are usually marked as a time of identity conflicts, being a teenager who is blind, deaf or in a wheelchair is more than an internal conflict, it is an issue to be thought about by society.

We performed the analysis of the representation of the young person with disability in *Glee* under the precepts of Cultural Studies, more specifically Disability Studies. Disability Studies purport to deconstruct the apparatus of power and increase the knowledge that revolves around what we naturally understand as the disabled other (SKLIAR 2003, p. 155). Such studies examine how the effects of cultural history, structural forces, institutions, and access to goods and opportunities affect people with disabilities. Davis (2005) suggests that the alterity of the disabled person has been isolated, oppressed, incarcerated, and watched. Much has been written about it; it has been institutionalized, repressed, and controlled, as other minority groups and their studies have suffered isolation.

2. Media representation

If we understand the media culture as the dominant culture in the contemporary world, we see the media as a place of construction, signification, and re-signification of identities. According to Kellner (2001), it is the media that builds our “sense of class, ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality, and of ‘us’ and ‘them’.” It helps to shape the prevailing worldview and its deepest values: “Defines what is considered good or bad, positive or negative, moral or immoral.” For Hall (1997a), it is in the sharing of common meanings as a society that dialogue becomes possible.

Representation, which involves the use of language, signs, and images, is an essential part of the process in which meanings are produced. Studying representation is therefore a study that involves relations of power. For Hall, the power contained in the cultural and media representations

tem de ser compreendido não apenas em termos de exploração econômica ou coerção física, mas também em termos culturais e simbólicos, incluindo o poder de representar alguém ou algo de uma certa maneira – dentro de um certo regime de representações. Isto inclui o exercício do poder simbólico através de práticas representacionais. Estereótipo é um elemento chave no exercício da violência simbólica (HALL, 1997b, p.259).²

The media is therefore a standardizing device in our society. Thus, it can work to create new meanings for disability. In a study on representation of people with disabilities in the media, Barnes (1992) identifies the cultural stereotypes most often shown in the media as associated to those people: pitiful, pathetic, subjected to violence, sinister, evil, “curious”, cripple, object of ridicule, as their own evil or enemy themselves, sexually abnormal, unable to participate in community life, and, also, normal individuals.

When discussing stereotypes, Hall (1997b, p.257) how to typify and to stereotype are different acts. The use of types is part of the process by which we give meaning to the world. According to

² must be understood not only in terms of economic exploitation or physical coercion, but also in cultural and symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way - within a certain system of representations. This includes the exercise of symbolic power through representational practices. Stereotype is a key element in the exercise of symbolic violence (Hall, 1997b, p.259).

the author, the representation we make of people (adult, child, serious, funny, etc.) is built through typification. The stereotype, however, reduces the person to their difference. For Hall, the construction of the stereotype is related to what is considered normal and therefore to relations of power: who defines what is normal? These stereotypes, such as the stereotype of the incapacitated disabled, can be propagated or stopped and modified.

3. Youth with disabilities in *Glee*

The show *Glee* premiered in the U.S. in 2009 (Fox), and it is in its fourth season (2013). The plot and action of the show involve a choir (called New Directions) in a secondary school in the American Midwest, its students and faculty. The show aims to present the underdogs, the losers, that is, the different and therefore excluded ones in school's society. The characters are of several social minorities, such as ethnic minorities, the LGBT community, and disabled people. The show provided a new angle to the category of teen drama merging genres like drama, comedy, and musical, raising not only the typical issues of adolescent drama in the media culture (such as the discovery of sexuality, love, maturity, etc.), but issues emerging in the current American (and globalized) society, such as bullying, personal and social acceptance, and the culture of failure versus success. It is important to note that in *Glee* the music is a part of the narrative as much as the dialogues, and that the show is well anchored in nonsense and fantastic situations, which do not follow a believable logic. In this scenario, most situations related to disability involve the character Artie Abrams, who uses a wheelchair since childhood.

Artie (played by Kevin McHale), despite being a regular character since the beginning of the show, could be considered a secondary character, barely more than an extra in some episodes. However, the character has had his disability as a central theme in some episodes. He is characterized as a nerd, and often plays a role of balance among his peers, supporting the idea that every person with disabilities is good, which contributes to deifying them. Artie aspires to become a filmmaker, admits he likes to judge people, and always shows interest in girls. His character has dated Sugar, Tina, Brittany, and Kitty in the show. Like all the characters that take part in the choir, Artie suffers bullying from his classmates and is often treated with violence.

At the beginning of the story, Artie has already used a wheelchair for almost half of his life and is quite agile and adapted to the wheelchair, even taking part in dance numbers. He also seems to accept his condition without major problems. However, over the course of the plot moments of denial and anger are alternated with acceptance of his condition.

The first issue on disability addressed by the show is accessibility, in the ninth episode of the show (*Wheels*), when Artie's chair becomes a problem. Will, teacher and coordinator of the group, tells them that the school will not cover the rent of a special bus to take them to the competition and that they will have to raise the money themselves. The whole group is against raising the money and say they prefer that Artie is taken to the place of the competition by his father like he is already used to. Artie pretends not to care, but he is hurt. The teacher, realizing it, shows his disappointment with the situation to the group and adds that "either they are all traveling together or no one is." After more protests in which everyone assumes that "Artie does not mind," Artie himself reveals he is actually rather hurt by what happened and by the lack of understanding from his friends. Will demands a bake sale and states that as an exercise for the week – so the group understands how hard Artie has to work just to be there - everyone has to go three hours a day on a wheelchair and do a musical routine on the chair. Artie teaches his colleagues how to dance and do tricks on the chair and in the end they all sing and dance on their chairs in his honor. When they gather the money for the special bus, Artie tells

everyone that he prefers that the money is spent on an access ramp for the school auditorium so that other people with disabilities can use it too. After Tina (who suffered from stuttering) and Artie share their first kiss she reveals to him that she in fact does not stutter and that she made up the stuttering because she was very shy and wanted to turn people away. Artie is upset by that because his disability naturally makes people turn away from him.

This episode highlights the issue of lack of accessibility at different places and how that harms a person with disabilities. Many of the problems associated with disabilities are not in the person's disability itself but in the social structure that does not provide conditions that enable the effective and constructive participation of people with disabilities in society. Physical barriers often end up preventing people with disabilities from participating in common activities with their peers and having a social life, thus creating attitudinal barriers, such as those of Artie's peers, who assumed that he did not care about not traveling along. The episode takes on a pedagogical tone with images of the difficulties faced by the students of the group when in wheelchairs, in an attempt to address the problems that a student with disabilities faces in daily life. The teacher Will also discusses the lack of accessibility in the school with the school principal, who claims the school does not afford to put as many ramps as needed. This is the only episode in which accessibility is discussed, though it is present in the daily life of the character and reappears on other occasions.

Another important topic discussed from Artie's disability is the relationship of people with disabilities with the Other. Historically, the disabled person is seen by society as being worthy of pity or horror. Observed, pointed at, and excluded, the person with disability has long been seen as the other to be corrected and extinguished. Over time, society's view of the person with disability has changed, often even glorifying how they overcome the challenges of disability. However, the patronizing and concealing view of disability remains dominant. In the episode *Wheels*, misunderstanding appears first. Once Artie's peers all "experience" his difficulties, they come to admire him, a feeling voiced by Tina. Such feeling appears in several other episodes as they get closer to Artie or as he comes across situations in which the physical limitations of disability are confronted. This is the case of the episode *A Very Glee Christmas* (2010), in which Artie's then girlfriend, Brittany, reveals that she believes in Santa Claus and has asked him for Artie to walk again. Not wanting to spoil her illusion, Artie convinces coach Beiste to dress up as Santa and explain to Brittany why he could not accomplish her wish. Brittany believes in the fake Santa, but is still upset and tells Artie that it is not fair that he does not walk, feeling bad about it, even as Artie says it is not a problem.³

This relationship of others with Artie's disability is also seen in the episode *The First Time* (2012) with the premiere of the group's production *West Side Story*, directed by Artie. He feels apprehensive, but he is encouraged by everyone before the show, as they thank him for his direction. He then says that when you are in a wheelchair people tend to pamper you, demand less, or are scared of saying something wrong, and that people's attitude made it difficult for him to grow up; however, with the group's trust in his work he felt like an adult for the first time. In this episode, specifically, the show approaches the importance of the encouragement of the Other for a healthy development and self-esteem of people with disabilities.

On the episodes *Auditions* and *Brittany/Britney* (2010), Artie believes that by joining the school's football team he could win Tina back, she who had traded for him Mike,⁴ and convinces Finn to help him with the argument that he could be used as a human battering ram in the field. The

3 So that Brittany will keep on believing the Magic of Christmas, Beiste leaves Artie a *ReWalk* under a tree. The device allows Artie to walk on crutches and it is only used on this episode (on the third season we find out it broke the next day).

4 Mike is also a member of the choir and a football player. The girl is clear about liking Mike's muscles and about breaking up with Artie for being left aside during Summer break.

new football team coach bristles at the idea, and gets upset at Finn for putting her in the position of having to tell Artie that a paraplegic person cannot play football. However, in the following episode the coach changes her mind and puts Artie on the team. Finn and Artie surprise everyone with the news that there are actually no rules forbidding a player in a wheelchair. Presumably the possibility of a wheelchair-bound student making such a request had never been considered. Since people with disabilities are often neglected or forgotten, rules and regulations pertaining to them are not thought about.

Sexuality was another important topic covered by *Glee*. Most people infantilize people with disabilities and thus see them as asexual people, a completely misguided view. People with disabilities have the same desires as people without disabilities and Artie often demonstrates his interest in girls and sex. On *Wheels*, for example, when talking about his accident and injury to Tina, he makes sure to tell her that his penis works normally. In *The First Time*, he questions the acting of the main actors in the play by saying that they need to focus more on their sexuality. When he hears from Rachel and Blaine that they were both still virgins and were waiting for the right moment, Artie says that, although as a friend he supports their “strange aversion to fun,” as a director he was worried that they would not convey the appropriate feelings. It is noticeable that although the show strives to present Artie as a young man with normal desires and thoughts on the subject, in many situations, Artie’s interest in sex and girls his only contribution to the plot, what could be considered a confirmation of his place as secondary character.

Despite this more general insight into the character and his sexuality, the great contribution of the show on that subject appears in *Duets* (2nd season), when Artie has sex for the first time, with Brittany. The girl, who had never shown any interest in him before, tells Artie that she wants to be his girlfriend (to cause jealousy on the girlfriend/affair Santana). Artie accepts it, even when realizing that he still likes Tina. Brittany then tells him she will help him forget his ex and they have sex (in the scene Brittany holds him in her arms and carries him from his chair to the bed). Jealous, Santana tells Artie that Brittany is only using him to win a musical duets competition and that she has sex with everybody. Hurt, Artie confronts Brittany and tells her that she had not thought about how he would feel, saying “After my accident we did not know if I would ever be able to have sex, then when I found out I could it seemed like a miracle and you stepped on it.” But Artie’s resentment does not last long and in the next episode he goes back on dating Brittany. Just as in his feud with Tina because of her fake stutter, his hurt feelings in regard to having been used by Brittany are not discussed again, and the two situations, which reflect legitimate feelings regarding his condition in a wheelchair, are forgotten in the plot.

The most recurring theme when it comes to disability within the plot for the character Artie is a constant oscillation between acceptance and denial of his condition and its limitations. Artie’s anger at his own situation appears for the first time in the debut season of the show, in the episode *Dream On* (2010), when Artie reveals to Tina that his biggest dream is to become a dancer. After trying to get up using only the strength of his arms to lean on crutches and falling, Artie fights with Tina, blaming her for forcing him to that. The next day he apologizes to her, telling her that he usually finds it easy to deal with the lack of prospects for improvement in his condition, but he got scared when he had to face it. She shows him some stem cell research, cheering him up. In a daydream during a walk in the mall Artie gets up from his chair and dances.⁵ Returning to reality he tells his girlfriend that he will walk again. However, when talking to the school counselor he finds that those treatments are still far from being accomplished. At the end of the episode he gives up dancing with Tina the number

5 In his dreams Artie is not disabled, in this episode as well as in *Michael* and *Glee, Actually*.

they had prepared, saying that he cannot and will never dance or do many other things, but that he is resigned to it and should focus on dreams he can accomplish. He ends the episode singing *Dream a little dream of me* while watching his girlfriend dance with Mike. In this episode it is clear that the real need for adaptations in the life of people with disabilities is not only physical, but also mental and emotional.

In *Glee, Actually* (2013), Artie falls off his chair and gets hurt because the janitor had not put salt (which prevents the buildup of snow) on the ramp. Finn reluctantly takes him to the school nurse. Artie gets angry at the situation and says that he is tired of being helpless and of causing pity in others, and that he is tired of using his wheelchair. Before falling asleep, he says that he wishes he had never acquired his condition. In a dream, Artie wakes up and finds that he can walk. Rory appears as his guardian angel and tells him that he got his wish and had never suffered the accident that put him on the wheelchair. He also finds that in this alternate reality, he is a popular player on the school's football team and actually bullies the kids who were once his friends. Rory then tells him how he had never been interested in entering the choir and that in fact it had never existed, since Artie himself was the glue that held the group together. He notices his friends were living in completely different and much more difficult realities and unsuccessfully tries to convince them to come together again. Artie then sees a wheelchair and voluntarily sits on it, and that is when Finn wakes him. Realizing it had all been a dream, Artie asks Finn to help him get around. Finn tells Artie how sorry he felt about how bad it seemed to need a wheelchair. Artie then replies that for good or bad, the chair was part of him and had shaped him into the person he was today, making peace with his own situation. From this episode we can think of the formation of identity for these young people, of how they see themselves in society in view of their own disabilities. The wheelchair is part of the one who needs it, much more than a mere accessory to improve mobility; it is an extension of their body. Disability does not define who a person is, but it constitutes an undeniable part in the shaping of identity.

4. Final Thoughts

Analyzing the trajectory of the character Artie throughout the four seasons of the show, we identified and addressed specific issues related to disability: accessibility, the relationship with the disabled other, sexuality, and the constant oscillation between acceptance and denial of one's own disability.

Artie's character is presented as a minority within a group of excluded ones, and therefore suffers neither more nor less than his peers. However, the challenges of disability are presented as different from the challenges of the others. Difficulties such as lack of accessibility, denial, and sexuality are actually addressed as single issues, showing what young people with disability struggle with daily. From this point of view, the representation of young people with disability is positive in Artie. Also, the fact that he appears on the show in every episode, even if only as an extra, is interesting and positive on the issue of representation of disability. It is neither overrated nor forgotten, as the show regularly presents a person with disability in the school routine. This is in itself a new fact, for it has not been long since people with physical disabilities are allowed to attend regular schools.

Some of the stereotypes commonly associated with people with disabilities are present in the representation of Artie, such as the image of the person with disability being a good friend. Also, his being very intelligent and interested in his studies may reinforce the idea that wheelchair users can only do intellectual work. However, showing his denial of the disability in some episodes and presenting him as an ordinary young man who is very interested in girls humanizes his representation, showing a "normal" side of him and making him a part of this young school community.

Unlike most media representations, *Glee* brings in an element that is not very common: In the beginning of the plot the character already has a disability for many years, and during the plot his condition neither improves nor worsens. Artie's disability is not a punishment, nor is likely to be "cured" or fixed. It is something that is a part of the character in his identity. And although he dreams of someday overcoming his disability, he accepts the fact – which is endorsed by the text of the narrative – that such overcoming may never happen. Much of the representation of the story of Artie in the show, or of disability itself, is shown in small gestures or passing scenes, such as a pat on the shoulder from friends when his disability limits him.

The show, as a "dramedy" (dramatic comedy), also does not hesitate to present Artie's condition as comic, which is not all negative, once the jokes made on disability often come from the character himself, as a demonstration of enough acceptance to even joke about his condition.

Given that meanings are constantly produced by the interaction between subjects and the consumption of cultural objects, showing the interaction of society with a disabled character can create different meanings for disability. The representations analyzed in this paper are not seen as ideal, since they are still permeated with stereotypes such as the "good disabled person," the use of disability to get benefits. However, we recognize the strong points, such as the integration of the character socially and in school shown in the plot, something unthinkable until a few years ago. We still have a long way to go in the pursue of a worthy representation of the disabled person, but we recognize that some valuable steps have been taken in *Glee*.

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Abstract: In this paper we present an analytical protocol labored from the Du Gay's circuit of culture (1997), to its applicability to studies on television. Having as flagships two surveys conducted by us, we perceive, on one hand, the representations of Gaucho on television the use of stereotypes of gender and sexuality, guiding a type of regional identity socially accepted, and on the other hand, the use of technology by soap opera receptors, the reiteration of old habits and speeches. In general, the two examples show that only took a reallocation of the place where it gives the manifestation of a type of recolonization of ways of being of individuals.

Keywords: Circuit of culture, Television, Recolonizations; Modes of being.

1. Introduction

This article proposes an analytical protocol returned to television studies, recognizing the epistemological legitimacy of Cultural Studies (EC) to guide research in communication, and is through theoretical and methodological framework from the Du Gay's circuit of culture (1997).

For this purpose, we established hypothesis of research cultural nature of television and its instances of production, circulation and consumption. This implies founding the debate on television within what Giroux points (1995, p 98.) as the definition of EC contemporaries: "the study of the production, reception and situated use of various texts, and how they structure social relations, values and notions of community, the future and the various definitions of self."

In this sense, our objective is to present an analytical instrument that reflects on the axes that compose the circuit of culture proposed by Du Gay et al. (1997) - representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation - to indicate the specifics of contemporary Brazilian television as the hegemonic thought has been reiterated through discursive representations that reinforce ethnic stereotypes, gender, citizenship, and many others, guiding thus socially "desirable", and adjusting the culture under which parameters from the production are destined for consumption.

The postcolonial term, which places us in a "force field of power-knowledge" (Hall 2003, p.119), it is useful to the notion of how developed the idea of modernity applied to peripheral societies: the first, when formed as colonies, in the confrontation between conquerors and natives; going through tense negotiations postcolonialism not excluded imperialism (including cultural), up to the present relations that traverse, circumvent or simply moving

Circuit of culture: a way of analyzing the recolonizations of ways of being in the context of contemporary Brazilian television

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what was meant by “periphery” and “center”.

Then the debate over the entry of Brazilian culture in modernity because the globalization of markets (including cultural) brought in its wake an ‘Americanization’ of the world as an inclination of civil society (Canclini, 1999, p 65). , we think that the “Eurocentrism” of the colonial period as only moved to another place, where today gives the recolonization of the conditions and regimes of cultural production. Hall (2003, p 59.) although also recognizing that globalization is, ideologically, “governed by a global neoliberalism that rapidly becomes the common sense of our age”, it perceives “a homogenizing process, in the very words of Gramsci”, which is “structured in dominance’, but it cannot control or saturate everything within its orbit.” for him, “this argument becomes crucial considering how and where the resistance and counter strategies can be developed successfully”.

That way, we direct our reflection to the joints of the circuit of culture research come under our driving adding to the initial Du Gay et al indications. (1997), to identify “dominant structures” in the production, representation, identity, consumption and regulation of cultural processes, in the belief that by pointing them are promoting alternatives emancipation from that debate begins in the academic ambience, but it must not terminate. This one does, given the brevity of the lack of space, presenting emblematic examples that identify some of the re colonization of ways of being associated with the Brazilian television.

2. Introducing the circuit of culture

The Paul du Gay’s proposal of the culture of circuit (1997) ¹ is developed from the study of the Walkman as a cultural artifact, articulating consumption, production, regulation, identity and representation, without privileging any of these axes to examine the meanings attributed to cultural products, considering them, rather, inseparable from notion of circuit.

Remember that this is a circuit. It does not matter much where the circuit initiates, since you have to do all around, before the study is complete. Further, each part taken the circuit reappears next. Then, started with the representation, the representation becomes an element in the next part, that is, how identities are constructed. And so on. We separate these parts of the circuit in different sections, but in the real world they continually overlap and intertwine in complex and contingent (DU GAY ET AL., 1997, p. 4, our translation) mode.

According to Du Gay et al. (1997), the representation refers to symbolic systems constructed within language, such as text and images involved in the production of a cultural artifact or product, that is, in a socially organized transformation which occurs in certain forms or means production. And these systems within the representations, generate identities attached to them and have a regulating effect on social life, promoting consumption. The graphic image of this circuit corresponds to Figure 1:



FIGURE 1 – Circuit of culture
Source: Du Gay et al. (1997, p. 3)

This brief presentation of the culture of Du Gay et al

¹ Paul Du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda James, Hugh MacKay e Keith Negus.

circuit. (1997), emphasize and we pause, then, in two instances in which research that we conducted acted to working axes originally presented by the authors, taking into account what we are calling recolonizations ways of being: 1) In instance of representation, which point the discourse of television operates through stereotypes in distinguishing regional identities; 2) in the instance of the reception, where we identify a new technology to promote the inclusion of subjects in the sphere of production of media content, the content of which, however nothing innovative with respect to the usual comments from audience soap operas.

3. Working with the circuit of culture

We begin with the axis of regulation, which corresponds to the notion of regulation, that is, laws, norms and conventions by which social practices are ordered and cultural policies are implemented, whose scope can include both universal right to “seek, receive and broadcast information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”², as specific national laws as establishing the concession of radio and television in Brazil. This, although it is largely a technical matter of allocation of frequencies in the electromagnetic spectrum to avoid interference in transmissions, assumes political character, as the current debate on the prohibition of media concessions to holders of elective offices and groups bonded to churches³. In this sense, there is a clear connection in the cultural circuit between instances of regulation and production, in relation to the means of production articulated to resources within the technology.

For Hall (1997), the sphere of culture is governed both by the tendency to regulation as deregulation, it may be associated, in the first case, the State, and the second, to the market. In both situations, the culture is regulated by economic and pressure groups, as well as structures of power, and is in intimate association with the mode of economic production and forms of consumption. Thus, at the same time there is a “government of culture”, there is the occurrence of a reverse movement: “regulation through culture”. We emphasize two of these forms of regulation identified by Hall (1997): the rules which guide human action through rules associated with existing conventions in culture, and which directly affects the constitution of the ways of being and thus identities, because it seeks to the subject internalize conducts, norms and rules and adjusted himself. It is in this sense that the effective power of the media, whose representations penetrate the modes of being of the subject.

The representation corresponds to the association of meanings to particular cultural product, and this is viable mainly through language, one of the main means of representation in culture. For Du Gay et al. (1997) is through culture that things “make sense”, and the “work of meaning” is by how we represent. They still alert that “language is not understood by only the written or spoken words. Want to say any system of representation - photography, painting, speaking, writing, images made through technology, design [...]” (“... DU GAY ET AL, 1997, p 13 [our translation]).

Woodward indicates that the processes involved in the production of meanings are engendered through “systems of representation” connected with the different positions assumed by the subjects inside symbolic systems responsible for “classificatory structures” “that provide sense to life and the right order social life and fundamental distinctions - between us and them, between the outside and the inside, between the sacred and the profane, between male and female - that are at the center of the

² Paragraph XIX of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the General Assembly of the United Nations, signed on December 10, 1948. Available in http://www.mj.gov.br/sedh/ct/legis_intern/ddh_bib_inter_universal.htm. Accessed 23.out.2013.

³ “The proposed draft law (PL) which regulates the functioning of the media, known as the Law of the Democratic Media, was launched today (22), the Chamber of Deputies by the National Forum for Democratization of Communication (BDNF).” Agency Brazil, 08.22.2013, available in <http://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/noticias/proposta-que-regulamenta-meios-de-comunicacao-elancada-nacamara/> Accessed 20.out.2013.

culture systems of signification “(WOODWARD, 2000, pp. 67-68.). Such systems produce what Hall (1997b) calls “representations of difference,” the notion of otherness which can lead to the production of stereotypes, which involved feelings, attitudes and emotions are. Example of the articulation of these concepts to the analysis of television is the research regional media: gauchidade and televisual format in Galpão Crioulo (Lisboa Filho, 2009).

In Brazil, to we treat the representation of televisual regional gaúcho identity, is necessary to consider the constitution of the gaúcho⁴ passes by the official history, but it was literature and cinema that have forged as mythologized hero and gloried, especially in Farroupilha’s Week⁵. Other elements were rescued, adapted, also created or invented by radio and television, which endowed them with symbolism and an almost mythical aura capable of enchant and seduce, populate the popular imaginary and contribute in the formation of regional representation and popular culture South of Brazil. Among the different media narratives that tell the gaúcho history, however, is possible to check legitimizations the exaltation of bravery, bellicosity, pride, family value, masculinity, among other values of such consolidated form that appear in more or less scale in television program Galpão Crioulo⁶ - GC. These brands and characterizations even if caricatured or stereotypical, are retrieved and raised by presenters GC when they tell a story, a legend, a poem which refers to town hosts the show, an illustrious citizen or a local event.

The thematic contextualization found in GC configured in representations which have a strong identification with the public, they present the gaúcho who exists in the popular imaginary with practical, symbolic values and an entire set that rescued and reinforced if updates on individual attitudes and in this collective. The GC provides a representation of a ‘gauchity’ transiting between the traditions and histories of the state, selected and recreated in the media context to achieve the public taste.

Concerning the concept of representation, it is necessary to still register its operation as an analytical tool has been presented in various studies in communication articulated the issue of contemporary identities.

Central issue in the EC, cultural identity comes basing research involving issues of gender, class, race, and ethnicity, and modernity confrontations as modernity x postmodernity, local x global, etc.. Hall (., 2003, p 108-109) argues that the identity process is connected with what can become subjects, as they have been represented and how the figuration organizes how they can represent themselves: “[identities] not are never singular but multiply constructed along discourses, practices and positions that can intersect or be antagonistic. “

We observed that in the case of Rio Grande do Sul all the state media operates in an articulated way, including the location - but also the national / global - and therefore feeding the symbolic system of the imaginary mythical gaúcho that makes up your identity through the cultural products they make available. In his speech, GC legitimizes the roles and effects of perpetuator and watchful of the gaúcho identity. There, it’s possible envision the coexistence of traces of tradition and contemporaneity, even when the latter appears on a smaller scale.

The images bring children, young and elderly, men and women, old and new, in a process which does not appear to exclusion, even if it is inherent in the media and especially television process. It

4 Gaúcho who is born in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in Southern Brazil. There is also the Argentine gaúcho or Uruguayan, also from the amalgamation between the Iberian and indigenous cultures. The typical gaúcho is local farms and the peculiarities of their lifestyles forming a regional identity.

5 The Farroupilha Week is the maximum event of the gaúcho culture with parades in honor of the Revolution Farroupilha (or Farrapos), regional revolution against the imperial government of Brazil, from September 20, 1835 at 1^o March 1845.

6 The Galpão Crioulo is a program created in 1982 by RBS TV, an affiliate of Rede Globo Television, whose base is musical, but can present interviews, declamations, pajadas, dances, among other manifestations regional identity. Until 1984 the program was recorded in the studio, then acquired the characteristic of itinerant, traveling across the state and in this period also became recorded live.

should be said that the GC has a very strong identity with the gauchos, which is already consolidated in the enunciative logical that repeat in the discursive strategies and their format.

The axis of production refers to the act or result of socially organized materials processing in a certain way. As shown in the proposed Du Gay et al. (1997), this axis has an instance which matches the conditions or means of production of cultural artifact that constitutes the object of study (the Sony Walkman). Conditions or means of production, however we added a second instance, textual analysis, in search of an analytical category which give account of linguistic and communicative achievements of television productions, working with the symbolic material that is organized under certain means of capitalist production and under the logic of contemporary technological resources.

Commenting Walter Benjamin's⁷ essay Du Gay et al. (. 1997, pp. 21-24) refers to the use of technology (the third point of production), considering Benjamin talked of a "mechanical" reproducibility, whose impact was felt in the art fading its aura; new technologies at the service of cultural production promote one kind of reproducibility "electronics", one can notice that a cultural artifact as the Walkman, which

is not only an essential part of the survival kit of young people, is a testament to the high value the culture of late modernity is situated in mobility. And this mobility is both real and symbolic. The Walkman fits a world where people are literally moving more. But it is also designed for a world in which social mobility of individuals with respect to their social group also increased. The Walkman maximizes individual choice and flexibility. (DU GAY ET AL., 1997, p. 24, our translation)

The actual profusion of cell phones, iPhones, iPads, iPods etc.. indicates that Walkman was only the beginning of a kind of reproducibility technology which contemporaneously is exacerbated in networks of distribution content. Television, for example, frees from the restrictions of the channels in an open network, reaching programming grids which multiply in the countless pay channels. The "privatized home," to which Williams (2011 [1974]) refers to Television, is part of a "mobile privatization" process, in which the house becomes the place where converge the technological means that work there as household appliances.

Meanwhile, this "mobile privatization" begins to transform from the moment at which the new digital platforms, particularly miniaturized, now permit the privatization of new environments. The possibility of watching television at home ceases to be the only alternative to the individual contact with a world away from his daily reality. Both the domestic environment as television lose their singular condition (CAMPANELLA, 2008, p. 4-5).

The meaning of these changes in technological order cannot be underestimated in the sphere of consumption, particularly in studies of reception, especially because more than the incorporation of new technologies, such transformations influenced the abilities of receptors, now they are able to create content and capable transiting across multiple platforms.

The consumption is the axis of the circuit of culture where the production completes the senses, through the "set of sociocultural processes that take place in the appropriation and uses of products" (Canclini, 1999, p. 77). Consumption occurs in the plane of sharing meanings attributed to goods, products and services by members of a society where owning a computer "next generation" or the signature of a system of pay TV channels becomes an element of social distinction because "the consumer builds part of integrative and communicative rationality of a society" (Canclini, 1999, p 80 -. emphasis author).

⁷ BENJAMIN, Walter. The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. In: ADORNO et al. Theory of Mass Culture. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2000. p. 221-254.

Under the point of view of this “communicative rationality” it is possible place consumption as an activity of social actors is not restricted to specific decoding a message issued. This is, therefore despoil itself of the need to comprehend “the audience”, because what counts is “the intellectual, critical and continuous engagement with the varied ways in which we are constituted through media consumption” (ANG, 1996 p. 52)

However, if the studies of reception are still relatively recent - the boom of this kind of research occurs in the 1980s, under the premise of the EC that the media messages are opened cultural forms and that the audience is composed by agents producers of sense - contemporaneously there are other vertices problematize this type of research.

Natansohn (2008, p. 7) points two problems for research of reception in the internet, requesting a type of revision or adaptation of analytical frameworks of this research under the rubric of the EC, as it emerged under the shadow of the mass media such as radio and TV. In the first place, the author indicates the irreducible distance between instances of production and consumption today is relativized by the “ability to self-publishing, collaborative writing and participative journalism [...] propitiated in telematic networks”. Secondly, it signals a profound alteration from the classic idea of “mass public” in the context of internet, since “the relationship between receptors and environment customize itself: one speaks of “human-computer interaction” and not already “environment- public”- (NATANSOHN, 2008, p. 7).

The internet convenes the participation of subjects in a way that is beyond merely acting as producers of meaning and so, we point out the need to include problematization about: technology / protagonism of the subjects. It because, from one side, the desire to participate the sphere of reception / consumption in the production instance is not new - Meyer (2005) says that the authors of serials arrived letters from readers with suggestions of all kinds, from return of the characters to changes in the storyline - on the other hand, from social media more than active individuals in media consumption, the receptors are becoming producers of content in potential. In the microblog Twitter, for example, to comment and discuss matters relating to the soap opera Avenue Brazil⁸, discourse of receptors assumes a character of release.

Social media work, in fact, as a “layer” of traditional media - including TV - and in the case of soap opera Avenue Brazil, this part of a self-organization by the users and not by the broadcaster. [...] The hashtag # AvenidaBrasil gets to be among the most talked about topics of Twitter almost every day and when it is not the hashtag containing the name of the soap opera are the names of the characters that are in vogue. (Santos And Moraes COIRO 2012, p. 205)

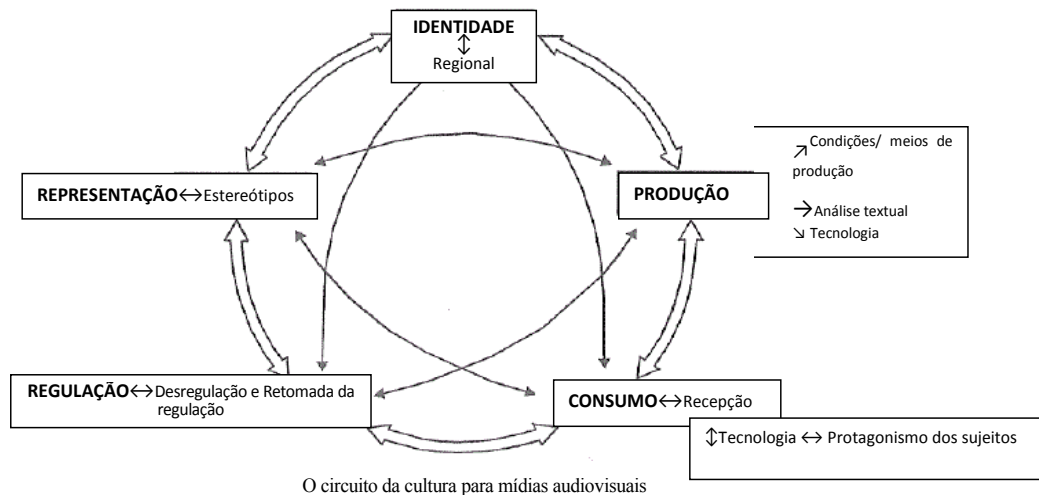
The soap opera had 7000 mentions on Twitter in just 24 hours⁹. In data collection (30 posts on Twitter with the hashtag # AvenidaBrasil, in a month of observation), the authors perceived a pattern and repetition in tweets among users, which led to three categories: critical, humorous and dissemination/compliments. Example of critical tweet was “It’s midnight and the damn tag # AvenidaBrasil not out of TTs> (.”; Humorous, “This Carminha is more fake than teacher’s “ good luck “ or salesgirl’s “was gorgeous in you” # AvenidaBrasil!” and diffusion/compliments “# AvenidaBrasil today was exciting, getting better ...” These tweets generate dissemination because others retweet posts and comment, is to criticize, praise or just agree. The posts under the hashtag # AvenidaBrasil become a way to get visibility and thus increase the subjects’ social capital, from the ordinary interlocutors of author become protagonists of a discourse whose content, however, is not much different from the

8 The soap opera Avenida Brasil was produced and aired by Globo TV on 26 March 2012 to 19 October 2012.

9 The site UOL TV cites research firm Seekr monitoring social networks. available in <<http://televisao.uol.com.br/colunas/flavio-ricco/2012/08/14/avenida-brasil-e-um-grande-sucesso-nas-redessociaishtm>>

letters of readers serials. That is, the advent of technology changes the very status of the reception, but it seems to walk away from with respect to the modes of being of the subject.

Thus, summarizing this effort through the Du Gay's et al circuit of culture (1997) organize an analytical protocol to television, sketches in Figure 2 below, the proposed circuit labored by the instances listed here, with the reservation that it is only as an exercise, since the analytical process is determined the particular objects of study of each research.



Final Considerations

Even though two examples explore different facets of the circuit of culture proposed by Du Gay et al, and are not fully described, what it is intended here highlight research on television gain in amplitude and complexity if to assume that integrate different protocols elements - producers, representations, technologies, receptors / consumers - and moments - production, circulation, reception, consumption. In this sense, the proposal outlined advances in relation to earlier work to identify other protocols suggest that this intention (ESCOSTEGUY, 2007). Firstly, because it operates other analytical proposition only at the time indicated. And second because it explicates incorporation of different technologies that are today umbilically linked in various cultural circuits which in turn tightens the tradition of studies of reception. Lastly, because by analyzing representations reiterates the deep association between media and formation of identities, and therefore the regulation by the culture of the modes of being. In any case, what is in evidence between the two proposals is the crucial role of symbolic dimension which extends and it is distinct moments in the circuit of culture/ communication.

In the particular plan of research reported, we realized, on one hand, the representations of gaúcho on television continued use of stereotypes, orienting the one kind of regional identity socially accepted and on the other side the use of technology by the soap opera receptors, the reiteration of old habits and discourses. In general, the two examples show that only took a reallocation of the place where it gives the manifestation of a type of recolonization of ways of being of the subjects.

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SESSION 4

DISPLACEMENTS, DIASPORAS E HYBRIDISMS IN POST-COLONIAL CONTEXTS

Abstract: This paper addresses the transnationalization of Afro-Brazilian religions and how the everyday practices of Candomblé, analyzed through fieldwork conducted in northern Portugal, have metaphors of postcolonial processes, especially in the circularity of ideas called the Black Atlantic (Atlântico Negro), where representations and images of Brazil, Africa and Portugal are part of the religious language.

Introduction

I came to the country on March 7, 2011¹ in the middle of a political crisis and a few days before the resignation of Prime Minister Jose Socrates (which occurred on March 23) and the reverberations around the visit of former President, Luis Ignacio da Silva and president Dilma Rousseff, which occurred on March 30, 2011, inducted as an honorary doctorate from the University of Coimbra at this occasion. Transport strikes schedule by left parties and demonstrations of various orders were occurring almost daily in Greater Lisbon.

I witnessed the march of 60 000 participants on March 12 between Marques de Pombal Square until Rossio, the protest was against issues in education, at work, the poor social security and especially against the high unemployment rate among youths aged 18 to 35. Students were tired of graduating from universities, but end up working as cashiers for 'Pingo Doce' supermarket, competing in the trade and service areas with immigrants, especially Brazilians.

Many were inspired by a song of the Portuguese musical group Deolinda, called "Silly I am", where already at the first verses it declares: "What a silly world, where to be a slave one must study." Different generations were seeing themselves at a concerned country and organized without money through social media by three young

Portuguese ladies, which had no breath to move forward. Civil society still organizes slowly for possible answers. Strangely, at this day, I didn't see the presence of any organization that deal with immigrants.

With the visit of Brazilian presidents, the Portuguese pride on the streets, especially among older generations, was shaken by

¹ At the time I wrote this article, I was working as a senior visiting researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (2010/2011 and 2013). I am PhD in Social Anthropology PPGAS / National Museum and an associated professor at the State University of Rio de Janeiro. Thanks respectively to the institutional support from the Institute of Social and the financial support from Gulbenkian Foundation/ Portugal and Faperj /Rio de Janeiro. Currently I coordinate the project 'The romantic drive in trance' in Brazil. A comparative study of Afro-Brazilian religions in Germany and Portugal, which obtained funding from this institution.

The discovery of Portugal. A trip to an afflicted country

Joana Bahia

some comments in the Portuguese media about the possibility of Portugal getting a debt from Brazil. Why borrow from Brazilians? That was one of the keynotes in taverns and alleyways of Lisbon and Caparica (another area with a high concentration of Brazilians).

Meanwhile Brazilians here thought about returning, “will it be viable to return after so many years away from Brazil? Back to an economy that always betrayed us? And to where? To a lost city in the middle of the Brazilian state of Rondônia ?” Remember that many Brazilian immigrants leave towns that are barely found in Brazilians maps see us questions and become enchanted by the “Metropolis” of Lisbon. With time, Brazilians do the tough return and others rethink how libertarian was the movement to migrate own and therefore, it was not worth going back. The freedom to be another Brazilian, with another religion, with new sexual orientations, more freedom and rights that may not exist in Brazil . Migration is not a simple reflection of economic need, but a complex phenomenon that gathers many facets, including the personal and emotional order.

These questions were part of my first weeks as an immigrant and as a researcher on migration and religions. At this time, questions were conjugated in the present tense.

But many other Portugals arise since then, which were not only result of a political and economic crisis, but it was a result from what was happening in the sphere of migrations, trades and cultural habits. In a few years time after some laws were adopted, reflecting dynamic changes that were not only echoes of management changes in the country² , but it also involved the presence of new migratory groups that has slowly been part of the urban , cultural and political scene of the city . We do not see Portuguese in the metros and buses, but Rastafarians, Africans, Brazilians, Russians, different groups from East Europe and at a lesser extent, gypsies. Along with the economic crisis in the country, we got an economy of immigrants that generates millions of Euros and social dynamics in neighborhoods like São Jorge de Arroios.

Portugal has become in a few decades a huge Martim Muniz with its multi-ethnic trade and multi religious. And new generations of Portuguese got new looks and new languages .

They changed color, clothing and recreated themselves from their own wishes and vague certainties and the ways they read and review its relations with others culture. And how does the religious scenario help to think about it?

Many migrants from African countries arrived in Portugal back in the late 70s, after the period of the colonial wars, which were followed in the 80s and 90s by the Brazilian, Eastern European and Indian immigrants. The different nationalities who immigrated to Portugal until the mid-1990s, found a certain order which they joined, mainly due to the fact that until 1998 the majority of immigration to Portugal was composed by people from former colonies (Machado; 2006:119). The presence of immigrants from Palop (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language) and from Brazil to Portugal, largely facilitated the continuity of colonial thinking. This continuity resulted in the reconstruction of Portugal from the old imperial order, now reorganized based on immigrant populations.

Immigration has changed the face of Lisbon, transforming the city into locus of a multiethnic and multicultural society, not only in a religious sense. The new religions emerge at a time that they are protected by the law of religious freedom, enacted in 2001, and the context that the country is becoming less Catholic and more atheist. At this time, Portugal has Jewish, Islamic groups, evangelical churches (Igreja de Nazaré) , various Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal (including

2 It is worth remembering the importance and the impact of the following laws: Religious Freedom Law in Portugal » Law nº 16/2001; Law that allows the same-sex civil marriage » Law nº 9/2010 of May 31st; Law that legalizes the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy (IVG) up to 10 weeks, if requested by the woman » Law nº 16/2007 (April 17) approved in June, 2007 and the Law of drugs decriminalization in Portugal » Law nº 30/2000 of November 29 (started in 01/07/2001).

the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus/IURD, Assembléia de Deus and Maná), some African churches (quimbandistas) and animist practices brought by a variety of African migrants. Besides that, the Afro-brazilian religions: Candomblé and Umbanda.

There is a significant presence of Brazilians in the so called evangelical, Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches. Many used to concentrate themselves in these churches, which are becoming gradually empties due to the return of Brazilians to their country of origin. The variables class, gender, flow and time of migration interfere in the Pentecostal field, which lead to a great dynamic in the last ten years. We have then: Congregation (90% Brazilians, 10% Portuguese, they do not use TV or radio, its advertising is all done by word of mouth, they do not charge tithes, priests and workers are not employed in the church and at no time they speak about money in the Church); Adventist; Baptist; God is love (mostly Brazilians, then Africans and later Portuguese, and finally gypsies); Maná (Brazilians and Portugueses, it has a TV channel and all its image area is staffed by Brazilians); the IURD (more Portugueses than Brazilians, once it became an expensive church guy, inaccessible to this portion of the Brazilian immigration), and World Church of the Power of God (born from IURD).

“Transnational” Spirits

Afro-brazilian religions came to Portugal in the late 70s of the twentieth century, with the social opening through the law of religious freedom established with echoes of the April 25, 1974 revolution. According to Ismael por deus, Mother Virginia was a pioneer, a Portuguese that migrated to Rio de Janeiro in the late 40s, where she began in Umbanda³, and brought the religion to Portugal. There was an intensification of Umbanda and Candomblé in the last decade of the last century, period in which some Brazilians landed in Portugal and settled as priests, especially from the 80s and so, with the intensification of flows of Brazilian migrants.

Besides the cultural and social changes seen in the country since the political opening and the arrival of waves of migrants of various nationalities (African, Brazilian and Eastern European) and religiousness, Portuguese culture approached their pagan practices that were long dormant. In this sense, syncretic practices from both cultures favored a wide field of appropriations.

Despite the economic crisis present in various countries of Europe, we got a diversified religious market with rapidly development. There was an increase in the number of Candomblé “terreiros” (cult house) from north to south, as despite the success of Umbanda in Portugal, there was a greater legitimacy of power and strength of these candomblé “terreiros”, as to reach the candomblé, means to reach a higher stage (Capone; 2009).

We got both Brazilians who brought the religion to Portugal, and the Portuguese who seek it here a lot, as well as the ones who picked it there. Also Africans, that migrated to Portugal and look forward to maintaining their religiosity. The assimilation by Eastern European people is very recent. The diversity of Brazilian immigration also reflects the religious diversity and many Brazilians are attracted by the tolerance of Afro-brazilian religions in respect to the presence of homosexuals, transvestites, transsexuals (especially the segment related to prostitution, especially those who occupy the most marginalized strata of immigration) in countries where the presence of majority of evangelical churches condemns these forms of sexual options.

³ Umbanda is a religion created in the 20s in the city of Rio de Janeiro, being considered, due its extremely syncretic character, a Brazilian religion by excellence, appropriating elements of Kardecism, Catholicism as well as Indigenous and African influences. Umbanda incorporates and worships entities, spirits and non-gods: qualities of exus, pombas giras, caboclos, baianos, pretos velhos, boiadeiros, sailors and people from the East. It does not incorporate the orixás. Umbanda entities are archetypes of Brazilian society, linked to historic and cultural aspects of the country.

There is a variety of situations that show the transnational circuit of people, objects and symbolic goods between Brazil, Portugal and other countries as well. We got Brazilian and Portuguese 'father-of-saint' which maintain links with their respective saints' families, being these represented by *ilês* (cult house) where they started, or also with Brazilians (their family members), who migrated in the 80s and were in various European countries. With the migration in the 70s and the 80s of Brazilians and Africans to Europe, particularly to Portugal and the successive crises in Portugal, migration flows tend to make it this game more complex. Portuguese going to work in Africa, Venezuela and Brazil, Brazilians going to France, Germany or even returning to Brazil, and also in the circuits of Africans, there is a real mix of situations. This is the transiting of people and spirits.

The presence of entities is only real for religious and unreal for the researchers; it shows that although the spirits being part of the person, this is not the reality described.

By basing myself on the work of Hayes (2011), Boyer (1993) and Wafer (1991), I realized what I would first call an "ethnography of spirits", i.e., I focus on the effects and the products of possession for its practitioners⁴, and I also look forward to understanding how the ritual practices are made, in order to identify not only appropriations and syncretism, but also how do we get in religious language, postcolonial metaphors involving representations of the circularity of symbols in the so called Black Atlantic (Gilroy, 2001).

Then, I followed the spirit of the *caboclo* (indigenous spirit) *Pena Dourada* (Golden Feather), in order to realize the circularities of some religious practices in both countries, especially Brazil and Portugal. Remember that the spirits of *Umbanda* speak an archaic Portuguese, especially the *caboclos*, spirits of Brazilian Indians, considered to be the first inhabitants of Brazil, who used to speak *Guarani* before the arrival of the Portuguese.

The *caboclo* refers to Portugal as *Putamagal*, an allusion to the idea that he came before the *putamagaleses*, a fine irony of those who migrated along with his horse (the one that he incorporates), denoting the vision of a Brazilian Indian in Lusitanian lands. And at his ritual practice, he carries the Brazilian flag on his back, representing the weight of someone who carries the nation and the identity.

The *caboclos* are the owners of the land, the first inhabitants of the forest and the Brazilian woods (Teles, 1995). First the *caboclos* coming from *Aruanda*, located in Congo, but when it was destroyed, they migrated to Angola, a new *Aruanda*. But also inhabitants of Brazil, along with the '*preto velho*' (spirit of an African slave in *umbanda*), they planted the *axé* (the sacred force concentrated in objects and initiates), and then came the *putamagaleses*. Despite the initial idea of a utopian nationalist sentiment, we see uncountable *caboclos* and a chance - why not to say, to incorporate - foreign element. May be from *Aruanda*, Congo, in Brazil or in *Putamagal*.

Unlike the *orixás*, which are fixed in number, the *caboclos* are endless. Despite the nationalist tone in which they are first associated, there is a sense of "universal brotherhood" where non-indigenous and non-Brazilians spirits can be incorporated. As Wafer (op.ci: 55), "perhaps the etymological link between the *caboclo* and the mixture of races makes the *caboclo* tradition a symbolic vehicle for the incorporation of foreign elements in *Candomblé*".

If on one hand circulates ideas about Brazil, Africa, new Congos and *Aruandas* when the *caboclo* goes to Portugal, on the other hand, incorporating other nationalities brings suspicion of the legitimacy of the original ritual practice, maintained by the *axé* that remained in Brazil, as settlements, *ebós* and witchery there were brought by slaves. And from there, they did not return to Africa and return to

⁴ I agree with Birman (2005) when he states that valorizing the mediums' point of view, allows a better comprehension of gender and space given to the sexuality, theme that I developed in the field and in an article still not published yet.

Portugal due to Brazilian migration⁵.

But this story does not end there...

Pordeus (2009) shows the existence of Portuguese spirits, like the famous Sailor Agostinho. In some cases, 'pretos velhos' and caboclos can assume "hidden" Portuguese entities, i.e., if they pretend to be Brazilians in order to be accepted and incorporated in the worship. Incorporating a Brazilian spirit gives a certain legitimacy and authenticity to the religious practice, as many find it suspicious (especially some Brazilian 'fathers- of-saint') the fact they have incorporated another "nationality"⁶.

Kindly called of samba by the Caboclo Pena Dourada (Golden Feather), Ana Cambona (Portuguese of African origin) or the one that does not incorporate and help spirits in communicating with people - brought her faith in St. Cyprian into the terreiro, fruit of her spiritual life within country Portugal when she returned from Africa, she took a witch as spiritual mother. Since then, St. Cyprian travels a lot.

One aspect of deployment of Afro-Brazilian religions in Portugal is the reordering of popular Portuguese religious experiences where they operate. Despite the decline of Catholicism in the country⁷, it does not mean that there is no reorganization of what is Catholic in this sense, Afro-Brazilian religions contribute with this task⁸.

Quick conclusion: May 13 with a plenty of cod fish and feijoada (Brazilian typical dish made of black beans and pork) .

Prakash (1995) shows the effects of the deconstruction of master narratives that placed Europe in the center of knowledge standards and social identities that were authorized by colonialism and Western domination. In this view, the idea of post colonial is neither located in nor out of the European history, but on a tangential position. That is a situation "in between", as stated Bhabha (2001), a practice and negotiation situation.

The cultural negotiation between groups is what interests us to understand how Portugal is recreated by the Brazilian Caboclo and how Portuguese and Africans will rewrite Africa having or not Brazil as an intermediate (at least in the religiously plan covered here)? Obviously we got a large internal differentiation and in this sense, it worth considering all: Portuguese born in Portugal, Brazil and / or Africa. The complexity of identity, history and politics, makes distinct a Portuguese who was born in Quelimane (Mozambique), from other that has never left Lisbon.

In this sense, I agree with Vale de Almeida that post-colonialism should be analyzed from the perspective of an economic and political point of view, and in this sense, I would add one more

5 Although we do not treat this issue in this work, there is a competition in the spiritual plane so Portuguese could revive certain African origin that they met, looking forward to reafirmate the candomblé.

6 As a coincidence (or not), during my field work, I met many Portuguese sailors. I am not sure if in fact the colonial view predominates and also populates the spirits world.

7 According to the report made by the sociologist Alfredo Teixeira, we have decrease of Catholics and an increase of the so called non-believers. It is observed a greater religious diversity in the surroundings of Lisbon and Vale do Tejo. In the same report, it is documented a concentration of Catholics in the north region, with 43.6% in relation to the total of the sample. What I could check in my field work is that exactly in the North line there was a huge increase of Afro-brazilian religious, especially in the traditionally Catholic areas, such as Aveiro, Braga and Porto. Web page accessed in June 18, 2013: http://www.snpcultura.org/catolicismo_e_outras_identidades_religiosas_em_portugal_interpreta%C3%A7%C3%A3o.html The study was conducted by "Centro de Estudos e Sondagens de Opinião e pelo Centro de Estudos de Religiões e Culturas", at Catholic Portuguese University and sponsored by the Portuguese Episcopal Conference.

8 Remember that the same study does not infer on Afro-Brazilian religious and that in Brazil, generally people that are affiliated to these religious, they identify themselves in census as being Catholics. There is a campaign, launched in 2010 in the city of Rio de Janeiro, promoted by Mãe Beata named 'Quem é de axé, diz que é!' (If you are axé, say so!), asking religious adepts to identify themselves in the census, as well as to give more visibility to it at a time of neopentecostals' growth.

thing: religion. The author (op.cit) agrees with Hall (2003) in the sense that the term postcolonial is useful to characterize the change in global relations that marks the unequal transition from the age of empires to the post independence period. However, the term may not only serve to describe a before and after in historical periods, but to reread colonization as part of a process which is essentially transnational and trans-local.

If migrants circulate carrying their stories, they carry their spirits as well. Remember that the idea that religious transnationalization considers adaptations of practices imported in a well-defined context, their ways to “become local” and the incorporation of new systems of belief (Appadurai, 2004).

The Caboclo Pena Dourada celebrates in Portugal the date of May 13 (abolition of slavery in the Brazilian official calendar, day of gira (ritual) of souls and ‘pretos velhos’, considered the spirits of slaves) following in general fests in which fathers and sons-of-saint used to participate in their ilês or in your saint ‘s family.

The same caboclo called attention of his horse to make in these giras, feijoada as the main dish. Not only that this caboclo in this terreiro , but many do feijoada as the main dish (called grandma’s feijoada or grandfather’s soul), considered to be a representative dish to what the Brazilian nation as a nation made up of black slaves . And many, advised by spirits, also make bacalhau, as reports a ‘father-of-saint’ interviewed (advised by the spirit of the Caboclo Pena Dourada) , “as the spirits (eguns) migrated to another continent, we must also honor the spirits of others⁹.”

The others are souls who circulated in this Black Atlantic and its food honor this story, as told by the caboclo, it claims its ancestry, once putamagaleses arrived later and now the same caboblo returns to Portugal, the land of his horse’s grandmother (who incorporates him and that in some way also transports him between the New and the Old World).

Many Portuguese who started in the religion evoke real or imaginary elements, consisted of an African descendant origin; this may explain an almost natural predisposition to the practices of religions considered no more Afro-Brazilian, but African. As Halloy (2001-2002) states, there is the explanation of a Belgian ‘father-of- saint’ that legitimates his religious choice due to the fact that Congo was Belgian, so African.

Brazil is seen as Candomblé’s first place, which guarantees them legitimacy , especially in light of other Axés or Brazilians who know their saint’s family . Many evoke Brazil as a place of “natural syncretism and mixture of peoples” and compare their own ethnic origins, reconfiguring their history with Candomblé .

The syncretism explains both, this relation evoking Brazil as primeval place of the religion, as well as it may be deconstructed in an incriminating game where Brazilians, for mixing too much, lead Candomblé to lose its African originality, making it is possible for Portuguese redo this story.

9 I do not know how much of it could it be considered only an ethnic rereading, but we also have this characteristic in the terreiro studied in Germany (Bahia; 2012 and 2013). In this case, in special, there is a clear racial and political discussion that relates the black to the favelado (inhabitants of shantytowns), which approaches more the politicized of German society regarding Brazilian society and the racial content of Brazilians involved with candomblé that reinterpret the same reality.

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Abstract : This study raises questions about the search and the achievements in education and health by migrant women in multicultural contexts. It is increasingly urgent to claim social rights such as education and health for groups in conditions of social vulnerability like migrant women. Any social oppression can increase the chances of disease occurrence and the chances that basic rights of health and education become unmet. Social oppressions can also be factors that contribute so that some women start desiring and end up seeking to migrate inside or outside their countries. To deal with the challenges of living in plural societies the work in educational and health institutions has often used or needed a cultural mediator. The achievement of any rights, is associated with a wider process of empowerment of women. Although the conquest of rights is likely to be uncertain for migrants, women's collective struggle is already a great achievement of all women who fight.

Keywords: Cultural mediator; Women; Rights

1. Conditions and social mobility of women

This paper raises questions about the search and the achievements of education and health of migrant women in multicultural contexts where it is increasingly pressing to claim social rights such as education and health of groups which are vulnerable like women migrants. The right to education and health cannot always be claimed by the migrant population due to the lack of: documentation, knowledge of bureaucratic procedures and cultural apparatus in the new location or society.

Population mobility is linked to changes in culture, economy, politics and society as a whole. While it may be argued that migration has always been a complex and dynamic process, increasingly its transnational character is being studied because many migrants tend to return occasionally and definitely to their countries of origin (Schiller, Bausch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Among the various social transformations are those related to gender relations generated with the feminist movement. Therefore, the female migration is related to the new possibilities created by women in both countries of origin and the host society. The displacement of women within countries and from one country to another has become more visible. Zlotnik (2003) argues that women have been migrating with more protagonist roles than in the past being more independent from their families and often becoming heads of households. Therefore, for some time now it has been argued the need of building a gender perspective on transnational migration (Boyd, 1989 & Sutton, 1992) as well as considering that women's employment in other locations can

Migrant women in search and achievements in educations and health: considerations of a collective struggle

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merely reproduce the patriarchal inequality (Boyd, 1989). This gender perspective also needs to incorporate the increasing precariousness of the conditions for immigration and the impact of new communication technologies. On the one hand, not only the works contracts for migrants become increasingly fragile but also the rights to education, health and welfare are increasingly absent. On the other hand, the new communication technologies allow faster access to key information in the search for rights.

It is pressing to better understand the different ways of thinking and practicing the pursuit of education and health. Even though the search for formal education is increasingly universal, the educational practices have been informed by different educational theories (traditional, critical and post-critical) which imply different relationships of teachers with their students. In general terms, the traditional theories assumes that the teacher has a central role, the critical theories give emphasizes to the emancipation of students and the post-critical theories focus on the importance of the recognition of the diverse “Other” in educational processes. In the area of health as well, there is a wide range of possibilities for traditional health practices (popular, religious, spiritual) and those renowned as scientific born from standards of Biology and Medicine. Thus, there is the need for full recognition of any person or group practicing any activity. While there may be differentiated efficacy of different health practices their ranking with different legitimacy degrees is problematic, especially for the socially disadvantaged who have more difficulty in negotiating their viewpoints and practices. Social change in education and in health will be created if the views of the underprivileged become legitimized, especially taking into account that fairer societies assume an appreciation of egalitarian modes of being.

Concerned with the social difficulties and cultural barriers faced by migrants, some governmental and non-governmental organizations work to support and integrate them. In the specific case of women, according to Batliwala (1994): “Through empowerment, women can gain access to new worlds of knowledge and can begin to make new, informed choices in both their personal and their public lives” (p.132). Pinnelli, Racioppi and Fettarelli (2003) discuss how the emancipation movements in the area of gender relations add to ideological changes in terms of the acquisition of individual autonomy in ethics, politics and religion. In fact, the female empowerment has been observed as a result of actions of non-governmental organizations in different contexts (Stromquist 1994, Lephoto 1995 & Sousa, 1995) and by the migration process itself (Sousa, 2007).

2. The difficulty of dealing with differences and the cultural importance of mediation

In general, people need to be trained with skills to deal with differences. In our increasingly multicultural societies, there are constant challenges experienced in dealing with people distinctly respected according to their ethnicity, social class, gender, age, religion and nationality. Human encounters have commonly been marked by prejudice and discrimination and can occur in any human interaction. To deal with the challenges of living in unequal and plural societies the work in educational and health institutions has often used or needed a cultural mediator.

The mediation can be cultural orchestrated by people who are familiar with both cultures and assist in communication. The work of a cultural mediator asks for a careful translation, but it is greater than a linguistic translation as it requires a recognition of the “Other” or groups as equals. The cultural mediator in education and health can/ should be thought of as facilitating the exchange of worldviews, knowledge and practices.

It cannot be enough emphasized that the cultural mediation is as important for the professionals as for lay people. On the one hand, there is a need for the revision of stereotypes and prejudices on

the part of teachers and health professionals who often use technical words not understood by the majority of the population even in the same language. On the other hand, beyond language issues there may be the need for supervision of a student or to assist a patient. It may be necessary to give support in the cultural assertion of the student or the patient, helping him/her to face emotions issues and take appropriate positions to feel empowered.

As a professional, the task is not simple to work with a cultural diverse population especially when there was no specific training for the teacher or health care professional. Health professionals may have myths of how people should be educated in health that may hinder the empowerment of the target population (Sousa, 2001). Thus, it is interesting that the cultural mediator in education or health can play a facilitating role as the teacher is thought in the post-critical theories. This role is essential to democratic exchanges of persons recognized as equals. This teacher's role is neither aimed to emancipate people through education like assumed in educational critical theories, nor supposed to be the central as is envisioned by traditional educational theories (Silva, 2007).

As the number of women in both health and educational professionals is usually larger than men, many women tend to assume informally the role of cultural mediator in these areas. Moreover, women are the ones who usually take care of the family. So, they can develop in these important roles noteworthy actions mediating educational processes and promoting health for themselves and for their families. Some women also play key roles outside their families. In this case, a few actively participate in social networks that may be critical to the achievement of rights such as education and health or providing job opportunities information which might also even culminate in migratory processes.

3. Oppression and female empowerment

Female problems often are associated with an imbalance of power in relationships with men, and in patriarchal societies like Brazil, such problems cannot be separated from gender oppression. Poor women, mainly black or mulatto women are more affected than poor men, because they suffer the triple discrimination: race, social class and gender. Discrimination causes negative effects on the health of women and the oppression suffered by women increases their health risks (Sherwin, 1992). This oppression appears in various ways for women compared to men, such as their increased poverty (Jacobson, 1993), the violence they suffer (Heise, 1993), less job opportunities (Sorensen & Verbrugge, 1987), less access to food and health services (Khan et al. 1984), and less access to education (Fagerlind & Saga, 1989). In Brazil, although women have exceeded in numbers men in all educational levels, it continues to occur as in other countries by having discrimination within the education system (Rosemberg, 1992). These discriminations are linked to the expectations for professionalization according to gender, since boys tend to seek the most socially valued professions in technical and science fields and girls usually look for areas related to humanities, education and health, which tend to have lower financial return to the latter.

The empowerment of women, especially the poorest, is crucial to the creation of a more equal society. Due to the accumulation of discrimination factors against poor women they have been seen as the population deprived and in need to gain empowerment (Stromquist, 1993) and with more potential to transform reality for having a different view than those in a privileged position (Bluter cited in Sleeter, 1991). Thus, in the life experiences of the oppressed it can be found potential elements for changing the *status quo* if they are used strategically to empower them. According to Freire (1993:122-123): "The revolutionary praxis can only oppose the practice of the dominant elites... To dominate, the dominator has no other way but to deny the masses the true praxis. It is denying them

the right to have their say, to think right (my translation)”.

Since very often the working poor can be manipulated by the ruling classes, it is vital that women’s empowerment is indeed meaningful for them. According to Antrobus (1989), it is not uncommon that the female empowerment may be exploited by some international agencies in order to increase women’s social attributes, and not to change their situation of subordination. The same can be done using the term multiculturalism. Delle Donne (2000) asserts: “We may find, for example, that the multiculturalism discourse translates into an attitude of pity or pseudo-egalitarian, lacking even a critical review process of ethnic stereotypes or prejudices of which the common sense is loaded, and it is expressed in the language of daily life releasing the transmission codes of the culture of origin (my translation, p . 134)”.

It is very important that multiculturalism is used in order to really empower women as the most vulnerable migrants. It is interesting to distinguish Molyneux (1985) on the achievement of feminine power on practical concerns contrasted to strategic interests. According to the author, while the former provide knowledge and skills for personal development, without questioning the subordination of women in regard to man, the last seek parity between the sexes. In the conquest of power by poor women, there is need for the combination of both interests.

Although the poorest women are the population most in need of achievements, we must emphasize that the female conquests are for all women. These accomplishments are anchored in the creation of the concept of reproductive health. In the 80s of last century, emerged the concept of reproductive health based on feminist conception that all women have the right to control their sexuality and reproduction (Dixon-Mueller, 1993). This concept of reproductive health is not just limited to the freedom of women in the reproductive years, but extends to other age groups. Sai and Nassim (1989) explain how the concept of reproductive health is much broader than the concept of maternal health because beyond the fact that the former includes men, it also suggests that the health problems experienced by women relate not only to their present condition but to their childhood and adolescence. Not only programs of maternal and child health tend to neglect maternal health and give priority to the child health (Heise, 1993), but family planning programs have been criticized for being restricted to pregnant and married women. Germain and Antrobus (1989) further commented that family planning programs tend to emphasize contraception. And Oliveira et al. (1992) consider this focus limited since it does not involve the discussion of women about their sexuality and quality of life.

It is significant that the discourse of female emancipation or empowerment, is anchored in the right of women to control their own bodies. As a feminine position, this notion is linked to autonomy. Dixon-Mueller (1993) points out that the concept of reproductive health implies the right of women to sexuality and reproduction. The author explains that the freedom to live health is based on three types of rights: control over one’s own body, the information and the means to control fertility and the decision to have children, the number and timing of having them.

Women empowerment should be broader than the notion reproductive health as well. A definition of women empowerment is described by Stromquist (1993). This author explains that this empowerment takes more self-confidence than trust in intermediaries, promotes activities linked to needs, and promotes substantial collective transformations. To Stromquist (1993), this achievement, besides involving personal identity, encourages reflection on human rights. The author explains that this conquest of power by women can occur in several dimensions: psychological, cognitive, economic and political. Schrijvers (1991) adds another dimension by suggesting physical autonomy of women, a kind of conquest of power over their own bodies. Being broad the proposed empowerment for women, it implies changes in various dimensions. However, although women’s actions have enormous power

it also often depends on the stage of the social advances in each context.

4. Conclusion

The achievement of any rights, such as education and health, is linked with the wider process of women empowerment. In this way, it is a multidimensional process that requires individual and institutional changes (Germain & Antrobus, 1989; Stromquist, 1993). The accomplishment of rights should be promoted rather by the poor woman who accumulates the oppressions of gender, class, and often race. Any social oppression can increase the chances of disease occurrence and make more difficult to have access to the basic rights of health and education. These social oppressions can also be contributing factors for some women to end up desiring and seeking migration either within a country or outside it.

The displacement of migrant women itself is not necessarily previously marked by an oppression. In other words, to live another life in another location may be a result of an opportunity. Anyway, as the migration unfolds it does not necessarily ensure better living conditions in the new location and the quest for rights in another social context can be very painful and lonely for migrants. The fight for rights can also become collective when some women articulate through social networks and government, non-governmental and religious organizations. In these articulations, women tend to be the ones who act as cultural mediators. Therefore, although both pursue and achievements of rights are likely to be uncertain for migrants, women's collective struggle for them is already a great achievement for all women who fight.

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Abstract: The purpose of this presentation is to think of the concepts of culture, identity and ethnicity, using as an empiric base the Italian immigrant descendents in the south region of Brazil and using as theoretical reference the culture studies, especially the texts of Stuart Hall.

Keywords: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration.

In several jobs, especially the ones described by immigrants or their descendents, we find a reification of the concept of culture, and a naturalization of common sense that culture “is in the blood”. This kind of vision is also seen in many testimonials and interviews we collected.

The concept of culture is on the same time central and problematic at Anthropology, but our intention is not to make a review of the many theories regarding this subject; we will only indicate the sense in which it this work will follow.

It interests us specially the relationship between culture and identity, in the way enunciated by Goffman (1978), which affirms that culture is produced through negotiations in the scope of social interactions, a position very close to the of Firth (1974) for whom culture is socially produced from social organization. For Geertz (1978) culture is a network of significant symbols, and therefore, he defines culture as an integrated system of values in which actors put in practice.

However, the author that best fits what we observed in the south of Brazil is Stuart Hall. According to Hall, we can notice nowadays a disintegration of national identities by the tendency of cultural homogenization of globalization, and because of that, there is a reinforcement of national identities and other local particularities due to the resistance of the globalization process. As a synthesis of this impact, the national identities are in decline, but new identities, which he calls hybrids, are taking over their place (Hall, 1999). With these affirmations, Hall gives us interesting and innovative clues to understand the cultural context that we observe in the south of Brazil as part of a world process, where local and national cultures are mixed with new aspects brought through globalization and result in what the author will call of “hybrid cultures”.

Nevertheless, this reaffirmation of what is regional, is not totally new, in 1963 already in an article originally written in English, Freyre (2000,p.119) states:

Some scholars of how the international situation has been developing on Earth since the European Industrial Revolution (...) recognize the necessity of a creation regionalism in opposite to the

Culture, Identity and Nation among Italian Immigrant Descendents in the South of Brazil

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so many excesses of centralization and political unification and of human culture, stimulated not only politically but also economically by imperialist strengths and interests. The ones who think like this have as a fundamental that an increasing number of diverse cultural unities would contribute to the stability of the world, preventing the formation and the expansion of imperialisms and emperies.

The culture we found in some cities of the south of Brazil, especially in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, is not gaúcha, neither Brazilian, neither Italian, but a mixture of the three of them. It is a local culture inside the regional culture, a subculture inside the gaúcha culture. Azevedo (1994, p.72) observes that exists there “colonial” values, i.e., “recreations of the European experience in the colonial environment”.

Hall also assists us to notice that the re-valorization of the Italian culture, and some cultural “differentiation” the Italian descendents residents of some towns in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, intend having in relation to the other “Brazilians”, is not a local phenomena, being inserted in a global context of valorization of local identities.

In Brazil, most of the studies about culture are related to the idea of national culture. For Da Matta, author that we will refer several times along this work: “*Culture is a live tradition, consciously elaborated that passes from generation to generation, so it is possible to singularize or make it single and unique a certain community in relation to others*” (19832, p. 48).

We believe that culture is a re-appropriated element that cannot be thought as a theoretical totality. Therefore, we seek to analyze how identities of Italian immigrants and their descendents are socially built through the notion of shared culture. It is important to remember that there is a double statute in the identity question. By one side, it is a building process, and by the other side, it is something substantive in which social agents decide to believe.

We reinforce that the studied group does not constitute an ethnic group in the traditional meaning of the term, on the same way that Seyferth (s/d,p.25) states for the German-Brazilians, “*this does not mean there was no ethnic fact*”. In our research field, we also found “*a basic identity which expresses through cultural given differences, which may be assumed as groups’ limits*”. (Seyferth, s/d,p.25).

Some of these authors, such as Cohen, state that ethnic identity is linked to corporative interests. According to this author, ethnicity is instrumentalized and recalled in moments when it is relevant, and the political instrumentalization of ethnicity is used as a weapon to acquire privileges (Cohen, 1979). However, it is important to remember that the ethnic identity may even be manipulated and used to reach certain objectives of some corporate groups, but it cannot be summarized only to this, as group may pre-exist before the corporate interest.

It was important for the development of the work to understand the trajectory of the movement of claim for Italian-gaúcha identity, its constitution and negotiation as strategy for maintaining the group, and also as a symbol of social classification. Many of the descendents that claim the Italian-gaúcha identity today, they do so for believing that this identity gives them more value and contributes for a social differentiation. Being Italian-gaúcho is more value than only being Brazilian.

Besides of that, from the insertion of these groups in networks, the possibilities of social assumption enlarge, once the mark of the Italian-gaúcha identity becomes to be a differential, which allows access, for example, to the Italian citizenship, working abroad, studies’ scholarships, etc.. (Zanini, 1999).

It is interesting to observe that the identity claimed is hyphenated by the regional and not by the national. Seldom someone presents themselves as being Italian-Brazilin, but Italian-Gaúcho. Besides the Gaúcho regional identity be very pronounced, we believe that it contributes for the fact of, at least inside the state of Rio Grande do Sul, being superior to the Brazilian in general.

Correa (2001,p.127) states:

Besides the strong regional identity (=gaúcho), the ethnic identity (=German or Italian) provokes a distinction. This 'plus' corresponds to the positive image of the immigrant. So, for many inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul, being gaúcho and descendent of immigrants is doubly positive.

We shall highlight again that the Italian descendents that reside in some towns in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, do not constitute an ethnic group in the strict sense of the term, but outlines as a differentiated group inside a national society, showing diacritical signals that give their recognition as a group. The inhabitants of the region report this identity as a characteristic of descendents of Italian immigrants, which came to the region from 1875. The leaderships call themselves Italian-Brazilians, Italian-gaúchos, or descendents of Italians. People in general call themselves as "Italians" or "Italians from Rio Grande do Sul".

The categories "Italians", "Italian from Rio Grande do Sul", "Talian", or "Italian-gaúcho" are used because they provide to its user a greater social capital than of being only Brazilian. It is this accumulation of symbolic, economic and political capitals which allows the history of the colonization of the South of Brazil to be told almost entirely by their point of view.

The group we studied arises from the Italian immigration to Rio Grande do Sul, which occurred at the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century. The Italian and German colonization in Rio Grande do Sul was part of geopolitical project from the Brazilian Imperial Government, which used the immigration to fulfill the geographic blanks in the South of the country. It was thought to be a process of replacement not only of the slave work by the free work, but mostly as a replacement of the black slave by the white European in a process of colonization based in the small property. In the context, slavery was seen as an old way of production which did not comply with modernity, while colonization was seen as a civilization process.

Italians were chosen because European immigration was preferred, and the process of recruiting to the colonization in North Italy was more effective when it became harder to bring Germans, which were seen as efficient farmers and as the ideal for the colonization in Rio Grande do Sul (Seyferth, 2001).

Italy was one of the poorest and most populous countries in Europe, able to offer lots of work-force. The Unifications wars, the occupation by successive armies, the military service for three consecutive years, were facts that contributed to the disorder of family unity of work and to the impoverishment of the small agriculture worker. On the other side, the industrialization of Northern Italy was not capable of absorbing all the work-force available, which explains the option for the migration.

This peasants' exodus gave origin in the northeast of Rio Grande do Sul to the *colons*, this is, owners of a fraction of land called *colony*. *Colony* is the term which designs, especially in Rio Grande do Sul, both in official language and in the common language as a virgin land, intended to the colonization. This area was divided in plots of land intended, by concession, to householders, that in order to have full right to its ownership, they should deforest, cultivate and pay for them.

When studying the ethnic groups, Barth (200) calls attention to the creation and the maintenance of the borders, divisionary lines that segregate human groups. In the specific case of the Italians in the South Region of Brazil, there was a dissolution of borders between the regional identities (at the time of strong immigration, despite the Italian passport, people used to consider themselves as venetians, trentines, lombardians, etc.) and the fusion of these identities into a new one, of "Italians" or "descendents of Italians".

This fusion occurred through a change of criteria of belonging to a collectivity. It did not mean, however, a full incorporation to the Brazilian national identity, maintaining a differentiated identity linked to the migratory process.

It is important, in order to understand the invocation of Italicity of these immigrants are the

diacritic signals that the group uses to delimitate its borders of belonging, the construction of traditions and of senses for these traditions. For Oro, however:

(...) the descendents of Italians of Rio Grande do Sul do not deny their identities as Brazilians, especially of gauchos. The truth is that a plural ethnic identity is postulated, considering themselves, at the same time, as gauchos, Brazilians of Italian origin (1996, p.621).

Such affirmation is consistent with Hall's (1999) observations. Ethnicity, seen at this view, would be a reaction to the homogenization imposed by dominant social standards. In the context of identities' negotiations, culture would be an element to be considered dynamically and not as an immutable group's belonging.

Identity is related with interests and it is in the interethnic arena that emerges the construction of itself. Therefore, we believe that the reaffirmation of a differentiated identity acquires importance exactly when, with the development of industry, some of the most important cities in the region, start to attract people from diverse places and social origins.

The present work deals, therefore, of the construction and symbolic reconstruction of an identity sometimes univocal, sometimes hyphenised (where the presupposition is the ethnic environment), in part associated to a big commemorative event with allows to update it in its historical time.

Regarding the diffusion which called "mythology of the immigrant", referring to the Italian immigrants in general, Ianni (1979,p.23) highlights that: *"The idea of the immigrant and the industrialization are combined is an idea which is part of the immigrant mythology"*.

The quotes above refer to the context in which are created ideologies of success of the "pioneer immigrant". It is a context of economic development based in the industrialization. This way, the ideology of the "pioneer" is in reality an adaptation, with ethnic shapes, of the capitalist ideology of enrichment through work. Without forgetting that Da Matta (1986,p.9) states: *"The work always indicates an idea (or ideal) of construction of the man by the man. A control of life and the world by the society"*.

Taking into account that "myth" and "mythology" are very controversial concepts inside Anthropology, we prefer to use the concept of invented tradition, the way it was defined by Hobsbaw:

[invented tradition] is understood as a set of practices, normally regulated by tactic or openly accepted rules, such practices, of ritual or symbolic nature, look forward to inculcate some values and norms of behavior through repetition, which implies, automatically, a continuity in relation to the past (Hobsbaw, 1997,p.9).

In this sense, traditions are appropriations of the past to reflect now the idea of communion and to highlight belonging. It may be found in the past a whole repertory of symbolic terms to update them in the present, i.e., it is created *a posteriori* version which organizes and gives meaning to facts and isolated events. According to Hall (1999,p.13) since birth until death we build a *"me narrative"* and it is this narrative which gives us the sensation that we hold an unified identity. He complements affirming that this *"full unified, complete, safe and coherent identity is a fantasy"*, i.e., *"it is not a question of what the traditions make of us, but of what we make from our traditions"* (Hall, 2003,p.44).

Therefore, limits exist for this "invention of traditions". This process is not a "everything counts", but a profile that privileges some aspects instead of others. Or, as states Da Matta: *"Everything in a society is invented, but not everything is thoroughly reminded or transformed in phantoms capable of assaulting our consciousness"* (Da Matta, 1998,p.74).

At Rio Grande do Sul, these traditions act since their origins as an element which, despite

reaffirming the symbolic values of the descendants of the immigrants group, reinforce with the rest of the society, the image that these descendants seek to project: they are pioneers, pathfinders and civilizing of a wild land, good workers and good Catholics. Ultimately, they deserve the economic exit and social and political prestige that are given to them in the town.

The traditions, stories and fests act as elements that reinforce social ties and symbolic values of the group of immigrants descendent, reinforce with the rest of the society, the image that these descendants seek to project: they are pioneers, pathfinders and civilizing of a wild land, good workers and good Catholics. Ultimately, they deserve the economic exit and social and political prestige that are given to them in the town. However, it is important to remember that the every identity built has an unconscious component and a historical genesis.

We can now affirm that to understand this trajectory it was very important not to essentialize the formation of the group in terms of family ties or ancestry, but to seek to comprehend the way how identities of Italian immigrants and their descendants were socially built in that region. It decisively contributed to this construction the influence of the Catholic Church through its schools and seminaries, the development of the industry, which attracted people from other regions, provoking the consciousness of difference, and in a certain way, the crystallization and the compliment for the difference.

Therefore, it is important to notice that as Weber showed (1997), the values guide the action and may be fundamental to define the behavior standard of a society. In the case of European peasants' descendants who immigrated to the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the colonization experience gave origin to a certain type of *habitus* extremely prosperous to the capitalist development. This attitude towards the work contributed to the creation of local ethnic stereotypes; however, it is necessary to remember that the economical sphere is just one of the aspects of categorization and its consequences. Similarly to what Jenkins (1997) points to North Ireland, the economical development was concomitant to an ethnic based social stratification.

For insisting in the ethnical, it is symbolic built a community and sidesteps the fact that not all Italian descendants enriched and that there was a process of accumulation of capital in the hands of traders, following to such economic gain, the accumulation of political, social and symbolic capital. (Bordieu, 1987) The ethnicity works as an economic advantage and is interlaced with other principles of social identification such as religion and social class. (Jerkins, 1997)

We find among the Italian descendants in the south of Brazil an ethnical leadership connected to the commercial bourgeoisie of colonial origin with an ethnical identity giving a social protection's network. In this case, the ethnicity is mobilized as a resource by the dominant elite and as strategy to keep the control and the culture is also used as a political instrument. (Jerkins, 1997)

From this point of view, ethnicity works as an ideology in the sense that Gramsci (1978) gives to the term, i.e., as cement that unifies practices and thoughts if a certain social group. There comes the concept of loyalty to the group and of a local identity. In the case of the group we studied, there is a clear hierarchy of identities: the local identity overlaps the regional and the national one. They consider that their most significant identity is the local identity of "Italians", without however, denying their belonging to the Brazilian homeland. The fact of eventually identifying themselves as Italian-gauchos shows the importance attributed to the regional identity. However, despite the political speech of unity, there are conflicts and disputes for who can speak in the name of the group.

The members of the local elite are keen to define themselves as Italian-gauchos or maximum as gauchos with Italian ascendancy and affirm not to make distinctions based in ethnic origin. However, this not what they demonstrate in their speeches, books and specially in the parades of the Grape Festival.

In this case, we observe the imposition of the dominant class' ideology as common sense. According to the Gramscian theory, they most active and organic ideologies interfere in the common sense and in the traditions. The elite's ideas regarding the descendants of Italian immigrants are not only hegemonic, but also part of the common sense of the region. They reinforce the identities marks and a whole symbolic system that highlights the differences in relation to the national identity. Therefore, the emphasis is given to the work, pioneering spirit, religious and perseverance, qualitative that work as diacritic signals, which shape and orient the construction of an identity of Italian-gauchos, for the descendants of those immigrants.

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Abstract: This text is made of the crossroad between diverse testimonies, images and narratives with a multi-disciplinary character. It is an unfinished labour which aims to give clues in order to rethink and redefine the potential pathways and Lusophone identities in the vaster context of global citizenship. We look forward to counterwork the evidence that cultural studies have not given enough attention to the questions of economic policy where cultural creations appear and develop themselves – so, we propose approaches which allow the understanding of the bridges between economics and culture, and which pass in this text by overlapping and confronting testimonies. Thus, we expose diverse narratives, which stretch from ethno(mathematics) to Lusíadas representation and reading other narratives, including performing arts, painting and weaving. We seek to raise the reflection and discussion about the sense of the different narratives of the stories which are (re)presented and (re)built around the themes of colonialism and post –colonialism and Lusophonies, seeking to evidence the latent tensions and connections between economics, societies and cultures, in the expression of diverse sensibilities, identities and wills within the worldplay. We also aim to an enlarged comprehension of the Lusophonies and the global world, within a glocal perspective, pointing to possibilities of strategies of global citizenship education which promote the acknowledgement of our cultures place in a changing world, opening up windows towards a better future for all ...

Keywords: narratives; post-colonial; reconstruction; identities; Lusophone

1. Introduction

In this open pathway along the turbulences of a pluri-dimensional time, we look forward to, within the limited space we have, present diverse testimonies , multiple narratives in the attention to an ecology of human which without ignoring the secret archives of history, but which also allow us once more to recognize and value our narratives in rediscovering who we are and the future.

Decolonizing thinking, reinforcing critical attitudes towards history, allows us to identify the oppressions that insinuate themselves at the level of knowledge production, withal it opens the way towards a different comprehension of the spaces in which we are moving, towards a worldview that, recognizing the place of differences, shall allow to overcome the disciplinary, ideological, linguistic or geographic ghettos in which, maybe by self-indulgence. we enclose ourselves.

Ethno- navigations: (post)colonial narratives, between global and local

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Equally important is the listening to the voices which come both lusophonies as well from the global babel, voices and silences which give us back other images and echoes of who we are and who we might become ...

We are living in a troubled time, which is felt by many as a global collapse, where the multiple turbulences and the acceleration of a tense time make it hard to have an optimistic and serene view on past history and on the pathways we want to build in the future.

We also recognize the urgency of facing and contradicting the pessimism of the real threats to our dreamt horizons of a better or at least decent future for all, to glimpse new pathways of cultural and social building of reality, in these ethno-navigations between local and global, not forgetting the fundamental place of dream in re-inventing the future:

“What makes the road to walk? It is the dream. While people dream the road shall stay alive. I tis for that reason that paths are worth for, to make us parents of the future” (Tuahir Speak), (Mia Couto, *Terra Sonâmbula, Sleepwalking Land*)

2.Rebuilding history: pathways between center and margins

“ Europe, should displace all of herself into the South, in order to, for discount of her ancient and modern colonial abuses, help to equilibrate the world. This is finally, Europe as ethics” (José Saramago, *A Jangada de Pedra, The stone raft*)

In the words of Boaventura Sousa Santos (2007), “the danger of neglecting policy economics, (of neglecting) the economic and classicist power is endemic in culturalist studies”

2.1.The perspective of an historian of mathematics

In the words of a portuguese mathematician and historian, Francisco Garção Stocker, in his essay *Ensaio histórico sobre a origem e progressos das mathematicas em Portugal (Historical Essay on the origin and progresso of mathemtics in Portugal)*:

“In vain people intent to discover the true causes of public events of any nation, and the nexus connecting one to another, if we do not look to the nature of the country it inhabits, and the state of its knowledge in its most remarkable epochs. But, if the political successes as the particular actions, depend intrinsically on the ideas, knowledge and men’s individual opinions; the progress of human knowledge does not depend less on the successes, and political institutions of people. Ones and others have their origin in the man’s natural needs, and on the means that nature has offered them to satisfy them, and the ones and others have equally has unique object the improvement, and to direct these means, in order to satisfy the satisfaction, both of natural needs as of those that the improvement of social order necessarily brings afterwards” (Francisco Garção Stocker)

2.2. Critical approach and methodology

In the present dominant narrative on economics, the word ‘development’ is frequently employed as a synonymous of economic growth, or even as a veil to capitalism itself (Santos, (2014)]. This implies, in the mainstream approaches, an economic, linear and monolithic approach of societies. According to this logic, there would almost be no choice regarding the ‘development’ model to follow,

and there would be a more or less ‘unique pathway’ of catch up which would be almost obligatory to each country that pretends to attain the same patterns of the so called ‘developing countries’. The cultural and economic dominance of the (English) language would also be a correlate of this process of imposing a world-culture homogenizing.

On the opposite way, we defend interdisciplinary approaches which pass by understanding cultural studies as a gravitational ‘field’ of approaching the complexity of ‘cultural issues’ (Baptista, 2012), by adopting a methodological polytheism (Martins, M (2012)), which allows us to reach another comprehension, in multiple voices and languages, of the human and of the non linear interactions between economics/society and culture (Louçã, F (2009)). A comprehension which also gives account of the multiple dimensions in which the Development and the alternatives pose themselves.

2.3. ‘Depois do Adeus’, After farewell – assuming post-colonialism

Rethinking history and the place of each one within the world is, in our view, an important step towards collective action.

In the Portuguese case, we are aware that in some erudite literature, the cultural translations of what has come to us after ‘farewell’ to a certain colonial past, reveal themselves as a mix of regret and tragic, baroque or even grotesque declinations of our identity, identified as semi-peripheral, between Prospero and Caliban (Santos, 2006). In a context of crisis, there is also a feeling of subalternity and lack of autonomy regarding the severe external constraints – so, there is a need to rediscover the sense and the will to overcome the ‘Bojador capes’ (the difficulties) with which we actually confront, including those which are coming up in the next future. Creating new narratives, being part of the systemic change (towards a better world) is both a challenge and a call to social transformation felt by many formal and informal social movements.

It becomes essential to reflect about:

How do we face ourselves Depois do Adeus [‘After Farewell’]? How do we reorganize with meaning the fragments of our history and our present? How do we discover the ‘narrow pathway of dignity of each one of us and of the community(ies) to each we belong?’

The tragic feeling of an unresolved separation, the sensation of a gangrened wound, the consciousness that if we want to build another future, we have to rebuilt wills and look for wiser and more lucid views of our history and our present inside the global context, recognizing that there still remain shadows to combat and oppose (Lídia Jorge).

2.4. Re-reading of The Lusíadas from Luís de Camões

Which space and acknowledgment do we give to our history’s narratives without getting imprisoned inside the labyrinths of a sterile nostalgia (saudade), prisoners of bad colonial consciousness?

And whose consciousness do we recreate of the new pathways to draw, if we keep eluding ourselves mirrored in the ‘hyper-identity’ of an history in which we loose ourselves in a nostalgic labyrinth, from which it is seems there is no graceful way out, nor a corresponding future? ... Or is it (possible) that ancient narratives might yet fit out as dream and hope levers?

2.5. Camões in scene – some readings:

“The text of the Lusíadas is a great life story , a great story of human condition, an enormous metaphor of our historic condition in any time and place.

Everything is there, like in the major music Artworks, in the great symphonies: stealthily, insinuated in the rhythms, in the word games, in the breaths of thought, in the humour, in the contrast of tempos ... And the precision, acuteness, and often rawness with which Camões formulates the “voyage” are part of our collective memory, and the obligatoriness of its Reading provokes in each of us fascination and hate, in which no one of us can say that does not really know the *Lusíadas*, but almost no one really knows it (...) We [Meridional Theater] also want to get closer to our History, to preserve the collective memory of a People, who continues to have in the Sea the possibility as horizon of all the Voyages.

And in an epoch of the word, in which all of us “*Lusíadas*”, after all the Portuguese people, is demanded an almost superhuman effort at our survival level as a nation, to Meridional Theatre – as a collective of artists and communicators – it makes more sense than ever to exalt, to spread and sing ...”

“More than human strength promised” (Miguel Seabra e Natália Luíza in Teatro Meridional, 2010)

About the third chant:

“When the poets call for help, the gods come without showing up. In this case, Camões called Calliope and the muse him her favours. The poet well needed them. Then, how could he, alone, invoke the fortunate understanding between the Portuguese travellers and the good Melinda King?

How could he, by himself, without divine help, rebuild the dialogue between them? Reproduce the description that Gama has done of Europe, in order to satisfy the King’s curiosity? And the description of Iberic Peninsula as the head of Europe? And of Portugal as, has almost the summit of the head/ of all Europe? Yes, how could Camões by himself, invoke the European people, and the Iberian, and among them, detach the Lusitan people strength? And also invoke the brave kings Afonsos, since Afonso Henriques, the founder, to Afonso IV, the King of the Salado Battle? Passing by Dinis, the king of poetry, of good order and of progress?” (Lídia Jorge)

About the fourth chant:

“As the naus(ships) leave, after the religious ceremony and procession to Restelo beach, among the saddened by the leaving and the brave ones, an old man curses those who by madness have committed greatneses, he curses who for the first time have built a boat,.. Cause the life should be how it was; the departure merely fulfilled the vice of illusion” (Valter Hugo Mãe)

About the fifth chant:

“Left behind, the small homeland extreme in the pursuit of a dream of faraway on to the immense sea which should bring tragedy and glory both to nauts and kings, behold that the oeuvre (discovery and scripture) expands itself in the tensions of the lived and written, breaking either with the pragmatic grammar or with the poetics, in its already etiolated conventions. However, I wouldn’t call the *Lusíadas*, as Nemesio did, table of the law of Portuguese, as a people of mission, but cartography of another humanity, let it be vicious and barbaric; of the homeland that really matters, the one that only art can establish, such a mythic Atlantic or Hesperides, they say that Cape Verde is a vestige, but where what matters most, is the invention above the testimony, and it shall matter greatly in the cape Verdeans, a future people invented of the homeland with no name, because of the Cape has only rested the denomination for use and memory, sign and fate of the seekers in the middle of the Atlantic, of souls tempered of sea and sea air.” (José Luís de Tavares)

About the islands of loves ...

“There is no erudite person who does not remember it, or one that does not scandalize himself if anyone does not remind it: the Island of Loves is not merely the “island of loves” (...). Due to what is concentrated in this sacred place, refugee space and of election, either against the agitation of profane world either beyond the assault of the Unconscious waves, the “island” is, as everybody knows, convergence of multiple esoteric meanings; but it is also, historically, an extraordinary mythical attraction pole to the Portuguese; “Island”, we’ve always considered ourselves, surrounded by Spain and the Sea, to the encounter of islands we navigated; Islands, we started to discover; and there is still to know whether our ‘colonization’, exactly as in the case of Greeks, was not more than the creation of islands, still when they were inserted in hugely vast continents. The Island of Loves – and not of Love (curious distinction!) – should be, by Venus purpose, our great and ubiquitous realization in a transcendent realization in a transcendent unity of place. Anyway, Invented Island, “Theater” Island, created ‘ex nihilo’ – and destined to a unique representation! Howsoever, the “loves that occur there, even once in a life time, constitute the most indispensable antechamber to whatever of more important there shall happen” (David Mourão Ferreira, in Camões, A Ilha dos Amores, Ática)

3. Pathways and navigations in search for an identity

From the paving stones, to the illustrations we might contemplate at diverse metro stations in Lisbon, there are numerous testimonies and echoes of the Lusíadas narrative in the local places and pathways of the city’s quotidian: in Lisbon, among other stoppages, it becomes self-evident the relevance of art in the formation / education of spirits on building an identity, on the formation of a cosmopolitan consciousness of global citizenship, ethno-navigations aiming at an (im)possible universal humanity:

“Because we furrow the past in the pavement/in a present that we tight to our destiny/here remains a floor which takes us to the walk/ resonating in each rock the purest sound/ of following through life wandering/ on a tour/ that leads us to the future” (Jorge Castro in Calçada Portuguesa)

“Give us again the Astrolabe and the Quadrant/ Candles in the wind come the departure/ Our destiny is to navigate forward/To bend the cape, to bend the life/Give us again the rose and the compass/The chart the compass the itinerary the sphere/Somewhere inside us there is another space/We’ll come yet to another place/ There where we just wait for/ The unexpected” (Manuel Alegre)

3.1. Lights and shadows of the epic in which we retrace ourselves:

It was yet missing to contrast with other narratives, other lives and visions. Giving turn to women’ silenced voices ,as in the Portuguese Letters and the New Portuguese Letters, listening to the bitterness of fates and discounters which are part of our patrimony, the disharmonies and catastrophes of the peregrinations which break up in pieces the cocoons of the golden histories and of the islands of loves ...

We refer to António Trabuco in his book *O Túmulo de Camões – Camões Tomb*:

“Luís de Camões illustrates one of the epic’s faces. He has glorified the Portuguese expansion which is in colonialism’s origin. He sang the heroic epics, the honour and the courage. Fernão Mendes Pinto went further: He gave light to the dark side of navigation and conquest ... “ (op cit, p.180)

3.2. Images of the others and intercultural (in)communicability

“I am not always equal in what I tell and wright/ I change, but I do not change a lot/The colour of the flowers is not the same by the sun/ As when the cloud passes by/ Or when the night comes in/ And the flowers are shadow coloured” (Fernando Pessoa, *O Guardador de Rebanhos* – The herds keeper, cit by Elon Lages Lima in *Espaços Métricos* – Metric Spaces)

According to Rómulo de Carvalho. in his book *Physics for the People*, “in order to know a person’s profile, we need two mirrors – not one”... how many mirrors do we need in order to understand the identity of those who are close to us and of the ones who are apart? What does it take to understand the human beings, capturing what is similar and understanding the differences which recreate us in time flow in order to better prepare the future among histories turbulences? It is certainly needful, to go beyond the technology and a one-dimensional science recognizing in this realm, the complexity of reality, the primacy of the plurality of narratives, from the erudition of the humanities and arts which are officially celebrated, to the disorder and rebellion of the silenced voices, the ugliness of the suffered quotidian, graphitized in the shadowed zones of our cities.

Is it possible, instead of geographic and cultural distances, to put in practice Ubuntu’s principles, to see the you in me, and at the same time, recognizing differences and promoting the right to signify of non-western cultures (Bhabha)? How should we value local knowledge, recognize its importance on the building of more sustained and autonomous pathways of growth (in other worlds)?

4. Some conclusions and final considerations

In this incomplete and troubled circuit of ethno-navigations, between local and global, we feel and think that it is fundamental not to hide the disharmonies nor to ignore the contrasts, it is important to attend simultaneously to the stories, the shouting and murmurs that come to us either from the distant and unknown seas, or from the ones that arise from the monotony of the submerge quotidian, from the great cities and ghettos, where the role of cultural mediation, is in our opinion, crucial. Thus, we defend that intercultural mediation and communication should not be understood merely as a global question and as a secondary feature of an economic diplomacy between distant cardinal points. In reality, it is also yet, here and now, in our neighbourhoods that the question of identities and the urgency of dialogue and the challenge of intercultural communication, even the silent one, become urgent.

There still remains a lot to tell and research, from the ‘us/knots in arts’ to the others that look at us and understand us differently. We acknowledge that all narratives are partial and incomplete processes, there are many paradoxes, however we trust that by attending the multiple voices, through a dialogical hermeneutic, it will be possible to overcome identitarian tensions and to glimpse the place of past in the future’s invention, through and beyond dissonance and conflict:

“Where do you live?” “What are you?” “From which religion?” “From which race?”, “From which nationality?” today these are considered logical. In twenty first century, humanity shall have understood that these are absurd questions and anti-evolutionary, or else men shall no longer live in earth” (Buckminster Fuller, *Manual of Instructions for Spacecraft Earth*, 1969. In EXD’13 Lisboa – No borders, www.experimentaldesign.pt/2013, accessed in 12th October 2013)

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SESSION 5

TOURISM, CULTURE AND LEISURE IN POST-COLONIAL CONTEXTS

Abstract: Tourism can be understood as a voluntary displacement of individuals to different locations from where they usually reside . But why do we travel ? For some scholars , tourist activity has predominantly cultural nature, because people travel in search of new experience, while for other researchers, tourism is simply an object of consumption, another product available to consumers . In this sense, the present article aims , through a literature search , start a discussion about the role that tourism plays in people’s lives , based on the three phases of tourism: pre - tourism, industrial tourism and post- tourism. We note that this literature review is part of a doctoral thesis in development in the area of Cultural Studies . Considering the analysis proposed by the authors surveyed we believe that even today,tourists can travel as much motivated by learning, provided by new experiences, as simply to rest, or even just to consume.

Keywords : Tourism, Society, Pre -tourism, Industrial, Post-tourism.

Introduction

Tourism can be understood as a voluntary displacement of individuals to different locations where they usually reside. According to the UNWTO (World Tourism Organization) tourism is composed of “activities that people perform during their travel and they stay in different places at their usual environment, for less than one year consecutive, with the purpose of leisure, business or other” (Sancho, 2001: 8). Can an activity which has a so important role in the nowadays, just be studied in this way? We think that no. But what is the role of tourism in society? For some researches, tourist activity has predominantly cultural nature, because people travel in search of new experiences, while for others, tourism is simply an object of consumption, another product available to consumers. Thus, this article, through a literature search was undertaken for doctoral thesis in Cultural Studies, has proposed to launch a reflection on the relationship between tourism and its role in society.

To achieve the proposed objectives of this project, methodological procedures will be adopted. A scientific work is characterized by the application of the method according Cervo e Bervian (1983: 23), “is the order that should be imposed to different processes required to achieve a given end or a desired result.” To conduct this study, the research will be exploratory, based on a literature on printed books and online papers. Lakatos and Marconi (1985) state that exploratory research is applied on studies that aim to increase the familiarity of the researcher and

Why do we travel?

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Selltiz et al. (1975) consider that “exploratory research has as main objectives to clarify the issues for further research, raise awareness of some issues addressed in the literature and further clarify nebulous concepts”.

2. The traveler and the tourist

For a better understanding of the influence of tourism on people’s lives, it would be interesting to discuss it according to the phases of tourism, which, in general, are divided into pre-tourism associated with traditional society, industrial tourism, related to mass tourism reflecting modernity and post-tourism, similar to Post-Modernity. The pre-tourism refers to the phase in which humans traveled motivated by learning, so travel was seen as a learning process very active, a way to live the story and to complete the education. The pre-tourism called grand tour, can be considered the origin of cultural tourism, since it was a means to learn more about the cultures of different parts of the world and reflect on their own culture (Richards, 2006).

The tourism activity while a feature of industrial society emerges in the nineteenth century as a way to rest, and after the Second World War, is characterized as a mass activity. Krippendorf (1989) refers to tourism as an activity created by industrial society, therefore, the great exodus of the masses is a consequence of the conditions generated by industrial development. He analyzes that the industrial era, in which it operates mass tourism, is submissive the economy, since it reigns supreme in civilization. The author differentiates humans that traveling motivated to learn, to have new experiences, of the industrial tourist, which it considers as one who travels, not by its own necessity, but by a levy of society, even if disguised for other reasons.

This industrial era is characterized by tight control of production, so as to maximize the amount of goods produced, and the reward for productivity, ie, remuneration based on what is generated. Dias (2006) analyzes the tourist places in the industrial era, found themselves physically near the emitting nuclei, but symbolically distant, because the prevailing conception of tourism as a way to replenish the energy spent at work. In this line of reasoning, the author explains that the vacation spots were predominantly distinct from workplaces, regions usually related to sun and beach tourism. The tourist resulting from this society is characterized as a fatigued individual due to excessive mechanization of labor and concentration in successive increase in production, finding in tourism an “escape from the routine.” Therefore, it can be observed that many definitions of tourism, when referring to activity during this period include the escape the routine as an important travel motivation. At this stage, the tourist is seen as an individual who finds in travelling a way to rest, even if these changes are temporary in their stressful routine. Krippendorf (1989) uses the term leisure industry to refer to tourism as a commodity offered by the industrial society that has taken hold of free time and gave people, forms of recreation. The author calls this of reconstitution cycle of human beings, in when travelling the batteries are reloaded, so that people, upon returning from vacation, were more productive. We believe so, at this stage, the industries and organizations in general, see the tourism as an alternative to maintaining or increasing the productivity of labor-intensive, because after a trip, usually people come back more rested and prepared for the job, while to the tourists the travel are a sort of liberation of the mechanization of their day-to-day.

Krippendorf (1989) sees tourists as invaders who seek only the immediate pleasure, without worrying about the impacts the local, whether sociocultural or environmental, because the sole purpose of these visitors is to make use of people and local resources for your enjoyment. This author’s view can be understood as a form of post-colonialism, in which people, in this case, travelers from dominant countries, see the sites visited and its inhabitants, as areas to be mastered so that they

make use. This position can be evidenced by the expressions he uses to refer to tourists as a bunch of invaders, exploiters of the locals, referring to a relationship between visitors and visited based on the humiliation caused by tourists who take advantage of the receiving population. “Tourism creates two categories of human beings: the servers and the served, which can result in feelings of inferiority and superiority” (Krippendorf, 1989, 107). Realizing this new form of colonization, the author suggests, there is a reaction by the locals whose only interest shall be for the money they will receive from tourists: “We speak Inglês ... and love \$ and Euro” (Krippendorf, 1989 107).

The tourism industry is thus a result of the pressure of routine work that people are subordinated, functioning as an escape from day-to-day (Krippendorf, 1989), as Urry (1990) explains, when considering tourism a time of opposition to work, as tourism and work are in separate spheres in industrial societies. This mass tourism, based on the Fordist model had as basis the offer of few places to the largest possible number of tourists, in a typical relationship of economies of scale, leading to excessive load and saturation of these places. Given this saturation, tourism begins to seek alternatives in response to this model, entering the phase of post-tourism in analogy to post-industrial society. This society was characterized by risk, by uncertainty (Galbraith, 1986). The questions that arise before the threats facing this society, are typical of post-industrial society (Drucker, 1995) or the throwaway society (Toffler, 1970), that is explained by Beck (1992) in an analysis of the risk issue in a Reflexive Modernity, since it the negative impacts caused by industrial society are now known. In this sense, the issues of tourism sustainability are a feature of the post-industrial era, ie the post-tourism as a result of knowledge of the impacts caused by mass tourism, characteristic of modern society. This awareness of the impacts of tourism is related to the notion of risk which, according to Beck, “marks a general intensification of ontological insecurity, a general sense of anxiety about the technological threat that posed over the continuity of life” (Abbinnett 2003: 25) and which directly affects cultural identities.

In the post-industrial era also known as knowledge or intellectual capital, the incentive is to thinking, innovation, and therefore in opposition to Fordism, the great value is not the force applied by the worker, but his intellectual capacity where knowledge becomes the main asset of organizations (Drucker, 1992, 1995, 1999). This transition shows the relationship between the control, the characteristic rationality of modernity and the lack of total control, subjectivity related to Post-Modernity. In the first, the means of production are fully controlled by the producer, which holds the capital, equipment and know-how, while in the second, although the means also belong to the producer, it has lost the power of single controller, once, that depends directly from knowledge of the information the contractor, ie, depends on their intellectual capacity. This post-industrial era, according to Harvey (1997) is characterized by the compression of time and space, identifying the Post-modernity to a faster pace of life, characterized by individual lost in time and space, the volatility and ephemerality in a process discontinuity affecting societies, and therefore affects the forms and travel motivations.

3. Final considerations

Redfoot (1984) states that, historically, there were many reasons to travel, and could range from the conquest of land, to travel motivated by religious pilgrimages, travelers were considered heroes for to venture fully to unknown locations. The author considers this traveller, very different from the mass tourist, for while the adventurous traveler was a producer of experiences, the tourist is just a consumer of known things, as Krippendorf (1989), tourism is one of the needs created by society, where travel has become the most desired form of leisure by members of the consumer society. Carlos (in Yázigi, 1996) argues that of the spontaneous activity, the tourism, became coopted by consumer

society that everything he touches turns into a commodity, making the man a passive element, losing its spontaneity, and becoming also a consumer product. Some researchers, like Craik (1997) have analyzed that tourism can be interpreted as a post-colonial strategy, especially when the tourist destinations are more disadvantaged regions, but we can also see that the government itself allied with trade (understood as the number of companies offering tourist services) often take advantage of the history of the country, while former colony as a way of disseminating tourist, forgetting the activity of planning with active community involvement and real.

But others consider tourism as an essentially cultural activity because it is a process of interactions between distinct communities that occupy different spaces socially constructed, and that, for this diversity, become attractive to knowledge of the other, the tourist who travels to see new places. (Baker, 2007; Dias, 2005 and Funari & Pinsky, 2001).

Given the above, our position is that nowadays we can find people traveling for various reasons, including learning, meeting new cultures and interest in acquiring new knowledge, but can also move from their homes in order to simply rest or to flee their routines. Still, tourism can be seen as closely related to post-colonialism (Hall and Tucker, 2004). Therefore, we find interesting analysis Redfoot, who believes that while many scholars consider tourism a consumer of cultures, a metaphor for the general inauthenticity of modern life, like Fussell (1980), which considers tourism a decadent form to travel when compared to voyages of exploration, and Boorstin (1964) considers that the traveler, as an explorer, used to travel to find untapped, and the tourist uses travel agents to avoid these encounters, other authors, has an opposite position, as MacCannell (1976) who sees tourists as pilgrims. In this sense, we share the analysis Redfoot that considers that even with opposing views, these scholars agree that tourism is a metaphor for deeper aspects of current society. And so the author sees the tourist is convicted of all attitudes: doomed to inauthenticity if he remains satisfied with the superficial reality, doomed to absurdity of “chasing the remnants of a vanished reality” if he seeks a more authentic existence and goes on to quote Fussell (1980:49) “... the anti-tourism deceive only yourself. We are all tourists now, and there is no escape.”

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Abstract: This article focuses on the concepts of colonialism, post-colonialism and Lusophony that only now start being discussed openly and demystified in Portuguese studies, and relates them to culture, heritage and tourism. Cultural tourism is presented here as a mean to provide a new approach to Lusophony, which comprises equally the interests of all peoples. The influence of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Macau, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe and Timor in Portugal is shown, aiming at retelling the history of the city of Aveiro, since early times related to ceramics, and of Portugal, traditionally related to the sea and open to the world. This approach contrasts to the traditional view, where only the influence of “colonizer” in “colonized” countries is taken into account, forgetting that most of the time there is role confusion between them. Based on scientific methodologies, comprising a literature review and of History itself, the research results on a tile route called “Aveiro, city of ceramics, tiles and the world”, which presentation-interpretation contents aim at transforming simple resources into touristic attractions.

Keywords: Cultural tourism, Lusophony, Tiles, Route

Introduction

At a time when thinkers of post-colonialism in Portugal and studies in Lusophony are still scarce (Baptista, 2006a, p. 25), especially in what concerns about studies comprising the interdisciplinary approach that the theme requires (Pereira, 2011), it is important to reflect on these issues and draw paths that lead to the demystification of the concepts.

Reflecting on a hypothetical collective identity, Cunha (2011) states that “the essence of being Lusophone is the same of that being Portuguese, which means, none”. In fact, the identity is simply an imaginary, going much further than a common language and comprises, inevitably, points of divergence.

Lusophone imaginary became the one of *plurality* and *difference* and it is through this evidence that it is our responsibility to discover the community and fellowship inherent to a fragmented cultural space, whose utopian shared of common unit can only exist through the knowledge, increasingly serious and profound, taken as such, of that plurality and that difference. If we want to give some meaning to Lusophone galaxy, we have to live it, to the extent possible, as inextricably Portuguese, Brazilian, Angolan, Mozambican, Cape Verdean and São Tomé. (Lawrence, 1999, p. 112, our translation)

This living, on the basis of “transnational cultural

Cultural tourism serving lusophony: know the city of Aveiro through the tiles

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participation” (Cunha, 2011) can only be achieved through an understanding and comprehension of the differences between people of Portuguese-speaking countries, that tourism, as a link of interaction and communication, can and should enhance. However, in order to foster this understanding of plurality, this work, after a consideration of the issues enumerated, presents a route for the public of the “Lusophone galaxy”, whose sites reflect, through the theme of tiles, the influence that countries of Lusophony exerted and still exert in Portugal, confusing the identities of colonized and colonizer (Santos, 2003, p. 27).

At the same time the city of Aveiro is shown, through iconic locations, and the presence of art tiles is created, not only the story of the city is told, but also recounted the story of a Portugal open to the world and with a strong maritime and religious tradition. The tradition related to the sea and the important industry of ceramics and tiles in Aveiro boosted the growth of the region over the years, and its influence in the decoration of the city and in Art Nouveau (of particular interest in the city) is easily observed nowadays. Aveiro currently belongs to the network of nine European Cities of the Urban Network for Innovation in Ceramics (UNIC)¹ and is one of the cities of the World Route of Ceramics.

1. Contextualization and historical reflection

1.1. Colonialism, post-colonialism and lusophony

Although nautical tradition of Portugal was undeniably an important factor, as well as the tradition of crusades (calling religious and papal support), the leading cause of Portuguese expansion and colonialism was the will to find a “new source of business” and a way to achieve “quick fortune through the profits of a promising activity of commerce, such as grains, precious metals [...], spices, sugar and slaves” (Lara, 2002, p. 26).

This clear and undisguised view of the reasons of Portugal *for discovering the world*, as so often stated (and as if people could, in fact, be discovered), is, however, almost always forgotten when the story of the country is told. It is presented, far from it, the image of the “Portuguese Empire” and, essentially, of Portugal while the “Other” of that empire (Baptista, 2006a, p. 26). This imperial imaginary is created, indeed, over time by Salazar in the minds of Portuguese, mainly through the media, which present the regime as “interpreter of an inexorable historical discourse of the Portuguese, the ‘civilizing race’ or ‘colonizer genius’” (Baptista, 2006a, pp. 26, 38).

It is urgent, by the Portuguese ourselves, to demystify history, and put ourselves in a position of self-questioning and postcolonial reflection (Baptista, 2006a, pp. 25, 38). Post-colonialism should include two main parts: the historical period following the independence of the colonies and “a set of practices and discourses that deconstruct the writings of the colonizers and seek to replace it with narratives written from the point of view of the colonized” (Santos, 2003, p.26). Nevertheless, this reflection must be aware of the problem that usually plagues the post-colonial studies:

although one of the assumptions of postcolonial theory is the dismantling of the false dichotomies between metropolis and colony, in order to (re)value the cultural production of the colonized territories, in reality these dichotomies end[ed] to be reified through a process of blaming colonial powers and an excessive admiration for everything that seems to oppose them

¹ The UNIC project is a network of nine European Cities that share a common industrial and cultural heritage built around a strong ceramics tradition, co-financed by the European Union, through the Program “URBACT”.

(Sanchez, 2006, p. 340, our translation).

It is needed, therefore, to find the real and common history to *colonists* and *colonized*, that such as in any colonial relationship (Lara, 2002, p. 37), suffered a “transfer of traits and patterns of culture”, because of the contact established over the time, and still brings repercussions to our days. In the case of Portuguese post-colonialism, Boaventura Sousa Santos reinforces this bilateral relationship, considering that this ambivalence resides in other fact, besides the lack of clear distinction between the identities of colonizer and colonized. The author states that “this distinction is inscribed in Portuguese colonizers identity, which does not limit itself to contain the identity of the other, the colonized, because it contains itself the identity of the colonizer, as colonized by others” (Santos, 2003, p. 27, our translation).

Following this historical, cultural and linguistic search, the idea of Lusophony is today “theme in which are invested passion and interests that have to do not only with what Portuguese speaking countries are as language and culture from the past, but especially with the present and with the fate of ‘immaterial continent’ that these countries constitute” (Martins, 2006, p. 17). Confirming what has already been mentioned in the introduction, it is understood that Lusophony is an “extraordinarily difficult construction [...], a highly fragmented geolinguistic space, a full sense of contradictions, a memory of a common past, a multiple culture and a tense shared history” (Baptista, 2006b, p. 9). It is noted that even the name *Lusophony* refers to *Lusitania*, to the related to Portugal, and evokes the centrality of the Portuguese matrix over the seven other countries, a dream of intent and *Lusiad* amplitude (Brito & Bastos, 2006, p. 65, Lawrence, 1999, p. 163), contradicting the egalitarian value wanted in a border community.

Harmonizing these issues, Brito and Bastos (2006, p 73/74) formulate three principles for Lusophony: (a) Globalization: understands that the problems of Lusophony and the affirmation of a community identity based in the language go beyond the language factor and convoke whole governments, NGOs, civil society, *etc.*; (b) Diversification: recognizes the heterogeneity reality of each of the countries that make up the Lusophone community and that, from the point of view of Portuguese, are marked by elements that have Portuguese origin; (c) Relativization: implies that the Lusophone community, because of the diversity of each reality, is very uneven and lacks cohesion. Moreover, Lusophony only makes sense when designed above nationalities, distinct from any mythical perception of a nation or responsibility for preservation by one part for another (Brito & Bastos, 2006, p. 74).

Eduardo Lourenço (1999, p. 192), in a new approach to the Lusophone space or Lusophone imaginary, reminds that it is “in the cultural space, not only empirical but inherently plural, that new imaginaries define any dream of community and proximity will or will not be fulfilled”. The author adds that it is not asked, nor suggested, it will be find in something such as a “mythically *ancient common house*, for being of everyone and of anyone”.

1.2. Culture, heritage and tourism

The cultural heritage established over space and time becomes increasingly expression of culture and identity (Mascari, Mautone, Moltedo & Salonia, 2009, p. 22). In this sense, being Lusophony a cultural space and, eventually, a collective identity, it is inevitable to talk about culture and heritage. Cultural studies are a composite discipline, and therefore require an in depth analysis of several social, political and ethical issues of contemporary times, calling for a multidisciplinary approach, in order to understand the true meaning of the phenomenon (Smith, 2009, p. 6). In an analysis dedicated to cultural tourism, this reflection focuses especially on the close relationship

between culture and heritage and tourism, as well as on how these relationships can work as a symbiosis, where everyone benefits.

First, it is necessary to consider the fact that the concept of culture can mean different things to different people. Moreover, the historical and social processes have been creating different legacy systems and values, and therefore not all systems support the political culture in the same way (Smith, 2009, p. 15). The concept has been debated over the years, several definitions have been created, some of them summarizing the behaviors observed through social relations and material artefacts (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 259). On a deeper anthropological sense, Wall and Mathieson (2006, p. 259) believe that culture includes “patterns, guidelines, rules and standards that find expression in behavior, social relationships and artefacts”.

From the inability to preserve and conserve all elements of culture, comes cultural heritage, which is the representation of culture through the transformation of the value of cultural elements as a result of a selection of elements and meanings (Pereiro, 2006, p. 24). Cultural heritage thus emerges, in the words of Ballart (1997, p. 27, cited by Pereiro, 2006, p. 24) when “an individual or group of individuals identifies as his own an object or a set of objects”, and where the symbolic value is pointed out as a fundamental characteristic of heritage. In fact, heritage has more to be with significance rather than artifacts themselves: the value, cultural or financial, reason for its selection from the multitude of the past (Graham, 2002, p. 1004). The idea that heritage is defined by the meanings becomes even more complex since it is applied to both tangible and intangible forms of heritage, as UNESCO states (Graham, 2002, p. 1004).

According to Pereiro (2006, p. 37), it is clear that the process of transforming resources into heritage use to be related to cultural tourism, which can be seen through rural development programs from European Union, such as Leader or Leader +. From here, comes the conclusion that tourism, in the specific case of cultural tourism, has the ability to contribute positively to heritage and preservation of resources, although it is sometimes understood in the perspective of commodification of cultural heritage and that requires good planning and management. Explicating these ideas, tourism development undertakes three strategies in its relation to heritage (Santana, 2003, p. 59, cited by Pereiro, 2006, p. 37): (1) To preserve and protect knowledge and spaces for the future and the service of science; (2) To maintain and bring together cultural heritage with a use by recreation, oriented to mass tourism, democratizing its consumption; (3) To preserve cultural heritage and to accept a minority and elite tourism. Nevertheless, and although tourism is also benefited by cultural heritage, that “gives it life” (Boniface & Fowler, 1993, p. XI, quoted by Pereiro, 2006, p. 38), sometimes the goal of conservation can also collide with the ones of tourism, resulting in its abuse and damage, and therefore these issues should always be considered and prevented.

1.3. Cultural tourism routes

In order to plan and manage the offer, it must be held that tourist activity starts in the moment in which the images and products are communicated to visitors, with language being on the base of touristic activity (Figueira, 2010, p. 19). One of the ways of doing it corresponds to organize and to structure routes, to validate the image perceived by the tourist about the destination, to allow to present and interpret tourist attractions and to structure the supply of cultural trips (Figueira, 2010, p. 20). Figueira explains that

[route] shaped into a digital database [...] ensures the inventory of tourism resources

with tourism fitness, the inclusion of other resources likely, circumstantially or ultimately, to integrate tourism, and raises the invention of attractions designed to the effect [...], considered relevant to the definition of the tourism products that characterize a destination. After this initial process of structuring Routes, comes, in turn, the development of products supported on that repository: Routes, Itineraries and Circuits. (Figueira, 2010, p. 20, our translation)

Constituting the route an instrument of valuing resources, the territories themselves and heritage, its information plays a decisive role in the articulation between tourism and culture (Figueira, 2010, p. 20). The last sentence of the definition leads us to the need to reflect on the three last concepts mentioned by the author: routes, itineraries and circuits. Different definitions are found in the dictionary of the Portuguese language, as well as different levels of scope for each of them, by many authors. However, they all point to the indication of a way to go, specifying the passageways, considering them all as synonymous of *route* (Maia, 2010, p. 52). So over, in the next few pages will be used interchangeably these concepts, considering them all as synonyms.

It is also noted, in creation of cultural tourism routes, the importance of creating contents based on scientific research, capable of being transformed into stories to tell to visitors, providing them quality experiences, while respecting the interests of both visitors and resources. In this follow-up and based on the reflection held up to this point, comes the practice component of this work, which aims at constructing a tool for presentation and interpretation of resources, valuing them and providing a new approach to colonialism, post-colonialism and Lusophony, introduced at the beginning of reflection.

2. Suggestion of a lusophone route in the city of Aveiro

2.1. Methodology

By applying the concepts developed by Figueira (2010), concerning the routing process, and based on the history of the city of Aveiro, it was created a route for lusophone public, which aims to show the best the city has to offer at the level of the tiles industry, while contemplating the influence of Lusophony in this territory.

2.2. The theme of the tiles and the scope of the route

One of the hallmarks of the country's identity, tiles have been presenting a major highlight in some of the Portuguese cities such as Aveiro. Over the decades, tiles have evolved in Portugal, following the various aesthetic currents and suffering the influence of historical events. Of particular relevance to the research is, for example, the Eastern influence, with exotic motifs of fauna and flora and figurations of Eastern spirituality in the XVII century (National Tile Museum, 2013). Another example is the use of tiles as support of social criticism, incorporating representations with grotesque and ironic intent, in the second half of the century (National Tile Museum, 2013). Also, *Art Nouveau*, reflected in sinuous shapes of enormous plasticity and exploration of color, in the XX century is remarkable, as well as the new aesthetic proposals of the late XX century, which form the tile designs in modern architecture and urbanism (National Tile Museum, 2013). These influences show that tiles constitute a form of art that reflects society and influences several countries around the world, including Lusophone countries, focus of this work.

Apart from being a mirror of the history of the country and the world, present in the streets and buildings, this art has taken different forms, becoming, not rarely, itself an inspiration to other arts. Among the cases that reveal this capacity for renewal and reinvention is an advertising campaign developed by El Corte Inglés, in 2009, released in Brazil, Angola, France and Luxembourg, where the tile is stamped in a dress, photographing it in the foreground in front of the National Museum of Tile (Cabral, 2012, pp. 5/6). Tiles were also used in the costumes of the parish of Alto do Pina, winner of one of the contests of “Marchas Populares de Lisboa” (Cabral 2012, pp. 5/6). Tile acts as a show-window of the tangible and intangible heritage, particularly of lusophone heritage, contributing to the creation of a shared identity, renewing the cultural sector itself (Cabral 2012, p. 1). It is understood, therefore, that its disclosure constitutes a starting point for a new approach to Lusophony.

The themes chosen are based on the theoretical reflection done in the first part of this work and its relationship with tiles. Accordingly, it is intended to tell a story that captivates visitors, addressing tiles and the influence of lusophone countries in Portugal, as opposed to the usual approach that only reveals the marks of Portugal in the world.

2.3. Target market

Considering the route as a cultural tourism product, it is defined as the target market segment of visitors for this type of tourism, in the specific case of those who come from the Lusophone countries (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Macau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Timor). Having been carried out in order to equip the *IV International Congress on Cultural Studies – Colonialisms, Post-colonialisms and Lusophonies* (from April 28th to April 30th, 2014) of an instrument for interpreting and presenting the city of Aveiro, where the congress takes place, the route can be used by any visitor who wishes so.

3. Route: Aveiro, city of ceramics, tiles and the world²

With a soil rich in clay, pottery reveals itself very early in Aveiro, through the importance of the potters, who were involved precisely in the manufacture of ceramics, noting at the outset the importance of their raw material for the city, which arises as a pottery center.

A. Vicinity of Aveiro’s Cathedral

Although there are documents that put some doubt, it is believed that the pottery industry started in Aveiro in the XVI century. In the vicinity of the current Cathedral of Aveiro, there was a neighborhood called “Barrio of Potters” and occupied exclusively by families of those who practiced the profession, which has been expanding, reaching all the current April 25th Avenue. Until 1978/1979, the avenue was called “Pottery Avenue”, with its name being changed only with the 1974 revolution.

B. Aveiro’s Cathedral

Before designated Church of S. Domingos of Aveiro and attended by potters, the Cathedral of Aveiro is currently classified as of Public Interest. In the free space of the walls, there are tiles from the XVIII century. Among other representations, at the right there is a panorama of the city of Osma, Spain, in whose diocese was born St. Dominic and at the left the city of Bologna, Italy, with its Benedictine convent of Santa Maria del Monte, where St. Dominic died. The representation of

² In order to facilitate the Reading and to turn the text pleasanter at the eyes of the visitors, references are omitted throughout the text. Nevertheless, all the information is based on Margallo, 2012 and Sarrico, 2009.

foreign cities shows the opening of religion to other countries, in a country open to the world and with a tradition of travelling.

C. Street of the Soldiers of the Great War

Despite the importance of pottery in the XVI century, the production and use on a large scale of tile in Aveiro only happens later, having been first used in Brazil, which boosted its profiteering during the XVII and XVIII centuries. Transported to Brazil initially only as a solution to balance the weight of the vessels and to simulate the weight of the load of merchandise that was later sent to Portugal, tiles became very used inside Brazilian houses to keep homes cooler and then in the facades as coat against the weather.

It is noted, in this street, the use of tiles to coat the facades of buildings (in the XIX century), when many Portuguese return from Brazil, revealing the influence of habits established in the country. This trend of using tile outdoor, as well as the representation of tropical colors and flowery are, in fact, imports, since tiles in Portugal were only used inside the buildings. It is also noted that the strong presence of the panels in civil architecture come from the return of emigrants, the “Brazilian”, who used it as a symbol of status, power and ostentatious wealth. Thus, tile art became economically viable and profitable, leading to the creation of the first tile industries, both in Aveiro and in the north of the country.

D. Church of Misericórdia of Aveiro and House of Arches

The Church of Misericórdia of Aveiro, of Public Interest, is the second building whose facade was covered with tiles, being the first (which appears 10 years earlier), in 1857, the building of the former Captaincy of Aveiro’s Port. This last also called “House of Arches” and whose motives panel shows currently elements connected to the sea, revealing the maritime tradition of the city and the opening to the sea and to the world.

E. Street João Mendonça

Along this street, *Art Nouveau* takes place in the form of tiles (indoor and outdoor), which appeared in the early XX century. Particularly remarkable are the following buildings:

- i. **Soft eggs house “A Barrica”:** house manufacture of soft eggs (traditional sweet of Aveiro), of homemade confection.
- ii. **House/Museum of *Art Nouveau*:** now transformed into Museum of *Art Nouveau* and Tea House, it presents a menu of very diverse teas, where one can taste teas from around the world – including some lusophone countries.
- iii. **Ancient Agricultural Cooperative:** building of civil architecture and of Public Interest.
- iv. **Touristic office:** point of information about the touristic offer of the city.

F. Aveiro’s canal

The canal, as navigable connection to the exterior was one of the key success factors for the development of tile industry, since it allowed the export to many parts of the world. This presence is evidenced, indeed, in lusophone countries that use Portuguese tiles in their buildings, as in the following examples.

- **Fort of St. Michael, in Luanda, Angola:** events and motives from the XV to the XIX century, concerning the history, flora and fauna of Angola are reproduced in tiles.
- **North and Northeast Brazil:** several places.
- **Maputo, Mozambique:** colorful tiles in buildings representing the airline “TAP”.

G. Tile industry

Over the time, due to this large demand from the Lusophone countries and others in the rest of the world and from domestic demand, several factories of ceramic and tile emerged.

i. Cultural and Congress Centre of Aveiro: currently one of the most iconic elements of the city, it is the former building of the factory Jerónimo Pereira, one of the most important industries of the history of Aveiro.

ii. Aleluia Cerâmicas: ceramic industry still in operation, it is the main industry in the sector and is present in over 40 countries worldwide, including Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Cape Verde and Macao, which demonstrates that the connection to tiles from these countries has not been lost.

Conclusion

It is understood that this study contributes to the research, since it presents a reflection and connection between the themes of colonialism, post-colonialism and Lusophony with culture, heritage and tourism, concluding that the latter plays an important role. It highlights the importance of tourism as a development motor and a preservation of heritage tool, showing a high potential in developing a new approach to Lusophony, comprising the interests of all peoples equally. Still, cultural tourism, in the form of cultural tourism routes, exposes itself as an important tool of presentation- interpretation for resource valuing, with particular relevance given to the creation of contents on a scientific basis, transforming resources into touristic attractions. The route itself is an element of great use to visitors and may be used by any visitor, even though its target market are the visitors of cultural tourism with interest on tiles, who come from Lusophone countries.

Limitations of this study are related to the lack of Portuguese studies about the issues addressed in the initial reflection, as well as the difficulty in obtaining information about some places of great interest to the route. Whereas the route created only includes points of interest in the city of Aveiro, it is suggested, for future investigations, routes in other cities of the country and a deeper analysis of the sites included.

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Abstract: The Lusophony is not just a linguistic and territorial issue, it is also a cultural space, marked by their habits and customs, able to promote an intercultural environment between different Portuguese-speaking countries. In this context, this investigation of exploratory nature, enhances tangible and intangible elements associated with the life and work of different poets in the lusophone community. As a result of this investigation, it's proposed an itinerary of touristic and cultural nature which intends to include emblematic locations of the life and work of these authors speaking in what will be an unforgettable trip through Lisbon.

Keywords: Lusophony, Culture, Poets, Literature, Itinerary

Introduction

The lusophony can be understood by understanding a system of relations whose focus is the portuguese language as a common element to a set of eight independent nations at the political, religious and cultural level. Although this concept is understudied, it should be noted that when speaking of lusophony and the lusophone spaces we are talking about a reality in constant construction.

The concept of lusophony expresses more than a language, represents cultural and political borders in permanent growth based in communication and dialogue, which is only feasible between institutions and individuals who share the same language. Despite their history, the portuguese language continues to maintain a respectable cohesion within its constituting an assertion elements variations not only in Portugal, but of all the lusophone countries, being still a factor of cultural integration and strengthening of an affective connection, doing part of their cultural heritage and also linguistic.

For the preparation of the itinerary, as an instrument for the dissemination of culture, literary heritage and their articulation with the lusophone heritage are presented a set of literary personages (poets) of lusophone origin in harmonization with the ostentation of representative sites of their lives. The main goal consists in contributing to the appreciation of literature and/or culture, whether material or immaterial, present in the lusophone community. Furthermore, it is intended that the proposed itinerary (the practical component of this research) may turn out to be not only as an object of dissemination of cultural content (whether on paper or in digital form), but also an instrument of tourist promotion and dissemination which contributes to greater interfaith and multicultural communication.

Lusophone Poets – to the Discovery of a Literary City

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1. Lusophony, Colonialism e Post-Colonialism

The term lusophony only very recently emerged as word registered in the portuguese language dictionaries. The first records appeared just in the eighties of the last century. According to Antunes (2011), “the term passes the consecration in the lexical dictionary of Academy of Sciences of Lisbon in the year of 2001, occupying the page 2310, which tells us”:

Lusophony, s. f. 1. quality of being portuguese, to speak portuguese; what is proper portuguese language 2. Community formed by the countries and people who have portuguese as mother tongue or official 3. Diffusion of the portuguese language in the world (cited by Antunes, 2001, p. 30, our translation).

The lusophony can only be constructed as space of culture (Martins, 2006, p. 89). For a better understanding of the “complex cultural community (ies) it is important to take as its starting point the fact that a part of citizens who speak, think and feel in portuguese do not attach any special meaning to the idea of lusophony “(Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122).

This situation is due not only to the geographical distance, which disaggregates the eight portuguese-speaking countries and its many diasporas around the world, but also by its post-colonial history in which one of these strategically positioned itself in other countries political and cultural systems other than the lusophone space “(Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122). In this way:

If the lusophony is a complex reality, does not necessarily has to be a sea of complications. Seems to be a linguistic-cultural space which affirms the political-institutional level, through the CPLP¹. Is an area of freedom, in which the portuguese language broadcasts to their heritage and continues to develop its default, also the image of each country in which it is seasoned in winning flavour (Galito, 2012, p. 6, our translation).

According to Baptista (2000), the postcolonial studies have multiplied dramatically in the last decades of the 20th century. So, “if in the past, the power relations in the lusophone space if expressed through the relation between colonizer/colonized” (Lança, 2010, cited by Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 124), currently in a postcolonial context, the figure of lusophony summons a transnational community, with political-cultural purposes (Martins, 2006, p. 95).

“If on the one hand the lusophony can be multicultural and assume various functions by employing the common language, can also be a way of living that still unites us, as if we could communicate even without resorting to words” (Galito, 2012, p. 8). The portuguese language, while identity element fundamental, around the lusophone community, during the colonial period was one of the most important expressions of this same power (Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 124), as well as in the present tense that “constitutes an exercise of power in search of affirmation of a national identity, trans-national or even global” (Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 125).

Generally speaking and summarized, “the question of lusophony is not just terminological, it’s also cultural and political. While it is a delicate subject, as this is important “(Galito, 2012, p. 15).”If we are to make sense of the” lusophone galaxy”, one cannot help but to live inextricably as Portuguese, Brazilian, Angolan, Mozambican, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and East Timor”. In other words, the cultural space of lusophony is inevitably fragmented space (Martins, 2006, p. 90). In this way, lusophony can try to conceptualize on the basis of three principles, globalisation, relativization

1 Community of Portuguese Language People

and diversification, thus resulting in multiple efforts that seek to deal with their heterogeneity (at various levels), taking as multicultural (Brito and Bastos, 2006, cited by Galito, 2012, p. 7).

2. Culture, Literature and Tourism

This chapter seeks to summarize the relation between culture, literature and tourism. As such, it becomes essential, as a first resort to define these concepts in order to emphasize the relationship between them. In recent decades, the cultural dimension of tourism has taken prominence, to the extent that increasingly the tourist is looking for meet customs and experiences, hoping to open its cultural horizons while resting their own routine.

According to Carvalho (2009, p. 3), the concept of culture can be understood as a “semiotic system that allows you to understand how cultural exchanges resulting from the tourist activity influence the culture of the visitor and visited”. Generally speaking, the same concept:

implies a set of values, attitudes and behaviours of a social group or the mix of meanings in which individuals of a given group use to communicate and interact, because the effective place of culture are individual interactions (Saphir in Couche, 2003, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 32, our translation).

According to the author (Maia, 2010) the relation between Tourism and Culture can be considered as a system, the tourist-cultural system. Between these systems (tourism system and culture system) and the surroundings, there are relations of dynamism, interaction, communication and organization. In other words, the systems are not static and are in constant activity, communicating and influencing the behaviour of each of the elements that compose the systems concerned.

Many of the cultural products are sufficiently attractive to develop a tourism industry (Ashworth & Dietvorst, 1995, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 33), so “if, on one hand, tourism can be beneficial to the culture, may also benefit from their association with the Culture” (Carvalho, 2009, p. 18). As far as cultural tourism will allow:

Provide authentic experiences and facilitate intercultural communication between visitors and visited, as well as the temporary immersion in another culture. In addition, tourism can facilitate obtaining financing for the culture, as this is part of the core business of tourism. Moreover the culture may be essential to differentiate a target in relation to competition (cited by Carvalho, 2009, p. 3, our translation).

In this way, we can say that tourism is an industry where cultural products and cultural experiences are promoted as tourist attractions (Prentice, 1997 in Mathieson and Wall, 2006, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 33-34). The result of this relation is called Cultural

Tourism: a kind of special interest tourism based on demand and participation in cultural experiences (Stebbins, 1996, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 34). Besides to previously stated, tourism can also contribute significantly in the cultural field through the cultural heritage protection and the improvement of the educational level of the population. Furthermore, tourist activities have enabled the rehabilitation of some cultures, preserving heritage often overlooked (Mathieson and Wall, 2006, cited by Maia).

“In a broad sense, speech, religion, art, sport, science or technology are products of culture” (Carvalho, 2009, p.9). According to Medeiros (2005), literary works, are a powerful instrument of struggle against colonial practices, assuming an equally crucial role in cultural promotion of the countries, so independent. The literature is therefore one of the constructive structures essential identity, consciousness being the foundation of citizenship itself, forms of solidarity and of social and collective heritage (Mendes, 2007, p. 78). Thus, the literature is linked to tourism, giving

rise to the concept of Literary Tourism. This distinguishes “the places and events of fictional texts, as well as the lives of their authors, promoting the link between the literary and artistic production of an author and tourists visiting these locations” (Mendes, 2007, cited by Carvalho, 2009, p. 22).

3. The itineraries in Tourism and Culture

In the first instance, this section makes a distinction between the concepts of roadmap, itinerary or route to then understand the contribution/significance of the itineraries in tourism and culture. Generally speaking:

“the roadmap, the route, the itinerary, and the circuit, may be considered as structuring elements of the courses offered in a tourist destination, featuring tourist product and engaging the inherent disclosure, of a specific culture to the market, from the local to the international” (Figueira, 2013, p. 25, our translation)

Concerning to the concept of roadmap, this can be defined as:

“descriptive component of tourist resources and geographical points of interest cultural tourism, highlighting them for its relevance on the set of all the attractions seen as inherent to the contents of the route (...). Is the repository of the contents of one or more routes” (Figueira, 2013, p. 53, our translation).

As regards the word itinerary, origins in the word «*itinerariu-*» whose meaning is “travel”, which may be constructed as roadmap and, also, as a description of a trip characterized for being a journey, described in greater or lesser detail, uniting points of tourist interest of a path. Thus, on a succinct way, an itinerary:

“Establishes a specific path that can include two or more locations far between (circuits), being built with hourly indications, in kilometres, cultural, etc. The itineraries and tours both on land, sea, river, air, as can function as independent path or integrated into routes” (Figueira, 2013, p. 85, our translation).

According to Figueira (2013, p. 86-91) an itinerary can be organized according to the tourist product (which includes the sporting, historical, artistic, ethnographic, educational, ecological, health, spas, other therapeutic practices, community, holidays vacation camps, adventure, cultural and religious), according to the means of transport used (pedestrians, road, rail, air, river and sea), according to the thematic (classified as themed), according to the design of the route (encompasses the linear route and nodal), according to his geographical extension (can be local, regional, national, international and galactic) and finally, according to the time length (short duration, average duration, normal duration and long duration).

Based on the itinerary to be developed in this study, it is considered appropriate to classify it. Thus, according to the categorization described above, it is concluded that this fits in the artistic and cultural itineraries. According to Figueira (2013, p. 87) the artistic itineraries focus on the art, encompassing “the literary, theatrical, musical attractions, etc., capable of structuring local circuits of visit and itineraries of short, medium or long extension”. It is also a cultural itinerary since they are “dedicated to the discovery of cultural places” (Figueira, 2013, p. 88).

It is important to note that in drawing up the itinerary, Figueira (2013, p. 115-119), considers that this must be composed of six steps: the preparation; the ordering of the contents; the production of itineraries; experimentation and testing; the allocation of marks and the placement of the itinerary on the market.

Finally, the creation of itineraries associated with the poets then becomes a reality on the rise, since as we include cultural tourism, literary tourism, the city of Lisbon stands out for its ability

to draw literary itineraries based on the life and works of poets who compose the lusophone community. The relation between tourism and tourist itineraries can be understood as:

“An excellent way to (re) valorisation and promotion of regional identity, offering visitors the opportunity to unravel past experiences and dive into the historical and cultural roots of the region visited and thus give greater importance to tourism as an appeal to difference” (Mendes 2007, p.77, our translation).

4. Methodology

In this study, the methodology addressed is exploratory. As methodological procedure we decided to conduct a literature review to support the creation of a tourist-cultural itinerary in the city of Lisbon. Thus, were defined and analysed concepts related to “Lusophony, Colonialism and Post-Colonialism”; “Culture, Literature and Tourism” and “Tourism and Culture Itineraries”.

In a second part, proceeded to the construction of a tourist-cultural itinerary based on the themes analysed throughout the study, as well as all relevant information about locations, institutions, among others who consider themselves of relevant interest on the various lusophone poets. As such, conducted a search for information in relation to biographies and selected those who were and/or passed through Portugal, precisely in Lisbon. In this way, it is intended to represent a single itinerary the eight countries participating in the lusophone community by means of the poets who hold close connections with Portugal.

It is important to mention that the definition of the itinerary was due to geographic locations so that in this way the course could be as feasible as possible. In addition, the city has a strong accessibility to a patrimonial wealth which constitutes one of the strengths for the accomplishment of the itinerary in this locality. Finally, the itineraries are heading to a target audience that has as main motivations the lusophone literature. In addition, it is intended to reach all the lusophone community with the purpose of transmitting an intercultural environment between different countries of lusophony through tourist activity.

5. Proposal for cultural-tourism itineraries of the Lusophone Poets- To the Discovery of a Literary City

The itinerary called for “Lusophone Poets- to the Discovery of a Literary City”, intends to outline a journey through literary passages in Lisbon city. In preparing this itinerary, we opted for the predilection of this city since the locations selected for this itinerary are located on this and characterized the relationship between Portugal with other lusophone countries.

It should be noted that the itinerary includes two proposals, the first of which is performed with duration of one day and the second lasts from noon and can be performed in a morning or afternoon at the discretion of the visitor. Highlights that the visitor can choose to perform the two proposals or just one of them. Along the route are shown suggestions of other places that consider themselves attractive to visit, however due to geographical distance was not allowed to include in your itinerary, the Editorial Caminho (Alfragide), the Sociedade de Língua Portuguesa (Cacilhas) and the Parque dos Poetas (Oeiras).

Based on the literature review presented, sought to understand, in the specific case of the lusophone poets, which sites that best fit the intended itinerary suggest and which consents the identification of cultural values, the historical memory and cultural heritage associated with this theme. Thus, the main points that fit these criteria and become the route are: Casa Fernando Pessoa,

the Casa da América Latina, the Café ‘A Brasileira’, the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (CEI), the bookstore Bertrand, the viewpoint of Sophia de Mello Bryner Andresen, the Antiga Prisão de Aljube, the café Nicola and the Lisbon Airport.

The itinerary was developed taking into consideration some criteria, and to enhance the means of transport to be used at the time of completion of the course, the market segment, the period of execution, among other aspects. Related to the means of transport, it is suggested that the itinerary be effected by public transport available in the city (bus, train, subway and tramway), indicating additional information about the respective on the itinerary. In table 1, presented below, are selected the poets for this itinerary, as well as the proposed places to visit.

Table 1- *Poets and places to visit including in itinerary*

Itinerary	Poets	Places to visit
Proposal 1	Bocage	Café Nicola
	Fernando Pessoa	Casa Fernando Pessoa Café “A brasileira”
	Manuel de Barros	Casa América Latina
	Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen	Miradouro de Sophia de Mello Breyner Andersen
	Vaseo Cabral	Antiga Cadeia de Aljube
	Relacionado com a temática	Livraria Bertrand Restaurante ‘Sabor a poemas’
Proposal 2	Alda Lara Alda Espírito Santo	Casa dos Estudantes do Império (CEI)
	Artur Augusto da Silva	Aeroporto de Lisboa
	Mia Couto	Editorial Caminho (suggestion)
	Fernando Sylvan	Sociedade de Língua Portuguesa (suggestion)
	Relacionado com a temática	Museu Bordalo Pinheiro (exposição “poetas como nós”) Parque dos poetas (suggestion)

The itinerary will be described in more detail on the following pages, to describe the relation of the poets with the places chosen for the itinerary, as well as its relation with lusophony and/or literature. Note also that the relation observed concerning their nationality and have a relation with the literature/poetry and/or passed through Lisbon on educational issues, for example.

Alda Lara (Angola)



Alda Ferreira Pires Barreto de Lara Albuquerque was born in Benguela, Angola, on June 9, 1930. She lived in Lisbon since adolescence, where she finished high school and attended medical schools in Lisbon and Coimbra. Influenced on renewal of Angolan poetry, with its commitment to the struggle for independence.

Been linked to the activities of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (CEI), being an excellent declaimer and calling attention to the african poets. When she died, her husband, collected her poetry and published posthumously all her work.

Alda Espírito Santo (São Tomé e Príncipe)



Also known as Alda Grace, the poet had her education in Portugal, where she attended university. Her passage for Lisbon was contemporary, especially with other figures of african nationalism in the house of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império. It was one of the best-known african poets of the portuguese language, having occupied positions of prominence in the Government of Sao Tome and Principe, as for example the Minister of Education and Culture and the Minister of Information and Culture. Her poems appear in various lusophone anthologies.

Artur Augusto da Silva (Cabo-Verde)



Was born on the island of Brava, October 14, 1912. Studied in Lisbon, where he finished law school in 1938. He debuted on the letters in 1931 with the volume of poetry beyond. Since then he has published several books of various literary genres. However, one of its greatest civic engagements consisted in defending political prisoners, for what in the year 1966, due to the liberation struggle by Guinea, was arrested by the PIDE, at Lisbon Airport. Months later he was released, but unable to return to his country, and fixed a residence in Lisbon.

Bocage (Portugal)



Manuel Maria Barbosa I-Hedois was born in September 1765 in the city of Setúbal, being considered the most important Portuguese poet of the 18th century. XVIII. With just 14 years joins the Navy and leaves for Lisbon, where he was involved with the literary life and the city Bohemian. After a few trips through Brazil and East returns to Lisbon to start his literary activity. One of the funniest episodes of his life happened precisely in front of the café Nicola, very frequented by poets and other writers of the time. It is said that a policeman asked him who he was, where he came and where he was going, to which the poet replied:

“I am Bocage
I came from Nicola
I’ll go to the other world if you shoot you gun”

Fernando Pessoa (Portugal)



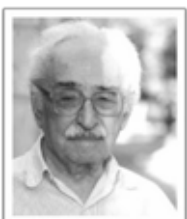
Regarded as one of the most acclaimed poets of the Portuguese language, Fernando Pessoa was born in Lisbon on June 13, 1888. Becomes so important to include him in this itinerary as he is one of the greatest poets of all time, known worldwide and which has a strong relationship with Portuguese-speaking countries. It should be noted, as well, Fernando Pessoa’s house where he spent the last 15 years of his life and the café “A Brasileira”, very frequented by the author and which served as a meeting place of artists, writers and intellectuals. In this same coffee, located in Chiado, Fernando Pessoa is immortalized by a bronze statue that sits on the terrace.

Fernando Sylvan (Timor-Leste)



Fernando Sylvan or Abílio Leopoldo Motta-Ferreira, was a prominent figure of the Portuguese language lyrics. Was born in Timor-Leste in 1917 and came to Portugal with only six years. Received in Brazil, where he was working, the Parsonage for his activities in favour of universal brotherhood in 1965. He was also a visiting professor of French and Portuguese at Brazilian universities. In Portugal, was President of the society of the portuguese language. The author has a wide and diversified work in different genres such as poetry, drama, essay and prose, with a strong relationship with lusophony and poetry.

Manoel de Barros (Brasil)



Born December 19, 1916, Manoel de Barros is a Brazilian poet, distinguishing himself as one of the most original and important of the century Brazil. Although poetry has been present in his life since he was 13 years old, he only wrote his first poem at 19 years old. His work has been published in Portugal, where he received the prize for literature House of Latin America\Banif 2012. It was also in Latin America that was made a tribute to him, with the presentation of the movie, “only ten percent is lie-Official Desbiografia Manoel de Barros”.

Mia Couto (Moçambique)



Mia Couto has an extensive and diverse literary work, including poetry, short stories, novels and Chronicles. Many of his books are published in more than 22 countries and translated into several languages. In addition to being considered one of the most important writers of Mozambique, he is also the most translated Mozambican writer. In many of his works, Mia Couto tries to recreate the Portuguese language with a Mozambican influence, using the lexicon from various regions of the country and producing a new African narrative model. In 1999, the Editorial path (which publishes the works of the author in Portugal) reedited root of dew and other poems which had its 3rd Edition in 2001. The same Publisher gives the forthcoming in 2011 his second book of poetry, “translator of Rains”.

Sophia de Mello Bryner Andresen (Portugal)



Born November 6, 1919, Sophia de Mello Breyner Anderson was one of the most striking Portuguese poets of the 20th century. Was the first Portuguese woman to receive the most important literary award of the Portuguese language, the Camões Prize in 1999. The itinerary the Viewpoint of Sophia de Mello Bryner Andresen, whose name was given in honor of the poet. In this space is a statue of the author, which demonstrates the importance of the writer.

Vasco Cabral (Guiné-Bissau)



Born in Farim, the August 23, 1826. Vasco Cabral studied in Portugal, from which he graduated in economic and financial Sciences by Universidade Técnica de Lisboa. He participated in the struggle for the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, having, after independence, played several roles of Government. He was a founder of the Union of Writers from Guinea-Bissau. In 1953, when he was returning from Bucharest where he took part in the IV World Youth Festival is held in Lisbon, having been in the Aljube prison, and in Caxias. During his time in prison, Vasco Cabral began writing poetry, which after the independence of his country titled the fight is my spring.

A succinct and explanatory way, it is considered that the itinerary made available to the public, must, therefore, include the following information about the main places to visit. Concerning to the first proposal:

Casa de Fernando Pessoa: cultural center that performs exhibitions of plastic arts, symposiums, workshops and performances, endowed with a public library specializing in poetry, situated in the building where the author lived during his last fifteen years of his life.

Adress: Rua Coelho da Rocha, 16

Campo de Ourique

1250-088 Lisboa

Opening Time: Monday to Saturday from 10h to 18h

Price: Normal Ticket: 3€; Families (4 pessoas): 8€; Studants and retired: 2€ Children until six years: Free

Transports: Bus (9, 20, 38, 26E, 28E) e Subway (Rato)

For more information: <http://casafernandopessoa.cmlisboa.pt/index.php?id=2233>.

Casa América Latina: nonprofit association and private law, established by the Lisbon Municipality, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, by the Embassies of Latin American countries and a number of companies. Its action unfolds in four areas, two of which are the cornerstones culture and knowledge, with activities in various cultural and artistic fields and in the field of ideas and knowledge. It was here that Manoel de Barros received the prize for literature, and he was also made a tribute.

Adress: Avenida 24 de Julho 118, 1200-871 Lisboa Opening Time: 09h30-13h00 e das 14h00-18h30 (Closed on Saturday and Sundays)

For more information: <http://casamericalatina.pt/>

Café A Brasileira: house with an unquestionable historical tradition, located in the Chiado, must-see spot for tourists who wish to take a picture with the poet Fernando Pessoa's various heteronyms, which remains forever sitting at a table on the terrace. Highlight for decoration, completely faithful to the original and to the presence of modern Portuguese painting.

Livraria Bertrand: the bookstore Bertrand in Chiado was founded in 1732.

Located in rua Garrett, in 2010, was considered the oldest Bookstore in activity in the world, by the Guinness Book. Fernando Namora, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, José Cardoso Pires, Vergílio Ferreira and Dinis Machado were other writers who went to this site.

Antiga Cadeia do Aljube: located in Rua Augusto Rosa 42, the Aljube prison was one of the prisons of the ancient regime, closed after the April 25, 1974, being today the headquarters of the Institute of Social reintegration. This, due to its characteristics, it has never been an arrest for fulfillment of feathers, but where the prisoners were when they were being interrogated, having been a prisoner Vasco Cabral.

Transport: Bus (737), Tramway (12E, 28)

Café Nicola: situated in Praça D.Pedro, is par excellence one of the literary cafes and old Lisbon. Is in operation since the late 18th century, having been founded in 1787 in Rossio by an Italian Nicola Breteiro. In this, he attended a wide range of intellectuals, among them stands out Bocage. Inside this cafe immortalizes the memory of Bocage through the frames exposed inside the establishment. Currently frequented by tourists is promptly release stage of books and book readings.

Miradouro de Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen: former wiewpoint of the Graça, is situated at Largo da Graça and offers one of the most privileged views over Lisbon. Next to the entrance of the church of grace is a bronze bust founded in honour of the poet. And in one of the walls of this church is a poem of his own, entitled Lisbon.

Transport: Touristic Tramway “28”.

Concerning to **second proposal:**

Museu Bordalo Pinheiro: in this museum is the exhibition “poets like us”. For more information: <http://www.cmlisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/poetas-em-ceramica-no-bordalo-pinheiro>

Aeroporto de Lisboa: situated 7 kilometres from the city centre, the airport of Lisbon is operational since October 1942 and is the largest national airport. This airport has two terminals civilians and a military terminal. Despite having as purpose the carriage of persons and goods, this space was also marked by some social and political events, such as the arrest of Artur Augusto da Silva, a poet and lawyer who fought for the independence of Guinea.

Adress: Alameda das Comunidades Portuguesas, 1700-111 Lisboa

Transport: Subway (Oriente), Tramway (705, 744, 783) e Bus (1, 2, 3) For more information: www.ana.pt

Casa dos Estudantes do Império: created during the Salazar dictatorship, the Casa dos Estudantes do Império should support and control students of the colonies. He couldn't control the students and the house had a key role in the struggles for independence. Alda Lara and Alda Espírito Santo attended this space when they were students in Lisbon.

Adress: Avenida Duque d'Avila, 23, Lisboa

Transport: Bus (16, 22, 40, 718, 720, 767) e Subway (Saldanha)

Conclusion

Generally speaking, through this research we could conclude that the lusophony appears as primordial element of a new post-colonial reality that, in the future, will be able to assume a decisive importance and, even being a canon of aggregation of nations and new entities. It is concluded that the lusophony it is not just a question of language or literature. More than a cultural issue, it becomes a unique instrument of communication and development between individuals and that this recovery must start speaking themselves, overcoming any inferiority complex.

The increasing of urban tourism, and respective cultural segment, can lead to the recognition of the role of literature in the development of the city. Soon, the literary heritage should not be understood as a neutral element in relation to the social, economic and cultural dynamics of a city, but may constitute as a dynamic element. This heritage must be valued in the context of cultural tourism development, a dichotomous perspective between past and present, in that literature is assumed as a means to better understand the city, its identity, memory and symbolism, and may contribute to the deepening of the tourist experience.

The itinerary Lusophone Poets – To the Discovery of a Literary City presents itself as a cultural tourist product that complements and enriches not only the cultural and tourist offer of the Lisbon region, as well as to all the lusophone community which transmits a vast knowledge about the topic in question and was considered to have been achieved the objectives by performing the same.

In future research, it is recommended to develop other studies within the framework of the lusophony, connecting with different types of art (painting, sculpture, music, dance, theatre and cinema) for which thus may assist foundation for a subsequent concept of cultural tourism routes. Therefore, by creating the same hold as main advantages an offer diverse and enriching about the lusophone community. It is further recommended the creation of an itinerary on lusophone poets, but by literary routes, on which allows the visitor to know the destination according to the written works by many poets who compose the lusophone community.

As limitations the present study highlights the difficulty in finding relations of superior degree of some poets with the lusophony, as well as articulate some places on the itinerary, they were relatively near to each other and they were concentrated in the city of Lisbon. Another of the limitations indicated it's the difficulty to relate the concepts of Lusophony with Colonialism and Post-Colonialism.

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SESSION 6

COLONISATIONS AND
DECOLONISATIONS:
HISTORICAL
PROCESSES 1

Abstract: Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the State of Sergipe, northeastern Brazil, a portion of land used for sugarcane plantation was cultivated by a free population, formed by partners, tenants and settlers who grew food for self-consumption and the supply of residents from the sugar plantation. These workers lived in or in the vicinity of the mills, were freed slaves or former slaves, who were benefited by the landlords with plots of land, money and other means of production through “postmortem” testamentary gifts. Evidence indicates, the productive familiar segment was formed in this context, with agricultural marketed surplus, arising from donations of land to slaves and household former slaves, whose submission occurred through affective interpersonal relationships and no longer through a slaveholding relationship or by force. Evidence indicates that the majority gave rise to the segment known today as small family farms or family farms.

Keywords: Testamentary gifts to slaves and former-slaves; small family production; wills and slaves in Sergipe.

Introduction

This work is based on a chapter of the doctoral thesis by Hortência de Abreu Gonçalves entitled “Testamentary gifts and its relation to the organization of the countryside in Sergipe in the period 1780-1850”, defended at the Post-Graduate Studies Center in Geography - Federal University of Sergipe in 2007, later increased by information and results of researches and analysis performed by this author and co-authors listed hereby.

In the early days of Brazilian colonization, primary occupation with or without further legal legitimacy was one of the basic forms of ownership of land by landlords and small farmers, including slaves and former-slaves, benefited by peaceful and consensual occupation by the lords of the land or by testamentary gifts of land parcels.

To survive in agricultural dealing, many of the slaves and former-slaves went beyond the limits of received plots, into the woods, either expanding its gardens or opening new production areas for the landlord, outstretched as land labor, defined as,

the one that serves or could serve for agricultural production, including land forest (virgin forest) and farmyard (secondary vegetation), and excluding those for housing purposes, as well as those already covered with grass, for beef cattle or pack animals. [...] [being] therefore synonymous with agricultural land. (Musumeci, 1988, p. 79).

Testamentary gifts of land to slaves and former slaves in Sergipe, northeast Brazil, between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

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In these clustered areas, given the intermittency of its usage, it would not be possible to constitute private property and permanent of the families, with constant rotation of crops in these plots. In general, these domestic areas were surrounded by settlers for raising pigs and chickens. These settlers were recognized in colonial period as households, together with the words “slaves of the mill”, arising from the ownership of farmland, received directly from his master. Sometimes the areas of woods cleared by these households were incorporated into the plantation area.

In slavery everyday life, masters seized the post-mortem will for manumission donations to worthy slaves, at the time they established a relationship of dependence, with donations of small plots for the support of graced, either for emotional reasons or because they were thinking about bargaining with God the benefit of the salvation of their own soul.

This ideological mechanism for controlling the slaves or former slaves made him a reliable accomplice to the lord, who trusted in him for the assurance of keeping intact his domains, preventing people from outside the mill to occupy their lands and to acquire mastery over it.

To the ones graced with lands was up, not only during the life of the benefactor, but also of his descendants, to work the land and provide additional services of defense and strengthening the political power of the donor. The landlord provided to these ones graced with lands protection in the courts and defense against the policy of recruitment into armed forces and war.

Testamentary gifts to slaves and former slaves in Sergipe between the XVIIth and XIXth centuries

In the 140 “post mortem” wills of Sergipe, made by landowners in the period 1780-1850, studied directly in the Judicial Archives of the State of Sergipe (AJES), there were several cases of grants of land and other movable and immovable property, usually accompanied by handouts of money and jewelry for personal use of the recipient and improvements in the property received (Table 1), related to a series of subjective values such as loyalty, obedience and good services, factors that weighed in the decision to grant benefits to the graced. Wills asserted the legitimacy of donations and the area of farmland received by the graced, which in turn, could be sold, exchanged or passed on to their descendants, even when located on land lord, some of them being passed by will (Table 1).

The Region of Cotinguiba and surroundings was the scene of such initiatives by landowners, area where the prevailed sugar mills and sugarcane production, with the occurrence of bovine breeding and other products in lesser extent.

DONOR*	PLACE	YEAR	GRACED slave / former slave	LAND: Heritage and / or Alms Re- ceived
Joaquim	Village of Santo Amaro das Brotas	1780	Ignácia (Former slave) Luís Loureiro (grown up as a free man)	House and its small items House with tiles and a goldsmith shop.
João	Village of Santo Amaro das Brotas (Engenho da Serra Negra)	1816	Antonia Mestiça (former slave)	Cottage and pasture (plot for own usage)

João	(Nossa Senhora da Piedade do Lagarto)	1818	Lourença (former slave, with whom he had children) Children: Luiz e Vicente (manumitted)	Heir of the one third: 01 cattle ranch in Sacco Moreira, 01 cottage called Caetita in said village, houses in the village of Lagarto, 01 farm in backwoods of Vasa-Barris called Lages, 01 large garden in Simão Dias, 01 garden in Retiro, slaves, portion of land in Quebra (delimited)
Antonio	Vila Nova de Santo Antonio Real de El Rey (São Francisco river)	1818	Anna (established with other heirs) Recognized as daughter with manumission	01 dwelling of houses of mud and tiles, gold and silver
Dona Anna Maria	Village of Nossa Senhora do Socorro	1820	Luiza Maria (free) (daughter of Adriano and Ignácia – slaves)	\$ 40 000 000 reis of land on the Ranch Sachet and more an arm of gold chain
Anna Maria	Village of Estância (Village of Santa Luzia)	1820	Pedro (son of slave Vicência) (manumitted)	Sole heir of the remaining one third: portion of land with coconut trees
Dona Anna	Village of Santo Amaro das Brotas (Mombaca Farm)	1820	Manoel de Jesus (former slave)	01 delimited plot of land with two stone markers, which from said marks to bottom is the portion that was received, including a house and all the coconut trees, a spun off Mombaca Farm.
Religioso Antonio	Village of Estância (Village of Santa Luzia)	1820	José (manumitted) (son of freed half-caste Manoela) João de Deos (manumitted)	\$ 600 000 000 reis to purchasing land and house plus slave Pedro. \$ 600 000 (thousand reis) for the same use and slave Francisco
Joze de Góis	Boavista Ranch (Nossa Senhora do Socorro)	1821	Felipe (slave) of Joaquim inhabitant from Gentio Ranch	\$ 80 000 (thousand réis) and two old ewe, to help in the fields.
João Manoel	Village of Nossa Senhora da Purificação da Capela (Saco Ranch)	1826	Timota (former slave)	01 House to live with the niece of the donor and if this one refused, the house shall be passed to Timota, with plantation to be sold in order to feed the former slave and niece.

Table 1: Testamentary gifts of movable and immovable property to slaves and former slaves of the Captaincy of Sergipe D'El Rey (1780 - 1826)

* The last names have been omitted. (Source: "Post - mortem" Wills and Inventories in Sergipe d'El Rey - Judiciary Archive of Sergipe (AJES)).

The description contained in Table 1 denotes that, at the time of preparation of the "post mortem" will, some lords tried to reward his slaves by the good services rendered, not only with clothes but also jewelry, money and land.

On many occasions, these values were used for the purchase of freedom, and mostly for access to land and survival through agriculture. In many cases, it was used for improvement and enhancements of the land that they already had, consequently fostering a better quality of life and social status. The numerous donations verified in the literature review well reflect the complexity of the master-slave and former slave relationships in Sergipe, as shown in Table 2 with some examples.

Evidence of use of these donations of parcels of land to slaves and ex-slaves for purposes of family farming, can be confirmed by the inventories of captive honored, as shown in the following example: a slave¹ named Vicente, resident at the surrounds of the Village of Lagarto, who has given in his will one and a half *arefa*² of manioc field equivalent to 20 \$ 00 (twenty thousand reis), located in the lands of his lord, and animals and other objects, for a total of 101 \$ 000 (one hundred and one thousand reis), establishing as his sole heir's his maternal uncle.

INVENTORIES* – XIXth Century				
SLAVE/ FORMER SLAVE	HEIR	YEAR/LOCA- TION	LAND PLOT (location)	PRODUCTION AGRICUL- TURE/ LIVE- STOCK
Domingos (former slave)	Martinha (his wife) (slave)	1863 / City of São Cristóvão	In the lands of the lord	One <i>arefa</i> of manioc
Felix (former slave)	Three sisters (slave)	1878 / N ^a Senhora da Piedade do La- garto	In the lands of the lady	Five folds of man- ioc, horses and pigs.
Vicente (former slave)	Martins (uncle)	1888 / N ^a Sen- hora da Piedade do Lagarto	In the lands of the lord	One and a half <i>arefa</i> of manioc

Table 2: Inventories of slaves and former-slaves and assets left as a legacy (1863-1888) (Source: Judiciary Archive of Sergipe (AJES)).

***Note:** Plots received by donation via “post mortem” wills from (the) Lord and located in the lands of benefactors.

Situations like the ones shown above confirm the ownership of land and the formation of the estate of the captive or ex-captive, which could be transmitted to the ascendant and descendants heirs, as well as anyone that he thought worthy of receiving his properties via “post mortem “ inventory as per the Imperial Law 204, art. 4th. subsection 1, Rules 5135, Art. 59.

In general, the inventory is a comprehensive list of existing properties and movable property belonging to a particular person. For its preparation,

requiere la presencia de un notario para que certifique que los bienes relacionados son efectivamente los que se encuentran en ese lugar en ese determinado momento. Los inventarios se realizan por diversas causas siempre relacionadas con la custodia o con la transmisión de los bienes que se mencionan, es decir con la posesión y la propiedad de los mismos. Generalmente se producen tras la muerte de un individuo y se efectúan para preservar los derechos que sobre los bienes del difunto tienen sus descendientes frente a los que tiene el cónyuge superviviente u otros terceros. Puesto que se realiza tras la muerte de uno de los cónyuges se le denomina inventario ‘post mortem’³ (Gracia, 1999, p. 2.).

The motivation for these donations of plots to slaves and former slaves predominated the fact

1 Notary of Lagarto – CLG 1st Office – Inventory – Cx 01 n^o 1089 (1888).

2 N.T.: *arefa* is an agrarian unit equals to 3,025 m² in Sergipe State, frequently used for sugar cane fields.

3 “requires the presence of a notary so that he ensures if the related goods are actually those found in that place at that particular time. Inventories are held by various causes always related to a ward or the transfer of assets that are mentioned, and it decides its possession and transmission. Usually occurs after the individual’s death and are carried out to preserve the rights over the property of the deceased descendants. Against the ones who have a surviving spouse or others. Since it takes place after the death of a spouse, it is called ‘post mortem’ inventory “(Gracia, 1999, p.2).

of graced having expressed, in the master-slave relationship, good behavior, loyalty, providing good services and, in many cases, being children outside marriage that, at the time of approaching death of their masters, have been recognized and included as heirs in the remaining one third or even as universal heirs.

Conclusion

The category of free men and women is quite significant for the breakup of the slave structure, acting as a dissolvent of production relations governed by slave labor. Wills and notary books attest the frequency of Letters of Freedom “granted to slaves by their masters. Free, former slaves remained on the properties of their former masters or sought new opportunities in other farms [or mills], with different occupational choices” (Almeida, 1984, p. 17). Very often, these freed slaves, because they have no other places to live, were integrated to the mill, living off the small plots received by grant from their masters.

Over time, such gifts finally consolidated a productive segment surrounding or peripheral to the most valued lands of the sugar cane lords or farmers’ properties, in charge of the called subsistence farming, where the preservation of the family unit was associated to the marketable surplus.

This productive segment brought to the forefront by free people or not, was a set without sorting and without other control mechanisms by the dominant sectors, except co-optation or coercion. The literature review demonstrates the presence of slaves and former slaves who received alms money to purchase manumission and for own needs, a situation that in many cases, contributed to the easy access to land. From the 1850s (XIXth century), some constraints pressured the free man to seek continuous paid work, among them:

1. the vegetative growth of the free group;
2. the lower availability of land to be occupied in the province;
3. the fractionation of the sugar mill properties preventing the Lord to use portions of land in return for services;
4. an increased demand for alternative workers in the absence of a relevant portion of slave labor;
5. the value of money, with the consumption growth of objects that British industry spreads everywhere (Almeida, 1984, p.242).

In this aspect, wage labor becomes an alternative, before the Law of extinction of black trade, Law Eusebio de Queiroz (1850) and the Law of the Free Womb (1871), with a new conception of labor, weighing on this the responsibility of trust and dedication to lord-master. This fact leads to a current situation nowadays, when small farmers need to supplement their incomes during certain times of the year, working on other properties as an employee, especially when their plot is found embedded in larger properties, mainly mills, eventually providing services to these farms to get greater gains or supply the stages of crop season.

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Abstract: This paper presents the results of an ethnographic research conducted in Bananal, a small town of approximately 11 000 inhabitants located in the Vale do Paraíba, State of São Paulo, Brazil, one of the main coffee production centers of the eastern region of the State of São Paulo in the 19th century. My research first surveyed local students to investigate popular beliefs regarding the Saci, a typical character of Brazilian folklore. At the local schools and beyond, I came across memories, songs and dances that are typical of the black population brought to Brazil by the African diaspora. That population features cultural patterns which are fundamental to the understanding of the cosmogony of that small community surrounded by the lush landscapes of the Mata Atlântica¹ of the Serra da Bocaina². Bananal is located in the historic valley of the Paraíba do Sul river and still preserves much of the traditional culture and main features of 19th-century Brazil, including the neoclassical architecture of its mansions and the habits and cultural manifestations of its population, such as the Jongo, a music style strongly related to diaspora and marked by the antiphony of its songs. Based on oral history, Bananal's scenario was therefore ideal to survey the memories of the community, the Jongo, the history of Brazil's black population, and last, but not least, the precarious state of the public school system that provides those social groups with basic education.

Keywords: Social Memory – Afro-Brazilian History - Public School

Introduction

This research was conducted by means of direct observation and close contact with the research subjects, an approach I started applying during my master dissertation to survey the main elements of the Afro-Brazilian culture that have survived in the memories of certain social groups and has marked their identity.

Due to the exchange of people and ideas, Brazil and Western Central Africa have co-operated with each other through the black Atlantic or South Atlantic axis since the fifteenth century (GILROY, 2001; ALENCASTRO, 2000).

In addition to understanding the role of school in the community, my research took into account how ideologies, the cultural process, and the awareness of the subjects are formed. School routine is regularized and bureaucratized and, instead of

¹ The Atlantic Forest (Portuguese: Mata Atlântica) is a terrestrial Biome and region which extends along the Atlantic coast of Brazil and its inland.

² The Serra da Bocaina is a mountain range located on the border between the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in southeastern Brazil.

The history of education of the black people: a case study on culture and social memory in the Vale do Paraíba – São Paulo - Brazil

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providing full quality education, creates an unsatisfactory system for the formation of working class citizens.

Pedagogical coordinators of Brazilian schools are not able to meet the real needs of the students; they don't fulfill their task of building an efficient pedagogical proposal for teaching and learning which should fight ideologies and transform working class children into citizens aware of their rights.

Rather, the work and actions of pedagogical coordinators in local schools is more than often purely bureaucratic, aimed at solving secondary issues of pedagogical policy projects and they are often given tasks that less qualified professionals could do.

Given the context of a public school that operates at a minimum capacity of school "success", it is crucial to understand the education of a part of the Brazilian working class (mostly made up of brown and black people – categories used by IBGE – The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics).

On the margins of the school system

According to Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (2000), adult literacy and the promotion of a more complete education for children has always been a common goal of informal educational projects developed by black organizations that emerged as a part of the struggle against the marginalization of that population after the abolition of slavery.

The authors claim that the total lack of concern for the black issue in the early 20th century made the black movement "assume the task of educating and schooling" children, youth and adults.

The beginning of the 20th century is marked by the authors of the first stage of the history of education of the black people in Brazil. The second stage starts in the second half of the 20th century and consolidates itself in the 1980s.

According to Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (2000), the first period is marked by the consolidation of the national State and the centralism of its policies. At that time, the black movement faces much political resistance by all Government levels in assuming its "black condition" within the Brazilian society, hindering their access to education. Nevertheless, the movement took the opportunity to increasingly denounce the lack of schooling.

The authors state that in the first period, civil organizations were created that were better prepared to deal with the issue of education. Although school education had been universalized at the end of the 20th century by means of free public school guaranteed by the State of [in-]Justice (typical of Latin American countries), it remained the main preoccupation of civil entities. In the 1980s, the Unified Black Movement [MNU – Movimento Negro Unificado] was created, which acted heavily on the issue of education.

Still according to the authors, at that time, the MNU suggested radical syllabus changes, emphasizing the need to increase the access of black people to different levels of education, in addition to give importance to permanence scholarships so that young black people wouldn't have to interrupt their studies due to financial problems.

The main obstacle to the education of the poor in Brazil lies in the power relations between these actors, as well as in their relationship with the environment and society. Therefore, human relations at school and in the community need to be analyzed as well to find out how schooling institutions operate in contexts of oppression and domination.

Analyzing the history of education of the black people in Brazil allows us to locate the position of black culture on the symbolic goods market of Brazilian society and understand the dialectic between culture and ideology - a major issue of cultural studies.

A culture on the margins of the school syllabus

According to Stein (1961), the Africans who were brought to the inland of Brazil's Southeastern Region originated from both West-Central and East-Central Africa (Mozambique).

Some were baptized catholic as soon as they arrived, but most of them just received new names that were given to them by their owners. During the mass, the blacks used to sing and play music. The priests traveled to the farms on patron saint days or to baptize the black.

The historian further states that farmers would exclude African healers from their properties, accusing them of witchcraft. According to Stein, healers were identified by their habit of separating a part of their food for their spiritual guides before starting to eat.

Meetings between slaves and healers usually took place in the woods or even at the slave quarters, according to Stein (1961). During the "works" of the so-called "quimbandeiros", the slaves used to sing and clap hands. They kept figurines of St. George, St. Benedict, St. Sebastian, Sts. Cosmas and Damian. And, according to Stein, the preferred one was St. Anthony.

The main difficulty of the slaves was to soothe the harshness of their owners and avoid corporal punishment, which was part of the supervision and discipline system applied to the relations between masters and slaves. In exchange for their work, healers were given food or money. Sometimes, even the farmers would request their services.

According to the research by Stein (1961), the Saci seems to be a character that has been part of the West African social memory:

The Saci, or Saci-Pererê, as he was often called, liked to play tricks, usually bad ones that sometimes had unpleasant outcomes. No one was able to accurately describe his appearance, but everybody knew his general description. He was a single-legged small boy who was always smoking a pipe, like most male and female slaves. He was often found sitting on the farm field gates. A Portuguese teacher living in Vassouras was intrigued by the Saci and reported that 'the reputable authorities on these matters, the elderly women, make the Saci responsible for all the setbacks that occur in their lives which they cannot explain. A farm dog was found dead without explanation – the work of the Saci. A calf escaped unexpectedly – it was all Saci's fault, too. A girl would wake up with a headache and felt she could not go to school – one could be sure that the Saci was passing nearby ... Or, a Jongos singer, overly proud of his talent, could meet the Saci by nightfall, start a singing challenge with the Saci, who would make him walk into nowhere until he was completely lost. With the ease and simplicity of the storytellers of the societies with a strong oral tradition, the African 'aunts' or 'dads' would made up those stories about the naughty Saci. (STEIN: 1961, 243-244) (my translation)

Despite the fact that historians admit that the data on slave traffic from Africa to Brazil in the 16th and 17th centuries are rather unreliable, we must acknowledge a deep relationship between West-Central Africa (and maybe even East-Central Africa) and Brazil (ALENCASTRO, 2000; SLENES, 2007; KNIGHT, 2011; VASINA, 2011).

As can be seen in the first part of the work by Alencastro (2000), the formation of Brazil occurs outside the national territory, more precisely in the South Atlantic axis:

Our colonial history should not be confused with the continuity of our colonial territory. Brazil has always been reflected upon outside Brazil, but in an incomplete manner: the country appears as an extension of Europe. However, the idea discussed in this book is different and relatively simple: the Portuguese colonization, founded on slavery, gave way to a bipolar economic and social space, encompassing a production area based on slavery in coastal South America and a slave reproduction area centered in

Angola. At the end of the 16th century, an atterritorial space, a lusophone archipelago emerges, made up by enclaves in Portuguese South-America and trading posts in Angola. That's from where Brazil emerges in the 18th century. We don't intend to discuss the Portuguese colonies in the Atlantic in a comparative manner in the chapters of our book. Instead, we aim to show how these two parts, joined by the ocean, complete each other within one single colonial exploitation system whose uniqueness still deeply marks contemporary Brazil. (ALENCASTRO; 2000, 9) (my emphasis) (my translation)

In that respect, the purpose of my research is to establish connections between that region of Africa and the formation of a black cosmogony in Brazil. The historiographies I refer to here are the background required to understand the stories based on the oral tradition of the African groups trafficked to Brazil by the ocean routes.

Vansina (2011) asserts that the Brazilians entirely dominated the slavery trade in Angola from 1648 to 1730. In addition to the transit of people and ideas from Africa to the New World, many plant species were brought from America to West-Central Africa, including corn, peanuts, manioc, beans, and tobacco. A profitable trade route was therefore established, and especially a distinctive economic and social dependence between Brazil and West-Central Africa.

According to that author, at the end of the 17th century, the Portuguese Crown starts losing control of the slave trade, which gets into the hands of quimbares or ovimbares (better known as Afro-Portuguese), and Brazilians, who operated through those Afro-Portuguese agents in Luanda and Benguela.

The decline of the African states in the 18th century strengthens the trade networks, which allowed trafficking more than 6 million Africans from Africa to other continents in that century alone, of which 1.8 million were sent to Brazil, i.e., 31.3 percent.

Vansina (2011) reckons that the mortality rate of the slaves sent to the New World must have been between 10% and 15%, depending on the amount of people concentrated on the ships. Based on that data, the author emphasizes that Angola was economically dependent on Brazil. In 1800, 88% of Angola's revenue resulted from trafficking people to Brazil.

According to Knight (2011), Africans and Afro-Americans, as slaves and as free men, contributed to tame much of the full extent of the American continent. "Whatever the number of Africans was in any given country, Africa left a deep and indelible mark in America." (KNIGHT; 2011, 877) (my emphasis)

Are these the marks that have survived in Bananal? According to Knight (2011), the African diaspora was much larger in America than in Europe and Asia. In America, at the beginning of the 19th century, the population of African-American slaves and free men reached 8.5 million. Out of these, 2 million lived in the United States, another two million in the Antilles, 2.5 million in Brazil, and 1.3 million in continental Spanish America. According to the author, the Africans heavily influenced not only the rural regions, but also the entire Atlantic shore of the Americas, developing the most varied types of production and playing a wide range of social roles.

As stated above, the data on slave trade to America are quite controversial. However, Knight (2011) claims that P. D. Curtin offers the best overall picture of that flow of enslaved Africans, who amounted to approximately 10 million people. On the other hand, Genovese's research, among others, increase that estimate by 2% to 3%, i.e., to around 12 to 13 million people.

Bananal and the historic valley of the Paraíba do Sul river (Silveiras, Areias, Arapeí, São José do Barreiro) are some of the first coffee-producing regions in the State of São Paulo, according to Motta (1999). At the end of the 18th century, only few properties produced coffee in that region and agriculture was developed for subsistence: corn, manioc, chicken and pig farming.

Many farmers, who descended from the poor immigrants that populated the Paraíba Valley in

the 17th century, got rich by cultivating coffee between 1800 and 1830, and built some of the largest fortunes of that time. Some of them even became barons during Brazil's imperial era.

Motta (1999) also crosses the city's data on the economy and on the demographics for that period and claims that the peak of the coffee production and the economic power of the coffee producers from Bananal lies between 1830 and 1850.

In opposition to the official history of the Coffee Elite of the 19th century, the literature used here aims to situate the lives of those who have been excluded from the school system, from better life conditions in the 20th century, and from the ballrooms of the Coffee Elite in the 19th century.

The Jongo was a popular rhythm among African and Brazilian black people during slavery and was commonly played on the occasion of their own traditional festivities and those of the non-black population. The abolition of slavery was celebrated with the Jongo, which survived in Bananal until 1970.

The style is an important intangible expression of our culture and has been studied by several researchers, such as Borges Ribeiro, Lara & Pacheco (2007), Stein (1961), among others. During an interview with a 78-year old subject born and raised in the town of Bananal, we tried to find out how and where the Jongo groups were formed. She answered the following:

There at my parents' home. There was also a family near the Bom Retiro Farm. On St. Peter's Eve, they would throw a party and Jongo was played there. Jongo was played throughout the year. The men would sing and then the women. The men chanted and the women responded. It was really great. It was even beautiful.

In 1949, Stein (1961), an American historian, was the first researcher to survey the places where Jongo was played in the town of Vassouras, Paraíba Valley of the State of Rio de Janeiro, and to describe them in his classic historiographic work on the Brazilian economy of the 19th century: *Greatness and Decadence of the Coffee in the Paraíba Valley* (1961). His recordings were published in *Memory of Jongo* by Lara & Pacheco (2007).

Gilroy (2001) states that the antiphony (call and response style of singing) – typical of Jongo and described by Dona Teresa above – is the main feature of the musical tradition of the black diaspora. According to the author, the black musical performances are experienced in an intense manner “*and sometimes reproduced through overlooked styles of significant practices, such as mime, gestures, body language, and clothing.*” (GILROY; 2001, 166-167)

According to the local Jongueiros, the sound of the drums may take the dancers to different levels of consciousness. Many reports refer to the magic force of the sound of the drums, since they are considered connecting devices between the material and the spiritual worlds in the black cosmogony (SLENES, 2007)³.

According to the interviews conducted, a very large number of families used to organize Jongo dance groups. This shows that this kind of manifestation was common, as well as other manifestations of our culture that became usual in the 20th century, such as the *Samba* dance groups and the *Samba de Lenço*.

Dona Teresa starts talking about the clothes: “Women would only use long skirts. When they whirled, those skirts would spin, fly, like that.” The interviewee, informing us about the dance, remembers her grandmother, as well as some of her Jongo dance group experiences she had as a child, including the following verse:

³ In my Field Book, I recorded a story commonly told among the Jongueiros of the Vale do Paraíba (that was as well recorded by the folklorist Borges Ribeiro), that states that immediately after a Jongo event, there were holes in the ground where the drums had been standing, such was the excitement of Jongo dance group. Other reports talk about dust that rose almost magically from the ground.

[cantando]
“Bate tambor grande,
Repilica o candongueiro,
Tambor grande é minha cama,
O pequeno é meu travesseiro”

[singing]
“The big drum is beaten,
The candongueiro answers,
The big drum is my bed,
The small one is my pillow”

Although the colonization process was based on slavery and consequently on the humiliation and dehumanization of the African and Brazilian black people, it couldn't erase the memories brought from overseas, which, in Brazil, enriched the traditional culture, including the arts, music, cooking, life style, worldview and religiosity.

The issue of school education in Brazil

In Brazil, popular education takes place despite the lack of materials and infrastructure. It depends financially on the State and is extremely inefficient in fighting poverty and social inequality, required to achieve genuine social mobility. Our investigations among Brazilian NGOs highlight the lack of infrastructure in the third sector, since it cannot rely on the support of the private sector, as well as the lack of regularization and transparency in the management of civil society organizations (VITORINO, 2009).

Despite those facts, the popular education proposals support pedagogical actions that are able to reverse the status quo of the black and the poor. The university admission preparation courses that emerged at the end of the 20th century became strategies used by the middle and lower classes to send their children to Brazilian universities, according to Whitaker (2010).

In this respect, the Brazilian education system, as well as other basic services offered by the State to the poorest population, features serious issues that result from the lack of infrastructure, which is caused by the corruption of the political system and the lack of interest in promoting social mobility.

The popular education proposals and the affirmative actions that took place at the beginning of the 21st century are, for the black and the poor population, tools that may ensure access to universities and social mobility. One may therefore assume that the growing amount of similar projects throughout Brazil – a phenomena that took place from the end of the 20th century to the first decade of the 21st century – suggests the strengthening of social actions by actors that belong to marginalized groups, which directly impacts on educational policies.

The political debate of the redemocratization period had a direct impact on the national legislation and on the Brazilian education. Law nº 11.465/08 that amends Art. 26-A of law nº 9394/96 (LDB) – modified by law nº 10.639 of January 9, 2003 – establishes the mandatory teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture, as well as the culture of the indigenous peoples by the country's educational system.

It is no coincidence that such laws arise in the beginning of the 21st century and it illustrates the ability of the movement of authorizing itself, or rather, of transforming its actors in authors of social action.

One realizes that although (formal and public) school education is inserted into a rich reality, both in terms of preserved nature and of historical memory and the playful aspects of its culture, it has remained distant, over-bureaucratized and alienated from the elements that could build an attractive and efficient syllabus.

Some of these social phenomena are systematically ignored by the school in the process of teaching students and are understood by the common sense as folklore or inexpressive knowledge

for the understanding of Brazilian reality (GOMES, 2001). This thesis corroborates the results of my analysis, given the fact that the social memory of the black population has been discarded by the elementary school in Bananal.

As do other educational systems, do the schools of Bananal follow an ideology that defends that the educational system should break away from popular knowledge to build socially valued knowledge found only in books and typical of the so-called “erudite” culture?

That’s what some renowned Brazilian pedagogues suggest. According to that ideology, the children of the lower classes should be provided with all the contents that are offered to the privileged, thus facilitating their integration into the society of classes.

Faced with that problem, the importance of Paulo Freire’s revolutionary pedagogy should be emphasized, which questions the process of literacy of the oppressed in Latin America and in some African countries and which, even today, is a left-wing pedagogy able to solve the contradictions that result from the dialectic *Oppressor* versus *Oppressed*.

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Abstract: The present study aims to analyze the theme: the Alvará of July 25, 1638, with force of law over Grão-Pará and Maranhão villages' administration, its implications and relevance of this jurisdiction. This royal document demonstrates the power assigned and granted to the priests of the Society of Jesus in Maranhão-Grão-Pará by the king of Portugal concerning the missions in that vast territory and it outlines regulations for the administration of the Indian villages, the settlers as well as the delegation of the choice of the administrators of such villages. Furthermore, it contributes to the understanding of the great moments of turbulence which were followed by demonstrations and even changes in the law itself for the benefit of some and fury of many others. The methodology followed by this study is historical and critical based on the analysis of the document that is in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Box 1, Maranhão, aiming to understand the importance of the Society of Jesus as articulating power among the king, the villages, the Indians and the settlers.

Keywords: King; Alvará; Villages of Grão-Pará and Maranhão; Indians; Society of Jesus

The promulgation of the law of July 25, 1638, ensured and guaranteed the genesis of the mission villages in Grão-Pará and Maranhão by the Society of Jesus as prior to the creation of this jurisdiction their priests were not able to establish mission due to the fact the villages were always denuded of their menfolk as the Indians were mobilized to work in the sugar plantations, in mills or at wars promoted by the settlers.

The origin of the mission was intended to ensure the doctrinal activity of the Society of Jesus in turn somehow it would be exerted dominance over the Indians who opposed themselves to the labors imposed upon them by the settlers. And this would change everything mainly in relation to the possession of Indians issue of constant conflicts between Jesuits and settlers.

Moreover, since their arrival to Brazilian lands, the Jesuits showed their great ability to deal with the Indians and such achievement gave them an obvious advantage and granted several concessions to the Order confirmed by the king through the Alvará establishing the following:

the good information I have concerning their services in the State of Brazil and more achievements of the priests of Society of Jesus by the conversion of souls in the name of God our Lord, I intend that such ecclesiastical administrator be the superior of the Order in the so-called town of São Luís, while this is right and I do

Ecclesiastical Administration of Indian Villages in Grão-Pará and Maranhão: strategies and adaptations to the Alvará of July 25, 1638

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not decide otherwise, having present the virtue and zeal of the priests of this Society which always have elected person of such virtue, instruction, understanding, wisdom and example of life, in order to be able to accomplish the obligations of such great position. (The king, 1638)

However, the settlers were at a disadvantage due to the way they mistreated the Indians describing them as savages and referring the need for controlling them concerning the work in plantations and family ensuring thereby their livelihood and maintenance of their own fortune. But the royal order of July 25, 1638, came to modify the pieces from the Portuguese administration board in Colonial Brazil especially in Grão-Pará and Maranhão which is why the priests of Society of Jesus came to be maligned and frowned upon by the settlers.

The priests, despite the storms caused by the colonists, refused to be slaughtered and soon began to organize missions by building schools, churches, villas and residences, burgeoning and expanding their purpose to redeem the souls in the Luso-Brazilian space. Indeed, the will, persistence and faith they had brought with them and their vows of obedience to “Santa Fé” as a shield of devotion in propagating the Catholic faith sustained a strategic and an adaptable way to the New World contributing to the permanence of the Society of Jesus throughout that vast territory for several years. Even with the threats rising during the promulgation of the law, the priests stood firm in their purpose to catechize, teach and instruct the Indians, the children of settlers and others who were willing to undertake such ecclesiastical movement.

Strategies and adaptations came to be sustained due to the context of Colonial Brazil at that time mainly in the north in the area intended for Grão-Pará and Maranhão which developed with the effort of indigenous and slave labor force, having been inhabited by the largest number of Indian tribes, said “Savages”. And furthermore, who held the majority of them got the power to best produce on their land, ensuring wealth for the kingdom and for themselves. And thus, the Indians were the frequent cause of disputes among Jesuits, settlers, governments and others.

However, the Indians were considered miserable “bugre” in certain derogatory narratives, so persecuted and so desired, the Indian men used as labor force and the Indian women used as labor force and for pleasure³. The difference concerning the Jesuits was that the priests saw the Indians as beings of soul to catechize and redeem. But they also benefited from indigenous services without the physical violence inflicted by settlers.

Thus, farms, villages, residences, mills of the Society of Jesus were the most thriving and widened before the whole territory of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, however, the embryonic germ of fortune and lust glimpsed by settlers emerged from an hour to another effortlessly, the priests having acquired consistent and continuous empire at full steam in properties and Jesuit prosperity.

Indeed, the colonists felt aggrieved because the Indians remained mostly at the disposal of the priests who protected them from all evils imposed by the settlers. Then, just wars were carried out, with unjust properties for the domains of winners and slavery to the losers or annihilation of the prisoners of war.

This generated a very turbulent and violent period since the Indian tribes were constantly waging wars and the losers were enslaved or beheaded by their executioners during a ceremony as shown in the picture below.



Image 1. “The enemy captured in battle was brought to the village of the winner and, among the Tupinambás, killed and eaten by all the tribe. The ceremony of the prisoner death was held some days after his capture and, in this interval, they were dedicated good treatment and consideration” (p.39). (Source História do Brasil (1972) 150 anos de Independência. Rio de Janeiro: Bloch Editores. V.I.)

Anyway, the colonists were always interested in these movements and even at times they encouraged the tribes by distributing hoes, machetes, sickles and more to fight against their enemies whatever they were Indians, British, French, i.e., depending on the time or the occasion, everything to defend and keep their fortune.

The Jesuits, however, by trying to protect the Indians intervened and formed missions using all the power they had near the Portuguese court always obtaining favorable results and their demands attended without further delay.

The event immediately in response to the appeals of the priests was the Alvará conceiving the jurisdiction of the Village of Grão-Pará and Maranhão to the Order, a fact confirmed by Franco (2006, p. 155) punctuating the following issues:

1. Few religious Orders managed to, from modernity onwards, effectively gather such an extensive amount of material resources and spread, worldwide, an organization marked by its considerable cohesion and effectiveness, on behalf of the supernatural ideas of evangelization as the Society of Jesus.
2. And also in consequence of this religious service, constitutionally defined and justified by the Jesuits as the very significant power of influence acquired near the elites of political power, especially near kings, ministers and counsellors of European Courts and other peoples in the world, either in important functions as confessors, counsellors, educators, preachers, intermediaries, technicians, diplomats and experts in several scientific areas, or simply as trusted friends.

Thus, in this political and administrative context, the Alvará turned into law through the written words and feathers of the king, being fulfilled by the priests of the Society of Jesus and arising riots from the settlers as the law only benefited the Order. Such law confirms the following privileges to the administrator:

there will be two hundred thousand reis for his maintenance, and for each year that State enshrined in

tithes, paid in cash and farms, the payments made as usual by the Royal Treasury of that State, for which the provisions necessary will also be carried out (...). (The king, 1638)

Then, the priest chosen for this mission was Luis Figueira regarded by the fellows Jesuits as a gifted man, of value, prestige and knowledge, so-called the “great master of language, he began the construction of the College of Our Lady of Light in the capital of São Luis and started the series of catechizing pilgrimages, going down the Amazon to the Xingu” (Betendorf, 1910: XV).

Luis Figueira was not only the priest but also a man whose mission was the evangelization of souls wherever the Society of Jesus rode their domains with no choices of continents: East or West to develop the purposes of the Order fulfilling what was ordered since the beginning of his Jesuit training.

The priests underwent lengthy training of faith, perseverance, which exceeded the limits of body and soul and risked their own lives as narrated by Father João Felipe Betendorf several times in the book *Chronica da Missão dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão* referring to the death of Father Francisco Pinto and other missionaries at the hands of the Indians⁴. The fulfilment of their duty was superior to the ravages of life on earth before the peoples they would have to conquer.

On all sides from West to East, the priests needed missionaries and it was not different in the Provinces of Grão-Pará and Maranhão constantly requesting friars to fulfill the mission in that vast territory which was still in a primitive state.

The State of Maranhão, defined by the division of Colonial Brazil under Portuguese administration, in its extent comprised in year “of September 3, 1626, the following limit that started not far from the falls of S. Roque, 30 to 30” L. S., extending to the River Vicente Pinson (Oyapock)⁵, which would later benefit the State of Maranhão, due to its location close to the Atlantic, i.e., the effect of sea currents favored direct access to Lisbon. Besides goods and connections, it enabled in an agile way to reach the Portuguese Crown. Soon, the State of Brazil was no longer favorable as the State of Maranhão became the main route of loading and unloading of materials (sugar cane, cachaça, rice, gold, etc.). Thus, in the picture below, we may wonder how many missionaries of the Society of Jesus would be necessary to control the area allocated by the State.

Image 2. *Map of the State of Maranhão and the two captaincies in 1626.* (Table second from <http://objdigital.bn.br/>



acervo-digital/ div-cartografia/ cart 555828).

Due to its territorial extent, the State of Maranhão facilitated quick access along the Atlantic coast and also the existence of more indigenous labor force in this area, such fact led to several French, British and Dutch attacks on account of their interest in this Portuguese colony and, according to Father Betendorf (1910, p. XIII), the State of Maranhão comprised two main captaincies,

the one of Maranhão and that of Grampará, subdivided in other secondary ones, some belonging to the Crown, many awarded to donatories, almost all situated along the Atlantic coast, few in the interior, near the rivers' mouth but already with a great number of communities along the Amazon River banks until the Madeira and Negro.

Thus, the articulation between the Jesuits and the king somehow ensured the control of the Indians but also provided wealth to the Portuguese Crown as the Indians after being dominated by the Jesuits became allies and they were the knowers of the earth, of the drugs of the *sertões*, they deforested, hunted and raised cattle being present at all moments of war and peace.

Conversely, the Portuguese Crown established contact with the settlers and these commanded also the Court when they felt hampered as in the case of the Alvará from 1638 issued by the king and passing a new “law dated from October 17, 1653, by which revoked the previous one and the chapters concerning freedom, leaving the door open to unjust captivities”⁶.

The Indians, in turn, by joining the wars promoted by the colonists, the Jesuits and the king, set forces to eliminate their adversaries from rival tribes. In fact, we are convinced that this articulation came to benefit all in a certain way, the Jesuits in the catechization for the spread of the Catholic faith, the Indians in the elimination of rival tribes, the king by promulgating the Alvará to help the Jesuits and settlers ensured the maintenance of his wealth, and the settlers in the acquisition of Indian slaves for their own purposes. Therefore, the circle turned constant each one at its time with maintenance and strategies to stay in power.

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Abstract: It will be analyzed, in this work, the importance of literature in the construction of a post-colonial identity. The focus is on individuals and groups who want to build identity through culture.

Literature, in the development of identity, will have a role in territorial, social and intellectual cohesion, and also to provide meaning to community life.

After establishing a parallel between literature and identity, we'll analyze Pepetela's work *The Utopia Generation*, keeping in mind the idealist and fictional nature of literature and its capability in translating certain perspectives of reality. These perspectives will put two different views in contrast: a utopian aspiration in the colonialist era; a dystopian disappointment in the post-colonialist era.

Through the different characters in Pepetela's book, we will make correlations between the distinctive personalities and the role each will have in a post-colonial Angola. There will be an analysis about the importance of economic and political contexts in the path taken by the characters, and on the importance of analyzing a post-colonial independence that didn't managed to fulfill innumerable ideals. A government where the politicians would not act on finding a place for everyone in a culturally fragmented country

Keywords: Literature; Identity; Pepetela; colonialism; post-colonialism.

1. Literature and identity

Literature uses words by transfiguring them, adding new meanings. This enforces the idea that human being is a creative entity. In the never-ending search for meaning the writer and the reader both evolve. They create worlds that go beyond facts.

Some of the great literature themes are justice and oppression, rebellion and liberty, peace and war, good and evil. They impact reality and our own identities.

When searching search for identify in literature, the individual will face metaphysical problems that will be transformed by the exterior and vice versa. Therefore the mark of literature can be:

“...determined hic et nunc and brings identity and an universal value from tbecause it is an historical reality, or in other words, it represents an irrepressible moment of human existence (Salinari, 1981: 50)”

This historical settings of literature are not only temporal, but also connected to the utopical space of the ideas, the transcendent,

Literature and Identity in *The Utopia Generation* by Pepetela

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of what is beyond the surface, bringing new perspectives about humanity and our surroundings, of what defines our identity.

In Plato's *Banquet* we have the description of Eros birth, the conception about human's nature that affirms humans are not able to generate their own physical existence or their own meaning for life, but nature gives them a desire that makes them beggars of what is infinite: at the same time that they do not achieve plenitude, they spend all their time searching for it. With that, the individual is an entity that needs others, so that his perceptions of meaning are amplified. Marcuse (1997) counters this idea by saying that the individual wants freedom to follow his passions and find happiness, but he's bounded to moral and social contracts. This search for plenitude can be translated as a search for identity. If the individual and collective identity is defined, there will be an understanding of what we are, where we are, and how we are seen. From that solid base we construct our personality and we become free to try and achieve the plenitude that is only achievable in a social space that brings safety and stability: "*Freedom without safety generates insecurity (Bauman, 1988)*".

This search is always in progress and similar to the search of identity, an endless organic construction. Humanity uses literature in that endless search and through it, orders and adds new points of views, possibilities, transcends reality, adding or subtracting characteristics, generating visible or metaphysical changes, and providing a valuable heritage to new generations, providing them with knowledge and perspectives that can be used to build their own identities.

1.1. Literature in the rescue of Angola's identity

Angola's decolonization doesn't end with its independence, the imperialist interests still exist in the shadows of the political world, promoting civil wars for decades, impoverishing the people and adjourning the possibility of an identity union.

The same people who fought to achieve Angola's independence are now moving through the political instability in order to get rich easily. Facing these politics, unprepared to deliver an economy capable of generating minimal conditions for a dignitary way of life of Angola's people, there is a need of strong enough voices who can help the people to acknowledge new alternatives, voices that would come from intellectuals, writers, etc.

We can observe in the colonial period the literary movement importance in the unification of the armed troops of Angola, it was indispensable to achieve the victory upon the colonialists. All those years fighting for independence, gave Angola a feeling of strengthened nationalism. By uniting against a common enemy these guerrillas had to transcend many of the negative aspects born from the social problems and the colonialism: conflicts between ethnic groups, tribalism and racism. This strengthened the notion of nation, and many writers will value that in their works

Therefore we can say that the war against colonialism:

"(...) doesn't change just the direction of the occident history, but also contests the historical notion as an ordered and progressive unity. The analysis of the colonial despersonalization not only goes against the illuminist notion of Man but also contests the transparency of the social reality as a pre-dated reality of the human knowledge. (Bhabha, 1998: 72)"

One of the big problematics is an identity unity that evolves very slowly, even after the independence of Angola.

There is, in fact, an urgency in exorcizing the chains imposed to cultural expression and to achieve an identity resurgence that was imprisoned by the colonialists (and now by Angola's own political party), through art, in this case, through literature. But when the reality of Angolan people

are hunger, lack of infrastructures and political support, the identitary factor becomes a secondary priority, survival comes first. The ones that can lead this fight are the intellectuals who have the means to do so:

“The high Portuguese fiction of these last year’s shows that despite all the wounds caused by the great trauma of the Colonial Wars and the wounds caused by the end of the Portuguese empire in Ultramar, it has already begun the process of transforming tragedy of an historical moment in mythic production, and future generations will face it as the beginning of a new age where they will be living.. (Coelho, 2004: 122)”

The literary production of many African writers in the colonial and post-colonial time is bounded without question to the historical and cultural settings of their time and questions that arose from them. It’s not literature focusing on entertaining the reader, but a mean of transmitting ideas, aspirations, a way for the writer to intervene in society, by changing the way people see themselves when facing different cultural, social, economic and political realities. Chaves adds to this notion the following:

“The history of our literature is the proof of the generations of writers who were able to, in their times, propel the process of our freedom by expressing the aspirations of our people, especially the most explored factions. Angola’s literature appears not only as a simple aesthetic need, but as a fighting weapon for the Angolan Man. (Chaves, 1999: 32)”

The colonist presented himself many times as the humanizer, but he ripped the colonized of his individuality, his humanity, and some of the African literature tries to rescue that individual humanity:

“It is not enough for the colonialism to shred the people in its threads, empty their brains of all matter and essence. By some logical perversion, he orients himself to the past of the oppressed, deforming, disfiguring and annihilating them. (Fanon, 1979: 15)”

1.2. The voice of Angola in the literary voice of Pepetela

Pepetela, with *The Utopia Generation*, meditates about the several paths individuals choose while searching for identity. In an identitary perspective, the characters of this book always have two horizons: the hope of a fair, independent Angola, and the exploration of a country weakened by war, a gutted Angola, without the immediate possibility of giving life to the ideals proclaimed in the struggle for independence.

The chapter “the house” captures the colonial period (since 1961), the Angolan youth living in Lisbon, in the Empire Students House, discussing the reality of the colonies:

“They were years of discovering the missing land and its hopes. Conversations in the Empire Students House, where the youth who came from Africa gathered. Conferences and lectures about the reality of the colonies. The first readings of poems and tales that pointed in different directions. And right there, in the center of the Empire, Sara discovered her cultural differences from the Portuguese. (Pepetela, 1992: 13)”

The poems and tales where literary mechanisms of awareness for the youth, they contained the voices of hope of the Angolan people.

Revolutions are the solidification of ideals and the wishes of some individuals and groups, in this case the need of independence for the Angolan people. The way to focus and gather these wishes are in the hands the hands of those who use the power of ideas. In most cases, writers, philosophers and

intellectuals share their visions of the world and inspire, propel others to follow their points of view. But after utopia we have reality, appearing after conquering the main goal, Angola's independence, many ideals were left unattended. Now there is a need to fight against poverty, against civil war and the need of honest politics :

“This matter of utopia is true. I tend to think that our generation should be called the utopia generation. You, me, Laurindo and Victor, and I'm only mentioning the ones you've known. But also many others, who came before or after us, in a certain moment we were all pure, wanted to build a fair society, without differences, privileges, persecutions, a community of knowledge and thought, the paradise of Christians indeed. At a certain point, even if for a brief moment, we were pure, uninterested, thinking only about our country and fighting for it. (Pepetela, 1992: 202)”

The great intellectuals and idealists, who fought for a worthy Angola, found themselves now depleted by the failure of those ambitions:

“– For example, we don't have a future, nor do we represent the future. Already we are the past. Our generation consumed itself. All that needed to be done at a certain moment was done, we fought, achieved independence. After that we consumed ourselves. One must know when to stop, when there is nothing left to offer. Many do not know that, they hold on to a more or less glorious past, they are fossils. (Pepetela, 1992: 214)”

The character of Aníbal has no place in a post-colonial Angola, he doesn't fit in a corrupted Government, built on empty promises, where the needs of the people are always second place. Aníbal was an immense force in the conquering of independence, but now he exiles himself, he has no place in a reality that can only cause him anguish and sadness , we notice hidden echoes of Pepetela's own interior voice in Aníbal:

“– *You felt good between them. If I didn't said anything, you would go and accept a white and discuss with him. You looked like another person, you would open yourself, I would even say, happier.*
– *Maybe. Sometimes I go there to talk.*
– *Because you are marginalized like them? (...)*
– *I'm always with the victims of the process. Maybe it's pride, but I never feel good surrounded by winners.* (Pepetela, 1992: 214)

Aníbal, like Pepetela, uses writing to fulfill the identitary void that the independence couldn't suppress. It's in literature where he finds a safe house to further develop his identitary position. With textual ambiguity (Ricour, 1987), a horizon of interpretation are opened, where we try to place ourselves. Aníbal and Pepetela show us their perspectives, fallouts and joys, because these are experiences shared by all in the unshakable character of stories, who will, definitely have, an educative role (Eco, 2003).

The desired utopia is for the artist to use people as the destination of his art, to regain his audience, and change, in the process, its social structures (Lukács, 1967). The main concerns of Pepetela would be to reach the intellect, broaden the ideals, the aspirations of the Angolan people, so that they could reorganized their identity and stop being victims of the political and social whirlwind, where war and misery was a constant.

In Pepetela, the Angolan people and culture are the pillars of his writing, the reason why his characters, in the early stage, constructed their revolutionary ideals, fought against the violence of the colonial subjugation and the oppressive westernization of the literary production (that started to be challenged more intensively since the 50's by distancing itself from the European pattern). In

The Utopia Generation, there is a dialogue about literature, by Horácio to Laurindo that validates this idea:

“Check the Viriato da Cruz book. He marks a definitive rupture with the Portuguese literature. The use of the voice of the people, in the language that citizens of Luanda use. It has nothing to do with what we’ve seen before, in particularly with the Portuguese. It’s a frontrunner literature, expressing the popular feeling of difference. (Pepetela, 1992: 77)”

Many Angolan writers used dialects and marks of Angolan tradition like the quimbundo, not only to connect with their people but also because of the need of a linguistic identity that was not a product of the colonialist language, in this case, the Portuguese. It was a tool that could bring unity to the Angolan people but also a constant reminder of the cultural imposition of the imperialist colonialism. Because of this, there is a revalorization of preserving the oral tradition of the past, creating a discursive ambiguity filled with Angolan expressivity. In a way it delays the linguistic unity but it also protects the cultural identity that survived the colonial mutilation.

In the post-colonial period there are descriptions, in Pepetela’s *The Utopia Generation*, of colonial imperialistic mentality, proving the identitary confusion of elements of Angolan society. The exploration of the back man by his brother, the backward and forceful mentality that Angola’s independence was unable to suppress. Pepetela uses the characters of Malongo, Victor and Elias to demonstrate the presence of an Eurocentric and colonialist mentality, the same one that was created to protect colonialist interests and that never should be used by individuals that wanted to have a positive role in their communities.

Literature has a role in showing certain attitudes and mentalities in texts that educate by showing the wrong example. Then the reader opposes will oppose his own possible attitudes towards the described situations and build new perspectives and reformulate his own identity.

The following dialogue shows the legacy Malongo gained from Portuguese mentality and the conception of the colonialists, using them for his own personal gain. In a context where Angolan people shouldn’t accept being exploited, in an independent Angola, by necessity, they had to go through it:

“– *You do not learn, do you? You stupid negro. You forgot the salt again, you son of an old bitch. Come here, come taste it.*

Malongo grabbed his head with both hands and forced his face in the plate, taste this you retard, taste it so that you can learn. João tried to fight, but the boss was too strong, and his face was only freed when a colossal slap threw him against the balcony wall. (...) João shook his head and got up. His eyes smaller, because of rage and he screamed:

– *You think that this is still a colonist land? (...)*

– *Shut your mouth or I’ll hit you again.*

– *We are independent you heard? Nobody has the right to hit me.*

– *You can go clean your stuff and get out of my face. Or I’ll give you a beating you won’t forget. There are plenty of people like you that want to work in my house. I slapped you so you can learn, because stupid Negros like you can only learn like this. You don’t want to learn? Then that’s your problem, get out of my sight.*

– *Aren’t you also a Negro? You look like a colonist, even worst than one. (Pepetela, 1992: 292-293)”*

The ideals, utopias characters shared while studying in Lisbon through literary texts, tconversations, where meant to transfigure reality and protect Angola’s future from injustice. Pepetela, shows with a certain type of dialogues that not everyone gave genuine importance to those utopias. The well being

of the collective didn't have enough strength to face the egoistic individualism.

The Government in his core has the principle of safekeeping the interests of whom he represented, but he created or was involved in power games that ruined those aspirations:

“You can never talk seriously about business without being involved in politics, he though. You can refuse it all you want, but it's inevitable. Even me, who never wanted to get wet, became involved in these conversations, if I wanted to do business. But they are much more interesting than the ones we had in our youth, when we wanted to change the world and only discussed abstract stuff, like freedom, equality and social justice. It was a bore, always with words that nobody understood, profit, exploration, fight here, revolution there. Now it's much better, it's all about fooling the government or the other, so that you get rich faster. At least, this is clear and positive, the only politic that can interest me. (Pepetela, 1992: 271)”

2. The eternal cycle of Utopias and Dystopias

The literary combat of Pepetela wants to give a place and a meaning to Angolan people identity, so that they can perspective new measures and directions. There are times when the utopia takes control of the writer's literary speech, and other times where the dystopia of Angola's reality creates a desolated, frustrated tone. We always have glimpses of new utopias, because they are needed for change to occur. We can observe this in Judite's dialogue:

“The past never justifies passivity-said Judite. If we all say that nothing's worth, then it's better to die or let ourselves die, it's always more coherent than to vegetate. (Pepetela, 1992: 208)”

Angola is still going through a long cultural transition, seeking a constructive identity and a renewed vision from the past, where the colonial and post-colonial dystopias will be faced as examples in constructing a fair society, an independent Angola, economically and culturally. Pepetela and other writers are contributing with literature. Politicians should contribute with politics that foment social well being, and the larger faction of the disfavored people should renew their interest in surpassing the serious problems that got the country in that precarious condition.

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SESSION 7

THE PRESENCE OF THE COLONIAL AND THE POST-COLONIAL IMAGINARY IN LITERATURE 1

Abstract: The 1980s were crucial years in the emergence of a new form of historical consciousness in Brazilian art and literature, especially concerned with questions of collective memory and identity. History, in its most different meanings, became a kind of leitmotif in novels, paintings, and movies. The issue amongst artists and writers was to cope with the very complex crossroad of tendencies and possibilities that were at their disposal in the 1980s. This was articulated with the necessity of re-signifying history and self-image in a moment marked by deep political and social transformations. The process of Democratic Transition occurred parallel with a profound re-thinking of self-representation in the region, an aesthetic transition that meant to redefine the way the past had been presented in order to reformulate the way a desirable future could be achieved.

Keywords: Brazilian literature; Contemporary Art; Democratic Transition

Buscar minha identidade em mim, frente a frente, face a face, corpo a corpo. Terei coragem de levantar-me desta escrivantina, abrir a porta do armário, buscar o espelho e enfrentar a minha imagem refletida, para poder superar o passado impresso no corpo e prepará-lo para o futuro? [Look for my identity in myself, face-to-face, body to body. Will I have the courage to get up from this chair, open the closet door, look in the mirror and confront my reflected image in order to overcome the past imprinted on the body and prepare it for the future?] (Santiago,1981:209)

This is the dramatic question posed by Graciliano Ramos, the character drawn by Silviano Santiago and based on the historical figure of the intellectual, politician and writer arrested during the Vargas dictatorship in the 1930s.

The first sentence of Santiago's book is quite emblematic: "I don't feel my body", and goes through the first paragraph into a deeper exploration of this symptom: "I have not had the courage to see the body from where these phrases came, the courage to see me as a body, which image is reflected in the mirror behind the door of the wardrobe"(1981:209).

It is curious how the period of imprisonment had a hugely destructive effect on the character Graciliano Ramos. During the arrest, which lasted about 10 months between 1936 and 1937, Graciliano sought strength within himself to survive the brutality of physical and moral torture, holding himself up with relatively stoic fortitude. However, when he left prison, Graciliano

Decommemo- rating the Past, Decolonizing the Present: Historical References in Brazilian Art and Literature during the Democratic Transition

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experienced a moral and psychological breakdown as a result of the violence that he had been submitted to in jail. Santiago's character is so tortured by his post-prison condition that he is not able to recognize himself, "I do not feel my body. I do not want to feel my body now because it is pure source of suffering" (1981:209). What motivates the character after this is a re-identification process where he tries to understand his reason for being – the intellectual activity – and his environment, Brazilian society and culture.

In the 1980s and 90s Brazil, just like the character built by Silviano Santiago, was fresh out of the grisly years of authoritarian rule, and was in the process of founding a new republic. This process of transition, dating from the late 70s on, seems to have demanded from some writers and artists, many of whom had been directly or indirectly affected by political persecution and censorship, a parallel effort to rethink and re-signify Brazilian self-image.

Silviano Santiago, for instance, was among them, and was concerned to attack and demolish many aspects of what he considered the "Official History". This seems to have been a very present concern in that moment, a kind of battle fought in the field of memory. Santiago's character, who was also a historical figure, engaged himself in a difficult enterprise, which was to rewrite the history of the "Inconfidência Mineira", an 18th century uprising (inspired by the North American revolution) against the Portuguese overtaxing policy in one of its biggest colonies: Brazil.

The last decades of the 20th century were marked by a new flourish of historical themes in literature and visual arts. History, in its most different meanings, became a kind of *leitmotif* in novels, paintings, and movies. Against the the argument that postmodernist trends brought about a certain dissolution of the idea of history (Jameson, 1985), Brazilian art and literature in the 80s and 90s were marked by the influence of postmodernist strategies and even so characterized by the emergence of a new form of historical consciousness, especially concerned with questions related to collective memory and identity.

In the field of the visual arts, the 1980s were characterized by the influence of *Transvanguardia* in Brazil, which brought the so-called "return of painting" to the scene, in contrast to the conceptual art that marked the 70s, as in the work of Antonio Manuel, Artur Barrio and Cildo Meireles (Canonglia, 2010). The "return of painting" was a clear trend in the exhibition *Como vai você, geração 80?* (How are you, 80's Generation?) which took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1984, as well as in the exhibitions of the São Paulo Biennial in 1985.

Received as a postmodern influence, both *Transvanguardia* and its most important theorist – Achille Bonito Oliva (1982) – found both sympathy and strong criticism in the region. For instance in Brazil the critics were divided between those, such as Ronaldo Brito (2001), who considered *Transvanguardia* as a new conservative vogue, and those that saw in it a different type of political debate (Canonglia, 2010). Naum Simão de Santana considered that the volubility of contemporary art and the overcoming of modernist concerns with style made postmodern art present itself as an "event", intervening not only in a formalistic way but also ideologically. This, he argued, pointed to a new manner of political intervention (Santana, 2006).

The concern with the Eurocentric misconception that points to Latin American art as somehow merely derivative of the main European trends have led critics such as Marcio Doctors (2001) to reaffirm connections between the art of the 1980s and the project of Brazilian modernists. He stresses the process of hybridization between multiple influences and particular characteristics, and highlights the efforts of local artists to create an alternative path through postmodern tendencies.

The term "historiographic metafiction", coined by Linda Hutcheon, refers to the critical and parodic historical references in contemporary novels (Hutcheon 1988) and finds parallels with terms such as "Latin America's new historical novel", coined by Seymour Menton (1993). These notions refer

to the postmodernist novels that incorporate a self-awareness, as well as an awareness of history as a human construct, rethinking and reworking the traditional ways of representing past events. In this sense, these novels are neither merely meta-fictional nor only another version of nineteenth-century historical novels. Rather they are specifically parodical in their intertextual relation to traditions and conventions.

This is similar to the argument of the Italian art critic Achille Bonito Oliva when defining the historical references present in postmodern art, which he refers to as *Transvanguardia* (Trans-avant-garde). The “presence of the past” in the “return of painting” of 1980s shows how art history can be used in a transverse and eclectic way. For Oliva, instead of the evolutionist conception of successive vanguard movements that characterized the history of art of the twentieth-century, contemporary artists (at the 80s) were meant to free-flow through different techniques and themes as nomads. The point was to conciliate contradictory languages, building an intertwining of methods and expressions.

According to Seymour Menton, after 1979 the presence of what he calls the new historical novel became a predominant trend in Latin America, with around 194 such novels published between 1979 and 1992:

The empirical evidence suggests that since 1979 the dominant trend in Latin American fiction has been the proliferation of New Historical novels, the most canonical of which share with the Boom novels of the 1960s, exuberant eroticism, and complex, Neobaroque (albeit less hermetic) structural and linguistic experimentation. (Menton 1993: 14)

It is worth noting that Menton’s categorization of Latin American literary production refers to a similar set of characteristics outlined by Linda Hutcheon when she addresses historical references in postmodern novels in a broader sense. Even noting that Brazilian production has parallels with other artists and authors around the world, Brazilian literature and art still presents important particularities, related with the specific locus of enunciation of these writers and artists, and marked by what Walter Mignolo calls “colonial difference”: “The colonial difference is the connector that, in short, refers to the changing face of coloniality throughout the history of the modern/colonial world-system and brings to the foreground the planetary dimension of human history silenced by discourses centering on Western civilization” (2002: 61-62).

Hutcheon’s category of historiographic metafiction is very pertinent to her project of a poetics of postmodernism. However, her analysis does not take into account the possibility of different forms of postmodernism. In this sense, the arguments of multiple forms of modern and postmodern experience, as put by Monica Kaup (2006) and Susan Friedman (2010), or the perspective of a transmodernity, as defended by Walter Mignolo (2002) and Ramón Grosfoguel (2008) are very relevant. Due to the specificity of Brazilian modernism, which is marked by the position of Brazil as a subaltern culture in the periphery of “Western Civilization”, it is evident that the new historical consciousness that emerged in novels and pieces of art of the 80s would take a specific configuration. This configuration is not only historically aware but is politically committed to a symbolic decolonization of the past.

These artists were in fact trying to find a place at a very complex crossroads of trends and perspectives. This is probably why some artists of the 1980s, including some who started their careers prior to this decade, did not position themselves clearly in the tradition of art history, but instead played between modern and postmodern frontiers. This “playing in-between” is in accordance with the idea of “critical border thinking” (Mignolo, 2002, 2011; Grosfoguel, 2008) and points to a particular manner of articulating different aesthetic trends and concerns related to the type of modernity achieved in Latin America under very specific conditions. It is also important to stress that these novels and visual art works have an important epistemological dimension, in the sense that they

criticize historical knowledge through an aesthetic approach and as such confer a powerful decolonial potential to these artistic manifestations.

A good example of this attitude is the case of João Ubaldo Ribeiro's *Viva o Povo Brasileiro* (1984). *Viva o Povo Brasileiro* is a narrative that plays with different periods of time, dramatizing a big range of questions and themes from the 16th century Portuguese colonization to the 20th century social inequality and corruption among the Brazilian elites. He works in a non-chronological way, using elements of parody to tackle historical passages, such as the 19th century independence from Portugal and the Paraguayan War, which are events deeply rooted in canonical history and in collective memory.

One of the most striking aspects of the narrative is the effort to deconstruct the way Brazilian history was usually presented during the previous years of dictatorship, a canonical history full of myths and national heroes meant to support a "virtuous" version of historical events. Ribeiro discusses the violence of colonization and the continuous brutality of Brazilian elites, who at many important historical junctures have preferred to abdicate the freedom of self government in favor of an authoritarian and military regime able to crush possible popular uprisings and to perpetuate upper class privileges. His references to historical accounts are always marked by a satirical suspicion, such as in this excerpt:

Desde esse dia que se sabe que toda a História é falsa ou meio falsa e cada geração que chega resolve o que aconteceu antes dela e assim a História dos livros é tão inventada quanto a dos jornais (...). Poucos livros devem ser confiados, assim como poucas pessoas, é a mesma coisa. (Ribeiro, 1982: 515)[Since this day we know that all History is false or only half false and each generation that arrives decides what happened before and thus the History from books is as forged as the news in the papers. Few books are reliable, as well as few people; it's the same thing.]

When stating that each generation decides what is important about what has happened before, Ribeiro is pointing exactly to the discursive nature of past accounts. In fact, even before the beginning of the narrative the epigraph of the book claims its theoretical awareness: "O segredo da Verdade é o seguinte: não existem fatos, só existem histórias" [The secret about the Truth is the following: there are no facts, but only histories] (Ribeiro, 1982).

Ribeiro makes use of typically Neobaroque aesthetic trends and provides a hint of postmodern (and post-structuralist) theoretical awareness as he depicts a deeply suspicious attitude towards the possibility of historical truth, stressing the idea of history as a discursive *construct*. He is also clearly influenced by typically modernist issues regarding nationality and national identity, with many references to the cultural "cannibalization", or "*antropofagia*", a *leitmotif* in the work of Brazilian modernists. In fact, one of the characters of the book is a cannibal Indian who appreciates the flesh of the Dutch invaders of the 17th century: "O caboclo Capiroba apreciava comer holandeses" (Ribeiro, 1982: 37)

The narrative simultaneously presents modernist references, Neobaroque characteristics and postmodern strategies, which is one of the main particularities of Brazilian literary and artistic productions of that period.

In the case of the visual arts, too, some artists such as Adriana Varejão have tried to build an alternative route, or, at least, to find a way between tendencies, appropriating themes and techniques taken up by postmodernist trends while still concerned with acquisitions and themes of modernist vanguards of the twentieth century. Varejão's use of historical images are usually full of references to the violence of the colonization process.

Adriana Varejão was looking for her own way of tackling the complexity of tendencies and

paths that boomed in the 80s and 90s. The artist's interest in the Baroque, often noted by critics, synthetically incorporates questions regarding historical themes. Her works explore implicit, untold stories, creating a type of critical historiography. In the piece *Acadêmico-Heróis* (Figure 1) for instance, Varejão appropriates details of pieces from 19th century academic paintings including Rodolfo Amoedo's *O Último Tamoio* and Almeida Junior's *O derrubador brasileiro* (Figures 2 and 3). She conciliates different dramatic narratives by mixing up canonical paintings and confronting their theatrical principles of figurative composition. This relationship between history, violence and a representational crisis permeates the entirety of her work.

In Varejão's flesh paintings, flesh appears from within the canvas, made out of concentrated, accumulated paint, as if the interior of the canvas was itself in a rough state (Figure 4). Beyond the presence of flesh-painting, a symbolic meaning is enhanced to appropriate a visual memory at once strange and familiar. The artist's intervention strategies play with the symbolic construction of visuality, building layers of signification permeated by tension and struggle.

Many critics refer to the paintings of Adriana Varejão as marked by a desire for theatricality (Osório, Santiago, Schuarts, Shoolhammer, 2009). She brings back Baroque references to the contemporary scene through the themes of Lusitanian *azulejarias* that permeate her works. Varejão's paintings assume the uneasiness of a simultaneous de-referentialized and re-enhanced figuration (Figure 5), destabilizing conventional iconographic regimes through the approximation of heterogeneous elements. In her work both figuration and history return as a parody, suspending a predetermined narrative order. As the author herself has stated: "I not only appropriate historic images, I also attempt to bring back to life processes which created them and use them to construct new versions." (Carvajal, 1996:169). These "new versions" of historic images are usually full of references to the violence of colonization and of the post-colonial historical process. Varejão uncovers the most painful and bloody aspects of the images, aspects that rest beneath the thin layer of surface, as the flesh that emerges from the inner part of her canvas.

The quest, amongst artists and writers, to cope with the very complex crossroads of tendencies and possibilities that were present in the 1980s was articulated through the necessity to re-signify history and self-image, at a time marked by deep political and social transformations. The dilemmas of the collective construction of democracy after the gruesome years of dictatorship in the region added a potent fuel to the uncertainties of a period when modernism was declared moribund although the issues queried by modernists were still, in many senses, pertinent and relevant. The tendency towards historical themes in Brazilian art and literature bloomed in response to a difficult task, which was to find a particular way of tackling the new challenges whilst dealing with long-term rooted problems. Therefore, the process of democratic transition occurred parallel to a profound re-thinking of self-representation in Brazil, an aesthetic transition that meant to redefine the way the past had been presented in order to reformulate the way a desirable future could be achieved.

Annex: Images

Figura 1. Adriana Varejão. Acadêmico – “Heróis”.



Figura 2. Rodolfo Amoedo. “O último Tamoio”, 1883.



Figura 3. Almeida Junior. “O Derrubador Brasileiro”, 1879



Figure 4. Azulejaria em carne viva.



Figure 5. Varal.

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Abstract: Study on the trend of literary writing in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, understood by some scholars as the New Latin American Historical Novel. Set in the context of postmodernism, this narrative mode proposes revisiting historical places and third places in a kind of (re) construction of their own official historical discourse. There is, then, the dissolution of the literary text in a hybrid among Literature, History and fictional Theory. The discussion centers on the concept of literature employed by the author to construct a narrative of inversions, displacement, clash of culture and boundaries break between literature and history, real and magic, present, past and future, and diverse cultures, besides showing opposed viewpoints intertextual, parodic and metalinguistic reflections. Such notes support to understand this new literary expression and the critical positioning of the cited author, expressed through a production that presents a Latin American legitimating literary and cultural discourse.

Keywords: Literature; History; Borders

“America is the only continent where different eras coexist, where a twentieth-century man can shake hands with a man of the Quaternary era, who has no idea what newspapers or communications are and takes a medieval life.” Alejo Carpentier ¹

The literary production should not be seen as an isolated result of an author and his creation. Every work shows echoes of tradition and adds in a singular way something new, a talent of the author, which, somehow, stands out in the fictional production (ELIOT, 1989). Based on it, it is said that studying a literary work is to review other times and voices in the discourse of the author from who we show interest in. Studying the novel *La Pasión de los Nómades* (1994), by María Rosa Lojo, it is to observe a new trend of Latin American Contemporary Literature, which is the production of the New Historical Novel.

María Rosa Lojo has excelled in Argentinean contemporary literature. Her work oscillates, in the view of some critics, between feminism and historical sight. Daughter of Spanish immigrants who arrived in Argentina during the Spanish Civil War, the writer was born on February 13th, 1954. Exiled from the culture of their parents' country, in contact with another culture, she sees in the literature the opportunity to understand a culture that is not hers,

¹ Our translation for: “A América é o único continente onde eras diferentes coexistem, onde um homem do século vinte pode apertar a mão de um homem da era quaternária, que não tem idéia do que sejam jornais ou comunicações e que leva uma vida medieval.” Alejo Carpentier

New latin american historical novel: a critical approach of *La Pasión de los Nómades*, by María Rosa Lojo

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to which she had to adapt herself. For this, she bet on looking to the past of the Argentinean nation, understood by myths, heroes and historical discourses.

The discursive space constructed by the author is, primarily, the reason to have her uniqueness before other writers. Lojo's literary fabric is composed of wires that interweave, expressing doubts about human "truths", (re) constructions, critical reassessments of the past, theories redesign and fictionalization of historical data. Thus, we have noticed that Lojo makes textualized History, narrated, embroidered on a multisignificative fabric, showing displacements, in which social places forgotten by the writing of a History told as the official are represented, viewpoints and ways of narrating / weave a history are reversed, historical and narrative time are merged, in order to give voice to whom the discourse of silence was imposed, to produce hybrid genres, to destroy the boundaries between European and Latin American cultures, or "center" and "periphery", and also to break down the boundaries between the real and the magic.

It is possible to assert, then, that there is in the novel *La Pasión de los Nómades* (1994), a mix between History, Literature and Theory, which shows the concern of the researcher and writer with the theorization of a fiction inserted in Post-Modernity. Furthermore, we also observed her desire to reflect on the need of fantasy, literature, simple and magical for a reorientation of human life.

It seems that the boundaries between History and Literature were never defined with accuracy and clarity and, with the passing of time, they ended up approaching. Evidence of this productive dialogue is the New Historical Novel that "mocks" the concrete boundaries between the literary and the historical. According to ESTEVES, when he quotes Aristoteles in his text:

[...] the historian is supposed to deal with what really happened, and the literary man, with what could have happened, the first being restricted to truth and the second to the likelihood ratio, it was only in the nineteenth century that the separation between both discourses seems to have actually occurred. And yet, this divorce was not always too bright or long lasting. (ESTEVES, 2010, p. 18).²

Marilene Weinhardt (2011) agrees with the fact that Paul Veyne:

[...] concluded that the writing of history is a work of art, although objective, but without method or scientific basis, so that its value is revealed by the same features of literary analysis. The scholar stressed the importance of the historian's culture and intelligence, pointing out the dangers of improvisation, observation that can be extended to the novelist. (WEINHARDT, 2011, p. 20)³

For Baumgarten (2000), every novel is historical because it is developed at a time and mentions a time. In the words of the author: "Time of the writing or the production of the text."⁴ However, he points out that the concept of New Historical Novel denotes something more incident in the narrative, to the extent that this new genre "[...] has the implicit aim to foster ownership of historical facts which define the history of particular human community" (BAUMGARTEM, 2000, p. 270).⁵

In reflecting on the characteristics of the New Historical Novel, Weinhardt quotes Fernando Ainsa:

2 Our translation for: [...] cabe ao historiador tratar daquilo que realmente aconteceu, e ao literato, daquilo que poderia ter acontecido, ficando o primeiro circunscrito à verdade e o segundo à verossimilhança, foi apenas no século XIX que a separação entre ambos os discursos parece ter ocorrido de fato. E mesmo assim, tal divórcio nem sempre foi muito claro ou de longa duração. (ESTEVES, 2010, p. 18).

3 Our translation for: [...] concluiu que a escrita da história é obra de arte, embora objetiva, mas sem método e sem caráter científico, tanto que seu valor se revela pelos mesmos recursos da análise literária. O estudioso acentuava a importância da cultura e da inteligência do historiador, apontando os perigos da improvisação, observação que se pode entender ao ficcionista. (WEINHARDT, 2011, p. 20).

4 Our translation for: "tempo da escrita ou da produção do texto."

5 Our translation for: "[...] tem por objetivo implícito promover uma apropriação de fatos históricos definidores de uma fase da História de determinada comunidade humana" (BAUMGARTEM, 2000, p. 270).

This seems to be the most important feature of the new Hispanic American narrative: search without solemnity the individual, men and women in its true dimension, lost among the ruins of a story dismantled by rhetoric and lies, and when finding them, describe them, and embroil them to justify new dreams and hopes. And all this, though the character created seems invented, but, ultimately, it is (AÍNSA, 2003, p.101 cited in WEINHARDT, 2011, p.43).⁶

Recognizing the same characteristics in the genre, the scholar Linda Hutcheon devotes a special chapter to this type of literary production that has fascinated contemporaneity and the reader. The term used by the author is historiographical metafiction. For her:

[...] The historiographical metafiction incorporates all these three areas (Literature, History and Theory) in other words, its theoretical self-awareness about history and fiction as human creations (historiographical metafiction) becomes the basis for its rethinking and remaking of forms and contents of the past. [...] It always operates within the conventions in order to subvert them. It is not only metafictional, nor is it just another version of the historical novel or nonfiction novel. (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.21 -22).⁷

Thinking in this new genre, its intentions and its recurrence in contemporary Latin American literature, we chose the book *La Pasión de los Nómades* (1994) by María Rosa Lojo to investigate this new form of literary production.

The 2008 edition was used for analysis. The book in question is divided into chapters and for each chapter we focus on a narrator, which alternate predominantly between Rosaura and Lucio Mansilla. The narrative doesn't leave a defined space, but makes references to Argentina in the twentieth century and, also, to the past, which sets up the space for the unfolding of the characters' adventures. Time is the product of the merge between past and future, a psychological time resulted from the "trans historicity" of the narrative and the thoughts of the characters.

The graphic design of the book cover is reason for reflection and instigates the reading of the narrative from parodic elements that compose the non-verbal picture. There is Lucio Mansilla atop a horse, but in place of paws, there are wheels of bicycles, that is, there is a clear vision of a carnivalesque time asked by the narrative.

[...] Parody is a perfect postmodern form because, paradoxically, it incorporates and challenges what it parodies. It also requires a reconsideration of the idea of origin or originality, consistent idea with other postmodern questioning about the assumptions of liberal humanism (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.28).⁸

The parodic revisit of the Argentinean pampas, proposed by Lojo, is a gift to the reader, to the extent that today everything is already known and there is no more challenging. Traveling through her narrative by relying on Lucio Mansilla's reports is a journey to an unknown place of ourselves, by better known than it is. The look to this "new past" is as the waters of Heraclitus, because, as well as the waters are not the same, neither is the past, even less the subjects who built on it their speech. By returning from this "tourism through the past" is that many dilemmas can be explained, because

6 *Our translation for:* Esta parece ser la característica más importante de la nueva narrativa hispanoamericana: buscar sin solemnidad al individuo, a hombres y mujeres en su dimensión más auténtica, perdidos entre las ruinas de una historia desmantelada por la retórica y la mentira, y al encontrarlos, describirlos, y ensarzarlos para justificar nuevos sueños y esperanzas. Y todo ello, aunque el personaje creado parezca inventado, aunque, en definitiva, lo sea. (AÍNSA, 2003, p.101 cited in WEINHARDT, 2011, p.43).

7 *Our translation for:* [...] A metaficção historiográfica incorpora todos esses três domínios (Literatura, História e Teoria), ou seja, sua autoconsciência teórica sobre a história e a ficção como criações humanas (metaficção historiográfica) passa a ser a base para seu repensar e sua reelaboração das formas e dos conteúdos do passado. [...] ela sempre atua *dentro* das convenções a fim de subvertê-las. Ela não é apenas metafictional; nem é apenas mais uma versão do romance histórico ou do romance não ficcional. (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.21 -22).

8 *Our translation for:* [...] a paródia é uma forma pós-moderna perfeita, pois, paradoxalmente, incorpora e desafia aquilo a que parodia. Ela também obriga a uma reconsideração da idéia de origem ou originalidade, idéia compatível com outros questionamentos pós-modernos sobre os pressupostos do humanismo liberal. (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.28)

the origins of our identity reside at the time visited. Always remembering that, as Hutcheon says, the historical narrative [...] Is always a critical reworking, never a nostalgic “return” (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.21).⁹

María Rosa Lojo, in an explaining note on the cover of the book, by reflecting on her protagonist says:

[...] Mansilla returns in this novel to the nineties of the twentieth century in the footsteps of its famous tour to the ranquele indians. In that way, he will deal with his former defections, he will exercise again his critical and eccentric look, and will reflect on the present and the past of a country that did not live up to what was promised and that mutilated or distorted its own memory. Crossing the historical, fantasy and wonderful, this book traces the postmodern city and the “raked” “*pampeanas*” masterfully achieving a convergence of real and literary characters, of pathetic ghosts, human beings of flesh and bone, and the fairy creatures from the old Celtic dream (LOJO, 2008, book cover).¹⁰

In this presentation given by the author, we can deduce that the historical sight is her key element in this book. According to some authors, the man of the globalized world have already discovered and learned experimentally everything that could be knowable, there are no places to be known. It is in this interim that writers use the historiographical metafiction to lead man / reader to (re) discover themselves, but in their past, a place to be (re) known.

Lojo provides us to know the past or travel to it. Finding our own tradition is a human necessity and even to the trans historical ghosts of her fiction, nomads of their own existence. It seems that the author’s thought about her protagonist meets the sayings of Ainsa, quoted by Esteves in “*O Novo Romance Histórico Brasileiro*”, to the extent that he says that the role of New Latin American Novel is:

To search among the ruins of a dismantled history for the individual lost behind the events, to discover and to glorify the human being in its true dimension, even if oddly invented, even if ultimately it is (AINSA, 1991, p.85 cited in ESTEVES,1998, p.133).¹¹

According to Esteves (1998), Seymour Menton has listed six key points for understanding this new genre that has helped put the Latin American literary expression in the fictional world production. So, we transcribed below such features from Esteves’ text, articulating elements from Lojo’s text and from Menton’s ideas.

1 - The mimetic representation of a given historical period [...] makes the most absurd and unexpected events may occur, “and, according to the scholar, we also found in the new historical novel” 2 - The conscious distortion of history by omissions, exaggerations and anachronisms. (MENTON cited in ESTEVES, 1998, p.134).¹²

These first two latent elements in the production of this genre can be observed in the following

9 *Our translation for:* [...] é sempre uma reelaboração crítica, nunca um “retorno” nostálgico (HUTCHEON, 1991, p.21).

10 *Our translation for:* [...] Mansilla vuelve en esta novela a la década del noventa del siglo XX sobre los pasos de su famosa excursión a los indios ranqueles. En aquel camino, ajustará cuentas con sus antiguas defecciones, ejercerá nuevamente su mirada crítica y excéntrica, y reflexionará sobre el presente y el pasado de un país que no llegó a estar a la altura de lo que prometía y que mutilo o distorsionó su propia memoria. Cruce de lo histórico, lo fantástico y lo maravilloso, este libro recorre la ciudad posmoderna y las “rastrilladas” pampeanas logrando con maestría una convergencia de personajes reales y literarios, de patéticos fantasmas, seres humanos de carne y hueso, y criaturas feéricas del viejo sueño celta. (LOJO, 2008, capa).

11 *Our translation for:* buscar entre las ruinas de una historia desmantelada al individuo perdido detrás de los acontecimientos, descubrir y ensalzar al ser humano en su dimensión más auténtica, aunque parezca inventado, aunque en definitiva lo sea (AINSA, 1991, p.85 cited in ESTEVES,1998, p.133).

12 *Our translation for:* 1- A representação mimética de determinado período histórico [...] faz com que os acontecimentos mais inesperados e absurdos possam ocorrer; “e, de acordo com o estudioso, também encontramos no novo romance histórico “2 – A distorção consciente da História mediante omissões, anacronismo e exageros. (MENTON cited in ESTEVES, 1998, p.134).

excerpts from the novel proposed to the analysis:

The old powers have already dropped: the power of the gods and elves, of the magicians and fairies, of the elves and secret forest dwellers. The glory of the proud animals has fallen: the magnificent lords of forests and mountains, the slippery lunar fish from sea and river; and it is evidence that even the kingdom of man, victim and tyrant of the world, is about to be slain (LOJO, 2008, p.17).¹³

In order to situate the reader, it is necessary to explain that the previous paragraph is introductory of the first chapter of the novel in analysis, in other words, there is a reference to the present time, even if distinct supernatural elements of reality, and much mentioned by the literary tradition of the past, find discursive space to report their impression on the modern world in this chapter of the fiction.

Yet in relation to this temporal digression is worth mentioning Merlin's speech, godfather of Cabarillos Rosaura, in his reflections on the fate of humanity, of the times in which reason prevails:

I have not been so worried, not even in the times of civil war or the second European war of this century, which after all, were human affairs: something crazy, stupid, unjust and cruel, like all struggles of men by power. However, one is now destroying the world, our world, in a much more serious way. [...] – Look: the North Sea polluted, the Mediterranean by the same way, the crystalline German rivers become channels of waste, the beaches of Galicia decorated with corks, broken bottles and beer cans. Thousands of factories littering the mother water and eternal forests everywhere [...]. (LOJO, 2008, p. 23- 24).¹⁴

The characters of the first chapter are fictional trans-historical beings, as understood by Lojo, and humans who follow this same attitude, because they live in a present time in which they are reinvented. This look to the past from the present reflects the philosophical *metié* of Merlin. His immense nuisance to people who visit his residence in Ireland may be an example of the character's intolerance with respect to human wisdom, their rationality. Ironically, Merlin translates human hypocrisy and expresses its nihilism when thinking about believing in man as a species that can still make the world better. Below, we reproduce the excerpt commented:

[...] Look at these idiots who settle here every day, invading the park with biscuit wrappers and plastic bags and trampling as pigs the newborn thoughts. All because an imprudent had the cursed idea to report that this is the residence of Merlin. I actually don't care. It'd be the same if Jack the Ripper or Spiderman had lived here. I mean, they'd come even more. They are only interested in taking a few pictures, fill a vial of earth and gossip the mansion was very curious (mixture of Galician farm and Scottish castle with Gothic reminiscences) but the owner was a crazy old splenetic man who refused to make a magical demonstration of any kind even though they had paid religiously every penny of their fees in the tour (LOJO, 2008, p.24).¹⁵

13 *Our translation for:* Han caído ya los poderes antiguos: el poder de los dioses y el de los elfos, el de los magos y el de las hadas, el de los duendes y los secretos moradores de bosques. Ha caído la gloria de los animales arrogantes: los magníficos señores de selvas y de montañas, los resbaladizos peces lunares de río y mar, y es una evidencia que también el reino del hombre, víctima y tirano del mundo, está por fenecer. (LOJO, 2008, p.17).

14 *Our translation for:* No me he sentido tan preocupado ni siquiera en los tiempos de la guerra civil o de la segunda guerra europea de este siglo, que después de todo eran asuntos humanos: algo loco, necio, injusto y cruel, como todas las luchas de los hombres por el poder. Pero ahora nos están destruyendo el mundo, nuestro mundo, de un modo todavía más grave. [...] – Mira: el Mar del Norte contaminado, el Mediterráneo por el mismo camino, los cristalinos ríos alemanes convertido en canales de desechos, las playas de Galicia adornadas de corchos, botellas rotas y latas de cerveza. Miles de fábricas ensuciando las aguas madres y los bosques eternos por todas partes [...]. (LOJO, 2008, p. 23- 24).

15 *Our translation for:* [...] fíjate en estos imbécil que se instalan aquí todos los días, a invadir el parque con envolturas de galletas y bolsitas de plástico y a pisotear como cerdos los pensamientos recién nacidos. Todo porque un imprudente ha tenido la maldita ocurrencia de divulgar que ésta es la residencia de Merlín. En realidad yo les importo un rábano. Vendrían lo mismo si les hubiesen dicho que aquí vivió Jack el Destripador o el Hombre Araña. Mejor dicho, vendrían todavía más. Sólo les interesa tomar unas cuantas fotos, llenar un frasquito de tierra y contar a la vuelta que la mansión era muy curiosa (mezcla de pizo gallego y castillo escocés con reminiscencias góticas) pero que el dueño era un viejo loco y atrabiliario que se negó a hacer una demostración mágica de cualquier índole a pesar de que ellos

It seems that, for Merlin, humanity lost its values. This information is important, to the extent that this is the voice of the author who writes seeking to (re) connect with the historical tradition to review, reintroduce, and even recover human values lost over the years. To Lojo, this (re) connection with the past and its understanding will bring identity to the reader and to society itself in general. Destroying the sacralized view of the natives as inferior and colonized, the author leads us to reflect on their contribution to the ethical and cultural formation of Argentina because restates, much more significantly, the traumatic process of colonization. Their forgotten speech is presented in the various facets of Lojo's characters in her self-reflections on the past.

La Pasión de los Nómades is the result of a fictional creation of the author, but also of her research as an investigator of the intellectual, political and cultural events of the nineteenth century. María Rosa Lojo and many writers have given special attention to this century, because it is the moment in which History and Argentinean literature produced a historical discourse aimed at the formation of identity and of the nation.

The protagonist of the story is Lucio Mansilla, great explorer of Argentinean lands, writer and intellectual of the nineteenth century, nephew of Mariano Rosas, great Argentinean dictator representative of "barbarity", due to the bloody massacres carried out to Native Americans. Lucio Mansilla wrote *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*. This book will be the starting point of Lojo to reflect on the past history of Argentina from a narrative that fictionalizes the accounts of Lucio. If it is true that history and literature meet, this is visible in Lojo, once the author works with source and organizes the historical account as a narrative, however she gives her reports the subjectivity of an observer immersed in an Argentina of the late twentieth century.

When the plot of the novel is analyzed, it is clear that the novel tells the History of supernatural beings that depart from this world and return to the past. The narrative begins with a reflection on the post-modern society and their disbelief. Then, Rosaura dominates the narrative to tell the reader their origins and the reason of being associated to magic. In the excerpt in which the character is presented within the narrative, three out of the six characteristics enumerated by Menton, cited by Esteves are observed: "3 - The fictionalization of well-known historical characters [...] 5 - Great use of intertextuality. 6 - Presence of Bakhtinian concepts [...]" (MENTON cited in ESTEVES, 1998, p.134).¹⁶ The quotation below elucidates our proposal:

My name is Rosaura dos Carballos. If my name does not tell you anything, it will soon. Besides, I am very well known - in the hierarchy of the magical kingdoms, the highborn of my mother, the enlightened and signaled Morgana [...] Dad - let's face it - he was a Galician plebeian elf without category, one of those homeless [...] I was very tiny (did not reach three kilos) [...] my mother, requested by social imperatives, left me under the custody and guardianship of my godfather Merlin, who, for all and for me, also became my honorary uncle, though there was no direct relationship between us. (LOJO, 2008, p. 19).¹⁷

Lojo explicitly marks intertextuality with the Celtic culture of the Middle Ages. The article draws important figures like Morgana, great sorceress in the hierarchy of Celtic mythology, and Merlin, the greatest of the wizards, for the Celts, both hold the magical power of the ancient religion and

habían pagado religiosamente hasta el último centavo de sus tarifas en el *tour*. (LOJO, 2008, p.24).

¹⁶ *Our translation for:* "3 - A ficcionalização de personagens históricos bem conhecidos [...] 5- Grande uso da intertextualidade. 6 - Presença dos conceitos bakhtinianos [...]" (MENTON cited in ESTEVES, 1998, p.134).

¹⁷ *Our translation for:* Me llamo Rosaura dos Carballos. Si el nombre todavía no les dice nada, ya lo dirá en el porvenir. Además, soy hartoo bien conocida - en la jerarquía de los reinos feéricos, por la alta cuna de mi madre, la esclarecida y señaladísima Morgana: el hada Morgana [...] Papá - digámoslo de una vez - fue un duende gallego plebeyo y sin categoría, uno de esos vagabundos [...] Era yo muy menuda (no llegaba a los tres kilos) [...] mi madre, solicitada por imperativos sociales, me dejó bajo a la guarda y tutoría de mi padrino Merlín, quien, para todos y para mí, se convirtió también en mi tío honorario, aunque no hubiese entre nosotros ningún parentesco directo. (LOJO, 2008, p. 19).

the worship to the goddess of Avallon. Moreover, it highlights the ease to parody the fairy reality merging it and bringing it to the same level of human life. Human dilemmas are also dilemmas of these supernatural characters.

The same phenomenon, in other words, the three characteristics of Menton quoted are found in the description that the protagonist Lucio Mansilla makes of himself in the novel:

I am Lucio Victorio Mansilla, writer, explorer, hiker, military, diplomatic, unfortunate politician, *gourmet* and almost a *dandy* professional. I was nephew of Don Juan Manuel Rozas (Satrap del Plata or Restorer of the Laws, as we see it), son of Doña Agustina Rozas de Mansilla, the most beautiful woman of her time, who left me a bit of her beauty, father-in-law of Count Maurice of Voissins and - as I said- "*compadre*" of the illustrious Mariano Rosas, chief of ranqueles Indians. I have (what allows me not to confess how many) and, as it will be seen, in fair condition (LOJO, 2008, p. 40).¹⁸

If in Rosaura's description there is the construction of a noble hierarchical importance to which the young fairy belongs, in Lucio his qualities were built grounded in the great personalities of Argentina history.

Rosaura complains about the lack of faith of humans who do not believe in the supernatural manifestations in modern times. Again, we see the features of Menton, to the extent that we clearly observe the dialogism between the wordings of the character and teachings of the philosopher Heraclitus on the metamorphosis of life. Besides this philosophical tone, in this excerpt, there is also a distortion of time which mixes past speeches with the present time in addition to a mixture of speeches in a parodic form, once Rosaura, daughter of Morgana, does not believe in a Christian God and, even though, appoints him as if she believed in it:

But neither God nor I wanted things to go like this. It is written that nothing is forever what it is and even us who measure our life not in years but in centuries, we change as men change. My uncle was not wrong in his pessimist meditations. Our powers have diminished over the centuries of rationalism, colonialism and the exploits of the Industrial Revolution. In part, this is due to the increase of human strength, but also to a lack of exercise that comes from the lack of faith [...] Our works are as beautiful as ephemeral and we cannot change the derailed order of a world that we do not govern (LOJO, 2008, p.26).¹⁹

It is also noticed, according to Menton quoted by Esteves, 4 - The presence of metafiction or of narrator's comments on the process of creation" (ESTEVEES, 1998, p. 134)²⁰ in the speeches of her character Merlin and the carnivalization. The first evidenced in the following excerpt:

In my good time, it was not distinguished what is now called "fiction" from history or the supernatural from the "natural". Therefore, it was, as everyone knows, our song of the Round Table. Anyway, these modern

18 *Our translation for:* Soy Lucio Victorio Mansilla, escritor, explorador, excursionista, militar, diplomático, político poco afortunado, *gourmet* y casi *dandy* profesional. Fui sobrino de Don Juan Manuel de Rozas (sátrapa del Plata o Restaurador de las Leyes, según se mire), hijo de Doña Agustina Rozas de Mansilla, la mujer más bella de su tiempo, que me llegó alguna pizca de su hermosura, suegro del conde Maurice de Voissins y - ya lo dije- *compadre* del ilustre Mariano Rosas, jefe de los indios ranqueles. Llevo cumplidos una punta de años de muertos (me permite la coquetería de no confesar cuántos) y, como habrá visto, en razonable estado de conservación. (LOJO, 2008, p. 40).

19 *Our translation for:* Pero ni Dios ni yo quisimos que las cosas pasasen de ese modo. Está escrito que nada sea siempre lo que es y aun nosotros, los que medimos nuestra vida no en años sino en siglos cambiamos, como cambian los hombres. Mi tío no se equivocaba en sus meditaciones pesimistas. Nuestros poderes han disminuido con los siglos de racionalismo, colonialismo y las proezas de la Revolución Industrial. En parte esto se debe al aumento de las fuerzas humanas, pero también a una falta de ejercicio que proviene de la falta de fe [...] Nuestras obras son tan bellas como efímeras y ya no podemos modificar el desbaratado orden de un mundo que no gobernamos. (LOJO, 2008, p.26).

20 *Our translation for:* "4- A presença da metaficção ou de comentários do narrador sobre o processo de criação" (ESTEVEES, 1998, p. 134)"

inventions produce pity to me. Men have even thought that are more real than us. (LOJO, 2008, p.26).²¹

Upon arriving in Argentina, among other happiness, Rosaura knows Lucio Mansilla, a spirit that got tired of living in paradise and decides to go back to see how Argentina is, that he left in the year of his death in the nineteenth century. The three supernatural characters: Merlin, Rosaura and Lucio Mansilla will go, together, on a new expedition to indigenous lands. This expedition full of good humor as described by the author, makes Lucio become a comic figure, fictionally imposing a humanized “hero” or even desecrated by his trivial attitudes. The tool used by the writer is the memory, a major element in the historical discourse. Lucio is not known in most of the places he passes and it makes him secluded at the shards of his vanity. In an excerpt from the book, Merlin gets to, satirically, doubt the very existence of Lucio, since he knows nothing about him everywhere they visit. At the end of the trip, Rosaura does not want to come back, because she found herself among the *Mapuches* and Lucio Mansilla too. According to Esteves:

Significantly, at the end of the adventure and of the novel, the two protagonists prefer not to return to their original universes. Rosaura leaves her Celtic world and enters the Mapuche world. She seeks refuge inside the Casa de Plata, in which, in communion with telluric forces of nature, weaves the fabric of fertility, plotting the drawings of life from symmetric spaces. Nor Mansilla returns to the world of the living and to civilization. He takes refuge in an indigenous universe, [...]. (ESTEVEVES, 2011, p. 7).²²

Therefore, after all the discussion proposed in this paper, it can be said that the New Historical Novel results from the productive dialogue on the border of fiction, history and literature. This genre is the new Latin American discourse, which seeks to give voice to those who have been silenced by history. The novel proposed for this analysis complied with all the characteristics listed by many scholars of this new form of literary production and showed how it is possible to tell the story in a different way, reflecting on the boundaries between historical times and cultures between peoples stigmatized as “Center “and” Periphery “. Thus, we emphasize the importance of María Rosa Lojo and her historical novel *La Pasión de los Nómades* (2008) in the construction and / or texture of a discursive, social and literary place that is able to translate through laborious and valuable aesthetic, poetic and inventive capacity, who we are and what we think, Americans inhabitants of the “New World”, exotic land and paradise inhabited by the other who does not belong to the European Christian cultural universe. It is also emphasized, that it was only a single possibility of analysis that can contribute to critical discussions about the subject, to the extent that this study was not exhausted and can provide constant dilemmas that may result in new research.

²¹ *Our translation for:* En mis buenos tiempos no se distinguía ora lo que ahora llaman “ficción” de la historia, ni lo sobrenatural de lo “natural”. Así ocurrió, como todo el mundo lo sabe, con nuestra gesta de la Mesa Redonda. En fin, estos inventos modernos me producen lástima. Los hombres hasta han dado en pensar que son más reales que nosotros. (LOJO, 2008, p.26).

²² *Our translation for:* Significativamente, en el final de la aventura y de la novela, los dos protagonistas prefieren no regresar a sus universos originales. Rosaura abandona su mundo celta y penetra en el mundo mapuche. Busca refugio en el interior de la Casa de Plata, en la cual, en comunión con fuerzas telúricas de la naturaleza, urde el tejido de la fecundidad, tramando los dibujos de la vida a partir de espacios simétricos. Tampoco Mansilla regresa al mundo de los vivos y a la civilización. Se abriga en el universo indígena ,[...]. (ESTEVEVES, 2011, p. 7).

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Abstract: The present paper consists in analyzing the tale “Miss Dollar” written by Machado de Assis and published in the anthology *Contos Fluminenses* in 1870. The objective is to verify and to discuss the elements presented by the realistic writer that form the Brazilian identity. With a penetrating study of the 19th century society, various types of humans are recreated in Machado de Assis’s universe (then, forgotten by the literary critics) in the form of a subtle and sarcastic painting. [Machado de Assis was] target of severe appreciations by the renowned triad of critics of his time - Araripe Júnior, José Veríssimo and Sílvio Romero – that had not understood the emphasized sociological aspects on the Brazilian national picture in Machado de Assis works, since those elements differed from those proposed to be constitutive of nationality. The first part of this paper contemplates on a brief revision of those criteria in order to oppose them in the second part to those aspects of brazilianness presented in “Miss Dollar”. Through the analysis of the tale we expose the elements that denounce our national formation, especially regarding the historical aspects, discussing how they interfered with the cultural constitution of Brazilians. The perspective of the author on nationality is composed from the second phase of the social organization of Brazil, different from the one represented in Indian and backcountry novels. Thence probably his intrinsic dialogue with sociological studies – notably the ones of Gilberto Freyre and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda – which reveals the implications of the displacement from the peasant social structure to the developing urban environment as well as the repercussion of the colonial “addictions” in the developing social classes. The analysis of the Machado’s work allows us to see how the exposed Brazilian elements still have echoes in our today’s society.

Keywords: Literary Criticism, Machado de Assis, Nationalism, Miss Dollar.

1. The construction of Nationality and the Brazilian critics

In the 19th century, the critic’s triad Araripe Júnior, José Veríssimo and Sílvio Romero was responsible to appreciate, orientate and promote the fictional literary works in Brazil, as well as to analyze the readings of the epoch of those works. The main approach of the critics was to find the construction of the national identity in the works of Brazilian writers. If they would not find the elements or if they thought that those elements were misguided, they would criticize the elements and the failures that made the works distancing from the genuinely Brazilian productions, in

A disobedient son: Machado de Assis and the Brazilian nation

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order to provide the right directions. For example, imitation, copy and loanwords used by some of the authors were pointed out as deviations, which would work, in the critic's opinion, as obstacles to our cultural emancipation and to the development of a literature that would exhale brazilianness in its form and content.

Let's look at the opinion of Araripe Júnior:

[...] It won't be despising what most inspiring and beautiful exists in our environments that we have to shake with the yoke of the **imported feelings** of the old continent. Treading so diverse paths from the one we should follow we would never proclaim our **emancipation**. [highlighted by us] (ARARIPE, 1978:9)

José Veríssimo also expresses his opinion on the subject. For him, "our letters, our science, our ideas, **our customs have their own features. Imitation kills us.** [highlighted by us]" (VERÍSSIMO, 1977:156). Veríssimo argues that the fragility/indetermination of our national identity owes most of all to the lack of scientific education and to the weakness of our cultural education. (impeded by the mania of unconscious imitation and ignorance).

In a more specific way, relating to the literary production, the critics have presented some kind of emancipatory way, a path to the national construction of the Letters. Araripe Júnior highlights the national wealth of our land as source of brazilianness, where the weather is the element which most strongly determines our way of being, our temper and by extension should influence our literature and be explored in the fiction of our writers:

From completely strange sensations, from a nature so full of splendor like America's, from those secular forests, from those colossal rivers it certainly should arise an original literature [...] (ARARIPE, 1978:10).

Side by side with the weather, Araripe places the temper of the primitive inhabitants – the Indian – too as source of inspiration to the literary inspiration of our land. Thence we see a profusion of novel with the Indian theme – which is emblematic José de Alencar's – that, in a certain period of our literature tried to portrait the beginnings of the cultural formation of Brazil, the Indians being the first feature of our people.

Forming, from the result of all this observations [the character of the indigenous race] an ideal and present it artistically developed in a poem or a novel, here's what since the past century entrepreneurs and enthusiasts attempted to do. (ARARIPE, 1978:22).

Contrasting with the idea of Araripe, who sees America's weather as a differential of our culture and literature, and the Indian, a Brazilian original type, Veríssimo does not consider the weather an emancipatory factor but an element that imprisons and dulls the talent of our poets. Furthermore, the author reminds that the Brazilian nationality is not centered only in one race, but actually elapses in the crossing of ethnic elements (Portuguese, Tupi and Negro) that originated the "genuine Brazilian people" (VERÍSSIMO, 1977:159), the Brazilian backcountry.

In that aspect, Sílvio Romero presents a point of view that corroborates Veríssimo's opinion on the backcountry people: "genuine national population, the big and rural and backcountry masses, where throbs the strongest heart of the race (ROMERO: 1980:1777). The third member of this 19th century critic's triad sees population as a possibility of identity affirmation and of suspension of the cultural condition as a colony. Away from the fad of the city, that he reports as an innocuous and spurious imitation of the European model, but distant from Alencar's Indian idealism and from the weather aspects embraced by Araripe, Romero points out the countryside man as the real and authentic representative of the Brazilian people. Therefrom his excitement for Euclides da Cunha and

his book *Os Sertões*.

I invite the reader to appreciate in the book this really enchanting page. There are the solid traits that stress out with reliability one of the multiple faces of our people from the north-center. The picture is admirable; breathtaking: drawing and color put together give us the living and palpable reality. . (ROMERO, 1980:1795)

In poetry, he believes that the popular genre, with a strong foot in folklore would be the result of a typically ours germination. For that, nowadays researching works of the critics in this area, through tales and regional stories, folklore elements, songs, etc... are an essential reference of anthropological studies.

He possesses a stiffer and engaged posture on practicing critics as well as on literature appreciation, the critic does not satiate on analyzing the most famous writer at the time: Machado de Assis. In his critics on Machado's works, Romero argues that the realistic writer, with his urban literature with a typically European ironic and pessimist tone, with nothing to do with Brazil, let the social role that literature should have untouched and did not contributed to the construction of our nationality. To Sílvio Romero, from the relationship between the man and the city – with the urban environment – would born an artificial culture, for the genuine culture would come from the experience of a real relation between the man and his surroundings.

Machado de Assis proposes and builds, in his fiction, exactly the opposite of the idea defended by Romero. The author of *Dom Casmurro* paints a panel of the Brazilian society, especially, the urban environment. It's from this space that the author extracts the quotidian facts, the customs, the colors and the tints to fictionally reconstruct the traces of nationality that was being forged in the Brazilian court – Rio de Janeiro – 19th century. Possibly, the contrariety between Machado's literature with this and the other Romero's criteria on an eminently national literature lead the critic to attack so fiercely Machado's works.

Machado de Assis's style without being noted for a personal stamp is the exact photograph of the spirit of his indecisive psychology. Correct and mannered, he is not vivacious, neither rutilant, neither grand, nor eloquent. He is placid, equal, uniform and stepwise. It is felt that the author does use neither profusely, nor spontaneously the vocabulary and the sentence. It is notable that he touches and he stumbles and that he suffers from disturbance in some of his language organs. (ROMERO, 1980:1506)

Was he so far from our country as Romero inflates? Through the analysis of "Miss Dollar", the present paper searches for an answer to the question. The narrative is published in *Contos Fluminenses* (1870), a book of tales that marks the debut of the author in the genre that consecrated him. In the book, Machado de Assis is paired with imperial society highlighting its modes, its acquaintanceship, the types of social relationship, a Brazil that is showing itself with different colors and tones. Thus, we propose to discuss the palettes, brushes and tonality used by Machado de Assis to portrait brazilianess, presenting briefly some of the national traces reconstructed by the author in the tale. Before that, however, we will problematize the meaning of the concept of national and its theoretical and historical significance variability.

2. To be or not to be national: Is that the question?

Two conceptions present themselves initially for the delimitation of the proposed problem: *the space and the man*. The critics that was practiced in Brazil in that epoch was characterized by a vision compromised with social questions, where the environment had a central importance to the

literature's affirmation due to being the *locus* that produces images and for being the vector of creative production. The Brazilian man inhabited there and he should possess the necessary characteristics to expel the colonial heritage and to affirm his artistic independency.

Concerned with the literary exercise in its complexity, Machado altered the route of the critics and introduced a new direction. For Machado, to be a Brazilian is being allowed to exit from the exposure of the sun of the tropics and to enter in the shadow of the people's houses. Above that, is to be able to master his language with the aesthetic capacity to subjugate the real and not being submissive to the landscape. The logic is other: instead, the writer and his style; from his observation, people; lastly, the landscape which in truth is integrated in the quotidian, for that does not need of more texts exalting it.

With this literary position, Machado de Assis requires a new critic. However, within the ones that excelled as the Generation of 1870, only José Veríssimo could see the master's art.

The reasoning reverberate the explanation of Machado himself of how he understands the duty of a writer: "What should be required from writers above all is a certain **intimate feeling** that renders the man in his time and in his country, even when in the case of remote issues in time and in space. [highlighted by us] (MACHADO DE ASSIS *apud* SCHWARZ, 1987:166).

Despite its exiguity, the constructed panel about the critics and of the concept of nationality in Brazil allows us to move to the analysis of the tale "Miss Dollar" in order to understand the "intimate feeling" of nationality elaborated by the narrative.

2.1. The shadow of idleness

The tale "Miss Dollar" is narrated in the third person and it is divided in eight chapters. The narrative takes place in Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century presenting itself therefore, with a Rio de Janeiro's society description of that time.

It is in this scenario that the characters enter in acquaintanceship, that by order of appearance are the following: Miss Dollar – a little greyhound whose loss lead to a reward offer for the one who would find it, then return it to the owner. This situation sets the tone to a *novelistic* plot between Mendonça e Margarida; Dr. Mendonça "a man in his thirty-four years, well personable, frank and distinct ways. He had formed in medicine, and took care for patients for some time" (1994:3); Margarida – who was noticed "mainly, besides beauty of excellent quality, a certain sad severity in her modes and view." (1994:6); Andrade – a Mendonça's friend and confidant; D. Antônia – Margarida's aunt and Jorge's mother; Jorge – "That boy who spent two hundred thousand réis a month, without earning them, thanks to the longanimity of his mother" (1994:11), to define him with a typification extracted from another tale of Machado: a true medallion.

"Miss Dollar", although being a tale, follows the characteristics of Machado's novels of manners, in a certain way inspired, or at least in consonance, even if fortuitous with the proposal of the realistic writer Honoré de Balzac. He gives us a glimpse, in the preamble of his dashing project *The Human Comedy*, the role of the realistic writer and the path he chooses to follow.

Making the inventory of the vices and the virtues, collecting the main reasons of the passions, painting characters, choosing the main events in society, composing types by reuniting the traces of the homogeneous characters maybe I could write the forgotten history by many historians the one of **the customs**. (BALZAC, 1842:52). [highlighted by us].

¹ See essay "Carta sobre a literatura brasileira" (reference), of Araripe Jr. There the Ceará critic expose his theory that deposited the power of the transformation on individuals in nature and their writing from climatic factors.

[...] by copying Society, capturing it the in wilderness of its agitation, happens, or at least should happen that such composition should offer more evil than good [...]. Moreover, the author does not decide whether he should submit to the fire of criticism and should not write as a traveler should not always count with the perfect weather. About that, what is left for me is to observe that the most conscious moralists doubt that Society can offer so many good actions as well as bad ones. The actions to blame, the faults, the crimes, from the mild to the heavy, always find its human or divine punishment, explicitly or secretly. I did better than the historian, I am freer. (BALZAC, 1842:54).

In Passo's (2007) opinion, with the advent of realism and the influence of Balzac as a reference to the purpose of literature in that moment, "the objective of the novel remain moral and epistemological obstinate to the representation of social and private life in development." (PASSOS, 2007:89).

Without running away from that scheme, Machado de Assis went on painting in his fiction the traces of the Brazilian society engendered in the quotidian social movement. Starting in the privacy of the homes and the most intimate user-friendly groups, to the public space of the streets and the environments frequented by the Brazilian population where the society's widest changes occurred. For example, those are the themes constantly treated in his work *the influence of social conventions* in the individual's attitude, *the idleness* of a urban environment born class and *the behaviors* how that class spent its time "devoting" to the others life and sometimes constituted the true "keeper" in the observation of morality.

To understand those elements in their complex feature, it is important to understand that the Brazil described by Machado de Assis has its origins in our colonial society, whose modes, prejudice and customs migrated from the rural world to the city. That fact was due to the fall of the farming, the arrival of the Portuguese Court, the growth of urban spaces and due to a series of reforms that ended in modifying our enslaved society. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda presents us that process:

One of the effects of the most forced improvisation of some kind of urban bourgeoisie in Brazil is that in some peculiar attitudes until then, to the rural patricians soon became common to all the classes as the principle ideal of conduct. Stereotyped for many years of rural life, the mentality of the Big-House invaded the city and conquered all professions, even the more humble ones. (HOLANDA, 2003:87).

As you see, lots of traces of the Brazilian society painted by Machado de Assis instigate to the reflection about social and historical roots of our culture (Cf. HOLANDA, 2003; FREYRE, 1992), revealed for example on the dominant thought and attitude before certain questions such as work, politics and marriage. In the tale what is to achieve is precisely to present the counterpoint which marks Brazilian society: *the mental and cultural mismatch of a country that walked towards urbanization but still moves with the formerly wheels of the mills*.

As was told before, the loss of a dog is the motto for the unfolding of the narrative. Starting by the irony of the animal's name which raises several assumptions, until the presentation of the characters and of the plot, everything is woven in a way to make a real Brazil coming to the surface, unexceptional, visible in its idiosyncrasies, vicissitudes, fortunes and misfortunes.

The most notable element is undoubtedly the detestation that *work* arouses in the characters. From a microcosm (the relations kept in a particular way in the tale) expands the question to the social macrocosm of Brazilian nation. The character that will find the dog is a doctor (Mendonça), therefore, a worker, a man that possesses academic qualifications. However, despite having a profession, does not practice it anymore, since he created a medicine that had made a lot of success and thanks to it he got the pecuniary advantage that enables him to live without working. In other words, a man that has available and idle time. Contradictorily, that man with qualifications to help people, since he has the science for it, occupies his days taking care of the many dogs he owns which are nominated with

honorific titles and emperor names. The other characters as we will see do not get behind him, for they are too only moved by ambition and frivolity.

Taking as a starting point Sérgio Buarque's already exposed thoughts on the origins of our society we can understand such "detachment" on work as heritage of our colonial period, where the slave was "feet and hands" of the Lord of the operation: any job was realized by these man and to the white man was left enjoying his leisure and slavery.

Slaves that literally became the feet of the Lords: walking for them, carrying them by net or palanquin. And his hands – at least the right ones; the ones with which they dress, putt on their shoes, button, cleaning, clam, wash, take vermin of their feet. (FREYRE, 1992:428).

The disinterested conduct in developing any activity without the figure of the slave reflected not only in our public services as HOLANDA (2003) observed, but also in the medium class of the 19th century. Such state of values, which still today can be understood in Brazil constitutes an echo of the feeling that rooted in our culture that work is ugly; slave and a minor people subject.

Many of the difficulties observed since old times in the functioning of our public services should be assigned, undoubtedly to the same causes. In a country where during the most part of its existence was a land of Lords and slaves, without commerce that was not in the hands of ambitious adventitious wealth and ennoblement, would be impossible to find a numerous medium class and fit to do similar services. (HOLANDA, 2003:88).

If a job, therefore, does not dignify a man, but quite the opposite, diminishes him, as a consequence you get the idea that the origin of money does not come from continuous effort but has a lucky strike that might come with time, from inheritances on dispute, from marriages by interest, ultimately, by various plays that allows the player the triumph or the collapse. That condition is emblematic in the construction of Machado's narratives.

We can still comment on the caricatured painting of national human type the character Jorge, which by whom Machado portrays in "Miss Dollar" the *frivolity of rich men* that had not any occupation other than wasting their parents fortune in futile habits, in ethereal pleasures and unnecessary consumerism; that without having the minimum of worries and preoccupations with the future, with having a degree or a job, neither with a construction of a personal independence. Let's analyze the mother's attitude in relation to her son: "D. Antônia, with eyes and ears of a mother, thought that her son was the funniest kid in the whole world; but the truth is that **did not exist more frivolous spirit in all Christianity.**" [highlighted by us](MACHADO DE ASSIS, 2002:26).

Starting from the mother's compliance in relation to the son's frivolity and the other exposed situations we return to the *historical Brazilian devaluation of work*, which contributed to the formation of such a picture where the personal character and effort are despised. But those should be the legitimate means on searching for survival and of conquering independence and patrimony.

By analyzing the tale's situations that denounce the state of affairs and of people in an organizing society we understand that to the critics at the time, Machado behaved as an ungrateful child since he mistreats the mother-nation that had generated him. Through his view there is a parade of sordid and unoccupied man, venal and passible women, cruel and frivolous young men. How a land that plants everything could germinate such despicable sons? What's to be proud of? How to cope with Europe exporting leaning and profiteer?

To Machado the importance and the function of literature did not lie there. Its ripening results are exactly in that filial indisposition, when sons are able to distance from their parents, observe their real faces and then following their own ways. On independence, Machado puts his and Brazilian

literature's crossing, that now can walk without give account for anyone, living from its own expense. A literature that feeds, above all, from its own warp.

Final considerations

Brazilian literature for a long period of time followed or even copied the models that came from Europe. It was presented to us a Brazil that was not for Brazilians but for foreigners. Machado de Assis, on the other hand, presented to us Brazilian society the way it really was, a Brazil without idealizations, not limited to the imaginary about Indians and backcountry people, but a country that besides new, was a valuable mixture of types of humans. Such representation was a target of innumerable critics that did not ending on debunk its work; on the contrary, they expanded the discussion on the diversity of traces, profiles and constitutive characteristics of Brazilian people.

With this paper we tried to demonstrate, through the analysis of one tale, which is part of the vast work of Machado de Assis, how the presented traces of brazilianness still prevail nowadays. Today we can still verify the presence of those national traces painted by Machado in contemporary Brazilian society.

We observe the relative consensus in the 19th century about the urgency of national literature emancipation, for which the critics prescribed some kind of recipe. However, each one of them emphasized certain criteria (with some convergences and some divergences) with the objective of the construction of a genuinely Brazilian literature. For example, Araripe Júnior stressed the Indian novel that recognized the role of the Indian in the formation of Brazilian identity and highlighted the natural beauties of *Terra Brasilis*; Sílvio Romero and José Veríssimo emphasized the crossing of races in the composition of Brazilian people, praising backcountry novels which presented a popular source of the culture.

Fleeing to the established rules and exploring aspects with little using in literature (the customs of the new classes, which started to organize in the urban environment), and that through a particular type of writing (fine sociological analysis in which the ironic and clever critics substitutes the laudatory and idealistic romantic literature), Machado's literature was not correctly appreciated by the critics of his time.

The analysis of the tale "Miss Dollar" which we developed in the second part of this paper, allowed us to reflect upon socio-historical bias explored by Machado de Assis in his painting of the Brazilian society. As we saw, his literary project is very similar to the one proposed by Honoré de Balzac, to whom the realistic writer would have to tell the history, not the one told by historians, but the one of the customs.

In short, Machado de Assis constructs with the set of his works a real panel of Brazilian society managing to achieve the most entrenched and striking aspects of the new urban classes. Therefore, his work contains a rich set of types of humans contemplated from a perspective, at the same time, sociological and literary. Thereof we perceive the possible dialogue between the social representations in Machado's literature and the historic and sociological studies, markedly in authors such as Gilberto Freyre and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.

Lastly, far away from corroborating with the harsh criticism addressed to Machado de Assis (thinking of his literature far from a genuinely national production), we hope to have presented part of the richness of his contribution to a critic comprehension and to the building of the Brazilian identity.

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Abstract: In order to focus on the construction of the representation of the caipira paulista, we have made some analytic annotations about the figure of Jeca Tatu, based on the publication of *Urupês*, by Brazilian writer Monteiro Lobato, in 1918. The literary and identity construction forged by Monteiro Lobato (1882-1948) in the early twentieth century, later recreated by Amácio Mazzaropi (1912-1981) in the cinema, establishes a dialogue with many ethnocentric and Eurocentric values, and such representations contribute to the reproduction of notions in which the caipira subject is the bearer of inexorable marks of the civilisational backwardness of the nation. To this day, this embodiment of the other in Brazilian literature and cinema in the early and middle twentieth century disseminates itself and fosters discussion.

Keywords: Jeca Tatu; Monteiro Lobato; Amácio Mazzaropi; caipira paulista; caipira dialect.

The purpose of this communication is to contextualise the Brazilian cultural production about the caipira paulista¹ in the first two decades of the twentieth century as part of global dynamics, especially regarding the construction of identity representations or the “construction of the other” undertaken by specific social groups in the West.

The first factor that moves us originates from specific historical processes. We first came into prominence around the world as a continent invented by another one, Europe. At the same, we were involved to the violent processes of the diaspora and the enslavement of African black populations and to the genocide and enslavement of Brazilian Amerindian peoples.

On the other hand, these links must be read in the light of civilising encounters and, therefore, beyond the colonising process. We are thus dealing with a cultural legacy. It is in these two directions that we undertake the discussion that underlies the analyses in this text.

This means observing that many of the procedural elements forged in the wake of the colonial system still serve as bases for relations taking place in and originating from Brazil. This happens because Latin America itself was formed “at the same moment and in the same historical movement” in which capitalism globally emerged as an economic and socio-cultural system.

In reality, economy and culture go imbricated in each other.

¹ This communication is part of the discussions in our Phd thesis in Social Sciences entitled “Between Impromptu and Challenges: on cururu as a worldview of caipira groups in the Middle Tietê region of São Paulo”, funded and supported by FAPESP, São Paulo State Foundation for Research Support (2009-2013).

Under the sign of “Jeca Tatu”: notes on the construction of ethnocultural stereotypes in Brazilian literature and cinema during the 20th century

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They can be distinguished as theoretical-methodological instances, separated at the level of scientific representation, but this differentiation, required at the analytical moment of knowledge – to a certain extent supported by appearances - must be overcome in a synthesis that takes their integration into account. There is a need to take account of both the unit and the distinction between the levels that compose the social totality (CANCLINI, 1983: 31).

Thus, the invention of the Latin American continent, specifically Brazil, involves not only the determination of a colonial condition but also social identities and subjectivities marked by these specific socio-cultural and economic processes.

According to Aníbal Quijano (2010), Latin America gives rise to social relations based on the “coloniality of power” (QUIJANO, 2010: 73).

Coloniality is one of the specific and constituting elements of the global pattern of capitalist power. It is argued for the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the world population as a cornerstone of the said power pattern and it operates in each of the plans, spheres and dimensions, material and subjective, of everyday social existence and societal scale. It originates and globalises from America. (QUIJANO, 2010: 73).

Indeed, with the globalisation of the economic system, coloniality and modernity both act as specific axes of power patterns of Latin American capitalism. In addressing the issues that moulded modernity, observing the Brazilian case in the cultural axis, we verify that the forms of subjectivity forged in the wake of this worldwide process constituted various identity facets of different human groups in Brazil.

For our interest, we reflect upon the popular cultural modalities inserted in capitalism. In studies conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Argentine anthropologist Néstor García Canclini (1983) verifies two starting points for the analytical mapping of Latin American popular culture. Both from the point of view of “spontaneous creation” and people’s memorial, as well as in its remarkable marketing production logic in a situation of backwardness, the “romantic solution” sought to isolate the creative and the artisanal, imagining pure communities with no contact with capitalist development “as if popular cultures were not the result of the absorption of dominant ideologies and the contradictions among the oppressed classes themselves” (CANCLINI, 1983, p.11) at the same time they were incorporated as “marketing strategies” in which it was possible to see the people’s products, but not the people who produced them.

This is important because no cultural and sociohistorical phenomenon fails to express a set of social relations. “Therefore, its explanation and its meaning cannot be found but in a larger field of relations than the one corresponding to it” (QUIJANO, 2010: 83).

Eurocentrism is not a perspective exclusive to Europeans or to the “dominants of world capitalism, but also to the group of those educated under their hegemony (FANON, 2008; QUIJANO, 2010: 75). This is a “cognitive perspective” that naturalises the individual experiences from these power relations, in the attempt to deprive them of questioning (QUIJANO, 2010) against this same ordering.

Subjectivities naturalisation attempts in the capitalist system also occur around the constitution of scientific fields and the constitution of the nation-state. The scientific processes and the constitution of the modern state as a normative institution were based on literate knowledge and on writing as the main instruments, able to produce guiding forms of knowledge for the “cognitive needs of capitalism: measurement, externalisation (or objectification) of the knowable in relation to the knower, to the control of the relations of individuals with nature and between those in relation to this” (QUIJANO, 2010: 74).

In order to achieve that, the constitution of social science as a scientific discipline was fundamental.

Without the aid of the social sciences, the modern state would not have the ability to exert control on people’s lives, set collective goals in the long and in the short run or to construct and assign a cultural “identity” to the citizens. Not only the restructuring of the economy according to the new demands of international capitalism, but also the redefining of political legitimacy, and even the identification of each nation’s own character and peculiar values, demanded a representation scientifically-based representation on the way social reality “worked”. Only on this information it was possible to fulfil and execute government programmes. (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

The practical matrix that will lead to the emergence of the social sciences is the need to “adjust” the lives of men to the production system. It is in this sense that we observe the discourses forged about the identity of the caipira paulista in the twentieth century, among other narratives that forge discourses about “the other” in this same context.

The creation of subjectivities for productive and domination purposes implies inventing the other from a Eurocentric and ethnocentric perspective. And this implies not only the creation of imaginaries, but also a series of power and knowledge devices that instrumentalises these actions and relationships.

When discussing, with due seriousness, the joke as a language instrument that acts as inequalities and social injustices potency, Dagoberto José Fonseca (2012) observes that the narratives in the form of a joke originate from the collective imagination and impact on common knowledge with great popular appeal. In the end, jokes assign a status of truth to prejudice and stereotyped practices. The main objective of the joke is to disfigure the subject portrayed in it.

Because they treat and represent the other from an ethnocentric standard, they tend to elect whiteness, masculinity and erudition as moralising standards of beauty, intelligence and social position, disqualifying, by means of laughter, whatever other attitudes at odds with this normative standard.

Fonseca (2012) also observes that, in Brazil, jokes are political constructions for the deliberate exercise of exclusion of black and mixed-race people that occurs in parallel to the construction of the nation-state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, the induction of laughter by means of the joke also constitutes an important instrument to the “universalisation” of the bourgeois ideology in the country.

The satirical and ridiculing character of some of the cultural production is associated to the production of jokes among individuals of the group itself, but also about other groups that would be “contained” in the caipira group or in the broader society, such as black people, homosexuals, and women, among others. The joke and the laughter it causes are immersed in a local historical and cultural production as parts of an “exchange between language and power, the word, its representations, its meanings and the social relations led – both materially and symbolically – by all” (FONSECA, 2012: 35).

The discourse uttered in a joke is a narrative form is driven by the dominant ideology in the present time and takes effect because it is supported by the social group (FONSECA, ditto). Laughter is the link between the sender and the receiver and demonstrates that social communication has been effectively established. It acts to situate and identify the disorder and has educational effect.

The joke against all the social segments that disobey the logic prescribed by bourgeois and ethnocentric standards cannot be read only as alienation of these said groups, but as “part of complex power relations and political, cultural and economic positioning of each individual within our society” (FONSECA, 2012: 37).

As one of many other resources and collective ethnocentric representations and also as a linguistic unity (FONSECA, 2012) the joke was able to contribute, along with other instruments (such as written

language in its literary, legal and scientific form) articulated to regulate the relations in the modern world governed by a “written legality” (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

In the Latin American context it is possible to say that this written legality consists in the means to forge citizenship:

The acquisition of citizenship is thus a funnel through which only those people whose profile fits the type of person required by the project of modernity will pass: male, white, father, Catholic, owner, literate and straight. Individuals who do not meet these requirements (women, employees, crazies, illiterates, black people, heretics, slaves, indigenous, homosexuals, dissidents) are left out of the “lettered city” inmates within illegality, and subject to punishment and therapy by the same laws that excludes them. (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

From the power relations point of view, the discourses contained in jokes reinforce negative stereotypes while inciting the denunciation of these stereotypes, pointing at the necessity of overcoming the prejudices and inequalities that permeate our society (FONSECA, 2012). If the discourse produced by caipiras and black groups reproduce or build around themselves have as assumptions the disciplining relations that are the standard in our society, this presupposes the understanding of how the standard society works and, therefore, implies, to some extent, awareness of what has to be done in order to transform it (and/or reproduce it).

Faced with this paradox, an indicator of the overcoming of the subalternity condition, the discourses of these groups are, by themselves, permeated by subjectification processes based on the coloniality of power (QUIJANO, 2010). It is undeniable that the caipira group itself has assumed some identification elements that link this group to the notions of backwardness or uncivilisation contained in the figure of “Jeca Tatu”.

To better understand how this works, the studies of Frantz Fanon (2008) relating to the identity constitutions in the wake of the colonizer process demonstrate how the coloniality of power acts in the subjectification processes:

Every colonized people - that is, every people among whom an inferiority complex was born due to the burial of their cultural originality - takes position before the language of the civilising nation, i.e., the metropolitan culture. The more they assimilate the cultural values of the metropolis, the more colonized they will escape from their jungle. The more they reject their blackness, their grass, the whiter they will be (FANON, 2008).

Even if social groups problematise and resignify these discourses to their own benefit depending on the interests at stake, the fact is that they have these discourses as a natural (or naturalised) fact; this naturalisation, tied to non-questioning and to non-breaking the processes of the coloniality of power (QUIJANO, 2010), underlies the everyday reality of these groups in their internal context, but also in a broader national political context. In any case, the paradox by itself implies the need to observe the subordinate condition from at least two points of view: from inside and from outside the subordinate condition (SANTOS, 2006).

The point was to tie all citizens to the production process through the submission of their time and body to a series of norms defined and legitimated *by knowledge*. The social sciences teach what the “laws” that govern economy, society, politics and history are. The state, by its turn, defines its government politics based on this normativity scientifically legitimated. (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

Still on jokes as subtle discourse of order, the same observation we made towards the caipira groups, Fonseca (2012) observes in relation to the appropriation of the bourgeois standard and

whiteness discourse by black groups:

In this process of self-denial, black people try to repel, through the pleasure of laughter, the displeasure they feel in their body and soul. When telling jokes that disqualify their contingent in the presence of white people, they, in general, crave to become the ones that produce these messages, not its object or its receptors (FONSECA, 2012: 38).

Such resignation must obviously be read as perceptions and attitudes that exist as a result of standards that are taken as “proved truth”, uncontested, once they are attested by science, by the church or by the state, “bigger” and more coercive powers, and not as racist assumptions scientifically forged in order to “attest” the attitudes of the caipira population as “lazy” and “indolent” towards the elements of modernity on which democratic discourses are based but that, in general, have only oppressed and neglected this population.

In practice, the “laziness” attributed to groups such as the caipiras is also an attitude resulting of the perception of the implications that these hegemonic discourses, forged in coloniality, have the intention to discipline, stereotype and often hegemonise groups that, due to their adverse conditions have never historically and definitely the Eurocentric and ethnocentric standard framework.

Beyond the aforementioned stereotyped representations of the caipira paulista, it is important to pay attention to the diffusion of the Jeca Tatu figure in Brazilian cinema by Amácio Mazzaropi (1912-1981) through his film production and on-screen acting. In films such as “O Lamparina” (1963), “Jecão, um fofoqueiro no céu” (1977), “Tristeza do Jeca” (1961), among others, Mazzaropi filmed the universe of the caipira and has established the figure of the Jeca in film ².



Tristeza do Jeca. Brasil, 1961 ³/ Table 1. *Film poster.*

² Mazzaropi had his own film production company, PAM Films, whose name was formed by the owner’s initials. The film *Tristeza do Jeca* was shot on his farm, Fazenda Santa, a property in Taubaté, São Paulo, using cinematographic equipment from Cia. Vera Cruz. The original song “Tristeza do Jeca” (1918), penned by Argelino de Oliveira, was inspired by the book *Urupês* by Monteiro Lobato, which was also published in 1918. Recently, in a poll conducted by the Brazilian newspaper “Folha de São Paulo”, the song was elected the Best Caipira Song of All Times, ninety years after it was first released. Available at <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/ilustrada/ult90u535294.shtml>. Accessed 05 March 2013. The most recognised recording of the song is attributed to the renowned Brazilian duo “Tonico e Tinoco”.

³ Available at: <http://blogs.estadao.com.br/arquivo/2012/04/09/mazzaropi-o-caipira-simbolo-do-cinema/>>. Accessed 05 March 2013.

In the film *Tristeza do Jeca*⁴ (1961), the initial scenes are enough to evince the main storyline that deals with questions related to the dispute for the local power and the caipira as a voter within the local political system, “coronelismo”. Among the scenes of rural everyday life, a group of local workers returning home after a day of work in the field is followed by Jeca, who is seen sleeping at the lakeside while pretending to fish next to his son. While treading their way back to their homes in the rural neighbourhood, the group discusses the local political situation, but are interrupted by the ringing of bells calling attention to the time to pray the Ave-Maria. In an explicit sign of devotion, everyone stops; men take off their hats and women bow their heads while crossing their hands in front of their chests to say the prayer.

Following the scene, Brazilian singer Agnaldo Rayol is seen acting as a rural worker and, “characterised” as such, sings *Ave-Maria do Sertão*, a composition by Pedro Muniz and Conde. Jeca, after discussing politics with his fellow workers and neighbours on the boss’s farm, stops next to the group to hear the Ave-Maria.

In one of the songs, sung by Mazzaropi himself in another scene, Jeca is portrayed as a lazy bum, someone who does nothing but watching and commenting on the work of others. It is Jeca, however, that everyone relies on. It is Jeca whom everybody trusts, and what Jeca says is followed as the worker’s group consensus. The entire film revolves around the contradiction in that Jeca is a lazy man who poses as hardworking while, being deceitful, he is the leadership of the group. He is the one who must be convinced by local politicians who, harassing Jeca, insist that he should demonstrate support for one of the candidates who dispute over the local municipality.

The rodeo is the place of hustings arranged by the Opposition to the colonel who already holds local authority. This same event is the place of a rally which Jeca is forced to attend, and at which he is supposedly induced to show support for the candidate in question, influencing his friends and *compadres*⁵. Meanwhile, his daughter, a young woman to whom three young caipiras from the neighbourhood lose their hearts, becomes involved with the colonel’s son. The colonel is trying to elect himself at the expense of the candidature of an old man who is seemingly inattentive to the matters of local power.

The tone of the film, regarding this question of the rodeo and the recreation on the farm, supports the fact that the people are not there because of the rally and political life itself, but because there is a party where everybody is able to enjoy themselves – suggesting that life in a rural environment is boring. On the other hand, the film also supports the idea that the questioning and debates about the dispute and the future of the locals are undertaken in moments of everyday life, while walking back home after a day of work, and not in “enemy” territory, that is, at the rally. One does not attend the event to do politics in a strategic sense or to take part in debates, but to enjoy the amusement or to put into practice actions that address the interest of the groups that are engaged on the fight.

The tied-to-leisure caipira sociability is seen in Mazzaropi’s films. Another aspect related to the rodeo dynamic itself and to the collective caipira recreation, not seen in “Tristeza do Jeca” but a subject in many other Mazzaropi films is the question of the circus. Upon its emergence, the role

4 *Tristeza do Jeca*. Brazil, 1961. Conceived, produced and directed by Amacio Mazzaropi. Screenplay: Milton Amaral; Cinematography: Rodolfo Icese. Comedy, Fiction; 95 minutes. Certificate: Universal (BBFC), General Audiences (MPAA). Information available at <http://museumazzaropi.com.br/filmes/13trist.htm>. Accessed 4 March 2013. The film is available on YouTube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZGbqL_BkRYs. Accessed 14 March 2013.

5 In Brazilian Portuguese, *compadre* and its feminine form, *comadre* denote a very specific kind of relationship. In a strict sense, this relationship originates from the context of a religious wedding: the groom and the best man are each other’s *compadres*, and the bride and the bridesmaid are each other’s *comadres* (though a bridesmaid is also the groom’s *comadre* and the best man is the bride’s *compadre*). It is important to emphasise, though, that *compadres* and *comadres* quite often share strong ties of kinship; even if there are no blood ties between them, they are considered to be family members. Occasionally, in popular parlance, these terms are also used to refer to very close friends, especially in the countryside.

of Mazzaropi’s cinema can indeed be seen as parallel to the circus’s. In the decades of the advent of national cultural industry, including the emergence of Brazilian television in the 1950s and the development of national cinema which he helped to build in a self-sustaining way, the assistance of his films was composed of people from the incipient urban peripheries, places which many families of a rural background were migrating into, in the context of the São Paulo state.

In “Tristeza do Jeca” the opening vignette highlights the homonymous song. In important moments of the story, the film is interspersed with the instrumental song in order to express Jeca’s sadness, especially with the kidnapping of his youngest son, in retaliation for alleged support for the opposition of the local ruler, a farmer who “provides” job and housing to the workers in exchange for votes.

Mazzaropi’s Jeca is Monteiro Lobato’s caipira. In one of the scenes, due to unflagging laziness that makes him sleep all day long, sloppy Jeca is unable to use his shotgun at a crucial moment, in the chase of the tormentors amidst the failed rescue of his son. For much of the scene, Jeca remains sitting on an earth mound loading the shotgun while his wife screams desperately, demanding him to take action in the face of the colonel’s cronies who, once more, run away with the boy.

Among the real life dramas of the caipira is the issue of not owning the lands where they work. The place they take sustenance from and dwell in does not belong to them and, election after election, the disputes between colonels, who are always the same landowners for generations, eventually reverberate on the caipira’s everyday life, severely harassed and punished should they disobey the orders or fail to offer support for the “boss”, owner of the properties where they live and draw sustenance from.

When everything becomes dramatic, Jeca is blamed for the lack of work that ravages the neighbour’s lives, but triggers the solidarity and work relations fostered by the united group, so that the neighbours should think again and help to look for his missing son. In the face of the insistence of the neighbours, who keep locked in their houses, Jeca appeals beyond his own condition and, as a local politician, promises to provide a “job” for everyone, once the marriage of his daughter to the elected colonel would automatically assign Jeca influence and power regarding local issues.

In another scene, there is a portrayal of the bargaining opportunities held by voting in the period depicted in the film – and it is fitting that it should be questioned whether it is still held, in some contexts. The “fixer” asks an old lady if she already has a candidate. The humble lady answers by rubbing her thumb and her forefinger, a gesture that means “money”, and then saying that nobody has talked to her about that. The man asks her what she needs. She goes on, saying she needs everything: “clothes, money, medicine, *cachaça*”. The fixer offers her 500 thousand réis (Brazil’s currency at the time) to meet the needs of the woman – an old black woman who lives in a shanty - and her family. Then, another fixer appears, this time representing the opposing candidate, and also offers 500 thousand réis for the family to vote on the opponent. The old woman smiles and in the absence of the corrupter, says she regrets the fact that there are no more candidates to bribe her

The film ends on a positive note. But this could not be observed in real life. Living in a supposedly civilised society based on hegemonic standards underpinned by ethnocentrism and whiteness, it is difficult to renege on the whole process in question under the penalty of being completely excluded from it. It is in this sense that we verify the need of adaptation of the caipira groups and demands of exclusion which, besides being prescribed by the Catholic liturgy in colonial contexts, were intensified with the modernisation processes of Brazilian society, as shown in the film.

We believe that the illustrations from the film are enough to express something to that effect. While possessing identity characteristics which they cannot and do not want to forsake, caipira groups sometimes find themselves in situations of dependence in which the own maintenance of the diverse

condition only happens with the effective reproduction of ethnocentric standards that disqualify their difference and make it invisible.

We are facing ambiguities. Despite bearing elements that contest the ethnocentric formula and having inherited countless references regarding myths, memory, vocabulary, among other material and symbolic practices of Amerindian and African legacy which enabled effective ruptures with the civilisational Eurocentric discourse, the caipira identity practices go on to reshape and build new discourses suitable to the allegedly hegemonic standard of civilised societies and, in order to do so, admit such adjustments in its cultural form as well.

Among the aspects we deal with, we notice that language, or the way the official language is “handled”, is an important instrument in the cultural struggle to mark the difference.

In the case of the caipira paulista, Amadeu Amaral (1982) verifies that the caipira “dialect”, a very popular “aspect of Portuguese dialectation in São Paulo”, presents the phonetic slowness of the caipira speech, that is, the chanting-like aspect – though this is not directly related to musicality – causing vowel lengthening in speech, even though to varying degrees (AMARAL, 1982).

From a fey, scaremongering point of view, the caipira dialect was considered inappropriate, once it supposedly bore several “language vices”. Such conception was widespread in the early twentieth century Amadeu Amaral knew, but to this day it still regulates the social place of the caipira group in Brazil. Poor or outdated schooling conditions, or even illiteracy, are marks that reinforce this social place of marginalisation of the caipira identity in the wake of sociocultural inequality relations, once the written word permeates the construction of modernity as a project of civilised society.

We are therefore facing a disciplinary practice that reflects the contradictions that would eventually tear the modernity project to shreds: establishing conditions for “freedom” and “order” implied the submission of the instincts, the suppression of spontaneity, the control over the differences. In order to be civilized, to be part of modernity, to be Colombian, Brazilian or Venezuelan citizens, the individuals should not only behave properly and be able to read and write, but also adapt their language to meet a series of norms. Submission to order and to norm leads the individual replace the heterogeneous and spontaneous life flow with the adoption of a *continuum* arbitrarily constituted by the written word. (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

Also according to Amadeu Amaral (1982), the vocabulary that composes the caipira “dialect” – the first edition was published in 1920 – would be comprised of:

- a) elements derived from the Portuguese spoken by the early colonists, many of which became archaic in standard language;
- b) terms from the native indigenous languages;
- c) words indirectly imported from other languages
- d) words formed within the dialect itself (AMARAL, 1982).

Changes in the caipira group behaviour and lifestyle happened as the city also changed. Amadeu Amaral (1982) points out that during the implementation of law courses in São Paulo there were people who feared a “negative” influence of this parlance over the establishment of the courses and the training of future graduates. This logic is well tailored to the legal logic itself, to which we have already drawn attention.

This particular dialect would contain not only in the lexicon, but also in its syntax and phonetics, elements that are characteristic of the Portuguese spoken in Portugal in the sixteenth century. These elements would be responsible for the constitution of a type of rustic Portuguese in Brazil, which eventually metamorphosed into caipira and paulista parlanges, generally speaking. Archaic expressions from the Portuguese spoken in Portugal would be present, both in form and meaning,

in the caipira dialect. The author also draws attention to the position of the tongue as part of the speaker’s body as an important factor for the phonetic variations.

Indigenous heritage prior to the presence of black people is also noticeable in the caipira dialect, mainly in elements and words of tupi origin. This dialect was subsequently enriched with influences of black and (mainly Italian) immigrant groups in the coffee-exporting São Paulo from the nineteenth century onwards.

The historical changes that took place in the city of São Paulo put the caipira dialect in the background. Amadeu Amaral (1982) also notes that factors such as the replacement of slave labour with a system of salaried workforce, the greater population density, the development of commerce and, consequently, the increase in the flow of people and goods across the country and around the world, the diffusion of written culture at the expense of oral tradition, the presence of other cultural elements under great influence of Eurocentric references in the urban culture of São Paulo, highlighted by increased production processes, and the demonization and marginalisation of practices inherited from African black or indigenous practices, were determining factors in the move from a caipira “culture” towards a more civilising “culture” (AMARAL, 1982).

As Norbert Elias (1994) comments, the civilising process consists of discipline and repression of instincts in order to difference more visible as social data. This same process “implies an increase in the spaces of shame, because it was necessary that one should distinguish oneself from all the social classes that did not belong to the scope of the *civitas*” (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005). And thus:

The “entry” into the banquet of modernity required compliance with a normative prescription used to distinguish members of the new urban class that was beginning to emerge in Latin America during the second half of the nineteenth century. This “us” referred to in the manual is thus the bourgeois citizen, the one whom the republican constitutions address, the one who knows how to speak, eat, handle cutlery, blow one’s nose, treat employees, behave in society. (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

Thought and language are deeply associated to the forms of social organisation in which individuals establish relationships (LÉVI-STRAUSS, 1986).

During the time when the illustrious paulista speech reigned with no appreciable contrast, caipirism did not exist only in language, but in all manifestations of our provincial life. For some decades now everything began to change. The replacement of slave labour with salaried work has driven much of the black population away from everyday contact with the whites, thus modifying one of the factors of our dialectal differentiation. The genuine *caipiras*, ignorant and backward, have also begun to be put aside, to have dwindling interference in the customs and the organisation of the new order of things. The population grew and mingled itself with different elements. Thoroughfares were built everywhere, commerce was intensified, the small isolated population centres began to exchange relations of all sorts, and the province, in its turn, got permanently intact with outside civilisation. Schooling, which was very limited, took an extraordinary increase. It was impossible for the caipira dialect not to be influenced by such major alterations in the social environment (AMARAL, 1982).

In this sense, the prescribed forms based on the normative standards of modernity, which were based on evolutionism, instilled not only an imaginary about civilization, but “barbarism” as its counterpart. Such standards were materialised harboured in regulations governed by educational and detention institutions, all of which organised by law, by the state and the social sciences (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005). Therefore, these are the processes and mechanisms that strengthen the production and maintenance of cognitive and sociocultural injustices.

“Urbanity” and “civic education” have thus played the part of pedagogical taxonomy that separated morning dress from scum, cleanliness from dirt, capital from provinces, republic from colony, the civilization from barbarism. (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005).

The persistent denial of this bond between modernity and colonialism by the social sciences has been, in reality, one of the most explicit signs of its conceptual limitation (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005). Impregnated since their origins by a Eurocentric imaginary, and once we concentrate on these same questions in the disciplinary context that we question, we also engage in an effort to deconstruct these same beliefs even though, as social scientists, we are immersed in the same contradiction mentioned.

Thus, we tackle different discourses uttered within and about the caipira group as identity elements collected in different contexts, spaces and supports of memories and narratives “storage” in order to realize two nuances: the introjections of stereotyped representations of the caipira aiming at the reproduction of hegemonic social relations in a domination sense; and the identity autonomy of the subjects in the caipira context of São Paulo, constituting a singular cosmology of their own.

In this last case, and in other contexts beyond the purview of this work, we intended to strengthen the idea that the singers and popular musicians in the context of São Paulo’s caipira culture are contemporary cultural producers in dialogue with other cultural practices or musical “strands” existing in the state of São Paulo and in the world.

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SESSION 8

THE PRESENCE OF THE COLONIAL AND THE POST-COLONIAL IMAGINARY IN LITERATURE 2

Introduction

We can say that the Bible is “the book of Humanity” in the measure it has become heritage both of believers and of those who have no faith. On the one hand it collects in one volume the amount of their sacred books for Jews and Christians. On the other hand, being respected and observed even by other religious systems, the Bible is a document that deeply marks Humanity owing to both its presence in History and to its recognised modernity. It is a collection of texts of intercontinental origin which express a synthesis of cultures. Africa in particular is not only the cradle of many of its stories, but also the origin of its first translation, *Septuaginta* or *The Translation of the Seventy*. In the same way, whether from early times of production, or from the translation beginning, the sacred text ran through antagonistic political regimes until the *post-colonial* contemporaneity.

Although it is usually considered as the book of Christian missionary action, the Bible has been primarily a broadly used literacy handbook and a moral value benchmark for a vast diversity of peoples. Considering in particular the complexity of mediation processes between the colonial missionaries and the colonized populations, the decolonization of thought proposed in the theme of the IV Congress of Cultural Studies arises as an opportunity to rediscover the “place” of the (sacred) Word in the Lusophony.

By placing the Bible between *Prosperous* and *Caliban*, our work proposal intends to identify both the marks of a border culture, originated in the *worlds* of the Book and, as Book of the *world*, the possibility of being a bridge between “border” cultures. In that sense, more than wishing to arise questions considered pertinent but which demand further deepening, we aim at: 1) reflecting on relevance of the *melting pot* (the dominant and the dominated) where the text was produced and 2) testifying the role played by the biblical text and that it can play both in the approach of peoples as instrument of their value recognition, and in their social development in multiple contexts.

At a first stage we will formulate our reflection by articulating the epistemology of inter-identity proposed by Santos (2001) in the context of biblical literature production. At the second stage and based in the presence of Africa in the Bible we will develop a tour through the reality of the Bible in Africa. We will in particular focus some examples of the role played by the sacred text in some African populations’ daily life.

In the *post-colonial* globalized reality an attempt of using the Bible as a mediation instrument (between the colonists and the colonized) besides contributing to the study and understanding of our identities and collective memories intends to participate in

The Bible between *Prosperous* and *Caliban*

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the process of decolonization, as a reality happening in a plural context. Aware of constraints, the challenge of arising the subject here seems legitimate to us.

1. Border zone

When we analyze the biblical text in the scope of Cultural Studies we include it between the concepts of periphery and hybridity pointed by Boaventura Sousa Santos in his epistemology of inter-identity (Santos, 2001). We propose to analyze the Bible specifically as a work where narrative happens in a peripheral geographical reality and where culture is translated by a hybridity we can describe as borderline; that is, “living on the margin without being marginal” (Santos, 2001:38). In this sense, before dealing with the use given to the Bible by the colonists and its respective contribution to the literacy of the colonized African populations, our communication starts by reflecting the relevance of sense negotiation carried out in the historical context of biblical narration. When this goal is fulfilled we will be able to understand the importance of the role that the Bible can play in a post-colonial environment.

If, on one hand, the Hebrew writings show the influence of Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian cultures, on the other hand we will not be able to understand the Christian Scriptures without referring to the intercultural relationship with the Greek and Roman civilizations. When globalization is a fact of our day, revisiting this work of universal appeal can contribute to the complex analysis of intercultural exchange in the global village.

Considering these qualities which enable an intermediate and intermediary position, we argue that, politically and culturally, the biblical contents develop in a place between *Prosperous* and *Caliban*. It is the story of a people which is simultaneously dominant and dominated. In this sense we recognize the “inter-identity as original identity” (Santos, 2001:54) in the biblical text as a concept which clarifies the complex identity process developing in the condition of a dominant people subject to dominion. With Ribeiro (2004), we could also say that, in the biblical authors’ sight, they imagined themselves both as the centre of the world and as periphery of their promised land.

According to Boaventura Sousa Santos’s three “mirror games”, we can understand the three sense negotiations that shape the *cultural melting pot* where the self-image of the biblical authors was formed: 1) the sense of *Prosperous*, besides counting on the condition of the elected one and the promise of domination, developed mainly in a period when, though short (before the division of the kingdoms and exiles) the Hebrew people had a (territorial, economic, military, etc.) dominant role in the area scenery. 2) The sense of *Caliban* is also derived of this historical situation which, in a certain measure, contributes to the development of a collective mentality of “the proud subordinate”, when they had to face a situation of dependence. Before the feeling of dislocation in relation to those who were in a dominant position (Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian empires) and a form of identification which was neither emancipated nor emancipating and was torn between the inadequacy of a “Prosper with Caliban feet” and the excesses of a Caliban “missing Prosperous” (Santos, 2001:76). This attitude can be recognized from the fragmentation of the Hebrew Monarchy to the autonomy negotiated by the Jews in their relationship with the Persian and Roman empires.

The fact that the Hebrew people was dependent and subordinate to the Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian and Roman peoples helps us recognize signs of a *Caliban* in the Jewish history and culture, in the Middle East: a people completely reduced to the condition of borderline. The Hebrew frailties made them negotiate often, not only work and commerce products, but also their security and survival through mutual agreements with other peoples and their military chiefs. Following these practices, we also find miscegenation, language learning and living their respective habits. This blend on the

one hand disqualified the Hebrew condition of a (dominant) elected people and on the other hand branded them as “proto-Caliban” (Santos, 2001: 57).

In the reflection of the second mirror proposed by Boaventura Sousa Santos, the moment of *Prosperous*, we underline that the identity affirmation is fulfilled through the status of the divine archetype for the civilization (redemption) of the world. However, despite the nature of this mission, although the Jews revealed frailties in living by the image of the divine model, namely a hyper-identity that overlooked their responsibility towards the foreign peoples, they didn't lose their inter-identity developed along centuries. In a second moment, in the context of the return from the diaspora and identity restoration, the *Prosperous* condition is affirmed through the *Caliban* extinction. In both return movements the processes are associated to “revival” movements of the Jewish community under the patronage of the dominant people, the Persian Empire. Although the circumstances of a feeble *Prosperous*, this freedom environment contributes to the consolidation of a paradigm of post-dominant relationships. Whether due to their experience of dominated, or to their incapacity to dominate, the Hebrew people enjoyed in these periods a greater autonomy when compared to other peoples dominated in a hegemonic way. In this sense we can propose that this weak *Prosperous*'s informal dominion enabled the development of diplomatic relationships with other peoples.

As a consequence of this hybrid position, neither a *Prosperous* nor a *Caliban* (not showing credit with the dominant and not threatening the dominated ones) the sacred literature post-exile has developed in a political and cultural melting pot that corresponds to the gap between these two mirrors. This way, an epistemology of the inter-identity as a “border approach” enables us to perceive the Bible as a border zone, a text with a plural imaginary that can consolidate the approach of the peoples in a *post-colonial* atmosphere and aspire to social transformation.

2. Factor of approach of peoples

Before we go on with our analysis, we would like to previously outline two introductory notes about some sides of the universality associated to their sacred texts. In the first place, as we have emphasized, the Bible though seen as a book is in fact a library. Written by several authors, it shows the cruelty and the softness, the certainty and the doubt, the personality insecurity and even the better or worse refined linguistic capacities of dozens of authors. In this sense, we have to admit that it carries about different geographical, social, cultural, historical, linguistic, political and religious contexts. In terms of the vernacular used along its pages, it varies among the Hebrew, the Aramaic and the popular Greek (Koiné) with some more erudite traces. From the Book history we can't dissociate the Latin as a biblical language which, among others, was modelled through translation. Translated nowadays into 2551 of the 7105 languages spoken in the whole world, the text isn't only the mediation instrument between God and the human being. Besides being the faith pattern applied to personal or collective life, the cultural multiplicity of its composition and the versatility in its preservation and dissemination make it the *Book* of the peoples par excellence.

In the second place the adoption of the sacred texts by different religious expressions is a trait of the universality of its contents. In the vast and tangled universe that makes it up, the Bible contains: 1) the sacred text for Palestinian Jews (*Torá, Neviim, Ketubin*) which is coincident with the Protestant *Old Testament*; 2) the canon of the alexandrine Jewish diaspora (*Septuaginta*) is also approximately the Catholic and Orthodox *Old Testament*; and 3) the *New Testament* the authority of which about the canon of its 27 books is unanimously recognized by all Christians. At last we must refer that some of its texts together with passages from the *Old Testament* were also a source to Koran, the sacred text of Islamic faith. By the way we must remember the importance of the biblical narration of “Exile” and

“Return to the Promised Land” in the musical inspiration and spirituality of American slaves, as well as more recently the Rastafari movement in Jamaica.

3. Africa in the Bible and the Bible in Africa

Having laid the theoretical foundation to discuss the place of the Bible and having shown the multiculturalism and the entirety contained in the texts we will state some references to Africa in the biblical narration. In the same way, mainly considering the huge language diversity, we will try to point out briefly some signs of the Scriptures in the African continent. Once this is confirmed, we can say that Africa is in the Bible in the same way as the Bible is in Africa.

When we look for signs of Africa in the sacred text, we find over 600 references to Egypt, among other allusions to Ethiopia (Psalm 68) and Libya (Daniel 11). From Moses, the *prince* of Egypt (Exodus 2) to Joseph, their *prime minister* (Genesis 41), from the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (II Chronicles 9) to the famous escape to Egypt by the sacred family (Mathew 2), from the Ethiopian Ebed-Melek who saved the prophet Jeremiah’s life (38) to the anonymous Ethiopian, paradigm of the reader of the *Sacred Writings* (Acts 8), we discover narrations with main characters who set Africa in the centre of the biblical world history.

Referring to the presence of the *Book* in African soil we must point out that the process of biblical translation started in Africa. As they no longer spoke the language of their ancestors, the first integral translation of the Hebrew Scriptures aimed at serving the vast and prosperous Jewish community in Alexandria diaspora. From the necessary translation of the texts into Greek came *Septuaginta* or *Version of the Seventy*, considered as one of the most important translations of the Christians’ *Old Testament*.

Despite the commercial trade and the communication that always existed among the peoples of the different African regions – even considering the language barrier represented by the desert – there is no clear evidence that the biblical text came to the Sub-Saharan Africa before the 15th century. The oldest translations are found precisely in Catechisms taken mainly by the Portuguese navigators. The first publication known in Bantu language is a Catechism in Kikongo Despitique which had probably been printed in Lisbon in about 1548. Other Catechisms followed in this and in other languages (some in bilingual editions, including Portuguese or Latin) along the 15th and the 16th centuries. However, only from early 19th century onwards can we find the proliferation of the biblical translations. Published in 1883 for the first time, the translation of the Bible into the Zulu language is a result of this productive stage.

Even if the 19th century was a flourishing period for the Bible translation into African languages, the last 50 years have presented more expressive results. Besides the quantity of new translations, the technological resources allowed millions of new readers and listeners to read and listen to the Bible not only in their own language but also in a language that enables an easy understanding of the text.

Although Africa is the continent which presents the highest linguistic diversity and despite all difficulties the Bible is already translated into 748 languages (over 1/3 of the spoken languages), which makes it the second with the biggest number of available translations. In many of these cases, the first book written in the considered languages was the Bible and the Bible remained as the only literary work for a long time. Despite the high level of illiteracy that still prevails in Africa the reach of the Bible is quite similar to the one in Europe. If we add the hundreds of thousands of people who are reached in Africa by the biblical message through audio and video support we would come to the conclusion that Africans know the Bible better than Europeans today.

On the one hand, in the theological scope, and taking account to the possibility of God revealing

Himself in the native languages, we can see social implications in what concerns the feelings of freedom, increase in value, redemption and integral transformation of the human being. On the other hand, we must consider the measure in which the anthropological work made along the two last centuries by the translators in far away places in Africa and the role of the translations have contributed to the linguistic and even literary maturation of many African languages.

We must look at the historic reality without epic fascination, however, to avoid the danger of overlooking the decolonization of thought. Although the scope and finality don't allow us a higher development, we don't want to ignore the atrocities committed in the name of the Bible. If we attend the criticism that the missionary processes made the colonists land owners and the colonized people the Bible bearers, we can't ignore the dedicated work performed by many missionaries who gave their life for Africa and for the African peoples. Those people contributed for the literacy of the peoples and, with the literacy they brought them hope, enlightenment and education.

In this sense, we avoid looking at the place the Bible can have in the present post-colonial African reality in a patronizing and neocolonialist nostalgic way. Overcoming today's difficulties in several levels (political, social, economic or cultural), the text dissemination is fundamentally made by local churches with the support of publishing houses or national biblical societies. This vitality is also translated in the preparation and sending of African missionaries whose contribution in the re-Christianization of Europe is the aim of particular analysis.

4. Instrument of increase of value of the peoples

We will finish this reflection with two concrete examples of how the Bible can contribute to give a dignified status to people and the peoples.

As an example, let's look at education. The investigation performed by Teresa Cruz e Silva (1998) about the action of the Swiss Mission (Presbyterian) in the South of Mozambique from the 1880s onwards deals with the way the pioneer work in teaching, particularly using the African languages, immediately started a conflict with the colonial authorities. In this case, the biblical translations were the instrument. Although with different objectives and starting from another context, Benedict Schubert (2000) also underlines the contribute of both the Catholic and the Protestant missions in the education and formation of Angolan national leaders.

In the health area, among other possibilities, we want to stress the trans-national work in the scope of the project *The Good Samaritan*. Starting from the help principle recognized in the famous parable by Jesus, church organizations from Norway, Sweden, Finland among others, together with the Biblical Societies of their countries, originated a programme of support to people infected by AIDS, from the beginning of this century. Encouraging hundreds of formation actions every year for the prevention of AIDS in Africa, this work reaches over 50 countries in the mainland and thousands of families a year.

5. Final considerations:

In this communication, we proposed to bring forward a concept basis to re-imagine the "place" of the Bible in the challenge of Lusophony. As a central thought, we started by the vision that it can have a place between *Prosperous* and *Caliban*. When we placed it in the *border zone*, we discussed the possibility of it contributing for the decolonization of thought. In this sense, we tried to stress the *mediation* role the Bible can play, due to its multicultural nature and universal vocation. In concrete, we pointed out the role of the biblical translation in the affirmation of the languages in the African

space as an instrument of enhancing the peoples' value and we also admitted the influence the text has had in the social development of education and health.

Before the signs here mapped out, we leave for later reflection two observations we find pertinent. In the first place, and counting on its pioneer character and massive dissemination, what role did the Bible have in the affirmation of the Portuguese language in the Portuguese speaking space? In the second place, by contrast, in what measure may the proliferation and reach of the Bible in Africa, mainly in the 20th century, and the consequent literacy level attained by the peoples through this medium have contributed to the ensuing wave of independence of the African nations?

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Abstract: This article analyzes the novel *O vendedor de passados*, by the Angolan writer José Eduardo Agualusa, under the concept prism of “minor literature,” developed by Deleuze and Guattari. We show that elements such as the political and social statute and the “deterritorialization,” which were pointed out by Deleuze and Guattari as characteristics of a “minor literature,” are present in this work. Adopting the perspective of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* Agualusa’s text shows us a history of Angola, shows to the world the violence to which the country was victimized in its independence process from the two ways of reterritorialization. The first of them is characterized by the loss of the melodramatic, activist and documental tone so common to the literatures which inform against totalitarian regimes. Agualusa will tell us in a well humorous form all the violence imposed to the Angolan people. The second allows us to see the memory not as recovering the past, but rather as an invention and prospect to the future. Agualusa strips off all the violent charge of Angolan past and proposes that the Angolans do not linger on it, yet create a less violent future.

Keywords: *O vendedor de passados*, Agualusa, memory, deterritorialization.

Our memory feeds itself, at large, from what the others remember about us. We tend to remember it as being ours the others’ remembrances - including the fictional ones.

José Eduardo Agualusa

1. Approximating Kafka and Agualusa.

When reading about Kafka’s work, Deleuze and Guattari will see it as an expression of a “minor literature”. The concept of minor literature is not associated here with a literature of lower quality if compared to other literatures, neither to the one written in a minor language. For the authors, it would relate to a literature “which a minority writes in a major language”. (DELEUZE; GUATTARI, 1977, p.25).

Being forced to write in German, Kafka will distance himself from a primitive territory - the Czech language -, adopting a language that is at the same time official and artificial, distant from his culture. However, this official language will suffer a “reterritorialization” process coming from a minority, who will adopt the official language in a rather peculiar way, resulting, at times, at “mistakes” in its structure.

Wagenbach, in the beautiful pages in which he analyses the

The political and social statute and the deterritorialization of memory in colonial Angola in *O vendedor de passados*, by José Eduardo Agualusa

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German in Prague influenced by Czech, cites as characteristic the incorrect use of prepositions; abusive pronominal use; the usage of *passé-partout* verbs [...] the multiplication and succession of adverbs; the usage of painful connotations; the importance of stress mark as interior tension in a word, and the distribution of consonants and vowels as internal disgovernment. Wagenbach insists on the following: all these traces of poor language are found in Kafka, but being taken in their creator's use [...] at the service of a flexibility, of a new intensity. (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1997, p. 36)

By using Prague's German, Kafka will alter the official German language, giving it a new face, since it will assimilate the characteristics of the German language spoken by the Czech. As Wagenbach showed us, the Czech language influence on the German language used by Kafka will be responsible for the linguistic creativity in his texts.

The second characteristic of minor literature, according to Deleuze and Guattari, is its political statute. If in the "major literature" individual chaos is valued, serving the social environment only as a background for them, in the minor literature individual chaos is intimately connected to politics.

Individual chaos becomes necessary, indispensable, increasing the microscope, in that another story stirs in it. It is in this sense that the family triangle connects with other triangles, commercial, economic, bureaucratic, legal, from which the value of the first is determined. When Kafka indicates, among the finalities of a minor literature "the depuration of conflict which oppose parents and offspring, and the possibility of discussing it", it does not concern an oedipal fantasy, but a political program. (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1977, p.26)

In Kafka, the reflections made from the individual experiences lived by the characters will transform themselves in political reflections, such as the lack of autonomy of the individual towards the bureaucracy and power concentration in the State.

As the last minor literature characteristic, the authors will point out the collective value. Such literature will refuse to be the voice of an individual to acquire "collective assemblages of enunciation".

Kafka will soon renounce the narrator principal, as well as he will refuse, despite his admiration towards Goethe, an author or master literature. Josephine, the rat, will renounce the individual army of her chant to merge in the collective communication of "innumerable crowd of heroes of (her) people". Going from the individual animal to the pack or the collective multiplicity: seven musician dogs. (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1977, p.28)

The minor literature will speak in the name of the collective. Kafka will tell us: "Literature has less to do with literary history than to the people". (KAFKA *apud* DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1977, p.27). Even when Kafka builds a story focusing on a character, he is using the collective assemblage. He does not tell us a specific story of an individual person, but one of a social person. "The letter K does not represent more than one narrator nor a character, but an assemblage much more machinic, an agent much more collective as far as an individual finds himself branched in his solitude". (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1977, p.28).

These characteristics point out by Deleuze and Guattari in Kafka's work can be also found in the work of great African writers. As Kafka, many of them had to abandon their own language to adopt the colonizers' language. The collective assemblage and the political statute are also present in their works, which depict the violence of which a desolated people were victimized by a strong colonizing process and a seemingly endless civil war.

To prove our point of view of having African literature under the prism of the concept of a "minor literature", we will analyze the novel *O vendedor de passados*, by Angolan writer José Eduardo Agualusa. We will try to show that elements as the political and social statute and the

“deterritorialization”, which were pointed out by Deleuze and Guattari as the elements of a minor literature, are found in this novel.

1.1. The political and social statute in *O vendedor de passados*

The plot in *O vendedor de passados* is set in Luanda, the capital of Angola, country that has a recent past of violent conflicts. Félix Ventura, one of the characters in the novel, works as a seller of fake pasts to the emerging Angolan bourgeoisie. An important element in the narrative spins around a foreign photojournalist who takes images of the great misfortunes in the world and wishes to forget his past. To do so, he orders Félix Ventura a new identity:

I wanted more than a teaching past, a numerous family, uncles and aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces, grandmothers and grandfathers, including two or three *bessanganas*, although all of them already dead, naturally, or living in exile, I wanted more than pictures and stories. I needed a new name, and additional documents, authentic, which testified this new identity. (AGUALUSA, 2004, p. 18)

It is only at the end of the novel that the reader finds out that this foreigner is victim of a defender of a socialist regime in Angola, created in October, 1975, by the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and which had as its main characteristic a single party. In May, 1977, a group of MPLA’s dissidents triggered a *coup d’état* which was violently repressed. It is at this historical moment that Agualusa is worth. The foreigner in the narrative, participant of the coup, was handed in - together with his wife who was about to go into labor - to the Police by the Portuguese diplomacy. His wife, a few days before giving birth to a girl, is tortured and ends up dying.

The foreigner goes to exile in Portugal and later working as a photojournalist in various countries. After some time, he comes back to Angola to settle things with his torturer. This is the alleged reason for his identity change:

It came to me as anger, a wild grudge against those people, against Edmundo. I wanted to kill him. I thought if I killed him I could look at my daughter. By killing him I might reborn. I returned to Luanda without knowing a lot what to do. I was afraid to be recognized. At the hotel, at a bar table, I found our friend Félix Ventura’s business card. “Give your children a better past.” Very good paper. Very well print. It was then that I had the idea to hire him. With another identity it would be easier to circle around town without being suspicious. (AGUALUSA, 2004, p. 192)

This foreigner’s fictional story who was born in Portugal but lives in Angola will make us remember the bloody Angolan history. After suffering a violent colonization process, Angola manages to become independent from Portugal in 1975. However, its independence did not mean the beginning of peace. The three main groups¹ who fought together against the Portuguese colonialism started fighting each other for the country’s control. Angola deepens itself into a violent civil war, which only ended in 2001.²

1.2. The *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* processed practiced by *O vendedor de passados*

As previously said, Deleuze and Guattari will use the terms *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* when explaining the incorporation process of an official language and the later

¹ People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

² Information taken from: http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hist%C3%B3ria_de_Angola. Accessed on: 08/11/2013.

interference in it by the minority who adopts it. Would that be the Angolan case in reference to Portugal's language? We examine.

Angola is a country which characterizes itself by a variety of ethnic groups and their respective languages. Among them: Choucué, Quicongo, Quimbundo, Gangela, Cunhama, and Umbundo. Umbundo and Quimbundo were traditionally the languages with a greater number of speakers. Yet, with the country's independence in 1975, and the widespread of the civil war which followed, there was an expansion of the Portuguese language in the country, which served as a unifying element for the diverse ethnic groups.³

Although there has been Angolan literary works written in Umbundo and Quimbundo, the majority adopted Portuguese. This was also Agualusa's choice. Yet, differently from what we find in Kafka's work, which incorporates a diction of German spoken by the Czech, giving it a creative content, in Agualusa the official language used does not suffer substantial changes from minor languages. The *reterritorialization* practiced by the author is not in the language, but rather in the theme dealt in his novel: the memory.

We cannot speak about Agualusa's novel without also talking about the past and memory. The title itself proves to us that the past is a fundamental element in the narrative. However, the title causes us, the readers, a great surprise. It is more common for us to associate a memory narrative to a strategy to capture "the vivid and bring it in a relatively intact manner to the narrative present." (CASTELLO BRANCO, 1994, p. 23) If this is our most common vision about memory, it is not the only one. Lúcia Castello Branco problematizes this memory vision that, according to her, is related to the impossible. What was lived will never be able to be recovered in its integrality. We can only get to it through some fragments provided by language. Two important elements would be present in the remembering process of the past: the future instance and its recreation by language.

Thus, whereas one of the gestures implies a retroaction, a movement in the direction of what already is not, another gesture, simultaneous and subliminally, as a silent and invisible work, is there. This, inevitably, walks towards the direction of *what already is not*, to a future instance that, however, is in the present at the moment that it is built: the verbal representation, the language. (CASTELO BRANCO, 1994, p. 24)

When we address the past, we are, in a way, recreating it, since what was lived will always be known through something it is not: the words. We are here in the representation level, of a narrative which intends to address our previous experiences, but which, by being a representation, will never be able to capture all the complexity of those experiences.

Agualusa's novel will deal with this impossibility of recovering what was lived through words. It will show the proximity of memory with the work of invention: "I like to hear. Félix talks about his childhood as if he had really lived it." (p. 94) We see in this passage that what the Félix Ventura character does is a narrative about his lived experiences, which is always different from what he really lived. This way, he is recreating his own past.

The realization of the fictional character present in all the memory account will be taken to the extreme in Agualusa's novel. The past stops presenting fictional elements, since we are recreating it through language, to be pure fiction. It is what happens in the passage in which a Minister whose past shames him - since he was more interested in rock bands and women than fighting for Angola's independence - decides to write his memories building himself a new history, reinventing a past:

In the early seventies the Minister was a young post office employee in Luanda. He played the drums in a rock band, *The Unnamable*. He was more interested in women than politics. This is the truth, or before,

3 Taken from: http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%ADnguas_de_Angola. Accessed on: 08/11/2013.

the prosaic truth. In the book, the Minister reveals that by then he was already dedicated to the political life, fighting in clandestinity, quite in clandestinity even the Portuguese colonialism. (AGUALUSA, 2004, p.140)

Agualusa will erase the limits between fiction and History, will add to the vision already crystallized in History as the register of true facts to its vision as fiction. Thus, a fictional narrative such as the Minister's might be seen as true facts.

As soon as *The true life of a fighter* is published, Angola's history will gain consistency, it will be more History. The book will serve as a reference for future works dealing the fight for national freedom, the troubled years which followed the independence, the widespread movement for democracy in the country. (AGUALUSA, 2004, p. 140)

By showing the fictional presence in the account which wishes to be true facts, Agualusa will deterritorialize Angola's bloody History. Therewith, the account stops having the melodramatic character of narratives, which, for example, denounce the violence for which they went through in the country's colonization process, to become a well humorous narrative. It is what we see in the passage in which a disarmer of mines is compared to a child pick loquats in his neighbor's back yard.

Conclusion

Although it is considered by the author himself as a novel, it becomes complicated to put Agualusa narrative in a certain genre, the book transits between the aspects of fiction and of Angola's historical account. There is still a discussion within the narrative itself when it comes to its genre. The last chapter is entitled *Félix Ventura starts to write a diary*. We could think of this work as a true account of Angola's History. However, the author's own vision about the memory texts keeps us from drawing this conclusion. It is the hybrid of fiction and reality that the text is engendered:

The memory that I still have of him [Eulálio], incidentally, seems to me more by each and every hour as a building made of sand. The memory of a dream. Maybe I had dreamed of it entirely, of him, of José Buchmann, of Edmundo Barata dos Reis⁴

Adopting to the perspective the perspective of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization*, appointed by Deleuze and Guattari, Agualusa's text shows us Angola's history, it tells the world the world of violence by which the country was victimized in its independence process. However, what seems to be most striking in the novel is that the author does not take a melodramatic, militant and documental tone, as it is usually taken in literatures which denounce totalitarian regimes.

Agualusa will tell us well-humorously all the violence imposed on the Angolan people. By telling us about the individual estrangement in relation to his body - "I have almost fifteen years of the soul trapped in this body and I still am not used to it. I have lived almost a century wearing the skin of a man and yet never felt myself entirely human" (p. 43) -, the author is also referring to the estrangement in the body felt by more than 120 thousand Angolans, who were mutilated by the mines scattered around the country.

By allowing us to see that the memory is related to invention and to the future, Agualusa removes all the violent charge in Angola's past and proposes that the Angolans do not linger around it, but rather create a less violent future. The author himself stated in an interview that in Angola the past is not really taken into consideration. "It is an extremely young country, where people die young. The life expectancy is of 40 years. It is a country where the past is extremely volatile."⁵

4 Eulálio is the gecko who narrates the whole novel; José Buchmann is the fictional name given by Félix Ventura to the Pedro Gouveia character, victim of the tortures practiced by Edmundo Barata dos Reis.

5 AGUALUSA apud GUEKOSKI, Cris. A invenção da memória na literatura angolana do século XXI. Available at: <http://caioba>.

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Abstract: In 1979, the Portuguese psychiatrist Antonio Lobo Antunes published his first book entitled *Memória de elefante* (Elephant Memory) which together with *Os cus de Judas* (The Land at the End of the World) (1979) and *Conhecimento do inferno* (Knowledge of Hell) (1980) integrated a trilogy described by the author as a “learning cycle” that demystifies in fiction the official reports of the colonial war through an autobiographical elaboration. By depicting the armed conflict in Angola, one of the Portuguese Colonies at the time, and the prevailing estrangement in the metropolis regarding African events as well as the silence among the well-situated classes, the first Antunes’ novel brings the story of a character who returns to Portugal, carried out through a painful self-reflective recollection. In this process, led by the narrator, a catharsis is constituted before the mirror by a psychiatrist who speaks of, within and by himself from the time of childhood to the present. The intensity and complexity delineating characteristics of such fictional construction anticipate and/or inaugurate a postmodern slant in the Portuguese literature.

Keywords: Lobo Antunes. Memory. Autobiographical writing.

1. Introduction

In July 1980, in an interview with the Portuguese journalist José Jorge Letria, Lobo Antunes said that “a writer, as a singer or a painter, is always the voice of anything that is latent in people” (Silva, 2008:27)¹, and this reflects in part his thoughts on the relationship between writing and being read. In this same interview, the Antunes also states: “Since I was 12 or 13 years old I remember creating stories. Only when I wrote ‘Elephant Memory’ there seemed to be for the first time a personal way of saying things.” (Letria, 2008:29)². Our starting point herein is this “voice” that speaks about itself (I), that brings itself and at the same time exposes the other talking by itself (us). Thus, we suggest that this is the literary trajectory of *Memória de elefante* (Elephant Memory), the author’s debut work, published in 1979.

Antunes’ “particular way of saying things” is understood as the autobiographical instance of his writing. According to his words, his first book was a “journey through myself” (Silva, 2008:27)³, which contradictorily was a sales success, as the author reports:

[...] There is the whole issue of writing, many years of writing,

1 All quotations are translated by the author for the purpose of this paper only.

2 Interview first published in the newspaper *O Diário*, on July 27th, 1981, p. 21.

3 Interview first published in the Language, Literature and Arts section of the newspaper *Diário Popular*, in October 18th, 1979, pp. V-VI, IX.

Self-referentiality, mirror, and memory in Lobo Antunes

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hesitations, doubts, rewriting, many years looking for a way [...] a personal way of saying things which came up with the *Elephant* [...], and about which I did not make the least effort to publication. This happened due to my friends, they loved the book and fought hard for it and then the book was published. And then I was amazed with the success of the book, I did not expect, an unknown book, an unknown author, launched in early August, at a time when no one buys books, and really it has been a very great success, with a second edition to out later this year, without amendment, except for the typos. (Silva, 2008:3-4)⁴

2. Debut work by Antunes

Elephant Memory is a novel with 15 non-titled chapters, where the reader follows, around the city of Lisbon, the daily life a young Portuguese psychiatrist, who separated from his wife five months before, who has two daughters, and who has lived in Angola as a doctor of the Portuguese army during colonial war. Such biographical data of the character are consistent with those of the author, and the same happens with most of what will come out of his memory during the 150 pages of the original edition.

Throughout the story, we follow this character as he goes to work at the “mental hospital” (the first four chapters), together with him we roam the corridors, offices, the urgency, the wards of inpatients, we meet some of his colleagues, nurses, patients and families, we go to a “restaurant” (chapter five) to have lunch with a great friend, where we are side by side with others sharing the environment, and we go all the way to the “dentist” (chapter six), where we meet patients and a helper.

We follow him on foot and by car through some streets of a current “Lisbon” and another located in the past (chapter seven), and we “hear” the opening lines of the poem “Esta gente cujo rosto” (These people whose face)⁵ by Sophia Andresen. In the chapter eight we go to the front of the “daughters’ school” to observe them from a distance, and we come across the first named character in the novel: Teresa, the maid, and we get to know the song “I do it for your love” by Paul Simon. Then, in the next chapter, we go to the “bar”, where, for two hours, there will be beer and a fruitless search for talking on the phone, and we will chat with goers.

In the chapter ten we go to the “analyst”, where stories of patients in group therapy, of which our character participates, are revealed. Next, knowing now that it is Friday, we stay in a “car” with the lights off watching people at night in Lisbon. In the chapter twelve we go on the “highway”, the psychiatrist’s usual way back home, a journey which is stopped and resumed on the chapter fourteen.

We go to the “casino” (chapter thirteen), where we hear almost hurtful remarks about officials, players, prostitutes, ladies, and gentlemen. We get to know Dory, a decrepit and lonely woman in search of survival, with whom our character will take us, in the final chapter, to her unfurnished “apartment” in the cold and luxurious solitude of Monte Estoril, and at 5 am the author-narrator-character says goodbye to us by telling his missing ex-wife:

Tomorrow I am going to restart life from the beginning, I will be the serious and responsible adult that my mother wants and my family waits, I will come in time to the infirmary, punctual and serious, I will comb my hair to reassure patients, I will fill my vocabulary with sharp obscenities. Perhaps, my love, I will buy a tapestry as Sir Ferreira did: you can find it silly but I need something that helps me to exist. (Antunes, 2009:158)

4 Interview first published in the Language, Literature and Arts section of the newspaper *Diário Popular*, in October 18th, 1979, pp. I, VI-VII.

5 Poem found in the book *Geografia* (Geography), originally published in 1967.

3. Antunes' Diegesis

By the end of the book, we have spent a single regular day with the character, but we get to know his life, since together we have visited recesses of his memory, traveled along the highway, streets, alleys, avenues, squares, nooks and crannies of Lisbon, a city pregnant with meanings that only the character can perceive and express. We insist that this narrated trajectory is guided by self-referentiality, based on the psychiatrist's look into himself by which he presents his visible "self" and his inside out, with his analyses of profession, the war and society, anxieties, fears and inabilities, which is complemented and/or faced by time. Lobo Antunes himself tells us about this character the following:

The hero of this book is a bit like all of us. As facing suffering abreast – facing loneliness – is difficult, he tries to find a whole series of subterfuges, mechanisms of escape. Through memories, being with other women, going to the casino, eating at "snack bars", where solitude is less apparent than at the tables (there's nothing sadder than a man eating alone at a restaurant table) a guy is supported on the left and right by people, and there are others ahead, nevertheless he fells together. (Silva, 2008:10)⁶

The narrator describes places, people, feelings and appearances, gives the word to the psychiatrist and watches with us his inward dipping, fills in the gaps, shows reasons, and places the calendar times. Throughout the novel there is a preciousness of details, a truth of historical facts, the constant presence of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, a metaphorical use of geographical locations, and a network of ironies that covers the main character and the socio-historical environment.

Thus, as the narrative gets thicker, we enter a sort of maze together with this character, traversing his biography and contemplating his inner self-portrait. Narrator and character are overlapped, complemented and confused, and they often become unison, indistinguishable, inseparable voices. It is at the thickest moments of the narrative that these postures emerge, and the self-writing is clearly formalized, such as here:

Fuck fuck fuck fuck fuck, *he said* to himself, because other words could not be found *inside me* except these, sort of feeble protest against the thick gloom that filled me. I felt very helpless and very alone and unwilling now to call for anyone because (I knew) there are crossings we must make alone, with no aid, even at the risk of sinking at one of those late nights of insomnia which turns us into Pedro and Inês in the Crypt of Alcobaça, overlying stones until the end of the world. (Antunes, 2009:123. Emphasis added)

The narrator spreads reports on events, sort of clues – while allowing the character to participate in the narration –, it corroborates dates, places and events about which it speaks; these interspersed voices lead us to biographical information about the author. It is the writer himself who confirms this writing by responding to the question about the meaning of the only one line in direct discourse of the female character who is present throughout the novel through the "look and inner memory of the author" (Silva, 2008:7). This is the passage:

The psychiatrist remembered a phrase from the woman just before they separated. They were sitting on the red couch in the room, under a picture of Bartholomew that he was very fond of, while the cat sought a warm space between their hips, and she turned to him her decided big brown eyes and declared: 'I don't admit that with or without me you give up because I believe you and bet on you blindly. (Antunes, 2009:63)

In response, Lobo Antunes states:

⁶ Interview first published in the Language, Literature and Arts section of the newspaper *Diário Popular*, in October 18th, 1979, pp. I, VI-VII.

It is evident that in the book there is an autobiographical level. This sentence was said by the real woman who served as the model for the woman in the book, and it was related to the writing and the discussions we had about the writing and the constant encouragement she tried to give me to write.

However, I think there are maybe two things. On the one hand, a kind of modesty that leads me to not put more things of her, because I think I don't have this right and also because it is about a woman who is already out of place, a woman who is already internalized in the person, as part of a past that doesn't belong to her in this narrative, but rather belongs to the person who is talking with other characters who pass by here, as the daughters here in the book. *It is a memory time and therefore things are tucked inside of us, internalized as part of our heritage, almost inseparable of us and independent of us.* (Silva, 2008:7. Emphasis added.)⁷

There is then an "I" who experiences, an "I" that seeks to understand, and an "I" that tells, confides to the reader the ills, pains and doubts of the present and basically the search for an identity in the past. Several chronological times intertwine these voices and senses intersect in multiple directions, thus constantly unsettling relations between the subject of writing and the narrated subject. While the memory support brings the truth that the character-narrator wants to capture and tell, the presentiality of emotions exposed by it hinders a broader recomposition of events, conditions and actions that it carries, which is, however, recovered by narrator intervention.

We could say that there is a kind of dialectic between the narrators which provides both the image recovery within the retelling of events (creating a fact) as well as the quest to do justice to oneself in clarifying the facts (completing a fact). Therefore, the words of Georges Gusdorf (1991:12) are noteworthy: "Autobiography [...] demands that man stands within a certain distance of himself in order to replenish himself in his unity and in his identity over time".

Testimony and confession are, in *Elephant Memory*, an inseparable construction, because the "I" that as a sign is filled with many "selves" (others), speaks of itself as the subject of narration (vital center of time and space) and speaks as the "I" who is naked, replicated in itself. There is an ongoing relationship between the inner and outer life within the intertwining of narrators which provides a constant narrative density.

This debut work by Lobo Antunes is thus a prime example of autobiographical writing, and it allows us to take the author's biography as an Ariadne's thread to actualize a partnership with the narrator and the character-narrator. Drawing on Philippe Lejeune's (2008) considerations in *O pacto autobiográfico* (The autobiographical pact), we shall claim that there is an identity asserted within this novel on the text level between the main character, the narrator and the author, distinct elements among themselves but which work dialectically in *Elephant Memory*, a symbolic title to the length (duration) of memory. The reactivation of memory by the word is a possibility of duplication by a review, a remembering, a reminding of the past as a kind of "rebirth" in the present.

Let us call upon Clara Rocha (1992) in *Máscaras de narciso* (The Masks of Narcissus) in order to situate our understanding of this Lobo Antunes' work as a dialogue of multiple instances of an autobiographical "I". According to Rocha:

At the ontological level, the consciousness that is judged is the place par excellence of an otherness through which the individual seeks an identity. It is in this consciousness as an otherness that lays the very self-reflexive movement of the autobiographical literature.

At the aesthetic level, the autobiographical hero is a recreation, a combination between a real person and an invented character, the result of a double process of self-discovery and shaping of an image.

⁷ Interview first published in the Language, Literature and Arts section of the newspaper *Diário Popular*, in October 18th, 1979, pp. I, VI-VII.

At the narratological level, the I who speaks is another one that keeps a spaced relationship with the self about whom it speaks [...]. (Rocha, 1992:49)

A constant concern of literature is to emphasize the difference between narrator and author. In dictionaries of literary terms and similar ones, there are proposals to distinguish between them. According to Carlos Reis and Ana Cristina Lopes (2000:39), the entry “author” has a number of meanings, and the one more relevant to the present considerations is the first to be presented, that is, that the designation of “author” involves aspects and problems beyond the literary works and the literature itself. By rule it is seen as the inspired real and empirical individual, responsible for the work with the words and careful with the technical standards and the craft standards.

Added to this exposure there is the fact that the author is a material entity responsible for the narrative text and creator of a diegetic universe. In turn, the term “narrator” is less complex than “author”, understood by Reis and Lopes (2000:257) as “a fictitious entity which in the setting of fiction has the task of articulating the discourse, as the protagonist of the narrative communication.” To this definition we must add that the narrator is an invention of the author, who can use it according to a creative or ideological intention to design attitudes, thoughts, opinions that may be associated with the construction of an alter ego.⁸

However, the confusion between author and narrator becomes much more complex when a person (the author) writes a story about himself or, in other words, prepares a retrospective narrative about his own life, focusing the plot on his personal history. Such kind of report is named autobiography by the literary theory, and this requires the reader the autobiographical pact. Here Lejeune (1986) once more helps to situate the notion of precarious boundary between autobiography and autobiographical novel as temporal discourses and not faithful reports of facts and thoughts in a constant dialectic of truth and identity. In this regard Maria Luiza Ritzel Remédios argues the following:

Considering the fragile boundary between autobiography and autobiographical novel, and noting that the latter can be regarded as a literary work, hence fictional, it is also difficult to define in confessional literature the boundaries between autobiography and diary or between autobiography and self-portrait or between autobiography and memories. (Remédios, 1997:13)

Undoubtedly a mistake that should be avoided when dealing with the autobiography is seeking a prescriptive definition, because as Elizabeth Bruss (1991:62) reminds we need to “discuss what autobiographical writing should be, not what it is.” Therefore, it is necessary to look at “the *form*, the immanent material properties of a text, and the *functions* assigned to that text.” (Bruss, 1991:62); both types of text are more conventional than natural. That is, it is only by the contact with each particular text that the reader will be able to recognize and choose the style, plot, and verify similarities and differences in relation to other writings of the author.

According to Georges Gusdorf, when a man tells his story he knows that the narrated events are in the past and will not be repeated in the future. Therefore, the author of an autobiography “gives his picture a kind of relief in relation to their surroundings, an independent existence; he contemplates himself and he likes being contemplated, he is a witness of himself; and the others are seen as witnesses of how his presence is irreplaceable.” (Gusdorf, 1991:10)

The same theory states that the author of an autobiography, since he is the artist and the subject concurrently, becomes a double of himself that provides a self-unveiling or self-discovery. Obviously it is necessary to tell about life including public and private aspects. However, for his legacy to be

⁸ Although at this point we could bring up the different classifications of narrators, as those proposed by Norman Friedman and especially by Gerard Genette, we are not going to focus on them, since our focus is not a deep study of the narrator but drawing attention to the relationships set up with the author.

fulfilled, he must set up a distance of himself to be seen as a whole. Due to this distance, the author can see who he was with greater clarity as well as the world around him.

Also according to Gusdorf, such resumption of the past amounts to a second reading of the experience “and truer than the first one, since it is awareness: [...] Memory gives me perspective and allows me to take into account the complexities of a situation in time and space.” (Gusdorf, 1991:13) Paradoxically, the man who appears at the end of the text is found incomplete and divided, talking about someone who he was in the past and no longer is.

Some considerations on the earlier works of Lobo Antunes point out to a narrative alter-ego, a catharsis of the effects of the colonial war, a stylistically renewed post-April writing, and so on. So we can think of the man, from the standpoint of Gusdorf, as an emotional being, with his difficulties and his ghosts, a social being confronted with the senseless death and suffering of war, and as a psychiatrist disillusioned with the profession, seeking a new identity, signed by a writing form which is free of armor.

4. Conclusion

Elephant Memory, the debut work of the writer Lobo Antunes, an author representative of what Carlos Reis calls “fictional trends of clear postmodernist slant” (Reis, 2004:34), is undoubtedly the fruition of a writing of the self, in which the “we” fills the senses of the narrative, and where the “I” assumes the self. In this sense, the interview by Rodrigues da Silva may be resumed as follows:

[...] character/author [Lobo Antunes] who, from one day to another, left the “hollow tunnel” of anonymity to the heart of an indefinite collectivity which I call all of us.

Thanks to a book [*Elephant Memory*] and not to his death, or perhaps to it (who knows how many deaths fit in a man’s life?). Thanks to a book. One hundred and fifty pages of a “love story between despair and resignation”, a journey to the end of the night of selfishness and fear of loneliness, the painful journey of difficult learning to “live and be a man.”

It is “all of us” that somehow is there too. Just where the trait is dimmed in us, there is pronounced; where the fluid exists in us, there lies the rigor; where the nod is found in us, there the gesture is totally drawn. Where in us we put ourselves in safe, there shamelessly and boldly someone is exposed.

But because even when dimmed, flowed, with a routine of nods, it is always full of trait, strict, firm and authentic in the gesture of our desire; this “Elephant Memory” came unexpectedly and suddenly [...] in the inner memory “all of us”. (Silva, 2008:2)

Thus, we believe in a construction of a rite of passage through the word of a man who followed the paths indicated by multiple others outside him, and who recovers in the present the search of himself, that is, the psychiatrist before the mirror begins to see the writer who in turn begins to see himself. Perhaps this is what Lobo Antunes himself designates as “the turn of the octopus inside out”, “the turn inside out of a sock”, expressions meaning ultimately his own (re)birth, his “inward turning” (Silva, 2008:20).

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Abstract: Verbs of movement reflect our identity's common denominator, such as to leave, to exit, to emigrate, to seek, to go in search. So much has been said of our *situatedly* Portuguese modernity that, in order to be great, we must wander outside our own dreams. We returned from our colonial and colonising saga with our mind and imagination already filled with imaginary baggage, of other centres, other 'discoveries' to be narrated. The Portuguese postcoloniality, although very anchored in the rhetoric of imperial nostalgia, restores, in a watchful gaze, these new movements and identity 'pilgrimages'. This paper seeks to develop a critical reading of the novel by Dulce Maria Cardoso, *O Retorno* (The Return), to critically reflect on the prefix 'post' in our recently conquered postcoloniality. It also seeks to incorporate a reflection on Portugal's place in the historic encounter with modernity and the centrality that resulted from 'docking' with Europe, denouncing the ambivalence and the exotopy with which the country represents and defines itself. At stake are the identity meanings produced in a context of sudden political and cultural transitions, which reveal a historical ballast comprising imperial imaginations and the lessening of the country within Europe and on the road of modernity. Between the return of imaginary empires and the illusions of new routes to old centres, the country renews its eternal cycle of returns and departures, symbolically digesting its losses in a process of identity autophagy.

Keywords: Returns; Identities; Imagination; Europe; Post-coloniality.

1. Escape, Escape, Escape

Partha Chatterjee, albeit in reference to the Indian colonial experience (1997), evokes the pillars of the contemporary history of colonialism in his essay "Our Modernity" by noting that: "let us remind ourselves that there was a time that modernity was put forward as the strongest argument in favour of the continued colonial subjection" (Chatterjee, 1997:19). It would be fallacious to fall into the naive temptation of believing that various modernities and colonialities are over. This observation is proposed as a challenge to consider "O Retorno" (The Return) by Dulce Maria Cardoso (2011) as a fictional essay that discusses not only the historical, political and cultural modernities/colonialities, but in a very unique and prolific manner the coexistence of several other modernities/colonialities, which are imaginary and subjective. In this latest novel by Dulce Maria Cardoso there is a clear desire to embrace the difficult experiences of many 'returnees' in this Other-Portugal that is decolonising, through the lives of a Portuguese

Returns and departures: the exotopic imagination of post-colonial Portugal

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family that has long been rooted in Luanda; the main character, a teenager named Rui, uses the space and time of his memory and the memory of those who accompany him throughout this experience of exile and uprooting to narrate the pain and hurt caused by leaving his land of affections, of identity origin, the basis of his own ontology, with his mother and sister. Upon arriving in Portugal, this Other-Portugal but of metropole, Rui, along with his family and other ‘returnee’ families, is faced with a grim and macabre scenario of this Portugal-metropole. It is up to the autodiegetic narrator to deconstruct, on the one hand, the greatness and grandeur of an imaginary map that transforms the nation into a territorial force that crossed seas, land and the actual imagination of those who believed, then, that Portugal was not a ‘small country’. And, on the other hand, to reveal in a raw and critical way the aporia of the prefix ‘post’ in Portuguese postcoloniality and postcolonialism.

If the narrative of “O Retorno” serves as a drive to rescue from the Portuguese historical oblivion the experiences and difficulties of integration, assimilation and social acceptance that many who the former empire crudely nicknamed ‘returnees’ (*retornados*) went through – “those here call us spilled (*entornados*) to make fun of us, they were spilled here, they must think they’re funny”* (Cardoso, 2011:128); it also serves as a lucid and attentive X-ray of the historical and mnemonic voids (see Calafate, 2012; Khan, 2012) that the Portuguese postcolonialism cultivated as an attempt to sublimate and postpone the pain of colonial loss, that sea of wreckages and human versions of a failed modernity, a reflection of a labile colonial centre defeated by its own boundless imagery, without a vision of the future, and without the historical ability and efficiency to incorporate into its contemporaneity the subjective stories/histories (Khan, 2011), which are no less relevant than History, whether about the Portuguese colonisation and colonialism, or the process of decolonisation and the postcolonial turn towards the European universe. A metonymy of a nation shrouded in its own mythical fog of adventures and discoveries, Rui cannot escape the chronic disease of this nation-ship, which is conducted if not outside itself, in territorial or even imaginary travels. With great fictional agility, Dulce Maria Cardoso confronts us with the challenge of, through Rui, thinking of this Portugal of post-coloniality, a challenge that is written in Rui’s desire to ‘escape’, ‘leave’, ‘exit’ (Buescu, 2008) the ‘prison’ he feels he is in, and vividly channels his thoughts to South Africa and Brazil:

I understand that father did not want to go to America, it must be hard to make a living in America without knowing English, but I do not understand that he did not want to go to Brazil, which is similar to Angola, Mr. Fernando wrote a letter from Rio de Janeiro and said it was just like Luanda, with warm sea water and rain that makes you want to dance, a blessed land like Angola was, a land that allows everything that is sown in it to grow. João Comunista also went to Brazil but never sent any news, I hope he is well and no longer ashamed of the empire or of being Portuguese, it must be annoying to be embarrassed to live with something you cannot change* (Cardoso, 2011: 243-244).

It is by feeding this imagination, that drive and aspiration visible in both Rui – “when we’re in Brazil my sister will like to straighten her curls again and make herself look pretty for parties, to read graphic novels, in Brazil it isn’t cold and there is fruit like we had there [refers to Angola, Luanda], my sister can eat the pitangas she wants”* (*Ibidem*, 2011:150) – and in the nation that is recycled in its new imaginations, that new regenerating spaces are erected like new oxygen of a nation-vessel that initiates its pendulum, ambiguous and almost obtuse voyage, as it turns to its lost Africa, and then turns and imagines itself as a new and modern European country. Rightly, the Mozambican writer Mia Couto in one of his novels, also about the journey and the travels of men, nations and cultures, candidly warns us about the following:

The journey does not begin when distances are travelled, but when we cross our inner borders. The

journey happens when we wake up outside the body, away from the last place where we could have a home* (Couto, 2006:77).

2. Docking like one who leaves

It was not just a chronological coincidence or a political inevitability that determined the change of direction in Portugal's historic journey of the late 20th century. If decolonisation, that fizzling end of the empire, with bags packed hastily and sluggish goodbyes, and the desire to merge with Europe coincided, it would have been because both symmetrical sides of the identity imagination of a country historically oriented outwards. It is true that the empire, with the many names from which it was purged, was an archaism and a political and economic impossibility. It is also true that the Portuguese were submissive to, if not convinced about, a war to defend territories that were little more than exotic to them, and that ideologically carved a grandiose and singular self-definition. It was therefore difficult to disengage and understand the tethers of the remains of a five-century empire and, above all, it was hard to know what to make of it. How could Portugal be seen as a postcolonial country if the very notion of colonialism had metamorphosed in the last decades of Salazar's and Caetano's dictatorship? How to return from the ruins of war and the land that had been *civilised* with minimal damage, i.e. without pain and without guilt? We venture to say that the answer is a dual process of reorganising the identity of the country that served to defend itself from the chaos: the silence and the exotopy.

"O Retorno", by Dulce Maria Cardoso, among a few other works that in recent decades have revisited the war and decolonisation, highlights precisely the silencing these experiences were subjected to by underlining the insurmountable boundaries between those who lived them and those who did not want to know they were being lived by the 'others', the 'returnees'. But beyond the specifically more subjective level of this process, it is worth noting the collective amnesia that drew a cloak of forgetfulness and indifference over these processes. Eduardo Lourenço is accurate and clairvoyant in this way he exposes that paroxysmal moment of the country's recent history, where several crises converge and, yet, the weight of the empire unexpectedly dissipates:

Thirteen years of colonial war, abrupt collapse of that Empire, seemed to be events destined not only to create a *deep trauma* – analogous to the loss of independence – but an in-depth rethinking of the *whole of our image to ourselves and in the mirror of the world*. However, we all witnessed this surprising spectacle: neither one thing nor the other took place. (...) Such a spectacular event as the collapse of a five-hundred year 'empire', whose 'possession' seemed co-essential to our historical reality and moreover a part of our *corporal, ethical and metaphysical image as Portuguese*, ended *without drama** (Lourenço, 1988: 42-43).

Considering the ironic *serenity* with which the colonial issue was laid to rest, as if it were a history file and it were possible to put it away in a box, without flesh, without voices, without mess, Eduardo Lourenço speaks of a "*realistic adjustment of Portugal to itself*"* (1988: 44), where "everything seemed to pass as if we never had this notorious 'imperial' existence and the return to the narrow and dusky walls of the 'small Lusitanian house' in no way affected us"* (1988 : 38). To put it differently, we did not lose the empire, we forgot the empire. An empire that was always more imagined than concrete in the national identity configuration, "this empire that is not marked on maps"* (Silva, 1988: 90) and that remained distant and ex-centric to all those who had no experience of it. The empire that was imagined was much more the idea of *portugals* scattered throughout the world, lusotopia as *ecumene*, of which João Pina-Cabral talks (2010). When reality dissolved this imaginary empire there

was little, therefore, to preserve. Except all those who, because they are not imaginary, but people of flesh and soul, seemed to be the remains that did not know what physical or symbolic place they belonged to, and who were, for the spell of forgetfulness not to be broken, *gently assimilated*, that is to say, their disparate narratives destined to silence, to oblivion and invisibility.

The second process that accompanies the moment of decolonisation and rotation towards Europe is the exotopic nature embedded in national identity. By this we mean the tendency to be outside the space-time one actually belongs to and, consequently, to decentre identifications and ambitions. The place where one is, essentially, the mirror of the place one desires and one believes to belong to. In her analysis of the structuring elements of national identity in Portuguese literature, Isabel Allegro Magalhães (1995: 192) shows how exotopy is a deep imprint of how the country thinks of itself as outside itself – “a constant sense of being on a threshold, the feeling of never getting where you want, of never achieving what you desire, of never getting there: the experience of missing out, or falling short, of that truly desire”*. In fact, the author mentions that post-1974 literature

almost does not have, as in previous decades and centuries, characters that travel or seek beyond the doors of the country the craved novelty or an attractive otherness. (...) Even though there are a considerable number of novels with characters who travel, most of their journeys are now their homecoming, their return to the motherland: journeys of emigrants arriving from European countries, of soldiers coming from former colonies, of exiles returning from abroad, of returnees disembarking from Africa. They come back in search of their land: Portugal. But these arrivals, apparently the end of the completed circle of a trip, or its happy ending, result in an arrival at nowhere, or at the same and emptied place from which they set off. (...) There are many novels in which the Portuguese reality after ‘74 is described and narrated in their precarious hopes, and especially in their frustrations and rapid disappointments, without any nationalistic emotion. A reality traversed by empty or violent relationships, by ambiguous commitments, by a total lack of perspective* (Magalhães, 1995: 195-196).

How can the exotopic inclination of national thinking help to understand the anesthetised overcoming of the trauma of the loss of empire? Because leaving continues to be the solution, even when one considers returning. When the 1974 revolution definitively closes the imperial chapter of the Portuguese history, the moment of return to the continental perimeter from where we had left five centuries is now, too, a moment of ex-centricity. Symbolically, it was not possible to stay. Without answers from the Atlantic side, it came without surprises or anxieties that the national *oracle of destiny* turned towards the continent. In reality, this was an artery of departure and escape already opened by the haemorrhage of emigration. Europe comes to us, therefore, as a new narrative of dockage, in so far as “European integration represented the holy bath of a country newly reborn”* (Ribeiro, 2011b: 123). For this reason, Miguel Real states (1998: 96) after Eduardo Lourenço, that Europe was for Portugal the “Great Normaliser, giving us the simultaneous image of our smallness as a country incorporated into it, but also of our greatness for being part of it”*. After centuries of remoteness in relation to the European political and economic space, the country sought its modernity in the united Europe that stood for development and prosperity.

Europe thus became the new “imagination of the centre”. According to Boaventura Sousa Santos (1994: 58), since the end of the colonial empire, “Portugal entered a period of renegotiation of its position in the world system, seeking for itself a base to fill the void left by the collapse of the empire. (...) to be with Europe is to be like Europe”*. Moreover, the decentralisation that imperial expansion implied was not solved by joining what was then the European Community, which became another decentralisation, as explains eloquently by Boaventura Sousa Santos (1994: 136)

But interestingly the creation of the national cultural space is contradictory, because it occurs in the same process in which Portugal becomes a region, an area of Europe. Within less than twenty years, the transnationality of colonial space was transferred to intra-European transnationality (...). The historical difficulty in coherently configuring an intermediate cultural spatio-temporality is hereby confirmed.*

Nevertheless, the decentralisation in favour of a new realignment, with Europe, was still undertaken with the same ambiguities with which the atlantic, imperial vocation was reflexively incorporated into the *corpus* of national identity. The identification with Europe as a historical place for Portugal toils in misconceptions and in the fragility of a pragmatic, instrumental and commercial link with Europe, as an opportunity for affirmation and modernisation. With regard to a sense of unity and identity with the European historical, social and cultural space, we can say that *we are in Europe, but Europe is not in us*, in the sense that it is consistently seen as a scenario, the little more than circumstantial *outside* of the Portuguese historical experience.

In summary, the Portuguese remain in an ambivalent relationship with their historical and cultural place, between insularization and expansion, between normalising modernity and imperial singularism. Unable to escape from departures and returns, Portugal materialised them as the *topos* of its self-definition: Portugal is where the language is and where the Portuguese “in the wide world could create their vegetable patch and their garden” (Lourenço: 1994: 22).

The duplicity – which often is, strictly speaking, duality – of the national way of being seems to become a vertigo that accompanies national reflexivity and its ideological constructions of national identity: between the imperial vocation, that mission mythically described as *spiritual*, and the refuge in the idea of appendix, a delayed but aspiring appendix, of Europe* (Ribeiro, 2011a: 93).

*Our own translations.

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SESSION 9

THE
DECOLONISATION
OF IMAGINARIES IN
LITERATURE

Abstract: This paper turns to analysis of the novel “The Castle of Crossed Destinies” by Italo Calvino, from the standpoint of Umberto Eco’s approach in “Six walks through the woods of fiction.” About esoteric Tarot de Marseille at the table and on the mystique that permeates the cards in the deck that spread the “castle”, hangs the subjectivity of the novelist / poet with his imaginative repertoire, disseminated by the various stories, each comprising multiple interpretations even in light of the model reader of Eco about the imagination that permeates the literary work of Calvin in the light of Eco drive a permeate for Cultural Studies constituting come look at recent history to sitting upon the ballast of contemporaneity. And for better look at this work of Calvin with the artwork, I realize the presence of the ideas initiated by the Cultural Studies. To do so, use me Hall, Bauman and Canclini, among others / the scholars / the both of Literature fiction, as Cultural Studies.

Keywords: Narrative Fiction, Cultural Studies, Contemporary Imaginary.

1. Introduction

When deciding the writing of “The Castle of Crossed Destinies” Calvin makes it clear that the idea of using the tarot as a narrative machine combinatorial Paolo Fabbri came to him that an “International Seminar on the structure of the story”, in July 1968 in Urbino, presented a paper on “the Tale of fortune telling and language of emblems”. Calvin says to justify his own work to the analysis of narrative functions of divination cards had been the subject of an initial study in the writings of MI Lekomceva and B.Uspenky (Russian, dedicated to semiotic studies). Calvin begins by Tarots of Marseille, looking to put the cards in order to present themselves as successive scenes of a pictographic story. When the cards placed randomly gave you a story which recognized a sense, went down to write it, accumulating a vast material, and much of “The Castle of Crossed Destinies” was written at this stage. What do you do in this essay is to examine this work of pictographic and silent narrative of Calvin in the light of Eco “Six walks through the woods of fiction”. In this work, ECO (1994, p.7), “to enter the woods”, Calvin on contingency that evokes “a traveler If on a winter night” to collate the presence of the reader in the story.

In “The Castle of Crossed Destinies”, here transformed into an object of analysis, looking for the presence of the reader, a model reader, in an attempt to transpose this test, unassuming, the same studied and expounded by Eco (1994) trajectory in “Six walks ...” to “If a traveler ...”. The purpose of semiotics taroniana

The Italo Calvino’s narrative tarot in “The castle of crossed destinations” and the Eco’s “Groves”: a look permeated by Cultural Studies

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mystical, exemplarily carried to term in the narratives of Calvin in his "Castle of Crossed Destinies", to undertake the cohesive fabric that hooks up to each other, it can be assumed up to this set of writings, a reader who enters history by becoming observant, critical and active reader, since the latter pair feature and making strategic use of it, or engages you soak up the text, agreeable to it, from their experiences world and the things of your expectations as a reader and his consciousness view of space and time, for the construction of new meanings, new interactions and new experiences that could well alter history. But it is a "change" imaginative, the point at which its possible interference could cause supposedly new paths and new outcomes for each of the six stories drawn by tarot Calvin at the Castle, without, however, transcend the limits of the model reader proposed by Eco.

2. Calvin and Eco let themselves pervade for Cultural Studies

Calvin, the purpose of its activities with the ethos of the characters that created throughout his works, launches in the picturesque medieval, castelescas and intriguing adventures aimed at young adults, especially public. Experience a conviviality with comparable only to the production of Cervantes (example of "Don Quixote") fiction. Proposes, in most of his works, an actual urbanity in middle age. With an eye on this aspect can be checked as Calvin scaled a route involved in unveiling its internal motion. Their lexical choices and your writing in general, going and coming acts in the form of displacements toward the establishment of the themes that make his works. In "The Castle of Crossed Destinations" this movement of displacement, through tarot cards, is very evident, as it attempts to show this work of analysis. The common thread is the fragile balance between subjectivity and objectivity of social relations between inside and outside the castle, among humans from those inside and outside the medieval enclosure destinations.

It must, however resume the master word in this section 2: shift/s. It is precisely this action of Calvin we see how appropriate is the permeate of Cultural Studies over the actions of fiction. At this time occurs which Bauman (2012, p.11) calls "the culture of society as self." Putting yourself in tune with the prevailing sociological view decades ago, for it was configured in the culture aspect of social reality, or rather, one of many "social facts" that should be properly seized, described and represented. But how to do this analysis, an appropriate way on the novel of Calvin? We seek to elucidate this way, understanding the perception of speech as a social construction that has people/characters as participants in the processes of construction of meaning in society. Moita Lopes (2002) considers that this movement includes the possibility of allowing resistance positions in relation to hegemonic discourses, that is, power is not taken as monolithic and social identities are not fixed. Ensures him that in a society where inequality is so blatant, that focus on promoting social transformation through language education seems essential. The narratives can be a useful type of discourse organization accordingly due to the purpose they serve in the unfolding social drama, showing the characters acting in discursive practices and building the world around them. "Thus, the narrative can be used as spaces where identities are constructed in discursive battles of every day." (MOITA LOPES, 2002 p.55- 56).

Behold, to establish human relationships to deslocatórias typically shares the Marseille tarot cards, Calvin in his narrative advocates egregious inequalities in society and offers of fictional narrative to expose the marginal discursive practices, as emphasized by Cultural Studies.

Let us return to the displacement, this time also resuming Bauman (2012) concerning the concept of culture. According to him, if remit - to "social facts" that form the puzzle of human relations, establishing a kind of paradox, especially from the standpoint of deconstruction of culture. Originally, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the idea of culture was coined to distinguish the human

relations of "hard" facts of nature. Traditionally meant what human beings can do, "nature", what we must obey. However, the general trend of social thought during the nineteenth century, culminating with Émile Durkheim and the concept of "social facts" was "naturalize" culture. (BAUMAN, 2012, p.11- 12)

In this respect, cultural facts can be human products, however, once made, shall confront their ancient authors with all the uncompromising and indomitable obstinacy of nature - and the efforts of social thinkers concentrated on the task of showing that this is so and to explain how and why they are so. This is evident in the narrative construction of Calvin in "The Castle of Crossed Destinies" and that, too, clearly we can put the light on the analysis of Eco "Six walks through the woods of fiction."

In this novel of Calvin, what cultural studies helped to understand is that the media participates in the formation, in the constitution of things that reflect. There is a world out there "out there" that exists free of the discourses of representation. What is "out there" is partly constituted by the way it is represented. In light of this idea, Hall (2005) is positioned stating that these narratives function much as says in Claude Lévi - Strauss, how myths work. Myths are representing in narrative form the resolution of things that can not be resolved in real life. What is tell us about the "dream life" of a culture. But to get privileged access to the dream life of a culture, we need to know how to deconstruct the complex ways in which the narrative permeates all real life. For completeness, says that when we look at any of these popular narratives that construct constantly in the imagination of a society, the place, the identities, the experience and the stories of different people who live in it, we become instantly aware of the complex nature of racism itself. "It is clear that one aspect of racism is certainly that it occupies a Manichean world of opposites: us and them, primitive and civilized, light and dark, a black and white symbolic universe." (HALL 2005, p.21)

The effectiveness of these movements is related to the constant organizing and reorganizing the narrative. Such movements are endowed with intense resonance when extending transcend traditional forms of expression of the word.

3. "The Castle of Crossed Destinies" pervaded by "Six walks through the woods of fiction"

As in "If a traveler ..." devised by Calvin wanderings in the woods, "The Castle of Crossed Destinies" is also located in the woods, intersected by attendance and scenarios paradoxical and contradictory: "In the midst of a dense forest, one castle gave refuge to many a night were surprised traveling: . knights and ladies, royal processions and simple wanderers" (CALVIN, 1991, p.11-12) it is this paradoxical scenario that visitors, guests and diners in the hall of the castle, engage in the six stories in which Calvin appointing a traveler narrator, drawing the reader in an abrupt and effective to sit at the table to "hear" the silent, imagery and figurative narration of each of the characters so that they dare to express their lives, using the mask to unravel mystique taroniana their lives. And are "six" stories in Castle Grove Calvin as "six" are the walks through the woods of fiction Eco.

And it's Eco (1994) which now gives us part of lighting their "forests", because in the silence of the protagonists of each story, they are more often than if they were to echo their voices in loud and clear. It is here that fits perfectly assertion Eco (1994, p.10). "Sometimes, when you try to talk too much, an author can become funnier than his characters" But Calvin did not talk too much, nor allows his characters: what is more evident is the voice of silence each protagonists, a mime, to put up the letter he chooses to narrate his adventures, misadventures, travails and misadventures.

The narrator is the same for all the stories, is positioned to realize the deathly silence of the guests at the table: "Determined to break through what he thought was a numbness of the tongue after the

fatigues of the journey, I tried to vent to me in a euphoric exclamations such as: [...] good winds bring us" (CALVIN, 1991, p.13)

And when you try to break the silence, the almost magical silent stories begin with the first narrative: "History of the ungrateful punished" with the protagonist taking a packet of letters from one of castellans was lying on the table. It is a Knight of Hearts, whose printed figure, a pink and blond young man in pose Magi, suggests a similarity with the boy who pulled the letter confirming that he would be the protagonist of the narrative. It is a narrative, and silent, assumes a unique speed and on this characteristic of Calvin in his works, Eco (1994, p.9), thus pronounced, from its ties with Calvin himself: "This apology the speed is not to deny the pleasures of delay." and how, according to Eco (1994, p.7) "... a story there is always a reader, and that reader is a key ingredient not only the process of telling a story, as well as the story itself, the speed or quickness undertaken in interaction with the narrative, depend on the attitude and the individual characteristics of the reader".

3.1 Narrative of Calvin, the EC's and the Analysis by Eco

On this path made by the reader on the narrative that turns you on a journey, Eco (1994, p.9) reasoneth: "For now, I just want to say that any fictional narrative is necessary and inevitably fast because when construct a world that includes a variety of events and characters, can not say everything about this world." Returning to the stories of Calvin at the point where the "ungrateful punished", represented by the first guest protagonist Castle, concludes three other letters to compose the following his adventure in the woods: Comes the King of Diamonds, which situates a condition of affluence, inclination to luxury and lavishness, as represented by the son of the king of the Arcane Monarch, the expression of the narrator, always silent, it is mournful, meaning that the King had died. The next card, the Ten of Pentacles, suggests that the young prince, now the Castle dinner, had inherited all the wealth of the monarch. By the end, the third letter in this sequence, makes us understand, for a Nine of Clubs, the young son penetrates up by vegetation and wild flowers and leaves your traveling spirit makes him lose, entrenched in the woods.

At this point, the reader recommended by Eco, would pause, looking to bet on who succeeds after these episodes from the life of the protagonist: "In a narrative text, the reader is forced to choose every time. In fact, this obligation exists even choose the level of the individual sentence - at least when it contains a transitive verb" (ECO, 1994, p.12). And the catch phrase in the case of Calvin in this first history of the Castle, is in the title itself engendered: "... the ungrateful punished."

Let us pause for a bit at this point, in light of Canclini (2011) analyze the effect of urban movements Castle. The city shares provided by fortune-telling narrative is not presented in a vertical movement of diffusion, but becomes amplified in expression of local authorities, complement fragments. Collective identity are increasingly less in the city and its history, recent or distant, its constituent stage. "The information about the social shenanigans are received at home, commented with family or friends nearby." (CANCLINI, 2011, p. 288-89)

The "urban culture" is restructured to give the role of public space to electronic technologies. In "The Castle of Crossed Destinies" these technologies not yet arrived, but the movements of the Tarot of Marseilles for futuristic initiates actions that may rather promote the emergence of electronic paraphernalia towards the present day. Urban life constantly transgresses the order between present, past and future. Therefore, we see Calvin in a certain prophetic narrative movement. We could say that the narrative proposal of Calvin in the light of Eco and permeated by Sarlo (2005), desecrates the traditional structure and offers futuristic wings to imagination writing. As if this presents? The setting is medieval, but the intentions of the participants of the game are like those present in the

contemporary social games: lurking, decision and action.

The purpose of his approach "the triviality of beauty", Sarlo (2005) we can understand that the writer's imagination works as a foundation for awakening the reader. The preparation of text whose charm lies in the constant flow of the narrative, constructed from a simple model and the hegemony of the sentimental theme, involves organizing effort put into primacy. Calvin in the novel that exposes analyze stories that flow effectively under the empire of feelings: their privileged space is flirting with a fashion writing that transcends age, its golden age, the youth, as it advocates a game (the tarot of Marseilles), his ideal of happiness is articulated around love and desire, and its source of conflict, the position between the order of desires and social or moral order. You can use to analyze Calvino (Italy), the proposed analysis Sarlo (2005) uses to Borges (Argentina). In response to the need for fantasy, these stories were particularly successful. (SARLO, 2005, p.220-21). Thus, it would be necessary to take these texts seriously and not as mere support of dreams and evasions. Take them from the hell of bad literature than to discover improbable values, but to explain through his system procedures, its articulation of simple plots, the reasons (ideological or literary) of their success.

But let us return to "The Castle of Crossed Destinies": The Voice (silent) the narrator pursues a significant gesture, removing the Strength card, announcing them an unpleasant encounter, since the symbolism of the image (an armed madman) hints at their bad intentions due to brutal expression. And the letter of the Hanged confirms the sad predictions, darkly interfering in the features of the narrator, this time, already made known to the other guests and the reader, who is himself the victim that the bandit had robbed in all its belongings. At this stage, we can further analyze together for what Eco (1994, p.14) defines as model reader of a story, which is not the empirical reader. "The empirical reader is you, me, all of us, when we read a text."

Model reader, then, is a kind of ideal type text not only provides as a contributor, but still seeks to create. The empirical reader is one who can "read" the work the wrong way, committing, including misconceptions. Eco (1994) says that what happened to her friend, is that he had searched the woods one thing that was in its private memory. When walking through the woods, you can very well use every experience and every discovery to learn more about life, about the past and future. And walking through the woods of the narrative like we were in our own private garden, let us return to Calvin, his narrator and his protagonist, in the first story: behold, an Ace of Cups is present, presenting guests to the Castle a source that flowed between mosses flowering, rustling wings and gorgolhar water from a spring... a man lying on the floor quenches thirst. Calvin does his narrator pass the symbolism of the source: "... there are sources that [...] so if you drink them yet cause more thirst rather than placate her." (CALVIN, 1991, p.19)

What is observed in the sequence is paused, now there is a real silence into silent narrative, making the reader understand (which defines how Eco model), a second part of the story was about to begin, because the knight was gone, leaving the daughter of the woods right there where she had rendered him aid and where they had loved.

The narrator goes on to have other cards in a new row (a new phase in your life?). Lands two cards on the table: The Empress and the Eight of Cups. The rise is disconcerting change of scenery. The solution takes not impose itself: the knight had found what you were looking - a wife and opulent high lineage. It is the letter of Cups suggesting a wedding feast, in a festive setting with a towel festooned table for grooms. This phase in the history of Calvin asks again fitting the model reader Eco (1994, p.16), which initiates: "It is, therefore, observe the rules of the game, and the model reader is someone who is eager to play."

However, to break this possible ambiguity in Calvin, the narrator established by that deprives another tarot card of the stories of the guests and, behold, it presents the Knight of Swords, or in the

interpretation of the model reader, an unforeseen. A surprise in the form of messenger on horseback had broken through the party, bringing disturbing news. And wielding guns and jumping out the saddle. Everyone expected another letter, more explanatory, and the sun came. The painter had depicted the star of the day in the hands of a child running or even flying, over a vast and varied landscape. And the child soon becomes literal: a half-naked child had been seen running in the vicinity of the castle where the nuptials were celebrated, and that little was to follow that the husband had left the banquet table. At this point, it is again possible to glimpse the Eco model reader, for whom he "spoke of model readers not only in relation to texts that are open to multiple points of view, but also those who provide a very obedient reader." (ECO, 1994 p.23). Eco goes on saying that there is a model reader up to train schedules and, of each type of model reader, the text expects a different kind of cooperation. To complete the setting, Eco quotes Joyce for whom "an ideal reader is one stricken with an ideal insomnia", however returns, "we must also pay attention to the instructions contained in the train schedules."

Returning to Calvin, with his first protagonist, the model reader, mindful of the instructions, the details and own this type of tag reader, will witness the withdrawal of the letter of Justice, which passes the understanding that it is time the actually built by his attitudes; life, abandonment, hurt, son (with the metaphor of "sun hands" - the image of taroniana letter. The diners were questioning faces. And behold, the letter of Justice: transpires a woman with sword and scales, a warrior on horseback (or an Amazon ?) In the background, dressed in armor, ready for the attack. The child does reach the mother, the peasant idyll of old, transformed into soldiers, Lioness, Amazon arranged to ransom. Asks what she wants him and she replies: justice!. At the same time, he discovers that the little that followed until the forest was his son, born of that one idyll. Two of Swords is one that makes the reader aware that there will be a clash between the rider and the rider. It was time to face justice (balance). Defend yourself! Advises her brandishing the sword that rustles the leaves, and now he lies amid the meadow, bloodied.

Eco (1994, p.35), would look for this story to date, saying that one of the fundamental mechanisms of Calvin (as Sylvie), based on a continuous alternation between flashbacks and flashforwards (as opposed to flashbacks - fact future inserted into the chronological structure of the work). This is because Calvin, at the Castle, with its first lead (and others too), allows the narrator to analyze the past which interferes with your gift, while using the Tarot refers to the future, a constant exercise prediction during the work. When we learned of a story that refers to a narrative time (the time in which the narrated events occur, which can be two hours ago or a thousand years ago), the narrator (in the first or third person) and characters can refer to something that happened before the facts narrated. "Or they may allude to something that at the time of these events, was yet to occur and was expected. As Gérard Genette says, a flashback seems to notice an oversight of the author, while a flashforward narrative is a manifestation of impatience." (ECO, 1994, p.36). This considered, the analysis of possible reader, We are headed to the outcome of the first story - predictable, it would tell - the protagonist removes the packet from the letter Pope - represented in the narrative by a monastic figure who prostrates on the body of knight in agony, to explain to you that the young person in the past, offended the goddess Cybele and therefore you will not be granted clemency. Thus, the final letter - an Eight of Spades - the reader aware that the rider will be shattered by Cybele. Eco Calvin would say, using the narrator, described past to justify the present facts outcome. However, if we consider Eco (1994, p.48), the protagonist of this story is Calvin, through tarot cards reconstructing posthumous (because it was trashed ...).

To conclude this essay, it is clear that, in light tasting Calvin Eco, is sharp precision that is acquired, especially considering Eco (1994), that in every work of fiction, the text Bleeping suspenseful, almost

as if the speech became slower, or even stopped, as if the author suggested: "now you try to keep ..."

And the narrative Grove Calvin, in his fiction, it is possible to palpitate another grove, one of Eco metanarrativo and conceptual. In this essay, undertook the journey on one of the stories, because the others are built following the same methodology, stealing us to repeat the analysis, since the story varies, but the wording remains.

Here, where the narrator's voice is silent, the author wants us to spend the rest of my life wondering what happened, and afraid that we have not yet succumbed to the desire to know what ever will be revealed, the author - not the voice the narrator - adds a final note to explain the meaning of the Marseille Tarot cards.

And the cards, if you will, may continue to be removed from the stack at the Castle of Calvin in the light of the walks through the woods of Eco.

4. Final Thoughts

The narrator is nothing more than an inventor. To the West, as Sarlo (2005), the inventor is a social type. Find it transcends ages can give an idea of the cultural force of transmodernização and, above all, their myths, implanted at a time providing intense attention to all that is marginal. Calvin, in "The Castle of Crossed Destinies" is an inventor who seeks the same time, several things that are not directly related to scientific activity: unlike the researcher ignored for their time, the inventor wants recognition, fame and live their fictional production comfortably. These are the desires that accompany technological invention, but do not generalize to narrative fiction production, there is a link not only with the practical world but with economic success and social mobility. There are two powerful places for further consideration in future work: the level of language and literary structure. For this work, the relationship ativemo us the narrative of Calvin, with the formation of reader - Eco model, all permeated by Cultural Studies.

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Abstract: This work has as a purpose to reflect about the ways through which the works of Mozambican writer Mia Couto undermines any notions or concepts of gender stability. The notion that gender is an unstable and transient quality of the subject underlies many of his narratives, giving the impression that the psyche of individuals is subject to change in the many stages of life, or even to conform to social and environmental rules. Such condition can either refer to what Freud postulates as a “casual inversion”, a kind of “temporary homosexual affection” or as new stand on the western paradigm, a way to question the rules imposed to men and women by the patriarchal speech.

Keywords: Mia Couto; gender; feminism; post-colonialism

1. Introduction

The works of the Mozambican Mia Couto are full of opportunities to analyze the representations of gender. When it comes to the sexual behavior or identities of individuals, his writings tend to deconstruct the images that the patriarchal speech has stated as the norm. As such, with a cast of characters out of the “standard of normality”, the author seems to want to sensitize readers to the need of reorganizing the pattern of interpersonal relationships which in turn will result in a reorganization of the relations of power in the patriarchal society.

That’s how the reader ends up with men that cry, men that are satisfied with “being on the bottom” of a sexual relationship, and men that become actual friends with women or allow themselves to “infantilize” with them or their own children. There are even the ones that after a long struggle with the “irrationality of women”, give in, abandoned, to the pleas of the unconscious, to the point where they identify mentally and physically with women, returning to the primordial mythical androgyny.

In these circumstances what gets the spotlight is the presence of homosexual characters or those with characteristics which are deemed homosexual by the patriarchal society, such as transvestism. With all the persistence with which these characters with “deviant behaviors” appear in the pages of the Coutian books, they shape into an army, which deals a restless battle with the intent to build a society where we can look at each other as different, but not as inferior in the face of that difference.

1.1. Transvestism: the essay of the me in the other or “to get rid of the old man and wear the new”

It’s not without irony that the biblical image attributed to

The implosion of the concepts of gender in the works of Mia Couto

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Saint Paul was used as the title that will discourse over the symbolism of the transvestism as a way to destabilize the dichotomies of gender and sex in the Coutian works. Long before the letters written by the apostle Paul, which definitely established misogyny in the Christian religion, in the book of Deuteronomy, which with the other four makes up the Pentateuch, the part of the Bible known as “The Law” (Torah), there was already a law that clearly stated: “A woman must not wear men’s clothing, nor a man wear women’s clothing, for the Lord your God detests anyone who does this” (Deuteronomy 22:5). Thus, “wearing clothes of the opposite sex is understood as a violation of divine and natural laws” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 188), at least in the most common western religions. Paradoxically, the priest will face that prerogative when wearing the cassock, which would make one neither male nor female. The Coutian works are littered with priests, as well as male and female transvestites, in a clear attempt to question/deconstruct the law of the Father.

Two narratives that present female transvestism and two narratives that present male transvestism were chosen for analysis. At least one of those presents with further detail the theme of homosexuality (male). However, in all of them it is quite difficult to separate, at least to the common sense, the act of transvestism with “signs of homosexuality”. In other words, although originally transvestism was a mostly heterosexual phenomenon, it is rare to find, today, those who accept the idea that an individual who wears clothes of the opposite sex is not *gay* (Rothwell, 2004: 143).

Anyway, by giving emphasis to the theme in question, Couto seems to intently start a discussion that doesn’t necessarily needs to reach a conclusion. It’s not necessary to establish strict boundaries to know, methodically and scientifically, what is a transvestite or his/her choice as homo or heterosexual. If to Couto “every man is a race”, then from his writings it can be inferred that “every man is a gender”. To Rothwel, Mia Couto adheres to Rothblatt’s idea that there are as many “sexes” as there are inhabitants in the world “and individualizes the genders of many of his characters, in a series of process that undermines the very concept of a category” (Rothwell, 2004: 135).

It’s in this line of work that the reader is introduced to Florival, which even with his name reveals something about his burly physical looks, and like another character, Zé Paulão, both who are transvestites that are/were in love with women. In another moment the reader can find an openly homosexual that falls in love for a woman (although the woman is at first dressed in men’s clothes). And the reverse also happens: up until the moment, Rosaldo (notice the name¹); will end up investing in a relationship with one of his daughters’ suitors. But firstly, focus on the cross-dressing question in each short story:

The narrator in “High Hills Shoes” (Couto, 1996: 79-82) tells of an anecdote that occurred in his childhood, spent in a poor neighborhood where nothing unusual ever happened. The only character of notice was Zé Paulão, a Portuguese longshoreman, “a coarse man (...). But affable in manners and refinements” (Couto, 1996: 79). He was a lonely man – a real waste of a good man, according to the women in the neighborhood. His wife ran away from home and was never seen again, without anyone ever knowing her reasons. Nonetheless, the narrator’s family knew a secret: from their home only, one was able to see Paulão’s backyard where ““woman’s clothes drying in the sun” (Couto, 1996: 80), and at nights, one could hear feminine footsteps on the house next door, exposed by the noise of high heels. As no one would ever see a woman there, the narrator, in his teenage dreams, would fantasize about her, thinking her the most beautiful of them all.

At a random night, the boy was playing, and he jumped over to the neighbor’s porch. Immediately after, a light turned on inside the house and the loud footsteps of high heels could be heard. The boy decided to take a peek and saw, with her back turned to him, “the one who was the motif of my desires”

1 Rosaldo resembles Rosie. Translator’ Note

(Couto, 1996: 81). When the woman turned over, the secret was out: it was Paulão cross-dressing.

Later, at home, the boy stayed at his room crying and told his mom, who went to supply him with solace, “the decease of a certain girl” (Couto, 1996: 81) that he loved. The mother, “in suspicious that only mothers are capable of” (Couto, 1996: 82) promised that the boy would move to another room, so that he would never hear the tapping of the shoes again.

This is surely the story that demands more cleverness in order to obtain an interpretation that is in line with the feminist proposition. Here we have something relatively rare in Coutian writings: a homodiegetic narrator that establishes a rather traditional plot, with beginning, middle and ending, with emphasis on the enunciation and with no participation of the magical/fantastic. The most of its innovation is contained in the style of the author’s language. The diegesis invites – through its swiftness and easiness – to a superficial reading, which certainly isn’t desirable, being that in the case of this short story, such reading leads to a comical, laughable finality, derived from the burlesque aspect of Paulão’s cross dressing. Moreover, according to Macedo & Amaral, the image of the cross-dresser was seen by the first feminists “with scorn for his parodies of woman figure” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 190). More recently, the feminist stance tries to “see in the figure of the male transvestite a character that challenges notions of sexual difference” highlighting “the potential radicalism of these parodies on the deconstruction of sexual subjectivities” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 190). It is exactly that potential that we try to highlight in this analysis.

This short story, as well as another one that will be seen next, “Daughter of loneliness”, were brilliantly analyzed by Professor Phillip Rothwell. The story, which is set “in colonial times” (Couto, 1996: 79), times in which the catholic-patriarchal hierarchy exacerbated dichotomies pertinent to gender, is a real insult to the binary and Manichean defined thinking. Indeed, cross-dressing holds a privileged spot as a weapon for such questionings. To Marjorie Garber “the cultural effect of transvestism is to destabilize all such binaries: not only ‘male’ and ‘female’, but also ‘gay’ and ‘straight’ and ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. This is the sense – the radical sense – in which transvestism is a ‘third’” (Garber *cited in* Rothwell, 2004: 143). Thinking along the lines of Rothblatt, the cross dressers in Couto maybe don’t represent a “third”, but a six billionth sex.

As a cross-dresser, Zé Paulão, challenges what it means to be a man or a woman. He is described as “macho man” (Couto 1996: 79-80), his “manhood metonymically extends to the crane with he works” (Rothwell, 2008: 122). Paulão transits, intermittent, day-and-night to his “other”, which is revealed when the narrator is faced to “Zé Paulão’s eyes, ornate with paintings” (Couto, 1996: 82). The disorder caused by this border being, that is the travesty in conceptions of gender socially reiterated, is such that everyone prefers to keep secret the fact: the wife of the longshoreman who had left him without a reason to boast, the narrator that will keep to himself (at least when storytelling the encounter with the neighbor, years later), perhaps even the narrator’s mother, who possibly knew of nocturnal practices Paulão, besides himself, who dresses as a man in public space during the day, and reserve the dresses and women’s shoes for the private, nocturnal space, as everything that should not be revealed (it almost could be said that he reserved his feminine side to the darkness).

“The tears of Diamantina” (Couto, 2006: 33-37) tells of a young woman whose vocation crying attracted many people who came to tell him his sorrows to her cry, relieving the pains of the confessor. Diamantina’s husband saw a good business opportunity in the influx of people and determined that the woman just cried by bidder, despite her argument that tears were a ‘holy thing’ (Couto, 2006: 34). People - now converted into customers – have not left to come, although they should pay the husband before the consultation. One day, Florival appeared there, a “man with a thug, criminal aspect” (Couto, 2006: 35), unable, however, to evil, so that on Sundays he dressed as a woman.

That Sunday he sat his dress of yellow sunflowers along Diamantina and confessed that he loved

her for many years. It was in the face of her indifference over this time, to save suffering that “he has decided to convert into a woman. Thus, colleague of the same gender, he would not look at her as the fate of his desires” (Couto, 2006: 35). Diamantina cried like she had never done before. Florival yet returned the next afternoon. On the third day, the girl said she had no more tears and were had “woman’s conversations” (Couto, 2006: 36) until she gave the youngster his last two tears, which he kept - two little precious diamonds. Both then fled through the woods. At night, truckers said they had seen in the road “a couple of appearances reverse: he dressed as a woman; she in male clothes” (Couto, 2006: 37).

Again, there is a male transvestite who uses this practice as temporary mode, only on Sundays. There is also a disparity that destabilizes preconceptions of what the man is, or the woman, or even the male homosexual. After all, the physical description of Florival causes great stress when confronted with his name² and his ways. On one hand, flower is universally a symbol of the passive principle (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 2002 : 437); on the other, the transvestite’s dress has yellow sunflowers (!), an open manifestation of the active and passive in the individual; a challenge to the patriarchal society, in which man should stifle the passive principle. However, here this aspect of disorder has occupied the public space, adding that Florival adheres to the practice of cross-dressing in the face of a timely identifiable event, making it a kind of escape. This contains an amazing paradox: contrary to what is observed by common sense, when women are the protagonists of the greatest sufferings for love, in the short story there is a man who, to escape from an unrequited love, try to be a woman. And then the peripeteia takes place: Diamantina, keeper of so many sorrows, including having a relapse husband, who uses her, to make easy money will leave her victimhood, what is symbolized in dressing as a man and in giving Florival her last tears.

Thus, in “Tears of Diamantina” Couto goes something only suggested in “high heel shoes”: the practice of transvestite appears dissociated from subjective labeling, being more than just a practice. Chevalier and Gheerbrant, while not referring to the cross-dressing show that

Clothes are an outward symbol of spiritual activity, the visible form of the inner man (...) clothing can mean, to manifest it, the deep character of its wearer (...). Therefore, the outfit is not an external attribute, oblivious to the nature of who wears it. Rather, it expresses their essential and fundamental reality (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 2002: 947-8).

It is one of the first indications of “self-consciousness” (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 2002: 949).

However, the prospect of reading what that has been done authorizes the cases of transvestism of the two tales as indices of latent change in the psyche of these men and women, men who abandoned their truculent features and a woman who is no longer the “whining” and submissive to her husband. All of them are looking for a new locus for experience and express their subjectivities. During an event in Maputo, Couto explained how this reason is significant, “even among the toughest men there is this strange male instinct to poses as woman on days when it is socially agreed [at the carnival]. Was it worth to enquire us - even in a psychiatric sense - this will be the one who is so vehemently denied.” (Couto, 2009: 143).

In the case of female transvestism, it has historically functioned as a way for women to gain “access to male domains” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 189), although it also remains as a suggestion link with lesbianism. Diamantina’s case seems, a priori, not to be connect to any of them; her attitudes seem to be an effect of profound changes of being. However, the veterinary in the short story “The daughter of loneliness” (Couto, 1997: 47-54) is in a profession and a workplace in such a hostile manner,

² Translator’s note: Florival evokes flower, something like flowery, in English.

in which she possibly had no access if she had no male ways and garments. In this tale Meninita is introduced to the reader. She Pacheco's daughter, one of the Portuguese cellarmans rooted in a place isolated from Mozambique, "where even the original blacks scarce" (Couto, 1997: 49). The family was worried about the fact Meninita be entering puberty without there ever was a man who consigns her, only "colored" (Couto, 1997: 50). The girl consoled flipping through a "thousand times repeated photo novel" (Couto, 1997: 50). On the day she turned eighteen, Meninita had a nasty fever. The only employees of the family, young Massoco replaced the girl in the tavern counter, always showing concern for "little miss". One day another white woman, a veterinarian ministry with mission to inspect the cattle of the natives, arrived to the place. This woman looked like a man. As the night Meninita had an attack of fever, the father decided to call the vet. Delirious from the fever, Meninita confused the doctor with a man and "kisses her lips greedily" (Couto, 1997: 52). As therapy, the veterinarian proposes to disguise herself as a man and play the role of Meninita's boyfriend. Several nights the plan was executed until she healed up and returned to the canteen toil, always scolding Massoco. One day, the girl is revealed to be pregnant, which aroused the fury of Pacheco against "the fucking doctor" (Couto, 1997: 54). The couple left a daughter and traveled to the village in order to get satisfactions with the vet. In his room before falling asleep, Meninita still "was still taking the black hand that loomed on the white linen" (Couto, 1997: 54).

In this narrative, the collapse in the division of genders is taken to the extreme. The already mentioned disarray caused by the presence of the cross-dresser is enough to make Pacheco (con)fuse the male and female by suggesting the hypothesis that a woman dressed as a man had impregnated his daughter. But the story breaks with another boundary. In truth, it deals with the intersection of the binomials of sex and race. In Rothwell's words: "So blinding is their racial prejudice that a White female father is deemed to be more feasible than one of 'those others, of a different color'" (Rothwell, 2004: 146). Still in accordance to the author, Mozambique under the presidency of Samora Machel, kept the taboos and prejudices of the salazarist era, staying intolerant against sexual "deviance" (Rothwell, 2004: 147). If sex and race have been banned for so long, now both cease to be taboo simultaneously, (con)fusing to destabilize the *status quo* of the racist-patriarchal society. Even when the process of miscegenation is taken into account, there is an inversion in the pattern of racial couples, being more frequent that dominant white group supplies the men, and the women come from the dominated group, which is reversed in the story. Finally, it is worthy of note, that the breaking of the racial taboo, at least within the content of this narrative, is more unacceptable/preposterous/unthinkable than the breaking of the boundaries of gender: a woman (as long as she is white) can impregnate another woman, but a black man could never impregnate a white woman.

In "The Commander's Lover" (Couto, 2006: 123-128), a Portuguese vessel arrived at a small village, staying anchored there. Some days later a canoe brought on shore three sailors, amongst them a black man as an interpreter, with an urgent request from the captain: the vessel's commander needed a man immediately, to perform "services of love" (Couto, 2006: 123). Facing the natives confusion, the interpreter made clear that the commander did not need a woman, but a men for services "of carnal love, (...) ripping clothes, squeezing body, rubbing sigh" (Couto, 2006: 124). Even after the delegation went back to the ship, an uncertainty was left; maybe it was a translation error. It was thought that sending someone of the "wrong" sex could upset the white folks. The village elders, believing that the request came, indeed, from a male, proposed that Josinda, a breeder, was sent even though she was "not very feminine, and at first sight could be mistaken for a man, for she was weird, muscular and rude" (Couto, 2006: 124). The woman was summoned, had her hair cut and was dressed in her father's clothes. She was sent to the ship under the name of Jezequiel. In the middle of the night, when the sailors brought her back, Josinda cried, "something that no one ever saw her

doing” (Couto, 2006: 126), keeping silence about what happened in the ship. The following night, the Portuguese came back with the orders that the captain “again needed that Jezequiel” (Couto, 2006: 126). However, Josinda refused to go and the villagers gave the excuse that he wasn’t seen again since that last night. The following day, two boats with sailors came to search for the commander’s man. But the woman had left her home. At night the commander himself walked ashore, visibly disturbed and calling screaming for Jezequiel. Such a search being in vain, the military man gave the order to his sailors to leave without him, for he would stay to search for his lover. Before entering the savannah looking for Jezequiel, the captain wrote a name in the beach sand: Josinda.

Here we see a motion opposite to the one seen in “The Tears of Diamantina”: after meeting with a (homosexual) man, the woman that was never seen crying, (re)acquires that ability (although it is not clear why). In the opposite manner, the contact with a manly/burly cross-dressed woman makes the captain fall in love with a Josinda, when what he initially desired were the services of a Jezequiel. One more there is a (con)fusion/(pro)fusion in the exchange/inversion of sexual roles, making difficult the “academic” task, which in turn is so infatuated with classifications, of separating these characters in a reference chart. It cannot be said that Paulão, Florival and the commander, on one side, and Diamantina, the vet and Josinda on the other, are men or women in the “catholic” sense, and they do not hold up their personas in an exclusive and permanent homosexual identity, either. Again: each of those out-of-place characters does not represent a 3rd sex, but a 4th, a 12th and a 1006th..., so that, exemplarily, the “the sexual bipolarity is subtracted from the individual and s/he is put in front of countless and unrepeatable possibilities” (Di Ciommo, 1999: 36), as it is believed that that is always positive and desirable, as they are *individuals*. The only definite quality in the sexual roles of the protagonists in the analyzed stories is their transience, their permanent crossing of boundaries, deconstructing any presuppositions, and confirming the idea that sexual identities – as well as any identifying aspect of the individual – aren’t fixed phenomena, but are constructed and complexified with new experiences. And those are unrepeatable. In the words of Macedo & Amaral “Within this sense, we can say that each individual lives a different process in terms of the development of sexual identity, because every internal reality is different, as well as the learnings and the family-social, political-cultural mediums” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 104).

1.2. Homosexuality or Nonconforming Praise: Mia Couto and Queer Theory

Somehow, as it has been latent in analyzes of the last item, it has been announced that Coutian work is open to all sorts of questions on the order of sex and gender (and ethnicity, as seen in “The Daughter of Solitude”). However, emphasis was given to transvestism. Therefore, it is necessary to deepen something about homosexuality in the short stories already analyzed and in another which was not discussed. It’s “The Three Sisters” (Couto, 2009a: 9-12) that tells the story of Gilda, Flornela and Evelina, daughters of widower Rosaldo who, since his wife’s death, lived in complete isolation with the girls, keeping them away from any contact with some man. Gilda spent her days writing rhyming verses; Flornela was busy copying old recipes and cooking; Evelina was an embroiderer. Suddenly, a handsome young man appeared, making the sisters jumping out of their household tasks, hoping that the “postponed destiny” might be fulfilled” (Couto, 2009a: 12) . The girls, however, noticed their father unreasonableness: that boy would not take his girls. One night, the three observed Rosaldo stealthily following the youngster, as if to put an end to that situation. When the two men met, they “kissed tenderly and endlessly” (Couto, 2009a: 12) to the amazement of the girls, who mutually shook hands “on rumination of a secret revenge” (Couto, 2009a: 12).

In this example, the narrator manages to sustain the tension of the shot story, markedly on male

versus female dichotomy until the last paragraph. Rosaldo is the extreme embodiment of “Law of the Father”: he wants his daughters for himself, forbidding them to love and passion, it was “forbidden to speak of beauty” (Couto, 2009a: 11). The man was who “gave contour to their future” (Couto, 2009a: 9), according to his needs, namely “nostalgia, cold and hungry” (Couto, 2009a: 9), a dynamic that even suggests something like a moral incest. Incidentally, number 3, among many other meanings is also the number of incest (Brunel, 2000: 679). Thus the father had destined the first to be poet, the second to be cook and the third to be an embroiderer (it should be emphasized that before being a cook, the girl was a transcriber). All three remained stuck to the patriarchal law, offered only to the mentioned tasks, historically identified with (imposed precisely because they were) women (even Gilda was just a domestic poet, whose “work” did not go beyond the scope of private). So is that, “unknowingly, Gilda was committing suicide” (Couto, 2009a: 10) and Evelina cried her own death” (Couto, 2009a: 11).

At the end of the narrative, the moment of turnaround will be surprising to the reader, who certainly does not expect the attitude of Rosaldo (although as Florival, the character’s name indicates a game of dubious meanings). Without warning, heterosexual sexism that was the basis for the oppression of the three sisters reveals another reality, seen as incompatible with the position of the father. One possibility for the release of the three sisters would be the “symbolic death of the father”. In this story, at least interestingly, it is the father who “commits suicide in his law.” Because of his name, besides participating in the general flower symbolism, which refers to the passive principle, the father of the short story also shares the symbolism of resurrection, mystic rebirth represented by the rose (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 2002: 788-9); the father dies, certainly for the birth of a manlike, complete man.

This is a powerful challenge to the heteronormative model in the wake of McIntosh and Foucault, for whom sexual behaviors are a creation of human beings, understanding homosexuality (following the example of other conformations of sexuality) as a construction with sociopolitical goals (Foucault 1988: passim). Rubin reveals that “The suppression of the homosexual component of human sexuality, and corollary, the oppression of homosexuals is therefore a product of the same system whose rules and relations oppress women” (Rubin, 1993: 11). At this point it is possible to extrapolate any alleged psychic and/or biologically determinism related to homosexual. His historical depreciation is directly related to the subordination of women, with which it is identified by a parallelism with attitudes/postures of both, specifically a stereotypical “passivity”. Anchored in this political issue it will be possible to understand how Couto work attempts to deconstruct and re-signify heterosexuality, institutionalized by patriarchy as normative, because of “their relationship with gender, class, race and nationality” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 100). Even if the writer is “someone who plays with the mother’s body” (Barthes, 1999: 50), Couto widens their poetic playground to the dour and hermetic territory of the Father’s body.

It is believed now to successfully advance the idea that Couto corroborates through these short stories with queer notions, as a discursive and conceptual horizon different from that created by men and even as another way of thinking about sex. According to Macedo & Amaral the term Queer “allows a unique conceptual potential to define a place, necessarily unstable, challenging fixed identities. (...) queer proposes queer destabilization of the centers and also the gaps to them - the margins” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 161).

It seems to be the same what was being read in the chosen stories, not “only” the decentering of the norm or perhaps stereotypical notions of what are the deviations from this pattern. More than that, center and margin are not fixed concepts since Couto characters move constantly by them, often demonstrating an “interpenetration of sexualities conventionally kept as separate” (Macedo &

Amaral, 2005: 185).

Since its origins, in the United States, in the late 1980s, Queer Theory was linked “to a political, ludic, ironic position of confrontation” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 185). With such out-of-place fauna characters, Mia Couto confronts the right wing politics, questioning how they always stigmatized as “abnormal” practices that clashed with the normative heterosexuality. Would the author provide what Judith Butler refers to “possibility of” permissive ‘rupture’ and ‘re-signification’ within the sexual norms and gender” (Butler, cited in Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 185). There it is a key to understand Couto’s political-literary project: in order to the culture of oppression sag space for tolerance and brotherhood among men it is necessary to re-signify the world, and the history and human thought. At least, the point of view of his short stories about gender, sexual practice and identity could be seen as provocative. And it is known that any deeper reflection on a specific topic needs a good provoking as a trigger.

Final Considerations

The mitigation of the hetero/homo binary that can be inferred from these narratives favors the challenge of heteronormative model and, by extent, the confrontation of the “Law of the Father” and all it stands for: repression/oppression for women and also, certainly, for men. Basically, in many of the stories analyzed, there is a tendency to identify a number of masculinities and femininities beyond the triad hetero/homo/bi, even identifying them with other variables such as race, class, status, and ethnicity, depicting as such conjugate aspects is organized in systems of hegemony and subalternity (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 123).

All those questions end up referring considerations, once again, to the clash between nature and culture, how one is taken by the other, even as the cultural masquerades natural to achieve spurious purposes. One must bear in mind that the difference between sex and gender is a “heterocentered product of a social contract, [considered] as a biological or nature fact” (Macedo & Amaral, 2005: 104). It is the patriarchal discourse that creates a norm and imposes it as natural, which echoes in Christian discourse when it takes this “natural fabricated” as divine plan, opposing staunchly - and thereby marginalizing - the “non-compliant” with the standard. The Coutian speech without leave north who guided by the compass of patriarchy, because even the boundaries between “normal” and “a-normal”, which allowed the first segregate the seconds are porous and shifting.

Coutian speech makes who was guided by the compass of patriarchy bewildered, because even the boundaries between “normal” and “ab-normal”, which allowed the first to segregate the seconds are porous and shifting.

After all, it is expected that it is clear that there is a logic that consistently runs through all these narratives and signs toward a kind of political-literary project of the author in favor of forming a new society that prioritizes, indeed, the intrinsic values to the character of individuals, regardless their sexual orientation.

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João Gilberto Noll and the pomosexuality

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Abstract: João Gilberto Noll is a well-known author for composing autodiegetic narrators who are meandering, misty and porous; many are difficult to grasp sexually what makes them creatively subjective and moveable. The work to be analyzed here, *Solidão Continental* (2012), is not different in relation to the nollian traditional form, but in relation between his narrative traditions with a renewed scope of content present in it. Through this scope, it can be seen a plethora of fictional beings, which have been developed gradually since the Stonewall uprising (1969), whose transience erotic / sexual is steep and difficult to understand. This indefinability has been called pomosexuality. Therefore, the objective of this project is to examine how the composition of the nollian traditional narrator is built up refreshingly with the most striking pomosexual features through the narrative constructions about the narrator (voice and manner) by Gérard Genette, focusing on, the narrator / character, João Bastos.

Keywords: pomosexual; narrator; João Gilberto Noll.

1. Introduction

Here or there I went ahead in search of a clear purpose.
(Noll, 2012: 10)

The quote above is from the book *Solidão Continental* (2012) by the Brazilian author João Gilberto Noll. It was handed out by his narrator/ protagonist, João Bastos, in the very beginning, with the intention of starting his adventurous narrative. The book title may summarize its plot which is about this character that travels across countries looking for something undefined. He never finds it. Furthermore, he finds himself constantly alone. So much for this plot as well as for the quote indicated, we can attest one of the main nollian topics: the transience. Noll, who won five Jabuti awards, defines his writing as follows: “(...) The man is not a stagnant beast. And there is only fiction, because of that and not to use as the action of a stunning mishap that is worth by itself.”¹

Indeed, man is not a stagnant beast as their characters. Noll covers a plethora of topics of contemporaneity in his books, although the transience is one that constantly takes the limelight and serves as *leitmotif* of many of his narratives. This transience may appear as a pure wandering through digressions as well as through intersectionality with other themes (social, anthropological, urban, ontological, sex etc.). The transience, under the aegis of human sexuality, is one of the most innovative

¹ Available at <http://www.joaogilbertonoll.com.br>. Accessed in October 25, 2013.

features of nollian recurrent literary weaving. The transiently sexual narrative found in this work is porous, fragmented and deterritorialized while is creatively intense and questioning.

It is intense in its dense and breathless pace in updating its reading. It is creative by designing a strong narrator, and he is questioning, because of his contingency. This narrator plays with the language in the guise of Lyotard and Vattimo. He deconstructs the binary compositions solidified by the grand narratives (metanarratives) as stated by Derrida and Butler, besides inquiring pointedly about the literary context through the pomosexual prism of Carol Queen and Lawrence Schimel. And it is precisely through this pomosexual look into his narrative that this article will be developed.

2. What is pomosexuality?

The word pomosexuality was coined by Carol Queen and Lawrence Schimel in their book *Pomosexuals: challenging Assumptions about Gender and Sexuality* (1997). In it, both of them propose this new word for believing that the acronym LGBT² has not been embraced adequately the prolific range of so-called “sexual minorities” so far, let alone those in transit or classified as indefinite. However, they make it clear, in the preface, that this word is not a simplistic replacement of this notorious acronym used sometimes at random, but a contrapuntal addition: “We don’t propose that “pomosexual” replace LGBT&Fs” (Queen & Schimel, 1997: 105).

Similarly the inquisitorial reaction of the postmodernism against the modernism, pomosexualism is an inquisitorial reaction against the sexual boundaries narrowed nowadays. Thus, Queen and Schimel choose the prefix *pomo*, which in English is the abbreviation of postmodernism. Therefore, pomosexualism embodies all the features evidenced in the postmodernism through a sexual look concurrently with all the intricacies of this new way of perceiving the human sexuality. Is not exactly a repudiation against the queer theory, but a re-questioning of its predictions as well as the whole plot concerning the sexualities isolated or excluded by queer studies.

The pomosexuality also presents inexorable paradoxes as the queer theory does. For instance, how can we nominate those who refuse to be nominated, because they consider nominations a clear form of restriction? It is tough question, indeed. However, the pomosexuality is an attempt to provide tools for analytical purposes. It is an ontological and epistemological term in order to question legitimations which have established themselves as unique and immutable through the metanarratives.

And it is at this point that prefix *pomo* of pomosexuality is justified. It entails one of the main aspects of the postmodernity: the indeterminacy of the contemporary subject against totalizing discourses to which are indicated by Jean-François Lyotard in *The Postmodern* (1986). Lyotard attests the unbelief of the postmodern subject vis-à-vis the philosophic and metaphysical metadiscourse whose claims are timeless and universal. But what are the constitutive characteristics of this indeterminism? What does it question and suspect? According to the online dictionary *Caldas Aulete*, there are two basic meanings referring to indeterminism: 1) Doctrine that declares all humans are free to decide and determine their actions (freewill) whose outcome cannot be predicted or determined by any antecedent causes and 2) Type of phenomena or events that do not have causes; INDETERMINACY.

These two definitions are insufficient to explain all, or rather, most of the constitutional impact regarding the subject’s contemporary indeterminism identified by postmodern bias. Furthermore, the chances of producing tautologies are gigantic. For example, the indeterminacy is what cannot be determined or indeterminacy is not determinacy. In fact, the postmodern indeterminism (such as the pomosexual) refers to the concepts above, but it goes beyond. At first, four more features

2 LGBT is an initialism that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

should be added to this semantic bulge: *a*) the delegitimation of the metanarratives (vattimianian nihilism), *b*) deconstruction of the binary structures crystallized by the metanarratives *c*) constant characterization of the off-center beings and *d*) the concept of “being in the closet” proposed by Eve K. Sedgwick in *Epistemology of the closet* (1990).

All in all, pomosexuality is a very recent term and it has been little discussed by literary criticism thus far. Therefore, this article aims to unveil how the Brazilian author João Gilberto Noll constructs, consciously or unconsciously, his autodiegetic narrator, João Bastos from *Solidão Continental* (2012), along with some of the pomosexual features proposed by Queen and Schimel; contributing then as a significant addition to this immense flora called: sexual diversity.

3. Continental Dessolitude

In order to better understand the pomosexual strokes, proposed by Queen and Schimel in *PoMoSexuals: Challenging Assumptions About Gender and Sexuality* (1997), present in the autodiegetic narrator from *Solidão Continental* (2012), João Bastos, is of utmost importance to understand the narrative tradition of João Gilberto Noll’s narrators with a view to verifying more adequately how he renewed the sexual indefinability here under this new look.

In general, many of the nollian narrators tarry to reveal their names and some do not even bother to do it. To the majority of nollian literary critics, his narrators are constantly regarded as androgynous, gays as well as bisexuals and not as sexually indefinite. They wander incessantly via the various social and sexual strata. They seem to be frequently in a never-ending search of symbolic meanings for this roaming. The transience is one of the main concepts of Noll’s works as well as his fictional characters’ sexual indefiniteness always located in the in-between places.

One of the most thought-provoking examples found in the nollian tradition is the narrator/protagonist, João Imaculado, from the novel *Acenos e Afagos* (2006). He has a male name, but this does not seem to define him as such. The actual etymology of the word imaculado (immaculate) helps us to understand his configuration, since it means no stains, neither interventions nor changes, so apparently, there seems to be no relevant vicissitudes in its signification.

In the case of *Solidão Continental* (2012), the same event occurs. Only readers discover the name João Bastos near the end, on page 89 (the novel presents 125 pages). The name for Noll appears to be irrelevant as evidenced by Rafael Martins da Costa in the article “*A ficção cíclica de João Gilberto Noll: uma leitura de Acenos e Afagos*” (2006). In other cases, the appointment is no longer irrelevant, but disposable, because it seems not to be holder of any kind of definition as exemplified in *A Fúria do Corpo* (1981). Right in the first lines, Noll introduces the narrative voice, or better, he does not:

My name is not. I live on the streets of a time when naming is to provide suspicions. To whom? Don’t want me to be naive: nobody’s name. Call me whatever you like, I was consecrated João Evangelista, not that my name is João, absolutely not. (Noll, 1981: 5)

Why this occurs? There are several possible explanations, but one of the most plausible is related to the incompleteness of the nollian fictional beings. Noll appears to have no intention of creating barriers, imprisoning their characters in identity chains. In doing so, he ends up weaving a mobile environment, ephemeral and incommensurable. Often, the spaces are nominated, but for the nollian dexterity, they remain unidentifiable, misty as, for example, the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, that raises another configuration in *Rastros de Verão* (1986). It is a fugacious city; the perfect environment for hikers, pilgrims, vagabonds, messiahs, among other fictional beings in transit. Such indefinability also occurs with smaller spaces like the hotel room 123 from the novel

Hotel Atlântico (1989).

Incidentally or not, Noll's constant struggle for maintaining the *status quo* of the narrative fuzziness is enhanced by the sexual descriptions of its participants. Sexual relations are, perhaps, the sharper forms of permeability and the existential nollian ambulation. In *Hotel Atlântico* (1989), the narrator (also autodiegetic) falls in love with the hotel receptionist in a matter of seconds and, after revealing his love, both of them have an intercourse. In the case of *Solidão Continental* (2012), the first physical contact is described as idyllic with a fantastic ending. João Bastos finds Bill in the hotel room (formerly Bismarck, currently Allegro), and then he starts recalling their past experiences and wanders about possible experiences to come.

The narration is porous and impalpable. The reminiscences are constantly confounded with the narrative updating. Little is known of his present trip, but it is known even less of his past which is painted in matte and fragmented shape as the memories of an old man, near death. This whole passage is configured unclearly. The boundaries between the real and the dream are blurred; most often overlap or merge into skittish contacts, or rather stressful frictions.

The frictions are constants, mainly between the autodiegetic narrator and the surrounding characters. And the narrator is in the position of protagonist is an ex-centric as described by Linda Hutcheon in *Poetics of postmodernism: history, theory and fiction* (1991). He is inevitably identified with the center to which he aspires, but it is denied. Although he constantly aims to accomplish his homoerotic desires with Bill, Tom and Roger, he does not do it. For the most part, they remain stuck to his imagination. Heterosexual relations are most often substantiated, given the narrative passages described with Elvira and Mira/o, or even insinuations of achievement with Daiene. Maybe this process encourages the narrator to proceed with pomosexual traits in building up his narration.

All these features may help vigorously the vagueness of the unintelligible nollian protagonists. All in all, it seems to be more palpable to opt for the pomosexual erotic/sexual bias to deal with his narrators, more specifically with the narrator of *Solidão Continental* (2012), because his indefinability, he seems to make it unique, unforgettable – especially in sly encounters with strangers to his social milieu.

At the very beginning of the novel, the protagonist outlines his preference for strangers and comments: “I challenge whether it wouldn't be better to stop and go drink among strangers” (Noll, 2012: 09). Further, his old lover appears who is stroked more distantly than expected, as if he were a foreigner oblivious to his familiar spectrum. At this point, the erotic tension starts which loops through into the narrative; usually marked by hypothetical actions as the chosen, the second conditional tense impregnates the rhythmus: “I could touch it with humanity” (Noll, 2012: 17), referring to the satin fabric of the hotel bedspread, “(...) and the moment when he would enter with his own body to satisfy me” (Noll, 2012: 17), direct allusion to his first gay lover: Bill.

The construction of a sexual unidentified diegesis seems to set up more vehemence to the narrator's discourses, considering him to be the spokesman of his own experiences as the central character of the novel (Reis & Lopes, 1988: 118). At first, João Bastos demonstrates to return to this transient hotel, after twenty-eight years, in order to rediscover his love's love, the American Bill Stevens, after a long period of sexual abstention. This idea is quickly undone by the own narrator by describing such relationship as loving, passionate, or rather more passionate for the passion. Therefore, there is here another characteristic of him: the manipulation of the narrative instances with a view of building a changeable and fragmented diegesis which reflects his sexual interactions.

A little later, he stops that moment to recall his sexual experience with his ex-wife, Elvira, through comparisons drawn directly with Bill: “(...) take my hand, I'd shove her nip slip, she asked me to pick up the nipple, rub a little, and I felt exactly like Bill's cock” (Noll, 2012: 15). The most

exciting point here is to realize the same-sex predilection. The protagonist uses comparisons which constantly tilt the homoeroticism in the expense of heteronormativity. Only on this page of the book, the autodiegetic narrator, João Bastos, goes from gay to celibate, from celibate to straight and then from straight to gay again.

This leads us to question if there is a sexual predilection inside the protagonist's sexual indeterminacy? A narrator (homodiegetic or autodiegetic) with undefined sexual characteristics, i.e., with pomosexual traits evidenced in the narrative weaving can present trends stronger for the own sex fictional beings than to one of the opposite sex? Although riveting, such matter shall not be dealt with in this article.

In some ways, this narrator, through the elements demonstrated so far, could easily be defined as bisexual, since he chooses willingly not only men, but also women. However, the undefined sexual tension is largely complexified as we deepen in the narrator/protagonist's characterizations as well as in his relations with other characters.

Returning to the above passage, there is a blurring of genres masculine/feminine through the descriptions of João Bastos' lovers' sexual organs, because Elvira's nipple resembles directly to Bill's erect penis, at least in the sensations. There is, therefore, a mixture of emotions from the sexual interactions established *a priori* between the narrator and the other characters. The equality between genders breaks with the hierarchy of the modern society phallocentrism. The importance of such disruption is highlighted by Jacques Derrida in *Mal d'archive* (2001): "one of the two terms commands (axiologically, logically etc.), occupies the highest place. To deconstruct the opposition means, first of all, in a given time, reverse the hierarchy". (DERRIDA, 2001, p. 48, own translation)

From the second chapter on, the erotic/ sexual voltage is transferred to the Mormon bear guy, Tom. This tension will cool down due to the obstacles faced by João Bastos in consubstantiation of his sexual desires, but it will not be completely extinguished. Apparently, in the first chapter, João Bastos is out of the closet. Both Bill and Elvira are aware of his homoerotic desires. However, here, João returns to the closet due to Tom's religiosity. Note the relevance of the protagonist's introversion to establish social relationships with (apparently) straight characters as indicated by Eve K. Sedgwick in the *Epistemology of the closet* (1990).

The return to the closet is built by the narrator in an effective manner, but not as clear as it seems. The readers can only infer this return, because João Bastos' sexual desires are only performed in his mind (platonically). This occurs due to all, or nearly all, the speeches delivered by a first-person narrator, knowledgeable only of their sexual instincts. The reader has no access to the Tom's mind, making it impossible for them to enter his innermost desires.

The configuration of the closet is solidified when the narrator, for complete failure in his weak and obscure attempts before Tom, transfers his homoerotic desires to a group of Brazilian soldiers who drank a lot at the bar, more specifically Rogério on his way out: "I touched his lips and then did mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, even though the boy didn't need it" (Noll, 2012: 37). Once again, the narrator constructs a narrative of assumptions through interior monologues in order to remain distant from the possible consequences of the realization his carnal desires. This is a pomosexual feature, exactly by setting up a transitional fetishist and fleeting desire. The narrator's dexterity puts his readers in doubt even in the representation of the fetish: Is João Bastos attracted to hairy men or men in uniform? In the pomosexual spectrum, he can be attracted to both, since attraction to only one would demonstrate a restriction against which pomosexuality fight.

Now in Mexico City (Chapter 3), João Bastos materializes clumsily his sexual desires with a local teenager, the gardener's daughter, Mira. However, in Chapter 4, he leaves us in doubt if Mira were really a girl through the inner monologue: "the two entered a conversation in French, which I

preferred to escape thinking in detail in the English language, in Bill, Tom, Mira or Miro” (Noll, 2012: 50).

By doing so, the narrator deconstructs the binarism masculine/feminine, as checked by Terry Eagleton by quoting Jacques Derrida in *Literary theory: an introduction* (2006): “the woman is just another being, in the sense of something out of reach, but another closely related to it, the image of what he is not, and therefore an essential reminder of what he is” (Eagleton, 2006: 199). Nevertheless, this is not the only binarism deconstructed. The binarism heterosexual/homosexual is also, to the extent that Mira/o is taken as androgynous character.

The androgyny of Mira/o is not clearly explained. Its construction through the eyes of this autodiegetic narrator is misty and fragmented. There no neither extra affirmations, neither denials of its sexual orientation nor additional information about its body composition and cultural background. And this is where his characterization (as a narrator) approaches to the concept of *différance* by Jacques Derrida, because Mira/o is a linguistic sign that differentiates and differs, without providing any type of fixing semantics.

The theme androgyny appears in more than one nollian novel: *A Fúria do corpo* (1981). In the constant search for meanings, its male narrator positions himself as woman and follows describing his sexual adventures with the opposite sex: “(...) where an unreal lady comes upon my body and possesses it, reflecting me as slim, blonde and beautiful like a nymph of other eras” (Noll, 1981: 208). There is a freedom of identity, especially in the characterization of nollian autodiegetic narrators and when they are imprisoned or restricted in some way, they get angry: “(...) and when I heard her voice I finally found out it was too late for me to be a woman: there was more choice” (Noll, 1981: 208).

The sexual indefinability of João Bastos is fortified exponentially along the narrative. He is amplified to such an extent that any closed delineation of his characterization tends to the impossible and improbable. The traditional saussurian acceptance given by the significant/ signified becomes illegitimate. According to Jacques Derrida on *De la grammatologie* (1973), any type of binarism is a *brisure* which should be subverted, exposing its paradoxical movements within its own structure.

It is a narrative of “question marks”. Does João Bastos prefer women to men? Celibacy to an orgy? A androgynous being to an American gay from the subculture? We do not know and perhaps we will never know. In the end, it does not matter. There is more interpretive wealth in the possibilities of the indefiniteness than in closed and totalized narratives, with a centered structure. This center, which *a priori* was known as immutable, must always be questioned, because it is nothing more than a discourse as stated by Jacques Derrida in *L'Écriture et la différence* (2002).

(...) It was not a fixed place, but a function, a kind of non-place which there was indefinitely substitutions of signs. It was then when the language had invaded the problematic universal field; it was then when, in the absence of a center or an origin, everything became discourse (Derrida, 2002: 232).

The choice of an autodiegetic narrator possibilitates the questioning of this totalizing center and its understanding as a discourse, by Reis & Lopes' commentaries about the genettian autodiegetic narrator in *Dicionário de Teoria da Narrativa* (1988): “At the start of the story, the Narrator holds an absolute knowledge of the subjects, but he shows them gradually and not all at once” (Reis & Lopes, 1988: 119). With only this feature, it becomes difficult for a strict characterization of both the protagonist and the surrounding characters, because they do not cease to be built through a single point of view: the narrator/ protagonist. Therefore, the characterization will be depicted according to the narrator's focus. In the specific case of the nollian autodiegetic narrator, it can be seen that he abuses of inconsistencies, uncertainties, assumptions and suppositions. He is not just a manipulative narrator, but he is also evasive and elusive.

4. Conclusion

The autodiegetic narrator from *Solidão Continental* (2012), João Bastos, shows clear pomosexual traits by behaving sexually undefined and transient. Such vagueness occurs by oppositions established vis-à-vis the metanarratives (particularly the heteronormativity) so criticized by many postmodern theorists. He denies them, because they represent restrictions to his personal blossom, mainly sexual; they are barriers limiting the potential of his future erotic desires. This denial is also corroborated by the simplistic binary deconstructions as, for example, man/woman and straight/gay. This deconstruction releases the various meanings present in nollian literary texts, though previously hidden by the metanarratives. Such release ends up exposing the ex-centricism of the secondary characters as well as the narrator/protagonist, let alone point out the frustrations and fears of the characters in the closet.

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Abstract: We propose to analyze two exemplary journeys, of Fernanda Dias and Ruy Cinatti in Macau and Timor; they are very different, but united by the same amorous encounter with the Other, as a mirror in which the identity is discovered with a poignant vibration never attained by any other landscape or event. This encounter, turned into falling in love as they elect as their own a beloved soil, does not indulge in sophistic forced identifications; it dismantles exoticism and orientalism, and challenges dichotomies, addicted reviews, expected mirror games of Prosperos and Calibans, loving and hating each other *à tour de rôle*. In fact, Cinatti and Fernanda Dias face Prospero, on the other side, invested of virtue and beauty, as they discover themselves as devoted Calibans, inflamed by the Other's excess of reality, assertiveness and presence they lack.

Keywords: Poetry ; Macau ; Timor ; sacred ; falling in love .

Quando partir ficarei
Nunca irei, quando me for

1.

In the interwoven web of colonial empires, there are many stories of travelers / visitors who succumb to the spell of the land that welcomes them, and where they deepen their self-understanding, in a paradoxical blend of charm and strangeness. Tutelary ghosts, such as Camilo Pessanha, still wander by the sites where they lingered, and not only in the imagination of poets who appear as their epigones. It is impossible not to see Macau without convening the look of Camilo Pessanha, as it will be impossible to evoke Timor without listening to what Ruy Cinatti has to say, as its self - elected champion. I propose to analyze here two exemplary journeys, very different, but united by the same amorous encounter with the Other, as a mirror in which self-identity is discovered with a poignancy that no other landscape or event will attain. Both Fernanda Dias and Cinatti will depart, always dreaming of the return, thus finding themselves condemned to live in grief. So one hesitates to perceive as blessed the sacred bond that binds them *ad aeternum* to Macao and Timor. They both function as mirrors of self-identity, hopelessly lost. As if, in the land without return, in the past, remained the memory of the most pregnant identity they ever had, unrecoverable but through the nostalgic evocation of poetry, which is no more than the expression of irremediable grief.

This surrender, actually a kind of love affair, experienced as the election of a beloved soil, doesn't fall into the illusion of sophistic forced identifications; it refuses exoticism and

“Transforma- se o amador na coisa amada”: the exemplary journeys of Ruy Cinatti and Fernanda Dias in Timor and Macau

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orientalisms; it challenges dichotomies, addicted reviews, games and mirrors of Prosperos and semi-passionate Calibans, hating and loving each other *à tour de rôle*, as established. With Cinatti and Fernanda Dias, it is Prospero who is on the other side, full of virtue and beauty, and it is they who discover themselves as devoted Calibans, inflamed by too much reality, too much assertiveness, which they really lack.

2.

First evidence: it is the colonial past, history that enables the encounter/discovery. It will not be a knockout; it will be assumed as a reason for interrogation. Fernanda Dias and Ruy Cinatti stories are different, so is history, meaning politics, for each of them.

Let us begin by Fernanda Dias. She registers *en passant* the aporias of the historical process, as notes configuring the context of a relationship. In her time and in her world, European ethnocentrism is no longer an option; especially because at the center of the text / the world, love rules. And love is totalitarian, it absorbs everything in its vortex. Does surrender to the Other (a man) determine the loving and inclusive perception of the estranged world that one wants to understand? Or is it the decision / choice to love the estranged world that leads to the election of the Chinese lover?

In an amorous getaway to China, the subject calls for the critical gaze of Camilo Pessanha, to dismantle China's exotic charm and display the misery and shame of the political and social system. “Esta China é-me interdito falar, sob pena de pôr o dedo numa antiga, dolorosa ferida.” (“Sai Kuá”, 1998: 30). The scenery that she visits, with the Chinese lover, is changed into a common past, as a dream of a common childhood; thus it should bring them together, bringing them to a mythical time of human and universal sharing, prior to any division or ideological choice: “Não é só a tua infância que está ali, é também a minha...” But history intervenes, as an undeniable protagonist in the story of the loving couple, through the exemplary episode of the watermelon, that both decide to purchase, and that she will carry alone with effort, as he refuses to do so.

“Que secreto tabu o impede de atravessar o mercado carregando uma melancia?

Ou antes, que orgulhoso preconceito o impede de caminhar ao lado de uma mulher ocidental, carregando fruta num saco de plástico?”

Should we acknowledge his refusal an ideological value, as a kind of political statement? The following interrogation deflects the question to the field of cultural differences, contemplated from the perspective of gender analysis:

“Ou então, que norma antiquada o proíbe de atravessar o mercado carregando as compras, seguido de uma mulher?

Ou talvez, que lição quer ele dar-me, obrigando-me a segui-lo, penosamente carregada (...).”

We are still deep in indecision; the subject oscillates from the political-ideological perspective to a social one, loaded with political implications. But everything will be perceived within the strict terms of love, meaning female submission to the male principle:

“Levanto mais o saco amarelo, encostando-o aos seios. A noite faz-se, já sem sombra de revolta. Como uma bandeira de submissão, entro no hotel arvorando orgulhosamente uma melancia.”

The watermelon turns into a trophy, as a woman's metonymy – she is also a trophy, and proud of being so; she assumes triumphantly and ironically her submission, because it corresponds to the triumph of love itself, which would not be otherwise.

3.

Fernanda Dias celebrates the divine presence of the Other, the beloved; he encompasses all, time and places, he becomes the measure of all things: “O sol cai, ouro líquido,/ nos lagos de Nam Van./ O céu atrás do leque de água/ jade e nácar na neblina/ o chá verde, um aroma;/ e a música que fazes,/ rosto e timbre da tarde. (2002: 15) The expectation is already exultation; lovers meet and bring with them their worlds, the ones they live in (now the “strange city” of Macau) or the ones they carry in them (the Alentejo of Fernanda Dias’ synesthesia). The relationship between human subjects and space is not metaphorical, but one of a metonymic nature - metonymy presupposes proximity and contiguity between the terms that constitute it, avoiding the abstraction implied by metaphorical procedure. The experience of love is indeed totalitarian, in that it presupposes the emergence of the Other as absolute. The subject surrender corresponds to an exultation that implies her annihilation. The intensity of the encounter is measured by this disproportionate expectation, on the verge of a celebration/meeting that calls for all the subject experiences and emotions, in a sacrificial tribute to the Other. “Primeiro olhar/Quatro horas da tarde morna e baça/Horas estranhas da cidades estranha//- Estou aqui, encolhida num canto/ Trago os olhos cheios de estevas e besouros/Que vieram para te ver.” (1992: 13)

The charm of the Other resides in his oriental being, a prolongation of the harmonic cosmos before which the subject is in constant exaltation, even when surrendering to nostalgia. “E para que o perfume da rosa não nos sufocasse/ Com o seu mistério antigo e decadente/Os deuses deram o sabor às lichias,/A cor aos lótus, e essa frescura acetinada e dura/Ao opulento jade do teu peito.” (1999: 29).

This love is made of distance and misunderstanding, without being compromised by that. On the contrary, the strangeness and an undeniable sense of exclusion contributes to the intensity and the miraculous nature of this love affair. As if belonging to another race, to another culture, the alien historical surroundings, would merely amplify the radical strangeness inherent to every encounter between a man and a woman. That’s what we read, in the ironic and triumphal outcome of the abovementioned “Sai-kua”.

In “respirando sem ti”: “digo e repito:/ estou aqui e esta é a minha voz./ a terra é tua, a arrogância é tua./mas o ar que respiramos, é de todos nós” (1999: 31). The balance of forces woven in terms of history, with the colonizer-colonized dynamic already changed into its reversal, due to the arrogance and control exercised by the ex-colonized, seem to merely emphasize the unbalanced *status quo* inherent to a male-female relationship. In a love context, the complaint deals with political and historical implications, as does the final claim for justice- “o ar que respiramos, é de todos nós”. We should note *en passant* that the subject’s statement is made exclusively in the verbal domain: “digo e repito: / estou aqui e esta é a minha voz”...

4.

The love song in F. Dias is made of the tension resulting from the absent presence of the Other, which is the root of her “obsession”:

“Da minha janela sempre se verá o rio/ Mesmo quando ele já lá não estiver.// No meu quarto sempre o feixe de luz/ De um farol revelará o desalinho da cama,// Sempre no âmago do espelho, desatento, /Estarás tu, fumando, de costas para mim.” (1999, 28).

Turning his back, ignoring her; sleeping, excluding her of his dreams: ““Quantas vezes espreitei o palpitar de sonos/ onde nunca entrava,/nas tuas pálpebras cerradas/ (...) soçobravas no sono de onde me excluías” (2002: 18). Even in “Retrato”, portrait, where one expects delay, fixity and immobility, his body is moving and elusive, ““o corpo dúbio e ágil// sempre móvel como um ramo no vento/

salgueiro jovem/ ou uma escassa chama/ que subisse em pleno dia / irrequieta e altiva” (1999: 17). The moments when coexistence is not a problem are rare. Is it because it implies the balance of power between the woman of the race of lords, and the dispossessed land lord? Or is it so because this dichotomy only duplicates the natural antagonism between man and woman, inverting it? Doing so, it takes it to a paroxysm. In “Triunfante””: “seis mil anos pesam no meu destino/ é por causa de umas vagas caravelas/ que aqui estamos/ prostrada como uma cativa,/ sou eu que venço quando a ti me dou” (1999: 43). The irony of fate: captive of a captive ... In Portuguese poetry there are centuries of puns around the bondage of love. It is a commonplace of love poetry in general; but, because of our history, one adds up a literal sense to the metaphorical one. However, in F. Dias, these notes about power in relationships should also be understood in light of the difficulty in dealing with what is said as “a impetuosa arrogância do teu corpo”...

Let us consider a poem of another series, another estrus, as the core of the poetic art of F. Dias. It is the reading of the anagram Xian, “entrance “ . One describes a battle between heaven, the glorified virile principle, and the earth, the feminine principle :

“O torso esquivo foge do agressor obstinado/ Das pernas à anca, do flanco à espádua/ Prolongado, denso e firme é o ataque/ A pele arrepia como um lago sob a brisa (...)/ Colo, face, boca, língua ardente/ Raiz do amor, o corpo todo vertido/ No céu eterno, virilidade extasiada/ Na terra fêmea, fecunda greta jubilosa/ O sagrado toca o coração do homem/ Os dez mil seres se multiplicam/ O eterno fugaz perdura em cada enlace” (2011: 31).

The heavenly principle of “ecstatic” virility is coupled with the “female world”, “joyful, in a poetic meditation on the anagrams of the I Ching. Philosophical harmony and cosmic revitalization coincide with the image of the tumultuous meeting between the male and female principles. Interesting, how this image, glorifying the founding philosophy of a cultural matrix, interweaves abstract and sensitive realities. In the remaining work, the song of love appears as a haunted celebration of the lover’s body:

“Desembaraçava-se das roupas, (...) enchia o quarto exíguo com o esplendor do seu corpo de estátua viva. (...) ali estava eu, só olhos, para testemunhar o mistério daquela harmonia, para sofrer a angústia da solitária contemplação da beleza. Dessa dor sem antídoto sofreram Jean-Genet, mártir, Yukio Mishima, esteta, e Boris Vian, meu padrinho”.

Thus, one worships phallus, manly beauty - invoking, to do so, the mediation of other literary voices, patron saints of this pain without remission, priests of a cult that confused and martyrdom and aesthetics and remained tragically unaware of the separation between life and art. The literary mediation veils the scene that we are presented with, of loving intimacy, a woman in rapture contemplating her lover’s beauty...

There is a distance, in Fernanda Dias, that protects her from love’s agony, but at the same time enhances it. It works in three different ways. “... ali estava eu, só olhos, para testemunhar o mistério...” In “Chá verde” (2002: 37), a cathartic litany operating the sublimation of the departure from Macao, also tells us about the sublimation of love, “pelo teu corpo nu dormindo/ na madrugada intocado/ pela iminência do adeus/ pelas asas do pavor/ de acordar e não te ver”. Here is the first protecting instance: love is mostly (not only, but mostly) looking at him. And looking at him while he is sleeping: he is absent, avoiding her, but in the process he becomes paradoxically accessible. Even so, dealing with the flesh (here, with manly beauty) is problematic, a real torture: “Dormes (...) E a límpida carne adormecida/ revela o anjo torpe prisioneiro” (1992: 32).

Now, the second instance:

“Quem polui quem rasgou”, “antes de ser um êxtase,/ sou um corpo/ antes de ser um corpo,/ sou um povo.// sabes bem que sinistros ritos cumpres quando me prendes ao jugo do amor.//(...) vou-me embora inteira/ vou com todos os meus/ deixo-te nas mãos em concha a forma dos meus seios// e do tal Pessanha/ aquele verso ríspido/ que um dia te ensinei” (1999: 34).

Between them, or between them in friction or in deadlock moments, the subject raises the politico-ideological issue of the context of ex-post-colonization; and then we see Camilo Pessanha, or the presence of Portuguese culture in the East, used as a weapon in a dispute between parting lovers.

5.

At last, but not least, the more structural distance in this poetic universe. In “Dias do Beco da Prosperidade”, driven by A- Fai, the lover, the narrator overcomes the obstacles and odors opposed by the patio that will give her access to his memories and to the possible intimacy between them. This patio metonymically condenses all the strangeness and even repulsion that Asia could inspire, leading her to “reter o passo e a acelerar a respiração. Mas A-Fai não tirava do meu ombro a sua bela mão cor de seda crua, impelia-me com uma suavidade aparente, que não era senão o invólucro de uma força inelutável” (1998: 78). Let us take this image as the linen thread to lead us in the labyrinth of F. Dias. It is love - the attraction of the phallus - that determines and guides the subject in her path. Still, let us notice that here the lover is a beautiful silk hand- “uma bela mão cor de seda crua”. He is metonymically perceived as symbolic matter, representing the civilization to which it belongs. The process repeats itself. One describes his body through analogies to jade, alabaster, lotus, silk, erhu - materials and objects that symbolize the beloved civilization. As if falling in love with a culture, a civilization actually preceded or determined falling in love with a man; the man being a part of a broader process, but simultaneously a privileged vehicle of that cultural involvement. The amorous encounter is understated, poetically softened through this identification between the beloved man and the beloved world - his world, not “dos meus”, not her people’s world, the world she visits, where she finds herself fully present. Let us just read at this light the end of “Dias do Beco da Prosperidade”

The choice was made. As Sophia de Mello Breyner walks with a hieratic pace to Delphi, because she believes the world is sacred and has a center, Fernanda Dias finds out that to do so, to find absolute reality, holy ground, she only has to dwell in Macao, “cidade tristíssima e soberba”. She has only to live under its spell, in order to celebrate the culture and the old order that breathes there: “No centro do mundo sempre soa música/ De alaúdes, tambores e trombetas festivas” (2011: 11).

Her poetry is always votive, when it explains philosophically the cosmology of the I Ching, celebrating “the sun, the moon and the silk route”, or when singing, in a simultaneously ironic and pathetic tone, in “Biography”: “assim vivo a soberba dos errantes/ e o desatino sem cura do exílio; / tiro rosas do peito, guardo rendas/ vermelhas nas gavetas, canto ao espelho/ em falsete áreas da ópera china” (1999: 48). Enchantment and surrender never ignore distance, her real status as an alien in a strange - although beloved - land. This distance is part of the process. Just for a moment, in the mirror of the “olhar altivo, sem nenhum pensamento por detrás”, of a weird woman, “E eis que na lucidez do avesso desse olhar, eu não era estrangeira, mas genuína habitante da cidade” (1999: 74), she finds herself as not a foreigner, but as a genuine inhabitant of the city. Love’s alienation does not translate into alienation from historical reality; we have seen that the difference / distance between ex-colonizer/ex-colonized intensifies the tension inherent to the erotic plot. In “Tudo”: “com uma mão te dás, com a outra me tiras/ tudo, até o direito de amar o teu país” (1999: 38).

There is a double fatality as the result of F. Dias’ choice, of her falling in love and consequent devotion to Macau, soil or portal to a world she’ll worship. One knows that departure is inevitable, as one knows that grief is inherent to love. In “rio de adeus”:

“ficarás na margem com o teu erhu/ colado à pele do peito/ nunca mais/ ninguém como eu te ouvirá.
// ninguém nomeará as flores de espanto/as azáleas e as gardénias vão murchar/ jardins inteiros ficarão vazios/ o que não é nomeado não existe//quem não é escutado nunca toca/ quem não é tocado não respira/ quem não é amado não tem voz” (1999: 23).

Who is not loved, doesn't have a voice... Her departure, the end of love (love implies to live up to its imminence, “pela iminência do adeus,/ pelas asas do pavor de acordar e não te ver,” 1999: 37) will also bring the end of this world. Contiguity / identification between love and space / culture are obvious. This poetry is made of several litanies, sublimating the separation (the separation from her lover , but more serious than that, the separation from the holy place...), exorcising the separation from what has been chosen as the center of the world. The center of the world, or the absolute reality depicted by Eliade in his works on the sacred.

“com frio furor finco os pés neste rochedo/ um vendaval de virtude, um tufão de medo,/ nada me arrancará daqui/ (...) se for preciso, rezarei, cantarei a ladainha/ salve lótus branco, salve rainha/ das saunas, salve terra minha” (“não quero ir”, 1999: 61).

All remains to be said about the value of speech and of the languages spoken in this universe. Much could be said about verbal communication between lovers; addressing the other means to deal with love, and dealing with love is dealing with loss. “Falar Português é viajar/ e a saudade é verbal./ A angústia do exílio é só para se dizer” (1992: 52). The one who loves a man and a place, is condemned to exile . But if it is true that love builds on successive mourning, distances, silences, misunderstandings, bewilderments and inevitable partings and endings, it is not less true that there is a place that one will never leave – because it is the place of poetry. “Quando partir, ficarei/ nunca irei quando me for” (2002: 37) When I leave, I'll stay; I'll never leave when I'm gone... The lover left before, many times: “Partias, já ausente e desatento./ Levava-te de mim esse cavalo doido/ e o sonho de um lugar a ocidente.// Lá onde os deuses daqui não têm templo” (1992: 40). Fernanda Dias chose to stay with “the gods from here”, because they were those that granted her love and the discovery of her own voice. And ultimately, she has the power, she is in power – only the voice grants power, “o que não é nomeado não existe” (1999: 23)... which is not named does not exist... It's a well known lesson in poetry (Holderlin, Heidegger amongst others, dixerunt...).

6.

Let us contemplate now the love song of Cinatti towards Timor. A different tune... One knows of his journey of profound identification with the people of Timor, for him not an abstraction or exotic object, but the cause of deep admiration. He left us poems referring to an actual ritual between himself and two chiefs, as blood brothers. From very early on his soul demanded other horizons, far away skies, like Ossobó, the character in the story with its name, in his literary debut. Ossobó meets a tragic fate: aiming at the highest heaven, he ends miserably stuck into the muddy bottom of the obó/ forest. We can take it as an ominous and prescient self-representation. Cinatti, who imagined himself as a continuously departing nomad, “nómada em escala de partida” (1995: 332), pursued a redemptive transcendence embodied in the figure of Christ. The dream of the forever lasting voyage and of mythical islands, empowered by poetic illuminations such as Rimbaud and Alain Fournier's journeys, and pages as those of A. Gerbault, patron saint of his youth (and youth in Cinatti ran late ...), was confirmed in the exultation of the first cruise to the (at the time) Portuguese colonies. It was clear that he was “not of this world.” Eventually he was able to experience Africa and Timor in various professional capacities. In this distance – distance from Portugal – he will find his own (generous) life. The experience of the ‘Overseas’ defines his career – as a botanist, forester engineer,

anthropologist, for the sake of the love and strength that these worlds will offer him. The scientific approach, with its demand on the accuracy of perception, refines his diction, as poetry and science require the same attention and clarity of vision, the same accuracy in description. Gestures required in either registration are ultimately the same: to know, to describe, to name ... The perspective and the vocabulary of science contribute to the festive registration of the poetic wanderings of Cinatti through the former colonies. In the poetry about Timor, the scientific *apport* is also present, but there is something more. What has Cinatti found in Timor, which has confirmed his vocation and has redirected his life?

7.

In Timor, Cinatti chooses his field quite early; he is seen with strangeness and complacency by his peers of the colonial administration, for his mystical raptures before the landscape, and for his genuine interest in the Timorese, in their world, their values and way of life. He becomes the champion of their cause, ready to brave all misunderstandings. His political disability is notorious. As well his folly and deep suffering, upon the consequences of decolonization; he will maintain a loose political dialogue, stuck to the more immediate reality, in poems that he distributed to passersby, in Bairro Alto ...

“Depois do vinte e cinco de abril/ nada mudou/ porque os homens não mudam de um dia/ para o outro./ E assim assisto – exemplo, o de Timor no qual me sinto- / À mesma económica postura/ de que Timor/ de nada vale (...) conhecendo os Timorenses melhor que/ ninguém/ (modéstia, rua!)”

It does not concern us here to probe the characteristics of his personality, which, combined with his personal history, would condemn him hopelessly to a cycle of exaltation, dismay and disappointment. The only thing that concerns us is the perception of Timor as his founding center, the place where he will approach in every breath and gesture the spirituality he sought all his life. Before a fire that devours the forest in Timor:

“Minha incompreensão em vão procura/ ressuscitar as crenças vãs de outrora,/ os bosques sagrados onde o frio habita/ no temor que as mãos prende e petrifica. (...) avanço, resoluto, (...) proclamando a verdade do cântico,/ a dança terreal que me fascina”.

The final verse is built on an ellipsis: “Dou de costas à luz. Calmo contemplo/ Os horizontes perdidos./ O mar tem fundos de areia fina./ Cristo morreu na cruz” (1995: 270).

It is this saving reality that imposes itself in any world Cinatti finds himself in, that he will choose as his ultimate truth. In Timor, Cinatti will be able to serve his causes as if they were one - his East Timorese brothers, the brotherhood in Christ, the cause of poetry...

In Cinatti's voice, the word magically summons the lost reality in enumerations that make us remember the litanies of Fernanda Dias: “Sândalo flor búfalo montanha/ cantos danças ritos/ e a pureza dos gestos/ ancestrais”. Like in her world, it's in the essence of love to live in “Premonition”, experiencing in anticipation the irremediable grief that love carries along : “Hei-de chorar as praias mansas de Tíbar e Díli” ...

His commitment is total: professional, ethical, spiritual, poetic, political...

“O que magoa é ver o pobre /timorense esquelético (...)/ Tantos e tantos outros,/ timorenses esqueléticos/ olham-me /(...) Invoco os montes/ feridos pela luz,/ o mar que me circunda/(...) Afinio-me pelo timbre/ limpo das almas/ dos timorenses esqueléticos/ que me soletram vivo// E sigo,/ limpo na alma e no rosto, / sujeito à condição que me redime” (1995: 279).

In this and other poems we can see a libel against the colonial policy as it was led by an ignorant and disinterested metropolis, distant and alienated from the Empire. He never claimed against the bond between Portugal and its colonies, a bond that would require altogether a different approach in politics and ethics. In “Realismo político”, and in post-April 25 poetic production: “Se os Timorenses quiserem ser Indonésios,/ passem para o outro lado.// Se os Timorenses quiserem ser Portugueses,/ têm-me a seu lado.// Se os Timorenses quiserem ser independentes, /construam-se”. In its first version one had a more blunt, certainly more sincere “sumam-se” (just get lost...).

8.

In an earlier time, the Timorese had passed from sympathetic indigenous to brothers; the blood oath that he incorporates in his poetry only seals ritually a connection sought by him all his life. In that euphoric moment, it attains the expression of reciprocity. The blood oath was made in mutual agreement, and celebrated by a hymn in fatalukum, in a ceremony that involved “a Gentile priest”

“Nobres há muitos. É verdade./Verdade. Homens muitos. É muito verdade./Verdade que com um lenço velho/As nossas mãos foram enlaçadas.//(...)A lua ilumina o meu feitio./O sol ilumina o aliado”, 1995: 302).

At other times, we perceive that there is a quarrel behind his words, that may take root in another soil other than colonial carelessness and levity after April 25. In “Segundo solilóquio”: “como um imbecil/ preso a uma ilha/ que o mar oscila... Maybe because what Cinatti deeply admired the Timorese for was the very same that also separated them irrevocably: he discovered in them the ability to feel, without conflict, that they belonged - to a soil, to an island, to their gods, to their beliefs, to their people ... The feeling they belonged to the sacred they breathe in, in all their gestures... To Cinatti, the approach to Christ, the ultimate encounter he wants more than anything else, seems more of a conquest – over himself -, something that has to happen as a miracle; not as something of the same order as the peaceful approach or experience, smooth, as natural as breathing, as the one lived by his East Timorese brothers. In “Praia presa”, Cinatti evokes with emotion his lost Timor, in terms that retrieve the religiosity of the blood covenant hymn, as if he was executing another ritual:

“Timor ressurgue das águas,/ Molho o meu sangue na alma/ da bandeira que mais prezo,/ porque nela tenho a voz/ da minha candeia acesa. // Senhor da terra, das águas,/ do ar e dos milheirais./ Senhor Mãe e Senhor Pai,/ dai-me um desejo profundo.// Que eu seja o senhor de mim!”

Thus, the beloved Timorese provide Cinatti with the mirage of a rooting, but at the same time they are the mirror of his failure. In the church of São Luís dos Franceses, his devotion to Timor makes him act, “e abro de pronto os braços./ Sou eu que agora actuo./ Não falo, apenas murmuro/ No halo que Timor teve”, solicitando a intercessão de Nossa Senhora (“Olha-me por essa gente/ portuguesa,/ que te ergueu um trono, uma pedra./ Um sacrário de inocência./ Fatu lulik Maria! (...) Senhora, tem piedade./ (...) Sê tu a minha verdade na vida.” 1995: 354). A homeland, in the manner or mode of the sacred belonging in the Timorese way – actually, perhaps Cinatti would be able to experience it, fully, in the encounter with the transcendent thus invoked, through the Holy Virgin intercession.

9.

We are in the antipodes of approaches on exotic and ethnic integrations, or even within the scope of the more modern concept of crosscultural interaction. There is no betrayal of the actual history, nor games with politically correct or incorrect equations, throughout the identification by these two authors, assuming insurmountable distances and differences. Poets who thus surrendered and discovered their true selves with such authenticity and integrity in the Other, lead us to think that

perhaps through them and through others like them, there is a reason for Portuguese prayers like those we heard in November 1991 in the cemetery of Santa Cruz, in Dili, or for the memory of Portugal in so many Macanese faces and voices.

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SESSION 10

THE
DECOLONISATION
OF IMAGINARIES IN
LITERATURE 3

Abstract: The Portuguese Empire was the first European Colonial Empire of the Modern Era, built in the 15th and 16th centuries. Despite its being pioneer, it was ephemeral and left phantoms in the Portuguese people that persist even in the present day. The question of the Rose-Coloured Map, of the 1890 *Ultimatum*, of the implantation of the Republic in 1910 and of the 1926 *coup d'état*, put Portugal in the line of the dictatorial regimes (cf. Pinto, 1996).

The Concept of subaltern colonialism emerges by opposition to British colonialism thus showing that Portugal was a “semi-peripheral (...) country “ as it was itself, during a long period, a dependent country- in certain moments almost “an informal colony” of England (Sousa Santos,2003:25).

In this context the themes related to the History of Portugal gain more and more emphasis in the literature for children and youngsters, with the aim of instructing and educating them, by awakening in them the interest for the colonial issues (cf. Cortez, 2013).

Fernanda de Castro (1900-1994), an apparently ignored Portuguese writer, must be remembered not just by her poetical, literary and social intervention works but above all by her relevance in the branch of colonial and post-colonial studies. Considered one the pioneer writers of colonial children´s literature, De Castro aims, in a special manner, to put in evidence the position of the Portuguese Estado Novo towards its colonies (cf. Amado, 1990), namely Guinea-Bissau, in this particular case, the place where the central plot of *Mariazinha in Africa* (1925) takes place.

The aim of this article is to go a little deeper into the life and works of Fernanda de Castro, her ideologies and beliefs and the way her children´s novel, now in analysis, *Mariazinha in Africa* (1925), allowed to open new horizons at the level of children´s and youngsters´ literature, but mainly at the level of colonial literature.

Keywords: Fernanda de Castro; *Mariazinha in Africa*; colonial literature; Guinea-Bissau

1. Introduction

1.1 Historical, literary and cultural framework

Considered as “temporally pioneer and spatially unique” (Pinto, 1996: 134), the Portuguese colonial empire, founded in the 15th and 16th centuries, was also ephemeral. The velocity at which it vanished contributed to the phantoms that still today hover above the Portuguese people. The Portuguese are said to be nostalgic, but mostly proud of its “Arms are my theme, and those matchless

*Mariazinha in Africa*¹: new horizons of colonial literature

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heroes...”, quoting Luís Vaz de Camões in *The Lusíads*, considered the epopee of the Portuguese discoveries, a magnificent work that praises them.

Attention should be paid to the Congress of Berlin (1884-85), whose objective was the elaboration of a set of rules that would define the situation of the conquest of Africa by the colonial powers, which ended up in a less than pacific division¹. The interest of other European nations in Africa started when these territories were an inexhaustible source of raw-materials and riches². In this congress the famous plan, named The Rose Coloured Map was presented, through which Portugal intended to join Angola with Mozambique, by approximating the two colonies and facilitating the commerce and the transport of merchandise. However, England presents the well-known *Ultimatum* of 1890, does not approve of the Rose Coloured Map and would declare war to Portugal, in case Portugal would insist on the pledge of the map. Fearing reprisals, the Portuguese government gave in, thus originating a series of strong protests that culminated on the 5th of October 1910, when republicans put the monarchic regime to an end and giving way to the implantation of the republic (cf. Oliveira Marques, 2010). The various crisis that occurred in the republican regime and the participation of Portugal in World War I (1914-1918) led the country to a military dictatorship in the sequence of the 1926 *coup d'état* (cf. Pinto, 1998). The *Estado Novo* was an authoritarian political regime that lasted for 41 years, from 1933 to 1974, with António de Oliveira Salazar as its main figure.

Portuguese colonialism defined by opposition to British colonialism is considered to be subaltern, both in the practices and in the colonial discourses (cf. Sousa Santos, 2003). As far as practices are concerned it happens that “Portugal, as a semi-peripheral country, was itself and for a long period of time, a dependent country - in certain moments almost an “informal British colony (ibidem: 25)”, and at colonial discourse level, hence “the history of colonialism was written in English and not in Portuguese (idem). Thus, the fragilities of the colonizer (Portugal) led to “the underdevelopment of the colonized” (idem), that is to say, there has always been a mirror effect through which the Portuguese colonies reflected the problems and the economic needs of Portugal. Deep down, it has to do with the question of the identity that reflected itself in the alterity. In this case, the colonizer (Portugal) reflects itself in the colonized (the Other /the Colonies). Eduardo Lourenço goes further when he affirms that the Portuguese Empire did not go beyond an imaginary construction, being it that its loss did not affect many of those who lived in the metropolis, as overseas was a world apart that was known by few; therefore, the Empire existed only at fictional level, thus contributing to that a small country would feel great in its imaginary, that is to say, the Empire gave a magical dimension to the small country that Portugal was/is (cf. Lourenço, 1978).

In this context, the themes related to the History of Portugal gain more and more emphasis in the literary works for children and youngsters, with the aim of instructing and educating them, by awakening in them the interest for the colonial issues (cf. Cortez, 2013). The great majority of these texts is centred, according to Teresa Cortez, in happy episodes of the glorious past of the Portuguese and also in the figures of great Portuguese, with a glorification of the deeds and of the past of the Portuguese discoveries, with an attempt that the target readers identify themselves with the characters (cf. idem).

In Fernanda de Castro’s novel, there is an aim to instruct and educate but also to open new horizons to the young readers. However, it must be emphasized that De Castro’s perspective is a European one, as the black coloured characters are always presented with African names, are part of the servants and present a very low or non-existent linguistic and cultural level.

¹ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/62214/Berlin-West-Africa-Conference>, accessed on 15/03/2013.

² Sugar (17th century), gold and silver (18th century) and the rubber industry and coffee plantations in the 19th century (cf. Blockeel, 2001).

The name of Fernanda de Castro is frequently associated with the Modernist movement, due to her marriage to António Quadros, editor of the modernist journal *Orpheu* and for having collaborated with various modernist illustrators and plastic artists.³ However, De Castro claims that “Ever since I started writing and publishing, before I was 20, how many literary trends have gone by me, without my having paid attention to them.”⁴

1.2. Justification and pertinence of the theme

The few or inexistent emphasis given to such an emblematic and relevant figure as Fernanda de Castro reveals how important it is to remember her and it justifies the research and reflection on her work. Being a poet, a playwright, a novelist, a translator, a composer, a philanthropist, an ambassador, a decorator and an entrepreneur, De Castro is an example of versatility, strength, vitality and energy which is doubtlessly a source of inspiration for any human being, in any period of time and space.

This article focusses on the children’s novel *Mariazinha in Africa* (1925), according to the 1973 11th edition, to which I had access. I chose this novel as it is seen as “one of the first works that, without hesitation, we consider as colonial literature, as it possesses the particularity of evidencing the attitudes of Estado Novo in relation to the colonies (Amado, 1990: 7).

2. Fernanda de Castro

2.1 Some notes on her life and work

Maria⁵ Fernanda Teles de Castro e Quadros was born in 1900, daughter of Ana Teles de Castro e Quadros and of João Filipe Quadros, an official of the Marine. On the day of her birth a curious incident took place, which is referred to in her first book *Memórias* (Memories)-“On the day of my birth my parents had an argument because of me”(Castro, 1986:7), and this happened because, for her mother, Fernanda had been born on the 8th of December⁶, as her mother was a fervent catholic, but for her father, an atheist, the girl had been born on the 9th of December (cf. idem). It is curious to verify that although the 9th of December was Fernanda’s official date of birth “For the family, for the friends, for the birthday party, for the presents, for the sweets, I was born on the 8th, and so it has been and will always be” (idem). We can see that Fernanda was born in a wealthy family and that her parents were people with different and strong personalities, although they got on well, as she states in the book *Memories*. De Castro’s family circle may have contributed to the woman she became: an irreverent and strong human being.

In the year 2014, twenty years after De Castro’s death, her granddaughter’s words in her *blog*⁷ make sense. Rita Ferro claims that the writer, her grandmother, was the first woman in Portugal to realize a series of deeds which were less than accessible to the feminine figure. The title of the *post*: “She’s a fascist, they say...” is ironic and at the same time provocative. However, and having lived in the Salazar’s regime and having been married to António Ferro, a writer and a journalist, who was also director of the Secretary for National Propaganda of Salazar, later named SNI (National

3 It should be referred that the first edition of *Mariazinha in Africa*, published in 1925, had illustrations of modernist trace by Sarah Afonso (1899-1983), a painter and an illustrator married to Master Almada Negreiros.

4 <http://www.rtp.pt/rtpmemoria/?article=1182&visual=2&tm=8&layout=5>, accessed on 10/03/2013.

5 Her memories were published in two volumes, the first one named *At the End of Memory I-Memories 1906-1939*, published in 1986, and the second one, *At the End of Memory II-Memories 1939-1987*, published in 1987.

6 The 8th of December was and still is a catholic holiday in Portugal, and it celebrates Our Lady of the Conception

7 <http://actofalhado.blog.sapo.pt/438040.html?thread=2742552>, accessed on 07/04/2013

Secretary of Information)⁸, De Castro is considered by many as a “convinced and committed admirer of the Salazar regime”. She collaborated with her husband for several times in the organization of some of the great cultural and artistic events of Estado Novo, of which I call the attention to The Paris International Exhibition (1937), The New York and San Francisco International Exhibition(1939) and the Exhibition of the Portuguese World (1940), among others.⁹

De Castro praises Oliveira Salazar¹⁰, by saying how much she admires him, as he is the lonesome man who is in charge of the nation. She manifests her feminine thankfulness, almost a maternal one towards him, when she writes in the second volume of her Memoires:

“For me, he was the man who had put an end to the revolutions, to the disorder, to the assaults of grocery stores, to the propaganda of cheap codfish, the man that had paid off the external debt, that had propped up the value of the *escudo*, that had managed that we would put our heads up, wherever we were.”¹¹

In spite of this, Fernanda de Castro considered herself a Christian above all, as had been the upbringing she received from her mother. In her book *Letters Beyond Time* (1990), she tells the episode of a curious dialogue that took place between her and her friend José Carlos Ary dos Santos. Fernanda calls him a fascist and he answers by calling her a communist, saying that she “...gave 40 years of her precious life to hundreds and hundreds of kindergarten children, by transforming them in merry and happy children and later on in decent citizens” (Castro, 1990:122).Fernanda replies by saying :” But that, my dear friend, is not communism. As far as I know, it´s been called Christianity for at least two thousand years” (idem).¹²

De Castro´s works¹³ influenced the younger generations of that period, and reached a remarkable success, having contributed to the opening of new horizons in the history of children´s literature and mostly colonial literature. These works developed a sense of *africanity* both in children and in youngsters, as many of their stories and plots have Africa as the background scenario. We will now see some traits of this *africanity*, in a short analysis, in the novel *Mariazinha in Africa*.

2.2. *Mariazinha in Africa*: a short analysis

Mariazinha in Africa tells the story of a black-haired girl, courageous and adventurous that travels to Africa with her mother and her brother Afonso to meet the father that was already there on a government mission, as a marine officer. This small novel is really a narrative of daily life, and tells us about the adventures and misfortunes of the main character, Mariazinha, in Africa and is different not only by the touch of exoticism but also by the mixture of tenderness and malice, which are present along the whole book (cf. Rocha, 1984). Moreover, it can be argued that FC’s colonial literary production commenced a new historic-literary period, which gave rise to a renewed literary

8 http://www.dn.pt/inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=640137&page=-1, accessed on 07/04/2013

9 <http://correiodaeducacao.asa.pt/137217.html>, accessed on 07/04/2013.

10 This appraisal was written in 1958, in a small article named *Nor with Politics, nor with Propaganda but just with Soul and Sensitivity*

11 <http://correiodaeducacao.asa.pt/137217.html>, accessed on 07/04/2013.

12 Fernanda de Castro left a very important legacy consisting of 14 poetry books, 5 novels, 2 theatre plays, 7 children´s books, 2 volumes of memoires, a book of letters, a book on Introduction to Botanic, a recipe book, in a total of 33 published works. She translated 11 important works. She was the editor of the magazine *Well Living*, a monthly publication between 1953 and 1954. She was the founder and the director of the *Association of Kindergartens*. She wrote lyrics for the cinema, popular songs and *fado* and arguments for films and ballet pieces; she edited a record of children´s songs and published hundreds of articles and chronicles, gave recitals and conferences in the Continent and in the Isles, in Brazil, in Switzerland, in Paris and in Africa.

13 In 1945 she was awarded the Ricardo Malheiros Prize of the Academy of Sciences, being the first woman to be awarded with it, with her novel *Maria da Lua*. She was also awarded the National Poetry Prize, in 1969 and lastly, in 1990, the Great Prize of Children´s Literature of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

discourse, a testimony of a new and transformed Guinea-Bissau. (cf. Amado, 1990).

The novel¹⁴ in question is organized in thirteen chapters, whose titles and sub-titles define the plot of each. It starts with Mariazinha's, her mother's and her younger brother's Departure, leaving the rest of the family in Portugal- her five brothers and sisters, their friends and the house.

In the second chapter, we find the narration of "The Trip", that though turbulent, as Mariazinha gets seasick, is described as a charming ship journey, in the waters off the Island of Madeira, along Tenerife, Mariazinha sees flying fish and gets to the Island of São Vicente in Cape Verde. From there they head to Bissau and finally reach Bolama. Mariazinha is fascinated with that new world, where there are sharks, crocodiles and happy small black boys who dive in that dangerous sea. They actually returned to the surface waters" with gold medals in their teeth" (Castro, 1973: 31). This description, as well as the father's answer that explains it -"It is said that sharks prefer the flesh of whites..." (idem), though justifying that he does not believe in such, as he claims that these actions of the black boys have more to do with their agility and lightness of their bodies. This shows us that we are in the presence of a slightly racist vision. There was a paternalist feeling towards the blacks on the part of the whites, being that the former were treated like children, that had a lot to learn with the latter (cf. Blockeel, 2001). One can affirm that the blacks were often seen as court jesters or king's fools, that served to entertain the whites. This idea is reinforced by Natividade Correia, when she claims that, in children's books, the black children kept on being the comic or folkloric framework (Correia, 1985: 41).

Along the novel, Mariazinha's character is apparently strong, courageous and adventurous, but she has fears and misses her brothers and sister and Portugal. In this aspect, De Castro refers to the nostalgia, a characteristic that the Portuguese reader is going to perceive soon, by putting into perspective that it is logical and natural. It was part of the restrictions of the Salazar regime to leave the country only for work matters or others that had to be well justified. Portugal was still a dictatorship by the time of the re-edition of this novel in 1973; a country that lived closed in itself and closed to the world. Portugal closed itself to the Other, as the authoritarian, fascist and nationalist ideology advocated the isolation of other peoples, languages and cultures that represented a threat due to their diversity (cf. Blockeel, 2001).

In chapter III, called "Lands of Africa", the reader sees Mariazinha's, her mother's and her younger brother's reunion with their father. In the Bolama house, Mariazinha encounters "a beautiful blue bedroom, a yellow metal bed, and a door leading to the garden (...) a desk with an ink pot and a bookcase with several adventures books, an illustrated *Larousse* dictionary and a History of Portugal in two volumes (Castro, 1973: 33). The young lady also notices a mosquito net, a curtain hanging around the bed for protection against mosquito bites" that may kill the whites in a couple of hours"(ibidem: 34). This is also a reference to the superiority of the whites, considered to be more sensitive than the blacks and therefore with a right to all facilities and comforts. The only aspects of the daily life of the blacks mentioned in the text are those concerned with their tasks as servants. Actually, as Portugal colonized these territories, it tried, in a certain way, to destroy the culture and the old values of the Africans (cf. Blockeel, 2001). It is important to refer that the blacks communicated in a non-understandable language, a mixture of dialect, as it is described in the book. The servants are five blacks, presented in a humorous and funny way, what reinforces the idea of satire of their condition of submission, people who were always nice and available to help

14 This novel was greatly inspired by the author's life in Africa. Fernanda de Castro travelled to Guinea, to Bolama more precisely, as it happens in the book; De Castro's father, João Filipe, was named Captain of the Port and Chief of the Maritime Services in Bolama, capital of Guinea at that time, in 1913. Guinea was a Portuguese colony for three centuries, having been the first Portuguese colony to become independent in 1974, and constituting the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

out, assuming that the whites were their friends and would take them away from their condition of ignorance (cf. Blockeel, 2001). The presentations start by *Lanhamo*, the black waiter in a white uniform, with a well combed parting in the curly hair, Adolfo who does not understand a single word of Portuguese but who always answers “Yes, Sir”, *Undôko*, the gardener, with ferocious teeth, but who cannot do harm to anyone or anything, and *Prince Mamadi*, who came to learn Portuguese and look after little Afonso, Mariazinha’s younger brother. There is still Vicente, the lively, trickery and funny cook, who sometimes prepares excellent food (cf. Castro, 1973). *Olooto*, the governor’s chauffer, is also a relevant character, once he is faithful, altruist and always ready to help his master, the family and friends. He can be seen in the pattern of submission, fidelity and sacrifice towards his master. In a certain occasion, the governor compensated and thanked him, and “moved by such dedication, hugged him and gave him a magnificent silver watch” (Castro, 1973: 56). The white man showed thus, in this friendly and benevolent way, that he looked after his servants well (cf. Blockeel, 2001).

Between chapter IV- “The Feast of the Mancanhas”¹⁵ and chapter V- “The Tornado”, Mariazinha gets to know Ana Maria, the governor’s daughter, who lived in the Palace of the Capitania, thus gaining a friend to play and live adventures. Together they live many adventures, some dangers and above all they make curious discoveries. Of these I find relevance in the trip to Bissau, the car accident in chapter VI, and the hunger and the thirst they experienced when they were waiting for rescue. It was a strong and courageous black man who brought them coconut water and killed their thirst.

Mariazinha’s birthday, in which her collection of exotic animals gets bigger, constituting a sort of home zoo (chapter VIII) is a high time in the novel, as well as the fast preparation of a complex meal (chapter IX), in which Mariazinha reveals herself as a good housewife. Again, we find here a strong ideological component of the Salazar regime, in which the girls were instructed in the art of house manners, looking after the house and taking care of the children.

The other chapters depict the trip to Buba (chapter X), in which the African traditions are explored, as the drummings¹⁶ and the knights. One should refer the episode of Prince Mamadú who asks for Mariazinha’s hand in marriage. Mariazinha’s father politely and actfully explains him that marriages are different in Europe and therefore the girl is not for sale, and besides, that the girl is soon to return to Portugal.

The last two chapters narrate the mysterious disease¹⁷ that started to affect the inhabitants of Bolama. Due to the lack of medicines and with the threat of the yellow fever, Mariazinha’s and the Governor’s families and even Vicente, the cook, suddenly return to Lisbon, where the brothers and sisters meet again, after a turbulent journey with the ship full of people, desperate to get to Lisbon for fear of dying of yellow fever. Though the predominant tone of the novel is a humouristic, happy and jolly one, one should note that Mariazinha’s mother died in Bolama of yellow fever and was buried there, leaving Mariazinha an orphan at twelve.

As far as illustrations are concerned, the book reveals the evolution at this level, elaborated by the first modernist Portuguese illustrators. In the analysed edition (11th edition), I would like to refer that the illustrations were drawn by Inês Guerreiro who presents us with a beautiful colour front cover, whose colours refer to Africa, with the forest green, the orange of Mariazinha’s dress and the parrot’s feathers associated with sun and hot weather. Inside the book, we can find seven illustrations in black and white, drawn with the meticulous trace of china ink.¹⁸

15 The word mancanha is the name given to someone belonging to the Mancanhe ethnicity. A Mancanhe may come from Bula or from Cò (Ginea-Bissau) according to the origin of his predecessors, even if he is born in another place or country <http://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/mancanha>, accessed on 15/04/2013.

16 Batuques in the local language.

17 A fever, probably transmitted by mosquitoes.

18 The beautiful illustrations can be found in chapter II, representing the girl with a lantern in her hands to attract the flying fish; in

In conclusion, the prevailing culture is the occidental one, more precisely the European one, that is empowered in relation to African culture, assumed as illiterate and disorganized. One can affirm that it is in the joy that Mariazinha transmits to all, amazed with the exoticism and narrating us an emotional and magnificent Africa that she conveys the reader the colonizing message.¹⁹

3. Final reflection

Maria Fernanda Teles de Castro e Quadros must be remembered in the words of her granddaughter's and her long time friend's David Mourão Ferreira, a writer and a poet himself.

Rita Ferro, her granddaughter, writes in her blog²⁰ that her books *Mariazinha in Africa* and *New Adventures of Mariazinha* delighted a generation but were later considered as colonialist literature.

David Mourão Ferreira stated during the commemorations of Fernanda de Castro's fifty years of literary activity that she was:

“the first in this country of depressed muses and sad poets to demonstrate that laughter and joy may burst in the tissue of a poem, that the sun at noon, when faced, is not a less noble motive than the moon at midnight”.²¹

According to the information available at Fundação António Quadros, De Castro's son²², the last re-editions of the writer's unpublished books, date back to 2007, by the editor Círculo de Leitores. It is thus urgent that De Castro's works be published again, as, colonial or Christian, the most important is to open new perspectives and horizons, mainly to children and youngsters that start today building tomorrow's future.

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chapter III, one can see the agile and light black boys swimming amidst the sharks. These boys appear again in chapter V in the middle of a tornado and raining cats and dogs. In chapter VII the fight dance is depicted. Also of interest, in chapter VIII, is the picture of Mariazinha's zoo, on her birthday, where the girl is surrounded by her pets, one more exotic than the other. In chapter X we see the knights, friends of the king of Buba, that came to greet the governor and his retinue. In chapter XII, we can see one of my favourite illustrations, showing Mariazinha hand in hand with Vicente, the cook, and the ship in the background at the departure in Bolama. I think the background and the more real dimension are the dominant note of this illustration.

19 <http://blogueforanadaevaotres.blogspot.pt/2008/12/gui-6374-p3565-literatur-colonial-1.html>, accessed on 07/04/2013.

20 <http://actofalalhado.blogs.sapo.pt/438040.html?thread=2742552>, accessed on 07/04/2013

21 <http://www.maresdesol.blogspot.pt/2010/06/alegria-fernanda-de-castro.html>, accessed on 07/04/2013

22 António Quadros was the son of António Ferro and Fernanda de Castro, both writers and parents of Ana Mafalda Ferro, António Roquette Ferro (former general director of IADE) and Rita Ferro, also a writer. <http://www.fundacaoantonioquadros.pt/>, accessed on 09/03/2013.

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Abstract: The Portuguese poet Ana Hatherly shows that the word has different meanings for the persona in her poems of the book *A idade da escrita* (“The age of writing”) (1998), published in the anthology *A idade da escrita e outros poemas* (“The age of writing and other poems”) (2005). This study aims to show that the word is given the power of creating a reality sometimes elusive, which circles the persona of the poems and structures its internal and external world. The analysis carried out suggests that it is through the word that art becomes possible, since it enables one’s expression to be written down, such as joys, sorrows, anxieties, angers, ideas, thoughts and knowledge, thus determining the age of writing, as the book title suggests. Drawing on the verses selected from the aforementioned work, this study is also intended to verify and indicate how the relationship between memory and word is set up by Hatherly.

Keywords: Ana Hatherly. Word. Creation. Art. Memory.

1. Introduction

Ana Hatherly (Porto, 1929) is one of the most significant Portuguese artists today. Her production puts together various elements that complement each other and make it unique. Baroque, Experimentalism and Concretism are some of the trails through which her works seek to be unraveled. In the late 50s, early 60s, she was considered one of the first poets to work with concrete poetry in Portugal. However, she does not limit herself within such experience and does not allow herself to have “a restrictive reading of one’s own adventure in search of oneself”¹ (Martins, 2005, p. 14).

Hatherly has a poetic anxiety that is present in a continuous experimentation of language through which the tradition of Portuguese poetry is disturbed. Such experimentation is seen by Raquel Monteiro (2008, p. 20) as “the study of poetic writing potential, the distribution of language, the exploration of structural possibilities, the independence of the sign, the substantiation of the word and the abandonment of a conventional syntax [...]”.

If the concreteness of the poem is, at first glance, an element of surprise to the reader, since it requires attention to the arrangement of verses and stanzas, in summary, the layout of the text, the interpretation of the content is not so less complex. Decryption thereof requires a relationship between the subject dealt with, or suggested to, and how it was expressed, considering all the stylistic and graphics resources offered by the poet. At some

¹ All translation from Portuguese originals were made by the author for the purpose of this paper.

Creation, art, memory: the word for Ana Hatherly

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point, the final configuration of a poem can be forgotten. In Hatherly's words: "my inside results, at least at work, from a meditation on writing and the creative act. I am interested in trying to deepen what is the mystery of creativity. What we create, how we create... This is the basis of what I do." And again: "creativity could be said the discovery of a hand never known, having something beyond human normal dimension. On this mystery, I try to dwell. Every time I write or paint, there is always a discovery" (Gusmão, 2005, p. 121).

2. The word in *A idade da escrita*: creation, art, memory

Among the various titles ever published by Ana Hatherly, only some poems of the book *A idade da escrita* ("The age of writing")² are brought to discussion herein. The aim is to point out how the poet discusses her own poetic creation, seen as art, as far as the importance given to word and memory is concerned. Word and memory are used to propose a thinking about the Man (artist and person), about oneself and the other.

Our reflection begins with the poem "The age of writing – poem-essay". Here is the transcription of its first part (HATHERLY, 2005_a, p. 58)³:

I
 Costumo dizer que minha atividade começa com a
 escrita
 porque toda a minha atividade gira à volta da escrita.
 Mas não há só uma escrita nossa
 a que escrevemos para nós:
 a escrita é POR CAUSA DO TEMPO
 é POR CAUSA DOS OUTROS
 é para não esquecermos
 é para sermos lembrados é PARA SERMOS ALÉM DE
 EXISTIRMOS
 sinal
 vínculo
 aceno

Costumo dizer que a nossa era é
 a era da ESCRITALIDADE
 a da IDADE DA ESCRITA
 porque a nossa era é
 a era da ESCRIBATURA
 a IDADE DA ESCRAVATURA DA ESCRITA

A noção de ESCRITA alargou-se
 a TUDO
 a QUASE TUDO
 porque a escrita é sinónimo de IMAGEM
 imagem para se ver
 para se ter
 para se ser

Escrevo para compreender
 para apreender
 a escrita é o que me revela

² As not all the poems of this book are studied herein, but only a few examples are brought to the analysis, the book actually used was *A idade da escrita e outros poemas* ("The age of writing and other poems") by Ana Hatherly, which was organized by Floriano Martins.

³ The quoted poem has two other parts.

um mundo
o mundo⁴

In this meta-poem, the persona exposes what writing is, regarding the age of writing, its relationship with the picture and why to write. In the first and third verses, the persona express that writing is “all” (v. 3) his or her activity, using the first person singular, while in the remaining verses the first person plural is used, so the persona is inserted within a community in which (s)he participates and with which (s)he identifies. Still, in the last stanza, the persona’s individuality is resumed to explain about the reason of writing.

In the first stanza, the reason for writing is highlighted by the spelling of words in capital letters. According to the persona, we write because time exists and this is marked by the passage, the transition. Writing is to record something, to know others and ourselves and, above all, leave our mark, as expressed in verses 06-10. Writing is the “sign” (v. 11), the “bond” (v. 12), the “nod” (v. 13) of our existence.

The age of writing and its evolution is the central theme of the second stanza. The persona is concerned with explaining that our era is that of “WRITELITY” (v. 15), the “AGE OF WRITING” (v. 15), of “WRITERATURE” (v. 18), the “AGE OF THE SLAVERY OF WRITING” (v. 19). That is, in our time, the importance or meaning of writing (i) is in the fact that it is the representation of spoken/ registered language through graphic signs which comes from our ancestors and crystallizes what is written, (ii) states that only what is registered has value, (iii) indicates that what is registered – which is not always well done – may be caused by our creation or may be a simple copy that generates interpretations of others, and (iv) shows that writing – through which we speak of our time and being – is surrounded by prohibitions, standards and limits, and that we are stuck with everything we write.

The next stanza addresses the relationship of writing to image, seen as synonymous with each other because writing is “EVERYTHING” (v. 21) and/or “ALMOST EVERYTHING” (v. 22). To the image it is not given the feature only to be viewed, but to speak what we want to have and especially to be, according to verses 24-26. Ana Hatherly’ writing is a visual one, and much of what is expressed in her poems she does so through features that go beyond the drawing of letters on paper. The use of graphic and visual features needs to be interpreted by the reader in order to unravel what the poet says. It is full of unspoken information, which is graphic and explicit but concomitantly invisible. About the presence of this paradox in her production, Hatherly says to be intentional: “I try this impossible dialogue between the visible and the invisible. [...] It’s not necessarily about wanting to see, but to see inside” (Gusmão, 2005, p. 122).

In the last stanza, in a circular motion, the persona once again is singularized by expressing that (s)he writes “to understand/ to apprehend” (v. 27-28), and that the writing that reveals not only any “world” (v. 30), but “the world” (v. 31), objective and determined, of real significance to the writer.

In the second part of the poem (Hatherly, 2005a, p. 59), the persona claims to write and describe, but this latter verb is not used only in the descriptive sense, but in the sense of “unwriting”:

4 I’m used to say that my activity begins with the/ writing/ because all my activity revolves around writing./ But there is not only one writing of ours/ the one we write to ourselves:/ writing is BECAUSE OF TIME/ it is BECAUSE OF OTHERS/ it is to not forget/ it is to be remembered and to be BEYOND/ EXISTING/ sign/ bond/ nod// I’m used to say that our age is/ the age of WRITELITY/ the AGE OF WRITING/ because our age is/ the age of WRITERATURE/ the AGE OF THE SLAVERY OF/ WRITING// The notion of WRITING is widened/ to EVERYTHING/ to ALMOST EVERYTHING / because writing is synonymous with IMAGE/ image to see/ to have/ to be// I write to understand/ to apprehend/ writing is what shows me/ a world/ the world

II

Escrevo e descrevo
 e descrevendo
 o tempo insere-se nas linhas
 e nas entrelinhas em que escrevo
 escrevendo imagens
 que a si mesmas se descrevem
 descrevendo o tempo

[...]
 De caminho o arabesco insinua-se
 e mesmo quando maquinal
 a escrita prolonga A MÃO
 é o prolongamento extensíssimo da mão

Indica:
 disciplina
 explosão contida

Onda surda é a escrita.⁵

When composing art – understood as literature/poetry – the persona shows that both explicitly and implicitly, “within the lines/ and in the leading” (v. 34-35) the report is carried out and time is questioned through the images created. This time may be understood either as the personal time of the poet or that of her time.

Writing is affirming and denying what is said and implied. It is an “arabesque” (v. 44), not just an extension of the “HAND” (v. 46), but “the very extension of the hand” (v. 47), in short, of the man; or, more precisely, it is the man himself. While writing is “discipline” (v. 49), it also is regarded as “contained explosion” (v. 50), therefore, under the control of the poet. However, in the last verse, this same writing appears associated with an image that reveals an uncontrollable “deaf wave” (v. 51) which surprises the persona him/herself.

The fact that this poem is titled as an essay shows an intent by Ana Hatherly. Pointed that way, the verses become disseminators of her poetry, her aesthetic project: “If poetry is currently moving towards the essay because art with all its underlying thought and all its basic conflictual consciousness now cannot be defined truly as only retrospective or a project” (Hatherly, 2002, p. 332).

Related to the word and the book, there is memory. This idea, which was addressed tangentially in the poem-essay, is the theme of “The memory of the name” (Hatherly, 2005a, p. 60). Through the persona, Hatherly indicates not only the importance of memory for humans, but its constitution, the need to be preserved and the forgetting to which it is connected:

⁵ I write and describe/ and describing/ time falls within the lines/ and in the leading of writing/ writing images/ which describe themselves/ describing time// [...]/ The arabesque insinuates itself/ and even when mechanical/ writing extends HAND/ it is the very extension of the hand / It indicates:/ discipline/ contained explosion// Deaf wave is writing.

A memória do nome
é o paradoxo da verdade moderna
em que o livro
é o monumento da letra.

Na alma secreta da palavra
cada momento é uma prisão
porque a história
de tudo faz monumento
e o livro é o monumento da letra.

Memorizar é obliterar
porque a memória é feita de objetos
reapropriações
instantes figurados.

A memória é invisível
por isso tentamos dar-lhes corpo
de cada momento fazendo uma prisão.

Lembrando esquecemos
a ficção do momento
a ficção do monumento.

O modelo é o contrário do único
e toda a memória é funerária.⁶

The persona begins the first stanza by stressing that the “memory of the name” (v. 1) opposes to “modern truth” (v. 2), since the book – and only it – is “the monument of the letter” (v. 4). It is as if all information stored by the memory was not critical, so the importance relies only on that placed in the book, seen as a synonym not only to an artistic masterpiece, but to a perpetuation of the letter, i.e. the name and the word, paying it a posthumous homage. This idea of death is still recovered in the last stanza.

The clause “[...] the book/ is the monument of the letter” (v. 3-4) is recovered in the last verse of the second stanza (v. 9) an intention of the persona to close a number of arguments brought along this stanza. First the abstraction of the word, its “secret soul” (v. 5), which ultimately contains or imprisons all things, is pointed out. This can be understood as a limitation of the essence of things, since they are made monuments which are a materialization with defined forms and standards that produce cuts, and the book fits this parameter.

Opposing the common sense idea that memory means remembering, the poem states that memorizing is forgetting or, as the persona prefers, “obliterating” (v. 10). However, this forgetfulness

6 The memory of the name/ is the paradox of modern truth/ where the book/ is the monument of the letter.// In the word's secret soul/ every moment is a prison/ because history/ turns everything into monument/ and the book is the monument of the letter.// Memorizing is obliterating/ because memory is made up of objects/ reappropriations/ Figured moments.// The memory is invisible/ so we try to materialize it/ imprisoning every moment.// by remembering we forget/ the fiction of the moment/ the fiction of the monument.// The model is the opposite of unique/ and all memory is a funeral one.

or disappearance occurs in that other objects are assimilated and new information is obtained. Anyway, memorizing is a selection process in which something is deleted so that other things are stored, ranging from words and/or names to “figured moments” (v. 13). The need to materialize memory, giving it a body and imprisoning it, is the reason to elaborate monuments. This discussion appears in the fifth stanza, where the persona highlights that the monument is a fiction, since it fixes and saves those images and data that have been stored by someone at a given time, i.e., an age. Such data and images were saved because they were significant at the time, while so many other things – perhaps significant to others – have been eliminated in one’s history.

Thus, the final stanza opens to the suggestion that the “model” (v. 20) can be read as a monument that is not something unique or definitive, but one of the possibilities of fixing the history/word, since “all memory is a funeral one” (v. 21): death and burial of what memory forgets lifelong.

The idea of death is addressed in other poems in the book *The age of writing*, either figuratively or in its real sense. However, here it takes the spotlight as it is associated with art, especially in “Art and death in Venice” (Hatherly, 2005a, p. 69-71). From this long poem, divided into two parts, the following sections were selected for analysis:

I

A morte é um estado realmente sórdido
por isso a cobrimos de toda a fantasia
inventamos mitos de passagem.
Mas a morte é mesmo suja
pornográfica
expressionista
com seus esgares
odores
desfazeres.

A arte é travão que retarda
a brutal presença da morte nos vivos.
A arte tenta
quer transpor
nas ruas estreitas ergue
a ourivesaria das janelas
mas a onda avança pelos canais.

[...]

O ar que falta:
o barroco fala da morte
do seu teatro.
O inferno é italiano.⁷

7 Death is a really sordid state/ so we the cover it with all the fantasy/ we invent passage myths./ But death is even dirty/ porn/ expressionist/ with its antics/ odors/ disruptions.// Art is a brake that slows/ the brutal presence of death within the living./ Art tries/ wants to transpose/ in the narrow streets rises/ goldsmithing windows/ but the wave moves through the channels.// [...]/ The lacking air:/ Baroque speaks of death/ its theater./ Hell is Italian.

II

A arte é para tornar a vida suportável
a arte tenta disfarçar
cobre mas descobre.
A arte tenta
tenta a muitos
mas a arte é Don Juan
vai morrer por ser excesso.

A arte é sempre uma grande pintura de cavalete
mesmo quando é só um risco
um silvo finíssimo.
A arte escorre sempre
cai-nos no rosto
mancha-nos.
Os Museus estão cheios de horror
de gritos de mitos disparates
até surgir de repente um Tintoretto
um Bellini com anjos escarlates
um Giorgione
um teto todo de ouro.

[...]

No subterrâneo as masmorras:
a arte luta com o poder
a arte luta para o poder
a arte luta pelo poder

Toda a arte fala de luta
e repousa num colchão de gemidos.⁸

In the opening stanza, the persona speaks of a death affecting humans, one that is physical and degrades the body. It is such death that we in general fear because it means the end of earthly life and, therefore, we try to make it less grim through imagination and art, which minimizes the impact caused when it comes. It is no coincidence that art is associated with “a brake” (v. 10) that holds the presence of death, making it difficult to walk free among the living, but that does not prevent it to go through different paths – “channels” (v. 16) and does not fall into oblivion.

The persona reminds the reader that death has been the subject of art at different times, such as

8 Art is for making life bearable/ art tries to disguise/ covers but discovers./ Art tries/ tempts many/ but art is Don Juan/ it shall die for being an excess.// Art is always a great easel painting/ even when it is only a trace/ a very fine hiss./ Art always drains/ drops us in the face/ spots us./ Museums are full of horror/ of cries of nonsense myths/ until suddenly a Tintoretto arises/ a Bellini with scarlet angels/ a Giorgione/ a whole ceiling of gold.// [...]// In underground dungeons:/ art struggles with the power / art struggles for power/ art struggles by power// All art speaks of struggle/ and rests on a groaning mattress.

the Baroque in which the antithesis is recurrent, and Heaven and Hell are two spaces always constant. Moreover, as Ana Hatherly is a Portuguese poet, we can venture that by relating the Baroque to the theater, there may be an association with the *Trilogia das Barcas* (“Trilogy of the Ships”) by Gil Vicente and other plays where opposites are present, contradictions are resolved, good and God-fearing man is saved and the sinner is punished in an allegorical language. In turn, the mention of hell as being Italian brings us immediately to the *Inferno* (“Hell”) by Dante Alighieri, which in subsequent centuries after publication was fundamental to the creation – within the Western Christian imagery – a hell that is located in depths, characterized by pain and suffering, and where all men who have not followed the precepts outlined in the biblical text are found, regardless of their age or social or cultural status.

In the second part of this poem, the central theme is the art. It is designated as being responsible for “making life bearable” (v. 21), characterized not only by easing vicissitudes like death, but also by not covering up (not always and not all) issues. In a wordplay, located in verses 24 and 25, the persona uses twice subsequently the verb “tentar” (try/tempt). Its first use – in “art tries” – has an inconclusive meaning, because there is no direct object; but the reader can make an association with the verse 22 of the same stanza, which states that “art tries to disguise” the issues that men fear. However, its second use – “tempt many” – opens to larger possibilities of meaning, as this insistence refers to the seduction caused by art to anyone who abandons oneself to it, making an explicit reference to the figure of “Don Juan” (v. 26), a Lothario who allowed himself to live pleasures, deceiving women until his excesses led him to death. That is, there is a restriction to the art when it becomes exacerbated.

The persona discourses on the arts, stating that however insignificant it may seem a trace, there may be a voice that wants to be heard. Explicitly the persona affirms that it is impossible to remain impassive in the face of a painting because the fact of looking at it “contaminates” us (v. 70), changing the way we see around and changing our knowledge and opinion about things already known. The poem lists different significant artists who, through their paintings, calmed the spirit of men facing the horror (real or imaginary) that surrounds us and which is kept in museums, as to remind us constantly. The poem includes Tintoretto, Bellini, and Giogine, Italian Renaissance painters, authors of sacred paintings and pieces of varying size in which heavens, angels, Virgins were present.

Since such paintings are not possibly brought up, Ana Hatherly asks the reader to search in imagination, making these images dialogue with the words of the verses. Just as names/words are eclipsed and the reader must fill in the blanks, suggested visual information require the same procedure.

In order to let no doubts about the importance of art, in the next stanza (among the ones selected), the persona says that even in the underground places – “the dungeon” (v. 41) – art is not passive, but active: it struggles to be present. In these dark places, art is always linked to power, but the partnership between them is not peaceful: sometimes art and power are in conflict, sometimes art cooperates with power, and sometimes art aims to replace power. In short, it becomes clear that art is what moves humans and the society.

The poem ends by addressing a struggle which can be read as a reference to that mentioned above, i.e., as something painful. However, this reading can be extended to the struggle of art itself: “All art speaks of struggle” (v. 45). From this new proposition, we infer that art is an ongoing battle of the individual, both with himself and his work tools – whatever they are –, and that the production obtained is “in a groaning mattress” (v. 46), which allows reading this work as being (a) a suffering activity for the artist or (b) only a voice, barely audible, of what the creating person would like to say. Clearly these are possible readings that can be enlarged according to the one who comes in contact with such verses, as the poet speculates about the relationship between the reader and the poem: “the

poem as an object of art cannot (or must not) be interpreted otherwise than tentatively, approximately, in a constant reevaluation of experience” (Hatherly, 2002, p. 332).

3. Conclusion

These poems were analyzed with regard to the possible meanings Ana Hatherly expressed in her verses. It is important not to forget that her poems are structured in constructions and deconstructions, which give them a wide possibility of interpretation and, paradoxically, conciseness. The poems are full of gaps which need to be filled by readers, to whom the position of art spectators does not fit. About this, the poet declares: “between subject and object there is only conflict, impenetrability” (Hatherly, 2002, p. 332).

Throughout these poems, the poet uses language according to her artistic intent. Not only the words gain meaning, but their layout on the page is part of the context, and the reader should be aware of such information. Ana Hatherly’s creation is made by drawing on what is willing to be said and what is said, what is spoken and what is silenced.

In the poems analyzed, art is discussed at various times, and memory emerges as an element for the production and existence of art. The process of literary creation is sometimes stated explicitly, sometimes just tangentially. Ana Hatherly is an artist who builds a work full of meaning; performs “the act of discovery that allows access to the performativity of writing as an act of invention. [...] leads to a reading that has to take into account a whole constellation of structures, sections, vectors, options, and yes, a meta-reading” (Hatherly, 2005b, p. 107-108). In summary, Hatherly is a poet who requires the reader to have all the attention and deep immersion into the verses and in return offers the pleasure of reading a distinguished and accurate production.

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Abstract: Artur Barrio is a Portuguese plastic artist from the city of Porto born in 1945. He has lived in Angola and currently lives in Brazil. In his work, various imaginaries converge. Barrio works with hybrid languages and his construction of the aesthetic thought questions the dominant systems of art and life. Both directly and indirectly, Barrios debates art, culture and politics, overwhelms the dominant orders and thus produces the required estrangement for a reflexive posture towards the world. This paper deals with a piece of work by Artur Barrio, “O sonho do arqueólogo...” (“The archeologist’s dream... ”), in which text and image converse poetically. The choice of each word, each line and each arrangement that make up “O sonho do arqueólogo...” is not random. Imbued with the spaces where Barrios has been, his work overflows with wit and a proposing look that is removed from the common place and connects various places, times and ideas at the same time as it remains constantly connected to the present time.

Keywords: Artur Barrio, Lusophony, Art, Language, Post-Colonialism.

1. The writings by Artur Barrio and the non-place poetics

The correlation between fine arts and poetry has presently become closer due to the poetic creation that deals with the notions of possibilities rather than truths. The importance of the process directly reflects on the work, which transmutes through continued creation and editing. The creations of the Portuguese plastic artist Artur Barrio converse with the contemporary poetics and occupy, among others, the place between the text and the image - maybe a non-place - as will be shown in this paper. It is worth noting that the objective of the study was to find possible connections between Barrio’s writings and the Portuguese poetics, and identify its overflow of senses rather than assign it to a movement, nationality or aesthetics

The exhibit “Ocupações / Descobrimientos” (“Occupations / Discoveries”) hosted by the Museum of Contemporary Art (Museu de Arte Contemporânea - MAC) in Niterói, Rio de Janeiro displayed the work of two Portuguese-born artists who live in Brazil: Antônio Manuel and Artur Barrio. This study is based on images from the three exhibit catalogs and focuses on the catalog that details Barrio’s work titled “O sonho do arqueólogo...”.

In the catalog preface, the exhibit curator, Luiz Camillo Osorio, pointed out that the character of “Ocupações / Descobrimientos” is more than commemorative, it has a character of “invention of a nation that (...) acknowledges itself as being multiple and plural”.

The writings of Artur Barrio and the non-place poetics¹

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(OSORIO in: BARRIO; MANUEL, 1998). Two years short of the 500th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese to Brazil and albeit its not being a colony anymore, Brazil still feels the power of an empire that reaches beyond national territories, capitalism. To look at the 500th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese implies looking beyond year 1500, the year of arrival of the Portuguese Empire settlers and thinking within a broad time framework and considering some imaginaries, including canonic imaginaries until they were reviewed from the post-colonial point of view. To reflect on post-colonialism implies considering a growing globalization which has afforded a new perspective of empire.

In 1970 Barrio made a sharp reflection on the traditional art categories and systems. In a manifesto, he correlated art to a whole political context and criticized the consumerism and power relations between nations. He proposed that the multiplicity associated with the possibilities of artistic creation could also be thought over as an invention in relation to the norms and standards imposed by the dominator on the dominated:

(...) Due to numerous situations in the plastic art field and the ever growing use of materials considered costly for us, for me, from the third world socioeconomic viewpoint (Latin America included), because industrialized products are not available to us, to me, and are controlled by an elite that I challenge because creation cannot be conditioned, it has to be free. (...) Therefore, because I consider that the use of costly materials is imposed by an elite that thinks top-bottom based on an aesthetic thought, I present transient situations with the use of perishable materials, adopting a bottom-top concept. (COTRIM, 2009, p. 262-263)

Based on Brazil's relationship with its histories and various domination forces, there seems to be a search for an identity - or even for a rupture with stereotypes - geared to the originality and ingenuity of Brazil as a nation. Paraphrasing Barrio, according to Osorio, it is in opposition to the Portuguese fortresses and cannons that MAC, "(...) is a landmark for those who entered the Guanabara Bay in a post-colonial Brazil. A flower on a hillside projected towards the sea, it is a Brazilian symbol that opposes (...) the Portuguese fortresses". (OSORIO in: BARRIO; MANUEL, 1998). The place where and time when the exhibit "Ocupações / Descobrimentos" was hosted are pregnant with meanings that converse with the ideas presented.

Both featured artists were born in Portugal, but their work of art was conceived in Brazil. In an interview in 2001, Barrio commented on the possibility of going to New York in 1969, when his work was featured in the exhibit "Information" in the Museum of Modern Art - MOMA, a time when Brazil was immersed in a troubled dictatorship.

(...) I should have left, I don't know how, but I thought that Brazil was the place to be. In truth, the structure, my line of work, started here. Even when I lived abroad, nothing changed. The work, the whole process, the whole thing was engendered here as it is, and it continues... (COTRIM, 2001, p.95)

Barrio territorializes the spaces at the same time that he de-territorializes them through his writing and sojourns, simultaneously so close and so distant. He feels connected to Brazil, where he lives, while he bears references to his experiences in Portugal, where he was born in 1945, and to Angola, where he lived for a few months in 1952, making a transatlantic triad. The limits of cities, the borders of countries, or even better, of continents, for Barrios, rather than limits, they are passageways to various forms of history, knowledge, sensibility and poetics.

The multiplicity aspect of Barrio's work allows discussing it as being the result of the clash of various occurrences and facts in the aesthetic-political context. One must consider that he traveled through various territories that imprinted on him the strength to resist the oppression that he

witnessed under dictatorship. For the literary reviewer Edward Said, the “hybrid opposing energies in action in many fields, individuals and moments make up a community or culture that consists of various antisystemic signs and practices (...), that are not based either on coercion or domination”. (SAID, 1995, p. 410). As an anti-art artist, Barrio can be interpreted as someone who has exerted an opposing “antisystemic” force against the established standard that would be expected from his work and that defies the elitist aesthetics.

1.1. Intersections: between this and that

Among Artur Barrio’s work, his writings occupy the intersection spaces between the verbal and the visual. Interferences of one language with another occur all the time, resulting in an overflow of the limits that define each one within their specific characteristics. Barrio’s “CadernoLivro” (NotebookBook) does not seem to have been made for either reading or visual appreciation, but rather for both ends or possibilities. The heterogeneity of his work is expressed not only in the instability it expresses through the coexistence of the verbal and the visual contents. The supports used in his inscriptions elaborate on a problem of spatiality through the use of paper, a notebook, a wall or some other medium that may serve as a dwell for his poetics. Furthermore, besides the language and the spatiality, it is interesting to investigate his writing process, the impressions of the reediting of his work remain, pointing to the erasure and the metamorphosis of the thought.

The catalog titled “O sonho do arqueólogo...” displays four photographs that show part of the installations of the same name hosted in MAC, Niterói, Rio de Janeiro. One of the photos shows an office-like environment with objects such as a lamp and a clip package in the background, various pieces of paper scattered in all planes, a small box in the background and two notebooks, one prominent in the foreground, with some reading glasses on top, all on a wooden surface close to a wall, which suggests a corner environment due to plane conjunction. The other three photographs show this “CadernoLivro” in evidence and different pages where the glasses are also present. The lamp seems to create a shaded atmosphere with a yellowish light that also casts shadows of the objects on the surface and the wall. All the 20 pages of the catalog are strongly marked by handwritten texts, drawings, lines and blurs in a shade between red and black. There are also some pages with colored image collages, a small notice piece - all pasted with yellow adhesive tape - and a piece of white paper with a black spot (like a gap) with one charred corner. In a nutshell, Barrios gives a title to the catalog project on its cover. These 20 pages are all numbered and are part of the “CadernoLivro”, which is made up of over 150 pages.

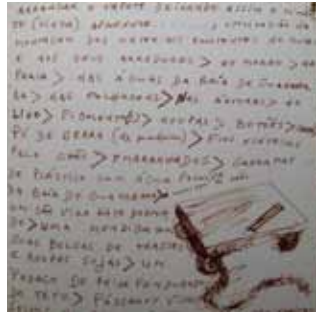
Some pictures of the catalog titled “O sonho do arqueólogo...” follow:

Cover.



A detail of page 16.

Page 9.



Page 20/Back cover.



The point of interest here is to investigate aspects of this object based on the language or languages used. The visual aspect of the catalog in general is that of a draft. The gestural mark shows in the repetition, superposition, arrangement and rhythm of the lines, among others - characteristics imparted in its making. On gesture, Lucia Santaella proposes that the mark is the index of the actions of the creator “(...) the marks in the way they were produced are inevitably incorporated” (SANTAELLA, 2001, p. 216). Thus, based on the visible gestural marks, it is possible to indicate the fact that the catalog has images of handwriting. Santaella proposes that the importance of the gestural mark arises from the possibility of differentiating the origins or types of images, for example, in pencil or artisanal or digital (SANTAELLA, 2001, p. 216-218).

In the chapter *Matrizes da linguagem e pensamento* (Language and thought matrices), which deals with hybrid languages, Santaella claims that languages are hybrid, there is no purity. Particularly verbal [language], “because it absorbs the syntax of the sound domain and the form of the visual domain”. As to the visuality, besides being tactile, it “absorbs the syntax logic seen from the sound domain” (SANTAELLA, 2001, p. 371). “O sonho do arqueólogo...” can be read from the view point of hybridism proposed by Santaella. In his creation, Barrio worked on the language interface freely. The draft aspect arises precisely from the combination made in the production of all the pages and on which it is possible to identify characteristics of the various languages and their pulsating in a state of potency of what may come into being.

Sonority is identified in Barrio’s work in the noises produced by the excess of lines drawn over the texts, scribbles covering up words as alterations and also the content expressed by the words. The sonority aspect is further strengthened by the use of onomatopoeia, recurrent use of suspension marks that prolong the reading and expressions that directly describe it, such as “sound”, “tears”, and “the flight of a flock of birds” (BARRIO, 1998, pp. 11, 17 and 20). Visuality is everywhere, from what is captured by the retina to images suggested by the content underlying the text. The very title of the work, “O sonho do arqueólogo...”, evokes some images if we consider the meaning of archeology, its relationship with the passing of time and the endurance of materials or objects. When the artist constructs the space on a sheet of paper, he is certainly more concerned with the whole, with the make-up, with the organization of ideas than with the rules of the Portuguese language. Now, the verbal language, in addition to the words and their meanings themselves, bears the drawing of letters, the pronunciation, that is, it expresses the other languages as well.

It is of capital importance to know that the creation of the “CadernoLivro” started in 1982 and culminated with its display in MAC, Niterói, Rio de Janeiro in 1998. The relationships between memory and the transformations of the author’s discourse are made evident in the present edits of the text, marks left of the course of ideas over time. Barrio’s work as a whole values the process over the art object. All the force required for living life and art situations intensely are expressed in the form of a radical aesthetics that gives the reader a thorough track of a poetics vertigo. At this point I dare even attribute the concept of realism as proposed by Nelson Goodman to Barrio’s work in which the approximation to the “real” is brought about by the reactions arising from observation and expectations close to the observation of

the object (or life/context). For Goodman, realism is not in the imitation or copy, but results from the character of expression that affects both the observer and life, which puts in check the very traditional concept of realism as an association of appearances (GOODMAN, 1976 in: SANTAELLA, 2001, p. 189). From this perspective, Barrio works with elements that converse with everyday life, spontaneity and improvisation. This makes Barrio's artistic proposals close or even confounded with actual and experienceable situations, and because of this, they can be read based on a concept of realism.

Another important aspect observable in the pages of "O sonho do arqueólogo...." concerns its multisensory and synaesthetic character. The reading of the work, not only in the sense of decoding words, but also of a search for their various meanings or their lack of it, the doubt, allows the incursion into the field of intellectual and emotional sensibilities. The collages made with adhesive tape extend over the surface of the sheet of paper and go beyond its characteristic flatness. Their volume modifies the space, not to mention the images that are pasted and open with their depth and perspective like windows of access to other dimensions of time and space. The tactile sensation, stimulated by the visuality, demonstrates that the instability of the work is sufficient to challenge any attempt of its definition or naming. When one explores the pages of the catalog, which is a view of a fragment of the "CadernoLivro", one realizes that Artur Barrio deals with subjects that converge into artistic projects, which he details and reflects upon. In the descriptions, the artist evokes images of "cold, light, heavy cloths", "maritime odors"¹, powder solidification, collage of a woman's pubic hair on the wall and so forth, which leads the reader to sensations and thought projections associated with the senses (BARRIO, Artur; MANUEL, Antonio, 1998).

Taking the appearance and reinforcement of the support of the "CadernoLivro" as an object of art as an object of investigation, we are faced with the artist's book and its implications. The mainstream conceptual tendency of the 1960's resulted in creations on a sequence of sheets of paper - the pages - which bore reflections on art, projects, thoughts, poems, visual compositions, colors and various other mixtures of elements. Many times, the proposal of these creations was their inventive manipulations; they had loose pages that could be reinserted at the whim of whoever handled them or even at random. The forms or formats of these creations were not fixed on the form or traditional concept of book.

The catalog, a exhibit giveaway, also acquired new characteristics. The displacement of the artistic investigation from the object production to the object concept brings the "printed media" closer to the field of art (FABRIS; COSTA, 1985). As such, the catalog may be considered a piece of work of art. Fabris and Costa dealt with the importance of the catalog considering that it no longer represented something outside, but rather had value for its own existence.

The catalog thus becomes a piece of work of art. It is no longer documental and/or informative as in the traditional practice and may be an exhibit by itself or an autonomous creation in relation to the exhibit, made of novel material and establishing a stimulating dialogue with the first level of the show. (FABRIS; COSTA, 1985, p. 15)

Fabris and Costa mention Barrio's "CadernoLivro", which was started in 1966, as one of the "landmarks of the new conception of artist's book in Brazil. The authors reflect on the autonomy of the "CadernoLivro", which "goes beyond recording ideas or pieces of work (...) to comprise its whole production" (FABRIS; COSTA, 1985, p. 16). Upon the analysis of Barrio's writing production, one can say that the conceptual dimension present in these pieces of work deal with the uncertainty, the organic drive, and are in themselves an exercise of creative freedom removed from the traditional art categories (FABRIS; COSTA, 1985, p. 16).

1 Catalog "O sonho do arqueólogo....".

Up to the early 1980's, the production of artist's books in Brazil increased significantly and the most diverse forms of distribution were used: photocopies, mail, by hand, and even by publishers and distributors. However, this form of art was still something "semi clandestine", seen in few places, ateliers or private collections (FABRIS; COSTA, 1985, p. 7-17).

Within the field of book editing, literary reviewer Manuel Gusmão works on this notion of rewriting. In "O sonho do arqueólogo...", Artur Barrio revealed an unfinished aspect or an aspect of deconstruction, which suggests an approximation between Barrio's writings and the notion of poetry in Portugal, which, according to Gusmão, is rewriting. In the text "Herberto Helder, a estrela plenária" (Herberto Helder, the plenary star) Gusmão mentioned the "Poet who frequently rewrites, makes amendments, corrects, reorganizes, cuts out or recomposes(...)" (GUSMÃO, 2010, p. 370-371). Also according to him, the inventive writing under constant changes "reinvents the mother language" (GUSMÃO, 2010, p. 370-371), subverting the traditional concept of finished work. In this aspect, Barrio's "CadernoLivro" crosses fields, meanings and dialogues with other productions; however, without losing its uniqueness as a piece of work that proposed the poetics of the experience of doing in search for the very process as creation.

However, I share the opinion that "the difficulty found to reach any definition of what an artist's book is exists exactly because it belongs to a hybrid zone, a place in the intersection, at the border line and at the limits of other artistic activities" (DRUCKER, 2004). Throughout this article one can see that the book can be a support for reading, an exhibit space or even a means of divulgation of artistic productions, thus, pointing to a multiplicity or even the instability and shifting of meanings. Based on the reflections presented here I propose that it is difficult to determine when "O sonho do arqueólogo..." changes categories between "CadernoLivro" and a catalog, that it does not have a fixed place, it is moving, at various places and nowhere at the same time.

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Abstract: As an offshoot of the ambiguities generated by the concept of Lusophony (*lusofonia*), this article aims to reflect on the questions of language and culture as related to the literary writing within the sphere of the Portuguese language. A comparative approach is therefore assumed, with an awareness of the construction of the canon in a common space, where the center and the peripheries interrelate dynamically and historically anchored. The concept of world literature also comes to bear in articulation with that of Lusophony since it is essential for the understanding of the transversal character of literary text and for its contribution to the question of the hegemony of the Western canon. Next, there follows a reading of the two novels by the Angolans Ruy Duarte de Carvalho and José Eduardo Agualusa in which the ideas of dislocation and de-territorialization are represented to find evidence of the relevance of the idea of meandering in these Southern spaces, relating them althwhile to the fluidity of borders/frontiers – both geographical and cultural – and with the urgent need to reassessing international networks in the sphere of the Portuguese language.

Keywords: Lusophony, world literature, comparative studies, José Eduardo Agualusa, Ruy Duarte de Carvalho.

1. The premises of a reflection

The Lusophone imaginary has definitively become one of *plurality* and *difference*, which is the evidence we need to be able to uncover the community and the brotherhood inherent to a fragmented cultural sphere, whose utopic unity, in the sense of common sharing, only can exist through the most serious and truly profound knowledge of this plurality and this difference. If we hope to make any sense of the Lusophone galaxy, it must be lived, in whatever sense possible, as a way that is inextricably Portuguese, Brazilian, Angolan, Mozambican, Cape Verdean or Santoméan. Could this be a purely pious wish? (Lourenço, 1987:112) ¹

In the critical thinking of Eduardo Lourenço, the concept of Lusofonia weighs in at many times, especially in its role in representing Imperial nostalgia. The transcription above, finalized

¹ O imaginário lusófono tornou-se, definitivamente, o da *pluralidade* e o da *diferença*, e é através desta evidência que nos cabe, ou nos cumpre, descobrir a comunidade e a confraternidade inerentes a um espaço cultural fragmentado, cuja unidade utópica, no sentido de partilha em comum, só pode existir pelo conhecimento mais sério e profundo, assumido como tal, dessa pluralidade e dessa diferença. Se queremos dar algum sentido à galáxia lusófona, temos de vivê-la, na medida do possível, como inextricavelmente portuguesa, brasileira, angolana, moçambicana, cabo-verdeana ou são-tomense. Puro voto piedoso? (Lourenço, 1987:112)

Lusophony, World Literature and Meanderings: a presentation

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by a question that is shared, introduce a reflection that fits into this article as to the concepts of language and culture in relation to the literary writings of the sphere of the Portuguese language.

First, the reflection is contextualized within comparative studies, since this article will override the confines of the literature of the Eurocentric national canon and move the focus of interest to a transnational or global perspective of this literary phenomena. The growing distribution of literary works and the affirmation of spheres which until recently had been seen as marginal to the corpus of “great literature” reinforces the need to open the canon to the peripheries or even to shatter the concept of a canon that is closed in on itself, harnessed by national borders and restricted to the traditionally languages of the hegemony. Understanding the canon in this common space of what is expressed in Portuguese requires an effort of location of the centers which historically which were built up and the peripheries which they built, with the ever-present awareness that these are unstable borders, precariously established and subject to permanent revision. As such, only by overcoming a walled-up vision of cultures can a Lusophony be constructed that is built on *plurality* and *difference*, an essential condition for a shared postcoloniality.

In this way, beginning with the concepts of Lusophony and world literature, this article will reflect on the meanderings of writing from the South to reveal how the fluidity of borders – geographical and cultural – is manifested in the interstices of literary language. Brevity limits the reflection to reference to two Angolan narrative texts in which the ideas of dislocation and de-territorialization are developed, raising questions on the positioning of the post-colonial writer, textual hybridism, and the importance of reassessing the intercultural networks of the sphere of the Portuguese language.

2. Towards a shared Lusophony

A number of voices have raised the question of the concept of Lusophony, considered as a homogenizing gesture to cover up two distinct cultural and autonomous realities with the same identifier – the Portuguese language. Even the monolingualism of the designation constitutes a type of erasure of the other languages that exist in the political and cultural sphere of Lusophony. This reifying of the Portuguese language as a single identity marker, the differentiating trace that supposedly aggregates all the diverse literatures of Portuguese expression in a single block, really brings up many reservations for the ideological and political implications that it carries. Recognizing the presence of

a diffused lusophony although no one yet knows concretely what it will be, beyond a linguistically sustained idea, heroically set in the common inheritance of diverse memories that are politically interesting and European and socially comforting and even invigorating (Ribeiro e Ferreira, 2003: 16)²

in the Portuguese context as identified by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro e Ana Paula Ferreira.

Beyond any doubt, the use of a language – that of the ex-colonizer, that of the ancient/old Imperial center – activates power relations that imprison a common historicity in the memory, marked by the asymmetry of these relations and by the existence of mechanisms of the repression of identity. Nevertheless, the adoption of the Portuguese language at the time of African independence in the ex-colonies does also constitute an emancipator gesture, as was so well-expressed by Amílcar Cabral:

Portuguese (the language) is one of the better things that the *Tugas* left for us, because the language is not the proof of anything more than a tool for men to relate to one another. It’s an instrument, a means of

² uma lusofonia difusa que ainda ninguém sabe concretamente o que poderá ser, para além de uma ideia linguisticamente sustentada, heroicamente sedimentada numa herança comum de memórias diversas, politicamente interessante e europeia e socialmente reconfortante e até tonificante. (Ribeiro e Ferreira, 2003: 16)

speaking to express the realities of life and the world. (Cabral, 1974: 101)³

In these statements, Cabral insinuates his awareness that rejecting the colonizers' language could also be taken as an ideological trap, isolating a culture and depriving it of a common heritage that is expressed in Portuguese. Beyond that, the anticolonial movements were born and gained forces amongst the groups of those who were "assimilated", those for whom there could not be any other language of communication and, as such, Prospero's language was converted into an instrument of resistance and insubordination.

Another perspective is transmitted by Alfredo Margarido, who highlights that the imposition of Portuguese during the colonial period was undeniably both racist and oppressive, with the linguistic hierarchy reproducing the racial and social hierarchies. Margarido (2000: 6) defends that the invention of Lusophony was carried out as a sort of collective amnesia toward the violence that was committed on those who speak Portuguese today.

These positions are not necessarily contradictory; they express the complexity and ambivalence of an historical process in which the language has performed a starring role that is still present on the map of power and the relations established between the centers and peripheries today. As noted by Paula Medeiros, the idea that Lusophony is built on a double movement of forgetting and memory of the colonial past, with the ideologizing and mystification notoriously associated with the sharing of both a common language and a cultural identity (Medeiros, 2006: 17). It is this sharing that sustains Lusophony as a identity mark also of generalized use in the field of literary studies although the expression "African literature of Portuguese expression" has been contested since its first use.

The tendency to use language as a common denominator amongst highly diverse literatures and cultures is actually rather present in the field of post-colonial studies itself, where the union of language-literature-culture constitutes an almost inevitable frame of reference. As has been pointed out, the hegemony of Anglo-Saxon studies has led from the start to less visibility of the *other* colonial processes and structures, whose characteristics are, naturally, different. Produced and distributed primarily in the British and North-American academies by intellectuals who are *dislocated* from the so-called Third World, these theories reveal the constraints of any reading that is too centered on the most well-known Empire, representing a limitation that must be accounted for.

The creative appropriation of post-colonialism by realities that have activated and currently activate other dynamics of colonization and decolonization is then fundamental here, as witnessed by a growing attention to the potential for what these theories could represent in the understanding, in terms of Lusophony, of cultural, social, political and literary realities drawn from the processes associated with the development and fall of the Portuguese colonial Empire. In this sense, a better understanding of the specificities of the processes of colonization in Portuguese-dominated territory is needed as well as of the specificities presented by what has come to known as "Portuguese post-colonialism"⁴. This is precisely the direction of study traced over the past years for a growing number of scholars, whether from Literary Studies or the Social Sciences, like Anthropology and Sociology.

It is certainly not by chance that a number of the authors who have turned their critical attention to Portuguese post-colonialism are from the area of Comparative Literature, given that, as has been posited, the subject has embraced the challenge of reflecting on colonial and post-colonial realities. To move beyond a Eurocentric vision, it is not enough to reverse the position of the elements; as

3 O português (língua) é uma das melhores coisas que os tucas nos deixaram, porque a língua não é a prova de nada mais, senão um instrumento para os homens se relacionarem uns com os outros, é um instrumento, um meio para falar, para exprimir as realidades da vida e do mundo. (Cabral, 1974: 101)

4 This expression was first proposed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos to designate "post-colonialism in the official Portuguese language space and time" ("pós-colonialismo no espaço-tempo de língua oficial portuguesa") (Santos, 2001:40). For a critical review of Sousa Santos' views on the matter, cf. Fonseca, 2012: 118-122 and 254-260.

Eduardo F. Coutinho has written,

the current comparatists who question the hegemony of the colonizers' cultures are abandoning the dichotomous paradigm and are throwing themselves in the exploration of the plurality of open roads that result from the contact between colonizer and the colonized. The consequence is that they find themselves before a hermetic but proficuous maze, generated by the de-hierarchization of elements involved in the process of comparison, and their greatest task is to deal with the open construction of this voyage of discovery without defined limits.⁵

Overcoming dichotomous perspectives is veritably no small task but it is the necessary condition so that post-colonial analysis is not limited to a mere exchange of the order of the factors, where the center cedes to the periphery without respectively altering the procedures for analysis and the hierarchized conception of cultures. Similarly, the provisory acceptance of the concept of Lusophony presupposes consideration of the historicity of the Portuguese language in the sense that the appropriation of the language on the part of the colonized people destabilizes the power relations intended by the imperial orthodoxy. The cannibalization of the Portuguese language truly reveals the transgression that is possible in the border space, much as the words of Eduardo Lourenço remind us in the beginning of this reflection.

3. World literature and post-coloniality

As a form of resistance to the imposition of a cultural and linguistic frame of reference in the ancient imperial center, a group of writers and intellectuals, including Amin Maalouf and Édouard Glissant, published a manifesto in 2007 (*Pour une – "Littérature-monde" en français*) that proclaimed the "The end of "francophone" literature - and the birth of a world literature in French." They were inspired by the intellectuals of the English language, the "translated men" (to use the expression of Salman Rushdie) who had migrated to countries like England or the United States, or who had been born there. These writers observed that "this strange disparity that relegated them to the margins, themselves 'francophones', an exotic hybrid barely tolerated, while the children of the former British empire were, with complete legitimacy, taking possession of English letters." (AAVV, 2010: 288) The language thus would gain autonomy, freeing itself of a nationalist leaning that tied it to the idea of an "owner of the language" – the old imperial center, in this case, France:

With the center placed on an equal plane with other centers, we're witnessing the birth of a new constellation, in which language freed from its exclusive pact with the nation, free from every other power hereafter but the powers of poetry and the imaginary, will have no frontiers but those of the spirit. (AAVV, 2010: 300)

This is not meant to be a transposition of the concept of *Francophonie* to that of *Lusofonia*, although it is important to recognize this gesture of autonomization towards a national language, often considered to be a reference, in face of "exotic" or deviant forms. The constitution of new centers, other than the old colonial topographies, constitutes an affirmation of the legitimacy of the realization of other forms of saying and telling, without breaking with the linguistic identity while

⁵ os comparatistas actuais que questionam a hegemonia das culturas colonizadoras abandonam o paradigma dicotómico e lançam-se na exploração da pluralidade de caminhos abertos como resultado do contacto entre colonizador e colonizado. A consequência é que eles se vêem diante de um labirinto, hermético, mas proficuo, gerado pela desierarquização dos elementos envolvidos no processo de comparação, e a sua tarefa maior passa a residir precisamente nessa construção em aberto, nessa viagem de descoberta sem marcos definidos. (Coutinho, 2001:320)

opening it to new shapes.

The concept of world literature⁶ actually accentuates the transversal character of the literary phenomenon, since its first construct in the 19th century (*weltliteratur*) when Goethe announced the beginning of a new era to Eckermann in 1827, one marked by the dilution of national borders in literary studies⁷.

In *What Is World Literature?* (2003), David Damrosch defends that the issues raised by world literature are primarily related to the circulation and reception of literary texts which, as such, are no longer confined to a space or language. This Harvard academic finds that world literature includes all the texts that circulate beyond their culture of origin, be they translations or in their original language, meaning whenever a work of literature is actively present in a literary system outside of its original culture. Naturally, the existence of a single canon is not accepted and, consequently, that of a single way to read all of texts or even a single text in different moments. Of particular interest is his observation that this literature is vulnerable to ideological manipulation: “works by non-Western authors or by provincial or subordinate Western writers are always particularly liable to be assimilated to the immediate interests and agendas of those who edit, translate, and interpret them.” (Damrosch, 2003:24-25)

In the same vein, Franco Moretti alerts us as to the inequalities in the field of world literature, reminding us that the destiny of a culture (generally a culture of the periphery) is altered by the cultures “at the center”, which simply do not know or even ignore the periphery (Moretti, 2010: 56). Moretti questions the *close reading* practiced in North American literary studies, which focus on a very restricted canon, to propose what he calls a *distant reading*, a way of Reading and interpretation of literary texts that focus on units that are bigger or smaller than the text: processes, topics, tropes – or genres and systems. This would lead to a type of “voluntary impoverishment”, which is the price to pay for trying to understand the entire literary system (Moretti, 2010:57-58).

Moretti’s ideas have been widely criticized and accused especially for distancing the texts and thus contradicting the very defense of world literature from their own cultural specificity. According to Gayatri Spivak (2003), this orientation toward the global can actually lead to the death of comparative literature by threatening the literary polyphony of the planet. The questions of language and translation are particularly central in this field, where distinct theories presenting differing points of view as to the effects of the latest in literary work. For example, while for Spivak, the study of world literature in translation can imply the impoverishing of both linguistic wealth and the political power of texts, others note that new contexts and languages can imply new meanings without losing sight of the conditions under which the texts were produced.

The study of world literature, which began in the European and North American academies, has reached other parts of the world, including Africa, Asia, Latin America, and other territories which are generally considered to be the “periphery”. Regardless of this comparative position, the recognition of the implications of reading outside of the context of origin is fundamental, as they bring distinct processes from those which were developed to be interpreted within the Western canon. Neither can the valorization of plurilingualism and translation be ignored in a context in which language is held to be a superlative identity mark.

6 The original Portuguese expression is adopted in its hyphenated form (*literatura-mundo*), in accordance with that proposed by Helena Buescu (2012), who traces the historical course of the concept and whose critical discussion of its use in the context of *literature in Portuguese* is theoretically well-sustained.

7 “Nowadays, national literature doesn’t mean much: the age of world literature is beginning, and everybody should contribute to hasten its advent.” (*apud* Moretti, 2010:54).

4. African meanderings (in the Portuguese language)

This takes us back to the space of the literatures expressed in Portuguese to consider some texts where the idea of dislocation, or meandering, is particularly present. Helena Buescu (2012:45 e ss.) has noted that the narratives of migration, or the case of migrant writers, raises an issue of the questions of cosmopolitanism, the refusal of binary descriptions, loss of the mother tongue or power arrangements. Withdrawing from a conception of literature as exclusively centered on the national frame of reference or on the use of a national language, as previously described, the concept of world literature “enhances the possibility of conceiving different maps of literary production to relativize the existence of a static hierarchy to highlight a movement which is more rhizomatic” (Buescu, 2012:48).⁸

Literary production by the essayist Ruy Duarte de Carvalho (1941-2010), an Angolan writer who was also a poet, anthropologist, regent farmer and filmmaker is exemplary for this context. Having grown up in the Namibe, in the south of Angola, his life was marked by meanderings, from the periods when he was studying and then lecturing in European and North American universities to the trips that he took around Angola and Brazil, to mention just a few spaces, from whence came a number of his books, such as *Desmedida. Crónicas do Brasil*, one of his last narratives. There we find the following quote which reveals the importance of travelling for Ruy Duarte de Carvalho:

I flounder in the questions that travel raises in me and, to be able to go on, I register it all in the arithmetical and comfortable evidence that we Angolans and Brazilians, blacks, Indians, whites or of any other mark/brand are all today a product of the colonial phenomenon or children of the Western expansion. We have had different independences, different histories both before and after our independences, but we are all part, although clearly each one in his way, of the same substance that bubbles in the cauldron of our common or differentiated futures (...). (Carvalho, 2008: 201)⁹

This author’s words evoke precisely the network of interferences, contacts, movements, and dislocations previously noted (rhizome), demonstration that also but not only in literature does each one of the writings in Portuguese construct itself in confrontation with and in relation to *other writings*, be they of the colonial frame of reference or not, in Portuguese or in other languages – recognizing that a shared history creates affinities and tension that cannot be ignored by the comparatists.

A trip is also the topic of *Vou lá visitar pastores* (1999), where although only one territory is presented, hybridism of cultures, languages and landscapes evoke this “common substance” that impassions the author. In addition to the four divisions of the book – Memories, collocations / Trips and encounters: figures / Ethnographies, torrents / Decipherings, challenges¹⁰ -, there is a *post-scriptum* and a glossary as well as illustrations by the author himself. While it is not easily classifiable, since it is somewhere between an anthropological study, a travel narrative, and fiction, this work covers the travels of the writer through Kuvale territory in the south of Angola, beyond the Namibe meridian (former Moçâmedes) to the banks of the Kunene. The author’s strategy is the “transcription” of a collection of cassettes in which the narrator describes his notes of the voyage to a supposed journalist who could not accompany him on the incursion into territory of the other (the Kuvale) to better

8 “destaca a possibilidade de conceber diferentes mapas da produção literária, relativizando a existência de uma hierarquia pré-fixa e sublinhado um movimento de natureza mais rizomática” (Buescu, 2012:48).

9 Fico-me pelas interrogações que a viagem me suscita e, para poder também eu seguir em frente, inscrevo tudo nessa aritmética e cómoda evidência de que nós angolanos e brasileiros, negros, índios, brancos ou de qualquer outra marca, somos todos, hoje, produto do fenómeno colonial ou filhos da expansão ocidental. Tivemos independências diferentes, tivemos histórias diferentes tanto antes das nossas independências como depois delas, mas fazemos todos parte, embora sem dúvida cada um à sua maneira, da mesma substância que borbulha no caldeirão dos nossos futuros comuns ou diferenciados (...). (Carvalho, 2008: 201)

10 Memórias, colocações / Viagens e encontros: figuras / Etnografias, torrentes / Decifrações, desafios.

understand the human, physical, and cultural landscape.

As a narrative of discovery, the elements of oral tradition are strengthened in this text which fully assumes the crossing of genres and challenges the barriers between the literary and the documental, the oral and the written. As a reflection on the country under construction that was (and is) Angola, *Vou lá visitar pastores* carries a transnational and transborder dimension that, as we have seen, is repeated in other works by the same author. Ruy Duarte de Carvalho's writing clearly has a conception of culture and identity which is interwoven in a discourse of affirmation of diversity and complementarity in a tapestry in which the post-colonial is affirmed as a (re)creative force without the reductionism of binary perspectives.

The literary works of José Eduardo Agualusa also show a taste for meanderings; since the writer inhabits multiple spaces, he is a traveler in distinct traditions and landscapes. In *As Mulheres de Meu Pai* (2007), Agualusa presents a hybrid and structurally complex work in which the narrative voice of three characters – Laurentina, her boyfriend Mandume, and Albino Magaio, the driver from Luanda – alternate with the voice of the narrator-author who announces in the first pages his purpose, that of making a film, to “tell the story of a Portuguese documentarist who travels to Luanda to attend the funeral of his father, Faustino Manso, the famous Angolan singer and composer” (Agualusa, 2007:23).¹¹ The fictional construct develops as the characters travel along the coast of Southern Africa, reconstituting the course of the musician, in a course that also represents a self-discovery for the protagonist, of his affects, his conflicts, his cultural roots, and his biological origins.

In this work, the margins of the Angolan nation are brought together to interweave a discourse that is hybrid and transnational, as is the habit of this author's writing. The wanderings of the characters – themselves hybrid – constitutes a course in the quest for an identity that is necessarily multiple and “on the road to” – in a state of creative incompleteness.

To conclude, the concept of world literature, taken as a “way of reading” that opens up the understanding of literary text beyond the limits of a nation language and the borders of a nation, can represent an extremely enriching approach to what is generally considered the Lusophony or the universe of literatures which are expressed in Portuguese. As productive itinerancies, the texts cross each other in the space of encounters and tensions, which, like Ruy Duarte de Carvalho or José Eduardo Agualusa, are *passengers in transit*¹², as they have shown so well.

Glissant (2011:105) wrote that “(...) for a people, speaking their language or their languages is, first of all, to be free through them, to produce at every level, which is to say concretize, make visible, to themselves and to others, their relation with the world”.¹³ The relation that is being tried out in Lusophony can only be, thus, a space that is “multipolar, intrinsically de-centered” (Lourenço, 1999:188), where each of the subject opens to the listening of the other, without pretension of communion or universalism or even, to conclude with a synthesis by Eduardo Lourenço, that “old *mythically common* house which is everyone's and yet nobody's” (Lourenço, 1999: 192).¹⁴

11 “contar a história de uma documentarista portuguesa que viaja até Luanda para assistir ao funeral do pai, Faustino Manso, famoso cantor e compositor angolano” (Agualusa, 2007:23).

12 *Passageiros em Trânsito* is the title of a collection of chronicles from José Eduardo Agualusa, published in 2006.

13 “(...) para um povo, falar a sua língua ou as suas línguas é, antes de mais, ser livre através delas, produzir a todos os níveis, isto é, concretizar, tornar visível, para si mesmo e para os outros, o seu relacionamento com o mundo”.

14 “antiga casa *miticamente comum* por ser de todos e de ninguém” (Lourenço, 1999: 192).

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SESSION 11

COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGIES, COLONISATION AND DECOLONISATION 2

Abstract: Departing from the observation that the blogosphere is nowadays a powerful communication space between Lusophone citizens - users of Portuguese language constitute the fifth largest language community on the Internet (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010) - this paper presents some findings of a study that sought to examine the contents of fifteen blogs, Brazilian Mozambican and Portuguese, in relation to representations of the Lusophony.

The results show that many aspects of the Portuguese colonial empire long history, from its achievements to its vicissitudes, are reminded, communicated and discussed in order to justify points of view, whether favorable or unfavorable, about the meaning of a Lusophone community. Regarding it as a kind of imperial extension, both its advocates (usually nostalgic Portuguese on their supposedly glorious historical past), as its detractors (mostly Africans and Brazilians who preserve the memory of a past of domination), tend to produce simplified representations that result in tensions and misunderstandings. Consequently, there is confusion between the nowadays geo-cultural community of Lusophony and its own past. This confusion is connected with the crossing of the independent present of those who speak, think and feel in Portuguese with the colonial past, which led them to the meeting of their cultures. In fact, on the blogosphere, lusophony is emphasized, on one hand, as a Portuguese colonial empire heritage and, on the other hand, as an unequivocal proof of its radical disappearance. It is concluded that such a diversity of representations can turn this “imagined community” into a “imaginative community.”

Keywords: Lusophony; Blogosphere; “Imagined Community”; “Imaginative Community”.

Introduction: Blogosphere and cultural transformations

The new communicational order, imposed by the extensive use of information and communication technologies (ICT), has determined important transformations in the modes of cultural expression in our contemporary world. In this regard, Webster (2006) notes that at no other time in history circulated as high amount of information as in these days. In the author's opinion, this phenomenon was due to the media diversification and the use of ICT, which become accessible all kinds of information to a larger part of citizens¹. However,

¹ Webster (2006) has five settings that configure analytical dimensions for understanding the paradigm of social organization that is drawn around the introduction of information and communication technologies in our experience. We present here the understanding of the author as regards the cultural setting.

The lusophony in the blogosphere: from the “imagined community” to the “imaginative community”

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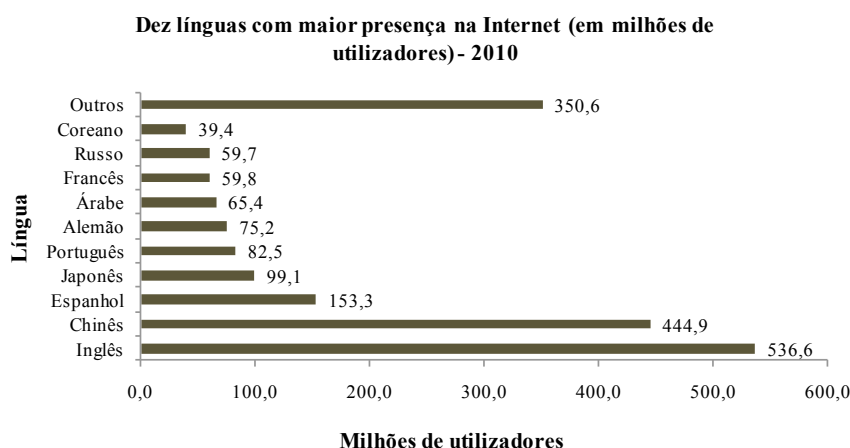
it seems pertinent to question the cultural transformations associated with this information abundance. This question makes sense because in the Castoriadis (1999) understanding, the production and reproduction of information supported by digital technologies are part of a historical moment when there is nothing really new to say². By contrast, Lévy (2003) thinks the spread of cyberspace has created favorable conditions for creative freedom in a global scale, at the present time. It dues to the multiple advantages of the internet as a communication system: low cost, real-time interaction and, mainly, expression freedom. Therefore, cyberspace is considered by Lévy as a place of empowerment, a new *agora* for political deliberation, conducting to the development of a collective intelligence able to include the diversity, and to the building of an indispensable public sphere to the intervention of a civil society with global consciousness. In this communication ecosystem emerges a huge power that escapes to the media elite authority, since, as observed Cross (2011), talented and creative people, who never had been given voice, shall take place in the mass culture, promoting its fracturing ideas and even their dreams. This happens, according to Mitra (2008), because “blogs and the space created by them can provide a sense of comfort and security that the real space can not guarantee” (p. 470). In the same line of thought, Barlow (2008) adds that blogs, as a new cultural phenomenon, represent society needs more than a technological possibility.

So, the blogosphere – i.e., the virtual sphere where all blogs are included - by portraying itself as a space for free discussion, able to generate controversy and to attract a significant part of the internet audience, is constituted as an interesting research field in the new media area. However, Lovink (2008) notices that despite the empowerment of Web 2.0 is evident, and blogs have transformed the world in many ways, the question that arises with greater relevance is not to identify but rather to interpret the transformations associated with them. Indeed, if the way people communicate determines the way they think, live and behave, as proposed by McLuhan (1964), we should put the hypothesis that we are living one of the most exciting moments in the history of communication (Anderson & Dresselhaus , 2011) and also ask ourselves if we are not facing a monumental cultural transformation (Cross , ditto). If we relate this new communicational reality with the powerful identity element that a common language can be, we will be able to think on the contribution of the blogosphere to increase the communication between people speaking the same language. And if we think in a language spoken by many millions of people, scattered all over the world, belonging to various ethnic groups and cultures, this task will be even more pertinent. According to Internet World Stats, in June 2010, 1,966,514,816 people worldwide used this communication device. Portuguese-speaking users were approximately 82,548,200, representing the fifth language community with the largest presence in cyberspace, as can be seen in the following graphic.

It is true that in a few years, thousands of blogs written in Portuguese flooded the internet, making the language of Camões, Guimarães Rosa and Pepetela one of the most influent on the World Wide Web. Thus, the new communication paradigm - the network society - seems to propose the blogosphere as a place in which networks of communication are established between people who speak, think and feel in Portuguese language. Admitting this optimistic view on the scope of communication permitted by the the blogosphere, can we perspective a space for discussion and debate where the non- institutional actors, traditionally forgotten by the media spotlight, make their voices sound? And would this space be able to encompass and preserve the diversity of cultural practices present in the places where

² Castoriadis (1999) refers to the exhaustion of creativity in the field of art and the consequent emergence of a false vanguard that does no more than support itself in plagiarism and collage.

Portuguese is spoken, ensuring tolerance and respect for differences? Since some authors (e.g. Sodr e, 1996; Wieviorka, 2002) posit that new communication devices offer opportunities for reinvention of cultures and identities, it is relevant to know how the blogosphere can transform the meaning of geo-cultural community of Lusophony, for now understood as “imagined community “ (Anderson 1994 [1983]: 6). To do so, it will be necessary to read between the lines not only the narratives about Lusophony produced on blogosphere, but also the discussions generated in this virtual space about the same issue.



Graphic 1 - Representation of ten languages with the largest presence on the Internet, millions of users (June 2010)³.

2. The “imaginative communities”

Beeson (2003) suggests that communities should develop their imaginative capacity if they want to fight against submersion in global information culture ⁴. The author notices that the electronic communities can not adequately replace the real communities, because the use of ICT should not be thought to transfer communities to the networks, but rather to preserve and strengthen themselves through the power of their imagination. To test this idea, based on the theories of imagination and action by Ricoeur, the analysis of social space by Bauman and practices of users by Certeau, the researcher developed an experimental design in which invited members of a local community to rebuild their own history and to think on their own experiences with hypermedia technology. The stories produced during this experiment showed similarities on the processing of text and image: virtuality, fluidity, adaptability, openness, duplication, networking and ability to change content. Thus, the reconstruction of the history of this community in digital network enabled the sharing of ideas and concepts and at the same time, the possibility to express the differences among its members. The observation of the researcher led him to the conclusion that this experience has encouraged the development of a moral space of interaction among participants, of a cognitive space planning and design of contents, and of an aesthetic space for invention and representations of components that allow establishing the interface. Hence Beeson (ditto) optimistically posits that, using these communication devices, “imaginative communities” (p. 125) can express and to reinvigorate its potential. The author proposes this idea because: the same story can be told in different ways; many

³ Source: Internet World Stats (www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm).

⁴ Indeed, Moreno (1970 [1934]) argued that the fate of a culture depends mainly on the creativity of the people who live it.

stories can be told at the same time; different stories can be connected; complementary and even contradictory or opposite stories can coexist in a connected way. This scenario is only possible, in his opinion, because there is no need to achieve to a final version of the story and because many different voices are heard without any editorial control. The author ends the description of this experiment, throwing a question: if the stories produced in hypermedia and transmitted over the network can promote better understanding on the life of a community can also mobilize it towards its reinvention?

The question left open by Beeson (ibid.) lead us one more time to the need for interpretation of the cultural transformations, namely those associated with communication in the blogosphere. The experience of the history and experiences reconstruction of a community in hypermedia on the network, rather than turn it into a digital community, had the effect of turning it into an “imaginative community”, able to tell, collate and integrate different stories. Consequently, the author proposes the hypothesis of this kind of communication practices can mobilize communities towards their own reinvention. This hypothesis concerns us, particularly on the understanding of the geo-cultural community of Lusophony transformations , through the production of narratives about itself in the blogosphere. In this regard, Martins, M. L. (forthcoming) emphasizes that the dissemination of information and knowledge operated by socio-technical networks, as well as its potential in terms of promoting human development, can promote a new direction for the geo-cultural community of Lusophony. Thus, in the author words (Martins, M. L., ditto: u/p),

By promoting the exchange and the debate of ideas, as well as activism in the network, in defense of social, political and cultural causes, socio-technical networks build and deepen the sense of citizenship of a community, build and deepen their critical and democratic sense. (...) Therefore, information and communication technologies allow discussing globally, in Portuguese language, Portuguese-speaking subjects. While is inquired the look with each country faces the Lusophony, is launched the challenge of opening new path, that is the difference, promise of dialogue, cooperation, peace and development.

In fact, the communication possibilities placed nowadays in the network society shatter many of the boundaries that were put, until very recently, to the Lusophone world: in the digital space networks, Portuguese-speaking internet users can meet to tell their stories, despite their geographical distances and cultural differences. With this assumption, we developed an empirical research that seeks to answer a set of questions: 1) – Which identity narratives are produced in the network for internet users who speak, think and feel in Portuguese? 2) - How the use of the networks have been transforming these narratives? 3) - The production of such narratives leads this “imagined community” to the status of “imaginative community”? 4) – What are the possibilities offered by the blogosphere to the reinvention of geo-cultural community of Lusophony?

3. The Research

This research was designed and took place between 2009 and 2012, having developed in three distinct steps. In the first step, we made the mapping of all the blogs and websites whose contents would configure identity narratives about the Lusophone community. In the second step, the networks of interaction between the mapped devices were identified. Be noted that this network identification was limited to Brazil, Mozambique and Portuguese blogospheres, for reasons connected with methodological options that will be presented below. The result of the work of these two steps intended to set up a partial Lusophone cyberspace cartography (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010). . Finally, in the third step, fifteen online blogs and websites were selected in Brazil, Mozambique

and Portugal (five per country) to conduct case studies. The choice of the three countries was designed from distinct geo-cultural realities within the Portuguese-speaking community. The first one was Brazil, the South American giant with nearly 200 years of independence within a great economic growth, which gives it the status of one of the emerging powers at the global scale. The second one was Mozambique, one of the poorest countries of the world, located in Austral Africa, and independent since 1975. The third one was Portugal, the former colonial power, a small, poor and peripheral country in the European context. Despite this, Portugal presents the best indicators of development among all Portuguese-speaking countries. A range of reasons, including budgetary, prevented the extension of the selected blogs and sites sample for conducting case studies. Moreover, we have designed multi-method research process for the conducting of case studies - which comprised not only the analysis of the narratives contained in posts, as well as face to face in-depth interviews with the bloggers - prevented the extension of the sample to a larger number of cases due to limitations of time and movement in physical space. Noted that the preparation and the conducting of the case studies took place during 2011.

The criteria for selection of fifteen blogs, five for each country, were as follows: being written from Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal; concerned on one of these countries or combine, in their approach one of these countries towards the other(s) country(ies); directly or indirectly related to issues of Lusophone thoughts, particularly on identity, social memory, intercultural relations, colonialism, post-colonial period, etc.; generate interactivity and debate between the author and the followers; contain a list of links that allows the analysis of social networks and sociability; have been updated with frequency, particularly in 2010, which reports the beginning of this research, and throughout 2011, the year in which the case studies were conducted. Departing from these criteria, we selected five online blogs and sites from each of the three reference countries - Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal – which we present briefly in Table 1. It is noted that during the time dedicated to this research, one of selected blogs for case study was transformed into a site format site: Cultura Brasil/Portugal.

Blog/Site	Country of origin	Kind of device
Lusofonia Horizontal	Brazil	Blog
Trezentos	Brazil	Blog
Cultura Brasil/Portugal	Brazil	Blog / Site
Todos os fogos o fogo	Brazil	Blog
Jornal Eletrônico Brasil Portugal	Brazil	Blog
Ma-schamba	Mozambique	Blog
Rabiscando Moçambique	Mozambique	Blog
Ximbitane	Mozambique	Blog
B'andhla	Mozambique	Blog
Contrapeso 3.0	Mozambique	Blog
Etnias: o bisturí da sociedade	Portugal	Blog
Alto Hama	Portugal	Blog
Luís Graça e Camaradas da Guiné	Portugal	Blog

Outro Portugal	Portugal	Blog
Buala - Cultura Contemporânea Africana	Portugal	Site (includes the blog “Dá fala”)

Table 1 - Selected Devices for case study

3.1. Approach to the Lusophone narratives in cyberspace

The analysis of the narratives produced on the internet about the geo-cultural community of Lusophony was guided by the theoretical and methodological principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) formulated by Van Dijk (2005). Following these principles, we analyzed the narratives in question, not as autonomous discursive structures, but as a result of interactions and situated social practices anchored in socio-historical, political and cultural relations. Thus, “more specifically, the CDA focuses on the ways in which the discourse structures put in place, confirm, justify or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (Van Dijk, *ibid.*: 20). In this sense, the analysis did not focus on formal linguistic and grammatical structures of these narratives; adopted rather an interpretive approach that would allow us to identify and analyze the main meanings that can be interpreted from these narratives. These feelings should be understood as previous in the production of the analyzed narratives. In this analysis, we also considered the effects of ownership of these narratives by the followers of the devices in the construction of conceptions around the idea of Lusophony. Being produced in the blogosphere, a place where many voices can be heard, these narratives can both express the position of dominant groups and power holders, as well as the position of groups representing counterweights.

The critical discourse analysis was developed from the identification, extraction and interpretation of a set of 45 narratives presented by selected blogs and sites for case study (three posts per blog or site), in which issues directly or indirectly related to the geo-cultural community of Lusophony were discussed. The selection of these narratives was not guided by criteria of periodization, once this would undercut the relevance of the examined narratives. So, after the diachronic reading of all posts published since the creation of the devices, we selected those which have proved to be most representative, regardless of its date of publication. At the end of the collection, it was found that the 45 selected posts were published between 2007 and 2011, most of them on the last year, coincidentally, the completion of the case studies. The analysis of the narratives was complemented by the analysis of the interviews with the bloggers. For consistency reasons, these were also analyzed according to the guidelines of the CDA. Indeed, according to this approach, the speeches can not be separated from those who produce them, if we want to understand the power relations translated by them. Thus, the overall results of this analysis will be presented crossing the posts and the interviews information.

3.2. Overall Results

The results show that identity narratives produced in the digital space by internet users who speak, think and feel in Portuguese language are actually diverse, representing different voices. Often, these narratives are really alternative to the dominant currents narratives broadcasted by traditional media. It was possible to verify, for example, that the posts extracted for analysis demonstrated contradictory discourses on the idea of Lusophony, that go towards the opposition between its acceptance and its rejection, as well as the opposition between its promotion and its deconstruction. From the posts analysis, also emerged some ideas about the different centralities of Lusophone community,

the different uses of the Portuguese language and the different meanings of cultural interactions in this community, which lead us to discourses that are not present beyond the digital sphere. Thus, this research brought to light some of the many stories that are told in the digital networks on the history and the experiences of Portuguese-speaking people. Once linked and compared, these different stories point to the need to rethink the meaning of geo-cultural community of Lusophony. Indeed, the analyzed narratives present on one hand, Lusophony as a Portuguese colonial empire heritage and, on the other hand, Lusophony as a clear proof of its radical disappearance.

The results obtained from this research also emphasizes the strengthening of the geo-cultural community of Lusophony through the use of imagination in networks. According to the interviewed bloggers, Portuguese language cyberspace addressed by this research presents high-quality, well-designed devices, promoting discussions between the authors and their followers. This perception was confirmed by research, linking the development of ethical, cognitive and esthetic construction of the Lusophone cyberspace dimensions. We underline that these dimensions were proposed by Beeson (*ibid.*) to the identification of the emergence of “ imaginative communities “ in digital networks. Consequently, it will be possible to propose the idea that the path taken by these networks for the geo-cultural community of Lusophony, a collective still conceived as “imagined community “, potentiates its progressive evolution to the status of “imaginative community”. Hence, one can profile the possibility of its reinvention in the digital space, which is given by the blogosphere.

4. Conclusions

The research results still cannot be taken as conclusive, suggesting only the interpretation of possibilities. It should be recalled that the research, besides taking object a community in which infoexclusion rates are still high, was methodologically limited to a certain time and limited space. Partial mapping of Lusophone cyberspace was validated for the period between July and September 2010. For its part, the case studies were conducted during the year 2011 . Thus, the possibilities of reinventing geo-cultural community of Lusophony must be interpreted in the narrow horizon of this year and through empirical research, because the communication dynamics between Portuguese-speaking Internet users in the digital networks were not monitored during the subsequent time. There is also the stress spatially circumscribed the scope of this research, by diverse limitations, was seen confined to the study of blogs originating in Brazil, Portugal and Mozambique. Consequently, the narrow sample representativeness of the selected devices, when opposed to the vast universe of which it was extracted, leads to the research results are valid only for the interpretation of the dynamics occurring in the cyberspace of the reference countries of cyberspace. So, the interpretation of the results cannot be framed into the risky field of extrapolation. To move from proposition of possibilities to proposition of scientifically proven facts will require empirical research presented here meet significant advances, particularly in the expansion and diversification of the studied sample, either by adding blogs and websites from other Portuguese-speaking countries, either through inclusion of a greater number cases for study. Also emphasize that the presentation of more definitive conclusions from this type of research requires also extending the time for monitoring devices.

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Abstract: The aim of the present study was to investigate the experience of identity formation through technological appropriation on behalf of women in hip-hop groups. This study seeks to understand how these women deal with production mechanisms of musical, social and technological content. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has contributed to the promotion of new models of sociability. Interactivity breaks down barriers between people, making those who receive become subjects/issuers of knowledge. The dissemination of hip-hop culture in the context of the urban peripheries of Brazilian cities has brought to light the culture of the ghetto. Young black and mixed-race women produce lyrics for music, graffiti, movies, videos and blogs, based on life in the community and territorial experiences. They adhere to a style and aesthetic that identifies them as a cultural, generational and ethnic-racial group.

Keywords: Information and Communication Technology (ICT); Gender and racial identity; Hip-Hop; juvenile media activism

1. Narrative of Swing

For most women in the world, the Society of Information provides a place unlike any other in which to affirm their citizenship and renegotiate their social relationships. [...] One simple task to deal with gender and development in the information society is to create a new discourse that not only confronts dichotomies and hierarchies, but also places gender clearly within specific contexts, recognizing the reality and the multiple aspirations of women. (Anita Gurumurth, 2006)

From childhood, I believed that I would teach and write. (Bell hooks, 1994)

In the black diaspora, music, an inheritance stimulated by descendants in the Americas and the Caribbean, represents a way of understanding or a lifestyle. It goes beyond this, working as a battle flag against social oppression. In African tradition, music is ever-present from the time of birth to adolescent rituals, weddings, harvests, festivals and in death. Thus, by focusing on music and its immanence as a link in building an identity and producing and reproducing black culture (GILROY, 2001, p.16), it is hoped that an understanding of the production mechanisms of musical, social and technological content will be found, with a view to analyzing the role of culture, technology and the

Brown-skinned girl/ woman: media experiences and cultural identities in hip hop

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media as mediators in the creation of cultural identities and social and political movements. In the contemporary scenario of fragmented identities, valuing local knowledge and global exchange, youth culture modeled on technology has become fundamental to understanding sociability models constituted by and of technological devices. It is also understood that other forms of access to culture were and still are restricted, due to the lack of cinemas, theatres, libraries, cultural centers, or the difficulty in visiting them beyond urban centers. This policy is changing slowly, with the inauguration of stores, cultural centers and initiatives started by community groups in several peripheral areas of Brazilian metropolises. This involves intense participation on behalf of the poverty-stricken youth through partnerships and social projects, which were developed to improve the quality of life and exercise among young citizens.

In this sense, the search for a space for the voice, expression, appearance, visibility and recognition has taken place using technology as the fundamental resource to capture the discourse, desires and yearnings of minority groups. This is a narrative model that intends to reveal other female views and perceptions about youth which are rarely heard in the mass media.

The principal aim of the present text is to understand the relationships established between young black women in the hip-hop scene and information and communication technology (ICT) as a support for social interaction and the citizenship of gender. This study seeks to comprehend how these women deal with the production mechanisms of musical, social, technological and media content as mediators in the construction of a cultural identity and in the social lives of those involved in the hip-hop movement.

2. Women Talk

Are girls, for reasons unknown, absent or not involved in the youth sub-culture? Or is there some problem in the way this type of study is conducted which makes them invisible? (MCROBBIE; GARBER, 1975).

“Hip-hop is a way of making yourself heard.” (Sao Paulo Rapper)

Cultural studies is an exciting and “hot” field of study. It has become the rage among progressives of all sorts-not least because culture as a theme or topic of study has replaced society as the general subject of inquiry among progressives.

Cultural studies have made their presence felt in academic work within the arts, the humanities, the social sciences and even science and technology. It appears to be everywhere and everyone seems to be talking about it (SARDAR & LOON, 1997, p.3).

In accordance with studies by different authors, the affinity of cultural studies and gender studies is due to communication. Studies developed in the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in England focus on culture and its interfaces in the relationship with society and social transformations. Cultural analysis is carried out based on a historical perspective. Focusing the analysis on the working classes, where women are in the majority and are usually the head of the family, proved to be an appropriate theoretical framework/methodology to analyze the types of cultural resistance developed by young women of the hip-hop movement.

The formulations produced by cultural studies were primordial to feminism studies, particularly those that showed how concepts of gender and race are culturally constructed to marginalize women and minority groups (SCHULMAN, 2004, p.211). Another characteristic is the diversity of schools, theories and active models linked with social movements, especially feminism. In the 1990's,

communication studies were strongly influenced by feminist theories, reflecting the gender studies of the 1960's (SILVEIRINHA & ALVAREZ, 2008).

The main characteristics of cultural studies are the following: openness and theoretical diversity; a reflective spirit and especially, critical importance (Johnson, 2004, p.10). Culture does not only play a “residual or mere reflex” role. It pervades all social practices as an intrinsic and common form of human activity. This activity, which is performed by both men and women, creates history (HALL, 2003, p.142). It is not isolated; it is part of an “intricate set of social practices and these practices, as a form of human activity, shape the course of history” (SOUZA, 2004, p. 249). This emphasis on cultural processes supported by the historical context subsidizes analysis of the intricate relationships of cultural production in and by minority groups in Brazilian society, at a time of discovery and appreciation of popular culture. This emphasizes the independence of the receiver as a subject and breaks away from functional reduction, the perception of intent and the desires of the receiver.

The discovery of the role of culture among minority groups and its connection with society is an elementary source in cultural studies. The complexities of culture and intra-society relationships reveal the convergence of these interests for the area in question. Cultural strategies can make a difference and consequently, displace or overthrow those in power. Therefore, we must focus on the political questions that are contained in relationships of power and in political culture, which is responsible for the way cultural production is treated.

Cultural production is the form that has exhibited the strongest appeal, in terms of resistance and recognition, for the youth in the peripheries of large Brazilian cities. The practice of effusive discourse seems to force the entry of these young actors into a public sphere. It also sows anger and rebellion, elements of resistance that involve the struggle for democracy in its fullness, and which can contribute to the creation of alternative spaces for participation and the extension of spaces for the black community, which could be essentially allied to the special political power of the traditional music of the diaspora.

The inter-relationship between culture, communication and cultural processes in Latin America is the main focus of studies by Martin-Barbero (2001). This transition of media signs in a cultural context demonstrates the relationship between communication and culture, which is found within politics, whereas communication is found within culture. This is what happens when the theoretical approach of cultural studies seeks to understand politics and the economy. For the author, culture is found within politics and communication is found within culture. The focus is the process and its complexity. It no longer focuses on the object. Inter-disciplinary dialogue with other areas of human sciences, including cultural studies, is the conceptual basis of perspective. Barbero (2001) sought to understand the incorporation of the working class into the market of cultural industry through dialogue with the social and human sciences. The author wanted to understand the inter-relationship between culture, politics and the economy, resulting in innovative analysis about cultural and communication phenomena in Latin America.

3. Minas Techno

The activities of women who get involved in hip-hop, youths from the urban peripheries, has become increasingly important, together with projects that integrate digital technology, communication, culture and citizenship. Media reception and production bring the work of young black working class women onto the scene through the mediation provided by technological devices. They change from being message receivers to producers of content and knowledge.

This will be consumed by other young people who find resonance in these discourses for their

voices and yearnings. Therefore, it becomes necessary to understand the forms of appropriation and acquisition of messages produced by them and for them.

The universe of culture appears as a privileged space for the activities of the youth. Music is the activity that gets them most involved and most mobilized. This opinion is supported by Trícia Rose who analyzed hip-hop in the USA and in the Caribbean, recognizing in this culture a space thriving on the idea of liberating the youth from oppression, a lack of opportunities and post-industrial society:

All over America, post-industrial urban conditions reflect a complex set of global forces which gave rise to the contemporary urban metropolis. The growth of multinational telecommunications networks, the great technological revolution, the competition of the global economy, the formation of new and international job divisions, the growing production power of the financial market and new forms of immigration from industrialized nations of the third world have contributed to the social and economic restructuring of urban America. These global forces have had a direct and sustainable impact on the structures offering urban jobs and have led the final consequences to already existing forms of racial and gender discrimination, thereby contributing to the growth of the corporate control of multinationals, market conditions and the health of the national economy (ROSE, 1997, p, 195).

The history of music as a space for resistance originates in the black North-American population with the appearance of blues and jazz. A Brazilian example is *samba*, a popular art which has played the same role. It first appeared in the state of Bahia, but spread after arriving in the suburbs and slums of Rio de Janeiro. In other words, it migrated from the periphery of the country to the periphery of the city of Rio de Janeiro, where the majority of the population has black, brown or mixed skin tones.

This type of music, which was initially persecuted, entered the culture industry when it was discovered and recognized by the urban middle class of Rio de Janeiro. Nowadays, *samba* is no longer a “marginalized” demonstration. It has become part of the culture industry and part of the culture of Brazil. Music and dance are cultural demonstrations that were transported to the Americas by the black African diaspora. In this new territory, they continued to represent cultural identity and they became more expressive. Sometimes, they recreated the original, as described by Muniz Sodré:

Analogies between jazz and *samba* are possible, not because of the simple morphological traces of the two musical forms, but due to the identity and symbolic processes driven by black culture in the diaspora. [...] Among blacks, whether in Africa or from the slave diaspora, expressive games such as music and dance are articulated simultaneously with games of space and mimetic games that periodically stimulate another identity (SODRÉ, 1988, p.140).

As indicated by the black historian and militant, Lélia Gonzalez, the first black membership organizations appeared shortly after abolition and were known as “entities”. They were divided into black recreation entities and black mass culture entities, both of which operated on a membership basis. The *samba* schools of Rio de Janeiro are a massive cultural model, the activities of which are controlled by the state:

[...] exactly because they mobilized the masses, in our view, they were always the object of great control by the “authorities”. Cultural entities of the masses have been of great importance in terms of using culture, and at the same time being able to exercise practical politics, preparing the advent of black ideological movements (GONZALEZ, 1982, p.22).

According to Gonzalez (1982, p.22), “these two types of black entities were based on two types of decisions: assimilationism and cultural practice”. Thus, this indicates a certain “imprisonment” of this type of entity and their activities, due to their dependence on subventions conceded by the state.

The author defends the two practices as successful models of mobilization. According to the Black Brazilian Front (FNB), thousands of blacks were mobilized between 1931 and 1938. The efficacy of these two concepts is associated with the fact that culture and politics require joint action. When isolated, they are meaningless and empty:

Thus, we can reflect on the question of the dissemination of hip-hop culture in the context of the urban peripheries of Brazilian cities, which involves young women producing music, graffiti, films, videos, blogs etc. They produce culture based on life in their community, territorial experiences and the scarcity of material goods, as well as the abundant attitude of solidarity and transformation. This contributes to the search for and/or adhesion to a style and an esthetic that identifies them as one of a social, ethnic or generational group, usually strengthening them and confirming their identity.

Brazil contains close to 50.2 million young people, which represents 26.4% of the country's population. Black women make up close to 25% of the population. They also make up the base of the economic pyramid of a society where being born as a poor, black woman means dealing with threefold discrimination. Sexism, racism and class hierarchy are factors that are preponderant in maintaining the social and racial asymmetry in which the black woman is the target of the greatest discrimination, according to Antônia Aparecida Quintão:

When we cross the gender factor and the ethnic factor, we can confirm the exclusion of black women from positions of political and economic power, which have been achieved by white women. All of the weight of colonial heritage falls on the black woman. The patriarchal system is solidly supported by white male superiority, with the following scale of values: political, economic and socio-cultural power is a privilege of the white-skinned male; next in line comes the white female, who is of less value; under her comes the black male, with the black female positioned in the most undervalued layer of the Brazilian population (QUINTÃO, 2004, p. 54).

Economic inequality may restrict women's access to better life conditions and the chance to exercise their social rights. This restriction is reflected in access to education and the production of knowledge, focusing on the digital divide of the gender.

On the other hand, the advent of web 2.0 has contributed to the appearance of blogs, lists and networks that address black female questions. Initiatives such as the Female Hip-Hop Network, Hip-Hop woman, *Soulsista*, *Eu, mulher preta*, *Mulheres jovens feministas*, *Webnequinha* and *Blog da Cidinha*, to list but a few, demonstrate the presence of black imagery. These women write, sing, play, discuss, produce and integrate independently, without mediation by institutions.

This is a form of visual discourse that favors positive representations of women and men, contributing to affirmative models that focus on looking at, promoting and appreciating black esthetics. The topics addressed include questions related to art, gender, love, health, literature, poetry and social rights.

The production of decentralized content enables the presence of many producers writing for many users. It is pluralized production, different from the "one for many" idea that is common in mass society. Using these methods, specialists write and produce discourse for a greater number of individuals. However, the same scenario that favors collective production involves accentuated digital division, as explained by Wood:

The difficulty of access to new information and communication technologies for women involves both the simple access to equipment and software and the need to access resources that are significant for women (WOOD, 2005, p.50).

The author reiterates that the changes should arise from actions developed by the women themselves:

Resources for women, useful and relevant, will not appear unless they work to create them (usually in very difficult situations) (WOOD, 2005, p.50).

The (re) interpretation of discourse demands semantic, subjective and local involvement and proximity. Texts produce other debates, enabling other voices to be heard in the multiplicity that marks the collective deed. At this point, we refer to the creation of notebooks, books and musical lyrics. In the article *Hip Hop Woman: experiences of organization*, Tiely Queen and Fernanda Sonega spoke about the political action developed in urban spaces, marked by the strong presence of young people who claim to transform the structure and organization of the city. The participation of women in several parts of society is notable, as well as their role in cultural demonstrations that take place in urban spaces.

4. Final Considerations

The experiences of the young black women of the hip-hop movement demonstrate an emancipation model in the social / ideological use of communication and technology as a force against hegemony. Cultural movements in the periphery of cities, the initial location of the actions, demand social transformation related to culture, conscious of the importance of this social right in human life. Cultural expressions are also sources of identity formation, the redemption of cultural traditions, social and digital inclusion, as well as creating awareness of the exclusion process of underprivileged black women. They are used strategically as a support foundation and as motivators of economic, social and cultural processes. They get their livelihood from culture, while cultivating a positive self-image, exchanging knowledge, obtaining qualifications and expanding their horizons.

These are the experiences of transgressive women trying to occupy a male dominated environment with their head, body and limbs raised in search of equal rights. To do so, they face barriers imposed by the triad of gender, color and generation. These elements help them to mediate, in different spaces of socialization, how they construct their identities and how they perceive themselves in society.

Among the prerogatives of political and social activism on the internet, there are notable groups that mutually identify each other through common interests and commitments. Therefore, the production of new forms of culture and media operates as an agent of mobilization for new political actions. Thus, the actions developed by women involved in hip-hop (campaigns and mobilizations) make them public protagonists in political debate and action. Groups that are active in cyberspace seek new models of communication exchange and the production of information focused on common interests.

This continuum creates “networks within networks”, which is considered “innovative”, since it promotes communication between different groups with similar views of the world (MORAES, 2001, p.2).

In turn, the creation of cultural products provides women with new forms of social inclusion and makes their presence felt in the world. These productions place them in contact with professionals specialized in different areas of the cultural world.

In addition, it contributes to their adaptation to the technologized environment, which may culminate in other political actions. They create opportunities to express themselves and their voices through a virtual network and consequently, they achieve social visibility and recognition of their individual and collective existence.

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Abstract: The objective of this paper is to organize a reasoning that discusses about the counterintuitive advertising concept and the reflexes that this narrative can operate to dislocate and update the stereotype regarding the black social category. With such perspective, the methodological development satisfies an exploratory research with interdisciplinary character based on the theories of Communication Sciences, focusing on advertising, mainly on the analyses of the media culture effects (Douglas Kellner, 2001). Other fundamental contributions that give support to the discussions proceed from cultural studies performed by Homi Komi Bhabha (2003) about the stereotype issue and its strategic use in social conflicts between the pedagogic and performance discourses. Finally, in order to direct the studied thoughts, knowledge on social psychology literature with cognitive basis is added with regard to stereotypes and their activation, and also the possible ways to rethink and modify them.

Keywords: counterintuitive advertising; stereotype; discourse; cultural studies; communication effects.

1. Introduction

Studies about counterintuitive advertising communication and its effects on essentialist stereotypes¹ (LEITE, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2011; LEITE and BATISTA, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b and FRY, 2002) have been building a coherent interdisciplinary repertory. This happens by the articulation of, mainly, theories on the communication effects and literature knowledge on social psychology with cognitive basis concerning the psychic and social efforts to movement the contents of stereotypes.

Thus, the conjunction of these theoretical perspectives is making possible to edify one questioning thought about the

¹ The definition of stereotype, social stigma, prejudice, and discrimination has already been discussed in other papers (see Leite, 2008a). However, it is worth briefly mentioning for the reader the stereotype conceptual understanding in order to provide information that guide his/her reading of articulated ideas in this article. The word stereotype comes from the typographic vocabulary and was introduced in Social Sciences by the North-American journalist Walter Lippmann in his work: *Public Opinion* (1922). In such paper, he gave emphasis to the importance of mental images to interpret the occurrences of the First World War (from 1914 to 1918), by means of the development of a research that gathered data about the images that several social groups had about each other. The stereotype in Lippmann studies consists in the attribution of some characteristics to people that belong to certain groups, which receive specific and fixed aspects. However, the stereotype concept used in this article meets the update contemporaneous perspectives of its social approach, which understands it as “socially built human artifacts transmitted from generation to generation not only through direct contacts between the several social agents, but also created and reinforced by communication means that can change the impressions about the groups in several meanings” (PEREIRA, 2002: 157).

The Brazilian counterintuitive advertising and its discursive performance in stereotypes

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repercussions that the media productions may develop on spaces and practices of reception, from the moment that subjects interact with such advertising messages. In this process, the possibility of weakness and of new meaning for the negative beliefs² that nourish the structures of the traditional stereotypes should be considered.

The counterintuitive narrative is a proposal of the advertising field to promote, through its plots, other world perceptions and views with regard to stereotypes³ inscribed to social minorities. The expected objective is that advertising stories produced on such approach provide the society with more positive information and meanings on the reality of subjects considered victims of the negative stereotypes with “demonic repetition” (BHABHA, 2003: 105).

Meanwhile, this article has as its aim to arrange a reasoning that presents this distinguished advertising strategic resource in the Brazilian context. It discusses about the possible effects its narrative can produce to modify the cultural repertoires that condition the manifestation of the essentialist stereotypes in the ‘black’ social category in Brazil.

With such perspective, the methodological development satisfies an exploratory research with interdisciplinary character based on communication theories, focusing on advertising, mainly on the analyses of the media culture effects (Mauro Wolf, 2005 and Douglas Kellner, 2001). Other fundamental contributions that give support to the discussions proceed from cultural studies performed by Homi Komi Bhabha (2003) about the stereotype issue and its strategic use in social conflicts between the pedagogic and performance discourses. Finally, in order to direct the studied thoughts, knowledge on social psychology literature with cognitive basis is added with regard to stereotypes and their activation, and also the possible ways to change them.

2. Stereotypes: between the pedagogic and performance discourses

In the scope of discourse, Bhabha’s cultural studies about the West postcolonial culture⁴ also collaborate on the discussion regarding social stereotypes concept. In his analyses, the author considers stereotype a discursive strategy, that is “a kind of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always in the known ‘place’ and something that should be anxiously repeated [...]” (BHABHA, 2003: 105).

For him, stereotypes are built through permanent narrative fights that are performed in culture locations⁵ through the power verticalization between social groups. In such dispute, the social hegemonic discourse makes use of the stereotyped strategy to identify and disqualify, with a lower mark, the minority groups. By doing this, thus, it is possible to self-affirm and to ensure dismissal of threats to its hegemony or pedagogic ideology of “many as one”.

2 According to Leite, “a person’s belief is established through the learning process. The beliefs are always originated from personal experiences in all their possibilities (attention, perception, thinking, reasoning, and imagination). They are formed through association and can be defined as what is learned since childhood and is adopted as truth. They are acquired in the mediations of relationship and learning of a subject: at home with relatives, at school, with the media, and so on” (LEITE, 2008a: 134).

3 This word from the typographic vocabulary was introduced in Social Sciences by the North-American journalist Walter Lippmann in his work: *Public Opinion* (1922). In this paper, generally speaking, he emphasized the importance of mental images to interpret the occurrences of the First World War (from 1914 to 1918), by means of the development of a research that gathered data about the images that several social groups had about each other. The stereotype in Lippmann studies consists in the attribution of some characteristics to people that belong to certain groups, which receive specific and fixed aspects. As it will be further read, this paper uses contemporaneous approaches that update this author’s reflections about the stereotypes.

4 The postcolonial term (outskirts – *periferia*, in Portuguese) used by Bhabha replaces third world, in the fields of academic production and intellectual controversies (starting in the 1980s) (PRYSTHON, 2004: 02).

5 A cultural location can be understood as a space of meeting and of social construction, places that do not work only as of group or identities fusion, but as mirroring spaces between different groups or different subjects of the same group, where one sees him/herself inside the other (BHABHA, 2003:199).

Hence, it is in this game where the ambivalence of the nation/people pedagogic discourse is, which recognizes the qualifications and alterity of minorities/outskirts (of the Other and their performance discourses). However, they are refused by being suppressed and given a new meaning, which is often in a negative and pejorative manner, with the aim of defending the imagined hegemony and originality of the dominant discourse before the threats that sociocultural diversity manifests at its borders.

The [...] stereotype provides access to an “identity” based both on the domination and pleasure and also on the anxiety and defense, because it is a kind of multiple and contradictory belief in its recognition of its difference and refuse. [...]. The stereotype is not only a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification since it is a stuck and fixed form of representation, which, by denying the difference game (which the negation through the Other allows), constitutes an issue for the subject *representation* in meanings of psychic and social relationships (BHABHA, 2003: 116-117).

These narrative fights, which Bhabha considers the formation and developments of stereotypes including its social and cognitive mobilizations, are produced and questioned in places between the pedagogic and performance discourses, which contextualize and cross the social positions meanings. Furthermore, the pedagogic discourses affirm and support similarities that join the dominant national community and performance discourses that somehow are opposed to the dominant pedagogy, changing its *status quo* for alternative and multicultural views⁶.

Otherwise, “the pedagogic founds its narrative authority in people’s tradition [...] encapsulated in a succession of historical moments that represents an eternity produced by self-generation” (BHABHA, 2003: 209). On the other hand, the performance discourse seeks to destabilize this *self-generation* sovereignty of the society “by casting a shadow *between* people with “image” and its signification as a distinguished sign of I, different from the Other or the Outer” (*Idem*).

This performance intervention of the border cultures or of the minority subjects, in the productions of hegemonic discourses, represents the torments to fight against settlement of the linear historicism, which is imposed in narratives by the tautological control of pedagogy of “many as one”. This is also still trying to put the minorities in a stigmatization spiral, having as its main control strategy the stereotype.

This confrontation of minorities should not be seen as a rebellion in order to get power, but as a movement that tries to dilute this meaning of vertical power in a possible social sharing, which is not produced by center or border hierarchies. Its objective is to promote, through its dislocation, a social space that considers several cultural manifestations, enabling the construction of a nonlinear historical narrative, produced beyond pedagogic totalitarian traditions that aim at representing the whole, without considering its diversity.

In order to carry out these “other/new” alternatives, the producers of performance discourses are making efforts to stimulate the construction of counter-narratives in order to destabilize the monological domination imposed by the pedagogic producers. Thus, the counter-narrative construction stimulates social guidance towards a dialogical scenario “that corresponds to the truth from those to whom the tradition of domination and continuous rhythm of the history were made quiet” (SANTANA, 2009: 07).

⁶ This term is used in this paper, with a critical bias, according to Kellner that understands it “as a general concept for the several interventions in cultural studies that insist on the importance of cautiously examining the representations of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, subalternity, and other phenomena that many times were set aside or ignored in previous approaches. The critical cultural approach, in our point of view, implies on the analysis of the relations between domination and oppression, of how the stereotypes work, of the resistance by some stigmatized groups to dominant representations, and of these groups’ fight to their own representation against dominant and distorted representations, as to producing representations that are more positive. The term “multi-culture” here, therefore, works as a general rubric for all the attempts to resist the stereotypy, the distortions, and the stigmatization by the dominant culture” (2001: 126).

According to Bhabha, the counter-narratives “continuously evoke and erase [...] the totalizing borders – both the real and conceptual ones – disturb those ideological maneuvers through which “imagined communities” receive essentialist identities” (2003: 211). As seen, in Bhabha’s orientations, in this fight between narratives, negative social stereotypes are characterized as one of the main control and defense tools of pedagogic discourses to neutralize the blot outs that performers can produce in its borders by promoting social alternation for the contextualization of cultural diversity.

This social impact described by the author is also verified in the instances of the Brazilian media culture, in which sociocultural representations generally follow pedagogic policies and several minority subjects are enrolled in the borders of their narratives under typically pejorative and negative representations. It is the case of the black social category, which, usually, is exposed in the media discourses in subaltern positions.

In these media spaces, planned by the interests of the consumption market, fights between pedagogic and performance discourses are manifested by the productions of advertisements, soap operas, movie theaters, among others. These ambiances of symbolic representation, tautologically speaking, reflect the power verticalization of the dominant cultural repertoire on its scripts. It neutralizes the minority expression by putting stigmas that are still being sustained by new descriptions of negative attributes associated with their own representation of images.

However, some blot outs in these media borders start to rise, in view of the counter-narrative manifestations that the border cultures, in their different spheres (social, economical, media, and political), are producing in order to express its resistance to dominant impositions. Therefore, based on this theoretical referential, the counter-intuitive advertising concept should be initially understood as a counter-narrative proposal, which must be improved to erase and deconstruct the self-generation sovereignty of the pedagogic discourses.

3. Counterintuitive advertising and its discursive performance

The counterintuitive advertising is a proposal of the advertising field to promote “other/new” pieces of information through its plots that collaborate for the dislocation, weakness, and update of negative contents, that is, the beliefs that govern the stereotypes inscribed to social minorities. The expected objective is that advertising communications discussed through this proposal provide for the society, in the context of its routes, different views and meanings about the reality of subjects that are aims of old-fashioned essentialist stereotypes, “neutralizing and re-guiding the automaticity manifestation” (see LEITE, 2008a), which is cognitive of its negative contents responsible for producing social prejudice.

In order to do this, such ads want to give opportunities so that representatives of stigmatized groups, like female and male black people, may also be protagonist, and appear in some positions that are more favorable of social reputation in the symbolic advertising positions, standing back from the outdated traditional markings of subalternity and inferiority. These ones are usually attributed to these subjects in the passage and contexts of advertising pedagogic discursive practices.

As an example, a Brazilian ad will be further presented to illustrate the theoretical crossings indicated as to the performance discourse of the counterintuitive advertising.



Figure 1 – Printed Ads of *Fundação Getúlio Vargas* (FGV) MBA.

Source: Isto É Magazine (January 18th, 2012), Agência 3.

FGV advertisement, in only one page, presents a black young woman elegantly dressed with executive clothing. She is standing on her back (for the following text) on a lawn. Apparently, the picture simulates a square or a park. In the background, it is possible to see some buildings, mountains, the blue sky with clouds and birds flying all around. On the right, behind the woman, there is an art with her size that includes the following advertising writing: “I am MBA from the institution that occupies the best position in the country in the ranking by the Brazilian Education Ministry (MEC). MBA from FGV.” Next to the foot line of the page, there is a blue strip that includes the campaign signature with the slogan: “Let the well-known MBA do the talking for you. MBA FGV.”

The approach of this ad follows the counterintuitive proposal, since it inserts the black woman image in an aesthetic scenario of modern reference and of associations with the educational and entrepreneurial field to promote the brand value of one of the most important private higher education institutions in Brazil. Thus, it breaks one of the exhausting or “demonic” repetitions (BHABHA, 2003) of the pedagogic discourse use of the black woman image associated with representations of lascivious or of less expression appeal.

For practical purposes, the proposal of the FGV MBA ad can collaborate in providing a new meaning to the traditional contents of stereotypes associated with the black social category, specially the woman. In this narrative, that goes without saying, she represents a businesswoman and a MBA student and is looking for the best professional qualification to face the business challenges in a global context. More and more, this area demands professionals that are more able to correspond to the challenges and expectations of the market. Therefore, these qualified associations of intellectual basis are separated from the old-fashioned contents that link the black woman image only to lascivious and subalternity expressions, i.e. to silencing pedagogic contexts.

The counterintuitive advertising should be understood as a counter-narrative discourse in the meaning articulated by Bhabha (2003), with regard to its subversive aspect of presenting, in the spaces of media culture, “other/new” discursive alternatives to entangle the representation of social minorities. Thus, such initiative of advertising enables the democratic and worthy expression of “positive social images or counter-stereotypic of groups that are targets of prejudice and discrimination” (LIMA and VALA, 2004: 55).

It can be understood as a “deliberated attempt of breaking old stereotypes with the production that can be named counterintuitive posters” (FRY, 2002: 308). Its strategic narrative rises as “another/new” visibility proposal of the advertising field to social minorities.

⁷ Fry (2022) exemplifies his observations by describing some counterintuitive advertising posters that were produced in the 1990s.

The intention of its discourse is to promote a new reading about the stereotypic contents directed to stigmatized groups, therefore collaborating for the update (new meaning), dilution, or even cognitive suppression of these contents by its possible readings, taking into regard a “policy of valuable actions” (JACCOUD and BEGHIN, 2002: 56). These policies aim at combating the negative stereotypes, recognizing and valuing the social and cultural plurality that marks and crosses the Brazilian society.

Otherwise, the counterintuitive advertising by the approached “innovations” in its discourse, ruled in contexts and situations that are more favorable to minorities, can, with its stimulus, prepare the cognitive structure of subjects receiving its message to capture, assimilate, and store new pieces of information about the targeted subject of negative stereotypic content treated in the advertising framing. Therefore, it stimulates a probable cognitive process of new elaboration of beliefs. This is what is believed to be potentially produced by the reception of the FGV MBA ad.

This understanding has support on the social psychology literature with cognitive foundation. According to Carpenter, researchers of this field had not recognized this change of belief perspective for a long time, because they believed that:

[...] since our implicit associations are very early developed and we are not aware of them, it would be almost impossible to change them. But a recent research has suggested that we can overwork our implicit beliefs and attitudes or, at least, control its effects. Contemplating the target groups in more favorable social contexts can help to fight against tendentious attitudes [...] “and to weaken the implicit prejudice”. (CARPENTER, 2009: 60).

The counterintuitive discourse should be understood rather than a message supported by the “politically correct”, since the counterintuitive advertising advances in the issue of only include (insert) a representative of a minority group in its narrative structure. The “politically correct” advertising compared to the counterintuitive one, as already discussed in another paper⁸, has different characteristics and objectives based possibly on the quantitative ideal, which obviously does not impede the dialogue and integration between both narratives.

The counterintuitive stimulus helps the process of reevaluation and counter-balancing of stereotypic reasoning by exposing and fomenting in its narrative qualified information, which justify and/or characterize such essentialist thoughts (falsified in the common sense automaticity) as highly negative and surpassed conceptions.

4. Final Considerations

Taking into regard the incidence principle of the effects that media culture has in subjects and in society, by the justification force and continuous exposition or new descriptions⁹ of messages, under the same line in communication vehicles, the process of cognitive dislocation and update of the receptor concerning the negative contents of these stereotypes may happen.

However, although efforts are done in order that actions alike the counterintuitive ones are stimulated and repeated in media to produce new associations for the stereotypes, it is worth mentioning that this process of cognitive modification and dislocation to update beliefs is not simple. There are some records in the social psychology literature with cognitive foundation (BERNARDES, 2003, WEGNER, 1994) that point to the occurrence of negative and undesired effects in this

⁸ If you would like to know more about these discussions, see LEITE, 2008b.

⁹ According to Howard, “a mental change becomes persuasive when representation is done in different ways, with them being mutually reinforced” (GARDNER, 2008: 29).

conduction. Among them, the ones with more emphasis are the rebound effect¹⁰ and the stereotype threat¹¹ effect.

However, the occurrence of such undesired effects cannot be considered a natural thing, because they can also be caused by the period that a person is exposed to the narrative and by its decisive (lack of) justification/explanation to the receptor in order to not resist in accepting new meanings of its negative beliefs that produce stereotypic thoughts. Therefore, failure in the process may be associated with content (context) of the message and/or with moment (psychological, physical, of environmental implications, mediations) of the person throughout the reception.

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¹⁰ As discussed in another production (LEITE and BATISTA, 2008), the rebound effect instead of operating the counterintuitive proposal for reassessment/suppression of stereotypes ends up reinforcing its negative contents, making them much more accessible in the cognitive structures of subjects.

¹¹ The theory of stereotypes threat says that a subject, who believes to belong to a group, target of a negative stereotype, when submitted to an activity associated with this stereotype, suffers, in such pressure situation, an immediate and considerable performance decrease. Studies about this approach are relatively new and have as their initial mark the work carried out by Steele and Aronson, published in 1995 (see LEITE and BATISTA, 2011b).

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Abstract: We are developing a work from costume collection of blocos Afro and afoxés of the collection pertaining to Afro-Brazilian museum of the Federal University of Bahia (MAFRO-UFBA) whose aim is to enforce the reflections of social museology to the documentation in museums. We recognize that the current practices are still characterized by a monocultural epistemology and we follow an investigative path seeking the decolonization of such practices. In this regard, we believe that the interpretation and co-validation of discourses and signification processes in the museums would be more efficient if they were protagonized by the original groups and its creators. Within this perspective, we recognize on ICTS, a set of tools that is significantly changing society and museums, creating new practices and creating new paradigms in the interrelation museum - public - heritage that would be pertaining to this investigation. We present the leading principles and potentialities for the usage of WEB 2.0 in the processes of acquisition and placement of documents and testimonies about those cultural associations in order to enhance their cultural production and to promote the shared management of the collection and of the discourses about their memory, produced in the institutionalized space of the museum.

Keywords: Documentation; web 2.0; ethnological museums; shared curatorship; decolonization.

1. MAFRO: a collection between two paradigms

The Afro-Brazilian museum (MAFRO) of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) was idealized in the seventies by photographer and ethnologist Pierre Verger in order to shelter the African and Afro-Brazilian material cultural production. Its creation would have as an objective, among others, the development of studies in that field as well as the contribution to the enforcement of cultural cooperation between Brazil and the African countries. In this regard, the museum has achieved success to this day.

On the one hand, the museum was a result of an agreement among Foreign Relations and Education and Culture Ministries, Bahia State Government and the City of Salvador, along with Federal University of Bahia, institution to which is linked through the Center of Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO). On the other hand, it is important to outline that MAFRO responded to the need of the city of Salvador for a space dedicated to the memory of the Afro-Bahian population, being this cultural matrix the defining element of their image-identity when compared to other cities and regions of Brazil. Thus, since its creation, the museum generated great expectations in the cultural groups and local Afro-religious

Decolonizing museological documentation through ICTS: Web 2.0 as a tool for self representation of afro-bahian carnival groups in MAFRO - UFBA

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communities, which invested symbolically in its creation, contributed through donations of various objects for the initial composition of its collection.

Even born in a historical context of decolonization of sensitivities that happened during the seventies and eighties, the management of the museological technical processes developed in MAFRO follows (as in the majority of the universitarian museums) traditional technical procedures based on scientism epistemology. Furthermore, there is a fact that some works ceded by those associations were already found in the initial exposition of the museum, but with restructuration of the exposition in 1995 and for space and conservation matters, they were transferred to the technical reserve. At the present time, these objects are inaccessible for the majority of the public, among them, the collection of costume, decorations and Afro-carnival allegories donated by members of blocos Afro and afoxés¹ of the city of Salvador.

This collection is consisted of approximately 80 works of fabric, allegories and decorations. Some of the cultural institutions that generated the collection has disappeared, but their representatives and members are still alive and active, they have created new associations and possess a knowledge that deserves to be associated to the object of the collection that represents their history.

That collection portrays the creative originality of local cultural manifestations, testimonials of the black presence and resistance in the Bahian carnival, since its institution, in 1890. They are the aesthetic and ideological stage of diversified elements of the local black imagery.

It is characteristic of Blocos Afro and Afoxés to develop, beyond the carnival parades, a set of actions of social and artistic character. Their artistic production is full of didactic and political contents. Blocos and afoxés costume has an amount of printed images that bring information about the imagery, quotidian, and the interests of those associations and their members, but also they are valuable testimonies of a recent past of the city and of the evolution of its socio-cultural profile.

In spite of their importance as elements in the definition of the local image-identity, the majority of those associations have poor visibility, almost unknown in the media sphere. For that reason and for the real sense of duty of the museum, this memory needs to be registered and widespread, for it reveals the creative cultural ambient where it was generated an original form of popular cultural manifestation of the local culture.

We draw attention to the fact that the producers and associates of those blocos and afoxés are the ones who detain, in all levels, the best knowledge of the signification of their production, either material, iconographic or symbolic. While carriers of that memory, they are the main responsible for its inscription in the social context in which that production is or was generated, being, therefore, the carriers of its pertinence and social sense both inside and outside the museum.

The presence of the objects from those institutions in MAFRO collection gained the significance of a public recognition of the cultural value of their work and association. However, the absence of those objects in the exposition area has prevented, up to now, the dissemination and updating of this memory.

For all reasons above, MAFRO is challenged to reverse the negative feeling of oblivion and abandonment that some of those associations have to face. In that sense, we try to create communication and museological documentation strategies for the self determination of those groups in the management of their art and heritage. In order to achieve this, we chose to rely on information and communication technologies (ICTS) as a resource for revitalization of that collection

¹ Here, the term afoxé designates a carnival association that is also called *candomblé de rua* (Lody, 2003, p. 64). In a general way, we can affirm that in spite of their festive character, in their parade, *candomblé* religious chants also are chanted. As for blocos Afro, there is no chanting such chants, they have a band with several percussive instruments and their songs themes relate to African countries, stories and Afro-Brazilian traditions.

and as a path to reinvention and updating of the traditional museological practices developed by this institution.

2. ICTS potential in the decolonization of discourses

The enforcement of information and communication technologies in museums is changing not only their form of architectonic conception, but also opening possibilities of putting into practice, changes that cope with a contemporary thinking towards the technical procedures inherent to those institutions. Now, we perceive the interactivity potential beyond the expositive areas.

Provided that museums are institutions “in service of society and its development”², their ultimate objective would be the preservation of collective memory based on images-representations of the values of a given society. The sense of the institution does not change, yet society does. Contemporary society and changes in technology within communication vehicles demand changes in the way we conceive the processes developed in these institutions.

It is worth outlining that museum-public relations are not reduced to the expositive sector. Nowadays, there is a wish and an opening for a more direct intervention of the public that aligns itself to postulates established in museology from the seventies, markedly in the convention in Santiago of Chile, in 1972, when the idea of integral museum (territorial museums) has emerged, in an attempt to create a new type of relation with the represented communities. Self management and dialog are taken into consideration in the excerpts of the declaration of Oaxtepec (México, 1984), where it was established the indissoluble condition of the triad territory-heritage-community (PRIMO, 1999, p.14), and a museology that avoids the authoritarian monologue of the technician-curator-specialist.

This new way of thinking the museum clashes with ancient practices and demands a continuous revision of the processes developed in this institution. The notion of territory goes from physical spaces to symbolic ones. The action of museums as agents of social development only happens if aligned and updated in the perspectives of decolonization of sensitivities, in breaking the monopolies of the power to communicate, balancing the information flux among individuals, groups and societies. In this line of thought, we also advocate the idea that museum-territory can be extended to the characteristic ambient of cyberspace which creates, by its very nature, cyber-territories.

Cyberculture “it is a way of empowerment that implies three strategic fronts: information, knowledge and the capability of creating action webs to utilize information and knowledge in specific projects of self management”³ (GONZÁLEZ, 2007, p. 36). It draws our attention, the fact that cyberculture has a vocation for interactivity and suppression of hierarchies and hegemonies. So, we believe that thinking about practices within cyberculture can bring a new perspective for strategies built for social activities of museums. That is how we link the preservation of the collections and the production and management of the information with the potential for dissemination and social aggregation of the museums.

In that task, the ICTS, more specifically, the functionalities offered by web 2.0 have the potential of meeting the activity expectations in contemporary society, widening its activity radius and decolonizing its forms of discourse construction and of historical-cultural narratives.

² “is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment”. Definition of ICOM, adopted in 22nd. General Assembly in Vienna, Austria, in 24th August, 2007. Recovered in 20th January, 2013 from <http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/>.

³ “Cibercultura®, en el sentido que lo expresamos, es una forma de empoderamiento que implica tres frentes estratégicos: la información, el conocimiento y la capacidad de crear redes de acción para usar la información y el conocimiento en proyectos específicos de autogestión.”

The tasks of documentation, conservation and communication - the triad of the specific activity of the museologist - include an immense possibility of interventions. Besides, they are a consequence of a process of purification and organization of information that end up functioning as a game of visibility-invisibility within the museum, yet they reflect power hierarchies of society. In our work, the dialogic exchange among members of the museum and the cultural agents is generating new information which establishes new narratives about the objects studied.

We are locating and attracting these cultural agents and proposing a partnership in the process of documenting that collection. We focus on a work of experimental and ethnographic character, which will establish a basis for the creation of a system of museological documentation which includes interactivity and an opening for the continuity of information collection. That system will be fed and disseminated through a collaborative platform managed both by associations members and by representatives of the museum.

From the collection of information to the construction of knowledge, the reconstitution of history must be done in different contexts, under diverse possible perspectives, considering that one object, throughout its life, loses and gains information as a consequence of its trajectory in relation with humankind and their activity spaces (FERREZ, 1991). We know that the activities of managing and disseminating information in museums are almost as important as the object per se. We assume that museological documentation is not restricted to the physical description of the object which, by its alleged scientificity, would be free of values frequently powered by visions completely different from those of the context in which the object was produced.

Our work aims surpassing the limitations of knowledge production characteristic of museological documentation still committed to a scientificity mentality and powered by a monocultural epistemology, drawing attention to questioning the validity and veracity of such knowledge in so far as it occurs the exclusion of producers groups from the creation of categories, the construction of narratives and also from the interpretation exercised over that protected heritage.

3. Using ICTS: from the spectacular panorama to interactivity

The option to use a collaborative platform as a support for the activity of museological documentation occurs in so far as web 2.0 also can be considered a sociability space. The web has a great transforming potential. On the web, the penetration of users occurs by the net principle, building relationship webs, solidarity and identification, offering opportunities to put into practice some political perspectives about the social role of the museum and the integration forms between museums and their public.

In this sense we seek, through the use of technology resources, to enforce and experiment procedures related to the museological processes in order to enhance the aggregating character of the museum, allowing a form of preservation and dissemination of memories in a more interactive manner, given that memory is justified only as far as something is experienced objectively within society.

In order to strengthen relations among users, there are museums that are pioneers of the use of internet resources. Tridimensional reproductions of expositive spaces (*Google Art Project*), the use of interactive online systems, that go from collections exposition, buying of contents (*App Hermitage Museum*), are formats that create willingness in the public of an approximation with the experience *in loco*, and also offer an extension and re-experience beyond the physical space of the museum.

In regard to participation and formation of communities connected to museums through web 2.0, we have the example of (*Brooklin Museum* de Nova Yorque) where members logged in the

platform have the power of actuating in the definition of the museums activities and even in curatorial experiences of online expositions developed through photography manipulation and contents from the database made available by the institution. We observe, however, that the level of participation of the public still belongs to a programmed universe, not open and that it establishes strong limitations towards interaction.

Our work sticks to that tendency. However, we draw attention to the fact that we start, not from the creation, but from acknowledging and empowering an objective community (Afro-Bahian carnival associations) which will find through the resources of that platform the mechanisms for its social visualization. Besides, we know that the internet while a territory to be occupied, also creates new visibilities and invisibilities. It is a conflicting space that establishes a new dynamics for the relativization of cultural and social hierarchies and power relations.

The non-linearity and opening concepts were not originated by the computer, but the technological revolution made by these systems opened the possibility for their dissemination. We are focusing not only on non-linearity between support and discourse, but also on the search for forms of more fluid inter-relation between objects (heritage artifacts) and the creative subjects. This practice of double determination and acknowledgement is a more open relational process around the object as a legacy piece in the space (or cyberspace) of the museum.

If handled and disseminated by professionals of memory, in accordance with the objectives of the contemporary museum, these ICTS, instead of producing mechanization and/or producing a spectacularization of the experiences and of the museum spaces can permeate and humanize the fields of relations to which they have becoming the most appropriate media support. Thus, taking advantage of interactivity to enhance interaction and participation is the biggest challenge for the utilization of digital media for preserving and disseminating heritage.

More than divulgating contents and managing information, our proposition aims to establish a practice of mediation that consolidates the museological space (or museological cyberspace) as a *locus* for valuating collective memory attributes from the groups represented. For this being, it is fundamental the effective acknowledgement and strengthening of the participation of cultural and political leadership of these groups.

Arturo C. Castellary (1999, p.170) points out: "Hypermedia user is no longer a passive receptor and now becomes an actor who takes participation on the development of the interactive narration". As a result, the possibilities offered by that system can increase the transition from a more contemplative museum to a more participative museum, providing to the public experiences in the construction and institution of discourses about their cultural heritage. In this respect, public inclusion at all levels becomes the most determinant element of the image of the museum and its collection.

4. The trajectory of a method: between material and imaterial

We initiated our work using ethnographical research in an approach to the specific methodologies of the material culture. Our initial objective, other than contacting the cultural producers of the associations, was to elucidate important inherent aspects of the collection. For this being, starting from the immanent aspects of the object, its materiality, we seek to reach its deepest signification, on the symbolic level, making visible the complexity of significations that are attached to them in diverse times and contexts.

Narratives originated by this contact will be diffused and will unfold, starting from spontaneous manifestations of the users logged in the platform. New demands and interpretations about the object will appear, generated by curiosity and interest of the various types of public. It is our goal

that this final product becomes a continuous activity of inter-relation between MAFRO and its public, reaching not only the cultural groups represented.

We chose the functionality of the platform DRUPAL⁶ which allows the manifestation of opinions, donation of new documents by the users and the exchange of information and planning of group activities among the various cultural associations. Those functionalities create an ambient that favors interaction beyond virtual ambient in a way that it creates a net that strengthen community ties and actions.

On interviews conceded by former president of the afoxé Rum Py Lé, by director of Afoxé Badauê and by members of bloco Afro Ilê Aiyê (first institutions contacted), we elucidate aspects about the objects with information that could not be obtained without the interlocution established with their producers, certifying the necessity of such leadership in the curatorship processes, raising questions about traditional cultural hierarchies established in museological practices.

By offering a space for exchanging among members of these groups, museum researchers and also the public, that collaborative platform goes beyond research and documentation activities, also allowing more contemporary practices of social educational activity and cultural dissemination in the museum. Besides being the support for expositive activities and digital preservation of MAFRO collection, it also will be a mechanism for acquisition or diffusion-localization of a collection that exists outside the museum and that, supposedly, finds itself disperse and without treatment.

Obviously, we believe that the continuity of our work will not happen without any conflicts, for they are inherent and even pertinent to all activities developed in liminality fields. We are also aware that the museum is a conflicting space. Questions about hierarchies of priorities, questions about autonomy and authority in the form of deliberation, intellectual property of images and contents, limits for occupation of space and frontiers among collections from various associations are already being noticed.

Truth is that transference and diffusion of information and knowledge are reflexes of power relations within society, principally in those related to possession and control of communication technical apparatuses. The amount of content that circulates on the internet about a theme, group or territory also is a reflex of power relations among peoples and cultural groups. We believe that ICTS did not create a web society, but with them, the nets which surpass hierarchies and hegemonies are spreading, establishing a new logic and becoming more important for the exercise and maintenance of power in post-colonial societies.

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SESSION 12

THE
DECOLONISATION
OF IMAGINARIES IN
LITERATURE 4

Abstract: This article aims at presenting American playwright August Wilson's play, *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* (1984), in the light of its colonial and post-colonial traits. Not only will it deal with issues of race and gender but also with the interwoven relationships both between whites and Afro-Americans and among blacks themselves in a Chicago setting of the 1920's, in their struggle for power and dominance. The "black writing model" in its domination-subordination aspect will be taken into account. The role of music, specifically the Blues, will present itself as a cultural affirmation against power and subordination and as a trait of African-American identity.

Keywords: post-colonialism-black writing model-domination- subordination- struggle for identity.

1. Foreword

The fact that Stephen Slemon(1995) calls post-colonialist studies a "scramble" is not simply a culinary metaphor as post-colonialism has such a wide range of " mixed ingredients" that it becomes difficult to attribute a setting or a level of "postcoloniality" when one is looking at a piece of literature, even when it deals exactly with notions that appear to be colonial or post-colonial issues. In the article "The Scramble for Post-Colonialism", in Ashcroft, Griffiths et al, *The Post-Colonial studies reader*, Slemon tells us:

Post-colonialism,(.....), describes¹ a remarkably heterogenous set of subject positions, professional fields, and critical enterprises. It has been used as a way of ordering a critique of totalising forms of Western historicism; a portemanteau term for a retooled notion of "class", as a subset of both postmodernism and post-structuralism (...), as the name for a condition of nativist in post-independence national longing groupings; as a cultural marker of non-residency for a third-world intellectual cadre; as the inevitable underside of a fractured and ambivalent discourse of colonialist power; as an oppositional form of " reading practice"; and (...) as the name for a category of "literary activity which sprang from a new and welcome political energy (...)(Slemon, 1995:45)

The play *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* finds its niche in race, gender and relationships of power and , in this sense, it is not simply a demonstration of the plight of the struggle of Afro-Americans for freedom and self-determination. According to Prece (2008), the play :

"They 'll always be proud for what they've done – a view on August Wilson's theatre play "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"

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¹ My underlining

(...)depicts life fully aware "not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence" in the personal histories it imbues with stage life. (Prece, 2008:1)

The spirit of the past of colonization and its related issues can be found along the text of the play, however *up-to-date* and "whitelike" some characters may seem to be. Past and present converge in the Blues- Ma Rainey sings the Blues not just as a profession and one that gains her some success, but also as a means to get even with her past, with the shadows of a history of subordination, anguish and despair. Despite being a star in the world of the Blues, she and her companions know too well that, for the white manager and the producer, they are mere pieces in a game of draughts.

Introduction

Playwright August Wilson's first commercial endeavour, 'Ma Rainey's Black Bottom', was more than a financial success. It was nominated for three Tony Awards in 1986, had a very successful run on Broadway, has been presented by numerous secondary drama venues and brought many issues of Black America to the stage in a manner that is true to the experience and honours the personalities of the past.

According to Sandra D. Shannon (1995):

Chief among the African American cultural elements (August) Wilson wishes to preserve a powerful blues dynamic, which sets an appropriate tone of despair while also affording Wilson's characters buoyancy as they try against devastating odds to survive (Shannon, 1995:75)

When the play opened, the cast was made up of relatively unknown players and a playwright looking for his first success. All being neophytes, they brought together a production that has true social value.

The story revolves around the Blues legend, Gertrude 'Ma' Rainey. Her career began at the turn of the century and included fame and fortune as one of the first of unique sub-class of American society: Blues musicians. Ma is counted among the best of the genre in that area, including Bessie Smith, Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington.

The title of the play is taken from a song written and performed by Ma Rainey, which was based on a dance -type movement (in the same category as a 'shimmy'²that was her signature move and was included in all her performances). As Paul Prece (2008) informs us:

(...) such issues as crisis of identity, cultural subordination and repression, place, alterity/ outsidership (...) ultimately the need to "speak back"(...) (Prece, 2008:2)

All these concur for the character of Ma Rainey to continually sing and talk about her worries and blues, together with cries of protest both to her boss and to her subordinates and again one can find the recurrence of pastness, as Prece(2008) puts it.

Setting

The play is set in Chicago in 1927. That was the height of the "Harlem Renaissance"³era when the

² shine

³ The Harlem Renaissance was a cultural movement that spanned the 1920s. At the time, it was known as the "New Negro Movement", named after the 1925 anthology by Alain Locke. The Movement also included the new African-American cultural expressions across the urban areas in the Northeast and Midwest United States affected by the Great Migration (African American),[1] of which Harlem was the largest.

The Harlem Renaissance was successful in that it brought the Black experience clearly within the corpus of American cultural history. Not only through an explosion of culture, but on a sociological level, the legacy of the Harlem Renaissance redefined how America, and the

black culture was becoming firmly established as a separate, but far from equal, entity.

The play focuses on Gertrude 'Ma` Rainey, one of the first of the great Blues singers. The Blues had been a black phenomenon for two decades at the point where this story takes place. It was a major component of the club scenes within the Black culture, as well as it was extremely important to rural culture. The troops of singers and players would 'go on the road` to any small juke joint or empty room in a vacant barn to perform the music that was singularly the story of the Black culture. 'Ma` has been on the road and has graciously condescended to spend the day at the studio, "cutting a side".

Ma Rainey was the Queen of the Blues scene at the time the play takes place. Loved and adored by the people, she was just an irritation to the white record company that was producing her albums. However she was the star, the money maker and, as such, had every right "to lord it over" the white gentleman in the booth.

The action of the play takes place in a recording studio, with the band in a lower room, walled off by a glass partition from the record company employees and management. This scene is a graphic metaphor for the society outside the walls as well. The white man "boss" sits in his comfortable chair up above the black "folks" who work for him. It is his show, but he doesn't have the power. 'Ma` sets the stage, dominates it and is in control, as much control as there is. She is an earthy woman, by her demeanour and her language, who is every inch aware of her importance in the scenario of the lives of these people and she plays it to the hilt . She IS the Queen and her costume reflects her regal standing. Even for rehearsals she wears the full regalia of her office: sequins and satin, so much gold around her neck that the audience wonders how she can keep her head up and the classic headband that was her "signature". She arrives, as all the stars do, with an entourage consisting of a nephew she has promised could sing the intro, her white manager and the comely Dussie Mae, her female lover.

The band is there before Ma, as is the white owner/producer in the booth above. The studio is crowded , the actors restless as she takes her time in getting situated and ready to work. She manipulates the power structure in a blatant manner that sets the feeling for the play by having everyone wait while the producer sends someone to "fetch her a coke". There is an aura of smouldering rage that wells around the opening dialogue as the characters are introduced and personalities set one against the other.

Sturdyvant is the white owner of the recording studio and the producer of the record, a man immersed in his own self-importance and superiority who is irritated almost beyond control by the manipulations that Ma puts him through. Irvin is Ma Rainey's white agent, who is a milquetoast of a man and is obviously there because of his ability to fawn over the Queen.

Cutler is the expert, the organizer who is in charge of the band and also plays the guitar and the trombone. Toledo is the piano player who lives for the chance to read and doesn't have a problem telling anyone what he is reading and why others should read it as well. Slow Drag in the "bassy"- the bass player who is slow moving but extremely talented. The "most" minor characters are: Sylvester, Ma Rainey's brawny, stuttering nephew who is an impediment to the orchestration of the session and the white policeman who is the obvious candidate to represent "the white system".

Levee is the pivotal personality in the play, a man smouldering in hatred and rage, obsessed

world, viewed African Americans. The migration of southern Blacks to the north changed the image of the African American from rural, undereducated peasants to one of urban, cosmopolitan sophistication. This new identity led to a greater social consciousness, and African Americans became players on the world stage, expanding intellectual and social contacts internationally. The progress—both symbolic and real—during this period, became a point of reference from which the African-American community gained a spirit of self-determination that provided a growing sense of both Black urbanity and Black militancy, as well as a foundation for the community to build upon for the Civil Rights struggles in the 1950s and 1960s. The urban setting of rapidly developing Harlem provided a venue for African Americans of all backgrounds to appreciate the variety of Black life and culture. Through this expression, the Harlem Renaissance encouraged the new appreciation of folk roots and culture. For instance, folk materials and spirituals provided a rich source for the artistic and intellectual imagination, which freed Blacks from the establishment of past condition. Through sharing in these cultural experiences, a consciousness sprung forth in the form of a united racial identity. www.harlemrenaissance.com accessed on 06/09/2013

with ambition and always challenging the power structure. In many ways , Levee represents the undercurrent of pent-up frustration and rage that was fermenting outside in the black community itself. The "Jim Crow" world of the 20's demanded that blacks "kowtow" to the whites in order to survive while they were developing a culture rich in potential but unable to fully access the talent and intelligence that will free the spirit.

Dussie Mae is Ma Rainey's beautiful girlfriend, over whom she and Levee have a conflict that starts as a small matter of flirtatious behaviour but expands to represent, for Levee at least, the emasculation of the black male by the general society and by the women in the black culture who actually hold the power. He is immensely offended at the concept that he is 'not needed` as a black man. He is jealous of Ma's fame , her talent and of the idea that she was where she needed to be at the time she needed to be there, or simply the fact she was able to take advantage of opportunities he believes he deserves as well but has not had in his life and career. Dussie Mae represents all the inequity he feels he has been made to accept, but does not deserve.

Previous Action

The history of the characters plays an important role in the dynamics of this play. 'Ma` brings with her the history of the development of the Blues as a cultural phenomenon as well as the road it takes to become a 'star` in a white world when that person is poor, black and a woman. Not only must she to defy her race peers but she also has to face and fight the colonial dominant. She knows she has talent and perseverance because she has "paid the dues" necessary to get to that small studio booth with that particular group of people. The white characters make it very clear that, despite Ma's talent, the rules of the white have to be observed, shifting the black hierarchy to a secondary level. She is arrogant in her comfortableness with the role of star, but she is also a woman who has lived the experiences that brought her to "the Blues" in the beginning.

Gertrude 'Ma` Rainey was born very poor in the late 1800`s and started living the life 'on the road` at fourteen, doing vaudeville and travelling with the Blues troops throughout the rural South. At the time of the play, she is in her late thirties), not an exceptionally good-looking woman and, although at the peak of her career, she is feeling the hands of time tick for herself and the music. Her past "brushes with the law" become important as the story unfolds, bringing to the fore the lifestyle that many of the 'stars` followed. The underlying message is that she has lived a hard life and she is :

a) going to take advantage of her fame and;

b) you damn well better not get in her way, as she has had enough of bowing to the white establishment.

Levee, as the opponent in the central conflict, brings a history that justifies and implements his rage. His mother was raped by a gang of white men when he was younger and he has not been able to progress past the anger he felt at a society that allows such abuse and the fact that he was powerless to help her. The intermingling of personal and societal repercussions and reasoning is overwhelming for him. He is angry at himself, at the world and its inherent inequality, at the Blacks who refuse to see the situation and those who refuse to do anything to bring about change.

The band is made up of a few players that form a core studio band that has worked together and has worked with Ma Rainey before. Levee is a back-up player who does not share as extensive a history as the others, does not know the music as well and is, too, caught up in his own ego and ambition to be able to recognize these factors and so is frustrated and feeling pressure to perform, which, unfortunately, brings out a short temper and a retreat into a kind of behaviour non-conducive to the smooth running of the session.

Dialogue

As Paul Prece (2008) states,

“ the power of orality is a feature which emphasizes the post-colonial impulse to transmit and re-iterate what is likely to be erased or overlooked (Prece, 2008:2)

In *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* one finds strong language features of Afro-American discourse, perhaps in an attempt to mark black identity in contrast to white identity.

The focus of the dialogue is on Ma Rainey. She is a strong, powerful woman who will not take any back talk from who she thinks of as minor players. She will tell them “where to go” in no uncertain terms, how to get there and how fast they had better go. She has a full range of the street vernacular and uses the most descriptive of expletives to communicate her thoughts and wishes. She is ‘raunchy’, ‘brassy’ and earthy’ and it is her dialogue that defines her thusly. The woman can swear, and does. There is a give and take in most of the less prominent dialogue that is situated just beyond the borders of banter. Especially if Levee is involved, even when he is trying to be casual and conversant there is an edge that is offensive because it is so underhanded, or seems to be.

The play relies heavily upon conversation and story-telling. Each of the players has a story and the combination of the stories leads to a complete picture of the black experience in the early part of the twentieth century. The dialogue uses a rhythm of intensity and relief that allows for the audience to become involved through empathy and interest that builds in the tension. The interjection of conflict between Ma Rainey and Sturdyvant adds a sub-plot to the character of the dialogue that mirrors both the Black attitude concerning “the man” and the racism of the white man living off the labours of the blacks he would prefer not to have contact with. Ma is almost but not entirely insulting and condescending while Sturdyvant is oblivious on a conscious level, even though his irritation shows he recognizes the intent on a sub-conscious level.

Desires

Most of the players in the drama are there to play music, put in a day's work and go home. They want the session to move along in a reasonable fashion and then leave to resume the daily activities of their lives. Sturdyvant, as well, wants more than anything to get the music on tape so as to finish with the woman who upsets him. His other, and most compelling desire, however, is to make money. That is the bottom line, the motivation for his presence and the reason why he sits in the booth. He is not involved in the music or the culture that produces it, nor does he care about the people and the issues involved. They are musicians first and people last to him.

As Sandra Adell, cit. in Nadel (1994), following the thought of Walter Benjamin, puts it:

The phonograph record is designed for its own reproducibility and marketability rather than for the transmission of the “traditional value of cultural heritage”(....) it does indeed lead to a “tremendous shattering of tradition”(Nadel, 1994:54)

For Ma this is one more act in the power play where she is star, writer and producer. These are her days and she wants to take full advantage of them. She wishes to bask in the limelight and to have a feeling of control over the circumstances of her life. As Qun Wang (1999) states:

Ma Rainey subjects herself to those brutal criteria bequeathed” at her birth. (...) The tragedy of Ma

Rainey's life is not occasioned by her illusion of how much power she has over the white managers, but demonstrated by the role she is relegated to play according to society's "rules" (Wang, 1999:49)

All of her behaviour points to her need to feel important and, if not loved, at least adored and pampered.

According to Adell (1994):

Ma Rainey does not ask, "Who am I?"-Ma Rainey demands instead that the world be informed about who she *is*- a social and *sexual* subject who, as the drama unfolds, continuously challenges the presumed authority of the white men and the black men who make up her immediate environment (Adell, cit in Nadel, 1994:55)

Levee also wants to have control, which provides the major conflict. He sees himself as the best person there and, as such, feels he should be the director. He wants recognition for his talent and for the struggles he feels he has had to endure during his lifetime. He aspires to have his own band some day- playing a newer, dance-friendly style of music and he wants restitution for the rape of his mother and the discrimination he faces everyday. These how and when, though, are so ephemeral that they are beyond hope and/ or understanding.

Cutler wants order and calm, feels that it is his responsibility to maintain direction and purpose but has not been able to follow through on those responsibilities. Dussie Mae wants attention and the feeling of importance that is meant to go ' being with ` a famous person. She basks in the attention she gets from Levee simply because it focuses on her and what she feels is her best attribute- her beauty. The stuttering nephew wants to be a star and feels he has an opportunity 'to make it` that he is not taking advantage of and may not have the talent to accomplish.

Intention

The main issue of the play is the interaction of the players as seen as a microcosm of society in general, the tensions and the problems that assault a black person in a world dominated by whites.

Paul Prece (2008) writing about *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* claims Edward Said's development of contrapuntal reading of analysis. According to him, Said's prescription applied to the novel, "presents a reading and analysis and an interpretation of colonial texts focusing on the perspectives of both colonizer and colonized. Said's method allows for illuminating different perspectives based on differences in power while simultaneously making connections. How the text interacts and is supplemented by biographical and historical contexts addresses both the perspective of the power which subordinates and the resistance of the subordinated (Prece, 2008:5)

August Wilson provides a shared base of music and work environment setting that includes the white audience even while it serves as an example of the subtle discriminations and the pressures of the not so subtle racism that confronts one fourth of the population. The secondary issue is concerned with the transference of the past into an understanding of the present. The underlying conflicts of the play finally erupt in an act of violence where one black man attacks another, from a sense of desperation that is as relevant to the youth of today as it was to the characters in the play. Not necessarily the situations but the emotional content and frustration at lack of control are issues that are abundant in today's American society. Violence increases and Wilson provides insight into many of the components that bring that violence out into the world. Through the auspices of the genre of the Blues, Wilson has attempted to educate the audience concerning issues pertinent to the Black culture and experience. As Kim Pereira(1995) claims:

With each decade, as they reinvent themselves to survive the urban jungle of twentieth-century America, blacks seek new ways to affirm their self-worth. After three centuries of humiliation were followed by broken promises and denied opportunities in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras, they were in great need of a healing process (Pereira, 1995:107)

The most blatant of the above mentioned components is the inequality and condescending attitude that is seen toward the black performers by the white management. The allegory of southern plantation owner and slave is somewhat reinforced by Ma Rainey's insistence that whites are incapable of understanding the Blues. Whites cannot fully understand an experience they are incapable of living fully. Adell cit. in Nadel (1994) argues that:

Ma Rainey knows that she gets her way because she has something that Irvin and Sturdyvant (white characters in the play) want- her voice. She knows that Irvin and Sturdyvant lack any real commitment to her, her music, or the blues tradition and that they will put up with her as long as it is profitable for them to record her songs (Adell, 1994: 55)

However, through the endeavours of people such as August Wilson, there is a possibility that an understanding and empathy can develop through which the society may heal the wounds that racism has caused and stop the violence that results. Such was surely the intention of the author, together with an affirmation of Afro-American identity and cultural heritage.

Going back to Adell's words (1994),

The Blues is what excites the will-to-power of those beings who would otherwise lack the power to will beyond the narrow and racially defined spheres of their existence.(...) The Blues is what em-powers them to seek their truth in a "dimension of happening" that transcends the value-laden realities of the everyday. Ma Rainey's *truth* is her song transformed into a communal act.(Adell, cit. in Nadel, 1994:63)

Conclusion

Because of its ending the play is considered a tragedy. The lack of actual physical action requires that the play rely on story-telling and character development to move it to the conclusion. The interplay between the characters acts towards this goal and is successful in building tension so that the end is not surprising, but contains an element of shock. Levee, by taking his aggressions on an innocent party, and one that is also black, when his anger stems from his feelings towards whites, is sufficient to cause the audience to stop and consider the implications of the act and the underlying meaning of the play. Joan Herrington (1998) argues that the final version of the play "contained two hastily-joined sections- the drama in the band room, the domain of the African-American men, and the drama in the recording studio, the domain of the white men. In working to create a cohesive whole, Wilson wove the two parts together."(Herrington,1998:50). Conversely, and according to Barker(2008), following on the thought of Ashcroft (1995) this play fits into what the latter calls the "black writing model" of postcolonial literature, which is divided into two sub-models: a) domination-subordination and b) hybridization-creolization (Barker, 2008:276). " Ma Rainey's Black Bottom" is clearly placed in the domination-subordination model, as one can see the pyramid of domination from whites to blacks and blacks to blacks according to the statute of the characters of the play , be they race or gender, notwithstanding the two levels mentioned above, according to Herrington.

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Abstract: José de Alencar, one of the most notorious figures of the Brazilian Romanticism, is a prominent writer because, among other features, he brings into his fiction the indigenous traditions, as well as a whole universe where legends and myths, habits and customs prevail. The Brazilian novelist, upon returning to his homeland, is charmed by the legend of the Ceará and writes the novel *Iracema* (1865) – starring the white warrior Martim, a name that evokes the Roman god of war and destruction, Mars. This novel, written in poetic prose, highlights the mythological features of the indigenous culture, as well as the colonization of Brazil. Given the impact of this piece, the current proposal aims at underlining some themes underlying the novel under analysis, such as the wilderness and primitivism of the Indian world, their idolatry, their customs, their traditions and also the coming of the conqueror – the white man – to the natural habitat of the indigenous man. It is our goal to bring out the depiction of the indigenous female figure by establishing a comparison between José de Alencar’s *Iracema* and François René de Chateaubriand’s *Atala*.

Keywords: Indianity; Brazilian Romanticism; idolatry; Travel literature.

The need to portrait the Brazilian nation of his time is a prevailing feature of the Romantic prose of José de Alencar, whose goal is to reinforce the Brazilian national identity and to highlight the foundations of Indianity. Actually, Romanticism in the nineteenth century had changed focus onto the artists’ right to creative freedom, by valuing the expression of feelings over reason and by describing countryside scenes – the cult of Nature –, in fact, according to José Aderalto Castello, “the feeling of the landscape is already something new and expressive in the poetry of the time, focused on Brazil” (1981:171; my translation). Therefore, the expression of an excessive sentimentalism (be it melancholy or suffering) is the main focus of this current. The sentimentalism promotes a way of escaping the real world and the reader may find it in travel literature, which portrays a search and a necessity to recuperate the past. On this note, Silviano Santiago points out that Alencar «is the Brazilian writer who shows the clearer desire to surround and trim down the free path of the text» (Apud. Franchetti, 2007: 75; my translation). Maria de Lourdes da Conceição Cunha also suggests that:

And this explains, partly, Indianity, which is present not only in Brazilian literature but also in French, with Chateaubriand, or in English, with Fenimore Cooper, an author who wrote many fictional

The national nostalgia: Alencar’s indianity

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works about the Indian (...). In Brazil, the refuge of existence, that is, the attempt to regain the past, comes true by returning to a previous era, before or around the Discoveries. (2005:39; my translation)

For José de Alencar, it is all about reminding us about the extinction of a people – the Indians, the aborigines – whose culture, when in contact with the colonizing white man, gradually asphyxiated and disappeared. Thus, the literary work of the author, in the nineteenth century, reconciles privileged themes of Romantic prose: death and life, love and suicide, impossible loves, tragic events and destinies, heroic female characters and many more. In *Iracema*, subtitled *The legend of Ceará*, the nationalistic trend is transparent, as under the pretext of the forbidden love story between a Portuguese warrior and a virgin young Indian we are reminded of historical moments that took place in the province of Ceará. Maria de Lourdes da Conceição Cunha mentions again the relevance of the expression of feelings by the lead characters:

It stands out that both female and male figures show their despairing passions, be it by direct speech of the character, be it by way of the narrator's interference. He, with his omniscient eye, exposes the most intimate of heroes and heroines. (ibid.: 75; my translation)

Moved by sentimentalism – a typical feature of the Romantic view – José de Alencar defines Martim Soares Moreno as the male paradigm of the white civilization – as the Portuguese colonizing force – and the decisive element for miscegenation, as the invasion of the indigenous cultures takes place. Friend of the Pitiguaras, who fought the Tabajaras for land possession – the latter were allies of the French – Martim is described as a «strange warrior» (Alencar, 1994:40; my translation), a «white warrior» (ibid.: 41; my translation); after getting lost from his brother, the great and brave warrior Poti, he unexpectedly meets Iracema in the forest.

Iracema is the daughter of Pajé Araquém, from the tribe of the Tabajaras. She can be compared to the warrior goddess Diana, due to her courage when fighting for her tribe and, afterwards, for her love. She is a true force of nature, a *femme fatale* of divine beauty. She is called «the virgin of the honey lips» (ibid.: 40; my translation), «the brown-skinned virgin» (ibid.; my translation), «the virgin of the sertão» (ibid.: 61; my translation), among many other descriptors.

Thus, this article aims at, on the one hand, leaning on the features of Indianity in the novel *Iracema*, basing our analysis on the idolatries and rituals of indigenous culture that can be found in the narrative, and to highlight the implementation of customs and indigenous superstitions upon the arrival of the settler on those wild lands; on the other hand, this investigation aims at analysing the female figure in Alencar's novel, comparing it to the one in Chateaubriand's *Atala*, so as to bring out the idyllic depiction of the virgin woman in the poetic of both novels.

1. Between the human and the divine: the colonizer and the Indian.

Although Alencar's novel is a paradigm of Romanticism by narrating the forbidden love story between a settler and an Indian woman, it also entails a representation of national identity which is by itself paradigmatic, as it enhances a fundamental historical component of Brazilian literature: the interest for the primitive inhabitants of the colonized or unoccupied lands, and the creation and exploitation of the concept of Indianity. According to Nelson Werneck Sodré, «The Indians were, thus, a first order theme, constantly in the minds of those with intellectual range» (Sodré, 2004: 297; my translation). Therefore, in *Iracema*, the arrival of the settler on Brazilian ground raises rivalries between two indigenous tribes – the Tabajaras and the Pitiguaras – both narrowly connected to the white colonizers and whose conflict is part of the territorial conquest, in which lies the rise of a nation and of an identity.

The novel revisits as well the legend of the Ceará, thereby conferring a mythical connotation to the narrative. As regards the concept of myth, Mircea Eliade puts forth that «the myth tells a sacred story, it narrates an event that took place in a primeval time, the fabled time of the “beginnings” (2000: 12; my translation). The author adds that:

(...) myths not only narrate the origin of the world, of animals, of plants and of man, but also all primeval events which caused man to become what he is today, that is, a mortal, sexed being, organized into a society, forced to work for a living and working according to a set of rules. (ibid.: 17; my translation)

In fact, José de Alencar's novel begins with the troubled encounter between the two lead characters. On this first contact between the two heroes, the culture shock between Indian and white originates a blood bath: «It was as quick as a glance, Iracema's movement. The arrow embedded in the bow left. Blood drops bubble in the face of the stranger» (Alencar, 1994: 40; my translation). Nevertheless, Alencar uses the image of the immaculate virgin to outline «the preconception of “goodness”, or, in other words, of the qualities of the American savage, visible in his contacts and in the confrontation with the civilized man» (Castello, 1981: 123; my translation). Nelson Werneck Sodré adds that it is «really about the concept that tried to see in the Indian the naturally good man, the originally good man, gifted with the natural goodness that seduced Encyclopaedists so much» (2004: 294; my translation).

Therefore, we witness that, due to the aborigine customs, the settler is welcomed into the tribe as a dear guest and not as a usurper. This is why Iracema is immediately sorry that she shot an arrow at him, and, wanting to promote peace, «she breaks the homicidal arrow; gives the stick to the stranger, keeping for herself the sharp point» (Alencar, 1994: 41; my translation). Brazilian culture, thus portrayed through its early inhabitants, the Indians, appears aloof of any savagery, since the natives are held as civilized beings, who know how to welcome their visitors:

«— Welcome, stranger, to the fields of the Tabajaras, lords of the villages, and to the hut of Araquém, father of Iracema». (ibid.; my translation)

«— You came? (...) — Welcome. The stranger is lord in the hut of Araquém. The Tabajaras have a thousand warriors to defend him and countless women to serve him. Say a word and all will obey you». (ibid.: 42; my translation)

In fact, Antônio Soares Amora points out that, regarding Alencar's inspiration to write his indianist novel, he may have based it on «the legend of Tupi (1874), which came to be a good fictional account of the origins of Brazil and the indigenous civilization» (1997:201; my translation).

We also come into contact with the cult of purity through the depiction of the virgin woman who holds the secret of the tribe – the jurema: «She is the one who holds the secret of the jurema and the dream mystery. Her hand makes the Tupã drink for the Pajé» (Alencar, 1994: 43; my translation).

Likewise, there is a whole superstitious ritual surrounding the arrival and the farewell of the guest: the smoking of the peace pipe is, upon arrival, an invitation to peace, a sign of welcome; however, at the time of farewell, it aims at keeping at bay the bad spirits of that who leaves the camp of the Tabajara tribe:

The Pajé stood up in the middle of the hut and lit the pipe. He and the lad exchanged the smokes of goodbye. (...) The old man walked to the door, to release in the wind a thick breath of tobacco: when the smoke cleared, he murmured:

- May Jurupari hide to let the guest of the Pajé pass. (ibid.: 52; my translation)

There is no doubt that, in Alencar's work, as is pointed out by Ronaldo Vainfas, we witness «practices in which the indigenous showed his attachment to the past and to tradition, without an overt challenge to the colonial exploitation or the supremacy of Christianity» (1992: 30; my translation). Cohabitation is, therefore, a reality between the two races, so as to give each other a favourable view of both.

Furthermore, in Alencar's romantic fantasy, the indigenous rivalry between the

two tribes is associated, in parallel, to the fight between the French and the Portuguese, that is, to the presence of a rivalry among Europeans. The quest for land between settlers and Indians leads to friendship between races. Thus, we highlight Martim's integration among the Pitiguara tribe, becoming a friend and ally to the chief Poti: «The two brothers leaned head to head and chest to chest, to say they both had but one head and one heart» (Alencar, 1994: 66; my translation). Further in the plot, the Portuguese warrior earns the right to an indigenous name, for showing his loyalty to the tribe: «- My brother is a great warrior of the Pitiguara nation: he needs a name in the language of his nation. (...) — Coatiabo! Exclaimed Iracema» (ibid.: 81; my translation).

Afterwards, there is the festive ritual which involves war body-painting and food treats to celebrate the indigenous customs and traditions for the passing of a white settler to an Indian warrior – whose name becomes Coatiabo¹. The symbolism of the drawings in the body of the white warrior strengthens his new identity, because, by painting on his own skin markings that link him to his new tribe and his love for the indigenous woman, he is accepting his belonging to a new culture:

They traced at first black stripes over the body, like the fur of the quati, whence this art of war body-painting originated. Then they varied the colours, and many warriors used to write emblems of their feats. (ibid.: 80; my translation)

Poti gave his brother the bow and the tacape, which are the noble weapons of the warrior. Iracema had weaved him the cocar and the araçãoia, which ornate the notorious leaders. (ibid.: 81; my translation)

In fact, at this moment in the narrative, we are not faced with the colonizer's desire to implement the Christian faith in wild lands, but with the settler's acceptance of a new belief, a new homeland, for love and for friendship. However, at the end of the plot, Martim remains linked to the rest of the settlers – when he returns to the land he had left, after the death of his beloved. Here, we find there is a will, by some of the colonizers, to enforce the Christian faith upon the natives.

Many warriors of his race went with the white chief to found the Christian mairi. Also, a priest of his religion came, wearing black robes, to plant a cross in the wild land.

Poti was the first to kneel at the foot of the sacred wood; he wouldn't stand for anything that would separate him from his white brother. They should both have one god, as they had one heart. (ibid.: 96; my translation)

Furthermore, it is essential to mention that the narrative shows the author's concern with uniting the two races: the white and the Indian. Thus, from the forbidden love between Martim and Iracema, a new lineage is born and «the first son of white blood, bred on that land of freedom, saw light in the Porangaba fields» (ibid.: 90; my translation).

Nevertheless, Alencar also represents the Indian resistance to that marriage. Irapuã, the chief of the Tabajaras, refuses to let a stranger and an outsider to seduce Iracema. She is the most precious asset to the tribe, she is the virgin who keeps the dreams of the jurema, and so Irapuã is a figure

¹ Coatiabo means “the painted warrior”.

who fights for the preservation of her virginity, of her purity, so that she be not seduced by the white man. Irapuã's anger falls on the colonizer, the conqueror of the Tabajaras' most precious asset, and so the love of a woman renders the fight for land insignificant. Thus, «against one hundred Tabajaran warriors with Irapuã in the lead they formed a bow. Brave Caubi faced them all, with eyes full of wrath and valiant weapons held in his sturdy hand. The chief demanded the surrender of the stranger (...)» (ibid.: 53; my translation).

Despite ethnical differences, the ideal of a sublime love prevails, the ideal of a woman who cannot be violated by the colonizer and, therefore, must remain immaculate and pure. The virgin of the honey lips, holder of the secret of the jurema, allows Alencar to explore the virtues of Indianity, of the Indian as an inherently good being, a virtuous being.

2. José de Alencar and René de Chateaubriand: the depiction of the indigenous woman

The intertextual relation between *Iracema*, by José de Alencar, and *Atala*, by François René de Chateaubriand, may be considered regarding themes such as the contemplation of Nature, Rousseau's myth of the "beau sauvage", the description of indigenous customs, the depiction of purity and innocence. In short, intertextuality is obvious as regards the Indian way of life in their natural habitat. The world vision which is present in both novels is linked to a time of conflict and land conquest, since the lands were primarily held by the indigenous tribes. Confrontation and fighting occur, thus, among Europeans and Indians, be it for the possession of land, for leadership or for the conversion to Christianity.

The comparison between the French novel *Atala*² (1801) by François René de Chateaubriand – precursor of Romanticism in France – and the Brazilian novel *Iracema* by Alencar is, in fact, undeniable, when based mainly on the events experienced by the lead characters. This train of thought leads us to look for sources of inspiration so as to the outline of the characters. According to Jorge de Sena, Alencar found his inspiration in the work of the French author:

The people in his novels are, anyway, much more Brazilian than all the Indians in the poems of Gonçalves Dias or the novels of José de Alencar: those Indians, as is well known, were really born in France and had hastily learned a few words in Guarani for the occasion. (1988: 267-268; my translation)

On the same line, Paulo Franchetti adds that:

Alencar's inspirational and methodological sources are Fenimore Cooper's and Chateaubriand's novels on the Indians of North America, from where he takes the poetic prose tone and many of the images, expressions and even a god. (2007: 78; my translation)

Nevertheless, regarding the construction of the indigenous characters and the depiction of Indianity, we find the methods of the two writers are distinct:

In fact, in the preface of the first edition of *Atala*, Chateaubriand revealed the solution he used to maintain the realism of the speech of his Indian characters without compromising the intelligibility of his novel: he used the fact that Chactas was a savage educated in Europe to make him "speak like a savage in the portrayal of the customs, and like a European in the drama and the plot". (Franchetti, 2007: 78; my translation)

2 The first text of *Atala* is a shortened version of *Le Génie du Christianisme* (cf. Vinet, 1990: 74).

As regards indigenous speech, «Alencar had the opposite solution to this problem: he chose to radicalize the usage of indigenous language» (ibid.; my translation). It is also noticeable that Alencar used «another technique, advanced for the time, (...) [i.e.] the alternating of narrative plans inside a chapter, with plot and time going back to a previously narrated point» (Cunha, 2005: 72; my translation). In effect, Chateaubriand and Alencar use analepsys to narrate past events, reintegrating facts that had not been focused on in their due time and that are necessary to create certain expectations on the reader.

Many other similarities are evident as regards the depiction of the characters and the plot itself. The French novel is focused around Chactas³, an Indian of the Natchez tribe, who becomes a prisoner of an enemy tribe but is saved by Atala, a young Indian converted to Christianity. Just as in the Brazilian novel, both lead characters fall in love and, to save Chactas, who had been given a death sentence, Atala sets him free and runs away with him. Chactas believes to be facing a picture of a virgin when he first sees Atala: «I believed it was the Virgin of the last loves, that virgin who is sent to the war prisoner to enchant his tomb» (Chateaubriand, 1969: 41; my translation).

In this case, Atala - much like Alencar's female character Iracema - is a young virgin who must remain untouched. However, devout to Christianity, so as not to succumb to her passion for Chactas, she chooses to sacrifice her own life and she commits suicide.

The similarity between both female figures is evident, as both evoke the blossoming of love, the angelic depiction of the aborigine woman and the emphasis placed on their virginity.

The virgin, always alert, turned to the sleeping Christian; and she kept watch by his side the rest of the night. The recent emotions, which stirred in her soul, opened her further to the sweet affection that the stranger's eyes seeped into her. (Alencar, 1994: 49; my translation)

The girl of the desert was as troubled as her prisoner; we guarded a profound silence; the Genii of love had robbed us of words. (Chateaubriand, 1969: 43, my translation)

The torment of the indigenous soul, as far as love is concerned, is patent on both female figures. Both Iracema and Atala live tormented by forbidden feelings, trying in vain to suppress this impossible love that slowly consumes them. However, there is a difference in the way the two characters fulfill their love: Iracema fears for her beloved's life if he is seduced by her; whereas Atala knows that if she is seduced her own life is at stake.

White warrior, Iracema is the daughter of the Pajé, and she keeps the secret of the jurema. The warrior who possesses the virgin of the Tupã would die. (Alencar, 1994: 51; my translation)

As we moved forward, she became sad. Often she wandered for no reason and hastily returned to the head. I found her giving me a passionate look, which she turned to the sky with profound melancholy. (...) Ah, well, poor Chactas, I will never become your wife! (Chateaubriand, 1969: 57; my translation)

Eventually, the female indigenous figures surrender to passion, which leads them to a deep psychological imbalance that makes the more and more unstable. Atala actually commits suicide to end her torment.

«Ah, well! she said, I had predicted my weakness; when leaving the huts, I brought with me...» «What?» I answered in horror. «A poison!» said the father. «It is in my breast» cried Atala. (ibid.: 79; my translation)

³ Chateaubriand enhances the pride felt by Chactas when fighting the enemy tribe Muscogulge, thus highlighting his courage: «My name is Chactas, son of Outalissi, son of Miscou, who have taken more than one hundred sea lps from the Muscogulgan heroes» (Chateaubriand, 1969: 40; my translation).

This violent act can be understood as a testimony of her forbidden love for Chactas, as if in death this love can become real, consummated, eternal. Atala's suffering finds a release in the sacrifice of her life as a way to fulfill her duty to remain pure – a virgin – and this death ritual is a real heroic act of the indigenous woman, showing her desire to love her beloved beyond death.

On this note, Maria de Lourdes da Conceição Cunha corroborates that «in general, the death of the female character before marriage is also a way of maintaining the female virginal figure» (2005: 143; my translation). And she adds that:

To keep her a virgin, as the ideal so cherished by Romanticism, the novel either ended with a marriage scene, actually a common feature in the literature of that time, or the heroine would die and, thus, she would maintain her purity in a world dominated by men who, in Romantic novels, can sometimes be considered inferior. Death would thus be a mediator between two plans: the human and the divine. (ibid.: 143-144; my translation)

In truth, the tragic death of Iracema and Atala levates these characters to a divine status, as the first sacrifices her life after falling into temptation and the latter commits suicide for being kissed and having forbidden feelings.

In the end, by challenging the gods and breaking their virginity vow, they are both victims of a death curse. Iracema by marrying Martim and giving him her most precious treasure – her virginity – violates the secret of the jurema:

The outsider holds her to his chest; and the avid lip searches the lip that awaits it, to rejoice in this union of souls, in the marriage of love. (Alencar, 1994: 63; my translation)

And so the virgin of the [sertão] nestled in the arms of the warrior. (...) In her beautiful face shame lit vivid blushes; and as among the lighting of dusk in the coming morning shines the first ray of sun, in her fiery face glowed the first smile of the wife, sunrise of fulfilled love. (ibid.: 64; my translation)

As for Atala – whose virginity had been promised to the gods by her mother, so that she would be spared from death as a child –, she believes she has unrested her mother's soul and, in an act of desperation, she drinks a fatal poison to amend her weakness and thus be forgiven:

That beautiful young woman, half raised on her elbow, looked pale and disheveled. (...) To save my life my mother made a vow: she promised the Queen of the Angels that I would devote my virginity to her if I escaped death... Fatal vow that pushed me into my tomb! (Chateaubriand, 1969: 74-75; my translation)

Hence forth, Atala's fight became futile: in vain I felt her take a hand to her breast and make an extraordinary movement; already I had spoilt her, already I had been stunned by her breath. Already I had drunk all the magic of love on her lips. (ibid.: 63; my translation)

Lastly, the female figures live a tragic ending, one which can be called heroic, since they both fight and die for love. This ends up being stronger than reason and leads them to suffering and disgrace.

Placing the child on her father's arms, the unhappy mother passed away, like the flower when the bulb is torn. (...) Iracema did not again rise from the net where the distressed arms of Martim had placed her. (...) Her sweet lip forever mute; the last spark on her shineless eyes. (Alencar, 1994: 94-95; my translation)

«Go, Christian soul: go join your Creator!» Lifting my fallen head, I cried, watching the vase where the holy oil was stored: «My father, this remedy, will it bring Atala back to life?» »Yes, my child, said the old

man falling into my arms, eternal life!» Atala had just passed. (Chateaubriand, 1969: 86; my translation)

A last word must be said about Chateaubriand's and Alencar's concern with which they depict the human side of their female characters, turning them into models of selflessness and goodness. Thus, as Nelson Werneck Sodré points out, «Indianists wanted to turn the Indian, more than into a topic, into a hero» (2004: 303; my translation). Maria de Lourdes da Conceição Cunha corroborates that «(...)another aspect which is brought into focus by José de Alencar is the way in which he manages his heroines, ideal figures, far from reality and of a social behaviour at times unacceptable, even when madly in love (...)» (2005: 74; my translation). This observation certainly applies to Chateaubriand's female character, whose heroic acts were at all times aimed at safeguarding her beloved's life, sentenced to death. It is not an overstatement to say that the indigenous women in these narratives are endowed with qualities typical of male heroes, as they are brave, even if the purity of their hearts makes them more prone to torment and suffering provoked by love. Actually, in the name of love, Iracema and Atala renounce their origins and become, thus, enemies of their own tribes.

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Abstract: The construction of cultural identities in contemporary society is a dynamic, contradictory and fragmented process, as pointed out by Hall (2006). This article aims to discuss how this process has taken place in the country's capital, Brasilia, through writers' expressed representations of the city's identity; all published in the year of the capital's fiftieth anniversary. Built in 1960, in the heart of Brazil, Brasilia is seen by most Brazilians as a unique city: the political capital planned by architects and listed as a UNESCO (United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) World Heritage Site. It also remains relatively unknown abroad, despite the emerging leadership role Brazil has on the international scene. Representations of the city and what constitutes "Brasilia" was one of the main themes present in the media over the course of the celebratory year, and also symbolically represented through diverse cultural expressions, mainly literature. Brazilian studies on the Federal Capital have pointed to its diversity of culture and regional expressions that are grouped and regrouped in the new urban context. This process of forming and reforming creates a diversity of elements characteristic to those who live in Brasilia

Keywords: Representations; Cultura Identity; Writers; Lusophone; Brasilia.

1. Introduction

The construction of cultural identities in contemporary society is a dynamic, contradictory and fragmented process, according to Hall (2006). In this work, I investigate and explore how this process occurs in Brasilia, the capital of Brazil. I look at this from a consolidated viewpoint of main representations of Brasilia according to the writers who live in the city and have had their books, magazines, and blogs published in 2010; the year the city celebrated its 50 year anniversary.

My primary objective is to map out the main representations of Brasilia as expressed by these writers in their texts and speeches (through individual interviews during the 2012 year). My secondary objective is to identify, from these very same writers' points of view, who a Brasiliense is and compare that to the dominant representations of what being a Brazilian is. Only the interviews were analyzed for this article.

The academic studies on understanding the construction of identity of the residents and of the people actually born in the capital have pointed towards the cultural diversity and regional expressions formed and reformed within the context of the city. This process of forming and reforming creates a diversity

The writers and the city: representations of cultural identity in the capital of Brazil¹

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¹ The article explores a part of the arguments and the first results of the ongoing research Representations of Brasiliense Cultural Identity: literature and journalism, realized through participation from Scientific Initiation Scholarship holders Paulo Mateusz Vianna and Thiago Carlos Alves do Nascimento. Undergraduation students Denise Santos de Oliveira, Mariana Machado Bueno e Yandria Rebbeca Araújo dos Reis also participated in the research, whose contributions were essential for the continuity of the investigation. The text also incorporates reflections of the research project "Journalists and the city: experiences, identities and representations", funded by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq).

of elements characteristic to those who live in Brasilia: the relation between the architecture so characteristic of Plano Piloto; the dominance of a lifestyle dictated by government authorities; the distinct separation between commercial areas and residential areas; even the characterization of a dialect typical of the city yet still relatively unknown by other Brazilians (LUIZ, 2007; PAVIANI, 2010a; TEIXEIRA, 2011).

The predesigned origin of the city had an impact on more than just the lives of those who originally designed and built it. Over half a century later, the original layout of Plano Piloto (a layout designed in the form of an airplane where the wings of the plane define the two districts; North Wing and South Wing) has a strong impact on the social interactions of Brasilia's residents, as we will discuss further. As Canclini (2008) states, cities do not exist for just occupying territory, constructing buildings and providing material objects for its inhabitants to interact with. The meaning (and non-meaning) of urban is formed in the way we imagine it in books, magazines, films, even through information we obtain in the form of newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet (p.15). These are the "mental and emotional mappings" that mark our trajectories through the cities; the same way maps, a GPS, or asking for directions to neighbors and friends (Canclini, 2008).

I believe that the cultural practice of articulation and identity representation should be investigated in the context of cities where contemporary Brazilian literature is most prominent, yet also taking into account the public and private areas of movement and circulation of ideas. If we think of literature as a social practice and the writers as co-builders of collective memory, then the city becomes a locus for the identity construction of subjects and places¹.

The exact focus of this work is the relationship between culture, literature, and characterization of identities established out of representations produced by a particular social group of writers who live and work in the city. From this point of view, studying the movement of building and rebuilding identities means investigating how these elements define the representations that characterize a city (or, our concept of a city) through discourses produced by those living in an urban environment and how these discourses are articulated on a daily basis in all forms of cultural production.

In this respect, writers and journalists are in the prestigious position of being narrators and depictees of representation mainly because their work constitutes the heart of their crafts. The writers consolidate representations and memories of the subjects/places, since memory itself is the identity in action (CANDAUI, 2011).

2. Theoretical and methodological notes

From a theoretical point of view, the most relevant concepts for our research are culture, identity and representation (WILLIAMS, 1969 E 2007; HALL, 1997a; 2006; TADEU, 2000; HALL E SOVIK, 2006; PESAVENTO, 2008). The concept of culture is implied in a symbolic system of which we are all a part of. It is central to our lives, to social groups, and is one of the conditions characteristic of all and any social practice (HALL, 1997a in GUAZINA, 2011).

In this work, I think culture as the symbolic system in which people are inserted, in other words, the context of where they live, where values, ideas, traditions, habits, as well as rules and other mechanisms for maintaining this system itself are shared (HALL, 1997; GEERTZ, 2008 in GUAZINA, 2011). Each artistic cultural expression acts as a catalyst of values, ideas and representations for different groups in the dynamic process of symbolic disputes of belonging and not belonging established within culture.

¹ Certeau (2003) shows how stories and narratives traverse and organize places while modifying spaces. What is experienced in everyday life alters the city itself.

I believe, as Hall (2006) suggests, that it is possible to map out dominant representations characteristic of the identity construction process and, therefore, identify the connections and belongings characteristic of social groups. Even though there are multiplicity and plurality of representations, establishing connections between them within a cultural context is possible.

Therefore, I understand the concept of representation expressed by Hall (2001) as “an essential part of the process where meaning is produced and exchanged among the members of a culture. This involves the use of languages, signs, and images which represent things” (HALL, 2001:15 apud GUAZINA, 2012).

On the other hand, it is also important to note that in his perspective, Hall (in HALL and SOVIK, 2006) implies an understanding that tensions extend across identity. This means that identity is a place which defines itself; it is always being built and relies on an individual’s action for its definition; it depends on context. In other words, identities are situations where it is necessary to discuss the meanings in order to understand the relations between subjects in determined spaces (p.20).

It is also important to remember that identities are related and their differences and similarities are defined by symbols relative to other identities (WOODWARD, 2000). In this case, representations of identity related to Brasilia cannot be fully understood unless we take into account the city’s importance in the history of Brazil and the Brazilian imaginary (i.e. discussions about which elements characterize Brazilian identity)².

Against the backdrop of the above-mentioned concepts of culture, identity, and representation, I develop my analysis out of interviews with writers who live in and write about the city. From a methodological point of view, the most relevant concept for the research is representation, understood here specifically as the production of meaning in our minds through language (HALL, 1997b). The characteristics present in the writers’ literature and discourses constitute the possible fragments of cultural identities and of “being Braziliense” itself.

In this paper, I explore the interviews with six writers of literary works (prose and poetry) published in books and blogs during the 2010 year : André Giusti, Fernanda Barreto, João Almino, José Rezende Jr., Nicolas Behr and Pedro Biondi. Before interviews, our research group mapped out their texts from books, magazines, and blogs published in different genres and formats (romances, tales, short stories, poetry and essays). All of these had referenced the city in one way or another (whether cited as a character or a setting in a story, or a referral to places, routines and a lifestyle characteristic of the city). The objective was to try to understand how these authors, who worked on a more symbolic level, represented the city from the point of view of their personal lives and discourses. The interviews were conducted in-person and individually (in the case of André Giusti, José Rezende, Jr., Nicolas Behr, and Pedro Biondi) or by online (in the case of Fernanda Barreto and João Almino) over the course of 2012.

3. The Writers

The authors from our research engaged in various activities beyond the field of writing, regardless of age, educational background or social origin. With the exception of John Almino (diplomat) and Nicolas Behr (owner of a plant nursery), the other writers also work as journalists and regularly publish (or have already published) articles in local newspapers, magazines, or other literary publications in the city. None of the authors were born in Brasilia and not all of them live in the city. They were or are

² It is not our intention here to discuss Brazilian culture and national identity, seeing as how they are historically great themes of intellectual debate in the country with a vast bibliography throughout different fields of knowledge. For those unfamiliar with the topic see: Ortiz (2006), Oliven (2002), Matta (1979;1984;1988) , Fiorin (2009), Debrun (1990), among others.

migrants from other states who came to work in the capital.

Almino and Behr are the best known duo of writers to the public. With a consistent track record of publications and a good rapport among literary critics, the two authors have received recognition from the literary-savvy public. José Rezende Junior has won major awards in Brazilian literature (Jabuti Prize) and André Giusti has ensured national publication of his short stories. Pedro Biondi and Fernanda Barreto are the youngest group and basically publish blogs.

According to Barroso (2008), writers who live and write in Brasilia can be classified into three groups: 1) those representing the city from a positive perception of the pioneering spirit of its architecture, 2) those who feel disillusioned in relation to the capital (and emphasize the negative aspects of urban life), and 3) those who dedicate themselves to transcribing day-to-day life and emphasize the contrast between Brasilia and the poverty of its satellite cities.

Paniago (2012) states that the official and administrative vocation of the capital has influenced even the writers of the city. There are countless forms of association, such as unions and academies of letters, without local literature being recognized nationally. On the other hand, the Brasiliense literary environment still lacks incentive: the writers' relationship to the local public is still in its early days, with the exception of Nicolas Behr who is affectionately known as the "poet of the city".

In addition, several writers living in Brasilia try to avoid local themes in their writing. The apprehension of representing the capital in their writings stems mainly from the dominant role that São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro still play in terms of production and cultural circulation. A romance with a different theme or ambiance is less likely to be recognized nationally. This is why Brasilia still remains on the outskirts of Brazilian literary writing, despite being the country's capital.

In the case of poetry, the city represents a challenge accepted by many authors, notably Behr, who try to subvert order, organization, and standard urban planning through words and provocative representations. Furiati (2010) shows how Behr's poetry, for example, talks critically about the city, undressed the 'coldness' of the original layout, deconstructs the myth of creation through irony and humour, and recovers the typical Brazilian lifestyle of its residents with no room for lyricism or romantic representations.

4. The city

Built in 1960, in the heart of Brazil, Brasilia has been viewed by Brazilians in general as a city different from the others: a political-administrative capital planned by architects and recognized by UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) as a World Heritage Site.

On the other hand, Brasilia still remains relatively unknown abroad, despite the emergence of Brazil on the international scene. When mentioning a Brazilian city, most foreigners think of the more popular metropolises of Rio de Janeiro or Sao Paulo, or even cities on the northeastern coast with their standard tourist images of beaches, women, and coconut trees.

These cities are part of Brazil's history from the time of the Portuguese colonization and represent an idea which relates to the nation and/or to Brazilian culture: the idea of mixing. Be it a mixture of ethnic backgrounds, a mixture of new ideas and old ones (young country vs. European tradition), of popular (carnival, samba) and elitist (represented by industrialization and the rise of the middle classes), or of wealth and poverty (FIORIN, 2009).

Historically, the construction of Brasilia represented the possibility of encouraging development in the interior of Brazil. Although the capital was built only in the 1960s, the country's need for territorial integration and geographical occupation had been a concern of the government's since at least the 18th century.

Carpintero (2011) explains how important the occupation of the Brazilian interior (a territory considered “empty” of people and rich in natural resources) was for the Portuguese Empire since the coastline and towns connected to Amazon river waterways (such as Manaus and Belém) were more easily explored because of ship navigation.

However, as Carpintero (2011) points out, the exploration of the Brazilian “sertao” would become essential to the separation from Portugal and the posterior proclamation of the Republic in the 19th century. In 1892, the new republican government formed the Cruls Mission under the leadership of Dr. Cruls, director of the National Observatory. The aim of this Mission was to “explore the highlands of the interior and define the occupational boundaries of the future capital of the United States of Brazil in compliance with the National Congress resolution” (Cruls: 65 apud CARPINTERO, 2011).

In the 1950s, in another political context, the then President, Juscelino Kubitschek, took back the interior when he suggested moving the capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia. He himself came from the state of Minas Gerais; a large territory set in the interior with no direct access routes to the coast. In order for this capital relocation, he not only invested his political capital and financial resources in the country, but regained one of the most important elements to the myth of the origin of Brasilia; the dream of Don Bosco, a Catholic priest who, back in 1883 in Italy, had dreamed of a great “civilization” that would emerge on the 15th and 20th parallels (Kubitschek, 1975). In this historical context, the relocation of the capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia also represented the idea of mixing the laid-back interior of Brazil with the developed coastline. The relocation guaranteed access to natural resources and signaled the beginning of a “new” and “modern” Brazil, as defined by President Kubitschek³.

One of the major features of the city is its layout in the form of an airplane and its extensive public roads that favor the movement of cars rather than pedestrians⁴. The original urban layout (identified as Pilot Plan), designed by architect Lucio Costa, was based on the rationalist, functional and universal principals defined in the 1933 Athens Charter and the influential architectural mind of Le Corbusier in the 1960s. Often defined as “futuristic” and “modernist”, the capital was based on the four “keys of urbanism” proposed by the Athens Charter: live, work, recreation, movement (BICA, 2010).

This exact segregation of activities within the city (which directly affects the movement of persons) is one of the most talked about and criticized aspects of the city and it is what makes the capital different from other Brazilian cities (characterized by multiple and mixed urban areas). As Carpintero (2010), Pessoa (2013) and other authors have shown, the initial conception of the city attempted to rationally organize the various forms of urban life, in stark contrast to most Brazilian cities built under the influence of Luso-Brazilian architecture.

The option for separation of sectors is present in countless representations of the city in the Brazilian popular imaginary. Teixeira (2011) points out some of the most mentioned representations in common sense and in the media: “Brasilia has no people”, “In Brasilia we’re kind of foreigners in our own land”, “Brasilia is a city that does not accept those who have no car”, “Brasília has no sidewalks or bars”, “Brasilia is a fantasy island”, “the people of Brasilia are cold and dry to strangers”, “Brasilia is the land of corruption where corrupt politicians live”, etc.

Over the course of the capital’s 50-year existence, Brazilian and foreign writers and intellectuals

3 As a political and administrative capital, Brasilia is the headquarters for the country’s political powers (the Federal Government, the Legislative Body, and the Judicial Body) and therefore had a large number of the Brazilian elite working there. The capital is part of the Federal District, a group of several satellite towns with a population of about 2 million people (DF YEARBOOK, 2011). Brasilia occupies 450 km2 and has a population of 205,000 (about 10% of the total population of the Federal District).

4 Carpintero (1998) points out that cars were the main element in organizing the city.

have tried to define the “enigma” that is Brasiliense identity. In contrast to the mix of people, the confusion, and the noise characteristic of Brazilian large cities (and other cities in the Federal District), Brasilia has been called “a white, immovable model”, “a city without people”, the land of “loneliness and sorrow”, “dull”, “a place that prevents people meeting other people”, “representative of a Stalinist communist ideology”⁵ (PANIAGO, 2012). As one of the most famous Brazilian writers, Clarice Lispector, puts it: “Brasilia is artificial” (1999).

Among bloodproud narratives of President Kubitschek, utopian promises of modernist architects and lived experience of the first residents, the city has grown and won more than stereotypes in their representations. Yet how do studied writers relate to the city?

5. The Writers and the City (provisory considerations)

The relationship between the writers and the city is complex and fragmented, marked by strangeness upon arrival in the city. Most authors live (or have lived) in Brasilia and rarely visit the other satellite cities. With the exception of Nicolas Behr and Fernanda Barreto, who usually attend literary soirees and poetry groups in various regions of the Federal District, the others tend to remain in the capital.

This experience so prominent to Brasilia can be seen in the texts and interviews. For these authors, the city is primarily represented by describing or mentioning the day-to-day life of the people; in the neighbourhoods, in the buildings, the rapport between neighbours, and in loving relationships. In this case, the city serves as the singular setting or backdrop to the intimate life of its residents. The very short story “Lovers Shaft Road” by José Rezende Junior reads:

“The man ran across the six lanes of highway, zigzagging through wild traffic, but the woman stood still, paralyzed by fear. The separation lasted five days: he on one side, she on the other, and the automobiles weaving in and out of each other. And if no one told them there was a pedestrian underpass, well, that wasn’t to be cruel: it is just so beautiful to see the two of them, she tracing hearts in the air with her fingers, he sending notes in paper airplanes. I don’t think they have ever loved each other so much” (REZENDE JR., 2010, p. 55).

In relation to everyday life, the writers outline their own experiences of life in the city forming what we call “my Brasilia”. This city, different from representations of common sense, is built up in texts using emotional and playful references to certain places (bars, parks, the shore of Paranoá Lake, sectors, etc). In an interview, André Giusti mentions one of the most heavily wooded city blocks (with older-looking buildings) as characteristic of “his” city.

The mental maps expressed by the authors represent a different city than the one in the original layout. The sectorization is more human-like, serving as a backdrop for stories of love, sex, loneliness or frustration. Through the loving and ironic gaze of each author, the sectors in the city are represented ironically, as Pedro Biondi shows in the text “If that is how it has to be, sector it off...” (2010, p. 115), where he suggests fictional titles for areas of the city such as “Confirmed Rumors Sector” “Central Sector of Solitude”, “Superman’s Underwear Sector”, “Rubber Boot Sector”, among others.

The actual relationship between writer and city becomes the goal for literary production, as Fernanda Barreto says when she speaks of her literature as coming from her passion for Brasilia:

“Passion is not only love, there’s also a little hate, an anger towards this dry place, why is there so much asphalt or why is this blue sky here everyday? There is no “Damn, can’t it just stay cloudy?” Because there are some days when you are right in the middle of it, and this vast thing manages to remind you, in some

⁵ Marshall Berman Declaration in reference to Oscar Niemeyer, first name in Brazilian architecture and historic communist (in PANIAGO, 2012).

way, that there is an expanse, an openness that sometimes you just don't wanna know about; so you can get upset with the city, too. I find it a natural relation to the city".

Poet Nicolas Behr also talks about this relation:

"the strangeness is less so than when I first arrived, obviously I am well adapted now. My relationship with Brasilia is quite a domesticated one, you know? Even though I still have my conflicts with it, I find Brasilia to be a place to be improved upon, but I am very content here, I live the city, participate in the city, I am a part of the city. Yet what I think I wanted initially I got, which is to speak to the city, to understand the city and the city understand me, to live and love it here".

The mixture, one of the most prevalent characteristics of Brasiliense identity, now also represents the city due to the standardized layout, the origins, and the diverse and conflicting interests and life experiences of the residents. Fernanda Barreto illustrates this representation in her interview:

"The number of nooks and crannies the city has for bike riding is inexhaustible, as is the architecture, the interior, the nature. Yet another fantastic thing about the city is this mix of people, you know, from all corners of Brazil and the world. At the same time as being a very cosmopolitan city, it's a very village-like city. Because everyone knows one another".

On the other hand, there are two other characteristics that appeared in the texts which are also evident in this authors speech: one refers to the memory of construction pioneers of the capital and the other places Brasilia in the geographic context of the Central Plateau (Planalto Central). In this case, the authors try to show that the capital is not an isolated city or a completely different experience of being Brazilian. Rather, it is part of a regional history that unfolded in the "Cerrado" before its construction. This is the case of João Almino in the romance novel "Free City", which tells the story of the capital. He says in an interview:

"I have always been interested more in the mythical and symbolic side of the city and the possibility of bringing not just the various Brazilians to Brasilia but also in some way the contemporary world".

However, there are differences in approach about the city between Nicolas Behr, André Giusti and other authors. For both, criticism of the political and administrative aspects are much stronger. Behr, for example, created an imaginary Brasilia called "Braxília", his "city of dreams", completely different from the real one. In an interview, the poet says that "in the Brazilian imaginary, Brasília is a city of corrupt officials, parasitic, and do not work. Some actually are, but most are not. So this is something we want to demystify a little".

The subversion to mythological and/or patriotic narratives is present in the texts and reaches out to include the city's main designers. For example, José Rezende Jr. "announced" the death of Oscar Niemeyer years before the fact, when he alluded to a "drowning" in Lake Paranoá in his short story "On the day Oscar Niemeyer drowned in Lake Paranoá" (2010, p. 154).

Also important to note here are the representations written by previous authors relating to a "silent", "artificial", or "cold" city are not identified by the writers analyzed. Loneliness has already been linked to the city and still remains as an identifying element in many texts.

Social inequalities and segregation of areas for the rich and the poor also appear as a characteristic of the city, which brings Brasilia closer to other Brazilian cities. In this case, it is not its uniqueness that identifies it, but the fact it shares the same Brazilian social problems. André Giusti explores the gap between social classes in "A Story about Brasilia" (2010). A story of the love between a rich girl and a poor boy on the outskirts of the city.

It is interesting to note that the representations relating to "future", the modernization of Brazil,

or the “utopia” of being a different type of Brazilian appear in these authors’ writings with a critical and ironic tone. In this case, the future seems to have Brasília incorporated within it and is one more metropolis full of contradictions in a diverse and developing country. Behr, for example, writes “a utopia was announced / but it was Brasília that appeared” (2010).

In the game of characterizing single and common cultural representations of identity in the city, nothing is more accurate than the words of John Almino: “There are two main reasons to situate my stories in Brasília: for being a city like any other and for being a city like no other.”

Living under the brand of identity contradictions seems to be the main cultural characteristic of the city for these authors. But the idea is to bring the similarities in relation to the rest of Brazil closer, without losing its uniqueness. As Behr praised in maintaining the Portuguese origin that has put its mark on Brazilian cities and does not really determine urban experience in Brasília: In the plaza of three powers / there is a hole, small and shallow / formed by a missing stone / these Portuguese ones / white sidewalks / the hole is close to the curb / it gives the palace / the hole that celebrates this poem (2010, p. 139).

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Abstract: In 1975, Isabela Figueiredo leaves Mozambique and heads to Portugal. Like many thousands of Portuguese, she was forced to leave an (almost) entire life on the maternal African ground, breaking for the unknown Metropolis, for a country of which she that practically only knew the name, which was not her own. The memories of idyllic days in Mozambique are narrated with the same vigor and fearlessness as pain and deprivation of her time there as a child, a homeland where she did not returned physically ... But her “black soul” is very much alive in her heart, and especially in his memory. Her *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* is far more than an autobiographical, transparent, violent and disturbing portrait of the last days of dominating presence of the Portuguese in Africa: it came to give meaning to the Portuguese colonial history.

Keywords: Post-Colonialism. Caderno de Memórias Coloniais. Isabela Figueiredo. Mozambique.

The lion must also have its story told. Stories can not only glorify the hunter.

African proverb

1. Introduction

Decolonization and independence of Mozambique, unleashed by the Revolution of April 25th 1974, affected very deeply those who lived and felt it on the ground, even those who understood and accepted that independence was/would be the logical end of colonization. Looking into the mirror of history it becomes apparent that everything, from the surprise of the Revolution itself, the overwhelming succession of subsequent events often unexpected and contradictory, the complete subversion of the rules initially established to carry out decolonization, the lack of information and profusion of rumors, the growing demoralization of some military units, the discredit of the authority and weakening of the security, the anti- portuguese campaign disseminated daily through the media, busy being revolutionary, every one of those things contributed to creating in Mozambique an environment of panic which led to the stampede of white Portuguese and many mestizos. Despite the may past years that have passed since, these were events whose images linger vivid and impressive. Oped almost four decades of independence, there are still a very misleading and battered image of the presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique and it is important to clarify it in the sense of

Caderno de memórias coloniais, **by Isabela Figueiredo: a memento of colonial africa in the feminine**

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doing true justice. It is necessary to restore the truth about the long stay of the Portuguese in Mozambique, not only for historical and moral imperative, but also by a sense of gratitude to many Portuguese who strived in a rather bold way by land development and well-being of populations in Mozambique. Doing so will contribute to the duty of enlightenment of today's and tomorrow's Portuguese and Mozambican people, avoiding an unfair judgement and condemnation of Portugal and the Portuguese, considered as the "bad guys" in the eyes of many. *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais*, by Isabela Figueiredo, intends to help achieve this goal: restore the truth.

2. The "revolution" *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais*

Published in late 2009, *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais*, by Isabela Figueiredo, is not a fictional narrative, as is a report of admittedly true memories, divided into forty-three short texts previously published in the blog "The Perfect World"¹. The author tells of her experience in Mozambique in the city of Lourenço Marques during her childhood in the early 70s, during the colonial war, until she comes to Portugal at the end of the decade, after the independence of Mozambique. She portrays, in first person, and explicitly assuming their value judgments, one of the most controversial periods in our history: a war that marked a whole generation of Portuguese and the drama of a new post-colonial life. Written in the first person, the narrative of Isabela Figueiredo realizes her experience in Africa during the turbulent period of the colonial war, extending to the post-war and consequent plight of Portuguese residents there. The city of Lourenço Marques is the setting of the considerations about the times the author lived in a colonial society in which, according to her, it is notorious the stratification between whites and blacks. Daughter of Portuguese settlers, an electrician and a housewife, while she was a child the narrator lives in Matola, a suburban area that was later integrated in the city and where lived blacks and whites of modest means. It is the child look that appears reproduced in this book, as the author came to Portugal with only twelve, part of the wave of returnees who invaded the country coming from former colonies, having had to abandon their lives in Africa after decolonization.

Writing is thus fragmented, this being a characteristic of the reports of memories, and supposedly expresses how the reality of Mozambique and Portugal in the 70s was seen by a child. Being so young, her gaze on the society where she was inserted is of a mere spectator of the life of adults, particularly of the life and way of being in Mozambique of the father with whom, we deduce, she held a very special relationship when compared with the mother's role in this work that, practically, is not mentioned. There is thus a sort of detachment in the description of facts and situations observed by the narrator during a time that is part of the collective memory of the Portuguese people, resulting from its marginal position in relation to events considered important because historically played by adults.

The texts that are part of this *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* were initially published in a blog in which the author discoursed on various topics, including their memories of childhood and youth selected for this work. Those are short texts, of memoirist nature, whose intention is to recall episodes that somehow marked her. In the form of non-fictional account, the author recalls her childhood as a daughter of settlers, whose aim seems to be to undo some preconceived ideas about the Portuguese colonialism, namely that it would have been very smooth, at least when compared with the British. This is immediately announced at the beginning of the narrative when it is stated that "Lourenço Marques, na década de 60 e 70 do século passado, era um largo campo de concentração com odor

¹ Cfr. www.omundoperfeito.blogspot.com

a caril.” (Figueiredo, 2009: 23). Going forward , it is explained better this statement : “aquele paraíso de interminável pôr-do- sol salmão e odor a caril e terra vermelha era um enorme campo de concentração de negros sem identidade, sem a propriedade do seu corpo, logo, sem existência.” (*idem*: 27). Blacks appear characterized as slaves in their own land, subject to the orders and whims of whites here represented in the person of the father.

The father, convict racist, with several black electrician working for him, does not hire whites who often “seriam uma boa aquisição, pois, sim senhor, mas o ordenado dobrava ou triplicava” (*idem*: 23), the author states that on several occasions she attended the conversations between father and mother where this subject was discussed:

Um branco saía caro, porque a um branco não se podia dar porrada, e não servia para enfiar tubos de electricidade pelas paredes e, depois, cabos eléctricos por dentro deles; um branco servia para chefe, servia para ordenar, vigiar, mandar trabalhar os preguiçosos que não faziam nenhum, a não ser à força. (*idem*: 24)

Blacks constituted hand labor cheaper and affordable, according to the father, and whites had a different status: they served to send and not to obey.

The author-narrator assumes, in its narrative, her position contrary to the general acceptance of the situation of blacks in Mozambique: “eu era uma colonazinha preta, filha de brancos, uma negrinha loira.” (*idem*: 35). Daughter of white settlers but born in Lourenço Marques, she does not share the stereotypical views in relation to the group of indigenous people who live with her at school and on the streets. The perception and relationship with the Africans lacks of distinction based on skin color, but rather the author clearly assumes that her personality and way of being would be closer to the world of black natives by the absence of rules and social conventions than from the white world that she interprets as being arrogant, violent and unjust based on her observations of her father. Through the comment upon her father’s actions towards the natives, we understand that the narrator, though still a child, would be supportive of the blacks regarding the condemnation of suffering that they would be exposed to and the constant derogatory judgments by those who surrounded them. The father’s behavior towards black workers who worked with him in the field of electrification construction is the subject of veiled censorship by the narrator-daughter:

Gostava de ver ali os pretos do meu pai. Todos juntos pareciam muitos. Descansavam um pouco. Eram homens diferentes uns dos outros (...). A certa altura o meu pai começava a chamá-los, não sei por que ordem. (...) O procedimento era simples. Os negros iam à sala, e o meu pai entregava-lhes o dinheiro. Às vezes eles contavam e reclamavam. O meu pai gritava-lhes que nesta semana tinham estragado um cabo ou chegado tarde ou sornado ou mostrado má cara ou era só porque lhe apetecia castigá -los por qualquer coisa que tinha metido na cabeça. Não sei, tudo era possível. (...) A única hipótese de não haver milando era meterem o dinheiro recebido no bolso das calças rasgadas e saírem, cabisbaixos. Se reclamavam, havia milando, e não eram poucas as vezes em que saíam da sala com um murro nos queixos, um encontrão dos bons. (...) O meu pai tinha o condão de transformar os finais dourados das tardes de sábado num poço escuro de medo e raiva. (*idem*: 40-41)

In certain passages of the book, we realize what the real thinking of the author with regard to blacks because she openly expresses her opinion:

Fascinavam-me esses homens enormes, luzidios de negros, vergados no chão, limpando o que sujávamos, servindo-nos iguarias do mar cujas cascas talvez pudessem chupar, e lamber os dedos, enquanto lavavam a loiça. E eram tão iguais a mim. Tinham mãe, pai, primos... (...) Eu gostava de falar

com os mainatos. Os mainatos tratavam-me bem, carregavam-me às cavalitas. A minha mãe tinha medo que os mainatos me fizessem mal ou me roubassem. Ou desconfiava de mim, adivinhando a minha alma de preta. (idem: 74)

The narrator expresses an affectionate and sympathetic look towards native Mozambicans: in her view these are friendly beings, equal to any other human being. The race is a secondary aspect. She also reveals that the human component prevailed over everything that was related to the outside of those around her, regardless of skin color. What she considers to be her “black soul” is merely a metaphor for her identification with the form of being the black population whose role seems to be to serve the white settler. In certain passages as quoted above, one notes the perception of the true mindset of the narrator, being notorious the difference between her and her father with regard to the opinion of this group so disdained in her family. But throughout much of the text her writing also expresses exactly opposite to the opinion on the transcribed excerpt. Using a crude language, in which blacks are often referred to as “pretalhada” (ibid: 24), the narrator appropriates the discourse of the father to express what she saw happening around her. We realise that the narrative is designed so that the reader becomes fully aware of the way of thinking of her father, so she assumes this to be her own vision, such being the focal point of her report. The appropriation of the discourse of the father results thus in the adoption of the point of view of most of the white population in its most exaggerated degree of racism toward blacks:

Havia sempre muitos pretos, todos à partida preguiçosos, burros e incapazes a pedir trabalho, a fazer o que lhes ordenássemos sem levantar os olhos. De um preto dedicado, fiel, que tirasse o boné e dobrasse a espinha à nossa passagem, a quem se pudesse confiar a casa e as crianças, deixar sozinho com os nosso haveres, dizia-se que era um bom mainato. (idem: 25)

Blacks are described as being stripped of their humanity, treated as wayward animals who need to be put in order. The irony is evident throughout the book, especially in the first texts in which the narrator characterizes the surrounding society through the eyes of his father. Despite realizing that her opinion is contrary to the way she describes the logic of existing social division in the environment in which it moves, this division was realizing that the attitudes and conversations around you, her comments about the hierarchy between white and black, implicitly accepted by all, reflect the subjectivity of the father as her own:

Ernesto não ia trabalhar há três dias. Era preto e os pretos eram preguiçosos, queriam era passar o dia estendidos na esteira a beber cerveja e vinho de caju, enquanto as pretas trabalhavam na terra, plantavam amendoim ao sol, suando com os filhos às costas, ao peito, e a enxada a subir e a descer para o chão. Preto era má rês. Vivia da preta. (idem: 51)

The irony here is obvious: it is possible to envision that, in fact, the narrator’s opinion is contrary to that expressed in the transcript excerpt; she merely reproduces the judgments that the reader assumes to be the father’s for the violent way they are exposed. The mentality of the father is deemed to represent the position of Portuguese settlers in Africa. The appropriation that the narrator makes of the phrases that the father would use when referring to the black population, aims to reflect how most white settlers saw their mission in Mozambique. The main justification for colonization, so widely spread, namely the life improvement of the people of overseas territories by its civilizational mission, is also contradicted satirical and ironically by Isabela Figueiredo:

Era absolutamente necessário ensinar os pretos a trabalhar, para seu próprio bem. Para evoluírem através do reconhecimento do valor do trabalho. Trabalhando, poderiam ganhar dinheiro, e com o dinheiro poderiam prosperar, desde que prosperassem como negros. Poderiam deixar de ter uma

palhota e construir uma casa de cimento com telhado de zinco. Poderiam calçar sapatos e mandar os filhos à escola para aprender ofícios que fossem úteis aos brancos. Havia muito a fazer pelo homem negro, cuja natureza animal deveria ser anulada – para seu bem. (Figueiredo, 2009: 51)

Again the author uses irony to express the way, she said, the colonists misrepresented what she considers the true motives of their behavior towards Africans, using the work of others for their own advantage, pretending to find a selfless explanation for the general attitude of selfishness and ethnocentrism by whites, based on the assumption of the primacy of Western civilization over any other.

Their manifestations of racism from her father, according to the narrator, would be consistent with a broader vision of society in which there would be no place for any attitude of respect or consideration for a people and a culture at all different from the European, and the white man seen as being at the top of the hierarchy of human races because supposedly more evolved and in an advanced degree of civilization. Blacks, by contrast, would still be in the wild, closer to animals than civilized man, so there could be mixtures, thus deconstructing the ideology that legitimized, at the time the Portuguese colonizing endeavor. It is implicit in the discourse of the narrator that the work of blacks was used to the advantage of the whites, those being seen just as means of reaching these enrichment and improvement of personal life. This would be the main purpose of a long stay in Africa and not the improvement of living conditions of the native populations. The justification for many early settlers of the type of treatment given to blacks consisted in reversing the behavioral logic - cruel treatment observed on the surface would have the basic purpose to improve the situation of blacks, which would not be immediately apparent. The cruelty was thus only apparent, the kindness would be behind the observable behavior, and therefore not visible, indicating a widespread attitude of paternalism in relation to blacks, that is, they were thwarted in the same way that a child is thwarted for its own well - to educate.

The attitude of disdain toward blacks would be widespread, as the Author refers:

De forma geral, no cinema ou fora dele, o olhar dos negros nunca foi, para os colonos, isento de culpa: olhar um branco, de frente, era provocação directa; baixar os olhos, admissão de culpa. Se um negro corria, tinha acabado de roubar; se caminhava devagar, procurava o que roubar. (Figueiredo, 2009: 46)

It is suggested that blacks would not have a way out, they were always blamed for something, whatever their attitude. This is undoubtedly a very critical view of the presence of the Portuguese settlers in Africa, with the intention of striking plaintiff on rebut the commonly accepted idea in Portugal that Portuguese colonialism would be distinguishable from other nations by essentially humanitarian and the good intentions of those who exercised. The comments of the narrator extend to other colonists, not just the father who only works as a prototype of the general behavior of exploitation of African natives. The transcript excerpt above also refutes the supposed civilizing mission of the Portuguese concerning indigenous, as is implied in the words of the author that the general attitude of the colonists towards them was distrust of any behavior, thus denoting a conviction rooted in impossibility of changing the the wild essence of this racial group, and hence of civilizing it . Thus contends the narrator, supporting what Cláudia Castelo describes was happening, in her study of the peopling of Angola and Mozambique with people from the metropolis: “a aproximação dos africanos aos hábitos culturais dos europeus, por exemplo no vestuário e na utilização da língua portuguesa, tendia a ser motivo de chacota” (Castelo, 2007: 275)”. If they tried to change their habits, trying to “become civilized” they were satirised ; remained faithful to their customs, they were dubbed the “wild”, thus subsisting skepticism towards the possibility of Africans evolving in cultural and behavioral terms.

The narrator also reveals, in other passages of the work, an attitude of reproach to the majority of returnees from the former colonies, considering that their speeches about the times spent in Africa had nothing to do with reality. In her report, she implies more than once that the former colonists in Portugal would continue to demonstrate an attitude of misrepresentation of what actually have been the way of life in Africa, in a similar way to when, while still there, they tried to justify their behavior as being due to concern for the well-being of local populations:

Tínhamos uns mainatos que carregavam as mercearias da loja do Lousã, em caixotes de cartão. Atravessavam Lourenço Marques a pé se preciso fosse, com eles à cabeça, às costas, não era da nossa conta. (...) Mas parece que isto era só na minha família, esses cabrões, porque, segundo vim a constatar, muitos anos mais tarde, os outros brancos que lá estiveram nunca praticaram o colun..., o colonis..., o colonialismo, ou lá o que era. Eram todos bonzinhos com os pretos, pagavam-lhes bem, tratavam-nos melhor, e deixaram muitas saudades. (Figueiredo, 2009: 49)

The irony of the speech remains evident; according to the writer, it would be common practice among the Portuguese, the contradiction between their actions and their words, during and after colonization, since the version they later insisted upon was that blacks were always treated well by them, not revealing the true treatment that they would be subjected in their own land. This idyllic vision of Mozambican society as a perfect situation that would only generate benefits for all parties was then disseminated by the very ones, at that time, disdained native populations considering them as mere cheap utensils.

The work of Isabela Figueiredo under analysis has therefore a central aim: to reveal the truth about what happened in Mozambique at the time of colonization, contrary to what is usually transmitted by its protagonists who, according to the writer, do not tell the truth about the Mozambican colonial reality when referring to the treatment of blacks. The author also comes out in defense of the black population that, after all, would have more than acceptable and understandable motives to want to expel the white from the African territory, contrary to what the Portuguese coming from former colonies would imply.

Isabela Figueiredo admittedly assumes in *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* a position in favor of the natives, seeing them as victims of Portuguese colonization, unlike the current version still today, for many Portuguese, that our colonialism has only been beneficial for the populations of the countries concerned by the development it brought about. In this book, these voices are countered by exposure of what the Author considers the true conditions in which people lived. The father is the voice of cruelty toward blacks. This is the main reason why, throughout the narrative, there are, at various times, passages whose purpose is to make known what the narrator watched his father do or say, appropriating his speech to produce a stronger effect on the reader. According to the Author, his father was limited to putting into practice what was considered normal at the time. The Mozambican society was stratified and blacks would be seen as being at the bottom of the hierarchy table, without any rights and being only bondholders for their white bosses laying well below the myth of miscegenation in colonial society and the the supposed civilizing mission that still sustain colonialism in the 60s.

The integration of blacks in the Mozambican colonial society would be an impossibility, since they were scorned, considered inferior beings that were only good enough to served the whites:

O negro estava abaixo de tudo. Não tinha direitos. Teria os da caridade, e se a merecesse. Se fosse humilde. Esta era a ordem natural e inquestionável das relações: preto servia o branco, e branco mandava no preto. (Figueiredo, 2009: 24)

The civilizing mission of colonialism would not go beyond fantasy, since the natives were systematically considered wild and therefore well below the civilized man. The “natural and unquestioned order” referred to social relationships seems to be well regarded by all who are part of it, blacks included, since they subjected themselves to this situation without question, in the case of “houseboys”. The report of the narrator is quite scathing in relation to the Portuguese residents in Mozambique, which are portrayed as cruel beings toward blacks for reasons that were beyond merely racial differences:

Um branco e um preto não eram apenas de raças diferentes. A distância entre brancos e pretos era equivalente à que existia entre diferentes espécies. Eles eram pretos, animais. Nós éramos brancos, éramos pessoas, seres racionais. Eles trabalhavam para o presente, para a aguardente-de-cana do “dia de hoje”; nós, para poder pagar a melhor urna, a melhor cerimónia no dia do nosso funeral. (idem: 35)

The irony here is implied, since the reasoning that outlined blacks would be considered unintelligent, ends up revealing them as more intelligent than whites, in a more current approach to the point of view of modern societies. However, it appears that, according to the Author, the distinction was based not only on differences in skin color, but would on the conviction that there was a different essences of species, blacks were seen as being closest to the animals than men. Native populations also were subject to this order which was inculcated by the dominant classes upon them as being for their benefit. The social division was tacitly accepted by all in Lourenço Marques and had the respective matches in public places, such as the cinema that works in this story as a metaphor of the Mozambican social stratification:

A enorme sala do cine Machava dividia-se em três zonas bem definidas: bancos corridos de pau, à frente, primeira plateia; bancos individuais estofados, até ao fundo: segunda plateia; empoleirados metro e meio acima da última fila da segunda plateia, os camarotes, todos forrados a veludo vermelho, luxo dos luxos, só ocupados quando o filme era mesmo muito popular e a afluência o exigia. (...) Alguns negros iam ao cinema. Calçavam-se e vestiam roupa europeia remendada. Sentavam-se na primeira plateia, e, eventualmente, em dias pouco frequentados, na primeira fila da segunda plateia. (idem:46)

The exception to this state of affairs was taken by those in the north revolted provoking a war from which only very distantly been heard in Lourenço Marques:

“Não descrevo uma terra ignorando que nela existia uma guerra. Havia uma guerra, mas não era visível a Sul; não sabíamos como tinha começado, ou para que servia exactamente.” (idem: 63)

Life in Southern Mozambique area, and this family’s life is described as completely alienated from the conflict that pitted native to the Portuguese settlers. Whites prefer to try to ignore what was happening in the north of the country in the hope that it was nothing more than a small setback without affecting the normal life of colonization. However, the conflict was a reality and was also explained according to the settlers viewpoint:

O Norte era muito distante. Era lá em cima na terra dos macuas e dos macondes. Os turras, todos ladrões, queriam roubar a terra aos portugueses. Vinham da Tanzânia com a pele muito preta e maldosa. Era preciso defender a nossa terra, por isso é que chegavam os soldados de Portugal. Também havia soldados pretos. Esses faziam-nos comandos, para irem à frente e morrerem primeiro; assim se poupava um branco. Que os pretos morressem na guerra era mal menor. Era lá entre eles. (idem: 64)

According to Cláudia Castelo, from the emergence of the conflict for independence of the colonies, the policies in relation to their native undergone changes since the government's concern became getting the populations of the overseas provinces Portuguese to support the portuguese side, investing in promoting rapprochement between black settlers and native whites:

Se em 1945, o colono era aconselhado a sentir-se superior ao africano e a deixar bem vincada a sua superioridade no relacionamento social, agora o soldado é aconselhado a não se aproximar “do preto com modos de importância que certas pessoas usam para com as crianças ou certos patrões para com os serviços.” (Castelo, 2007: 274)

This is also highlighted by Isabela Figueiredo who, despite claiming that in the South there is not much awareness of conflicts that were happening in the North of the colony, also noted a concern on the part of the authorities to make the colonists alter behaviors related to black populations. However, these would already be too ingrained in the lifestyle of white, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Matar um preto, no Marcelismo, começava a ser chato; a polícia, se descobrisse, vinha fazer perguntas. “Então, ó Rebelo, não viu o peão e matou-o?” “Eu não, agente Pacheco, era noite, não havia luzes na picada, o gajo ia bêbado, e atirou-se-me para cima da carrinha, o que é que você queria que eu fizesse?” (...) “Vou fechar os olhos desta vez, mas veja se não repete, ó Rebelo, que agora temos ordens da metrópole...” Matar um preto, a partir de certa altura, começou a dar chatice. (Figueiredo, 2009: 67-68)

The contrast between the Mozambican more liberal society and a retrograde and culturally backward environment still alive in Portugal is confirmed by this memoir narrative of Isabela Figueiredo. Her transition to Portugal due to the independence of Mozambique had as a direct consequence, the loss of most perks hitherto granted to white settlers, having been forced to return in massive groups to Portugal, in that saga that provided them the title of “retornados” (those who returned) .

The author is no exception, since she was still a teenager when she was sent by her parents to Portugal for her own protection. The work depicts the country (Portugal) that hosts her after the colonial war, as a place that looks nothing like her country of origin. The closed and prejudiced society, facing her at arrival is immediately announced as first impression in the early days of residence in Portuguese lands:

Em Portugal, habituei-me desde cedo a ser alvo de troça ou de ridículo, por ser retornada ou por me vestir de vermelho ou lilás. Mas o meu sentido de justiça era um Pai-Nosso. Se me absolvía de culpa, eu podia atravessar, impassível, multidões de acusadores. Nada me deitava abaixo. No entanto, o meu peito foi pactuando com o ridículo a que me expunha, e abriu-se a ele totalmente. (idem: 119)

The colorful costumes, characteristics of African peoples are, right away, a factor considered ridiculous by the inhabitants of Portugal and a reason to comment critically about the fact that everything in this country “look bad”.

A metrópole era feia, suja, pálida, gelada. Os portugueses da metrópole eram pequeninos de ideias, tão pequeninos e estúpidos e atrasados e alcoviteiros. Feios, cheios de cieiro, e pele de galinha, as extremidades do corpo rebentadas de frio e excesso de toucinho com couves. Que triste gente! (idem: 123)

The negative impression of Isabela Figueiredo about the country that hosts her comes from the above comparison that she automatically makes with her natal environment. The pettiness of the Portuguese people felt by the author as a characteristic that defines mentality is motivated mainly by the shock caused by the transition from a more liberal society and approximate to modern times

to one in which the behaviors and attitudes are retrograde, traditionalist and driven to hinder communities associated progress. The Portuguese are represented as opposed to all that is considered different and innovative, starting with the clothes and in continuing factors that no longer respect the physical aspect.

3. Conclusion

Isabela Figueiredo registers, in the first person, her experiences in Mozambique until the age of twelve. And it does so in such a peculiar way that these memoirs are not assumed as part of the narrative, but as the narrative itself. This curious effect in this autobiographical narrative is achieved under very strong and incisive subjective analysis of the society in which she grew, coupled with the notorious intention to pass judgment on the facts observed, distancing herself thus for this reason, from the historical discourse. Reading *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* gets us the conviction that fiction and history are complementary discourses, because they bridge the discursive work and provide different approaches to the same reality.

In this work a particularly curious aspect deserves our attention: the gathering of so many different experiences in a work which is, after all, relatively brief. From her path of growth until the war time and its aftermath, the author goes through numerous episodes of her life, and does it so succinctly, but with the precision necessary for the reader to get a fairly clear idea of the time reported. Everything is presented in a direct way, but maybe that's why the image prevails: no detours to mitigate the impact of the situations reported. And this applies both to what is good and what is evil.

It is also worthy of note that there was a concern not to show only the dark side of the situations. Going through her life, the author also highlights the good times spent in Mozambique, even if they are the smaller portion when in comparison with the overall situation experienced. But no pessimism dominates this book. There is, fundamentally, a balance that stands out because of the accounts of the good times, the funny little situations, friendships that despite the seriousness of the situation (or perhaps precisely because of it), were formed.

It is indeed a book that, although being above all a set of memories, allows a very clear vision of what was life in Mozambique before and after April 25th, in the troubled times of Portuguese colonialism. The confessional experience of Isabela Figueiredo on *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* allows us to visualize the experience of many returnees who have suffered and continue to suffer the injustices of colonialism. That is why, in this work, memory plays a notable role, as it constitutes a form of resistance to the evils generated by colonialism and lived by its protagonists. Thanks to Isabela Figueiredo we achieved today, almost four decades after the April 25th 1974, to understand a little better and in a more enlightened way the sense and the nonsense of the Portuguese presence in Africa. One gets to know that there were two types of colonialists in Mozambique: the 'good' (she) and 'bad' (father).

This is a book as captivating as a movie - but that can be read with total freedom, fragmented, piecemeal, as if allowing time for a good conversation of friends or a small adventure. It is also a work depicting a colonial setting where no defense is made of prejudice or ideologies, but rather a display of the tangle of human relationships and feelings from the point of view of an adult-child narrator, cicerone of short narrative movies where what is good and what is bad appears in its true colors, without laying any traps to the reader's thinking process, where cowardice and heroism do not hide, as well as the rotten points of the father and the whole colonization process, opportunism and the meaning of life, lies and authenticity.

As says Sophia de Mello Breyner “As coisas que passam ficam para sempre numa história exacta.” This is what Isabela Figueiredo intended for her *Caderno* (notebook). And she got it through a free writing done through the memory of what she saw, heard and lived, in the certainty that much was left unsaid and that she will still be able to tell it. We salute and thank you for the boldness and testimony.

The nostalgic idea that “my heart stayed in Africa” does not exist in this confessional work of Isabela Figueiredo, on the contrary, one feels that her heart came from Africa and that territory exists within it. We believe Africa (Mozambique, in particular) is not a closed issue in the writing process of the author, so we expect new writings of “revolution.”

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SESSION 13

PERFORMING
ARTS AND THE
DECOLONISATION OF
IMAGINARIES 1

Abstract: This cartographic writing intends to map knowledge concerning the relations between female clowns from the Amazon region and the territory where they perform. The study begins with a critical analysis of generic conceptions about the Amazon region, which has historically been distanced from the rest of Brazil and is associated with exoticism. Then, based on a clown's report, I will discuss their 'becoming': the confidence associated with the territory, the re-creation of the Amazon region through the actions of these comic women. This leads to the perception of the connection which Amazonian clowns have with the place, the situation of their differences and their imitations.

Keywords: Amazon, clowns, becoming, difference

It rains a lot in the Amazon. In some cities, like Belém, where I was born and live, it rains almost every day. I usually celebrate the rain because it dissipates the intense heat in the city. When the rain taps on the roofs of the town, the noise reminds me of peace: mild weather, comfort. However, outside, people are running from one place to another, seeking shelter. The streets empty quickly. Their pedestrians huddle under small shelters, stay at home or get stuck at work. The traffic, which is always crazy, gets even worse than usual. The rain is quietness for those who can hide themselves from it. Nevertheless, it is chaos for those who are not able to take shelter or for those who need to get somewhere.

The calmness that the raindrops in Belém bring is simultaneously fact and illusion. A silence, a noise. Several noises: raindrops splashing on the roofs, on the asphalt, on the trees, on a clown's colourful shoes. Mud on the soles of the shoes, the dirt obscuring their colour. This does not just happen to clowns from Belém, but to clowns from the Amazon. Modified shoes for the clown in traversing the Amazon territory. The place traversed by these clowns. Footsteps left on the ground. Rain staining the map of the Amazon which I used to recognize clearly.

I am not just referring to the geographic map, but to what have been outlined during my trips through the Amazon region in search of active female clowns just like me, performing in the theatre, at the circus and on the streets. It is a playful map, constructed through meeting people. And what is a mapping process but an open method? An open method that finds, on its way, the direction to be followed – meeting people, playing here and there, with concepts and experiences, which establish the outlines of the map. (ROLNIK, 2007; PASSOS; BARROS, 2010; DELEUZE; GUATTARI, 1995).

Like a nomad, I travelled around the region, where I recognized

The Amazon region in female comicalities: mapping references

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signs of the existence of performing comic actresses. My only desire: to find myself. To play, to toy with fragments of experiences, invented but possible relations in order to know more about the female comedy in the Amazon. The world is a game, according to Lins (2009, p.6), conceived as a dialogue of opposites - being and thinking. When I say that this is a playful mapping process, I refer to the movement, such as the world's, attempting "to capture the opposite strengths that drift; gradients, latitudes and temperature which generate a fertile environment for playfulness, for the luxurious vegetation, for the child, for consideration and joy, a wider way of thinking". I want to mix myself up. I want to recognize my status as a female clown from the Amazon, looking in the mirror: at the other, at the other female clowns. Expanding. Multiplying. Playing.

Macapá (AP), Porto Velho (RO), Presidente Médici (RO), Rio Branco (AC), Manaus (AM), Parauapebas (PA), Santarém (PA), Barcarena (PA), Belém (PA). The Amazon region. Meetings with other groups of clowns, with the intensity that is part of this place. The aim of this article is to map comprehensions concerned with the relations between female clowns from the Amazon region and the territory where they act.

Places, differences. Plural forms of being a woman, a clown, an Amazonian. Very well, but what sort of Amazon am I talking about? "There is a symbolic-material debate and a clash which reconstruct the significance of the Amazon. *There is not only one Amazon region –there are many regions.* Consequently, just *one* true vision of what the Amazon region is". Gonçalves (2012, p.16), reminds us that among the conceptions about the Amazon, there are several power games in play, both in and about the region, definitions that serve specific interests. We still co-exist with a homogenous and common point of view about the region that considers it as a place of untouchable nature, with no culture and inhabited by "good savages", who are completely apart from the original sin of civilization. That is an idealised and ideological view of the local reality.

Personally, I have a peculiar way of looking at the region where I was born, both as a woman and as an Amazonian artist. I take part in discussions for public policies that broaden the conditions and spaces for culture to circulate through the country. Hence, I understand that there are reflections of an historical process to distance the Amazon region from the rest of Brazil.

Since the colonial period, different structures were developed in Brazil, compared to Amazon region, a fact which kept us very distant from the others. In 1823, a forced incorporation of the Amazon to Brazil was initiated, with strong resistance from the local population that did not recognize itself as part of the nation. The process was too slow. Contact with the rest of the country remained difficult and restricted until the middle of the 20th century. There was no real appreciation of the local culture, which was regarded as primitive compared to the other cultures from the country, especially with regard to the following states: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Bahia, which were heavily influenced by Europe. Thus, our isolation was imbued in the idea of mystery, distance and timelessness, making the exchange of cultural goods difficult. (GONÇALVES, 2012; PAES LOUREIRO, 2001).

Even today, we are a minority. However, that position can not be considered immutable nor cover the whole territory.

We need to properly distinguish between minority and inferiority because the second is stated as a natural position and must be overcome, as any developmental psychology is aware. Minority is a historical and political position- therefore transformable – and not a stage of ontogenetic development. Minorities are positions that do not take part in the dominant organization of *socius* and, as such, keep potential criticism for the instituted, for the dominant. (BARROS; PASSOS, 2012, p.240)

I thought that I would hear my political discourse about non-access echoed by the clowns. Yet, what I found were open-minded human beings, with several possibilities of belonging to the

Amazon; with an infinite amount of other ways to relate with this place. Historically in a minority, that position is transformed into criticizing the instituted, the dominant, without my organising any Being-Amazonian pattern idea or forcing any discourse about political opinion. That condition of being from the Amazon region, which is related to questions about which I am very dubious, is - and this I can say with certainty - a condition of minority that questions the dominant. It is an historical and mutable condition, although it is also littered with contradictions.

Being a female clown is also a minority condition. We still coexist with an ideal for the feminine which is associated with patterns of purity, moderation and “housewife-obligations”, which are historically and socially constructed and found in the existing patriarchal society (MORENO, 1999; BOURDIEU, 2010). Conversely, the female clown, with her overblown costumes, foolish acts, which are sometimes sexually exaggerated, collides with that pattern. Clowns, in general, are transgressors, grotesque - conditions that we tend to associate with males (CASTRO, 2005).

The restrictions imposed on woman in society led history to silence the record of women in comedy, although they have always been involved, despite the fact that having the capacity to make people laugh has been constantly considered a male privilege. It was only in the 1990s that we were able to observe the recognition of the first female a theatre clown (CASTRO, 2005).

In order to question the feminine pattern which is imposed on us, during the performance the female clown tears down the conditions of the lesser-valued, through her minority effort. Thus, she teaches us that the positions of dominant and the dominated are mutable and never fixed. Canclini (2012) warned that those positions, in this post-modern and globalized world, are not compact groups, but can change, according to the access to technological goods and acquired competitive conditions. It is a matter of cultural power. So, can the Amazon region and the female clown still be considered the minority? I continue to believe that the answer to that question is “yes”. However, that position is not fixed, but changes according to the point of view and situation observed.

It also changes from State to State, from Amazon to Amazon. That Amazon composed of those who produce goods or can access them easily, like the highest classes from urban centres, and, the Other, among so many others, comprising those who are not supposed to participate. Those are tiny, micro-divisions, such as, for instance, in between less industrialized cities and the capitals of Belém and of Manaus, which seem to be the ideological owners of cultural power in the region, in the majority of relations. And, of course, even in the big cities, there is an elite group behind that power and a mass of the population so far from it.

There is another form of inflexibility, in this case related to the media’s imaginary about the Amazon region. Be honest, dear reader: what do you think I should find here, in the Amazonian female clowns’ repertoire? Rivers? A lush forest? A narrow relation to native Indian people? “Caboclo” Culture? Paradise? The exuberant and mysterious region from colonial times and from present media discourses keeps on inspiring our association with those and other symbols. Eldorado, a lost paradise, an empty land. Constructions of power in the region, which conform to Gonçalves’ (2012) and Gondim’s (2007) denunciations.



Picture 1: the river, the typical Amazon native, the forest, the Indian, as common Amazon symbols (Photos: Andréa Flores).

Caboclos, Indians, forests and rivers, but also big urban centres, asphalt, buildings and chaos are all mixed up and far from each other in the same territory, which is far from a paradise. References to famous symbols from the region are spread throughout the female clowns' repertoire, which also includes references from the common imaginary. What are we supposed to do with repertoires that have no relation with the usual connections to the Amazon?

I needed to be transversal. As suggested by Barros and Passos (2012, p. 241): "transversality is considering the surface where reality communicates (...) transversality is outlining the axis of the diagonal which shuffles the codes, putting the different ones side by side, freeing the differences from their places". Transversing access and non-access. Differences. What I am used to connecting to the Amazon region and what seems so strange, out of order or its given place.

But transversality creates a problem in my common place, rain on the map, stained or confused lines. I listen to the birdsong in Manoel de Barros' poetry: "My children also built their houses with sheets of rain" (BARROS, 2004, p.41). And, then, through the raindrops, I recognize the house I once wished to build, the female clowns and their relations to this plural Amazon.

Each clown is a raindrop. Here I share my understanding of one of them, Dani Mirini, This Cacarecos clown, from Porto Velho (RO), is a member of Floresta Vivarte and the Street Theatre Group. She has a strong relation to the Indians from that region, and wears their costumes and their feathers. She raises their flag. To get to know Dani, it is necessary to consider her as an Indian¹. Talking about the show, "Circo Sirin Sirin", in which she is an actress and director, she states:

We put the "Kene" on the costumes ...These are the "Kene", you know (she points to the beaded bracelet in her arm), these drawings here, that are the spiritual ways, you know, expressed by the jibóia [boa constrictor], a mythical being, that is...knowledge. And we use the Kene in some parts of the show, some of them with symbols, others without symbols...because they tell us that the Kene are sacred, you know, so, you need to know what you are wearing, the symbol you are wearing... they tell us, you know...that sometimes you are wearing a symbol of...like...such a strong thing, so strong, that at times...energetically you are affected and you do not have any idea how or why,, but it is because of the Kene you wear...so, everything has a...a bit of this...of this mystical stuff, even their drawings that we are trying to collect, you know...now we are into this research about them, about the Kene.

¹ "Things don't want to be seen by reasonable people: They wish to be looked at in blue – not even like a child that looks at as a tree" (BARROS, 2007, p.21).



Picture 2: Dani Mirini, The Cacarecos Stinkan clown, performing at “Circo Sirin Sirin” show (photo: Andréa Flores).

April/2013.

The drawings of the Kene’s spiritual ways are used in parts of the clown’s costume and all over the scenery. The name of the clown has, in part, an Indian origin, apart from her personal history. Her full name is Cacarecos Stinkan. Her first name refers to the hobby she inherited from her father, of collecting apparently useless objects at home - the “cacarecos”. The second name, according to what she says, is:

Stinkan was the name that the Indians, you know, a naughty one laughed about me and started speaking their language, joking about me, you know. Then I said ‘oh my, the thing must be very funny, you know, because you don’t say what you’re laughing about...What is it?’ Then I put them under pressure, you know, and then he said ‘No, Stinkan is the frog’s face’. Then I said ‘ah, you’re teasing me’. ‘No, but it isn’t only because of the face, you know, frog’s face...but it’s also because Stinkan is a little frog that gets into the trees and makes the loudest noise, although it is tiny...’ ‘Ah, so Stinkan is that, isn’t it?’ Then I picked it up, you know, and now I’m Cacarecos Stinkan.

Cacarecos Stinkan, that clown who collects things, is noisy and she has a frog’s face. But would it be the Indian reference in her name and her use of the Kene that put Dani into the map? And what about the other clowns who do not make any reference to Amazonian symbols? I understand that the relation to the Amazon region in comic performances precedes the symbols. The clowns are potent creativity in the territory from the moment they enter it and, whatever reference they have, whether Indians, rivers, forest or any other thing, the women constructed blocks to become connected with the place. Everything is connected, and confidence silently enters. And, at the same time, it enters with a bang.

Becomings are double capturing phenomena, related to nuptials. It is not a matter of historical linking, or of big events, but it is a matter of subtle, mostly silent operations. It is Geography, coming and going, without arriving at anything, since the end point would be as mutable as the starting point. It has to do with the imperceptible confidences which are part of life (DELEUZE; PARNET; 1998).

People always think of a bigger future (when I am older, when I have power...). When the problem is becoming a minority: do not pretend, not do act like a child, a crazy person, a woman, an animal, a stutterer, a foreigner, but become all of those, in order to invent new strengths or new ammunition. It is similar to life (...) Therefore; through each weak combination life potency is confirmed, with strength, stubbornness, a singular perseverance inside it. (DELEUZE; PARNET, 1998, p.13).

In life, the female clowns became Kene and many other symbols. Not one of them, in isolation, determines the potency of their territory. What is present in all of them is what originates with these possible signals, the moment of the relation, of confidence. It is the minority-becoming that interests us, as the potential of Amazonian life, in between them and the audience on the street, the small eyes that peep from a window, and the mud that gets stuck on the sole of shoe. If the shoe changes, then the clown changes. A whole house built in the rain, full of small changes and “good contaminations”, clowns’ relations with the territory and its elements, generations of symbols of repertoires, whether

or not they are recognizable as regional. That is all I have.

In Dani's case, the minority-becoming seems to happen in fragile combinations throughout her life, with the Indians from the region; things learnt with her mother, Maria Rita Costa, a kind of female authority in Vivarte. It was also something that she tried to achieve by herself, an ideal, in her path through life. Through talking with her and through everything I saw when I met her, I learnt that her daily experience as woman and as artist was interwoven into the Afro-Indian culture, into experiences like Aywaska's, with the rhythm of their drums, into elements of an Amazon that she understood as hers, as Kaxinawá's, Yawanawa's and as so many other peoples', as she reflected.

There is not, then, a clown in isolation; she is born and reborn in each contact with the audience. Therefore, to get to know Dani and other raindrops, it is necessary to look at the relations they establish and those transversal Amazonian relations. I believe that the "trans" has a relevant importance in this research. The prefix links me to the relational existence of the female clown. "Trans", transit, becoming. "It is said that the lizard got into the leaves, that he became a leaf" (BARROS, 1996, p.21). I say that if we pay attention to the house, we can see that the female clowns got inside the Amazon, that they became part of it and that their experience was transversal.

It is necessary to verify the relations, one by one, in order to have images, although still incomplete, of the Amazonian potency. Only images. I really do not know how to answer some questions definitively. In this "distant" land, of so many territorial and cultural dimensions, it is hard to do so and I tend to question if that is really important. I prefer the poetry argument: "Only if maybe" (BARROS, 2004, p.53). The "maybe" is the result of transversality. It is that, but maybe it is also this, and that and the other. It may be, though. It is not anymore, however. I prefer silence to noise, the imperceptible to parody. Minority-belongings to the majority itself. "The colourless is bigger than the universe", as Manoel de Barros (2007, p.41) teaches us. The difference is bigger than the identity. The identity is the "is". The difference is the "perhaps".

When the difference is forcefully introduced in a previous identity, which assumes fundamental opposition, its deepness and nature are reduced. The negative, the opposite, the strictly separated, previously put in an identity concept, is not enough to define the difference. I agree with Deleuze (2006). As abstract universalities, identities behave as representations, from which singularities that do not recognize them always escape. The difference in being from the Amazon region is not in the opposition in relation to the rest of the country neither is it merely in the exuberance of nature, in the "caboclo", in the Indians. It has to do with all those things simultaneously, without a strict opposition, without being stuck in a fixed representation.

Identical-becomings, Amazon, our own becoming; a life full of Amazonians, in their different stages. "*Being a female clown is my most beautiful universe, then, it...is where I can show even my sadness, in a natural way. And it is when I can touch any person*", Clara, a young clown from Tapioca, Macapá (AP) tells us. It really is beautiful. To touch people silently, minimally, leaving them with a great piece of you and taking so much of them with you, is what makes you able to compose a poetic universe. In this universe of "trans" relations, where I live with Clara, other clowns from the forest arrive, one by one, with different names, repertoires, origins and life experiences, all transversal.

The boundaries between the land and the river are margins of our multiplicities, which communicate through the same waters. The river and the water are borderlines; the zones of communication are among the becomings. The roads, the asphalt that invades the cities, the communities and the forests are part of the territory, also connecting us to huge territorial extensions. Many Brazil characteristics are poured into the clowns, whose origins do not matter so much. Becoming: relations, confidences, Amazonians. While the clowns' steps are crossing this territory, historically distant and exotic, the territory crosses them too. That crossing never ends, it is a constant becoming.

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It is through a constructive process, based on personal practice and the union of training, that the *Pássaro Junino brincante*¹ builds his or her formation as a *brincante* “being”.

At the end of the 19th century, an important cultural manifestation in the Pará State, particularly in its capital, Belém, structures itself. It is a sort of popular theater known as *Cordão de Pássaro* (literally, Bird Cord) and *Pássaro junino* or *joanino* (literally, Bird of June or John). It is called “caboclan opera” by many, due to the great number of songs and dances that integrate its dramatic structure. It is a typically popular artistic expression, wherein all the participants, i.e., composers, directors, actors, dancers and writers, come from or live in the city outskirts. This sort of “caboclan opera” structures itself around elements of the indigenous and the European cultures, also revealing traces of the Black culture. It is an urban phenomenon, with deeply set roots in the Amazonian popular culture, from which it takes a substantial part of its inspiration.

Loureiro properly describes the *Teatro dos Pássaros* (literally, Theater of Birds) as “the realist fantastic”, stating that:

The *Pássaro Junino* is an example of the objectified fantastic that constitutes one of the distinctive traits of the art produced in Amazonia. An allegory of miscegenation or cultural synthesis, this kind of caboclan opera structures itself around elements of the indigenous culture and the European culture, revealing, from time to time, traces of the Black culture. It is possible to perceive in it the essential presence of the indigenous contribution, one of the distinctive traits of the Amazonian culture within the broad context of Brazilian culture. The *Pássaro Junino* is a kind of popular theater, a sui generis theater, with the appearance of an operetta, organized in short scenes and containing a musical base structure. The dramatic thread is constituted by the persecution of a bird by a hunter, in which, after being shot, the bird is brought back to life, usually by some character with magical powers. (Loureiro, 1995, p. 324-325)

Salles (1994) also says that it was in 1877, on the occasion of the Círio de Nazaré², celebrations, that “a curious gang of Golden Eagles” presented itself, perhaps the first *pássaro* that was object of chronicle in Pará. He mentions a festival of *cordões de bichos e*

¹ Although the word “brincante” can be translated as “player”, the English verb “to play” has a broader meaning than the Portuguese “brincar”. In this specific case, the performers of these kinds of popular theater do not refer to themselves as actors playing a role, but as someone that is taking part in a child-like character impersonation. Hence the usage of the term “brincante” throughout this paper.

² Every year, on the second Sunday in October, the Círio of Our Lady of Nazaré celebration takes place in Belém of Pará. Considered to be the largest religious procession in Brazil, it takes thousands of people to the streets. As an expression of popular Catholicism, and a typical festivity of the Pará State, Círio de Nazaré and the celebrations associated to it comprise native elements that configure the expression of regional identity.

The brincante being: way of life and Art

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¹ This research is supported by CAPES - Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel.

pássaros (cords of animals and birds), which took place in 1919 in the extinct Palace Theatre in Belém.

Menezes indicates 1900 as the date for the presentation of plays influenced by different genres during the June festivals period in the following way:

It would be convenient to note that the provincial theatrical compositions have stood out since 1900, and intensified in the present, which does not invalidate an informal reference that the *bichos* [animals] exhibited in the nights of the bonfire Saints predate, in a way, the frequency of the *pássaros*. (MENEZES, 1993, p. 356)

Moura presents a vast research in his book *O Teatro que o Povo Cria* (The Theater that the People Creates). He searches for origins, and conducts a literature review on *cordões* and theaters: the *cordão de pássaros*, the *cordão de bichos* and the *pássaros juninos*, popular theater in Belém, pointing out *Círio de Nazaré*, *Teatro Nazareno*, the *Pastorinhas*, *Teatro de Revista* and characterizing the *Pássaro Junino* or *Pássaro Melodrama Fantasia* as popular theater. He also discusses the dramaturgy of the *pássaro*, which uses melodrama as a resource; the characters, the interventions of religion and the supernatural in *pássaros juninos*, the processes of creation with the writers, the owners, the rehearsal, the audience, the music and musicians, the choreography, the costumes and the props, the support structures, the directors and the presence of the State.

If the *boi* was the Rouxinol [Nightingale], then in a small cage in the performer's head there was in fact a nightingale, alive. If the *boi* was the Quati [Coati], then a live coati was kept by the performer that danced with it. The *boi* thus became bird or animal; like so, many *bois* lost their primitive organization and dramatization of the Auto, for the same reasons, has gradually undergone radical transformation. The *pássaro* left the podium and was represented on stage, in barracks transformed into popular theaters, in the mentioned parks or on stages of houses of entertainment. (Moura, 1997, p. 39)

According to Moura, this interpretation may suggest that the *pássaro* is born or, at least, a product of the repression of the *boi-bumbá*, but he also says that this can be a mistake, because the *cordões de pássaros* already had their own existence long before the confinement of the *bois* occurred, which, incidentally, was never final. (Moura, 1997, p. 39)

Within the *Pássaros'* dramatic structure, scenes may be found that are constant in both the *Cordão* and the *Pássaro Junino*. However, the following description is the one that accurately describes the *Pássaro Melodrama Fantasia: Quadro do Pássaro* (Bird Scene), *Quadro da Nobreza* (Nobility Scene), *Quadro do Matuto* (Matuto Scene), *Quadro do Bailé* (Bailé Scene), *Quadro da Maloca* (Maloca Scene) and *Quadro da Macumba* (Macumba Scene).

The characters present in the *Pássaros'* dramaturgy are: the *Pássaro* or *Porta-Pássaro* (Bird Carrier), the Indians, the nobility, the *matutos*, the hunter, the fairy, the sorceress and the dancers. A child performer is also present.

The *Pássaro* or *Porta-Pássaro* is usually played by a child, a girl aged between 4 and 12. This is the central character and, according to Moura (1997; p. 166), "sets the group's identity". The performer puts a sculpture of a bird on a twig on her head and dons a garment made of shiny fabric and feathers the same color as those of the bird it portrays. This is the richest costume in the whole group. When on scene, the performer constantly moves around the stage, mimicking a flying bird. According to Loureiro (1995):

This character is reminiscent of the mythical image of the bird-man – the bird on a man or woman's head in ancient Egypt, where the figure symbolized a dead person's soul leaving or a god's visit to earth.

Could it be, then, that the native undying soul that can't be killed is represented in the *Pássaro Junino*, in its *Porta-Pássaro* that always comes back to life? Could this bird-soul be the mythical resistance of the origins emblematically perched on an Amazonian tree? A kind of tropical phoenix of a culture's soul? A bird-man born of that hubris that is common in the miscegenation between the real and the imaginal? The symbologies surrounding birds are rich in every culture, maybe because birds belong to an intermediary plane between heaven and earth (1995; p. 326).



Image 1. *Porta Pássaro /Caboclo Lino Pardo - 2007*

The following indigenous characters are part of the *maloca*: the warrior Indians, the white Indian girl and the Indian leader called *Cacique*, *Morubichaba* or *Tuchaua*. The *maloca* is constituted by Indians of all ages and both genders. Moura (1977) describes the white Indian character thusly:

A character of great importance. Usually, a *brincante* of great physical beauty is chosen to play it. This Indian was either exposed to the white man's "civilization" as a little girl, or is a white girl that was kidnapped by Indians as a young child. She speaks Portuguese and acts as an interpreter to the *maloca*, which, usually, only express themselves in *tupi-guarani* or *nheengatu* (or what the *pássaro* play writers believe to be *nheengatu*) (Moura, 1997; p. 246).



Image 2. *Indians/ Caboclo Lino – 2007*

The Nobility: the nobility is the core formed by king, queen, princes, princesses, marquises, marquises, dukes, duchesses, and barons that live in palaces in the Amazon forest. On scene, these characters represent power, both economical and social. Their costumes are reminiscent of the 18th century.



Image 3. *Members of nobility/ Caboclo Lino - 2007*

The *matutos* are characters that represent the poor part of the population, and, in many cases, work in the lands of the nobles or landowners. It is their role to conduct all the comedy. They are divided in two groups: the *matuto paraense* (from Pará) and the *matuto cearense* (from Ceará). The presence of the *matuto cearense* can be justified by the large immigration wave from *Nordeste* (Ceará state) to Pará, in the heyday of rubber extraction. The *matuto paraense* speaks in a way so as to portray the riverside *caboclo* in Pará.



Image 4. *Matutos/Pássaro Tem Tem - 2004*

The dancers: the dancers form the *Bailé* corps, constituted by children and youngsters that dance trendy rhythms, and, according to Moura (1997),

This was an addition to *pássaro junino* imposed by play writer Laércio Gomes. In his purpose to turn the *pássaro* into something more theatrical, this author, who had a long proximity to the Teatro de Revista, imagined an extra scene for the *Caboclo Lino Pardo's Cordão*, in June 1950, a dance scene that only included *forró* and *baião* dance numbers (Moura, 1997; p. 253).



Image 5. *Dancers/ Pássaro Tem Tem* – 2007

The Fairy is a female imaginary being of charm and beauty, to whom is attributed the magical power to influence people's fate.



Image 6. *A Fada/Caboclo Lino Pardo* – 2007

The Hunter has an important role in the dramaturgy, that of hunting the bird and giving it to the Princess, as a token of his love.



Image 7. *The Hunter/Caboclo Lino Pardo* - 2007

I have given a voice to the subjects, considering their speeches as theoretical production, based on data and facts of their and their ancestors' daily lives – reported and valued here with an empirical purpose. This posture is grounded in Coulon's ethnomethodology (1995. p.15). According to this perspective, the scientific project characteristically analyzes the methods – or, if we prefer, the

procedures – used by individuals in order to carry out the different operations of their daily life.

Sociology's scientificity begins by the understanding of everyday life, just as it manifests itself through the actors' practical constructions. If the common social actors also produce objectification, then that implies that the erudite knowledge mode does not hold the monopoly on objectification. Therefore, ethnomethodology defends that the scientific activity, elaborated from operations identical to those used by common actors, is the product of a way of practical knowledge which, on its own, has the possibility to become a research object for sociology, and be, in turn, scientifically questioned. Ethnomethodologists consider the world as an object to perceptions and actions by the common sense. The goal of ethnomethodology is the empirical search for the methods used by individuals to make sense of, and, at the same time, construct their everyday actions: communicate, make decisions, reason (Coulon. 1995. p. 16- 17).

The most adequate option for the understanding of data, and for their analysis and interpretation may be found in ethno-research. The method's specificities remind us of Macedo's notion of qualitative research, which states that ethno-researches have the following methodological characteristics:

It has context as its direct data source and the researcher as its main instrument; it supposes direct contact between the researcher and the environment and situation that are being investigated; reality's data are predominantly descriptive, and supposedly pedestrian aspects in terms of data status are significantly valued (Macedo, 2000 p. 144;145).

The focus of this work is the *brincante* child's constructive process and training, taking as its starting point the Theatre Group of *Pássaros* Caboclo Lino Pardo, regarded by its peers as a Training School for *brincantes*.

The Caboclo Lino Pardo Group was founded in May 1, 1966, originally under the name Tangará Group, with which it performed for some years. The name was then changed because another group with the same name already existed. So the group came to be called Caboclo Lino, but it only performed with that name for a short time, again because there was already a group of *Pássaros* called Caboclo Lino. Its founder, Madam Manoela do Rosário Ribeiro then added the word Pardo, and thus the group got its definitive name: Caboclo Lino Pardo. All of this happened because there cannot be two groups with the same name in the same city. The group suspended its activity for a few years and resumed them in 2007, with shows performed only by children and adolescents, aged 05-17 years, which reinforces this idea of a training group for *brincantes*. There are many *brincantes* who have gone through this group. *Brincantes* that, today, are in charge of other groups of *Pássaros*, as Guardians and rehearsers, that create other *brincante* communities.

You learn to play the *Pássaro* by practicing, in daily life, by helping to put up a show, or a “play”³, as the *brincantes* call it. And also by observing an older *brincante*, and the way the rehearse wants something to be done, an apprenticeship starts forming. It is learning by doing, as Bordieu explains:

The teaching of a trade or to put it like Durkheim, an “art”, understood as “pure practice without theory”, requires a pedagogy that is not in any way that which suits the teaching of knowledge. As you can very well see in societies without writing and without school - but it is also true as to what is taught in societies with schools and in schools themselves - numerous modes of thought and action - and often the most vital – are transmitted from practice to practice, by means of transmission that are total and practical, grounded in the direct and lasting contact between the one who teaches and the one who learns (do as I do). Historians and philosophers of science - and scientists themselves, especially - have often observed that an important part of the scientist profession is obtained by entirely practical means of acquisition - the part of

3 The word is used here in the sense of children's play, not a theatre play.

the pedagogy of silence, giving way to the explanation not only of transmitted schemes but also of schemes employed in the transmission, is undoubtedly as much higher in science as less explicit and less coded is its content, knowledge, ways of thought and action (Bourdieu , 1989 , p . 22).

The *brincantes* that do the *Pássaros* get all their information through practice, called pedagogy of silence by Bordieu, because it is done by the transmission of knowledge that has not yet been coded, by experiences taken from daily actions. We can see that training being carried out in the Caboclo Lino Pardo Group, by the passing of an experience, as Patrick tells us:

When I came here to make my *Matuto* character in the first year, Seu Pará [Mr. Pará] (Seu Pará is a member of the Tem Tem Group and has been doing the *matuto* character for 40 years) taught us, I mean, he was doing it and we'd mimic him, follow him. Then later he was only telling us to create our own, then we invented another and everybody laughed. We watched people who live in the interior of the state talk, then we started to imitate them, because Seu Pará also speaks like that when he's doing his character, kind of *caboclo*. We also see how people's bodies are. (Patrick, 10 years, *brincante* of the Caboclo Lino)



Image 8. Patrick in the *Matutos*' scene. (Photo by Olinda Charone)

Another moment of this transmission occurs in the presentations of the show. The community watches the community. When this happens, the *brincante* child learns by observation.

Every time there are presentations, we will watch to see how they do it, if it's funny, if they're making people laugh. We're just there watching, to see it, and when it's funny, everyone laughs, then we will also try to do the same. Now when it gets dull, we don't do it. (Ricardo, 13, *brincante* of the Caboclo Lino)

So, what characterizes this *brincante* child that works to be a comedian on the *Matutos* scene is the fact that he presents himself as a lot looser in his dramatic actions, he understands the audience's reaction and plays from it. He has his lines and provokes laughter in the audience by using of a kind of language and accent like that of the people that live in the interior of the state. The way our riverside *caboclo* speaks, because it is very peculiar, is a dialect.

What I understand, when the child is on stage, is the construction of a body that is very different from the child's daily life. The child's walk on stage, the child's body on stage, the way the child says his lines. It is very clear, in all this, that the child can understand the moment when the audience may laugh at him, and awaits that moment, and the more the child gets in return for his performance, the more he exaggerates his caricature of the character. In any moment does the child feel embarrassed to

say obscene lines, to make obscene gestures, because his sole purpose is to make the audience laugh. And the more the audience gives in return to his performance, the greater is the child's pleasure in acting. The child enjoys that moment of laughter and does his best to give that pleasure back to the audience. This clearly shows in the child's participation, in his involvement. The child does not have defined stage marks and moves and gestures according to his feelings, emotions and improvisations that occur during the show, and also in the game with other characters on scene.

Roger Caillois (1990) classifies games in fundamental categories: AGÔN (games in sports competitions in general); ALEA (games of chance, rhymes, lottery...); MIMICRY (simulacrum, the performing arts in general) e ILINX (vertigo, games of balance, mountain climbing, trapeze...).

We are facing, therefore, a wide range of manifestations that have the common characteristic of being based on the fact that the subject plays with the belief, or the intent to make himself or others believe, that he is another person. He forgets, temporarily sheds his personality to fake another. I have decided to name these manifestations as Mimicry, which designates a form of imitation, namely by insects, with the purpose of underlining the fundamental and radical, almost organic nature, of the impulse that sets them off.

Caillois designates the play as the interpreter or comedian's style, stating that that original characteristic distinguishes ways such as that of playing a role. I relate that approach to the interpretation by the *pássaros' brincantes*.



Image 9. *Cena dos Matutos – Caboclo Lino Pardo – 2007* (foto: Olinda Charone)

The knowledge, the practical dominion of this Art is achieved through experience, through sole competence. This is the reason why *Pássaro Caboclo Lino Pardo's* directors, as well as those who have been part of the group, consider it as a School of *Brincantes*.

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to examine the multiple relationships between history and the memory of dancing bodies, specifically the gafieiras (dance halls) as an environment for plural sociabilities, characterised by people who recreate popular culture and represent its traditions. In this process, the analysis focuses on the link between collective memory, the body and practices of sociability in space and time.

Keywords: Gafieira, Collective Memory and the Body.

Introduction

“Memory is always the memory of someone (or a group) that makes projects and aims the becoming.”

Paul Ricoeur

Memories reveal stories of the past-present of dancing bodies occurring in certain cultural and social contexts, which give identity to the subjects’ perceptions of ‘the other’, where the feelings of group construct collective memories. By collective memory, we refer to the symbolic, active, dynamic, complex and interactive processes involved in building frameworks of the past-present of social groups, grounded in the traditions of cultural transformations. Le Goff considers collective memory as (1990, p 472.): “What remains from the past lived by a group or what groups make of their past.”

The “Gafieira Estudantina Musical”¹ in Praça Tiradentes, located in the centre of Rio de Janeiro, is an environment of memories and plural sociability, characterised by people that recreate popular culture and represent its traditions, through friendships, dating, flirting, fun and leisure. The principal feature of this environment is that sociability and body contact are given preference, with the patrons relentlessly pursuing encounters with the Other.

The field research was conducted at the Gafieira Estudantina

¹ The Gafieira Estudantina Musical is located in the center of Rio de Janeiro, at No. 79, Praça Tiradentes. In the early twentieth century, this square was one of the main attractions, where several ‘teatro de revista’ performances, operettas and the burlesque shows took place, with many professionals from Europe, very significant events in the culture of the city of Rio de Janeiro. With regard to the start of its activity, it is difficult to precisely state a date, because according to oral history, some people came in 1929 and others in 1932. According to reports from Duarte (1979), the first gafieira Estudantina appeared in 1932, founded by a law student, and located on Paissandu Street, in the Flamengo neighbourhood, considered a football club and linked to Carnival. In 1964, the Estudantina was one of the places where the festive dances for political left were held, with the participation of the students, intellectuals and those studying samba. For the middle class, attending the Estudantina was in vogue and a way of valuing popular culture. Then, falling out of fashion, the dancehall went bankrupt in 1968. Today, however, it is in full operation.

Gafieira: a place of memories of dancing bodies

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Musical, due to its unique historical importance. Regarded both nationally and internationally as the traditional venue of choice for a night in Rio, the dancehall has its own statute and even today seeks to preserve its original features. The choice was not aleatoric; the Estudantina is one of the few dance halls which is fully operating nowadays and is a traditional, authentic place with lively dancing. Thus, we decided to follow our personal taste and choose the Estudantina as the venue for this research, principally due to its authenticity, but also because of its ambience.

Gafieiras or dance halls are environments of sociability and are characterized by a particular kind of sociability, heavily distinguished by the encounter with the Other. Sociability is defined by Simmel as “a playful form of association” (1983, p.169), in which social interaction is an end in itself. For Simmel (1983) each space for sociability is “permeated with tacit agreements, a feeling of symmetry between individual relationships and rules of conduct”, that condition social relations in these spaces, guiding people to act according to what is expected of them.

We think of the body as a basic condition of man, a place of identification and harmony between the body’s senses. Dancing bodies are mediators of social and cultural relations. And, as we contemplate and observe the extent to which cultural, creative and expressive bodies are exposed through the hall, dressed up to meet the each other, we find that they relate through the dynamics of contact. Thus, the dancing bodies encountered in dance halls are culturally constructed, shared and appropriated by culture. Thus, the body is perceived as a social construction, the locus being ingrained by patterns of behaviour that are socially designed by the established collective ideals. Thus, the construction of dancing bodies can be operated via clothing and collective, social, and corporal behaviours. According to Roger Bastide (1985) “there is no culture without a body and no body without a culture, as man is the product and producer of his own culture.”

The History of the Gafieira:

As described by some lexicographers, the word ‘gafieira’ means a small ball, a shindig, a popular low-cost activity frequented by people of lower classes. The name comes from the French *gaffer*, a pejorative term, meaning involuntary indiscretion or transgression of the rules of social etiquette. Another possibility, proffered by a journalist from a newspaper which focuses on recreation and Carnaval, is that gafieira is the fusion of word gaffe (blunder) with the term “*cabroeiros*” (a goat’s ball, with goat-like/rude people).

From this perspective, we could say that many patrons danced freely, committing - according to seasoned dancers - a series of gaffes (blunder), such as stepping on their partners’ toes or singing along to the music. In this case, we observed that in an attempt to reproduce the dances of the upper classes, but due to a lack of access to these places, many were unaware of the correct order of steps danced in social clubs, which led to stumbles and stomps, both considered very serious gaffes. In the end, the steps were modified and through this creativity, generated new types of Brazilian dances and styles, such as the *Maxixe*.

The term gafieira comprises an amalgamation of the French *gafe* (involuntary indiscretion, poor etiquette) followed by the Portuguese ‘*eiras*’ (which gives the idea of a sequence). According to João Alves, the manager of Gafieira Elite Club in 1997, the term gafieiras emerged with the Elite, created by social journalist Romeo Arede (o Picareta):

He was denied entry for being drunk, going against the statutes of the house, which followed strict standards of behaviour. Thus, the chronicler, angry with the situation, published an article defaming the Elite Club and used the pejorative French word, *gaffer*, “so that the founder of the house who was not

concerned by the published article resolved to incorporate 'elite' in the name of the dance hall: Gafieira Elite". (PERNA cited ALVES 2002, p. 74-75).

Similarly, Perna cited Simoes (1979, p.13), the former clerk of a warehouse in Central Brazil who symbolically represented the dance hall movement, entrance fees, the local halls, argues that:

It was the journalist Romeu Arede who started using the name gafieira. He used to attend, eat, drink, dance and do not pay. I stopped him and said, 'here we have rules'. Through the newspaper he coined the word gafieira, committing gaffes, to mock us. Rather than harming it, he unintentionally helped us. Because it created a name, then the environment, and now it is even a jet-setters environment.

We disagree with this stereotypical and prejudiced view that defines the gafieira as a place for rowdy people, committing social gaffes. We believe that this scenario has changed considerably, from the 1960s onwards, leaving this pejorative connotation behind and becoming very respectable, with participation by all social classes. With the incorporation and appreciation of popular culture by the middle class, their prejudiced view changed, as seen in Duarte (1979, p.13):

... In the past, the purists and the dance bourgeoisie may have looked down on it. But in 1979 - and it is up to the lexicographers to verify this *in loco* - the Gafieira is a special dance club, with an entrance fee and but often free membership, a place for recreation and dance where there is plenty of good behaviour and composure in perfect racial integration.

We see the gafieira as a spectacular practice, a dance with an entrance fee, a spacious room with live, good quality orchestral music, a place where all styles of music are played for dancing and the ballroom is attended by people from different life styles and all social classes, a multi racial environment, without distinctions of class or gender.

Furthermore, we understand that the word gafieira is used in various ways, in different contexts, in naming spaces (where the ballroom dancing happens), genres (for both music and dance), musical styles (gafieira samba) and actions (as described above, the term was often used maliciously, a pejorative word to the rabbles' dances or sambas).

Bibliographical information which refers to the emergence of dance halls in Brazil is very rare and sometimes contradictory and controversial. We found several denominations for environments where the lower classes had their moments of fun and social exchanges. Initially, in the historiographical records the popular dances were called "arrasta-pé", "assustados", "maxixes" or "machicheiras", "zangus", "criolêu", dancing societies and recreational clubs, until the word gafieira was established.

According to Jota Efegê (1974, p.21.), the *maxixe* dance was practiced in only a few *machicheiras* in the late nineteenth century. He explains that the first Catete Society - also called *machicheira* - emerged in the 1880s of the XIX century, although the name gafieira did not yet exist. In his words:

Today, the current designation is gafieira, a term coined by the journalist, Romeu Arede Romeu, known by the pseudonym Picareta, and soon after popularized in the public domain. (...) It would be called a *criolêu* (...) a place frequented by people of low social and economic categories, predominantly emancipated black people (...) The rum and Capilé (popular soft drink) served in abundance would dispel any doubt about the quality of the former Catete Society.

We believe that the gafieiras appeared from 1847, although they were not yet designated thus. We verified this fact through the *History of Samba* published by Editora Globo (1997):

As up to middle of the last century only closed clubs (dancing societies) existed for certain numbers of members, those who did not belong to those clubs but wanted to dance, could only do so in so-called *zangus*,

the popular dances, which had no entrance fee. This situation produced the first gafeira in history, which was opened in Rio de Janeiro in 1847-1848 by Mr. Francisca Pacheco Silva, who requested permission to install a ballroom, with an admission fee, at No, 327, Rua da Alfândega.

After Francisca Pacheco da Silva established an entrance fee for the ballroom, numerous dance halls emerged in the city centre in the 19th century, and in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro - for example, in the famous district of Cidade Nova which was located between the station of the Estrada de Ferro Central of Brazil and the Trevo dos Pracinhos (now the Avenida Presidente Vargas).

From the beginning of twentieth century, we observed that with the modernization of societies, the gafeiras grew and diversified. The gafeira as a social practice was very important in the development of the culture of Rio de Janeiro, reaffirming the principle that urban transformations evolve in collective dimensions. Emerging as a phenomenon of a group of people from the lower classes who needed to have fun, the gafeiras were a place where a segment of the population that was totally marginalized and excluded from social environments had the possibility of being socially accepted and in these environments, found dancing, good orchestral music and space for social communion.

Initially, this social space/environment was frequented by a population that did not have access to the dances that took place in Rio de Janeiro's clubs, because these "high" society clubs did not allow them to enter and neither was it conceivable that the black maid band workers could attend. The gafeira was where these people had the opportunity to dance and have fun. Perhaps, the gafeiras emerged as an attempt to imitate and re-appropriate the ruling elite that enjoyed large and luxurious ballrooms. And for a long time, the gafeiras were discriminated against, as they were considered to be places where the least favoured class socialised.

Historically, the first recorded gafeira was the União do Bem-Querer, which anyone could attend, with or without a partner. For Duarte (1979), the first Gafeira was actually the Kananga do Japão. It was not yet called a gafeira because the name did not exist, and was thus considered a dance society, though it was already a gafeira, according to the model of current standards.

The traditional Gafeira Elite Club was founded in the 1930s by Heitor Júlio Simões and Hélio Jovino. Júlio Simões, of Italian descent, was outraged by the prejudice against blacks who were prohibited from attending the dances at social clubs, and decided to open the Gafeira Elite Club, located at the Praça da Republica. It was considered a democratic place, without prejudice, although all whom attended were expected to behave and follow the rules² of this environment.

The gafeira was a place to dance to various musical styles and genres. In the first gafeiras, samba, maxixe, marches, jazz and waltzes were played, in addition to other songs that were not allowed in the salons of the upper bourgeoisie, but were played in the gafeiras with all their sensuality, which became a striking feature of these festivities.

The gafeira dances were scattered through the suburbs and rural areas, opposing the social contradictions of the city of Rio de Janeiro, concerned with the latest news coming from Europe, European practices and traditions. The gafeiras were usually frequented by low-income workers, labourers, maids, civil servants, married women and their trader husbands, journalists, policemen and low ranking military.

The most typical gafeiras³ on record include the Kananga do Japão, the Elite and the Estudantina. Besides these, there were numerous gafeiras scattered throughout the city's neighbourhoods such as

² The regulations stipulated that men should wear white linen suits, well cleaned and polished shoes and bring a cloth handkerchief to wipe away any sweat. The Orchestra of the Gafeira Elite Club was composed of four musicians. The admission fee for men cost 3,500 reis, whilst women had free admission.

³ Leisure was encouraged by the government with the New State political scene in the 1930s. Getúlio Vargas established codes of conduct in relation to the popular culture. In this period there was an increase in Samba Schools and was in this environment that there was also a proliferation of dance halls.

the União do Bem Querer, the Mimosas Japonesas, the Jardim do Méier and the Elite (Méier); the Dancing do Irajá and the Vitória (Irajá), the Recreio das Flores (Saúde), the O Prazer é Nosso, the Fogão (Engenho Novo); the Estrela Dalva (Catumbi); the Prazer das Morenas (Tijuca); the Cheira Vinagre, the Cutuca Virilha (near Morro do Salgueiro), the Diamond Club, the Banda Portugal (Praça Onze); the Catuca (Praça Saens Pena), the Pavunense (Pavuna); the Ameno Resedá, the Tupy, the Clube dos Sargentos and the Siboney (Praça Tiradentes); the Gafieira da Tia Vincentina (Madureira); the Gafieira Tio Dico, the Mil e Cem (Engenho de Dentro); the Cedofeita (Bento Ribeiro); the Magia Tropical (Horto); the Apostolos do Samba (Centro), the A Laje, the Embaixadores do Amor, the Amantes da Arte, the Cachopa and the Carioca Musical. This diversity of locations was the result of significant expressions of a population that enjoyed the dances, which reached its climax in the 1940s, when the gafieiras were attended by a large number of people. From the 1960s, they became even more popular, with greater participation, irrespective of social class. At this time, the middle class discovered the gafieiras and they turned fashionable.

With regard to prejudice and discrimination on the part of the dominant classes, we refer to the colonial period, when the ruling class tried to abolish the customs of those of African descent and thus drums were banned. In this sense, Brazilian society was extremely prejudiced, particularly in relation to the pastimes of those of African descent, which were seen as subordinate citizens, both socially and economically. The practice of drumming was very significant in terms of Brazilian popular culture.

The black population of Rio has always been a strong presence in the gafieiras. Often, this gave rise to prejudices and racist attitudes which discriminated against these environments. In the musical composition, *Estatuto da Boate Billy Blanco* (1950) there is a line which says, “the Gafieira of good people, where the night hides the nonsense that happens, where the whiskey washes away any nonsense, tomorrow we’ll take an antacid and we’ll forget “. In this respect, Maria Antonieta⁴ reports:

The Gafieira was a coloured peoples club, 80% were black. When a white person appeared in the ball room, everyone looked. It was for coloured people, maids, humble trade’s people, cleaning staff, workers, and poor people! Because they do not enter clubs like Fluminense, Flamengo, Vasco da Gama. None of them! It was forbidden for black people to go. Coloured people had not been in social clubs. (...) Nobody could go to a Club that had membership policies. Unfortunately this is Racism! So ... Unfortunately there was this prejudice. The poor, coloured people had to have a place to dance. The club that had no social framework was called the Gafieira. For example, at the Embaixadores, Cedofeita, everyone that used to dance over there was black, white, and yellow. It was a club in the city with good dancers.

Women did not have to pay an entry fee for the first gafieiras that emerged. In earlier times, there was gender separation; the men did not mix with the women. Women stayed on one side and men on the other, approached only at the moment of the dance. Women who did not have a partner would sit in the chairs lined up, and those who had a partner could sit at the tables. (DUARTE, 1979).

Within this tradition, the rules of etiquette were established in the elegant dances, in which men had to invite the women to dance, approach them, respectfully bow to them, and then invite them to dance. They would dance around the room and at the end of their dance; respectfully lead the lady back to her seat.

“With clothes will I wear to the samba that you had invited me to?” wrote the singer and songwriter Noel Rosa (1931). With regard to clothing, these environments were dictated by respect, the basic requirement was good attire⁵, both for men and for women. Therefore one could not enter without a

⁴ In an interview with the author. Maria Antonieta Guaycurus de Souza (1926-2009).

⁵ Men wore white linen or navy-blue cashmere suits with ties, white shoes and hat. Women wore fine dresses in pink or blue, with silk stockings and stiletto heels. And a scarf, to prevent sweat from wetting the lady’s back. In an article

proper outfit. In fact, although these standards were imposed, they did not impact on democracy of these social classes, whether maids or those working on the docks.

For a long time, there were ballroom inspectors, who commanded respect. They used wands to draw attention those who dared break the rules or did not respect the prohibition of excessive intimacies. The employment of the inspectors arose from the need for a Master of Ceremonies to dictate the rules of what could or could not be done, the norms of social behaviour and respect for the dance hall. An implicit rule in the gafieiras was that those who were not expert dancers should dance in the middle of the hall, so as not to disrupt the more experienced couples in their choreographed sequences around the room.

Over time, in the social and cultural history of the city of Rio de Janeiro, numerous gafieiras emerged, some remained and several became extinct. We can say that this happened due to several factors, such as an excessive increase of copyright laws and rents, changes to the transport system, the housing race in which many old buildings were demolished, the arrival and growth of the samba schools and a lack of money.

In the 1940s and 1950s, radios became popular across the country, taking up space in people's lives, informing them and entertaining them. At that time, the radio divulged foreign and especially American music influences. In this context, there was the arrival of American Big Bands, with Jazz becoming popular in southern night-life. The middle class appreciated this style and also attended the gafieiras. Great jazz bands played in the gafieiras, such as the Pan American Orchestra, the American Jazz-Band, the South American Jazz Band, the Cuban Typical Orchestra, the Orchestra Reversom, the Orquestra Tabajara and others. Regarding the music that was played in the gafieiras, Maria Antonieta says:

At that time, the orchestra's training was for Big Band music. They had great orchestra conductors, as Severino Araújo and these rhythms influenced major American orchestras – like Glenn Miller's and Duke Ellington's. The Charleston, jazz, rumba, the fox-trot, the habaneira, the boogie, the tango, all were influenced. I mean, the music was being contaminated.

The dances in the gafieiras disappeared from the media in the 1960s and 1970s, with the advent of disco, which definitively imposed an absence of contact dance and intertwined couples, now people danced alone. Thus, as ballroom dancing fell from favour, many gafieiras disappeared, but the tradition never fully died out. Many papers reported the disappearance and end of the gafieiras with the following titles: *The agony of the Gafieiras*; *Gafieiras: The dying*; *The Closure of Mimoso Manacá*, *The dance halls are no longer* (DUARTE, 1979).

There had always been great dances in the suburbs of Rio, such as in Pavuna and Vera Cruz. At this time, there was still some prejudice on the part of the population who had not yet been to the gafieiras. In relation to the prejudice of part of Rio's population about the gafieiras, Jaime Arôxa explains:

When I arrived in Rio de Janeiro, I asked the taxi driver to take me to a Gafieira. He said: No, it's dangerous! (...) I started in the brothels, and then went to the Gafieiras, visiting the finest halls. Without prejudice, I love all of them!

From the 1980s, after the nightclub fad, the gafieiras came roaring back to Rio's social scene, as the bourgeoisie rediscovered the pleasure of dancing with your partner in the gafieira dance halls, the

published in the *Journal of Brazil* (1989), Emericiano Porto Lyra (Donga), tells us that "there was a doorman at the gafieira who would eye you from top to bottom. If one were poorly groomed, unkempt, they were not allowed to enter. The costume was used on normal days, and de rigeur for the big events."

healthy and cheap entertainment, a local dance without the ceremonious formality of debutante balls and graduations.

Up to the present day, the gafieiras have been innovated, and now feature traits of modernity. For instance, the Circo Voador is an important dance hall frequented by former dancers of the old guard and young lovers of dance who attend the in Sunday Dance – Domingueira Dançante.

The gafieira environment was always about sociability and communication, an exchange of knowledge, experiences and information, rendering the patrons historical subjects and producers of meaning. Therefore, we consider the gafieiras as places where many social groups revive the traditions and symbols of cultural resistance.

From this investigation of the gafieira spaces, we can understand the ways in which people attribute significance and meaning to life. By remembering the facts, we did not intend to revive them, but rather to rework them, rethinking and recreating the story with elements of the present. Thus, we believe that we can also rebuild and revalue traditions.

The memory of dancing bodies

In the gafieira, the contact between the bodies is a fundamental condition and constant relationship; everyone remains close to one another, with bodily contact. The contact of dancing bodies produces a set of joint combinations that are articulated, adapted and complemented. This meeting starts a dialogue established with a close distance between the man and woman in a delicate combination of anatomies.

This interrelation happens due to multiple mechanical elements, due to relationships and the control of the dynamics of movement, the choreographic elements, which are translated into movement, interconnected and intertwined with space and time. The dancing bodies moving around the room, creating their own variations and dance sequences, using the configuration of harmonic body which they have created, with their double sensations, interpret the music and move according to the pre-established rules of the ballroom.

The expansion of networks of social relations is one of the striking features of this space. Thus, people seek the dances in gafieiras in order to hear good music, orchestras, to dance, to meet people and especially engage in social practices of sociability permeated by entertainment and pleasure. In this sense, the gafieiras appear as living spaces of sociability, but also as spaces where sociability is produced. The Gafieira Estudantina Musical aims to stay active, cultivating a tradition of dances, songs and sociability. In an interview, Isidro Page Fernandez (the owner) tells us that:

As we were introduced to other rhythms of music and the audience evaded the Gafieira, there came a new fad. Because unfortunately the Brazilian has no memory, unfortunately. So just say, look over there, it is important, they are playing better, even if it is poor quality, or different, they go back and forget their roots. The Estudantina is the root of Gafieira dances. It is the root of dance. This was a school. This is a school.

Furthermore:

The Estudantina is a living memory dance, of folklore, of the roots of the culture. Because I do not need memory. It is the Estudantina that needs memory. It is the Brazilian people who need memory. I'm not Brazilian, but that doesn't mean I don't know what memory is. Yes I know! Now I believe that this should be kept, for the memory of Rio de Janeiro, for the memory of Brazil. (Silence) I am a living witness of what the old Gafieira was and what is today. (Silence).

Finally, we consider the gafeira as a place of stories and memories of dancing bodies in their practices of sociability, a phenomenon peculiar to Rio, which has represented a possible form of entertainment from its origins to the present day. The Gafeira Estudantina Musica is a symbol of cultural resistance and is considered part of Rio and Brazilian culture's historical heritage.

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Abstract: This paper is a synthesis that continues the academic research entitled *Os Trânsitos do Armário: Um estudo cartográfico de um teatro queer na cidade de Belém do Pará*. From a cartographic perspective, make a prolific dialogue of contemporary theater in Pará, marked by a strong experimental basis, with Queer Theory, theoretical current born of a meeting between Cultural Studies, Post-Colonial Studies and Subaltern Studies, thus, trace briefs notes over a Queer Theatre. Queer Theatre sustains itself as a force that seeks to deconstruct the hegemonic thinking bringing truths to center discussions relevant to those living on the edges and the margins of society. All this thinking is sustained mainly on the experience of abjection and marginalization and only through deconstruction and decolonization of this thinking is that it can undermine dichotomies that privilege some and exclude others.

Keywords: experimental theatre; queer theory; queer theatre.

This paper aims to summarize the work *Os trânsitos do armário: Um estudo cartográfico de um Teatro Queer na cidade de Belém do Pará*, in which we dedicate ourselves to investigate the existence of a queer scenery in the principal city of Pará state from 1980 to these days.

Through the work of some very important companies, we reach the conclusion that sexuality as scenic discussion and the experimentalism are two strong and omnipresent characteristics in the town's theatre. Regarding it, we intend to establish a paradigm about this new way to both think about and make theatre, *Queer Theatre*.

The contemporary theatre of Pará

After 1970, the theatre in Pará has been related to “social and cultural transformations” (JANSEN, 2009, p. 87). It has been since 1980 a tool for discussions, for debate; in that sense, it targets “new experiences with the scenic language aiming for a critical and poetic portrayal of the city, its politics, its men” (JANSEN, 2009, p.88).

Deeply affected by the end of a long dictatorship (1964-1985), known as *military dictatorship*, all artistic languages in Pará experienced an ebullient period – new companies emerged, new bands, institutional stimulus, and themes such as sexuality, religion and politics were widely discussed. From Brecht to Artaud, these new companies focused their poetics on the work of those greatest theatre's researchers of the 20th century. The Usina

In praise of a queer theatre

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Contemporânea de Teatro company, founded in 1989, recreated some Brecht plays:

Montar Brecht vinculava-se à ideia que motivou a própria criação do grupo: o teatro como instrumento de consciência política e transformação social. Aqui vale assinalar que o dramaturgo alemão foi naturalmente assimilado pelo Usina, assim como foi pelos grupos militantes da década de setenta (ANDRADE, 2012, p. 32).

Luiz Otávio Barata, director of the Cena Aberta company, was “influenced by several artists, poets, set designers and philosophers, [such as] Antonin Artaud, Jean Genet, Friedrich Nietzsche, Roland Barthes, Jean Paul Sartre, Santo Agostinho, Flávio Império, as well as some liturgical texts to compose his chaotic imagery” (MIRANDA, 2010, p. 19).

It was settled, then, the experimental background of Pará’s theatre. Its main characteristics were the refusal of the mainstream and the insertion of public, alternative, scenic spaces: plazas, even basements¹; or some kind of spatial reorganization inside the theaters².

Jansen (apud MIRANDA, 2010, p. 48) says that 1979 was a crucial moment in the experimental theatre of Pará. The work of Cena Aberta, headed by its director, Barata, was one of the brightest moments of the experimental theatre.

Thus, the artistic class was the main responsible for rooting what now is the contemporary local culture. Their experiences, lives, and achievements as a group still influence and thrill the new artistic generations.

Therefore, the experimental background of Pará’s theatre has not only the purpose of provoking and incite the social conscience of the spectator, but indeed it has the goal to turn that moment of relation between actor and audience – or even between the artists themselves – into a ritual experience, transforming and affective.

Queer Theory: in the doubles of a Queer Theatre

The *Queer Theory* was an overturning point in the studies of sexual and gender minorities. It blurs the lines and rigid categorizations of identity, gender and sexuality, but “someone cautious perceives that the major *queer* problematic is not exactly the homosexuality, but abjection” (MISKOLCI, 2012, p. 24).

The *Queer Theory* has its origin after a conglomerate of perspectives. Miskolci says: “coming, one way or another, from Cultural Studies, the *Queer Theory* and the Postcolonial Studies are part of the so-called ‘Subaltern Studies’” (MISKOLCI, 2007, p. 8). The interdisciplinarity and rhizomatic aspect of the influences of *Queer Theory* can lead us to the conclusion that it is a very complex theory; critical and therefore a watershed of non-hegemonic groups’ studies in the contemporary society.

Em paralelo com as manifestações políticas queer, emergia uma vertente teórica que se distanciou criticamente dos movimentos gay e feministas tradicionais e foi “batizada” por Tereza de Lauretis como *Teoria Queer*, em 1991, durante um evento na Universidade da Califórnia em Santa Cruz. (MISKOLCI, 2012, p. 52).

The *Queer Theory* has a long and well known history of conflicts and affinities with the studies of sexuality and gender. Coming from departments of non social investigation, for instance Philosophy

¹ O *Teatro de Porão* se tornou o objeto da pesquisa de Doutorado da Professora Wlad Lima.

² No espetáculo *Quarto de empregada*, Barata reorganizou o espaço de apresentação, uma iniciativa ousada e inovadora para época: “A plateia ficava sentada dentro do palco. Ele já queria a arena [rompendo com o modelo italiano] achei aquela maluquice bem legal!” (FARIA, 2006)

and Literary Criticism, the connection between queer studies and sociology is deeply marked by a tension, once the aforementioned theory comes up with the intent of criticize the sociologic studies in the times of sexual and gender “minorities”³.

While the social theory of sexual minorities is mainly about the maintenance of heterosexuality as a pattern and homosexuality as a deviant behavior, the queer theory collapses this pattern through the problematization of the binomials male/female, homosexuality/heterosexuality, and so on. However, the relation between these two theories is not solely based on conflict; both sociology and queer theory prioritize the historical, discursive and cultural aspects of sexuality. This characteristic of the queer studies is mainly an influence of *A História da Sexualidade: Vontade de Saber*, by Michel Foucault, the most influential philosopher, even these days, when it comes to queer theory (see also Judith Butler’s work).

We insist in that tension between the *queer* scholars and the social movements so we can understand that the goal of the queer movement, unlike other movements, is not only the gay rights defense but also the problematization and deconstruction of social patterns and moral values that interfere so much in our behaviors and bodies. If the concern of the social movements was “adapt the homosexuals to social demands, to incorporate them” (MISKOLCI, 2012, p.25), the *queer* concern was “to face the challenge of change society until it accept them” (MISKOLCI, 2012, p. 25).

The *Queer* Theory reassures a critical position in terms of the treatment given by sociological studies to sexual and gender minorities. Likely, Judith Butler reinforces her critics on feminist movements of the 1980’s for saying that women should adapt themselves to the system. The Butler’s main criticism to the feminist movement is that feminists should be more concerned with how women are produced and constrained by power’s structures rather than to look at the power’s structures itself and try to elaborate some form of empowerment, this critical Butler calls “a feminist genealogy of the ‘women’ category “. The word *genealogy* is applied in Foucault’s sense, which means that she’s more worried about investigate how political discourses are built, what interests they answer for, what they are in reality, what kind of individuals they aim to built, too.

Guacira Lopes Louro, about the Queer Theory, says that it is “the difference that refuses to be assimilated or tolerated therefore its form of action is more outrageous and disturbing” (LOURO, 2001, p. 546). The point is: it still is “outrageous and disturbing”? Are the recent studies correct to say that the *Queer* Theory is institutionalized and stagnated? How could theatre bring back this dionysian force?

We believe that the dialogue between Queer Theory and the local theatre reveals an exciting and still undiscovered ground for both areas.

As we have seen, since 1980 the Pará’s theatre has the experimentalism as main characteristic. One of its strong aspects is the proposed dialogue between the individuals and the city, taking up onstage political and social discourses.

Queer Theatre: a two-way street

Several local groups dedicated themselves to discuss themes concerning to the city and they also tried to provoke new experiences with the theatre’s language – for instance, the *Cuíra* Company, at the central area of Belém, in an old and famous red light zone in Brazil, wich worked basically as a site of resistance; or the *Cena Aberta*, headed by Luís Otávio Barata in the 1980, famous by its

³ O termo minoria é criticado por Miskolci por ser considerado demasiado pretensioso, além de desvalorizar os grupos aos quais ele se refere. “Um exemplo claro é a incoerência de se referir às mulheres como minoria já que elas constituem numericamente a maior parte da humanidade.” (MISKOLCI, 2009, p. 168))

experimental and performative characteristics and political attitude in a post-dictatorship context. Besides, it was in the town's basements that great experiences were taken further in terms of creative process. For example, the poetic developed by Wlad Lima in the basements and summarized on her thesis titled *Teatro ao alcance do tato: Uma poética encravada nos porões da cidade de Belém do Pará*, which proposes an intimate and synaesthetic experience with the audience.

Having had understanding of the experimental ways of the 'city of mango trees' theatre, we believe that understanding the Queer Theatre will not be that hard. This contemporary theatre implodes rigid forms as in the same way that Queer Theory did (still does?) with the studies of sexual and gender minority groups. Therefore to think about Queer Theatre is also to think about the local group's work (Cuíra or Cena Aberta): something experimental and daring.

By *two-way street* one should comprehend that the queer theatre both rescues the work of old companies no longer active and highlights the work of prominent young companies; and by doing so, it remodels the *Queer Theory* itself, which has been accused of being 'institutionalized'.

In his paper 'What's So Queer About the Queer Theory To-Come?' Michael O'Rourke reflects on the current state of queer studies, indicating a constant becoming, something unstable, in constant mutation; that could not be the same in the next day – or should function in that way.

Se é verdade que, de início, as políticas queer prometiam uma alternativa à problemática da libertação gay, o facto também é que elas têm ficado demasiado aquém dessa expectativa, como de resto vem sendo constatado por uma série de estudiosos e de ativistas e como é deixado claro pelos organizadores deste número especial. Só muito raramente a resistência *queer* conseguiu dar corpo à possibilidade de conexões entre múltiplas identidades, que a passagem da abordagem gay para as posições *queer* acalentara a esperança de operar (JAKOBSEN, 2005, p. 287).

O'Rourke agrees with Jakobsen:

Estou plenamente de acordo com a ideia de que os estudos queer (ao contrário do que sucede com os estudos de temática gay/lésbica) atingiram um estado de paralisia e que a eventual promessa de uma vida remoçada passa por um envolvimento com a política global e pela despromoção da sexualidade enquanto seu único objeto próprio de perquisição crítica e de indagação teórica. (O'ROURKE, 2006, p. 128).

Thus, Michael O'Rourke says that the queer should be some kind of *rogue*:

Proponho, da mesma forma, uma "teoria vadia" em que o voyou (i.e., o vadio, ou malandro) e o *queer* estejam etimologicamente entrelaçados. Como afirma Derrida, o vadio é aquele que permanentemente despista, seduz, atrai, que nos "alicia a abandonar o caminho di-recto" (o caminho "straight"), "exibindo-se com jactância qual pavão com o cio", sendo "a rua [...] lugar privilegiado do roué, o meio e a via do voyou, essa estrada preferida pelos vadios e por onde estes mais costumam vaguear" (O'ROURKE, 2006, p. 132).

We do believe that this fear about some imminent threat upon the very existence of the Queer Theory as a rebel force can be diminished if we consider – as we do in our researching process – the theatre as a site of resistance and insubordination; the theatre as a place of questioning largely accepted truths about *strange bodies*.

Morin says that "every theory with some complexity can only preserve such complexity by recreating itself constantly" (MORIN, 1984, p. 336). Thus, we can consider the *Queer Theatre* as intellectual recreation of the Queer Theory itself. This form of (re) think the theatre and the Queer Theory is a method, and to Morin a method is "the remodeling activity necessary to all theories. Which, as systems, tend to get degraded, to suffer the principle of increasing entropy, and, like all the living systems, must regenerate itself" (MORIN, 1984, p. 339).

The *Queer* Theory is known by many as a shattering force to militant movements, once it implodes traditional concepts of identity and gender. The queer studies, having their origin inside the academy, trespassed the walls of academy and reached the streets, alleys, plazas, social networking websites; today, they deconstruct rigid concepts on gender and sexuality, the *queer* is capable of acknowledge new forms of existence, new forms of sexual and affective connections; the *queer* acknowledges all of those forms as an entangled, mixed up body, but militant movements still insist in categorize and to put identities and bodies each in their *proper place*.

While some LGBT militant movements still acknowledge the world split into steady categories, such as *heterosexual* and *gay*, the *Queer* Theory is capable of zooming⁴ these identities and bodies and, in a clearer way, identify within the gay identity such categories as *bears*, *barbies* and *girlish*⁵; and by so ripping apart a *collective identity*, which sustains the afore mentioned social movements; and that is why the *queer* studies are not so well seen by militants.

Como para haver movimento social é preciso uma identidade coletiva compartilhada, explica-se por que a Teoria Queer não é bem aceita por certos grupos da militância LGBT. Se não há uma grande identidade coletiva capaz de abarcar a todos, como se pode pensar em reivindicações e políticas públicas para LGBT? A Teoria Queer não oferece resposta, mas aponta, isso sim, que há a necessidade de políticas para o particular, para o ímpar, para o único e para o efêmero. (MARTINS, p. 19-20, 2011)

For those reasons we believe in a *Queer* Theatre in Belém, for all of its experimentalism also has the strength to abolish canonic models of understanding and making theatre and to discuss sexualities. It also promotes the disruption with the classic theatre, formal, literary and *beau*; it transforms itself and intends to be an impure theatre, libertarian, self-conscious and explosive. An implosive theatre.

In Belém the *Queer* Theatre can be considered as a great art of sublimation, in its Freudian sense. For Bastos e Ribeiro, the sublimation process is:

Um dos destinos específicos da pulsão, consiste em uma substituição do objetivo sexual, por outro mais valorizado socialmente. É a capacidade do sujeito investir em atividades artísticas, intelectuais, políticas e científicas, denominadas por Freud como atividades superiores. É o exercício da sexualidade, desviado dos fins de reprodução e voltado para outras finalidades relevantes e construtivas. (BASTOS e RIBEIRO, 2007, p. 20)

In a research titled *Os trânsitos do armário: um estudo cartográfico de um teatro queer na cidade Belém do Pará* we made a summarization of some plays in the town that aimed for discuss the body, the love and the desire on same-sex relationships. Amidst them there is the *Trilogia Marginal*, by Luís Otávio Barata, a piece of three plays, *Genet – O Palhaço de Deus* (1987), *Posição pela Carne* (1989) e *Em nome do amor* (1990).

Em nome do amor was the last and greatest play in Barata's work, and by far his most intense, not only to the author himself but for its cast, too. It was a work of "poetry in the space" (MIRANDA, 2010, p. 130), dedicated to Barata's silent, platonic and great love.

No "Em Nome do Amor", a atriz Olinda Charone, que representa o "amador" (Luís Otávio Barata), profere o discurso amoroso no palco para o próprio "amado" de Barata, que era ator do espetáculo; ela

4 Efeito utilizado no cinema para aproximar ou afastar imagens.

5 Para Ferdinando Martins: Trata-se de termos que singularizam determinadas expressões da homossexualidade. "Ursos" são homossexuais mais corpulentos e, em geral, peludos. Esse segmento é ainda dividido em outras subcategorias como "urso polar" (grisalhos), "chubby" (jovens) ou "chaser" (homem magro que sente atração por "ursos"). "Barbies" são gays musculosos e que frequentam casas noturnas de música eletrônica. "Afeminados" são gays com traços femininos pronunciados. (p. 21, 2011)

ganha as características do “atleta afetivo” ao encarnar o duplo do autor, que atualiza a potência dos afetos. Tanto o estado de paixão é, em si, um duplo do enamorado, como a atriz em cena age como duplo do autor. (MIRANDA, 2010, p. 129).

In the last piece of his *Trilogia Marginal* Barata lives a process of sublimation, facing the impossibility to live his love he leads all of its *libido* in the creative process. *Em nome do amor* aims to “provide an aesthetic representation in a place where sexual ‘relationship’ is expected in the phallic exercise, the artist’s making transmutes it into passion of the signifier” (BASTOS; RIBEIRO, 2007, p.66).

In an interview by Michele Campos de Miranda, the professor and director Olinda Charone says:

Não precisava nem eu, como atriz, fazer nada, só de ler o texto você se emocionava, eu chorava todas as noites desesperadamente no espetáculo. Eu dizia aquilo que ele queria dizer para o César através do texto. Ele montou o espetáculo para ele, do início ao fim. Era de uma coragem muito grande (...). A primeira vez que ele me viu dando o texto, ele disse: “pronto, asserenou, já deu o recado. E eu tinha isso para te falar (Charone *apud* MIRANDA, 2010).

In his book *Reflexões sobre a questão gay*, Eribon wonders on Foucault’s *História da Sexualidade*: “Is it possible to read *Histoire de la sexualité* as a tale of a homosexuality who didn’t dare to say its own name?” (ERIBON, 2008, p. 317). The answer is yes; further Eribon says: “Thus, *História da Sexualidade* states not only a radical historicizing process of madness, the ‘mental illness’, but also of homosexuality” (ERIBON, 2008, p. 329).

It is indeed possible to find convergence points between madness/reason and homosexuality/heterosexuality. The madness exists as a language that excludes reason, just as equal the homosexuality exists mostly because a long process of domination by heterosexuality, taken as natural sexuality.

However, the homosexuality category, when compared to Foucault’s concept of *madness*, cannot also be compared to the scenic discussion of homosexuality in the *Queer Theatre* of Belém.

About the madness concept of Foucault, Roberto Machado says:

Sob a separação da razão e da loucura, origem da linguagem excludente da razão sobre a loucura, Foucault detecta e utiliza criticamente um tipo mais fundamental de linguagem, uma linguagem do outro, que é voz, rumor, murmúrio, abafado mas não destruído (MACHADO, 2005, p. 27).

Therefore, we believe and stand for a *Queer Theater* which do not absent its own voice, do not murmur, but instead shouts and yells; a scream that aims for a spiritual cure (ARTAUD, 1987), a transgressive voice that echoes the streets, ancient buildings and trees of Belém. The *Queer Theatre*, just like the *Queer Theory*, is “the difference that refuses to be assimilated or tolerated, therefore its form of action is more outrageous and disturbing” (LOURO, 2001, p. 546).

Conclusive aspects

The *Queer Theatre* requires a deep investigation, for it is like a monster that comes to life as long as it is brought to a discursive level. In this paper the main goal was to explain in the broader sense its existence and qualities: it is subversive, interdisciplinary, in the sense that all of its questions are crossed by several areas of knowledge, it also connects itself to the reality around, to life, it is a continuity of life onstage. This paper is a little contribution on the *queer* ways of working on the theatre in Belém, which is a fertile ground for investigation. It is worth mention the poetic exercises, in process of experimentation, of Kauan Amora – young director of Belém and author of *Os trânsitos do armário: um estudo cartográfico de um Teatro Queer na cidade de Belém do Pará*, advised by professor Dr. Wlad Lima.

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SESSION 14

PERFORMING
ARTS AND THE
DECOLONISATION OF
IMAGINARIES 2

Abstract: This article is a product of the doctoral research that resulted in the thesis *Tudo isto é pop: portugalidades musicais contemporâneas entre a tradição e a modernidade*. It maps out and discusses the silences and asymmetries that mark mass popular music exchanges between Brazil and Portugal. While our perception of contemporary Portuguese culture seems mediated by a “mythical common sense”, one deeply influenced by the discourse of tradition, Portugal has revealed itself an enthusiastic consumer of our “modern” media culture. Such imbalances are reflected in the enormous success of Brazilian artists and bands in Portugal, on the one hand, and in the complete absence of knowledge in Brazil of contemporary Portuguese musical production, especially in the pop/rock field, on the other. The intention here is to question the socially constructed nature of such discourses, thus contributing to the elucidation of some aspects of the local-global dynamic in the ambit of the entertainment industry, related to the musical consumption practices of urban youth.

Keywords: Brazil-Portugal relations; mass popular music; cultural consumption.

1. Opening remarks

For a country whose relations with Brazil span five centuries, Portugal’s presence in our media imagination is rather small. While on the politico-diplomatic plane such relations are mostly harmonious and cordial, the same cannot be said of the symbolic sphere. For some time now, the frequency of cultural exchanges between the two countries seems conditioned by specific events, such as the celebration of the 500th anniversary of our Discovery in April 2000, or the recent celebration of the 200th anniversary of the arrival of D. João VI in Brazil.

However, there is a common trait to all of these “apparitions”: Portugal is always thought of as a country strongly tied to the traditional forms and manifestations of its culture. The historiographical approach, for instance, tends to emphasise the Portugal of medieval castles, quintas, discoveries and of the Brazilian colonial matrix. Perspectives on contemporary Portugal focus above all on the coexistence of modernity and tradition¹ (as seen in urban centres like Lisbon and Porto), the latter standing out: old grocers’, casas de fado, elderly women dressed in black, the typical religiosity of the villages (manifested in events such as the constant pilgrimages to the Fátima shrine) – vestiges of a mainly agrarian, conservative and rural country, which were able

¹ I conceive of tradition as the different modes of articulation and association between the various elements of a given culture over time (Hall, 2003).

Well beyond the “Casa Portuguesa”: an analysis of mass popular music exchanges between Brazil and Portugal

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to survive the steamroller of modernity symbolized by Portugal’s entry into the European Union (Setti, 1992).

This article aims to investigate how the preponderance of this “mythical common sense”², which associates the Portugal of today with certain traditional aspects of its culture, influences the perception that we, Brazilians, have of contemporary Portuguese musical production. From this superficial representation of the “Portuguese national character” there derive traits like the eternal melancholy of fado, Sebastianism, the Manueline style, the pioneering spirit (associated with the early seafarers), which, repeated to exhaustion, tend to be accepted as the natural truth both by the Portuguese themselves and by those who come into contact with such representations.

Initially, I formulate the hypothesis that our perception of what is currently produced in Portugal in terms of music underwent a kind of “temporal freeze”, as if the symbolic imagination brought by the last wave of mass immigration in the 1960s had not been updated after the 1980s. I go on to sketch a comparative trajectory of mass popular music genres connected to the pop/rock universe in Brazil and Portugal, given the virtual ignorance in Brazil of artists whose careers span over three decades, or of bands that currently mobilize significant contingents of urban Portuguese youth.

2. Brazil-Portugal, 20th century: noises, asymmetries and the mediation of “common sense”

Over the course of the 20th century, Luso-Brazilian relations not only changed in intensity but also had their hegemonic direction altered. Brazil’s condition of being on the periphery of the overseas empire, of being a destination for flows (of people, chiefly) that originated in Portugal, had been overtaken by events. The last few decades of the past century witnessed the rise of Brazil to the category of centre of the symbolic imagination that Portugal seems to import enthusiastically.

This process has been underway since the 1960s, when Brazilian cultural artefacts (from Jorge Amado novels to Editora Abril weekly supplements and our protest music) started becoming more present in Portuguese daily life. However, the Revolução dos Cravos, which put an end to the Salazarist Estado Novo and elevated the military to power in Portugal, took place in April 1974, when Brazil was ruled by the dictatorship of General Emílio Garrastazu Médici. The libertarian inspiration of the former went against the repressive tendencies of the latter. This may well have contributed to a slowdown in exchanges between the two countries, above all in the Portugal-Brazil direction. In the opposite direction, though, the traffic became more intense, since several Brazilian political exiles (like José Celso Martinez Corrêa, Augusto Boal and Glauber Rocha) sought refuge in Portugal and, after May 1977, with the broadcast of the first chapter of “Gabriela”, Brazilian soap operas became a feature of Portuguese television (Cunha, 2007).

The consequence of this structural transformation was an asymmetry in the symbolic exchanges between the two countries. Today, we know very little about what Portugal produces in terms of cultural artefacts. Meanwhile, the place of Brazilian culture in Portugal (notably in the television and music fields) is just short of hegemonic; a close runner-up to the Anglo-American cultural imagination.³

Such asymmetry in symbolic exchanges transcends the merely quantitative aspect of this relation: the cultural imagination that Portugal imports from Brazil is dynamic, urban, filled with “pictures

² Santos (2006) defines common sense as “the social beliefs (...) accepted as rigorous thought of a form thinking devoid of rigour”, prone to be demystified by the various social sciences. According to the author, such common sense is all the more valued in a given society when its process of effective transition to modernity is less consolidated. The recurrence of totalitarian or conservative regimes, as well as the predominance of a literary and cultural elite that is distant as much from the people as from the spheres of political power, tend to spur the reproduction of these discourses, as seems to have been the case in Portugal.

³ For a cartography of the symbolic exchanges between Portugal and Brazil in literature and cinema, see Monteiro (2007).

of modernity” whose impact on the mentality of the more conservative among Portuguese people tends to be intense (Cunha, 2007). The cultural imagination that Brazil maintains of Portugal, in turn, is static, frozen in time and harks back either to the past or to the more traditional currents of Portuguese culture.

The case of music seems to me to be particularly symptomatic of this asymmetry since, according to Tinhorão (2006: 27), the first musical exchanges between the two countries date back to the 18th century. At present, owing to the scarcity or precariousness of channels of communication that might put Portuguese people on either side of the Atlantic in touch (Monteiro, 2007), the chances of survival of Portuguese music in Brazil seem to reside solely in certain institutions (Casas do Minho, Casas das Beiras, Casas de Viseu) that devote themselves to preserving traditional forms of Portuguese culture almost always in endogenous fashion.

The cultural policy of Salazar’s Estado Novo affirmed a so-called “Portuguese identity” that was meant to strengthen the country’s singularity before other nations. This was done by the “imprisonment” of traditional elements of this culture (the folklore of villages, for example). They would have their historical and political meanings emptied out, and be disseminated at home and abroad merely as something picturesque. One of the most symptomatic manifestations of this worldview became known as *nacional-cançonetismo*. It was charged with helping reproduce a series of clichés that are present in Brazilians’ perception of Portuguese culture, among them the “poor but honourable” Portuguese man and the “Portuguese house, for sure”. Such clichés rested on an exaltation of banalities that obscured the true political situation that the country experienced. Though not necessarily within the frame of *nacional-cançonetismo*, the fado and folk dances ended up playing this role as well. It was for this reason that for a long time Amália Rodrigues was looked upon with some reservation by leftwing Portuguese youth.

After the euphoria of April 25th had passed, and within an almost totally market-oriented logic, one witnessed the crowning of *neo-nacional cançonetismo* – the best example of which is perhaps Roberto Leal, a very popular singer in Brazil in the 1980s – and of pimba music, with songs thought to be “cheesy” and “tacky” according to certain cultural parameters, or simply humorous and mischievous, based on double entendres. The most popular figures of contemporary Portuguese pimba music (in the numerical sense of the word “popular”) are perhaps accordionist Quim Barreiros (a sort of Portuguese Genival Lacerda, a constant presence in university parties and summer fêtes) and romantic singers Ágata and Tony Carreira.

Migratory flows to Brazil, which were intense during the decade that preceded the Revolução dos Cravos, can be understood in the context of the economic crisis that afflicted Portugal from the 1950s, when the whole primary sector of the economy suffered from the consequences of a process of oligopoly formation that led many small-scale farmers to look upon emigration as the only way out. It seems evident that the symbolic imagination relating to Portuguese culture that circulates among us has not been “fed” new data, has not been updated in such a way as to seem attractive also to the young; rather, it remains as it was when brought over to Brazil by the parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles of Brazilians of Portuguese descent. The distance to the source, the blockade in the traffic of information put in place by the Salazarist regime and the absence of effective channels of communication contributed to the reproduction of this imagination.

3. Luso-Brazilian pop/rock: parallel trajectories

The consolidation of mass popular music genres connected with the pop/rock universe came about in similar ways in Brazil and Portugal. This similarity resides not only in the coincidence of

cycles and movements, but also in the sometimes tense, sometimes symbiotic relation between the production connected with pop/rock and that customarily brought together under the marketing (and ideological) umbrella known as popular music (whether Brazilian or Portuguese – henceforth MPB/MPP). The record industry and above all the specialized press played a fundamental role in this process.

Furthermore, what some authors define (pejoratively) as *música ligeira* (Correia, 1984), others conceive of (complimentarily) as *música moderna* (Duarte, 2006). For this reason, the concept of “mass popular” music (relating in general terms to a certain configuration of the dynamics of musical production, circulation and consumption in the post-war capitalist world) will guide me here when referring to Portuguese musical production linked to the pop/rock universe in the period after the 1974 Revolution (Janotti Jr. & Cardoso Filho, 2006).

Just as MPB began taking shape as a taxonomic category in the 1960s (in a context including the effects of the international success of Bossa Nova, music festivals and the advent of the military government, not necessarily in order of importance), in Portugal, the expression “Portuguese Popular Music” took hold starting with the cantautores’ generation. Artists who appeared in the mid-1960s and became known as cantautores, trovadores or baladeiros would claim for themselves – and give an urban dressing to – elements of traditional Portuguese music and regional songs, transforming them into works that played the role of “peaceful and politically involved weapons against the oppression of the regime”. Influenced above all by Brazilian and Latin American protest songs, the cantautores were for a long time accused of producing an “elite folklore” meant for the university public. The most significant names of this current are the singers and songwriters Zeca Afonso, Adriano Correia de Oliveira and José Mário Branco (Correia, 1984).

While Brazil and Portugal, experiencing more or less similar historical moments, witnessed the tightening of political regimes characterized by authoritarianism, and MPB/MPP played a key role in this context, rock had a secondary and relatively marginal position as regards media attention and, notably, the understanding of its socio-cultural relevance.

The Brazilian Jovem Guarda of Roberto and Erasmo Carlos, Wanderléia and The Fevers, and Portuguese rock of the 1960s shared their sources of inspiration, namely, the music of Elvis Presley and The Beatles (“She loves you yeah-yeah-yeah” phase), which could be appropriated either in the form of precarious versions in Portuguese or else be performed in the original language (with the accent generally giving away the origin of the performer). Despite the media success experienced by some artists and bands,⁴ and the enthusiasm with which they were received by a broad section of the young public, the criticisms and accusations directed at such initiatives were essentially the same; basically, that they stimulated subservience to an Anglo-American music model, disregarding local cultural references and consequently sowing the seeds of alienation among youth (Motta, 2000).

The political openness brought about by the 1974 Revolution knocked down the musical walls that had isolated Portugal from the rest of Europe. The music of the cantautores finally hit the airwaves, in a kind of post-revolutionary euphoria, while at the same time the ideas of pop/rock, in force in the Anglo-American context, also “contaminated” Portuguese musical production. By virtue of this, the period from 1975 to 1985 witnessed a turning point in these musical paths. Experiencing the side-effects of do-it-yourself punk, both Brazil and Portugal formatted a model of rock music that unlike previous attempts was to consolidate its dominance in terms of media visibility and market repercussion.

In the Portuguese case, for example, the effects of the counter-revolution of November 1975 were

⁴ In Portugal, popular bands included Os Sheiks, Quarteto 1111 and countless groups from the university student milieu, which, for this reason, went by names like Conjunto Académico João Paulo or Conjunto Académico Os Espaciais (Duarte, 2006).

decisive, with the cantautores once again leaving the scene owing to a brand of censorship that was much more economic than political. One consequence was that rock music from the United States and England took up a larger share of radio and TV time. In Brazil, for its part, it was the “slow, gradual and safe” opening of the regime conducted by President Geisel that little by little authorized and enhanced the penetration of the Anglo-American musical repertoire. This process was not fully realized until the 1980s, under the presidency of General João Batista Figueiredo. In this context, strategic roles were played by media outlets such as Fluminense FM radio and *Bizz* magazine,⁵ by certain individuals who acted as points of contact between Brazil and the outside world (journalists like Ana Maria Bahiana and Maurício Kubrusly, but also the children of diplomats, who formed networks to exchange and distribute records that had not been released in Brazil) and by concert venues⁶ such as *Circo Voador* in Rio de Janeiro.

Therefore, it is impossible to dissociate the major media success experienced by numerous Brazilian and Portuguese bands that appeared in the 1980s from the infrastructure of production, distribution and consumption that made it possible for this music to reach a vast public. For example, over a brief period of time after 1977, improvements in recording technologies and the boom in so-called “Portuguese rock”⁷ led many *Grupos de Baile* (that played at school and college parties) to convert into rock bands and sign contracts with recording studios. Even veteran troubadour Sergio Godinho was advised to become a “rock musician” (Correia, 1984).

Both in the case of Portuguese rock and of Brazilian rock the media and marketing projection experienced during the 1980s provided the grounding for the adoption of a discourse legitimizing this rock as “national music”, especially in comparison with the production of previous cycles. Given that the occurrence of certain conditions of production and recognition is part of the structural constitution of mass popular genres, one concludes that both emerged more as constructs of meaning operationalized by the record industry, promoted by some sectors of the specialized press and disseminated among consumers through selected media channels, than as movements endowed with unity and cohesion (though they were often looked upon as such).

After the euphoria of the 1980s had passed, some of the models employed reached saturation point. It remained for so-called “Luso-Brazilian” rock to reinvent itself in the following decade. No longer protected by the shield provided by the “national” tag added to the musical genre, this contemporary pop/rock went looking for a glimpse of renewal through dialogues with localisms and articulations between the regional and the global. (Let us remind ourselves of the “satellite dish thrust into the mud” proposed by the Recife scene, from which Chico Science & Nação Zumbi, Mundo Livre S/A and Fred 04 emerged).

In Portugal, a small country, it was in the intertwining of migratory flows, some of them illegal, from the African ex-colonies (Angola, Mozambique and Cabo Verde), but also through contact with other member-countries of the European Union, that a new dynamic was constituted. Both there and here, the winds of indie rock and electronic music that were blowing in from England and the United States via the internet fuelled the emergence of several scenes articulated around the discourse of independence and of the underground (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Porto Alegre, but also Lisbon and Coimbra). Cases of Portuguese pop/rock bands that opt to sing in English, as a way of competing for a share of the European record market, are symptomatic of this. An example is the band *The Gift*, whose career trajectory spans more than ten years. The adoption of English as the official language

5 In Portugal, a similar role was played by *Musicalíssimo* and *Rock Week* newspapers.

6 In the case of Portugal, the concert venue *Rock Rendez Vous* in Lisbon is particularly worthy of note.

7 The start of the boom is usually associated with the sales of the album *Ar de Rock* (1980) by Rui Veloso, a musician with a bluesy background whose trajectory precedes the release of this record.

of contemporary Portuguese rock is also evident if one purchases the compilations “O melhor do rock português – Volume I” and “Volume II” (EMI/Valentim de Carvalho, 2003/2004), covering artists that appeared during the genre’s boom between 1979 and 1985, and the double CD “Novo rock português” (Chiado Records/Farol Música, 2007). While in the former all the artists sing in Portuguese, in the latter 33 out of 38 bands sing in English.

Paradoxically, in a context where the circulation of information on a planetary scale is ever more intense, little if any post-1990s Portuguese musical production reaches us. Conversely, it is through exchanges with Brazilian musicians and bands that some Portuguese artists gain notoriety within their own record market.

4. Final remarks

Generally speaking, the contemporary musical exchange between the two countries may be summarized in three flows. The first sets out from Brazil towards Portugal, transporting sonorities linked, to a greater or lesser extent, to a discursive universe that we can associate with our mass popular mainstream. These are very popular artists (chiefly among the young), with respectable sales figures, who are present in the mainstream media and remain tied to a major recording studio. They may or may not flirt with sonorities or values characteristic of pop/rock – here we may think of Pitty and Jota Quest, but also Ivete Sangalo,⁸ as some of the most significant examples of this current. Such artists share the space of major Portuguese media outlets with their local peers of similar orientation. But the latter are unknown here in Brazil.

The second flow is less intense than the first and sets out from Portugal towards Brazil. It reiterates a certain perception, well established among us, about contemporary Portuguese musical production. This is made clear by the only cases of contemporary Portuguese artists that manage to penetrate the Brazilian record market. Groups like Madredeus, founded among others by Teresa Salgueiro and Pedro Ayres Magalhães, and singers like Dulce Pontes or Mariza (from Mozambique), by revisiting a traditional genre like the fado of Lisbon, affirm their contemporaneity by means of a dialogue with this tradition that is already well sedimented among us. Perhaps it is by virtue of this established familiarity that they are the only artists of the recent Portuguese music scene to have achieved a level of recognition in Brazil.

However, I do not disregard the existence of a third flow, one that moves, fundamentally, in the interstices of the major media channels and uses the tools made available by new information and communication technologies to make contact between the symbolic imaginations and contemporary musical repertoires of the two countries. For this reason, the contents that circulate through this flow tend to adopt sonorities and to sustain discourses and practices that are close to what tends to be considered the underground universe (Janotti Jr. & Cardoso Filho, 2006).

The ongoing process of globalization opens up the possibility of conceiving of the local on the basis of affinities of language, culture and tradition, which in theory should favour symbolic (and musical) exchanges between Portugal and Brazil (Cunha, 2007). At the same time, this discourse of approximation has a sometimes tense coexistence with the discourse of affirmation of one’s own identity, which often implies the desire for a radical rupture with these very same elements that put us into contact.

The conclusions reached here do not intend to close the matter. I do believe, though, that I have

8 “On tour in Portugal at the start of November, the singer attracted crowds of 30,000 people for her concerts in Lisbon and Porto. Tickets had sold out two weeks previously. The (...) CD *MTV ao Vivo* is already a gold record, with over 20,000 copies sold, and the DVD, released less than a month ago, is at the top of the sales list” (Camargo, 2007).

managed to demonstrate the potential of hypotheses that see in the niches and circuits situated on the periphery of the dominant channels a possible path to the reestablishment not only of a dialogue between the musical imaginations of the two countries, but also of possible symbolic gains that might result from such exchanges.

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Abstract: Roughly since the turn of the millennium, there have been an increasing number of lusophone music festivals in and beyond the Portuguese-speaking world. Interestingly, these intercultural encounters have progressively brought traditional musics of migrant musicians as well as musical hybrids of migrant descendants to the stage. Which musicians circulate in these music festivals, and do their performances enable positive representations of ethnic difference in a diaspora context? This presentation aims to answer these questions by reconstructing a transnational network of music festivals within a lusophone perspective. Migratory flows, the digital era, and the world music industry have called for a revision of stereotyped perceptions of music as national identity markers, while they have also questioned the hegemony of institutionalized musics over hybrid musical expressions. I argue that the increasing presence of migrant musicians within a diaspora context can be useful to reflect on processes of ethnicity and its relationship with nationalism. As festivals can be seen as influential sites of socialization and negotiation that transcend national boundaries, I also contend that these intercultural encounters may contribute to the construction of a transnational lusophone community that is based upon the idea of ‘positive ethnization’, negotiating and transforming old colonial markings into new global representations through music.

1. Introduction

In the last 15 years, cultural entrepreneurs in Portugal and elsewhere in the Portuguese-speaking world have increasingly invested in the divulgation of the musical heritage of their countries. The foundation of the CPLP – the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (1996) as well as the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition - metaphorically dedicated to the theme ‘The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future’, both in Lisbon, created a favorable climate for political and cultural cooperation among Portuguese-speaking countries. Expo ‘98 was particularly pioneering in bringing together different musicians from Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries, reuniting lusophone migrant communities in Lisbon with performers from their country of origin. As such, these musical collaborations emphasized the idea of lusofonia for an international audience. Red Bull Music Academy’s influential documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* (2006) has reinvigorated this cultural vision of the lusophone Atlantic.

Following Expo ‘98, several festivals centered on the concept of lusofonia have been organized: in Portugal, in other Portuguese-speaking countries, in other regions with historical links to Portugal, and in global locations that possess a lusophone

The increasing popularity of lusofonia in music festivals: towards positive ethnization?

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migrant population. Interestingly, under the influence of migratory flows, the digital era, and the world music industry, these festive encounters have progressively brought traditional musics of migrant musicians as well as musical hybrids of migrant descendants to the stage. But who are these musicians that circulate in these music festivals? How do racial and national issues underplay their expressive practices, and how are these framed within the idea of a lusophone community?

This research builds on ongoing fieldwork since 2008. For my past MA and ongoing PhD research, I interviewed and observed various festival organizers and musicians in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, many of whom are also active transnationally. In addition, I participated in research projects at the Instituto de Etnomusicologia of Universidade Nova de Lisboa on music and migration as well as lusophone cultures in a transnational space. Furthermore, I conducted a virtual ethnography in order to better understand the networks of the cultural agents under study. This resulted in privileged views on the increasing popularity of lusophone music festivals around the world, equally allowing for a better understanding of the significance of music in the construction of lusophone migrant identities and ethnicities.

The relevance of this project is multifold. As postcolonial migrant communities are now gaining some visibility in the national political and cultural agendas of their host countries, a revision of their relationship to the reference values of the host society as well as their social incorporation and cultural participation seems necessary. In the case of Portugal, which hosts a diversity of lusophone migrant populations in its capital, it seems fruitful to reflect on what this entails with hindsight to a lusophone community (cf. Maciel 2010: 207). Beyond seeing migrants as mere economic agents, whose cultural dimension has long been underestimated, the role of music in the construction and maintenance of identity in multicultural contexts should be explored (Castelo-Branco 1997: 41; Maciel 2010: 216).

2. Musical performance in lusophone festivals

Since Expo '98 - and increasingly after the influential documentary *Lusofonia: a (r)evolução*, which voiced a shared concern for a more supportive institutional framework, various festivals around the world have effectively brought musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries together on stage. Many of these events have used political concepts such as interculturality to connect the postcolonial condition to a cosmopolitan understanding of diversity. That these lusophone cultural expressions are a reality is confirmed by the discourses that surround these manifestations and by field interviews. Below, we will briefly elaborate on selected examples, starting in Lisbon.¹

Musidanças (since 2001) is the first Lisbon-based festival that explicitly focuses on the notion of lusofonia, positioning itself “as a link between lusophone cultures.”² Under varying sub-names such as the “Festival das Comunidades Lusófonas” and the “Festival de Artes do Mundo Lusófono,” *Musidanças* seeks “to encourage the creation of lusophone art, to develop lusophone awareness and to provide qualitative attractions that can keep the origins of the foreign-lusophone public residing in Portugal alive.” Being aware of this intercultural lusophone music potential opens up perspectives for ethnic tolerance, as founder-director Firmino Pascoal states:

For me this matter [of] lusofonia has always been clear: showing Portuguese, foreigners and even our own people of other lusophone countries that live here the culture of one another. Because often, the issue of racism surges from a lack of knowledge of other cultures, right? (personal interview, December 15th, 2011).

1 All translations from Portuguese are the author's.

2 <https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidancas> and <http://aniversariomusidancas.blogspot.com>, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

With its festival *Lisboa Mistura* (since 2006), the Associação Sons da Lusofonia also features musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. *Lisboa Mistura* works with the idea of interculturality, in line with the association's earlier embodiment of lusofonia in the *Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia*, which objective was to "give organized and visible expression to the wealth of culture and music of the peoples of the Portuguese language."³ Consistent with this, the fourth edition of *Lisboa Mistura* (2009) featured the project "Lis-Nave" that brought together an ensemble of eighteen Portuguese, Mozambican, and Angolan musicians. Explicit in wanting to make a cultural contribution between Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries, founder-director Carlos Martins explains:

Without lusofonia, Portugal would not have had conditions at all to deal with intercultural issues. Lusofonia should incorporate lusophone, francophone, anglophone elements in order to be a sound in the world; it should confront these elements and grow. This is the exact same mission of *Lisboa Mistura* (personal interview, January 7th, 2010).

The CPLP Cultural Week -of which the third, most significant edition was held in Lisbon in 2010- was meant to "challenge Lisbon in its growth of multicultural relations, by projecting the interests of the city's lusophone community, and to establish the city as a meeting point for all lusofonia lovers."⁴ For each CPLP-country, one full day was reserved. Almost simultaneously, CPLP also commemorated its 14th anniversary with a music show at Lisbon's **Praça da Figueira**. **Interestingly, both events worked with the potential of migrant musicians residing in the Portuguese capital, and not with international artists on tour.**

A similar strategy was utilized by the class of Restart-Instituto de Criatividade, Artes e Novas Tecnologias (Lisbon) in 2011. With its educational project *Lisboa Que Amanhece*, this class on cultural production and promotion wanted to "pay tribute to the Portuguese language through musical languages that are inextricably linked to it, [as] a unifying element in many and different cultures."⁵ Interestingly, the project also included an exhibition of the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r) evolução*, along with a debate entitled "Lusofonia, Potencialidades e Futuro" and various concerts of Portuguese-speaking musicians that resulted in a CD. Pedagogic director Alex Cortez Pinto points out that his students had suggested to

organize an event that would demonstrate the specific importance of language in the context of the Portuguese-speaking countries and the culture of lusofonia. One same public can be interested in different music genres, precisely because of this lusofonia issue: the Portuguese language as an element of connection. (personal interview, December 2nd, 2011)

However, these attempts at cultural and racial aperture often lack local symbolic and financial support. As Cortez Pinto argues,

Today we witness [the recognition of] *fado* as intangible cultural heritage of humanity, but we should realize that our great intangible heritage in fact is lusofonia, and that this heritage should be protected, sheltered, encouraged and developed. (ibid.)

This idea resonates well with the *Festival Conexão Lusófona*, which was first organized in 2012 by the association Conexão Lusófona, with support from the CPLP (coinciding with the fifth edition of its Cultural Week) and the European Union. *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* was exhibited during the

3 <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/sobre.php> and

<http://ilidio.150m.com/pessoal/texto16.htm>, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

4 www.apel.pt/gest_cnt_upload/editor/File/PressReleaseSCCPLP.docx, accessed October 9th, 2013.

5 http://escola_restart.blogs.sapo.pt/204591.html, accessed October 9th, 2013.

festival. Conexão Lusófona started in 2006 as a “movement for interculturality,” aiming to realize cultural events targeted at young people from all Portuguese-speaking countries, offering “music, art and literature of excellent quality, many of them hitherto inaccessible for not being part of the ‘big circuit’.”⁶ As co-founder and -director Laura Filipa Vidal argues,

Portuguese colonialism happened, whether for good or bad, and we must recognize that a mixture has taken place. Basically, I think that a joint effort is missing, a collective effort to collect all the little pieces of the puzzle. We have to work positively on this legacy towards the future to create synergies (personal interview, November 29th, 2011).

On a side note, it should be mentioned that the musical encounters above also occurred to a less explicit extent in other festive events, in specific venues or during spontaneous collaborations of Portuguese-speaking on stage in Portugal (cf. Vanspauwen 2010, La Barre & Vanspauwen 2013).

More importantly, other intercultural music festivals with a specific focus on lusofonia have increasingly -and quite simultaneously- taken place beyond Portugal’s borders, both in a lusophone perspective –Brasil (Nossa Língua, Nossa Música⁷ in Brasília in 2010; Back2Black 2012⁸ in Rio de Janeiro), Cape Verde (Festival Internacional de Música da Praia da Gamboa⁹ in 2009; Festival da Baía das Gatas¹⁰ in Praia in 2012) and Angola (Festival Internacional de Hip Hop da Lusofonia¹¹ in Luanda in 2011)– and elsewhere –Spain (Cantos na Maré[□] since 2003; Estou Lá¹² in 2012), Germany (Festival Berlinda 2012¹³; Luso-tronics 2013¹⁴), France (VA - Rio Loco 2012¹⁵), the UK (City Festival of London¹⁶ in 2010; Back2Black 2012 in London¹⁷); and China (Festival da Lusofonia¹⁸ in Macau, since 1998).

Interestingly, these encounters have progressively brought traditional musics of migrant musicians as well as musical hybrids of migrant descendants to the stage. Furthermore, many migrant musicians that reside in Lisbon such as Bonga, Tito Paris or Sara Tavares as well as ethnically mixed collectives such as Batida and Buraka Som Sistema (in both cases having links with Angola) have performed in their respective countries. Finally, many Brazilian musicians have played in Portugal

6 <http://conexaolusofona.org> and <http://www.youtube.com/user/tvconexaolusofona>, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

7 <http://www.hojelusofonia.com/nossa-lingua-nossa-musica-2>, accessed October 9th, 2013.

8 <http://www.back2blackfestival.com.br/programacao> and http://www.visaonews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9805:festival-da-baia-momento-alto-com-tito-paris-nancy-sara-tavares-albertino-evora-e-bonga&catid=45:music&Itemid=145, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

9 http://palcoprincipal.sapo.pt/noticias/Noticia/boss_ac_jay_lura_e_tito_paris_brilham_no_festival_da_gamboa_/0001377, accessed October 9th, 2013.

10 <http://festivais.sapo.cv/baia-das-gatas> and http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao/17/35/musico_bonga_divide_palco_com_tito_paris_e_sara_tavares, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

11 <http://www.hojelusofonia.com/i-festival-internacional-de-hip-hop-da-lusofonia> and

http://club-k.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8313:festival-de-hip-hop-da-lusofonia-sera-em-luanda&catid=16:musica&Itemid=126, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

12 <http://aviagemdosargonautas.net/2012/10/17/estou-la-concerto-musical-lusofono-galiza> and

<http://www.buala.org/pt/palcos/estou-la-cronica-festival-da-lusofonia>, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

13 <http://www.cais-do-mundo.com/noticias/cultura/item/52-festival-berlinda-lusofonia-em-berlim.html>, accessed October 9th, 2013.

14 <http://lusotronics.com/about/music> and <http://www.tvi24.iol.pt/70/musica/lusotronics-musica-urbana-lusofona-berlim-festival-batida-tvi24/1429717-4060.html>, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

15 http://www.rio-loco.org/dans_la_ville_musique.html and http://www.aquilusofonia.com/TP/brasil/010612_tributo.html, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

16 <http://festivalmusidancas.blogs.sapo.pt/3182.html>, accessed October 9th, 2013.

17 <http://www.back2blackfestival.com.br/programacao> and http://www.visaonews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9805:festival-da-baia-momento-alto-com-tito-paris-nancy-sara-tavares-albertino-evora-e-bonga&catid=45:music&Itemid=145, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

18 <http://www.instituto-camoes.pt/macau-15-festival-da-lusofonia> and <http://iilp.wordpress.com/2012/10/03/15-o-festival-da-lusofonia-em-macau>, both accessed October 9th, 2013.

(and vice versa) during the Ano do Brasil em Portugal¹⁹ and the Ano de Portugal em Brasil²⁰, apart from individual tours and discographic music collaborations.

3. Transforming colonial markings into global representations

The increasing number of lusophone music festivals in and beyond the Portuguese-speaking world, as well as the decentralized diaspora representations they have come to represent, are contributing to the decolonization of hegemonic thinking within national cultures as well as to the construction of a democratic lusophone cultural space.

That this transformation is a relatively new phenomenon can be deduced from the critiques that were formulated by various academic authors until recently. These critiques pointed at the lack of counter-narratives to represent the influence of the former Portuguese colonial territories in Portugal (cf. Cabecinhas et al 2006: 1) and abroad, or in the words of Almeida (2008: n.p.): “It is as if the Lusotropicalist narrative were about spreading Portuguese cultural products around the world but never about the return journey, about the African and other cultural products in Portugal.” As has been pointed out by Sanches (2010: n.p.), different lusophone ethnicities were longtime accepted in Portugal only to market the country as part of a cosmopolitan global space. Or, put in another way, “after centuries of colonization, and in a globalized world, to whom belongs this cultural heritage?” (Roubaud 2012: n.p.).

This question can be answered as follows: when investigating musics made in or between Portuguese-speaking countries, we are not only dealing with ‘Portuguese influence’, but also with a confluence of cultures mediated by the Portuguese (Castelo-Branco 1997: 40). Resignification and resemantization are appropriate ways of handling the constant refashioning of cultural signs which prevents popular sites from being wholly absorbed into the dominant power structures (Guss 2000: 5). Thus, the process of ‘re-cosmopolitanism’, in which countries and cities represent themselves as culturally diverse and open, has lead “to the promotion [of a] unique set of lusophone music beyond Fado - from Brazil to lusophone Africa” (La Barre 2011: 159.).

A brief analysis of the festivals cited above reveals that *fado* has progressively been performed alongside migrant musicians of Portuguese-speaking countries, mostly -but increasingly less exclusively- at events that are organized or sponsored by governmental institutions. Other events, mainly put together by cultural entrepreneurs and voluntary associations, have focused more on traditional genres from other Portuguese-speaking countries (*samba, morna, semba*) as well as new transnational musical blends (*MPB, kizomba, kuduro, funaná, música popular portuguesa* and hip hop), occasionally incorporating *fado* into their programming.

In my opinion, the combination of these interrelated musical styles can be seen as an attractive ‘export product’ that opens up dissemination possibilities not only towards international lusophone audiences but also for non-Portuguese-speaking listeners²¹. These lusophone musics are increasingly gaining global visibility through the cited intercultural festivals that not only negotiate stereotyped perceptions of music as national identity markers (Côrte-Real 2013: 6-7; La Barre and Vanspauwen 2013: 14-19), but also question the hegemony of institutionalized musics (such as *fado*, a former nationalist product with monocultural pretensions) to other hybrid musical expressions. Finally, these fusion practices appear to intersect with the phenomenon of ‘positive ethnicization’ and empowerment of the participating populations (Maciel 2010: 232-3), thus gradually democratizing the transnational lusophone cultural space.

19 <http://www.anobrasilportugal.pt/brasil-portugal>, accessed October 9th, 2013.

20 <http://anodeportugalnobrasil.pt>, accessed October 9th, 2013.

21 Cf. http://www.lusitanistentag-hamburg.de/pt/seccoes_conteudo_pagina.php?SekId=9, accessed October 9th, 2013.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have focused on the increasing number of lusophone music festivals in and beyond the Portuguese-speaking world. These encounters have progressively brought traditional musics of migrant musicians as well as musical hybrids of migrant descendants to the stage. Taking into account Madrid's plea for music and performance studies (2009) and Radano & Bohlman's argument on the racial imagination (2000), I have tried to show that this increasing presence of musicians of migrant descent within a lusophone context is useful to reflect on processes of ethnicity and its relationship with nationalism (cf. Carvalho 1996: n.p.). As has been pointed out by de La Barre (2011: 46), globalization implies more cultural competition, which translates into new forms of (self-) representation. In this sense, the festivals that have been presented here have challenged fixed perceptions of music as national identity markers, while they have also questioned the hegemony of national musics over new multicultural blends.

Given the increasing importance of the Portuguese language on the global stage, as well as the influential call for a lusophone musical identity by the documentary *Lusofonia: a (r)evolução*, the increasing popularity of lusophone music festivals should be understood as a transnational process of intercultural communication that affects both musicians and their audiences²² as well as the 'modern lusofonia'²³ they have come to represent. As festivals can be seen as influential sites of socialization and negotiation that transcend national boundaries (cf. Delanty et al. 2011), I contend that these intercultural encounters may contribute to the construction of a transnational lusophone community that is based upon the idea of 'positive ethnization'. As such, lusophone music festivals are increasingly transforming old colonial markings into new globalized representations.

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Abstract: The theme of the lusophony is not understood in the same way by the eight countries that comprise it. The idea of Portugal about this concept, strongly ideological and identity, only in part resembles the conception of the remaining countries of the lusophone community. If in the past the power relations in the lusophone space were expressed through the colonizer/colonized relationship, currently it is evident new forms of communication, among which is the tourist activity. Being the lusophony a cultural space and considering the importance of the people to the culture, this study aims to show some lusophone personalities of the performing arts – music, dance and theatre – and marks of life of these personalities in Portugal. In this sense, two cultural-tourism itineraries in the Portuguese capital were developed, one about music and dance and other about theatre, which seek to demonstrate the performing arts through the influence of the Portuguese-speaking countries in Portugal.

Keywords: Lusophony; Tourism Itineraries; Personalities; Performing Arts.

Introduction

The theme of the lusophony is still relatively little studied, especially about their understanding in a post-colonial context. Moreover, the lusophony is not understood in the same way by the eight countries that comprise it. It becomes, therefore, important to understand these different perspectives, in order to promote the understanding among the lusophone countries through the respect and the intercultural communication.

Being the lusophony a cultural space, tourism is particularly relevant at this level, since this can be used as a promoter of the culture, enhancing the interaction and communication between these countries. In this sense, culture and heritage are increasingly relevant concepts for tourism, and therefore, for tourism development (Chai, 2011, p. 358), for its high capacity to attract visitants (McKercher, Ho and Cros, 2005, p. 539; Chai, 2011, p. 360; Alberti and Giusti, 2012, p. 262). Although their study has been neglected for decades, the cultural heritage is assuming an increasing importance at different levels of the economy (Florida, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Scott, 2002, cited by Alberti and Giusti, 2012, p. 262). The tourism itineraries have shown an increasing importance, since they allow the visitant to have access to many sights while enjoying their time of stay (Maia, 2010, p. 12).

Having as theme the personalities of the lusophony, with emphasis on the personalities of the performing arts (music,

Personalities of the lusophony: a perspective about the performing arts

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dance and theatre), this research aims to develop two cultural-tourism itineraries: one about music and dance and other about theatre. These itineraries are designed to present some lusophone personalities of the performing arts, showing marks of life of these individuals in Portugal, in terms of its history and in what concern of his professional career. For this, the itineraries will consist of tangible and intangible heritage of the Portuguese capital (Lisbon), associated with the performing arts and the lusophone personalities that stand out in these areas.

1. Lusophony, Colonialism and Post-colonialism

If the lusophony is a complex reality, does not necessarily have to be a sea of complications. It seems to be a linguistic-cultural space that affirms the political- institutional level through the CPLP (Community of Portuguese-Speaking Peoples). It is a space of freedom in which the Portuguese language extends its heritage and continues to develop its standard, also to the image of each country in which it is quenched in winning flavor (Galito, 2012, p. 6).

There are no consensus regarding the concept of the lusophony by the eight countries that constitute the so-called 'lusophone community' (Brito and Bastos, 2006, p. 65). The conception of the lusophony by the Portuguese only in part coincides with the idea that Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau imagine and conceive it as such (Baptista, 2000; Martins, 2006, p. 90). For the Portuguese, "the lusophony is more than an idea, it 's full of identity identifications in which is invested passions, dreams, art and culture" (Seixas, 2007, p. 132). However, post-colonial criticism has warned about the political character of this idea of lusophony (Seixas, 2007, p. 132) in that in addition to the geographical distance that separates the eight Portuguese-speaking countries, there is a "colonial history in which each country is strategically positioned in other political, economic and cultural systems other than lusophone space" (Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122).

It is, in fact, an understanding of the lusophony, which is based on historical memory of the Portuguese colonial empire, putting tension on the various peoples who constitute this community of culture(s) (Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 123). However, this idea is almost always overlooked when it presents the history of the country, showing an image of Portugal as "Portuguese Empire" and especially the "Other" of that empire, and these representations prevail today in Portuguese cultural imaginary (Baptista, 2006, p. 26). In this connection, it is necessary to look at the lusophony and the Portuguese-speaking community in the context of post-colonialism.

The current 'lusophone' speech merely seeks to conceal, but not eliminate, the brutal traces of the past. What is sought is to recover at least a portion of the former Portuguese hegemony in order to maintain colonial rule, although having renounced the vehemence or the violence of any colonial discourse. That is, it is intended to maintain the colonialism, pretending to abolish the colonialist, thanks to the way that the colonized is invited to dispose of their own autonomy to serve Portuguese interests (Margarido, 2000, p. 76, cited by Khan, 2004, p. 4).

If in the past the power relations in the lusophone space are expressed by the colonizer/colonized binomial, today these same relationships are expressed through a complex and unstable political, economic and cultural interests network (Lança, 2010, cited by Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 124). In this sense, Portugal does not demonstrate "a concern to understand the Other" (Santos, 1994, 2011, cited by Kahn, 2004). For these reasons, Eduardo Lourenço is reticent regarding

the existence of an authentic lusophone community, which truly integrates the eight Portuguese speaking countries (Baptista, 2003, p. 50) and allows understand the differences between them.

The Portuguese language is the identity element in which is defined the cultural community of the lusophony, however, during the colonial period this was one of the greatest expressions of power used in the sense of looking for an affirmation of national, transnational or even global identity (Macedo, Martins e Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 124-125). The sharing of the Portuguese language can enhance a space of cultural fecundity and understanding among the people of the CPLP. However, this requires that “[...] build another way to read and see the plot of the differences, so that they also can be read and see without deletions or imposed by any deletions hegemony of historical, symbolic and, above all, political-cultural order” (Padilha, 2005, p. 26, cited by Seixas, 2007, p. 133).

The lusophony can be understood as “a kind of symbolic extension of the colonial period” (Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122). This idea called “lusocentric misconception” (Martins, 2011, cited by Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122) has persisted beyond the independence of the various Portuguese-speaking nations, threatening the development of a post-colonial idea of the lusophony while community of (multiple) cultures (Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122). The same authors argue that this lusocentric misconception is based on two fundamental ideas: first, the belief in an allegedly privileged relationship of Portugal with former colonies, secondly, the idea spread among the elites of African and Brazilian spheres that lusophony serves only the interests of Portugal in maintaining a kind of post-colonial supremacy over the other countries where Portuguese is spoken.

In general, the concept of lusophony is based on three principles: *globalization*, which considers that the problems of the lusophony and the affirmation of a community identity that is grounded in the language overpass the language factor and call globally governments, ONG’s, civil society, etc.; *diversification*, that recognize the heterogeneity of each reality in the countries that make up the lusophone community and, that from the point of view of Portuguese are marked by elements that do not have Portuguese origin; and *relativization*, which implies that the lusophone community is very uneven and lacks cohesion because of the diversity of each reality (Reis, 1997; Sousa, 2002, cited by Bastos, 2006, p. 73-74).

The lusophony “can be understood in light of a plurality of meanings and representations resulting from the experience of each of the people who express in Portuguese” (Macedo, Martins e Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 122). The lusophone community should not, therefore, refer to a single imaginary, but for multiple lusophone imaginaries (Baptista, 2000), considering the different understandings of this concept by lusophone countries. In fact, “the lusophone imaginary became, definitely, the imagination of plurality and difference” (Lourenço, 1999, p. 112), so “if we want to give some meaning to the lusophone galaxy, we have to live it, to the extent possible, as inextricably Portuguese, Brazilian, Angolan, Mozambican, Cape Verdean or São Tomense (Lourenço, 1999, p. 112). The cultural space of the lusophony is, then, a plural and fragmented space, where “the community and the fellowship of sharing common sense can be seen only by the assumption of this plurality and difference and by the thorough knowledge of each other’s” (Martins, 2006, p. 90). In other words, the idea of identity belonging implicit in the fact that a set of people speaking the same language, is subject to consideration of multicultural national realities in different regions of the world (Brito & Martins, 2004, cited by Macedo, Martins and Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 93).

2. Culture, Heritage and Tourism

Being the lusophony a space of culture, resulting from mixing of ethnicities, memories, traditions and landscapes, it becomes critical to address the concepts of culture and heritage (Martins, 2006, p. 93). The culture should be seen as an array of development, since there is no development without culture or progress (Vaz, 2008, p. 35) and can be considered as:

The set of phenomena created by human species through its ability to use symbols, which includes knowledge, languages, beliefs, customs, tools, experiences, art, morals, law and any other capabilities and habits acquired by Man as a member of the society (Molinar, 2006, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 133).

According to Vaz (2008, p. 35-36) culture is understood as a space of creation, but also inheritance. It is this inheritance that is known for heritage (Vaz, 2008, p. 35-36), which can be regarded as the contemporary use of the past, whose meaning is understood at present, through the new generations who want to learn about their culture, history and past civilization (Graham, 2002, p. 1004; Chai, 2011, p. 360). Thus, the heritage refers to the cultural and local traditions, and values that individuals take pride in preserving (Collins, 1983, cited by Chai, 2011, p.360).

The heritage can be interpreted differently depending on each culture, however, is generally understood in two ways: the material heritage and the immaterial or cultural heritage (Graham, 2002, p. 1004). Although occidental countries attach greater importance to the natural and built environment (tangible aspects, such as cathedrals, palaces, artifacts and national parks) and places like Africa and Asia valorize the intangible forms of the heritage, through traditional and popular culture (language, music, dance, rituals, cuisine, folklore), all societies contain both forms of heritage (Graham, 2002, p. 1004).

Many cultural products are sufficiently attractive in order to development a tourism industry (Ashworth & Dietvorst, 1995, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 33), whereby the culture and cultural resources are an increasingly central role in attracting visitants to a particular destination (McKercher, Ho and Cros, 2005, p. 539; Chai, 2011, p. 360; Alberti and Giusti, 2012, p. 262). Similarly, tourism has contributed to the conservation of the resources of the cultural sector (McKercher, Ho and Cros, 2005, p. 539). Tourism is, thus, a cultural industry where products and cultural experiences are promoted as tourist attractions (Prentice, 1997, cited by Mathieson and Wall, 2006), giving rise to the concept of cultural tourism, a type of tourism based on demand and participation in cultural experiences (Stebbins, 1996, cited by Maia, 2010, p. 34).

The relationship between culture, heritage and tourism arise the concept of heritage tourism, which can be defined as the movement of individuals with the “motivation to experience places, artifacts and activities whose authenticity represent people’s stories of the past and the present” (Chai, 2011, p. 360). This concept includes natural, historic and cultural resources, and can be classified as a subcategory of cultural tourism (Chai, 2011, p. 360). The heritage tourism is an activity where visitants can contact with local communities (Chai, 2011, p. 360). Thus, tourist heritage enables individuals to reintegrate into their cultural roots (Donert and Light, 1996; McCarthy, 1994, cited by McKercher, Ho and Cros, 2005, p. 539) and strengthen their interest in the history and culture (Squire, 1996; Tourism Canada, 1991; WTO, n.d., cited by McKercher, Ho and Cros, 2005, p. 539).

3. Itineraries in Tourism and Culture

One of the most effective ways to promote culture and its resources in the tourism sector is through tourist routes and itineraries. Firstly, it is important to distinguish the concepts of route,

itinerary and circuit. A route is “a proper themed itinerary of a community or geographical area that enables the knowledge of its values and more relevant attractions (...) to allow the visit of the attractions, the development of the activities and the use of the services that are designed for that purpose” (DTS Consultores, Lda., cited by Figueira, 2013, p. 66). The itinerary can be defined as the “path or rote where we highlight places of passage and propose activities and services” (Prieto *et al.*, 1991, cited by Silva, 2011, p. 16). In turn, the circuit is “a combination in a given route that can, together with others circuits, create a travel itinerary” (Figueira, 2013, p. 98). Although some authors define the concepts of the route and itinerary as synonymous, in reality the itinerary may be regarded as an element or branch of the route, which in turn branches into multiple circuits (Figueira, 2013, p. 93), whereby in this study it will be used the concept of itinerary.

The potential of tourism itineraries was realized some time ago (Silva, 2011, p. 16), so these have been increasing over the past two decades worldwide (Meyers, 2004 in Lourens, 2007, cited by Silva, 2011, p. 17). The tourist itineraries are appealing to different audiences, can be realized in several ways: on foot, on horseback, by bicycle, car, train or other means (Gonzalo, 2006, cited by Silva, 2011, p. 17) and its duration may vary between noon, one day, a weekend, a week, fifteen days and even last more than a fortnight, depending on the geographic area encompassing the itinerary (Prieto *et al.*, cited by Silva, 2011, p. 18).

In this sense, according to Figueira (2013, p. 86-91) the itineraries can be classified in accordance with the tourism product (sports, historical, artistic, ethnographic, educational, health, hydrotherapy, other therapeutic practices, community, summer camps, vacations, adventure, cultural and religious), the means of transportation (pedestrian, road, rail, water and air), theme, the design of the course (in linear and nodal pathway), geographical extension (local, regional, national, international and galactic) and duration (short, medium length, normal and long duration). Given the objective of this research, it is evident the artistic and cultural itineraries. The artistic itineraries present a focus on art, using literary attractions, musicals, dramatic plays, among others (Figueira, 2013, p. 87). As regards the cultural itineraries, they must consider the cultural values, the historic memory, the history, the cultural and natural heritage and the multiple identities of an area as fundamental criteria for its creation (Pérez, 2009, p. 233). These itineraries are designed to not only attract visitants but also the local community (Pérez, 2009, p. 233). In the preparation of the itinerary, Figueira (2013, p. 115-119), considers that this it should be composed for six steps: the preparing; the sorting of the contents; the production of the itineraries; the experimentation and trial; the branding; and the placement of the itinerary in the market.

4. Methodology

As a methodological procedure of this investigation proceeded to a literature review about the themes “Lusophony, colonialism and post-colonialism”, “Culture, heritage and tourism” and “Itineraries in tourism and culture” and to the realization of two cultural-tourism itineraries based in the theme “Lusophone Personalities of the Performing Arts”. Given the wide range of arts and performances that can be considered in this field, in this investigation were selected the Music, the Dance and the Theatre, three performing arts that attract hundreds of people every day.

The proposed itineraries are based on the relationship between Portugal and lusophone personalities of the three performing arts mentioned, whereby this is the criteria used for the selection of the persons included in the itineraries. Considering the target segment to be achieved – the lusophone community – the suggested itineraries seek to provide a strong cultural message that proves through the performing arts the influence of the lusophone countries in Portugal. Thus,

the criteria used for the selection of the places to be included in the itineraries were based on the relationship with the same chosen personalities and with the performing art which they identify. The course defined in these itineraries was based on the geographic proximity, due to the territorial extension of the selected area (Lisbon).

5. Proposals for cultural-tourism itineraries of the Lusophony: Personalities of the Performing Arts

The cultural-tourism itineraries that were developed are called “Sound of the Lusophony” and “On Stage of the Lusophony”. Table 1 shows the two itineraries, with regards to its location, performing art(s) to which it relates and its objectives. In turn, table 2 presents the lusophone personalities selected for each itinerary as well as suggested places to visit. In the appendices of this document are the itineraries with the form of public disclosure.

Itinerary	Location	Performing Art	Objetives
<i>Sound of the Lusophony</i>	Lisbon	Music Dance	To publicize the work development for lusophone artists of the music and dance; Educate participants for the importance of music and dance as a form of union of the lusophone countries.
<i>On Stage of the Lusophony</i>	Lisbon	Theatre	To publicize the work development for lusophone artists of the theatre; Educate participants for the importance of the theatre as a means of cultural promotion.

Table 1 – Descriptive table of the cultural-tourism itineraries proposed and their respective goals

Itinerary	Lusophone Personalities	Places to visit
<i>Sound of the Lusophony</i>	Amália Rodrigues Ângela Clemente Carlos Martins Cesária Évora Filipe Mukenga Guto Pires Maria Bethânia Velloso Rui Pinto Sandra Rosado Yuri da Cunha	Campo Pequeno Miradouro de Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen Coliseu dos Recreios Casa-museu Amália Rodrigues Casa Fernando Pessoa Escola de Dança do Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa Café Tati Restaurante típico Sr. Do Vinho Parque da Bela Vista Teatro Camões Pavilhão Atlântico Restaurante Sabor a Brasil
<i>On Stage of the Lusophony</i>	Elias Macovela Filipe La Feria José Amaral Otede Mósso Rogério Boane Rogério de Carvalho	Teatro Gil Vicente Teatro Politeama Teatro Nacional D. Maria II Teatro Nacional de São Carlos Jardim de Inverno do Teatro D. Luís Teatro da Trindade

Table 2 – Descriptive table of the personalities included in the itineraries and the places to visit

5.1. Itinerary “Sound of the Lusophony”

In this section are present the main relationships between the personalities and the places that make this itinerary.

Amália Rodrigues, Portuguese singer and actress: Being the ‘Fado’ a key element of the Portuguese identity, it is considered essential to included this genre of music in this itinerary, represented by the one who is considered the Queen of the ‘Fado’. In order to demonstrated the life story of this singer, but also the Portuguese ‘fado’, it was selected the *Casa-Museu de Amália Rodrigues* as one of the attractions of this itinerary.

Ângela Clemente, Mozambican dancer: This dancer presents a very complete curriculum at the level of the dance, although it began as competitive athlete. Her coming to Portugal occurred at age 17 when she joined the *Escola de Dança do Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa*, a prestigious school in this regard and sought by artists in this area. This school was included in the itinerary, which besides Ângela Clemente has other lusophone artists.

Carlos Martins, Portuguese saxophonist and composer: Founder of the ‘Associação Sons da Lusofonia’, an association that brings together musicians from diverse origins (African, Brazilian and Portuguese) and promotes comprehensive interventions that combine global education and social intervention to music and interaction between communities and arts.

Cesária Évora, Cape Verdean singer: After a less positive phase of her life and career, Cesária Évora is invited by Bana (a Cape Verdean businessperson exiled in Portugal) to act in Portugal. This step was decisive for the singer relaunches her career again. A year after her death, several Portuguese and Cape Verdean artists (Bonga, Celeste Rodrigues, Lura, Maria Alice, Nancy Vieira, Teófilo Chantre, Tito Paris, Ferro Gaitra and the project Cesária & Friends) came together to prepare a concert in her honor. This concert was held at the *Coliseu dos Recreios*, place therefore chosen for this itinerary. Moreover, this was also the place where the singer gave her last concert in Portugal in May 2010.

Filipe Mukenga, Angolan singer and composer: This personality collaborated in one of the discs of the ‘Associação Sons da Lusofonia’ (“Sons da Fala”) and contributed to one of the themes of Rui Veloso. The singer also act in *Coliseu dos Recreios*, along with “Os Tubarões” (Cape Verdean group) and in *Pavilhão Atlântico* with the singer Mariza. It is evident, once again, the importance of including these spaces for events and shows in this itinerary.

Guto Pires, Guinea singer and composer: Guinea singer that is proud to exalt traditional and popular culture of their country through music. By ‘Associação Sons da Lusofonia’, participated in the collectives “Sons da Lusofonia” and “Sons da Fala”, along with other lusophone artists. In 2008, Guto Pires participated in a discography work “Venham Mais Cinco”, inspired in the singer Zeca Afonso. Performances in Portugal took place at *Café Tati*, in April 2012, where he presented his compositions, popular music of Guinea-Bissau and songs of freedom of Guinea as a way to celebrate the 25th April. This café is, thus, an interesting area to visit and enjoy, where many other lusophone artists have acted.

Maria Bethânia Velloso, Brazilian singer: the singer seeks to innovate in their performances, combining poems and excerpts from texts literature with their music.

Among the best-known poems recited by this artist are those of Fernando Pessoa, such as “*Todo o cais é uma saudade de pedra*” and those of Sophia de Mello Bryner, as “*Poema azul*”. Maria Bethânia even release an album called “*Imitação da vida*”, which contains eleven texts of Fernando Pessoa and his heteronyms. In June 2013, the singer was in Portugal for the show “*Bethânia e as palavras*” in Teatro Nacional de S. João in Porto, where she declaimed poetry of Fernando Pessoa, Sophia de Mello Bryner Andresen and of Padre António Viera. In this sense, the places chosen for this itinerary based on this personality were the *Casa Fernando Pessoa* and the *Miradouro de Sophia de Mello Bryner*.

Rui Pinto, Angolan dancer: This dancer began his studies at the *Escola de Dança do Conservatório Nacional*, where he later was invited to choreograph.

Sandra Rosado, Mozambican dancer: Sandra Rosado has a similar curriculum with the other dancers presented before. She also joined the *Escola de Dança do Conservatório Nacional*, evidencing once again the importance of this space for the training of dancers.

Yuri da Cunha, Angolan singer: Considered the ‘King of the Lusophony’, Yuri da Cunha recorded his first album in Portugal, in the Valentim de Carvalho studios producer. In the same year, he won the prize of RTP for the best music video and the best song of the year of Portuguese speaking countries (PALOP). In 2010, he acted twice in Portugal, onde in *Campo Pequeno*, with the show “*Sou Lusófono*” and other at the Rock in Rio Lisboa, held at *Parque da Bela Vista*. These are more two places that were considered in this itinerary.

All the places mentioned above as components of this itinerary were included by their relationship with the selected lusophone personalities. However, other locations were considered according to their relation to the second theme of this research – the performing arts. Thus, it remains to speak of:

Restaurante típico Sr. do Vinho, a ‘Fado’ house where already have acted and continue to act the best artists and musicians of this genre of music;

Restaurante Sabor a Brasil, a restaurant that remembers the Brazil, from the décor to the meal, but also the environment. This also functions as a bar, where it allows the live performance from several Brazilian artists;

Teatro Camões, headquarters of the Companhia Nacional de Bailado, an entity that guarantees an annual dynamics of dance performances in this space.

In this sense, this itinerary is divided in two suggestions. The participants can choose to realized both or just one of them, considering that one (suggestion1) has a duration of about one day and the other (suggestion 2) a half day. The suggestion 1 is composed for the following locations: (A) Campo Pequeno, (B) Miradouro de Sophia de Mello Bryner, (C) Coliseu dos Recreios, (D) Casa-Museu Amália Rodrigues, (E) Casa Fernando Pessoa, (F) Escola de Dança do Conservatório Nacional, (G) Café Tati, (H) Restaurante típico Sr. do Vinho. The suggestion 2 is constituted by: (A) Parque da Bela Vista, (B) Teatro Camões, (C) Pavilhão Atlântico and (D) Restaurante Sabor a Brasil.

5.2. Itinerary “On Stage of the Lusophony”

Although in table 1 refers that this itinerary regards to Lisbon, in reality it should also be considered Coimbra. In this city is the head-office of the Cena Lusófona – Associação Portuguesa para o Intercâmbio Cultural, an association that aims to boost the theatrical communication between countries with Portuguese as the official language. This association has allowed closer lusophone countries through theatre, so the majority of the personalities selected for this itinerary (except Filipe La Feria) in some part of your life passed through this association. In this sense, although it is not contemplated in the itinerary map, the participant is advised to travel to Coimbra, where he can watch the performances of the Cena Lusófona and visit the Teatro Académico de Gil Vicente, the scene of many shows promoted by Cena Lusófona. Then, it will be present the main theatre personalities and places that compose this itinerary.

Elias Macovela, Mozambican actor: Arrives in Portugal through the Cena Lusófona for an internship in Évora. During the time that he was in Portugal worked in several locations associated with theatre and other performing arts, such as Centro Cultural de Belém, *Teatro da Trindade*, Teatro Camões, Coliseu dos Recreios e *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos*. Therefore, some of these places were introduced in this itinerary.

Filipe La Feria, Portuguese director and playwright: national and international recognized for his work as a director and playwright, Filipe La Feria began his theatrical career as an actor. He debuted at the Teatro Nacional, but today is associated to the *Teatro Politeama*, theatre in which he produces and enacts much of their shows. This theatre is also included in this itinerary as it is a milestone in the life of this personality that has so much influence in Portuguese theatre.

José Amaral, Timorese actor and storyteller: Much of the theatrical career of this actor is lived in Portugal. In 1992, he worked as figurant in the play “O Glamour” referring to the Padre António Viera in the *Teatro Nacional D. Maria II*. Shortly thereafter, he participated in FITEI – International Theatre Festival of Iberian Expression, in Porto.

In 1997 participated in the 1st International Internship of Actors organized by Cena Lusófona, which took place at the *Teatro da Trindade*. The 2nd phase of the internship was in Coimbra where they presented the play “O Beijo no Asfalto” in *Teatro Académico de Gil Vicente*. It is evident the relevance of include this place in this itinerary as well as the other theatre listed.

Odete Mósso, Cape Verdean actress: Come to Portugal to the International Internship of Actors, promoting by Cena Lusófona. The 1st phase of the internship was spent in the workshops of the *Teatro da Trindade*, the 2nd phase took place in Coimbra, where it was prepared and represented the play “O Beijo no Asfalto” and the 3rd phase took place in Lisbon, in EXPO, with the project “Olharapos”. After the internship she decided to take a course in Academia Contemporânea do Espetáculo, where she was student of Rogério de Carvalho.

Rogério Boane, Mozambican actor: After participating in a workshop of the Cena Lusófona in Mozambique is chosen to come to Portugal to continue working in this area. He installs in Coimbra and through the Cena Lusófona participates in shows in Coimbra (*Teatro Académico de Gil Vicente*), Braga and in Porto (Palácio de Cristal). He was invited to join the Companhia de Teatro de Braga, where he is today.

Rogério de Carvalho, Angolan director: Distinguished with a prize by the Portuguese Association of Theatre Critics, for his performances “Juramentos indiscretos” and “Salomé”. The awards ceremony was held at the *Jardim de Inverno do Teatro São Luiz*, so this place was considered in the itinerary.

In this itinerary all the locations have a relationship with at least one of the selected personalities. Thus, the places that constituted the itinerary are: (A) Teatro Politeama, (B) Teatro Nacional D. Maria II, (C) Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, (D) Teatro São Luiz

– Jardim de Inverno and (E) Teatro da Trindade. Another place recommended to visit is, as mentioned earlier, the Teatro Académico de Gil Vicente in Coimbra, as well as the activities that are being undertaken by Cena Lusófona.

Conclusion

This investigation concludes that despite lusophone countries have common traits, such as language, their points of view not need to be necessarily similar. In this sense, it is necessary that the lusophone community to respect and understand each other. These countries should not homogenize, is the difference that makes them rich and unique and only then they can unite towards common benefits. The lusophony as a cultural space should be understood in terms of culture and heritage, which in turn, has great potential in tourism, and may be offered in the form of cultural-tourism itinerary. It was also found that the performing arts can be an excellent example of approximation the lusophone countries. The two cultural-tourism itineraries contributed to the same objective and are a way to promote Portugal at the level of the performing arts, something that is not yet well studied.

The main limitations of this study was the difficulty of finding biographical information on some of the selected personalities and the difficulty in offering more diverse attractions at the artistic point of view and with culturally stronger relationships with the lusophony.

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Abstract: This study investigated fishing using *Cacuris* from a dual perspective, both as revealed in the narratives of the inhabitants of the islands of Abaetetuba - Pará – Brazil, and according to their use in Amazonian set design. The research methodology was based on oral history, in order to understand the dynamics of fishing with *Cacuris*, whilst the data analysis process maintained a constant dialogue with Cultural Studies. The method of artistically creating the set design of the *Cacuri* Theatre was born of a combination of the shape of the enclosure and the scenic space of the spherical principle. The paper takes note of the difficulties that the *Cacuris* fishermen face in continuing to use this traditional art of fishing in the Amazon, taking ownership of the potentiality of this scenic area becomes a weapon in the struggle against forgetting the memory of this local know-how.

Keywords: Ways of life in the Amazon; *Cacuri* fishing; Set design.

Introduction:

In his work ‘The Act of Creation’, the French philosopher Deleuze (1999: 02) was concerned with reflecting on the way in which ideas must be treated. He observed that “we must treat them as potentials that are already associated with one or other mode of expression.” The reflection of the study is oportune, motivating the realization of this work, in permitting the articulation of the act of creativity within the research universe. This article consists of a summary of the dissertation developed during the Graduate Programme in Arts at the Federal University of Pará - PPGArtes / UFPA. The research problem had two strands: how do the inhabitants of the Abaetetuba Islands, in Pará, live and produce knowledge about *Cacuris* fishing? And how can the architectural form of *Cacuri* be used in a scenic environment?

The *Cacuri* is a fishing trap, a type of enclosure set on beaches and in creeks, which traps the fish with the help of the tidal currents. It is made of organic materials, such as splints, wood and vines, and some also use industrial material such as nylon rope.

The artisanal fishermen, the *curraleiros*, ensure they can provide for their families and reproduce the local culture through the making and employment of this trap. In Abaetetuba, a city situated in the lower Tocantins region of Pará State - Brazil, the locals practice *Cacuri* fishing. Although the local people fish to supplement their income, it was observed that the *Cacuri* culture is falling into decline. There are various factors which contribute to this decline, such as the arrival of new fishing technologies,

The *Cacuri* Theatre: an Amazonian attempt to decolonise the scenic environment

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diminishing shoals of fish, the amount of work involved in the making and placing of *Cacuri* and the fact that the youth have little interest in fishing.

In an attempt to reconstruct ways of life and the *Cacuri* practice among Amazonian populations, we proposed the application of its poetic, aesthetic and scenic forms, as the shape of this trap resembles the space of a traditional arena stage. The perspective to transport the language and the architectural form of a natural and cultural universe into the performing arts, in dialogue with dramatic spatiality and proposing new codes of narration in set design.

In this paper, the *Cacuri* are assimilated according to Ratto's (1999: 22), understanding that "[...] a place that is not necessarily a theatre building can assume - and assumes - all the potential dramatic values it contains and causes." Thus, the empirical dialogue with theory refers to the place of Art in this research. We believe that it is a means of transporting a feature of Amazonian fishing to the world of art, that a collaboration which recognises the cultural diversity present in the region is possible, from the exchange of knowledge to the construction of the Amazonian *Cacuri* practice, intending to use the *Cacuri in the Scene*, thereby reaffirming the existence of compliance between oral and literate know.

***Cacuri* Culture in Amazonia**

The *Cacuri* is an instrument which provides subsistence, constructed today by Indian, black, African-Indian, mixed-race and poor white people in the Amazon region. The aim is to trap the fish as they move through tidal currents in search of food, microorganisms, fruits and seeds. Ribeiro (1987) adds that the word *Cacuri* is an expression belonging to General Language, corresponding to a large fishing tackle.

According to the *Cacuri* fishermen, the *curraleiros* of Pará's salt area, *Cacuri* means a small corral. It has two parts: one circular and the other straight. The circular shape is called the *salão do curral* or *chiqueiro* (trap/enclosure) and has a slit which faces into the circle. The straight part is called the *manga* (sleeve) or even the *espia* (spy), which is inserted into the slot in the circular enclosure, acting as a tunnel and leading the fish into the enclosure.

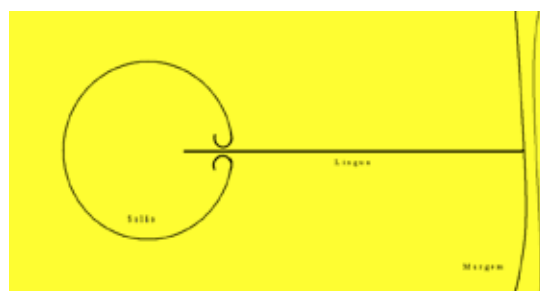


Figure 01: *Cacuri*. Stylised plan, made by the author using digital media. Research design, first used in 2009 and revised in 2011. Personal Archive: Walter Chile.

The fish, when it reaches with mouth of the enclosure, changes direction in search of the deepest part of the water. At this point, the fish enters the enclosure, and remains trapped until the tide goes out. After that, the *curraleiro* 'harvests' the *Cacuri*, collecting the caught fish.

Figure 02 depicts Orlando, a *curraleiro*, en route to his *Cacuri*. The dark mark at the base of the stall shows that the tide is going out, so it is time for him to position himself to harvest the *Cacuri*.



Figure 02: Orlando and his *Cacuri* at the “Costa Marapatá” in Abaetetuba.
Photo taken during field research, in April 2011. Personal Archive: Walter Chile.

Harvesting the *Cacuri* provokes a moment of apprehension for the fisherman, as he never knows what awaits him in the *Cacuri* enclosure. The fishermen always hope for an abundance of fish, as opposed to finding an eel, stingray, or alligator, as these species are likely to attack the fishermen.

Despite the importance of fishing for the survival of the local population, this type of fishing shows signs of decline. During twelve fieldwork expeditions, only three active *Cacuri* fishermen were found: Orlando¹, Zal² and Quixinho³. Apart from these three *Cacuri* fishing masters, rural people and former practitioners of *Cacuri*, were interviewed: Aristeu⁴, João Batista⁵ and Joãozinho⁶, in addition to Maxico⁷, Miguel Pompeu⁸ and Coriolano⁹, former practitioners of *Cacuri* fishing currently residing in urban areas of the municipality of Abaetetuba.

The majority of the *Cacuri* fisherman indicated that the decline in *Cacuri* fishing is due to the disappearance of fish coupled with the excessive demands of work that making and placing *Cacuri* requires. It is a lot of work for little fish in return, hence it does not really compensatory the effort. Furthermore, the emergence of industrialized fishing equipment such as trammel nets, are more practical to acquire and use.

Miguel Pompeu attributed the abandonment of the *Cacuri* to the emergence of nets that facilitate the capture of fish, plus their use does not require the fisherman to enter the water such as is necessary in performing *Cacuri* harvesting. Entering the water makes the fisherman vulnerable to stingray, eel and alligator attacks. “[...] As I’ve been saying, now there are easier ways. The gillnets, the drag nets, you know? Today you can not jump in the water to catch fish. Let’s say: the nets, right [...] They came along. So *Cacuri* began to end because of them. Easier things come along, you know!”(Interview on 28/04/2011).

1 Orlando Machado Figueiró, 64 years of age. Born in and a resident of the Prata River region, in Abaetetuba.

2 Sebastião Pereira Cardoso Filho, 44 years of age. Born at Sirituba River, in the Abaetetuba rural region where he lives today.

3 José Maria Barbosa Ferreira, 50 years of age. Born beside the Panacuerazinho River, and now lives at the Sirituba River, both in the rural region of Abaetetuba.

4 Aristeu Machado Figueiró, 70 years of age, born at Carecas, Prata River, Abaetetuba, Pará

5 João Batista dos Reis e Silva, 97 years of age, born at the Tucumanduba River, where he still lives.

6 Francisco João Maués, 53 years of age, born at Acapu Creek, near Baixo Tucumanduba, Abaetetuba – Pará, where he lives.

7 Maximiliano Rodrigues Correa, 71 years of age. Born at Maracapucu. Now living in the Abaetetuba urban area.

8 Miguel Pompeu Ferreira Maués, 63 years of age, born at the Cuitininga River, in the rural area of Abaetetuba, today he lives in the urban area.

9 Coriolano Amaral de Freitas, 72 years of age, born on the Cará-Cará Island, in the rural Cameté area. Today he lives in the urban area of Abaetetuba.

The appreciation of the analytical perspectives of contemporary intercultural encounters and confrontations are explained by the influence and forms of reception of industrial products in the life of the working. In relation to this topic, Raymond Williams (1977) perceives culture as ways of life in their concrete experiences and symbolic resignifications. Thus, the author understands that knowing and cultural practices traverse distinct changes and inter-relational processes. The concepts which he formulated, of the emergent, of the dominant and of the residual, gain resonances in the Amazon context with regard to the know-how of those people who practice *Cacuri*.

Williams (1977: 125) understands the residual as an effective element of the present which was formed in the past and is active in the cultural process not as a reminder of its existence, but as a present of culture.

In this respect, it can be inferred that today, the *Cacuri* practice found on the islands of Abaetetuba correspond to what Williams (1977), refers to as residual. This analytical element bears some traditional aspects that were formed in the past, but which still continue to manifest themselves in the present. Therefore, even before the transformations produced through the art of weaving and placing the *Cacuri* on the banks of rivers in the Amazon, the know-how is an example of the persistence of a culture of traditional regional fishing, of residual icons.

With regard to the relationship between time and different cultural artefacts, the work of tradition selectively highlights the incorporation of active trace elements, which allows interpretation, dilution, projection and discriminative exclusion (Williams, 1977: 126).

The concept of dominance applied to the universe of *Cacuris* fishing can be interpreted as the decline of traditions and their replacement with new elements. The vine that tied the tunnel to the enclosure is considered an element from the past according to Williams (1979), which was replaced by an element from the present, the dominant, represented by nylon cord, adopted by the fishermen in constructing their *Cacuris*.

The people of the forest use technology and industrial products to reaffirm their knowledge and their cultural practices. In using industrial materials in his daily life, the *Cacuri* fisherman participates in modernity.

In this universe of struggles for tradition and for life, we take into account the presence of the *emergent* understood as something new in the midst of cultural practices. Williams (1977: 126) notes that “new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created.”

Hence, the author stresses that “what is ultimately important in understanding the emergent culture, as distinct from the dominant and residual culture, is that it is never just a matter of immediate practice. Rather, it is crucially dependent on finding new forms or adaptations of the form” (Williams, 1977: 129).

We understand, therefore, that the evolvement of this study suggests a plural scenographic construction in order to accommodate scenes. Inspired by the aesthetics and form of the *Cacuri*, this article proposes the *Cacuri* Theatre, namely as a means of “adapting the form” as a discovery of new forms of composition and use, as advocated by Williams.

The *Cacuri* Theatre

The *Cacuri* enclosures, set in their natural environment and viewed from above (as in the plan) form designs that resemble traditional scenic spatialities such as the arena theatre, when also viewed from the same angle. The arena has a type of stage/audience relationships which allows the viewer to be close to the stage, breaking the hierarchy of places and accommodating all without segregation.

The association between the form of *Cacuri* enclosures and arena theatres triggered the idea for the *Cacuri* Theatre. The act of associating things, according to Ostrower (2009: 20) “makes up the essence of our imaginative world [...] associations establish certain combinations, connecting ideas and feelings.”

As part of the artistic creation process, the *Cacuri* was reworked and redimensioned in terms of its size and material, with technical and elementary aspects, some of which existed in the field of scenic/set architecture, but always reproduced using a rudimentary aesthetic and technology, for it to be called the *Cacuri* Theatre. This theatre was also designed with the function of technically and aesthetically sheltering the scene. It fills the space with the scenery, and it is assumed as such, while it is filled by the public and the scene.

In this sense, Pavis (2008) believes that when transposed to the scene, any living or animated element of the show is subjected to a determined shape, is reworked, cultivated and included in a meaningful whole. The author’s reflection expands the understanding of the presence of *Cacuri* in the scene, as a component element of a culture, whose purpose obeys the principles of subsistence and aesthetics, with the potential to be transported and reworked to adapt to the play’s environment.

The *Cacuri* Theatre consists of an idea of a theatre which can be dismantled and articulated. Through its appearance, this theatre aims to show the aesthetics of artefacts produced by the forest people. It is created from a drawing of a *Cacuri* by the fisherman, Aristeu, at the Prata River, in the island region of the municipality of Abaetetuba, in the State of Pará, Brazil.

The *Cacuri* drawn by Aristeu has an advantage over the others found during the field research. In drawing, which Aristeu sketched during the interview, the existence of an area called the *ante-sala* (ante-room) around the *curral* (enclosure) was revealed. This ante-room allows the more efficient capture of the fish.

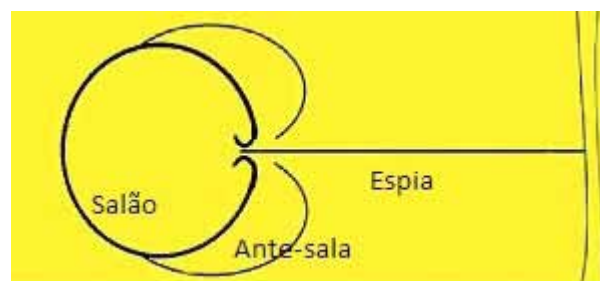


Figure 03. Stylized drawing of a *Cacuri* by Aristeu. Reproduced by the author in digital media.

Thus, we based the *Cacuri* Theatre on Aristeu’s drawing. The hall houses the stage and the audience, which may be transformed according to the set requirements. The foyer has two mezzanines. The top is designed to house the technicians involved in operating the equipment in the scene. The upper part also serves as a set. The bottom part was meant to be used as aisle, as used by the Spanish Renaissance artists with the bottom of the *Corrales* stage. The tunnel part is designed to exhibit posters and banners, but is so well designed and structured that can also be used as a stage as it is capable of supporting the weight of the an actor. Figures 04 and 05 give a rough idea of the idealised *Cacuri* Theatre.

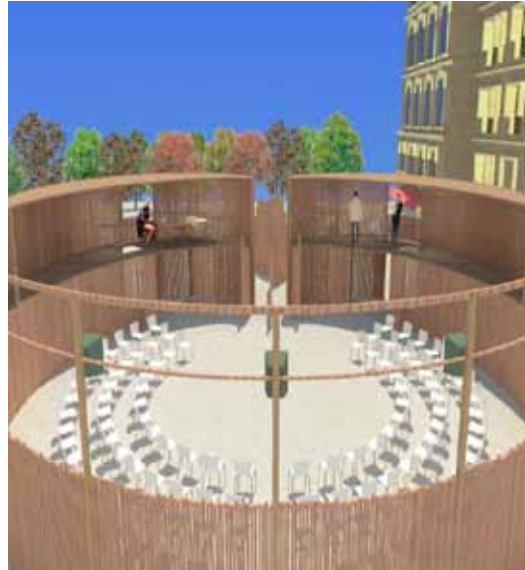


Figure 04: The *Cacuri* Theatre, seen from the stage area. Digital Design by the architect Junyo Kostas

Thus, this proposal for an Amazonian Theatre which can be dismantled aims to host representations of various art forms such as theatre, dance, dramatized readings, music, circuses and other shows, because its structure and technical resources can be manipulated according to the requirements, it is like a toy which can be assembled and dismantled.

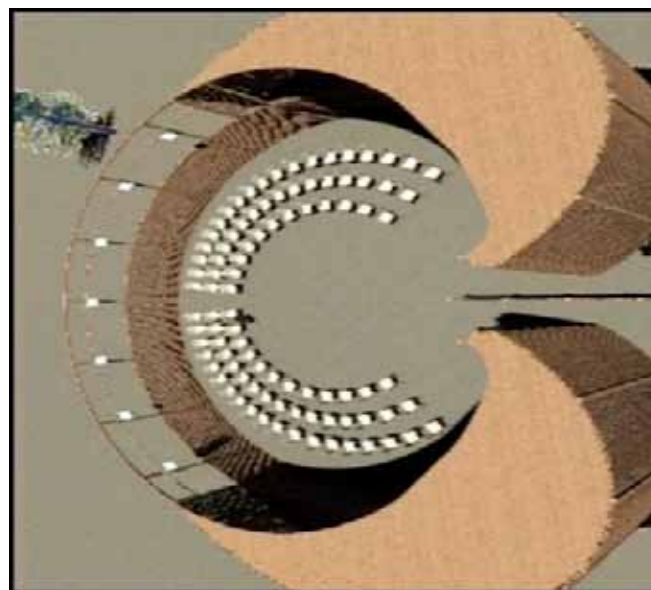


Figure 05: The *Cacuri* Theatre, the stage as seen from the mezzanines.
Digital image by the architect Junyo Kostas.

The *Cacuri* Theatre is conceptualised as a set design-architectural plural which can be built with a riverside aesthetic, transforming its appearance in order to achieve stylistic unity with the aesthetics of the proposed show. In other words, although it is constructed as a theatre, it can still change its appearance with the use of tensioned fabric, solid shapes, colours or neutrals and lighting effects.

Conclusion

We understand that the experience of *Cacuri* fishing was also a question of a space for sociability. Stories, memories, knowledge, values and aspirations were present in the dialogue both in the preparation and in the treatment of the artefact and are divided between the partners from a male point of view as women were not seen in the *Cacuri* production chain in this reality.

Finding only three *Cacuri* practitioners active and resident on the islands of Abaetetuba caused some perplexity. Thus, I agreed with the suggestion to hear three former practitioners of *Cacuri* fishing who still inhabit the islands and three former practitioners who, in search of a better life migrated to the urban centre, in order to reveal their trajectories and perceptions.

From this perspective, I can say that the testimony of these guardians of the tradition is an attempt to revisit memories and visions of the past, in order to understand and reconstruct the ways of life of these subjects and of *Cacuri* fishing. With regard to visions from the past, Sarlo (2007: 12) believes that “they are constructions [...] precisely because the past can not be eliminated, and is a persecutor who enslaves or releases, his eruption at present is understandable in relations to that which is organized by narrative procedures, and through them by an ideology that is evident of a significant and interpretable time continuum “.

To dive into the depths of the *Cacuri* tradition, to hear the sounds, imagine the colours and the lights, to feel the textures, to know your material, understand its substance, learn what is material and what is immaterial was a way of realizing the potential aesthetic and poetic value of the *Cacuri* tradition. In a perceptive experience, Merleau-Ponty (2011: 347) explains that “it is necessary to describe the apparent size and convergence, not like scientific knowledge knows, but such as we understand the inside”.

Bringing the *Cacuri* to the scene represents avoiding the historical process of annihilating the cultural values of traditional Amazonian populations by advancing other proposals of life and death triggered by technological and political powers. It is a drop in the dominant/exclusive ocean which makes the *Cacuri* float within contemporary culture, such as in art, memory and history. Finally, this plural scenographic proposition, the *Cacuri* Theatre, is primarily considered a weapon of struggle and resistance against the contemporary and future abolition of local knowledge about *Cacuris* fishing in Amazonia *Cacuris* and particularly in the Tocantin region.

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Abstract: Based on music as a cultural element with a strong penchant for cultural miscegenation, we trace the colonial and post-colonial journey of a Portuguese musical instrument, the *Cavaquinho*, formerly called *Braguinha*. This instrument, not only for its size, but mainly because of the sound emanating from it and its musical possibilities, spread all over the world. The *Cavaquinho* is currently an identity mark for other peoples, such as in Hawaii where it is called Ukulele and is a strong element of the identity of the Hawaiian people. Thus, we perceive a post-colonial gaze emphasizing the importance of the Portuguese cultural legacy and its meaning in the colonial and post-colonial process. We also point out the design that music itself is an aggregating element and one that favors unity and identity formation.

Keywords: Post-colonialism; Luso-tropicalism; Music; *Cavaquinho*.

1. Portuguese Cultural Identity and Post-Colonialism

“Post-colonialism emphasizes the ambivalence and hybridity between colonizer and colonized, since they are not independent of each other and are not thinkable without the other.”
(Santos in Pinho Vargas:77)

To speak of post-colonialism compels us to always have broad views on the subject. Because this issue is, on the one hand, very comprehensive, and, on the other hand, very sensitive, it cannot be understood as being comprised of absolute ideas. In this work we choose to approach the topic from an angle of cultural miscegenation, and so, as referred by Santos and Vargas, there is no doubt that one cannot think of post-colonialism without a colonizer and a colonized.

It is also known by history, that Portugal was the initiator and a great patron of Europe's Expansion out of itself, along with other countries. In this study we will focus only on the Portuguese expansion and look at a musical instrument (the *cavaquinho*) as it comes into contact with other cultures.

According to some scholars, Santos (2003), Baptista (2000), Couto (2007) and Martins (2006), the Portuguese high capacity for miscegenation can only be explained if one considers that Portugal was also colonized. In fact, Portugal and its people were, over several centuries, influenced by different cultures and customs, from the Greeks to the Carthaginians, with invasions by Celts, Phoenicians, Romans and Visigoths, Arabs and Jews. Since proto-history, the now Portuguese people has been invaded by a wide variety of knowledge and customs whose influence inscribed,

The Cavaquinho: from *Braguinha* to Ukelele - Metaphors of colonialism and post-colonialism

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in its idiosyncrasy, disparate foundations in the construction of an identity.

“First, it was the Celts (mainly warriors and very turbulent). Next came the Ligurians, which, in their vast expansion, fought and repelled the Iberians, in successive battles. Such peoples (Iberians, Celts and Ligurians), in their coexistence ended up understanding each other and forming a coalition of one people, which resulted in the Celtiberian ... yet other peoples joined it, Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians. They all came to establish their colonies in various parts of the Iberian Peninsula “... (Albino, 2004:15).

Now, according to Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2000), we can only know who we are if we know who we are not. This assumption raises the following question, carefully put, in relation to the Portuguese people: do we, as a people, know who we are not? We believe that the great problem of Portuguese postcolonial studies relates to the issue of identity, both the colonizer’s and the colonized’s. Indeed, the circumstance of having been colonized by several people will lead to the fluidity of their identity and their unconscious ability for depersonalization and miscegenation. However, this particularity has a decisive influence on the relationships the Portuguese people has established with the colonized peoples which, therefore, appear to be distinct from other colonial bonds.

In the same logic, Silva (2000) traces the possibility that, as a people, we are and are not, which effectively gives rise to credit difference as part of identity and vice versa. When we think about the history of Portugal, we can easily identify barriers to the construction of a unified identity; instead, difference becomes evident as a determining factor.

1.1. A first, based on the principle of not knowing who we are:

- How could we know who we are not if we are a result of any number of external influences?
- If our culture is strongly marked by the influence of other cultures, instilled in various parts of the territory and for very different time periods?

For example, in the south of the country, Portuguese culture is marked by Arab traits, from the adaptation of language to the gastronomic heritage; in the north, Celtic culture is present in music, dance, rituals.

1.2. A second, which concerns the interdependence of identity and difference.

- How do we relate to other countries and peoples?

If we think of the physical contours of Portugal, we realize that the only land link with other countries is the eastern border, which means that, in order to make contacts with other countries, we are first required to go through Spain and only then can we reach other countries.

On the other hand, Portugal, whose wealth is its sea, also has the sea as an obstacle, ultimately standing apart from the differences that are fundamental to the construction of identity. Unable to easily establish relations with other European peoples, because of its geographical location (peripheral), it has only the sea as a means of free communication. But its vastness is a hardship and an obstacle always very hard to transpose.

Andrade describes the situation as follows: “once upon a time, there was a small village of farmers, fishermen, modest craftsmen, and merchants, set on the western edge of Europe, where the land ends and the sea begins... a country at the end of mainland, its coastline conditioned it and, directly or indirectly, drove it to the historical paths that would be theirs (Andrade et al 1975: 135).”

This circumstantiality cannot have failed to contribute to the creation of the Portuguese trait that Fernando Pessoa illustrates in his well-known idea that “*the Portuguese people is essentially*

cosmopolitan. Never a true Portuguese was Portuguese: he was always everything” (Pessoa, 1923). Eduardo Lourenço reinforces this idea by saying: “Able to be everything and everyone, we would be nobody (Lourenço, 1992:21)”

This vocation of ‘non-identity’ is the very richness of Portuguese culture. Indeed,

“Portuguese culture is a border culture: it has no content, it has mainly form, and that form is that of the border area. Portuguese culture has always had great difficulty to differentiate itself from other national cultures or, if one prefers, a large capacity not to differentiate itself from other national cultures, to this day keeping a strong internal heterogeneity” (Santos 1995: 150).

All of the above variants, together with the fact that Portugal is a small country of few natural resources, made it so that its colonization is considered, by some authors, peculiar and substantially different from the colonization practiced by other countries and peoples, especially the British.

2. Portuguese Cultural Identity and Luso-tropicalism

During the Discoveries, with the consequent territorial possessions, Portugal held its colonies in a similar manner to what was done in the European territory. The Portuguese people reproduced the type of settlement used in Portugal, where, still under the influence of pre-roman civilization, the manor house was placed on the highest point in town, mainly for strategic defense reasons; the village would then building up around it and remain loyal and subservient to the Lord. The British, on the contrary, reproduced the model of settlement practiced in their mother land, establishing themselves along the ports of their colonies.

These two realities alone already demarcate differences. As colonizer, Portugal, penetrated the colonized territory, establishing a relationship with the indigenous peoples, while the British kept a distance by not entering the colonized territory, which inevitably created barriers in contact.

There is yet another reason to support the theory of Portuguese colonization having been different, which is that there is a relational imbalance between the colonizer, a small coastal country, and the excess of colonized. Subject to recent discussion, there are historical lines that point to the hypothesis that Portugal may have discovered some of its colonies by chance and may not have had a plan of the trade route outlined from the outset, which points to the notion of the process of discovery as an adventure without specific purpose and seen just as desire for expansion and liberation. Now, English colonization was carried out with the specific purpose of commerce. Thus, there may have been, from the outset, different assumptions, which inevitably would and came to produce different outcomes.

Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, in his book *Roots of Brazil* (1995:109) stresses the Portuguese colonialist unpretentiousness by stating:

“Routine rather than abstract reason was the principle that guided the Portuguese, in this as in so many other expressions of their colonizing activity. They preferred to act through successive experiences, not always coordinated with each other, than design a plan beforehand and following it to the end. Rare were establishments founded by them in Brazil that have not changed place one, two or more times, and the presence of the classic old village next to certain urban centers of colonial origin is the persistent witness of this groping and wasteful attitude. “

We can therefore assume that identity and difference are never innocent, opening the way for reflection on power relations existing both in identity and in difference and it is through them that boundaries are demarcated, that one includes or excludes. From this analysis, we can further strengthen the theory that the Portuguese colonization may have distinguished itself by deriving from a stark identity and, also, by not making use of a totalitarian imperial force.

As stated by Boaventura Sousa Santos, “in post-colonial studies the colonizer always arises as a

sovereign subject, the metaphorical incarnation of the empire. Now, for the Portuguese colonialism that cannot simply be assumed. Only for a short period – from the end of nineteenth century in Africa – did the colonizer embody the empire, and still he did so in very selective circumstances. Apart from that, he only represents himself. It is a self-empire, and as such, as free for maximum excess as for maximum defect of colonization. But precisely because this imperial identity is not granted by anyone but him, he is indeed as devoid of sovereignty and the colonized. Therefore, authority does not exist beyond the power or negotiation possible to mobilize in the meeting zone.” (Santos, 2003: 28).

We may conclude, therefore, that at certain times and because it had been colonized, the now colonizer is, sometimes, in a position more of emigrant than of colonist: “Contrary to Anglo-Saxon post-colonialism, there is no other: there are two that neither come together nor separate, but only interfere with each other’s impact of the identity of the colonized and colonizer” (Santos, 2003: 27).

In a sometimes mistaken reading of this Portuguese colonizing style, Gilberto Freyre, father of the Luso-tropicalista theory, argues that men’s love for women and the father’s love for his child, above prejudices of color, race and class, gave miscegenation in Lusitanian settlement areas a more human and more Christian slant, having allowed for intense movement and sweetened the hardships of the slave labor system (Freyre in Castelo, 2011:265).

Now, this is a deeply lyrical discourse regarding the Portuguese people, and it is precisely at this point that Freyre is mistaken, by weaving a speech that glorifies Lusitanian people, allowing for the appropriation of Luso-tropicalism by Estado Novo. From the 50s, the Portuguese government was interested in spreading Luso-tropicalism as scientific theory and argument to justify their permanence, mainly in African and Asian territories.

However, in the context of Luso-tropical theory, there are significant aspects that should be highlighted, such as the natural flair for miscegenation and interpenetration of values and customs: “Freyre argues that the Moorish method of ‘peaceful conquest’ of peoples, races, and cultures was assimilated by the Portuguese and put at the service of Christian expansion in the tropics. The Portuguese, like the Mohammedan, excelled not only by racial mixing, but also by ecological (to climate and physical environment) and sociocultural (to social environment and values and customs) adaptability. The specificity of the relationships established by the Portuguese with the peoples of the tropics would have followed, therefore, a model learned from the Moors and different from the one adopted by northern Europeans” (Castelo, 2011: 268).

In short; “Today it tends to be consensual that miscegenation was precisely the ‘Portuguese exception’ in European colonialism, though also is consensual that Portuguese colonialism was not the only one to practice it” (Santos, 2003: 39-40).

3. Music as Practice of Cultural Miscegenation

Bhabha (2008) considers crucial “to distinguish between the similarity and the similitude of symbols across diverse cultural experiences - literature, art, music, rituals, life, death - and the social specificity of each of these productions, since they circulate as signs within specific contextual locations and social systems of values. (...) The transnational dimension of cultural transformation – migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation – turns the process of cultural translation into a complex form of signification. (Bhabha, 2008: 241)

To talk about music is to talk about a language that is universal and unifying of peoples. We could argue, with Ana Flávia Miguel, that “music and musical legacy emerge as the one and only point of interest that unites the people of the world (Miguel, 2010: 146).”

Therefore, it is our objective to realize that, regarding music, it makes sense to see colonizing

Portugal through some aspects referred by Luso-tropicalism theory. When we think of Portuguese music, the first form that comes to our mind is *Fado*, known worldwide as ‘the’ Portuguese music. However, we can go beyond that and remember that *choro*, *samba*, *morna*, *coladeira* and traditional Hawaiian music are also Portuguese or at least have their strongest roots in Portuguese music.

The Portuguese have been, indeed, a people given to conviviality, sharing, exchange and that is evident in the influences of all colonized peoples in the very own music we did and do in Portugal. As an example, there is the work of Portuguese singer-songwriter Zeca Afonso, in the twentieth century, which portrays influences from many different styles, stemmed from the former colonies, and that, in turn, came to influence all subsequent generations of Portuguese musicians.

The truth is that, in history, Portuguese music goes far beyond *Fado*, having its expression in folklore, especially through the smallest stringed tuning instrument –the *cavaquinho*. The history of *cavaquinho* demonstrates that music is a universal language that allows for privileged communication sharing (Miguel, 2010), which is not achieved very often with other aspects of culture. Moreover, the adaptability of the Portuguese facilitated this expression and expansion, as they crossed oceans and fostered unity in living with the community, and the *cavaquinho* went along with them.

4. The *Cavaquinho*: A history of Cultural Contamination

The *cavaquinho* is a small, stringed instrument originating from the North Portugal, more specifically Braga, where in its early days it was called *Braguinha*. This instrument, being small and having musical accompaniment as its main characteristic, was able to be easily carried anywhere and promote the joy of all. Because it is a pleated corded instrument, it serves both as harmonic basis and as simple rhythmic accompaniment to popular songs (*chula*, *malhão*, *vira*, etc.). *Cavaquinho* has only four strings, which can have nine different tunings. It serves mainly as accompaniment, but can easily be a soloist.

Due to the fact that it is such a small instrument, it spread across world, and it is unknown when this process began. It is known, however, that the *cavaquinho* was already in Brazil as a major instrument of Brazilian popular music, especially in *modinhas* and *lundu*, before 1808, when the royal family arrived in Brazil.

The *cavaquinho* was a secondary tool in music until the emergence, around the same year (1808), of a type of music called *chorinho*. *Chorinho* is a type of instrumental music comprised by *cavaquinho*, guitar or *violão* and flute and is characterized by its melancholic tune, which many say has its origins in Portuguese sentimentality. With the *chorinho*, *cavaquinho* went on to play a similar role to that of the other instruments, stepping out from its characteristic place as secondary instrument. However, *cavaquinho*’s ex-libris was yet to come. This happens in the first decade of the twentieth century, when it becomes the pillar of what we now know as *samba* and which is known as a Brazilian mark.

As stated by Henrique Cazes, “in order for Samba to be good, it has to have *cavaquinho* ... that’s why *samba* without *cavaquinho* is not taking off (Cazes, 2011).”

The *cavaquinho* has traveled the world, from Portugal, to Brazil, to Cape Verde and Hawaii, and over time underwent some changes so that people could take full advantage of the instrument, adjusting its manufacture to materials (mainly wood) available at each place. An interesting characteristic of this instrument is that, despite being the same, and manifesting with the same importance in different cultures, it may sound completely differently if heard in different countries and in different cultures. In Cape Verde, *cavaquinho* has gained a sound much closer to the Portuguese guitar, and plays an accompanying part to the guitar, as if it was a dance – a well danced *morna* between

cavaquinho and guitar.

It is rather disturbing that, faced with a basic instrument that seems to be quite limited, we can see how it can be so many things and sound so different, depending only on the type of miscegenation it was subject to. Another story of the *cavaquinho* is that which refers to the fact that it came to be called Ukelele in Hawaii. The story goes that the *cavaquinho* came to Hawaii led by a group of Portuguese, over four hundred people who, after four months of traveling, made port in Hawaii in 1879. As good Portuguese will do, they needed to celebrate this feat (such a long and successful journey) and made a great feast where, among other instruments, there was the *cavaquinho*. The instrument was so well received by local population, including the Hawaiian royal family, that it became one of the symbols of Hawaii, changing its name to ukelele, meaning “jumping flea”, a name inspired by the technique of playing the instrument wherein the left hand is always moving up the arm, thus producing notes or chords.

In short, music and the elements that produce it, among which are instruments, are no more than a vehicle for the search for identity, and *cavaquinho* is an example of this. The same instrument, travelling from a single country, spread throughout the four corners of the world and became a symbol of identity for other cultures and nations, who welcomed it as a link of identity unity.

5. *Cavaquinho*: A Metaphor of Portuguese Miscigenation

The curious part in *cavaquinho*'s history is that it travels from Portugal to the world as a “wood chip” (in Portuguese, “cavaco”, hence the name *cavaquinho*), made from a piece of wood with 4 strings to be played specifically in Portuguese folklore, and, after several centuries, renewed itself with technical evolution and adaptation to each people's music and identity, and returned to Portugal to be built, in part, with Brazilian and Indian woods.

The *cavaquinho* can indeed be seen as a metaphor for Portuguese miscegenation, reiterating the importance that music can have on the history of cultures and peoples. As Ana Flávia Miguel states, “music and musical legacy emerge as the one and only point of interest that unites the people of the world (Miguel, 2010:146).”

Indeed, music is the quintessential language, universally known. Through musical performance, one does not only share feelings and experiences, but also exposes what is part of him, and thus it is evident that the difference is also shared with others, in cooperation without appropriation. In the words of Ana Miguel, we agree that “music does indeed allow privileged communication sharing, which other aspects of culture do not (Miguel 2010:147)”

We can therefore conclude that what music and identity have in common is the performativity and that sharing occurs in the act of performance; hence, music also makes it possible to become aware of what differentiates us from one another, and this identification of differences is what allows us to know ourselves as a people.

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Episode 4: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GIgAUHzmEiQ>



SESSION 15

IDENTITIES AND
REPRESENTATIONS IN
COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS 1

Abstract: Taking Soyinka’s latest writings onto account it is easy to see that contemporary multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural African nation-state has become a failure.

Most governments have been unstable owing to ethnic competitions for political power and economic advantages. Laws have been outlawed because of corruption and there is no learning to be had in the educational institutions whose infrastructure has decayed.

Taking Nigeria as an example because it is Soyinka’s home country, we understand that there the basis for the struggle against British imperialism was not one Nigerian nation. Rather, the ‘struggle’ was waged on the basis of liberal ideals of self-determination, freedom of organization and the scrambled pan-African ideals of anti-racism, and anti-imperialism. The succession of dictatorships – civilian or military, malevolent or benevolent, competent or incompetent made it impossible to discuss the concepts which should underlie the new nation. It is only recently through national conferences taking place in different parts of the continent that serious thought is now being given to the idea of the nation in its multi-ethnicity, multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism.

What we intend to show in this paper is how Soyinka’s plays assert that for Africa to reform and renew itself, it must borrow from the experiences of the rest of the world.¹

Keywords: Post-Colonialism; cultural identities;

Wole Soyinka is ineluctably one of Africa’s great writers who have relentlessly focused on the social predicament of the continent. Through his fictional and non-fictional writings, discussions and actions he ranks as “one of the African continent’s most vigorous fighters for social justice and most effective campaigners against human rights violations and abuses” (JEYIFO, 2001: xvi). His writings bear the ineradicable stamp of reformative social consciousness and patriotic zeal. Exploiting whatever medium at his disposal – drama, film, essay, novel, symposium, television, interview, radio – he has unsparingly lashed at the high and mighty and inevitably incurred the wrath of sundry personalities and institutions, resulting in frequent harassment, exile and incarceration. Yet Soyinka remains perilously undaunted. Femi Osofisan catalogues amongst the victims of his vitriolic criticism:

(...) the rogues and predators (...) the inept and corrupt

¹ “This article was financially supported by the FCT - funded project PEst-OE/EGE/UI4056/2014 of the Unidade de Investigação para o Desenvolvimento do Interior of the Polytechnic Institute of Guarda, for which we are most grateful.”

Post-colonial identities: multi-lingual, multiethnic and multi-cultural

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politicians, the mimick men in uniform, the bribe-taking and indolent bureaucrats the shallow, pretentious professors, and others, the whole gallery of our thieving myopic, and “follow-follow” elite class. (1988:87)

In every respect Soyinka’s crusade has indeed been for a stable and equitable society where the rights and privileges of the populace, especially the underprivileged, are guaranteed and social and human infrastructures function optimally. Onnokome Okome observes that his art is “the art of his people, the struggle of the downtrodden, the *other* voice of reason, the conscience of a wayward political entity” (2001:59).

In Nigeria, which obviously is the immediate context of Soyinka’s literary and critical interest, the African predicament is classic. The colonial bequeathal of geographical and political dislocations has left the country floundering hopelessly in the void of political and social afflictions. For over four decades of political independence the country still searches for a meaningful political institution which would guarantee a decent social order. Indiscipline, tyranny, injustice, starvation, political killings, human rights violations, moral decadence, lawlessness, crime, election malpractices, religious intolerance, and only one major civil war *yet*, mark the social history of the country.

According to Kole Omotoso the idea of a contemporary multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural African nation-state has no existing example to follow. For three decades the example of the Soviet Union of Socialist States as well as Yugoslavia were attractive models for many African political and intellectual leaders. Unfortunately these nation-states did not create, according to the words of Raymond Williams

Major central institutions, government, law, learning, religion and literature – which lead to the emergence of a reasonably common language among men drawn from various parts of the region to take part in these central activities. (1961: 240)

Thus by the time the Soviet Union and the Yugoslavia federation broke up into their various ethnic nationalities and sectional concerns, the failure of the African nation-state had become obvious. Most governments had been unstable owing to ethnic competitions for political power and economic advantages. Laws had been outlawed because of corruption and there was no learning to be had in the educational institutions whose infrastructure had decayed. The failure of the nation-state to be responsible for all citizens led individuals to seek protection under the still surviving ethnic structures of their particular nationalities. Labelling the “struggle” against British imperialism as “nationalist” needs to be questioned. For example the basis for the struggle in Nigeria was not one Nigerian nation as it is stated by Kole Omotoso. Rather, he proceeds, the “struggle” was waged on the basis of liberal ideals of self-determination, freedom of organisation and the scramble pan-African ideals of anti-racism, and anti-imperialism. At no time during the “struggle” was any serious thought given to the idea and the nature of the Nigeria to be established (1996: 56).

The succession of dictatorships – civilian or military, malevolent or benevolent, competent or incompetent – made it impossible to discuss the concepts which should underlie the new nation. It is only recently through national conferences taking place in different parts of the continent that serious thought is now being given to the idea of the nation in its multi-ethnicity, multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism. Still according to Omotoso the failure of the nation-state is best demonstrated in the failure of the countries of Africa to produce a middle class cutting across ethnic and language boundaries. The struggle for independence against British imperialism had co-opted the struggle of the workers for a decent wage. But independence was handed over to the educated elite in the words of Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first Nigerian President and Head of State “on a platter of gold”. After independence the plight of the workers was forgotten by the educated elite. Nothing was done about the rural population. Corruption destroyed the meagre infrastructure that the British left behind.

Within six years Nigeria was engaged in a civil war for its survival.

War is the most violent expression of man's destructive proclivities. Soyinka witnessed first hand the destruction of human lives and property that are byproducts of war, and was profoundly and permanently affected by his experience. He was imprisoned for eighteen months, fifteen of these in solitary confinement during the Nigerian civil war. But the experience was made all the more painful because he had foreseen and sounded the warnings of war years before the actuality. The Three Triplets in the play *A Dance of the Forests* (1960), for example, prophesied doom and fratricidal fighting as the *sine qua non* of the new nations.

He saw war as major testimony of man's innate predilection towards the actualization of his tragic destiny, and corroboration of the repetitive, cyclical nature of human history. His articulation of this repetitive cyclical concept of human destiny reflects the significant influence of Nietzsche's *Ewige Wiederkehr* in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, where all life is perceived in terms of a pattern of birth and decay, ebb and flow, integration and disintegration, drought and rain, exhaustion and rejuvenation.² In that philosophical treatise, Nietzsche asserts that the conflicting tension of opposites is predicated on man's hubristic infractions on nature which, in response, engender nature's countering contingency measures for the reassertion of her wholeness. Through *ewige wiederkehr*, we come face to face with the gravity of our insignificance in the grand scheme of things, with the reality that this present life is just an infinitesimal pause in the endless return of the forces that constitute and define us.

The fact of war confirmed Soyinka's belief in the cyclical movement of all life, and in an apocalyptic vision of the history of man, of his irrevocably tragic destiny. The Nigerian Civil War was the long expected justification of the predictions of doom and cataclysm in the earlier plays; the war provided an immediate frame of reference for the disturbed apprehension of the African situation, to which he had given expression in his previous writings, especially in the progression along the line of vision which connects *A Dance of the Forests* (1960) with *Kongi's Harvest* (1967).³ The first rumblings of the civil war, the massacres of Igbos in Northern and West Nigeria, saw him trying to force awareness of the cataclysmic consequences of war on all sides concerned. These attempts led to his detention and subsequent imprisonment from 1967 to 1969. He paid the same price for confronting "leadership" with the reality of its intentions as the Warrior in *A Dance of the Forests*, and as does the Old man in *Madmen and Specialists*. Dr. Bero is the "Specialist" in Soyinka's play. He had participated actively in a war, but now returns home severely wounded, psychologically. The tag, "Specialist", defines both his pre-war and post-war activities. Before the war, the due diligence he exercised as he performed his medical duties had, as the priest infers, marked him out as a specialist in his own field. War, however, affected him profoundly to the point where it led to a turning point in his attitude towards his profession. His responsibilities as head of Intelligence Service in the Army had confronted him with humans' ingrained tendency towards accommodating, and even rationalizing, brutality to fellow humans. Service in Army Intelligence confronts him with absolute power, with the aphrodisiac that corrupts absolutely; it leads to his resolve to achieve absolute power and control over human destiny: "Control, sister, control. Power comes from bending nature to your will. – The specialist they called me, and a specialist is, - well a specialist. You analyze, you diagnose, you – [*He aims an imaginary gun*] – prescribe." (*Madmen and Specialists*, CP II, p.237)

African leadership has invariably been characterized by a preponderance of Dr.Beros, each drunk with a sense of importance, to the point of co-opting their nation-states as their own personal

² Friedrich Nietzsche, "Thus Spake Zarathustra", in *The Basic Writings of Friedrich Nietzsche*, trans. and ed. by Walter Kaufman (New York: The Modern Library, 1968), p.362.

³ Abiola Irele, "The Season of a Mind: Wole Soyinka and the Nigerian Crisis", *The African Experience in Literature and Ideology* (London: Heinemann, 1981), p.200.

properties, divinely given, instituting their own systems of governance and brutally quashing any form of dissent.

Madmen and Specialists, the first play of Soyinka's post-incarceration period, marks a crucial turning point in his dramaturgy; in language, characterization and dramatic action, it seems to be Soyinka's own "flower of evil" in its frenetic literalization of the explosive and strategic anti-aesthetic which the Nigerian dramatist had called for in the very first long interview that he gave after his release from prison:

(...) a book, if necessary, should be a hammer, a hand grenade which you detonate under a stagnant way of looking at the world ... we haven't begun actually using words to punch holes inside of people ... But let's do our best to use words and style, when we have the opportunity, to arrest the ears of normally complacent people; we must make sure we explode something inside them which is a parallel of the sordidness which they ignore outside.⁴

Madmen and Specialists occupies a special place in the evolution of Soyinka's dramaturgy, not only because of the ferocious wit and bitter social commentary which it deploys, but also for the important fact that it took these elements to new directions by deploying them as mechanisms for extensive and deliberate de-formations of language, form and style. In subsequent plays such as *Opera Wonyosi*, *From Zia with Love* and *The Beatification of Area Boy*, Soyinka would attempt a reprise of this deliberate and artful linguistic and formalistic implosion to depict and at the same time challenge the deepening political crises in postcolonial Africa and the uncertainty, fear and hardship that these crises imposed both on sensitive individuals among the elites and the vast majority of entire populations. This particular artistic response by Soyinka became more perceptible as climates of uncertainty gave way to regimes based on terror and the fomenting of small and large bloodbaths to consolidate and perpetuate tyrannical military and civilian autocracies.⁵

This woeful picture is perennial not because of a death of socially conscious voices, such as Soyinka's, but because these voices have consistently failed to pierce the concrete deafness of the institutions that be. *From Zia with Love* is yet another volume from these voices. With this play, published six years after the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Soyinka displays his typical hand in caustic social and political criticism.

The event on which Soyinka based *From Zia with Love*, his most ferocious satire to date on military dictatorship in Nigeria, took place on April 10, 1985. On that day, three condemned drug traffickers, Bernard Ogedengbe, Bartholomew Owoh and Lawal Ojulope, were executed by a military firing squad in Lagos. These men, all in their twenties, had been condemned to death under the so-called Miscellaneous Offenses Decree of 1984, otherwise known as Decree 20 and generally considered one of the most heinous decrees ever promulgated by any Nigerian military regime. By the time the execution took place, the regime of Generals Buhari and Idiagbon was already sixteen months in power; and it had clearly established itself as an arrogantly repressive and self-righteously authoritarian military dictatorship. And yet, the whole country was profoundly shaken by the execution of these three young men. Prior to this event, nobody had ever been condemned to death, let alone executed for drug peddling in Nigeria. Also "Decree 20" outraged most Nigerians by its being made retroactive to offenses committed before the promulgation of the decree. Thus, most Nigerians expected that the death sentences on these men would either be commuted to life imprisonment or reduced to a long prison term.

4 "Interview with John Agetua" in Biodun Jeyifo (ed.) *Conversations with Wole Soyinka* (MI: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 37-38.

5 See Immanuel Wallerstein, *Africa and the Politics of Unity: An Analysis of a Contemporary Social Movement* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969).

The scope of the expression of outrage which greeted this event was up till then totally unprecedented in the history of military rule in Nigeria. A former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the country described the execution of the men as “judicial murder”. Equally strong condemnations were made by influential public figures like the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lagos, the Patriarch of the Methodist Church of Nigeria, the President of the Nigerian Labour Congress, and leaders of scores of professional associations, traders’ and market women’s organizations and students’ unions. But one of the most bitterly outraged statements of condemnation was issued by Soyinka in a one-page tersely-worded statement titled “Death by Retroaction”. Soyinka concluded this document with the following ringing condemnation:

How can one believe that such an act could be seriously contemplated? I feel as if I have been compelled to participate in triple cold-blooded murders, that I have been forced to witness a sordid ritual ... I think, that finally, I have nothing more to say to a regime that bears responsibility for this.”⁶

In view of the characters, the dramatic action and the performance idioms which give the play *From Zia with Love* its frenetic energy, it would appear that if Soyinka had nothing more to say to the Buhari-Idiagbon regime on this event of April 10, 1985, he did have a lot more to say *about* the regime to the country and the world at large in the medium of drama and in a form which both reflects and artistically transmutes the outrage which the event generated. For, in the play, the characters representing the three condemned men, by an ingeniously parodic twist, find that the prison to which they’ve been brought is under the suzerainty of a “ministerial cabinet” comprising the most hardened criminals who regale the rest of the prison population with chillingly convincing mimicry of the military junta which has sent the three men to prison to await their execution. Thus, the prison reflects the nation which in turn reflects the prison.

In the world of the play, the prison becomes a mirror for viewing the rest of our society. Various administrative structures like the local government system, state cabinets, Eternal Ruling Council are set up to reflect the society from which the play derives. In this world of the prison, we see an adept manipulation of characters and circumstances in such a way as to establish the eternal madness of our rulers and their cohorts. For instance, Miguel Domingo, Detiba and Emuke are sent to prison. Their cases are pending before the judiciary. But this notwithstanding, they are sandwiched among dare-devil criminals who give them their first lessons in prison. It is not only that they were put in the wrong cell and given rough initiations by the inmates, but that they are made to undergo sordid experiences with the prison officials who are no better than the prisoners themselves. Of course, the climax comes when they are executed without interrogation.

The military administration depicted in *From Zia with Love* is not only truly representative of the despotic rule of the Zia of Pakistan, but finds parallel in the *militocracy* in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. The Cabinet session does not differ from modern military Cabinets. The responsibility of the security director, for instance, is waved aside and he is told:

Security means only one thing – counter subversion, counter subversive talks, counter rumour mongery, counter incitement to subversion ... (*From Zia*, 8)

This is a clear demonstration of the warped philosophy of the military. There is no respect for the rule of law or natural justice. This is of course without prejudice to the fact that those being crushed may not even have been given a fair hearing. This injustice is possible because the military class has found itself in power only on account of the barrel of the gun. They do not understand what their jobs

6 *Ibidem*

and responsibilities should be. They insist on the observation of full military protocol:

No matter what style we are operating, you must address ... with due respect and full protocol (*From Zia*, 16)

Full protocol does not just mean military obedience. It goes beyond this. It encapsulates the whole process of human torture and degradation which the civil society is subjected to. This is the bane of postcolonial African states. In this play, in particular, Soyinka restates, through coherent dramatic enactments, the deepening crises of the Nigerian society. Through this basic concern, Soyinka provides universal postulations about dictatorship, the collapse of civil society, the evaporation of state power, and the ascension of crime and charlatanism. These features of anarchy create a singularly memorable sense of despair, point to man's capacity for destructiveness, and raise serious doubts about the capacity of Africa to rescue itself from the shackles of under-development.

Soyinka recognizes that whatever has happened and is happening in Africa has happened before in the past and in other places. Furthermore, it follows that for Africa to reform and renew itself, it must borrow from the experiences of the rest of the world. To what is borrowed will be added whatever can be retrieved from Africa's past, especially that past before the encounter with Europe to achieve a renaissance of Africa. Any African who accepts this position could not consider the encounter between Africa and Europe as totally negative.

Wole Soyinka has always lived on the seam of two worlds, the new world of western education and the old world of African tradition and whoever wants to interpret such writers must understand the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural background from which they spring: western European, British, African, Nigerian, Yoruba and so on and so forth in all their complexities and multiplicities. African writers are not simply the renaissance men and women they have often been called. They are today the most eligible citizens of the global village. They speak various international languages, they are aware of various world cultures and as Olunde says in the play *Death and the King's Horseman*:

I know now how history is made. (*DKH*, 54).

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Abstract: This paper summarizes one of the methodological practices employed in the cartographic construction of the research titled *AFFECTING AND AFFECTED: An inventive epistemological cartography with the first researchers - and their scriptures – of the Doctoral Program in Cultural Studies from the Universities of Aveiro and Minho (Portugal) procured by an Amazonian (Brazil) artist-researcher*. It must be assumed that there was a methodological framework running directly parallel to field practice and in the fabulation of data; influencing the researcher’s empirical experience, the future glimpse of the writing of the final essay, and specifically addressing the “staging” of the *bioculturographies* of the first researchers (the affecting) and their scriptures (the affected) of the Doctoral Program in Cultural Studies from the Universities of Aveiro and Minho in Portugal. The author of this cartography is an Amazonian artist-researcher, more locally, of the city of Belém do Pará, in the eastern Brazilian Amazon. This artist-researcher is currently (in between) a provoked procuring and procuring to provoke a kind of intervention-research in gnosis of this fabulation (the fallible relationship between subject/object). The proposed methodology configures itself as an Inventive Cartography based, occasionally, on the Four Varieties of Vision for the Cartographer by Virginia Kastrup and bound by intermittent connections with the conceptual series that compose the rhizome and the fabulation of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari .

Keywords: cultural studies; inventive cartography; affecting; affecteded; gnosis.

To make cartography is to invent playful approaches and go for the embrace

As the theater artist-researcher that I am, I step into character as a cartographer - among the many *personas in pelle* that can be assumed. It is this epistemological mask that organizes the methodological construction within the empirical research, the housing of the locus, in understanding the subjects and the activation of my investigative problematization.

I dialogue with myself:

- Who are they?
- Who?
- THEM! The PhD students in Cultural Studies?
- Hm, you should ask, how are THEY?
- You got what I meant!

Searching for the decolonization of research methods: how does one rehearse to be a Ph.D. in cultural studies?

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- Actually, you should ask how are the first PhD students in Cultural Studies in the Universities of Aveiro and Minho?
- Right! How are they?
- Who, those who rehearse to be doctors?
- What!? They rehearse to be doctors?
- Yes, and why not?

The reference.

I processed my methodological construction into four varieties of attention according to Kastrup: the **screening**, which involved knowing who was enrolled in the Doctoral Program's first class (2010). I wanted to know where they lived, how to communicate with them and what would be their availability to participate in the research, via interviews, i.e. I made a "*gesture of scanning the field. You could say that the scanning attention is aimed at a kind of goal or moving target. For the cartographer, what's important is the location of tracks, of signs of processuality*" (KASTRUP, 2011, p 40); the **touch**, which meant that I met with each of them, in places that they agreed to receive me. Sometimes at work, or in a cafe in their cities, but never in their homes. Some preferred to come to me, to my house, i.e. leaving room for something to gain "*importance in the development of a field research (...) [revealing] that it has multiple ways in and does not follow a one-way path to reach a specific purpose.*" (KASTRUP, 2011, p 43); the **landing** will be a look into the testimonials of each one of the students – it is for the future, beyond the time of this paper. I will organize the data by blocks of sensations, revealing my affections and percepts in constantly fabulation, i.e., the "*gesture that indicates that perception, whether visual, auditory or otherwise, performs a stop and the field closes in, in a sort of zoom. A new territory is formed, the field of observation is reconfigured. The scale of attention changes*"(KASTRUP, 2011, p 43); and the **attentive recognition** that will bring to the research a writing that is implicated by the minimal life lived with the current Portuguese PhD students in Cultural Studies (we have lived minimal live moments full of life, and they, life), i.e. "*what we do when we are attracted by something that requires our attention to lands there and demands the reconfiguration of the territory of observation? If we ask "what is this? We've left suspension and returned to the regime of recognition"*" (KASTRUP, 2011, p. 44).

Communicating ways of doing

For this paper, I have delved more into the second movement, the **touch**, which within this research meant considering the PhD as a heroic adventure and the PhD students as heroes and heroines. To reach out to each one of the rehearsing subjects (28 PhD students interviewed from a *corpus* of 40) and to live, with each of them, adventurous inter-views. Yes, admittedly so, I do write **inter-views!** Searching amongst our ways of thinking.

Inside me, I ask:

- How are they?
- Those who research?
- Yes. How do they live this heroic adventure that is rehearsing to be a PhD?
- Heroic adventure? What heroes are we talking about, man?

A Heroic Adventure

For our interviews, triggering questions were devised by me.

I considered the utopian context of the doctoral program as a heroic adventure, i.e., each student as hero and heroine in an adventure of knowledge. And then I had the intuition to elaborate my **touch**.

I was completely under the influence of Joseph Campbell, American mythologist who rebuilt what he called Trajectory of the Mythological Hero. He proposed a structure through narrative steps. Campbell's work wasn't based only on the Greek foundation, but gathered exponent traits from different cultural mythologies. The work by Joseph Campbell that inspired this research was the book called *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. This work was published in 1949, and defended the thesis that in every story there is a hero and his narrative revolves around heroic adventures. The narrative consists of a series of events - twelve in total – that demonstrate that the central character is a hero.

For the current research, I have developed a script, more or less analogous to Campbell's. I have adapted it to the studied reality - and to the artistic\cultural universe that is my basis, theater – in the perspective of building what I call *bioculturography* in my research. Despite only working with some of the narrative steps proposed by Campbell, they were enough for the issue on focus - the exercise of making oneself into a PhD in Cultural Studies in Portugal.

The Script for the Inter-view.

Steps that I proposed for the object in question:

- **Everyday**: The hero is presented in his day-to-day life. His space of birth and the inhabitants of these spaces. Their life course and education.

- **Call to adventure**: The hero's routine needs to be broken by something. The breast of our hero cries, whether utopian or materially, for something. How and why he decides to enroll in the doctoral program, his expectations.

- **Refusal of the call**: Even having felt the call, the hero may prefer to continue on with his life as it is, or already senses what expects him and thinks: do I have the strength to face it?

- **The Crossing of the First Threshold**: The hero's crossing into in a new world, the Cultural Studies program. Meeting the class, the contents, the professors, the organization of the course, etc.

- **Trials, allies and enemies**: The heroes face the first small tests (the tasks of the subjects) and face the big test (preparation of the research project to be defended in public - its objectives, methodology, theoretical frameworks etc.).

Stop everything! There must always be time to play.

I want to make a pause in the script, or perhaps a line of flight. Before the end of this step, it is possible to propose a game with the hero-collocutor, stemming from an important issue for me and for Joseph Campbell: The hero is never alone in an adventure; who accompanies the hero; who are his allies and who are his enemies. At this stage it is important to clarify the person being interviewed that the characters that will be called to scene can represent people, things, situations, inside or outside each one of them. The characters are: the mentor, the guardian, the allies, the turncoat, the enemy, the opponents, the buffoon and the villain. The interviewer that follows this script may ask: Who is your mentor in the doctoral program? Who plays the role of guardian for you while you do your PhD? Who are your allies ... And so on.

Back to the script.

- **The Deep Cave** : The hero removes himself from the everyday world. He is alone. It's time to

organize his weapons, to form strategies, to build tactics. It's time to find the most current publications on his theme, his object; it is time to read a lot, to make conceptual choices, to gain meanings and directions; it's time to find methodological frameworks, to prepare research instruments, to go to the field, to face his subjects; it's time to have a glimpse of the processes for data organization and analysis. Writing time is close, but not yet. But it must be rehearsed at every step.

- **Maximum Ordeal:** The hero so full of ideas now needs to write, to face the blank page, the computer screen. He needs to scribble and share his writing with his supervisor. It must be, there is no escape, time is short.

- **Achievement of the reward:** After finishing writing, obtaining approval from the supervisors, the hero prepares himself and does his public. There is the reward of rest after the battle. The thesis is completed and the hero can return to day-to-day life. Victory!

- **The way back\ the transformation:** The hero comes back changed. Now he communicates his deeds, he finds his listeners. He may prepare others for heroic adventures.

An endless end.

I like to think that this method of interviewing under the influence of the hero myth - its trajectory - has very much helped me to grasp, in the future, a better organization of the produced data, whose source is the interviews themselves. "Forming" with data and not data "information". Forming by blocks of fabulation. I wish to ease the subsequent stages of research (description and analysis of data).

To report this methodological procedure, fundamental in my empirical process- built with 17 women and 11 men - is to contribute to the academic development of culture and art. Dimension of creation. To respond to the desire of fictionalizing the lives of the subjects of knowledge, they who are creators of worlds.

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Abstract: In the fields of struggles that pervade contemporary cultural criticism, Paulo Lins is certainly inserted; in an intense debate not about the paths, but about some of the rhythms of this review and the place of speech of subaltern subjects in this debate. Using the author of the novel *Cidade de Deus* (1997), who was also a central debater of the controversies that followed the eponymous film (2002), as well as a debater of pressure fields that crossed these artifacts, which achieved spectacular media and critique receptions, I seek to understand how a black resident of a Rio de Janeiro slum (Cidade de Deus), who was also a literature teacher, an ethnographic research advisor, and a marginal poet, became a subaltern intellectual amid a cultural battle around places of testimony and political and cultural artifacts produced by Brazilian peripheries.

Keywords: Paulo Lins; Cidade de Deus; intellectual; places of speech; subordination

The issue of representation, again

The first edition, in 1997; the film's release in 2002; the second edition, revised by the author, which appeared on the market in the same year; and throughout all this trajectory, the academic field of social sciences and humanities have taken a position before him; as well as forms and appetites that several social actors positioned themselves in relation to not only these artifacts, but also in relation to the criticism and adulation these same artifacts have received. These certainly are indices that can historically provisionally demarcate when and where the movements of *Cidade de Deus* existed. Understanding some of the critical implications produced by this artifact, its fluctuations, changes of pace, readings, are certainly my intention here.

I try to understand why a book - and then a movie - released by a completely unknown name by the media reached absolutely rare levels of discussion in the Brazilian critics. It has shaken the media, both literary and film critique, the social sciences' field, the social movements, the population of Cidade de Deus itself, residents and activists of social projects from other Rio Janeiro slums; in short, a range of social actors who composed the *spectacular* effect of this artifact.

Observing, therefore, some of the circulations and negotiations that followed this artifact will be my endeavor, and not decrypting it, which is an utterly diverse task. I do hope to understand the representational practices that discursively involved him.

[...] A given representation is not only a reflection or product of

The subaltern intellectual's places of speech: Paulo Lins and *Cidade de Deus* in contact zones

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social relations, but also a social relation itself, linked to the understanding of the group, to the hierarchies, to the resistances and conflicts in other spheres of culture in which it circulates. Ie, representations are not only products, are also producers and are able to decisively change the very forces that give them birth” (Greenblatt, 1996:23).] (free translation)

1. Disputes of places of speech

Pablo Neruda, in *Canto General*, seeks to produce a synecdoche in the latter part of his poem “The Heights of Macchu Picchu”, where, under the ruins of the Inca cities decimated by colonization, invites all of the dead to speak for themselves: “Speak through my words and my blood” [*Hablad por mis palabras y mi sangre*]. Neruda refers here to an old Latin American intellectual tradition, in which the critics, the literary critics and the intellectuals think of themselves as those who can - having the right or duty - speak for the oppressed peoples, individuals and groups across the continent. What can be seen in this circumstance, according to Penna (2003:316), is that

I believe these are the illustrative concepts when trying to understand the trajectory of *Cidade de Deus*, its criticism, its author, its uses and appropriations, and the very society that has made it arise. An artifact that has been split and that has incessantly provoked passionate reactions, intense debates, interpretation fights. Artifacts, more than capable of being analyzed in relation to their unique, homogeneous meaning, allow us to see how they have been used and analyzed in many different positions and arguments. The more we want to make sense of the artifact, it symptomatically forces us to make sense of ourselves, through its very appropriations made by us.

[The result is the constitution of a Latin American poetic subject who is configured to grant himself the vocation to be the national voice of the excluded. The criticism related to this process of self-constitution will use the categories of authorship/authorization/authority under which the authorship (of the Latin American subject) takes place only after his authorization as a spokesman of the excluded, which gives him the enunciative authority.] (free translation)

In the critic about the locus of enunciation in Neruda’s poem is, latently, one of the dearest assumptions related to the subaltern critique, which is, in turn, one of the guiding principles of testimonio: who can speak what? on behalf of whom? who speaks and from where it is spoken? to whom it is spoken?

In a text that became a reference for subaltern studies, Spivak (1988) developed an extremely controversial issue, naming his own article: “Can the subaltern speak?”. The answer was even more controversial: no. His argument is based on the finding that the subaltern is subaltern because he cannot adequately be represented by academic knowledge. And it is so because this very academic knowledge is what discursively founds subalternization, creating a reification of this subaltern. Deepening his argument, the Indian critique refers to the Marxian distinction between *Vertretung* and *Darstellung*, thus emphasizing that the issue of representation is not only a matter of “speaking about”, but it also adds a more tense issue, linked to cultural policy, which talks about the possibilities of “speaking for” or “on behalf of” .

Pondering over these issues, it is important to highlight that Paulo Lins has once emphasized that the success of *Cidade de Deus* was related to the “credibility” that he had. He, better than anyone, has been there¹. In an interview, when asked about his intellectual and political role, he was emphatic.

¹ One can thus say that it would happen “here”, as writing a very successful best-seller novel, what Geertz (1984) emblematically called an anthropological “being there”. Paulo Lins has not only lived all his life in *Cidade de Deus* – a neighborhood in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro which starred, in the late 1970s, one of the first major battles involving territory disputes related to drug trafficking, but he

[There's this thing about credibility. It could be the same book with all the words. If it were from an outsider, it would certainly not generate so much controversy. And for sure people from the inside would be much more critical, but they cannot do it because I have authority to speak about this place, because I have lived there. It is based on real events. Just as I have academic authority, because I relied on research. At the University, I argue with everyone, with sociologists, anthropologists, at any time. We may disagree, for sure, but I have that authority because I am from the academy and because I am also from the slum. No one is bringing me down (laughs). (Lins, 2002:166)]. (free translation)

Several issues - and certainly a variable discomfort, related to malaise or even a narcissistic repulsion to certain provocations presented here - may be expressed in Lins's discourse: the perception of who writes and from where. Where can the authority of Lins be located? In which frame of reference can these statements be arranged? Even if these issues deserve a more insightful look, it should be emphasized the very relational nature of the places of speech claimed by Paulo Lins.

Using an insider look – present both in his life trajectory, and also in the naturalistic content expressed in the novel (cf. Schwarz, 1997) - Paulo Lins knew that establishing a relationship with the literary universe would be an arduous task, even if his trajectory had been previously built in accordance to Concrete poetry, via Paul Leminski. But having been there is also a demerit. “I'm black and live in a slum, writing a romance? I could be a Zeca Pagodinho², couldn't I? Writing samba schools' songs and all, but writing a romance? An intellectual product of the elites” (Lins, 2002f:72).

The certainty of being out of place should be interpreted as the need to transform his literature into something subversive, so this disruptive moment shifts him to another place. “Criminality issues, which are all around, and the intention of doing something new; this was the question that interested me. It's a new thing that I cannot define. But I wanted to do something different” (ibid.:72-3). Here lies his subalternity, since it should necessarily affirm the assumption that “the antihistorical, antimodern subject, therefore, cannot speak itself as “theory” within the knowledge procedures of the university even when these knowledge procedures acknowledge and “document” its existence. (Chakrabarty, 1994:360-1).

Hence, Lins's above-mentioned statement has to be contradictorily complementary. It expresses the very ambiguities of various participations, sometimes inside and other times outside the fields of social sciences and literature – it swings his authority through the fields of fiction, of ethnography and the testimonial field. But always seeking to assert himself in the artistic field - “I'm not a sociologist, I'm not an anthropologist, I am involved with film-making, with literature and with poetry “ (Lins, 2001d:123) – that said in a paradigmatic space as the ISER³, a place where one can find the presence of the *established* in the fields of social sciences and anthropology (cf. Elias and Scotson, 1994 and Bourdier, 1996). If these fields seem to be busy all the time – not even in the fields there are *empty spaces* -, these issues obviously refer to the question of the intellectual role Lins can play.

As mentioned on other occasions (Ribeiro, 2000, 2000a and 2005), the unique references portrayed in *Cidade de Deus* – news stories, ethnographic research, its memory and its prose - are not mutually exclusive. Because there is no single indisputable resolution of what really happens and how to narrate it in *Cidade de Deus*, its own ambiguities are revealed as mediations, and its own text is defined by the dispute, within various devices and procedures, of scenarios where it can be traced, without thereby losing its specific language. Therefore, one could even imagine that the place of speech produced by Lins would be a kind of an “unconscious testimony” inserted within Freudian categories, since, according to Felman, it has

has also studied that community from the precepts - and ambiguities - present in the ethnography and fieldwork, as a research assistant for Alba Zaluar when writing her doctoral dissertation, *A máquina e a revolta* (1985).

2 A popular Brazilian samba singer and songwriter.

3 Instituto de Estudos da Religião, an important research institution in the area of social sciences in Rio de Janeiro.

“(...) an incomparable heuristic and investigative value. Psychoanalysis, in this way, profoundly rethinks and radically renews the very concept of the testimony, by submitting, and by recognizing for the first time in the history of culture, that one does not have to possess or own the truth, in order to effectively bear witness to it; that speech as such is unwittingly testimonial; and that the speaking subject constantly bears witness to a truth that nonetheless continues to escape him, a truth that is, essentially, not available to its own speaker” (1992:15).

I.e., the power of this “unconscious testimony” is derived from the fact that it even escapes the subject of the testimony itself, the narrator himself, whoever he is. But escaping does not mean it cannot represent him as an author, nor neutralize the question “*who is speaking?*”.

The most ambitious aim of developing this question is found in a Foucault’s conference *What is an author?* (1994). He finishes his speech raising an extremely puzzling question: “What does it matter who is speaking?” [Qu’importe qui parle], being this principle of indifference one of the pillars of contemporary writing according to this French philosopher (812). This project, continuing a series of questions raised after the publishing of *The Order of Things*, sought to increase the structuralist theme developed in this book about the anti-humanism contained in the problematic of the “death of the subject”. This death of the author/subject is central in Foucault’s analysis, due to the fact that

“this relationship between writing and death is also manifested in the effacement of the writing subject’s individual characteristics. Using all the contrivances that he sets up between himself and what he writes, the writing subject cancels out the signs of his particular individuality. As a result, the mark of the writer is reduced to nothing more than the singularity of his absence; he must assume the role of the dead man in the game of writing.” (793)

The theme of the “death of the author” or of the subject, far from being distant from poststructuralist concerns (cf. Barthes, 1987 and 1987b), cannot account for, due to its own historical contingencies, the resizing of this construction of subject and author, which were immersed in categories such as authorship and authenticity inherited from the Romantics, who they justifiably criticized, to another discussion. This discussion refers to the shift from [(...) the ideology of the subject (as a male, white and middle-classed)] to a dimension that would meet the “[...] production of alternative and different notions of subjectivity (...)], as stated by Huyssen (1991:68-9). Thus, this movement goes to and in the direction of [(...) subjects’ new theories and practices in writing and action], and these experiments are exposed by the [(...) question of the constitution of subjectivity, through codes, texts, images and other cultural artifacts [that] have been increasingly raised as a historical matter] (ibdem). (free translations)

Daniel Mato called attention to the fact that these new practices signaled by Huyssen go toward insurgent possibilities within the Latin American scene, producing dialogues with the human rights movement, feminist struggles or even with the creations and actions generated from the arts. These are [intellectual practices that transgress the boundaries of academia and/or of writing; they either take place ‘outside’ those borders or do it ‘in and out’] (2004:89)] (free translation). The very arielistic centrality of academic practice is, thus, withdrawn: it is not much taken into account the omniscience of intellectuals nor what they regard as culture – literature included (Beverly apud Penna, op. cit: 347; Beverley, 1993; Moreiras, 2001:291). This way, fields of enunciation and experimental political-cultural practices are created, breaking the hegemony of *The Lettered City*⁴, questioning the very relationalities of the places of speech produced by these subjects of enunciation.

In these new places, by no means certainties are produced, but *another* truth. It can be argued,

4 The Lettered City is a classic in Spanish American literature, written by Angel Rama (1985). In it, the Uruguayan emphasizes continuity between the colonial and contemporary America, from the political and moral leadership that writers occupy.

here, if this intellectual function would not be crossed by the dilemma that pervades the suggestive “The ethnographer”, from Borges (1996): isn't this subject of enunciation eternally doomed to the constant motion of seeking mediation between different culture and social spaces, and not being able to, or not even having the power to, translate these demands into common vocabulary and knowledges?

In these “contact zones”⁵, there seems not to be, following Borges' parable suggestion, an Esperanto that would be able to level again the speeches of the conqueror and the conquered, the colonizer and the colonized, the dominant and the dominated. His own silence, at the end of the text, seems to indicate that he is in the void not by choice, but rather because it is not possible to refound such place. The subaltern ethnographer, between worlds, must then re-submit – not as sign, but as trace (cf. Derrida, 1973) – the dilemmas, perplexities, anxieties and aporias of this emptiness.

2 . Breaking the boundaries of the lettered city

The very role of authorial writing of testimony is highly important, also for becoming a redefinition of roles and priorities of the Latin American intellectual: this writing role not only evokes the fragility of representation of these traumatic events – necessary due to being the only way, even partial and incomplete, some of these events become visible -, with all its ambiguities, paradoxes and idiosyncrasies, but also questions the place of speech given to these narratives by both the *metropolitan* critics and the *locals*. Therefore, the testimony makes possible the invention of a kind suitable place for the establishment of an “experimental syncretism”, which is regarded as [a reminder that life goes on the shores of Western discourse, and that continues to disturb it and defy it” (Sommer apud Kaplan, 1995:78).] (free translation).

For this reason, it is necessary the adjustment among categories, separated within the discourse of literary critique, of the intellectual and of the writer who indistinctly act in the public sphere (cf. Said, 2003:31) through what Silviano Santiago called a “amphibious literature” practice. This practice is forceful because in our peripheral scenario, in which it can be frequently seen the phenomenon of writers who, at the snap of a finger, become the [intellectual of the day, reaching the audience his book does not have] (free translation), paradoxically living along with the process of constant “contamination” of their literature - as a writer - because [contamination is previously the literary *form* by which clarity is stated twice. The amphibious literary form requires lucidity from the creator and from the reader as well, both contaminated by the precarious condition of being citizens in a nation dominated by injustice (Santiago, 2002:3 e 2003:3;17).] (free translation)

Hence, the testimony do deserves to be understood in a more agnostic way, not as the *force* that will free its people - or even its critics – from the injustices that surround their narratives. As stated by Beverley, it is now necessary to produce a “counter-literature”, denying the pedagogically oriented fallacies about the liberating role of literature: it is necessary to overcome the [illusion of experts in analyzing texts to have a ‘direct’ access to the subaltern other than the obligation to change their own situation (Beverley, 1996:165; also Beverley, 1993:1-22).] (free translation), since this literature representation that was sought in the lettered city, as expressed in classic work of Rama (1985), is here embodied by the dream of a neo-arielism, which becomes increasingly vague⁶.

5 According to Pratt (1999:27), contact zones are “the space in which transculturation takes place – where two different cultures meet and inform each other, often in highly asymmetrical ways” and these meetings are marked by provisional dialogues, located between the actors involved.

6 [The neo-arielism (...) seeks to replace literature and literary intellectuals - now, however, according to the idea of a modernist leftist literary culture, proposed by Angel Rama - as the bearers of the originality and cultural possibility in Latin America (...). Subaltern studies and cultural studies have in common the feeling that democratization implies a shift in the hermeneutic authority in relation to the

This writer, thus, blurs his boundaries with the function of the intellectual, and his own text is transformed into a cultural artifact distant from the idea of “purity” or “unity” (cf. Santiago, 2000: 9-26). It creates a kind of performative signature, because “in itself, this knowledge does not exist. It can only happen through the testimony: it cannot be separated from it. It can only unfold itself in the process of testifying, but it can never become a substance that can be possessed by either speaker or listener, outside of this dialogic process” (Felman, op. cit., 51). Hence the very truth produced by this testimony also being a performance.

If this performance serves as a mechanism for easing the boundaries between writer and intellectual, and consequently the very process of witnessing, the role of the writer-intellectual can trigger seismic shakings that may blur barriers, locations, boundaries, without thereby losing the political orientation of testimonial venture. As if, by trial and error, cannibalizations of opposing traditions were possible. But not like a constitution that takes the form of a new “organic intellectual”, as highlighted in the work of Gramsci, in which a testimony may be manifested as a form of representation not able to act in peripheral or subaltern scenarios anymore (cf. Beverley, 1999), since its *place* in academia remains behind *doors left slightly ajar*: it only comes in when invited, and usually not to be subject, but rather object, *testimony*.

For that, too, this writer-intellectual who Lins exemplifies is a contact zone: on one hand, it presents (itself) as an *authentic* representative of marginalized groups, reconfiguring new protocols of the recognition of some groups within the nation-state, but lacking belonging to this nation-state as such, and where their performance causes dramatic changes, discomforts and trauma in the very hegemonic cultural understanding. On the other hand, this *testimony* seems to invoke a reversal of Bourdieu's scenario.

Even remaining in the intellectual and literary position of Lins the structuring discomfort of the constant wish of being accepted as an *established*, this does not occur: “[...] because of the structural ambiguity of this position in the structure of the ruling class, where he is forced to maintain an ambivalent relationship with both the dominant fractions of the ruling class (“the bourgeoisie”) and with the dominated classes (“the people”), he is also forced to forge an ambiguous picture of his position in society and of his social function]. Being held hostage of this structural dimension of the intellectual field, Lins resists, inverting and being inverted by the place he occupies within the scenario proposed by Bourdieu to the intellectuals and literati. According to the French thinker, [...] writers and artists constitute, at least since the Romantic age, a dominated fraction of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1974:192)] (free translations), while Lins have become, paradoxically, a *dominant fraction of the dominated class*. This is due to the fact that his representation – as shown by Spivak, is ambivalently structured by the dynamics of *speaking of something*, and also of *speaking on behalf of someone* –, after the success produced by his cultural artifacts, abundantly consumed by the mass media and critics, and yet built on Lins's political involvement and his role as a writer and public intellectual, does not belong to the structurally secured places to the fractions of the dominant class.

This the paradox of the *authenticity* related to the place of Lins's speech: he is not recognized by the dominant group as a *established* - but as an object - and the very artifact *Cidade de Deus* is

popular reception, while the neo-arielist reception seems to depend on a claim of continuing hermeneutic authority of the traditional or ‘critical’ intellectual (Beverley apud Moreiras, op. cit.:291).] (free translation)

7 The category “authenticity,” according to Trilling (1972), would have been stated in the nineteenth century, after “sincerity”, indicating a change in how the individual began to imagine himself. The focus of the work of these individuals has been shifted from the question of the other - observed in the thematization of “sincerity” - to the observation of the self, the pursuit of the authentic, the “truer”. This idea led the way so that European societies began to perceive individuals as forms of monads, as autonomous and independent actors. The constitution of the concept of “authenticity” thus marked a new conception of the individual, with a self defined now as a free and autonomous unit with respect to any cosmic or social totality.

also used as something to be worked on - and not a work itself. At the same time, he becomes the spokesman - not a unanimous one, as any representation of this type - of the dominated group when it comes to neuralgic issues related to the daily violence of the Brazilian peripheries, and his artifact is rarely used - at least in the narrative form of his book.

It would thus be possible to state that Lins is not *authentic* in its romantic sense, anthropologically fetishizable, but rather in its sense *media-tion* sense (Villaveces-Izquierdo, 2005), thus producing a *performance* of authenticity that destabilizes the relations within the fields of academic and political power. On the other hand, the answer to the question raised by Spivak, *can the subaltern speak?*, remains negative. Behind academic good faith and solidarity from committed groups (ethnographers or activists), a trace of colonial production of the other still remains, and this other is always available to speak when it is interesting to us.

Paulo Lins, with his own diverse cultural artifacts, operates within this epistemological, ethical and political area: he deals with his symptoms and ghosts – related to his origins, trajectories, places of enunciation – moving accordingly to suggested questions – and not producing them; he moves around places of friction, looking for more comfortable positions – even if temporary ones; acting where he is received as a commodity; resisting so that his voice and legitimacy – pronounced from places of speech that are always provisional, partial, and always inauthentic – may be captured forever. Coated neither as a heroic nor an innocent actor, he operates in the aporias of both his subalternity and also of the discursive arenas that produced him.

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Abstract: The representations of world history conveyed by the media and disseminated in global encyclopaedias are perhaps some of the clearest examples of how much still needs to be done to decolonise knowledge. Thus, it is urgent to give voice to different narratives about world history, so as to reveal the versions of people and groups who have been systematically “erased” from History during the colonial period and still often remain invisible in the dominant narratives in the so-called post-colonial period. In this article, we comparatively analyse the results of a survey conducted among young people in Mozambique and Portugal. In both countries, we investigated the social representations of world history. The common trends and the divergences in the representations of world history, particularly with regard to the colonial period, are discussed taking into account the role of national identities in structuring collective memories.

Keywords: social memory, social representations, world history, colonialism, decolonisation.

1. Introduction

In a chronicle published in the newspaper *Sol* (06.01.2012: 24), Nathaniel Ngomane asked ironically “Lusophony: who wants to be erased?”. In this chronicle, Ngomane denounces the Lusocentric version of the History he was forced to learn in school in Mozambique, during the *New State*, where he learned about the Portuguese heroes, but he learned nothing about the Mozambican heroes. Ngomane also denounces the implicit violence of the term “peoples of Portuguese-expression” that, according to him, contributes to the erasure of the identity of the peoples of the so-called Portuguese-Speaking African Countries. In fact, nobody wants to be erased or reduced to a homogenising expression that does not take into account the heterogeneity of the “Lusophone space”.

This positioning supports the perspective of Alfredo Margarido (2000: 6), who considers that the invention of Lusophony occurred through a collective amnesia about colonial violence. In his words, “the current Lusophile discourse merely seek to conceal, not to eliminate, the brutal traces of the past” (2000: 76).

Along the same lines, Maria Manuel Baptista states that “Lusophony signals, in Portugal, the place of the truly ‘unsaid’, a kind of ghostly space of our culture, although paradoxically this concept is used so often” (2006: 24). For the author, a strategy of active oblivion of some of the fundamental aspects of the History

Who wants to be erased? Social Representations of World History and Decolonisation of Thought

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that links Portugal to other Portuguese-speaking countries is evident on the Portuguese side.

In his turn, Moisés de Lemos Martins (2013) warns about the need to remain vigilant and to deconstruct the various misconceptions arising in the concept of Lusophony, among which he highlights four: 1) the misconceptions of a Portuguese centrality in the Lusophone space; 2) misconceptions about the reconstitution in a post-colonial context of the narratives of the ancient empire with neo-colonial purposes; 3) the mistakes of Lusotropicalism and the myth of a “sweet colonization”; and 4) the misconceptions of some post-colonial speech, often based in a narrative of “resentment”. To deconstruct these misconceptions without creating new ones is undoubtedly an arduous task, but it is essential for the “decolonisation” of thought and for a new and more complex understanding of post-colonial relations among Lusophone peoples.

The representations of world history conveyed by the media and disseminated in global encyclopaedias are perhaps some of the clearest examples of how much still needs to be done to decolonise knowledge. Thus, it is urgent to give voice to different narratives about history, so as to reveal the versions of people and groups who have been systematically “erased” from History during the colonial period and still often remain invisible in the dominant narratives of world history in the so-called postcolonial period.

In this article, we comparatively analyse the results of a survey conducted among young people in Mozambique and Portugal. These studies were conducted as part of a broader research project that aims to critically examine the “Lusophony” as a symbolic construction and the social representations of history that connects the various Portuguese-Speaking countries¹. The aim of the present study was precisely to uncover the different versions of world history, as there is no “common history”, but various versions of the story, which always correspond to reconstructions of the past, an ongoing reconfiguration depending on the present-day agendas. These studies aim to contribute to the decolonisation of knowledge.

2. Social Representations of history and identity dynamics

According to Licata et al. (2007), collective memory is an ensemble of social representations of the past, shared by a given social group. Collective memory plays four important roles on groups’ identity contributing to: the definition of group identity; building positive distinctiveness through favourable comparisons between the ingroup and the outgroup; the justification and legitimating of groups’ behaviours; and the mobilisation for collective action.

Remembering is a selective process of reconstruction of the past, which depends on social belonging and networks of individuals as well as their life experiences and trajectories. Recognising the social character of memory does not imply assuming uniformity in the memories within a given group, because each individual belongs to several groups simultaneously. Different social groups tend to remember different facts and when remembering the same fact, they tend to remember it differently.

In the analysis of collective memory, it is necessary to take into account two fundamental frames of reference - *time* and *space* (Halbwachs, 1950/1997). All memories are social since our thoughts and feelings are constructed through language and reified by the processes of human communication (Gergen, 1994). Thus, memory is both a social product and a social process. Memory is constantly (re)constructed through communication (interpersonal, intergroup, media, etc.). In this sense, the theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1988) is a fundamental tool

¹ Identity narratives and social memory: the (re)making of lusophony in intercultural contexts. Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (PTDC/CCI-COM/105100/2008), Feder, Compete: <http://www.lasics.uminho.pt/idnar/>.

for understanding how historical memories are constructed, how they are shared, and their political and cultural functions.

3. Representations of world history in Mozambique and Portugal

In this section we comparatively analyse the results of a survey conducted among Mozambican and Portuguese youths. In Portugal, the data were collected in October 2003 and in Mozambique in May 2009. There were a total 298 respondents, 180 Mozambican and 118 Portuguese. The respondents were university students, with an average age of 22 years.

In both countries the questionnaires were written in Portuguese. In Portugal all respondents declared Portuguese as their mother tongue. In contrast, in Mozambique participants declared a great diversity of languages as mother tongue; the vast majority of the Mozambican participants (69%) declared the Portuguese language as a second language.

In this article we compare the pattern of results between Mozambicans and Portuguese participants. We should not forget that each national group is highly heterogeneous, comprising a great variety of individuals, with different backgrounds and life experiences, and belonging to groups with different positions in the social structure. In this sense, we do not intend to generalise the results of these studies to the population of these countries; we just intend to address, in an exploratory way, the impact of national belonging in the representations of world history. The focus on young people was due to the fact that we intend to study the representations of people born after the Carnation Revolution: April 25, 1974. The fact that the samples consisted exclusively of university students was due, on the one hand, to feasibility issues in the application of questionnaires in good conditions and, on the other hand, to issues of comparability with previous studies conducted in other countries (Liu *et al.*, 2005), also using samples of university students.

Students were invited to participate in an international study about history, and it was explained to them that what mattered was their personal *opinion* about history and not their level of knowledge. The questionnaire had the same structure in both countries, with just small adjustments of content, according to the exploratory interviews and pre-testing conducted in each country.

Following an adaptation of the methodology pioneered by Liu *et al.* (2005), participants were asked to list the five events they considered to be the most important in world history in the last thousand years. Once the participants finished the event list, they were to assess the impact (positive or negative) of each event listed and, subsequently, indicate the emotions associated with each event. The nomination of events was completely free as no prior list of events was provided so as not to influence their responses. The emotions associated with events were also collected in an open-ended fashion. The level of impact of the events was measured through a close-ended scale (1 = very negative, 7 = very positive). Table 1 shows the overall percentages of the nominations of the ten most frequently nominated events, in each country, as well as their estimated impact, positive or negative, in world history.

Mozambique	%	Impact	Portugal	%	Impact
World War I	61	2.2 (1.8)	World War II	72	1.6 (1.1)
World War II	46	2.2 (1.8)	World War I	51	1.6 (1.1)
Industrial revolution	26	6.8 (0.8)	September 11, 2001	30	1.1 (0.3)
Independence Africa	24	6.8 (0.8)	Portuguese discoveries	26	6.2 (1.1)
Colonialism	19	2.7 (1.8)	Carnation revolution	25	6.3 (1.0)
September 11, 2001	18	2.8 (2.6)	Industrial revolution	20	6.0 (1.1)
Obama Victory	14	6.6 (1.2)	Man in the Moon	18	6.4 (0.8)
French revolution	13	6.6 (1.3)	Iraq War/Invasion	12	1.6 (0.8)
Berlin Conference	12	3.3 (2.2)	Atomic Bomb	12	1.7 (1.7)
Foundation of the UN	11	7.0 (0.0)	Fall of Berlin Wall	11	5.9 (1.5)

Table 1 – *Most important events in World History*

Legend: % = percentage of spontaneous nomination of specific event in world history; Impact = Average impact (and standard deviation); impact scale: 1 = very negative, 7 = very positive.

The most striking feature of Table 1 is the prominence of Westerncentrism in the social representations of world history: The events related to Europe and North America and the “global” events involving Western nations appear at the top of the Table in both countries. This is particularly evident in the case of Portugal as all the events in the *top 10* occurred in Western countries or are linked to Western dominance. In the case of Mozambique, this Westerncentrism is evident in half of the *top 10* events, while the other large group of events is associated with issues of colonialism and human rights. Replicating the pattern of data observed in other countries (Liu *et al.*, 2005, 2009), the two World Wars were the most often nominated events as the most important in world history. The data collected in Portugal follow the trend observed in other European countries with the Second World War at the top of the table, followed by the First World War. This pattern of results is curious since Portugal actively participated in World War I and not in World War II. However, with respect to the data collected in Mozambique, we observe a reversal of this order: the First World War is the most nominated event followed by the Second World War; this was probably because Africa, and namely Mozambique, was an important battle field during the First World War. Overall, the results show the centrality of war and political issues in the representations of world history, replicating to a certain degree a global agenda shaped by Western nations (e.g., Liu *et al.*, 2005, 2009). However, it is also evident that this pattern of results is not a simple replication of a “global agenda”, as participants from both countries give emphasis to the events of their own country or region. This is particularly evident in the case of Mozambican participants’ responses indicating the presence of a pan-African agenda.

As mentioned earlier, the pattern of results obtained in Portugal is prototypical of a Westerncentric perspective, largely reproducing the version of world history that is disseminated in Europe and by the “global” media, where the key events are driven by Western countries. However, two of the events included in the *top 10* differentiate the Portuguese data from those obtained in other European countries: the Portuguese Discoveries (26%) and the Carnation Revolution (25%). Thus, the Portuguese participants highlighted the role of their own country as an active player in world history. The “Portuguese Discoveries” were considered to have a very positive impact on world history being associated with positive emotions (pride, joy, happiness, fascination).

In turn, Mozambican participants highlighted the “Independence of Africa” as one of the most important events in world history (28%), rating it with a very positive impact ($M=6.8$), and associating it with positive emotions (pride, joy, happiness). The fact that the Mozambican participants evoked African independence, and not specifically the independence of Mozambique (reported by 3% of respondents), points to a pan-African agenda, which highlights the common struggle of the African people against European oppressors. The “Colonialism” (19%) is perceived as negative by Mozambican participants as well as the Berlin Conference 1884/5 (12%), during which European countries divided Africa among themselves, setting arbitrary African borders according to European interests.

The events related to the promotion of human rights and equal opportunities for all are particularly salient in the *top 10* in Mozambique, as were the French Revolution (13%), the Foundation of the United Nations (11%) and Obama Victory (14%). Although they do not appear in the *top 10*, some events related to the *apartheid* regime in neighbouring countries are also salient in the Mozambican data: Apartheid (8%), Nelson Mandela Release (5%), End of Apartheid (3%), Nelson Mandela Imprisonment (2%). The events considered more negative by Mozambican participants are not visible in the *top 10*: Slavery (8%) and Racism (3%) (impact average, respectively $M=1.1$ and $M=1.0$). Some of the events that are considered more positive are also not included in the *top 10*: Abolition of slavery (5%) and the End of Apartheid (3%) (average impact: $M=7.0$ in both cases). Taken together, the cluster of events related to the promotion of human rights and equal opportunities for all were more absent in Portuguese answers as were the references to colonialism, slavery and racism.

In short, the cluster of events related to the promotion of human rights and the struggle for freedom and independence were more salient in Mozambican data than in the Portuguese data; Portuguese participants tended to “forget” these events, going along with the pattern of results obtained in other European countries (Cf. Liu *et al.*, 2005, 2009). In turn, the Mozambican data were consistent with those obtained in other sub-Saharan African countries, which also gave prominence to the oppressive effects of colonialism and to the colonial liberation and independence (cf. Cabecinhas & Nhaga, 2008; Cabecinhas & Évora, 2008).

Thus, the events that led to the end of colonialism and the independence of African countries were perceived positively by African participants but tended to be ignored by European participants. The events related to the promotion of human rights and equal opportunities for all were perceived as very positive by both Europeans and Africans, but the percentage of spontaneous nomination of these events was lower in European than in African samples.

Overall, the data collected in Portugal replicated those of Liu *et al.* (2005, 2009), according to which world history is perceived as being shaped by Western countries, “erasing” the role of other peoples in world history. However, data collected in Mozambique, giving visibility to the fight against colonialism, racism and other forms of oppression, clearly indicated that they do not want to be “erased” from world history. The type of sociocentrism observed in Mozambique was linked to a more pan-African agenda than a nationalist one, with participants favouring the nomination of events related to the “common fate” of African people and their struggle for liberation from colonial rule and achieving independence.

Another prominent aspect of these data was the strong recency effect, with recent events being privileged compared to more ancient ones again replicating the pattern of results obtained by Liu *et al.* (2005, 2009). The vast majority of events spontaneously nominated by university students from both countries took place in the 20th or 21st centuries. This huge recency effect suggests that when thinking about world history participants were highly influenced by the media agenda of the moment of data collection, which serves as the “anchor” for thinking history.

Although data from both countries indicated a strong recency effect, in the case of Mozambique, a focus on the very recent past was even stronger. Portuguese students evoked the distant past, perceived as the “glorious” (Miranda, 2002) Age of Discovery, contributing to an attenuation of the recency effect while Mozambicans students focused on African independence contributing to a strengthening of the recency effect. The fact that the history of Africa prior to European settlements have been for a long time silenced in the history textbooks in African countries may also have contributed to this tendency, since it was only recently that the history of Africa prior to European settlements started to be uncovered by the new African historiography and disseminated in schools through history textbooks.

As already mentioned, the end of colonialism and African independence were among the events considered most positively in world history by Mozambican participants, while slavery and racism were considered as the most negative ones. Overall, the events related to human rights issues were more salient for Mozambican participants than for Portuguese participants, who tended to focus more on a Westerncentric narrative of world history, in which Western countries are seen as playing the leading roles.

4. Discussion

In this article we have performed a comparative analysis of the representations of world history for Mozambicans and Portuguese youths. In general the data showed some common trends, denouncing the persistence to a considerable degree of Westerncentrism in the representations of the world history, but also revealed some important divergences.

Regarding the common trends, the results of these studies largely replicated those observed in samples of university students in Europe, Asia, Oceania and the Americas (e.g. Liu et al., 2005, 2009): a strong recency effect, with a focus on very recent events, most of them occurring in the 20th or 21st centuries; and a strong Westerncentrism, although this is counterbalanced by some degree of sociocentrism, both in the Portuguese and Mozambican samples.

Concerning the divergent trends, the emergence of a pan-African narrative in Mozambican data was especially important as the various events that relate to the common struggle of African peoples for liberation of colonial rule and achievement of the independence, and the focus on events related to the promotion of human rights and equal opportunities for all were highlighted. The cluster of events linked to colonialism was important in both samples, however the Portuguese participants focused on the “Portuguese Discoveries” and not on its consequences, whereas the Mozambicans participants focused on the end of colonialism, the independence of African nations, and the negative effects of colonialism. The colonial liberation emerged as a major narrative counterbalancing the Westerncentric one. This pan-African narrative, as mentioned earlier, contrasts with the results of previous studies with university students in the various continents except Africa (Liu *et al.*, 2005, 2009), but are consistent with those obtained in other sub-Saharan African countries (e.g. Cabecinhas & Évora, 2007; Cabecinhas & Nhaga, 2008). While Europeans tended to “forget” the pervasive effects of colonisation when thinking about world history, Africans rather tended to make these effects salient. In both cases, forgetting or remembering serves identity protection functions (Licata *et al.*, 2007).

Several recent studies have shown the pervasive effects of the colonial process in the formation of attitudes, social stereotypes and current intergroup relations (Volpato & Licata, 2010). The long term oppressive effects of colonialism are often underestimated, contributing to its maintenance. By rendering salient a narrative of colonial liberation, Mozambicans participants clearly demonstrate

that they do not want to be “erased” from world history. An African proverb says “*until the lion has its own storyteller, the hunter will always have the best part of the story*” (in Meneses, 2008). Listening to the various versions of history will, undoubtedly, help us to achieve a deeper understanding and a decolonisation of thought.

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SESSION 16

IDENTITIES AND
REPRESENTATIONS IN
COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS 2

Abstract: What is the meaning of Diaspora today? Has the notion of dispersion associated with the origin of the concept, a meaning in the times of globalization? Is there only one or several Diasporas? With this article we intend to observe the evolution of the concept of Diaspora based in the idea of Said (1994) who argues that the end of colonialism did not stop imperialism. We connected the problematizations made on the Diaspora, among others, by Cohen (1997), Hall (1998), Bhabha (1998), Riggs (2000) and Morier-Genoud & Cahen (2013), to the Portuguese case and the idea of Lusophony. Is interculturality, which promotes identity interpenetration, reflected in Diaspora? What happens when combining Diaspora with “portugalidade”? Eduardo Lourenço (1999) is ironic about the idea of Diaspora, claiming that that is an abnormality that our long emigrant history will be perceived as such. And, even if one starts from the idea that “meaning is use” (Wittgenstein, 1958), the ‘naturalization’ of certain realities, ideologically aligned can increase misunderstandings and prevent an ethical dimension, which happens when the ‘other’ comes into play (Eco, 1997).

Keywords: Diaspora; Empire; Lusophony; “portugalidade”; globalization

1. Diasporas (s)

“Diaspora” started as a term meaning those who were literally uprooted from their homeland and deported to another land, and is therefore associated with dispersion, as in the case of Greek immigrant colonies, or in relation to the extermination of the Jews. Historically, the Diaspora developed in the land of adoption, denoted a cleavage between the old and new cultures. Today, the concept is associated with migration, regardless of the causes behind it, and its significance has ballast, via the phenomenon of globalization.

That is exactly because the term was connoted with the Jews that Stuart Hall states that, for a long time, he didn’t use it for its dominant political use, associated with an idea of “ethnic cleansing” that he could not defend (Chen 1996: 417). The Diaspora is defined by personal and structural historical conjunctures and its power results, in part, by reason of these unresolved tensions. He argues that cultural identity is hybrid (it is not rigid), precisely because of specificities linked to the historical formations, the historical and cultural repertoires of enunciation, and can thus “constitute a ‘positioning’, which we can call, for the time being, as identity” (Chen 1996: 432-433).

Robin Cohen argues that today the word ‘Diaspora’ is

What is the meaning of “Diaspora” in the times of globalization? The controversial relationship between Empire, Lusophony and “portugalidade”

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associated with the transnational space, including of all races that have lost their territorial restraints from cultures. The homeland of Diasporas is based on an emotionally adopted land that crosses at least two cultures. As for Postmodern Diasporas, they question the concept of 'nation-state', not as a homogeneous cultural site, but plural, with an instrumental subjective location (Cohen 1997: 128). In the same sense Fred W. Riggs referred to the new Diasporas arising from globalization and the increasing mobility of people, in a planetary scale of information, the Internet, and the erosion of state borders. No country can be seen today as having a community that lives only within the limits of a state, for "all nations, instead, are global in the sense that, despite having a homeland, many of its members live scattered around the globe" (Riggs 2000: S/P).

Homi K. Bhabha locates the cultural production of contemporary Diasporas, revealing that their subjectivities are formed in an interstitial cultural space which he calls "space beyond" where the past and the present coexist. Instead of trying to divide and contain the various identities in different national and cultural types, he argues that what is most critical in contemporary cultural production is the legitimization of complex issues outside the mainstream, such as Diasporas. He demystifies their socio-political ambiguity and the myth of their 'national homogeneity', appealing to their cultural legitimacy which reveals an anti-nationalist logic (Bhabha 1998: 1333).

Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen maintain that "Diaspora" is a term that has been widely criticized for being elastic and correspond to an elusive meaning (Morier-Genoud &, 2013: 9) and mentioning Christine Chivallon, French geographer and anthropologist states that "as an analytical category, 'Diaspora' remains a valid tool to facilitate our approach to a surprisingly instructive cultural universe" (Chivallon, 2011:203, *cit in* Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 9). A definition which, according to the authors, implied a distinction between the analytical category of Diaspora and identity, particularly with regard to notions of "class in itself" and "class for itself", noting that the Marxist theory refers, for example, that one can consider a particular medium proletariat as 'analytical category' (a 'class in itself' as a social and economic classification), even if the workers in question do not have class consciousness ('class for itself') (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 9) . Ie: "there can be no Diaspora itself: there may be a Diaspora only by you" (*idem*, 10), and, thereafter, "we can engage in a study of how the Diaspora is born or formed historically instead of assuming that a Diaspora exists and imposes a hypothesis about reality, deducing facts from the theory" (*idem, ibidem*). They do, however, a critique on the underlying characteristics of Diaspora proposed by Cohen in particular as regards the 'time factor', approaching Riggs' observations (2000), stating that, to exist, the Diaspora lacks historicity.

Stuart Hall observes that diasporic perspective of culture may indicate a subversion of traditional cultural models oriented to the nation, highlighting that "cultural globalization is deterritorializing in its effects" and that "its spatio-temporal understandings, driven by new technologies, loses the ties between culture and place" (Hall, (2003 [1998]: 36). He adds that the alternative involves dropping closed, unitary and homogeneous models of cultural belonging, taking cultural differences that are transforming the world.

2. The 'Empire', the Diaspora and the Portuguese case

Edward Said (1994) notes that the idea of 'imperialism' is controversial, with its practices settling, for example, in attitudes originating from a dominating metropolitan center in relation to a government in a distant territory. The notion of empire is a relationship (formal or informal), in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another, either by force, political cooperation, or through economic, social or cultural dependence. And even if colonialism is over, he states that

imperialism persists at the level of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic and social practices. He adds that neither imperialism nor colonialism represent simple acts of accumulation and acquisition (Said, 1994).

Fernando Rosas (2001) states that one of the founding ideological myths of Estado Novo is the "imperial myth", comprising a double aspect of colonization and evangelization. According to "Ato Colonial de 1930" (when Salazar temporarily occupied the Cabinet folder of the Colonies) which the historian cites, it is underlined the organic essence of 'Portuguese nation' "the historical role of owning and colonizing overseas dominions and civilizing indigenous populations" (Rosas, 2001: 1035). Rosas highlights "the mythical race design", an aspect which he says has been ideologically developed by the Estado Novo and that was achieved in the rediscovered ideal of the empire "as ontological and natural-organicist entity prolific of this vocation". In the light of this idea one can understand the imperial vocation of the nation and that "this imperial myth [can] infer [go] as indisputable dogma the idea of multi-continental nation and multiracial, one, indivisible and inalienable" (*idem, ibidem*). What presupposed a hierarchical differentiation between the metropolis and the colonies and between the civilized and the uncivilized, and the colonial administration centered in Lisbon and transformed the overseas territories in component parts of the nation, while separating the colonial institutions from the metropolitan.

The references to the Portuguese Diaspora lead us, almost inevitably, to the former Empire, so in order to avoid misunderstandings on this matter, Morier-Genoud & Cahen underline that it is necessary to discuss the key concepts "Empire" and "Diaspora", which became so popular and prevalent that they became today polysemous and, in this sense, "very problematic to use in a strict and precise way" (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 7). These authors refer that there is not a definite answer to the question of whether there was a distinctive formal, social and autonomous Portuguese empire space, but state that in many respects, it never happened, since most Portuguese men and women preferred going to Brazil, Europe, or South Africa rather than to the colonies. This means that "the State had to have a 'visible hand' to make people go to their imperial territories and become settlers" (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 22). Besides, after independence the decolonization still presented some ideological elements, even among Diasporas, which have been manipulated and reinvented during the formal submission, at which, they add, the Third Empire although sparsely populated had no lack of profitability. In this sense, they ask if that did not result in a kind of victory that they term as "postmortem" (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 22-23).

3. Diaspora, Lusophony and some misconceptions

The idea suggested in the previous paragraph by Morier-Genoud & by Cahen (2013) when referring to the "postmortem" victory of Portuguese colonization, though collateral, hints a dynamic of "return of the caravels", which somehow embodies what Miguel Real (2012) writes about lusophony which, even taken as a cultural center, is seen as a 'vocation' of the Portuguese History. The essayist says that the "historic place" of Portugal is carried out in the dimension of "Lusophony" and updates the idea of a "historic destiny" (initially proposed by Jorge Borges de Macedo), to a "historical vocation" of Portugal (Real, 2012: 123-131).

Now, lusophony is an ambiguous term particularly problematic for the members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries, CPLP referred to by Brito & Bastos (2006), recalling that its etymology refers to a Portuguese centrality. Moreover, the word did not even appear in the official document that created the CPLP, on July 17, 1996. The fact is that lusophony is lexically consecrated in the dictionary of the Sciences Academy of Lisbon in 2001, being translated as "quality of being

Portuguese, Portuguese speaking, what is characteristic of the Portuguese language" as "community formed by the countries and people who have Portuguese as their mother tongue or official language" and as "dissemination of the Portuguese language in the world" (Casteleiro 2001: 2310).

Although Alfredo Margarido mentions that lusophony "can not be separated from a certain messianic load, which seeks to ensure a promising future to restless Portuguese" (Margarido 2000: 12) and Eduardo Lourenço noted that it does not constitute "any realm, even chartered folklore" and it embodies "the genealogy that distinguishes it from other Romance languages and a cultural memory, consciously or unconsciously linked to it" (Lourenço, 2004: 174), the fact is that its significance goes beyond, according to Moisés de Lemos Martins, the concept of "of historical curiosity – historical-linguistic or even historical-cultural object" (Martins, 2006: 17), since it is a topic that brings together interests "that have to do not only with language and culture of Lusophony countries in the past, but also, above all, with the present and the fate of the 'immaterial continent' that these countries constitute" (*idem, ibidem*). Moisés de Lemos Martins (publication in press) draws attention to the necessity of remaining vigilant about all the mistakes that can cross the concept of lusophony. He lists, accordingly, four misconceptions that we need to deconstruct: the misconception of Portuguese centrality, the erroneous reconstruction of narratives of the ancient empire in post-colonial context (today with conscious or unconscious neocolonial purposes,), the equivocation of Luso-tropicalism - and the idea of sweet colonization (reborn and revived, which today can both glorify the former colonial country but also exalt the current independent countries) and, finally, the erroneous narrative of a history of resentment (resulting from some post-speech colonial, which is constituted as a kind of vengeance).

4. Diaspora and 'portugalidade': a nonsense?

The book "Portugal pelo mundo disperse" (2013) resumed the prospect that the Portuguese have always heard the call of the departure, justified by the geographical location of the country, pointing to possible mere adventure and also economical justifications (Cid, Alves, Blayer & Fagundes, 2013: 11). The vestiges of the Portuguese presence in the world are evident from remote times, and more recently, the phenomenon of emigration has highlighted this aspect.

But no one should think that this is a consensual idea. Eduardo Lourenço, for example, rejects the idea of Diaspora, and apropos the Lusophone space, he refers he is not even confused with the concept, and that "Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verdeans are not the product of any Diaspora" (Lourenço, 2004 [1999]: 189). Moreover, he claims that it is an "abnormality (...) that our long emigrant management, continental, Madeiran, Azorean Diaspora is perceived as Diaspora" (*idem, ibidem*). While claiming to understand the essayist, Onésimo Theotónio Almeida (2013) does not agree with this opinion. Though, he even admits to understand the rejection towards the term he invokes Wittgenstein who advocated that "meaning is use"¹, and observes that the meaning has long been taken off of the Jewish people, a fact that will be the basis of the attitude of Lourenço. So, he sees the popularization of the word as natural (Almeida, 2013: 215).

The need to consider the relationships that have existed for centuries between Portugal and its African colonies, even bearing in mind the circumstances in which they occurred, is highlighted by Sheila Khan, noting that "niches and universes of interculturality and merged experiences were produced, creolized paths, hybridizations between colonized and colonizers and, undoubtedly, have spread even to the present day" (Khan, 2008: 97-98). Taking up the ideas of Stuart Hall on the

¹ "If we had to name the life of the sign, we would have to say that the life of the sign is its use" [Wittgenstein, L. (1958) *The Blue and Brown Books*, Oxford: Blackwell, 4].

existence of a colonial interculturalism, the purpose of the historical and cultural continuities in post-modernity, Khan states that "it is important to think that this hybridism and cultural exchanges also continued until the post-colonial present" (*idem*: 98).

However, when we summon the political discourse for the discussion of the Diaspora, we can observe some inconsistencies and even some nonsense rhetoric used in relation to academic research in the area. We are referring to the apparently unlikely association of Diaspora to the term 'portugalidade'. Even if it is not typed in reference Portuguese dictionaries and in the most common dictionaries, as the one edited by "Porto Editora", 'portugalidade' it is a "quality which is Portuguese" or "the truly sense of the Portuguese national culture" (Costa & Melo, 1995), its coinage is buoyed by Ciberdúvidas of Portuguese Language portal (a partnership of the Portuguese Language Society and the Ministry of Education) in the 50s and 60s of the twentieth century², therefore, at the times of the Estado Novo³. A concept from the outset focused on 'me' (Portugal) and that can be contextualized in the idea of "Portugal from Minho to Timor"⁴.

It is the President of the Republic, Cavaco Silva who has recurrently used the word 'portugalidade' in his speeches namely on June 10, 2013, at the celebrations of the Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities, held in Elvas, a communication on the portal of the Presidency refers to the term 'portugalidade' associating it with the Diaspora: "Diaspora communities should be mobilized as active agents of 'portugalidade' transporting the reality of our country to the world"⁵.

In the case of Cavaco Silva, references to terms that can be associated to Estado Novo can be found at various times. In 2008, for example, in Viana do Castelo, once again on the occasion of the "Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities", he stressed that he would not comment on specific news on the grounds that he was "overseeing the 'Day of the Race'"⁶, a term that the Estado Novo used for the celebrations of the 10th of June and that was extinguished with the Revolução dos Cravos, on April 25, 1974. The following year, in similar celebrations, this time in Santarém, he called the "spirit of 'portugalidade'", pledging to continue to increase the migrants contribution, their civic and political participation in "uncertain times we live in"⁷. Now, referring to the Lusophony, Eduardo Lourenço, makes clear that "what would be assigned as its true reality and meaning (...) cannot, even metaphorically, be thought and imagined as space of 'portugalidade'". (Lourenço, 2004 [1999]: 186). And, as Alfredo Margarido pointed out, thinking about the lusophony presupposes the contemplation of an 'other' and not the existence of only one route: "The inventory of the contradictions inherent in the so to say 'Lusophone' speech cannot ignore the importance of denial of the history of the Other" (Margarido, 2000: 47).

To which 'portugalidade', then, refers Cavaco Silva? Assuming that, as we have seen, the word is not part of the reference dictionaries, but embracing the meaning given by common dictionaries – "truly national sense of Portuguese culture" (Costa & Melo, 1995) - how to put into practice this idea

2 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/2uanuhv>, accessed on November'2010].

3 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/2ueratv>, accessed on November'2010].

4 The slogan of the Estado Novo began in 1951 with the repeal of the "Ato Colonial" . (...) The Portuguese Government shall argue that Portugal would be a whole and indivisible one, from Minho to Timor and where all colonies would become provinces, like the others that existed in the metropolis. From then on, a whole rhetoric designed to sustain a myth that supports the idea that there was no reason for the development of independence movements in the Portuguese territories in Africa and Asia was developed, blurring the differences that could exist. It's on the 27th of April of that year (...) that Deputies started introducing the word 'portugalidade' in their speeches, serving the National Assembly in the only existing political party, the 'União Nacional' as echo of governance, spreading the ideology of the Estado Novo. [Sousa, V. (2013) "Lusitanian Fantasy", de João Canijo: O Portugal ficcional vs. o país real. O Estado Novo e a 'portugalidade'. A construção da identidade', in Valente, A. C. V. & Capucho, R. (2013) *Avança Cinema 2013 International Conference*, Avança: Edições Cine-Clube de Avanca, pp. 623-630, ISBN 978-989-96858-3-3].

5 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/q3ghgm4>, accessed on 9/6/2013].

6 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/83q4l7y>, accessed on May'2012].

7 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/7hqe82s>, accessed on May'2012].

underlined by the adverb 'truly', which we think is difficult to typify? Does it report to what Alfred Doblin (1992) wrote, which referred to the act of spitting on the ground as one of the characteristics of the Portuguese? Or, in the words of a Portuguese writer of reference, as is the case of Jorge de Sena, who jokingly illustrated some Portuguese experience, which acknowledges,

that Portugal will not be saved, unless all Portuguese are required by law to do an internship abroad, but forbidden to meet with each other. This prohibition is of utmost importance to prevent them from collectively roast sardines, bake cod with nationalistic fervor, or greedily exchange, the latest news from Chiado (Sena, 2013: 59).

Or, does he refer to the world of football, or fado, or even of science, holding the flag of Eusébio, Amália, Mourinho, Cristiano Ronaldo, or António Damásio? Does he refer to the 'Galod e Barcelos', or the collective great repasts of 'sardines' washed down with red wine?

5. Endnotes

The notion of Diaspora has a very wide angle, so its use, particularly by politicians, can multiply misconceptions when it is associated with other well-dated and ideologically marked concepts, such as the "Portuguese nationality". To contextualize the term and use it, as mainstream usage, can blur these misconceptions and prevent the initial meaning of an expression, coined with a well-defined sense.

Linking the Diaspora to emigration, we must disentangle, it however, from a number of constraints - as Stuart Hall refers that factors such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of opportunities, are considered as "legacy of the Empire everywhere" (Hall, 2003 [1998]: 28), which may force people to migrate - with the other that is highlighted, for example, in television programs of information, which shows the idyllic side of living abroad by citizens in a country that is not theirs, but where they are willingly and with a relevant social position, based on a 'positive type of news', and which does not correspond to reality.

Sheila Khan states that "the compulsive desire to recreate an identity indicates the presence of identitarian and simultaneously patriotic exiles, because of the impossibility of identification with either a consistent subjective narrative or with a 'homeland' which is markedly non-existent" (Khan, 2008: 105). Thus, she states that "the conscience of nations and imagined identities puts us on the path of faces of exile and of the exiled" (*idem, ibidem*) given that "the exiled knows that in a secular and contingent world, the homelands are always provisional" (*idem, ibidem*).

Stuart Hall states that the concept of Diaspora is based on a binary conception of difference, "the idea that depends on the construction of an 'other', and a rigid opposition between inside and outside" (Hall, 2003 [1998]: 36). Moreover, it is the entrance of the 'other' that determines the beginning of an ethical dimension, as stated by Umberto Eco (1998: 93), and shared by Maria Manuel Baptista who adds other dimensions: "The Other, whoever he/she is for (...) can only be accessed to, not from epistemology, but from ethics and possibly a hermeneutic model that inspires a certain aesthetic" (Baptista, 2006: 171). Dominique Wolton refers to an 'other' "who is no longer abstract or distant but omnipresent, but without being more familiar and understandable" (Wolton, 2003: 183). This 'other' is now understood as a sociological reality and "obliged to take into account all elements of cultural diversity, but also all the elements that establish ties, scale societies" (*idem, ibidem*). It is in this sense that the Diaspora should be associated with intercultural which, in the Portuguese case, must go through an entire opening to equate postcoloniality integrating all parts of the process (Khan, 2008).

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Hybridization and postcolonialism

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Abstract: Hybridization refers to a mode of knowledge and action associated with the **hybrid**. And this last idea denotes the interstices, the network of relationships, the places and instances that, while merging their essences and experiences, generate new productions and reproductions of themselves. Hybridity is viewed by several schools of thought and many practitioners of literature to be one of the main weapons against colonialism. This is especially true of theorists of postcolonialism such as Edward Said and Homi Bhabha.

If hybridity is central to postcolonial studies for reflecting on our intercultural society, it is also true that this school of thought is itself hybrid since their origins. In fact, in our postcolonial age, literary texts and even scientific writing (historical, sociological, etc.) increasingly display a hybrid nature.

But how can this Hybrid Studies or Hybridology, through an historian, a sociologist, an anthropologist or a literary critic, detect such hybrid public meanings that lead to a more intense intercultural communication? One of the possible answers can be the following hypothesis: *besides the reading and writing of expert knowledges, **common concepts** (a central term in the sociological phenomenology of Alfred Schutz), used by common people from different cultural origins in a daily basis, may be one of the keys for mutual understanding between different cultures nowadays interconnected within our global postcolonial societies.*

Keywords: hybridity ; postcolonialism ; hybrid intercultural society ; Social Hybridology; common webs of meaning and conflict

1. The Hybrid

Hybridization refers to a mode of knowledge and action associated with the **hybrid**. And this last idea denotes the interstices, the network of relationships, the places and instances that, while merging their essences and experiences, generate new productions and reproductions of themselves.

Indeed, the hybrid is the essence of almost everything that exists. Nothing is pure, either in nature or in society. Since Antiquity, this term has been associated with the ideas of mixing, heterogeneity, mestizaje, monstrosity, etc. One of its genealogic roots is the Latin word *hybrida*, used to categorize the offspring of the cross breeding of a wild boar and a domestic female pig. The term gradually acquired the meaning of mixing two or more things of a different nature, in various areas of practice and in diverse branches of knowledge.

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For example, in biology, in the conception of life itself, a child is seen as a hybrid of two natures, male and female. In society, mediation is a hybrid of two polar entities, be they the individual and society, the human and the machine, or other combinations. Accordingly, mediating theories turn out to be hybrids emerging from various polar theories or even from mediating theories themselves.

We live today in a **hybrid, intercultural society** where different and even opposite concepts of identity merge in novel ways. Already Mikhail Bakhtin (1930, rpt. in English translation 1981) noticed that, in modern cultures, the very emergence of meaning derives, among other conditions, from the hybrid nature of language itself, its *polyglossia*.

This awareness of hybridity calls into question the classical dichotomies that shaped our traditional understanding of cultures. In *Narrative Innovation and Cultural Rewriting in the Cold War Era and After* (2001), Marcel Cornis-Pope applies this idea to the cultural and literary creation of the post-World War Two period, pointing out the extent to which the traditional dualities of race, gender, class, and narratological oppositions such as Realism / Formalism, and imitation / invention, are questioned and transcended by post-war writers attentive to hybrid intercrossings.

Artur Matuck takes a similar position in “Tecnologias digitais e o futuro da escrita” (Digital Technologies and the Future of Writing, 2009), arguing that

“The decodification of this hybrid reality needs an open and enhanced perception that becomes available only through a reformulation of the fundamental structures that inform human beings, culture, history, the planet, identities, scientific creation, and language itself” (p. 293).

In his turn, Peter Anders emphasizes the significance of ‘cybrids’ for contemporary culture, defining them as combinations of physical, symbolic or electronic digital images; or as hybrids between mediated entities and physical ones; or, finally, as mergers between the physical and the electronic (“Towards an Architecture of the Mind,” 2009).

Beyond the blogosphere, a **hybridsphere** exists nowadays, in particular inside cyberspace and in cybertime. This emerging and immersive virtual space consists of sites or blogs with a variegated nature. For example, *Hybrilog*, an experimental blog published since 2006, was built not only from various related media, as a mere hypermedia system, but by using diverse blogs with different natures.

What has resulted is a virtual space *sui generis*, characterized by a hybridization of media and not just by the simple hypermediatic connection among them (see Andrade, *Hybrilog*). More specifically, *Hybrilog* consists of six different types of blog: a classic text blog; a blog including videos, which is named ‘vlog’; a third blog, containing video-poetry, named ‘pvlog’ (from the juxtaposition of ‘p’ for poetry and ‘vi’ for video, followed by the abbreviation ‘log’); another blog containing digital art, called ‘artlog’; a fifth blog where hypermedia works were included, called ‘hyplog’; and finally, a sixth blog displaying games, or ‘gamelog.’

2. Hybridity / Postcolonialism

Hybridity is viewed by several schools of thought and many practitioners of literature to be one of the main weapons against colonialism. This is especially true of **theorists of postcolonialism** such as Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, sociologists and anthropologists working in Cultural Studies such as Stuart Hall and Néstor García Canclini, and postcolonial writers or representatives of ‘magic realism’ such as Isabel Allende, Gabriel García Márquez, Salman Rushdie, and Milan Kundera.

For instance, Stuart Hall (1996) has attributed a ‘crisis of identity’ (pp. 1-17) to our intercultural world, consisting in a decline of traditional identities and the rise of new forms of identification. In *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts* (2001), Canclini emphasizes the

fact that hybridization is a passage from multiculturalism to interculturality, through intersections and transactions among different identities.

From this perspective, **hybrid literacies** are a necessary condition for the deconstruction of colonial discourse and the subsequent reconstruction of postcolonial literacies and literatures. **'Literacy'** can be defined as a set of reading and writing strategies regarding a specific mode of knowledge. In addition to the regimes of reading and writing in a national or 'mother' language, today we are witnessing a proliferation of diverse social literacies inherent to multiple languages operating in our postcolonial contemporaneity. In other words, a national language is only a particular case within the plurality of worldwide languages and voices. We can thus speak of scientific, technological, artistic, etc. literacies. For instance, literary and cultural literacies are ways of reading and writing specific cultural and literary languages. In particular, digital literacy comprises a social hermeneutics (reading) articulated with a social rhetorics (writing) and involving a digital *savoir*.

However, hybrid literacies are not mere additions to other ('simpler') literacies. For example, a **postcolonial literacy** cannot be understood only as the juxtaposition of 'western' and 'eastern literacies', the first one allegedly based on a more rational reading/writing regime than the second one. Rather, hybrid literacies usually operate through complex and multiple kinds of competences and performances, activated by social-cultural agents, involving reading and writing not just within their own cultures, but also and mainly in alien cultures.

Indeed, hybrid literacies often work in order to develop **multivocalities of otherness**. In other words, the understanding of the other is based not just on the process of reading and/or writing about alter-cultures in an abstract way, but also on interpreting the meanings of everyday communication acts in a more concrete way. Public understanding of cultures leads to better public communication between cultures, and the other way around.

3. Social Hybridology

If hybridity is central to Postcolonial Studies for reflecting on our intercultural society, it is also true that this school of thought is hybrid itself since their origins. In fact, in our postcolonial age, literary texts and even scientific writing (historical, sociological, etc.) increasingly display a hybrid nature.

As I have argued more than a decade ago, two major modes of writing are increasingly confronting each other: 'univocal writing and hybrid writing'. Unlike univocal writing, hybrid writing

"demands, openly or not, the impurity, the contact coinciding with the contract, contamination through communication. Indeed, this writing of fusion considers that such processes, ambigenous (i.e., mixed) but also ambiguous underlying hybrid writing, have become nowadays, more and more, the polysemic manner of social relations" (Andrade, 'A unidade e a hibridação das escritas', p. 8).

A practical example of this experimental writing in literature is the *GeoNeoLogical Novel* (2009).

Briefly, literary and scientific writings may metamorphose in the short term into what I call **Social Hybridology**. This new knowledge strategy can be understood not only as (a), a reflection on the hybrid, but also as (b), a hybrid itself. In other words, Social Hybridology is a genre of Hermeneutics using different forms of interpretation (sometimes opposite in nature) and aiming at a deeper understanding of the various literacies in existence today, literacies that are themselves often hybridized.

At the confluence of these incommensurable literacies, Social Hybridology is emerging as a unique way of knowing, reading, and writing in our contemporary postcolonial cultures, especially

within social networks. Social networks do not include only digital social networks, but also, as Georg Simmel has argued, webs of social relations and interpersonal interaction that have occurred in all societies in history. For example, while studying human conflicts, Simmel depicts either, (a) the objective relations (opposition, competition, etc.) among different interests such as those of noblemen and the king in thirteenth century's Europe; or (b) intersubjective relationships among individuals, such as love (p. 24). He also provides a deeper reflection on the form of social webs (p. 125).

Therefore, Social Hybridology is a heuristic term that reflects on hybrid processes, structures, contexts, practices, creatures, and objects that do not just proliferate in our societies, but are fundamental constituent modes of the entire social fabric. It offers both a literacy of the hybrid and a new kind of knowledge of past and present (post)colonial scenes.

4. Common webs of meaning and conflict

But how can Hybridology, through an historian, a sociologist, an anthropologist or a literary critic, detect such hybrid public meanings that lead to a more intense intercultural communication? One of the possible answers is the following hypothesis: *besides the reading and writing of expert knowledges, **common concepts** (a central term in the sociological phenomenology of Alfred Schutz), used by common people from different cultural origins in a daily basis, may be one of the keys for mutual understanding between different cultures nowadays interconnected within our global postcolonial societies.*

In fact, the term 'common' can be considered with both the connotations of 'ordinary' and 'collective'. In other words, maybe common knowledge can work as one of the common grounds for intercommunication among diverse planetary visions. Indeed, common knowledge is often visual, sonore or gestural, attributes that constitute, in some way, universal languages. And, in textual messages, we may search underlying logic languages: sometimes, these logic languages are more similar across different cultures that we may think, even after reading Levi-Strauss; other times, these logics have parts or dimensions that we may use to establish connections between different forms of thought and culture.

Thus, the clash of civilizations (S. Huntington) is often a **conflict of meanings**, like H. Bhabha (1997) puts it, when he talks on a discursive resistance against colonialism, through 'mimicry' and other ideas. Mobilizing hybridity, knowledges 'denied' by colonialist powers return, and may suggest alternative 'rules of recognition' regarding the contemporary post-colonial societies and culture. This contribution can be useful, if we articulate it with a more political posture of resistance, advocated by E. Said (2004) and others, from the other side.

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Abstract: It aims to analyze an excerpt from a field journal (concerning the child's ethnic and racial identity) through the prism of childhood social studies and epistemologies of the South. The above mentioned fragment is an empirical tool for a PhD research in progress. It is understood that the creation of childhood is a socio - historical construction of Western modernity in a continuous update process. The child, therefore, is represented as an Other, and situated in a place of selective invisibility in relation with adults. The characteristics of abyssal thinking (typical of the West) such as: regulation/emancipation and appropriation/violence have had their impact on the child throughout times. The childhood studies could be related with the Ecology of Knowledge, from the Epistemologies of the South, since both areas are concerned with alterity. We conclude that such theoretical perspectives provide a broader historical view, understanding the creation of the children's world. The idea to comprehend the access the children have to the products made for them and how they use these products among themselves. The involvement in relationships with adults and with other kids makes researchers work with children as producers of meanings about the world, about others and about themselves. That is found while observing the peculiar mode of insertion into the world on the ethno-racial differentiation as children experience it. The visibility of the issue from the perspective of listening to this actor means that the idea of a childhood essence is rejected.

Keywords: Children; Ethnicity / Race; epistemologies South; Sociology of Childhood .

Introduction

The teacher makes a drawing of Gerlene.

Gerlene: - Teacher, haven't you forgotten something? There is something little missing

The teacher: - What?

Gerlene: - My little skin colour!

The teacher completes the drawing with the brown pencil."
(Field Diary, September 12, 2012)

The abovementioned situation was described by a kindergarten teacher to the researcher at the time of insertion into a kindergarten classroom from a private school situated in the northwest of Brazil. The insertion was due to the observations registered in a field journal as a methodological tool of the doctoral research in progress entitled "African Ancestry and Childhood Cultures: Playing with Identities School". The PhD reserach aims

Epistemologies of the South and the social studies of childhood: children and African ancestry in school

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to understand how children perceive the knowledge transmitted by the school about the African and afro - Brazilian culture and how they comprehend and appreciate their ethnic and racial identity.

The objective is, therefore, to analyze this passage discussing the productions' conditions of such a dialogue. How does the child come up with that idea? What can be thought about the teacher's answer? It is, therefore, essential to substantiate a theoretical framework that relates the sociology of childhood (Prout, 2005) and the Epistemologies of the South (Santos, 2010). This paper will focus on the critical analysis of the relationship between the child and the teacher to gain a better understanding of the African Ancestry in Intercultural Education, comprising the decolonizing elements presented in the forementioned excerpt. The exploratory colonization process in Brazil engendered the genocide and ethnocide which have silenced indigenous and African cultural roots. It was justified by its supposed "civilizing" character, from the supposedly superior culture of the colonizer (Munanga, 2008). The author quotes examples of blacks and mulattos, who have excelled throughout history and were alienated from their ethnic-racial identity. The only way to have social mobility was to identify with the white European and their whole way of life included schooling. This way, the education in Brazil is placed at the centre of the black movement's claims. They demanded for another kind of education, different from the one that would once more silence the indigenous and African cultural roots. Thereby, African Ancestry becomes an important voice for the setting of Education and is also used to create a positive identity tool for the afro-brazilians. Rocha (2009) highlights the contribution of this concept:

Used as a pedagogical principle, practices may include respect for elders, personal and collective identity of the learner, traditions of the people as constitutive of their identity. Working from this perspective, similarities and differences, history and memory, the number of social relationships in different times and spaces in which they perform help therefore to build respect and appreciation of differences. (Rocha, 2009, p. 45).

According to Oliveira (2009) ancestry would be the link between the finite historical and social condition of man and his transcendental, spiritual and infinite dimension. The ancestry relates not only to kinship inbred. This denotes a metaphysical reality that no longer concerns only Africans and their lineages, but it is also the "principal element of the African worldview in Brazil" (Oliveira, 2007 p.205) and therefore is an important constitutive aspect of brazillians' national identity.

There are few studies on Ancestry as an analytical category. Oliveira (2012) understands it as a symbol of African descendents resistance that begins to be discussed as epistemological dimension. Sodr  (1999) features black culture as Arkhe, which are cultures that are based on ancestry, where the cult of Origin, circular temporality, ecology and the centrality of the body are important markers of a worldview. Orishas and deities are symbolized by various entities that occupy the same discourse plane as mortals do. Orality is a major support structure of cultural transmission that empowers relationships of belonging, especially inspired in a religious thinking. It grants the community life the possibility to resist against the dominant way of living.

The primacy of the body and liturgical organization (instead of the written sign and disenchanted society) in social relations gives rise to the possibility of talking about oppositions to the Christian West civilizational parameters - and this is mainly with its ethical consequences, which the doctrine of miscegenation could never assimilate. But there is this "oppositional" nothing racially or geographical identity: the difference is purely symbolic, reflected in the diversity of ways in which people relate to the pressures of tradition and modernity. (Sodr , 1999, p 203)

Sodr  explains with the Greek word "Arkhe", which means "starting point", how the ritualization

of origin and destination enables the entry of alterity in identity. This signifies a possibility of great interest to this study that questions the school's methods of dealing with ethnic themes.

The idea of Arkhe is not equivalent to an inaugural and eternal event, one axiological set given and transmitted from one generation to another. It has nothing in common with the "repetition of the same", quoted by Eliade, concerning the "archaic man" stating that "his life is a continuous repetition of gestures inaugurated by others." It is, rather immanent meaning of the symbols (the deities being metaphors for cosmological principles, the ancestors supporting the law, the foundation and continuity of the group), active in community memory that marks a possibility. They can be associated with heracliteano logos, understood as the force present in the way each entity conducts itself or, in other words, as a language of achievement. (Sodré, 1999, p. 177)

In the culture of Arkhe, Sodré (1999) explains that before being a "subject", the human being is an object, and shares this condition with animals, vegetables and minerals, all of them being parts of the cosmos. Before thinking about the human being as "a subject", it is crucial to regard him as a "thing" (related to environmental matters, with the dead and the ancestors) that is made of spirit itself. "Arkhe appears as another experience with regard to the conception of divinity and relationship with body and psyche." (Sodré, 1999, p. 202).

Self-consciousness forged in Arkhe culture is an awareness of self as a body, the microcosm, place, and a sacred temple. The body is understood as a "floating signifier", as Sodré (1999) explains the power of the body, based on Levi- Strauss. This power is not expressed in terms of control - as "hierarchically tying device" that seeks to deny its arbitrariness (Sodré, 1999: 182) - but instead as sovereignty, that not imposes itself by tying but by fascination.

The strength of the narrative construction of personal identity is such that the subject is a manufactured initiation in a process called "workmanship". African ancestry at school could stress the possibility to be an "Other". "To be na Other is to be aware of the uniqueness." (Sodré, 1999 p.214).

The Brazilian's myth of origin refers to racial democracy symbolized by the mestizo people. In this context, affirming African origins profoundly affects racial and national identity. It exposes that in this democracy, the excluded are the largest number and are also ethnically and racially belonging to the group of mestizo, as shown by Moore (2008).

1. Social Studies of Childhood and Epistemologies South?

Santos (2010) characterizes Western thought as abyssal thinking, one that establishes a gap between poles of reality, marking one of them (the colonized) with radical exclusion and no legal validity, so to turn invisible the fact that the visible pole (colonizer) is sustained by them. The author articulates two ways of thinking: the logic of regulation/ emancipation and appropriation/ violence. The first one is articulated to establish the distinction between human and sub-human, so between the rights of people and rights of things, introducing "The denial of a part of Humanity is sacrificial condition for the other part of humanity that asserts itself as universal." (Santos, 2010, p.39). In the second logic, the appropriation is related to the processes of cooptation, assimilation and incorporation, while violence means the destruction by the expropriation of value.

For its part, the post-abyssal thinking is the one that can articulate issues across the line. In other words, it can create a broader view to include oppressors and the oppressed. Santos (2010) explains: "In our time, to think in non derivative terms means reasoning from the perspective of the other side of the line, precisely because the other side of the line is the domain of the unthinkable." (p. 53). Based

on these assumptions, Social Studies of Childhood, from 90s, begin to formulate similar questions.

Whereas childhood as a social construction of modern, Western thought, it can be observed how childhood is constructed in opposition to adulthood, including the dichotomies: public/private, natural/cultural, irrational/rational, dependent/independent, passive/active, incompetent/competent, game/work, being always the first characteristics related to childhood and the second adulthood (Prout, 2005, p.9). It is understood that from there the body “child” is differentiated and have meanings assigned to it.

It is a part of a discourse in which childhood, as Holland (1992:14) puts it, ‘as well as being different from adulthood, is it obverse, a depository of many precious qualities adulthood needs but cannot tolerate as part of itself.’ Such images of romantic childhood project and imply the idea of childhood’s natural state: childhood as a time of innocence, free of cares and responsibilities. (Prout, 2005, p. 11)

It could be understood that the logics of regulation / emancipation and appropriation / violence (Santos, 2010) are clearly operating in childhood, as the children represented the opposite, or the other, to the adult. According to Prout (2005), the last quarter of the 20th century was to promote the rights of children. It occurred along the extension and intensification of several other forms of institutional control, beyond compulsory schooling, for example, the institutionalization of their leisure and recreational activities of their time. Also, the orientation of the value of children’s lives, this increasingly scarce and more precious value (Zelizer, 1985), seated in future, reinforces the school as the place of “cultivation”. Ferreira (2004) relates the understanding that the children aged 3 to 6 can be educated in kindergarten as a place of visibility of small children. It also made possible for their families to transfer to educational establishment, which is reflected, currently, in globalizing trend of institutionalization of childhood.

“The ecology of knowledge is a destabilizing epistemology in the sense that it engages in a radical critique of the politics of the possible, without surrendering to the politics of impossible.” (Santos, 2010, p.64). Even being in kindergarten, a place organized by the adults for the socialization of children, the order being established and maintained by them is not without gaps and internal inconsistencies or several disclaims, opposing and also in dialogue with instituting order of children. This means that children do something of what is done to, and for them. That appears through the analyzed excerpt from the journal field.

2. Contemporary Children and Teachers: African Ancestry in Intercultural Education

The agenda of the Brazilian black movement has a strong emphasis on the right to education, historically denied, even by legal bounds. This situation has been changing since 2000, when the legal framework of the country passed the Law No. 10.639/03, establishing the compulsory teaching of history and african - Brazilian and African culture in public and private elementary and secondary schools, the Opinion of the CNE / CP 03 /2004 having approved the National Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching History and Afro -Brazilian and African Education and Racial-Ethnic Relations, Resolution CNE / CP 01 /2004, which deals with the responsibilities of federal agencies to implement the law and the quotas for higher education students.

Moore (2008) addresses these legal agreements at the Third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, which took place in Durban (South Africa, 2001), where the countries agreed to adopt reparatory official measures for targeting populations which suffer socio-racial oppression. The themes discussed at the conference were: the enslavement of African people and their consequences on people of African origin in the present day, such as

marginalization and impoverishment, of the African Continent. The participating countries agreed to combat racism. By doing the same, Brazil increased its international political credibility, which also favours its economy.

The law 10.639/03 is situated in the broader context of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Brazilian Education (1996), as a policy of affirmative action. Such policy is a state action aimed at combating a situation of maintained historically constructed inequality. The legal text from the document called “Opinion of CNE / CP 03 /2004” is about the National Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching History and Afro -Brazilian and African Education and Racial-Ethnic Relations. Initially, it locates the historical demand of African descendent populations by valuing their identity and history. It also states their right to education and the need to deconstruct the myth of racial democracy allowing for other ethnic relations. Their normative principles guided (Brazil, 2004 , p.11): 1) the political and historical consciousness of Brazilian diversity , 2) strengthening denied or distorted identities ; 3) fighting discrimination through educational actions.

The challenge the school is faced with is not only about inclusion of curricular content. Instead, it is itself the deconstruction of black people exclusionary vision. It involves building an affirmative action policy that incorporates knowledge and school practices in contribution of blackness (*négritude*) to the nation’s constitution, which requires a critical review of how one understands the curriculum, history and teaching practices. Moore (2008) believes that it is a highly complex task to make a review of the African continent’s history. That is because of its size and mineral’s wealth, migration rate and long occupation of the territory (being considered the cradle of humanity). It can be visible in Santos’ (2010) recognition of the epistemological diversity of the world, the plurality of forms of knowledge, beyond the scientific ones, and realization of utopia of interknowledge. In Bakhtin’s perception (1995), it was about to turn “audible” voices that dispute to be heard and to constitute narratives as a multicultural society.

3. About context and actors: an analysis

Every single human being needs world that makes sense. They struggle to solve questions and issues that arise from the reality they experience. The kindergaten, which was a locus of the present research, has performed since 1981 a pioneering educational work in relation to the size of art, body, ecology and admission of students with disabilities. This had its impact on the local political scene. With their claims, they managed the construction of a waste recycling center by the City Hall. The inclusion of men as early childhood educators is also noteworthy. Even with the present strong discussion of gender, it is still unusual to find men as kindergaten teachers. They work with children participating in meetings, discussions and implementation of rules. The school’s curriculum is designed in terms of curriculum web. Intercultural Education projects are highlighted: “Discovering values and roots” and “Being and the tradition.” According to Nascimento (2008), the first one “aims to provide the redemption of our history , knowing the roots and values of the people who gave birth to our nation “ (p. 146) . The second one, “Being in Tradition” refers to the study of the “history of colonization, race mixing, culture, traditions and spirituality of the Brazilian people” (Nascimento, 2008, p. 157). This project culminates with the Folklore Celebration.

The observation took place a class named Watercolor. The name of the classroom was given by the school itself, and expresses a coincidence: it was the only class of kindergaten with some ethnic variability in that school. From the point of view of the biotype, the class consists of a white teacher

and 15 children, 8 girls (only one black, four white and three brown¹) and 7 boys (05 of them, white and 01 black and 01 brown). One of the White boys has Down Syndrome and there is a brown woman who helps him. The ethno-racial classification was made by the researcher using the hair colour (or quality) as an important ethnic marker. Sodr  (1999) states that “the empirical observation of social relations also shows that hair and skin colour matters” (p. 254), and comparably Gomes (2002) defines the hair as strategic in terms of identity . The girl in question, named by the researcher Gerlene was identified as brown, dark skinned and straight haired, upper middle class, whose mother is a doctor. The elimination of ethnic and racial issues was to be expected, as a result of the aforementioned social and historical context. Surprisingly, Gerlene shed light on a different matter. She reminded the teacher about her own skin colour.

It highlighted the sense of belonging by the child and the teacher. By questioning why her skin colour had been forgotten, the child may be expressing a decolonizing way of thinking. In the same act of speech the child also points out her difference, making visible a racial pattern in the representation of children, which is white. However, to address those kind of questions, or the act of ask questions, directly with “being a child” is incur in an essentialization that reproduces the binaries attributed to childhood by modernity, maybe in reversed order.

The child is a part of a wide and complex network of relationships that belongs to a given context. This enables her reading of her own insertion and to address others (the teacher), through a question which is also a reminder. What she asked was emblematic: Teacher, haven’t you forgotten something? There’s one little thing missing...The statement reveals a critical - interpretive tone about the teacher’s drawing. The teacher otherwise would have forgotten to colour her skin. There is a huge gap when it comes to blackness in Brazilian historiography and the selective invisibility that black children are exposed in Brazilian education. According to Costa (2007), it has an impact on the ethinc and racial identity in childhood. Perhaps, the methodological device of the research made teacher’s sensitivity apprehensible to this theme. Therefore the teacher reported to the researcher what the child had asked her. The use of the diminutive “my little something”, “my little skin colour” can mean either that: 1) it is a kind of speech typical of children 2) something that is an insignificant detail to one might be in fact very important to another. In the same speech act, various discursive strands dialogue in the text of the child: censorship about forgetting her skin colour, the assertion of their difference and the claim to this recognition. The teacher, in turn, becomes conscious of the ethno-racial erasure in response to the intervention of the child, and listens to the child, wich made the conversation possible. The teacher use of the brown crayon is, therefore, taken as a sign of sensitivity to ethno-racial question, and the episode reported to the researcher by the teacher, as a moment of alterity’s recognition, enabled by the child’s request.

Conclusion

The undertaken analysis aimed to highlight the contributions of the fields of Social Studies of Childhood and Epistemologies of the South to complexify the issues concerning African ancestry and their presence in intercultural education. It is unattainable to decolonize childhood only by expanding children’s fields of action. The crucial point is to regard children as people authorized to speak on their own behalf, from a point of view given by their place in the social relations. This implies also shifts in positions traditionally taken by adults within the institutional arrangements. Listening to the children in school context meant for education a wider understanding of their own ethnic/ racial question.

1 “Brown” is the ethinc classification used by Brazilian Institute of Geografy and Statitics.

The pedagogical strategy of working with the African culture, from a reference of ancestry, is a strategy of affirmative action to recognize and appreciate the foundations of Brazilian cultural heritage. Epistemologies of the South concerns the questions, concepts and ways of thinking which could provide further reading about globalization and knowledge-building. They state that the hegemonic way of thinking has lost momentum in coping with issues such as inequality. Social studies of childhood question the flux of encounter between adult and children at school in order to consider its bidirectionality. They may also question the very school structure in terms of its centralization in what the adult understands as important for education, taking into consideration what the child regards important.

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SESSION 17

IDENTITIES AND
REPRESENTATIONS IN
COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS 3

Abstract: According to grammar of western modernity, peripheral societies such as Brazil have entered the modern world under the inscription of “backwardness”. This article aims at presenting how Brazilian social thought has perceived this inscription by accepting the stigma of the incompleteness of Brazilian modernity. Thus two different moments of fabrication of national identity will be discussed. Firstly, the moment in which the miscegenation that has taken place in Brazil is seen as the main cause for the continuity of Brazilian backwardness. Secondly, the moment in which Brazilian identity is conceived from the standpoint of the “praise of hybridity”. Whether in its depreciative version of the *mestizo*, or in its flattering version, Brazilian national identity is imagined from a western binary discourse framework that impedes the drawing of a different way of being modern but that which the canonical grammar of modernity allows to exist. The conclusion of this article suggests that an articulation of post-colonial studies and Brazilian social thought could provide a decolonization of Brazilian national imaginary.

Keywords: Modernity; Brazilian Social Thought; Miscegenation; National Identity; Decolonization; Imaginary.

Rupture with colonizing rationality is the only alternative.

Glauber Rocha

This article results from a discomfort with sociological semantics of backwardness. An overview of Brazilian social thought most significant authors will have us realize that the central problem that occupies the core of Brazilian sociology could be summarized as “Brazilian dilemma of backwardness”. Since Joaquim Nabuco and Euclides da Cunha, in the 19th Century, passing by the period of scientific essayism of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Caio Prado Jr and Gilberto Freyre, to the constitution of a full institutional sociology, that initiated with Paulista sociological school whose main figure was Florestan Fernandes¹, the question that mobilizes all analysis of Brazilian social life is related to our incomplete insertion in the modern world.

¹ I consider important to emphasize that the analysis of the historical process of the development of sociology in Brazil that I apply here was mainly informed by two important books: (1) *History of Social Sciences in Brazil*, vol. 1, Sérgio Miceli (org). São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, 2001 and (2) *Sociology in Brazil: contributions to the study of its formation and development*. Florestan Fernandes, Editora Vozes: Petrópolis, 1976. In these two works, the authors present this division of the development of sociology in Brazil in the three moments which I mentioned. The essayism of the thirties, the second of them, is presented as a disruptive moment from which the basis for the establishment of scientific sociology is set. São Paulo School of Sociology, even though not the only one, will be the privileged locus in which this process will find its greatest vigor.

Miscegenation and national identity: reflections towards a decolonization of Brazilian imaginary

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Homi Bhabha has created a concept which seems to apprehend the essence of what I am trying to point out by mentioning the idea of incomplete insertion in the modern world. He describes peoples, cultures, nations situated otherwise than modernity². Peripheral countries such as Brazil, so many times referred to as backwards or of late modernity, in a certain way would have fallen short of modernity or would have constituted themselves in a particular way which is not modernity's rightful path. Backwardness therefore would be a given fact. It would fall over Brazilian social thinkers the task of understanding it in order to surpass it. That is what Brazilian sociology has proposed itself to accomplish in its short existence.

Furthermore, connected to the dilemma of backwardness is the problem of hybridity. Having constituted itself in national imaginary as two faces of the same coin, the reflection on the meaning of both – imperfect modernity and hybridity – has accompanied all the trajectory of Brazilian social thinking since late 19th century. Given Brazilian necessity of building a national identity, given the inexistence in Brazil of a civilization of its own similar to those that developed in the European continent, it was necessary to find that which would characterize us more particularly in order to invent the nation³. This search mobilized both intellectuals and writers and the State during the last decades of 19th century and the early 20th century.

In the first moment, the mixture that unfolded in Brazilian soil was seen as a problem to be resolved. Authors such as Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Silvio Romero and Oliveira Vianna presented miscegenation and syncretism from a pessimistic perspective, something that was impeding intellectual, social and economic development. This generation of intellectuals, who wrote in the transition of 19th to 20th century, was specially influenced by evolutionary anthropology and by racist conceptions, which categorized races and placed them in a teleological scheme of history.

In regard to national identity, these positions caused a serious problem. How could a nation and a people be created, something that had been drawing for centuries, affirming that the central element that defines us is negative? In other words, the problem of identity was that we had no identity. Our hybridity, that which constitutes us, was exactly the reason of our backwardness. As Renato Ortiz insists, it was necessary to transform negativity in positivity. That is what Gilberto Freyre did⁴.

The thirties in Brazil was a historical period in which identity matters that had been shaping at least since the eighteen-seventies consubstantiated. Brazilian miscegenation, seen as problem until then, became an asset in Gilberto Freyre's work. The author from Pernambuco made of his theoretical construct an ode to hybridity therefore giving voice to the "myth of the three races" which, before him, was only a discrete whisper. The publication of *Masters & Slaves* coincides with the Vargas period, institutional moment in which the idea of national was appreciated. At this moment, the State was intensely committed to the fabrication of an identity to Brazil.

It is not my intention in this paper to enter into the complexity of the discussion over the *myth of the three races* and its consequences to the way in which Brazilian racial relations are thought. Obviously this "tale", using the expression of Brazilian anthropologist Roberto daMatta⁵, imposes the persistent problem of prejudice of color invisibility. The difficulty in discussing racism in Brazil has to do with what Florestan Fernandes has perceived as a Brazilian tendency to have prejudice of

2 Bhabha (1995), p.6: "...postcolonial critique bears witness to those countries and communities constituted, if I may coin a phrase, 'otherwise than modernity'".

3 I am referring here to the definition of nation conceived by Anderson (2006), p.6: "*In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign*". In the same fragment of this book in which he creates this concept, Anderson quotes Ernest Gellner: "*Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they did not exist*".

4 Ortiz (1986), p. 41.

5 DaMatta (1987), p.58.

having prejudice. Harmonious coexistence among races in Brazil is an idealistic behavior and, for this reason, prejudice and racial democracy are able to conciliate as social norm and social practice⁶. What interests me, for now, is to have in mind that the flattering version of miscegenation has carried out a historical role, which was to give the contours of a Brazilian national identity.

Before I continue describing detailedly the praise of hybridity that constituted the core of Brazilian national imagining from the thirties on, I will go back a few decades to show how a certain imaginary on the black – and, consequently, on the mestizo – has constituted itself from the reception and appropriation of racialist and scientificist ideas of late 19th century Europe. I will delimit myself to describing, essentially, two of the most important Brazilian authors that dedicated themselves to studying the Afro-Brazilian from a scientific standpoint. The two authors are Nina Rodrigues and Arthur Ramos.

The constitution of a scientific field whose proposal would be the systematic study of the Afro-Brazilian initiated with the efforts of Nina Rodrigues, who was the first to devote himself to studying methodically the Brazilian *negro* based upon scientific presuppositions valid in his days⁷. His studies, which revolved between medicine and ethnology, bear the strength of a biologizing evolutionary anthropology, which sought answers for questions regarded to non-western humankind from a supposedly “scientific” gaze upon alterity, especially on blacks.

Nina’s thinking was structured essentially on a conception of racial determinism supported by Gobineau’s essay on the inequality of human races. To this deterministic notion it gathered the employing of polygynistic arguments and a vigorous complying with evolutionism as unquestionable truth. These arguments combined made him firmly believe that an individual is necessarily attached to his or her racial inheritance. This is exactly what he concludes from analyzing the cranium of Antônio Conselheiro. Nina inferred that it was the cranium of a *mestizo* and that all the characteristics that informed it explained the behavior of *Canudos* spiritual leader⁸.

His affiliation to evolutionism made Nina believe that human development would be structured in distinctive phases and that different human races could be historically placed in each one of these phases. *Negros* would be representative of a pre-modern phase and therefore would be backward in comparison to whites. The black race preserved certain innate tendencies that could not be erased even through breeding with whites. Blacks are, for Nina, inferior and thus inclined to remain so. Any possibility of progression could be measured only in a very long historical scale⁹.

It is upon this theoretical and temporal framing which “the problem of the negro” is posed. The atavism of the black race presented a fundamental inconvenient that should be resolved, the impossibility of modernization of a country widely formed by negros, negroids and mestizos in general. Therefore it was necessary to inquire meticulously the impact and influence of negro presence in Brazilian society with the objective of attenuating both. Thus the construction of mestizo played a fundamental role in the process of whitening the population, process which was seen as the only possible way to achieve progress.

During the thirties, the arguments of Nina Rodrigues are recuperated by Arthur Ramos and reinterpreted as of more updated theoretical conceptions. Perhaps the ideas that most influenced the physician from Alagoas were those of Lévy-Bruhl, which constituted themselves as a kind of filter and lenses by which he sieved and reread the teachings of Nina. Based on the theory of pre-logical thinking developed by Lévy-Bruhl mainly in his works *La mentalité primitive* (1922) and *L’âme*

6 Guimaraes (2001), p. 150.

7 Souza (2011), p. 107.

8 Ibid, p. 93.

9 Ibid, p. 102.

primitive (1927), Ramos refuses the assumption over the inferiority of black man and proposes the influence of magical and pre-logical thinking as the main cause of his backwardness. It is important to state that these causes can present themselves among any ethnic group. Thus in Ramos, the roots of backwardness migrate from race to enter the sphere of psyche. What is necessary, therefore, is not whitening the population but rather leading black men towards more developed stages of thinking¹⁰.

The study of black religiousness became very productive segment in this field of scientific investigation of the negro. Nina Rodrigues, for example, gave his research of black man religious sentiment a medical anthropological framing which proposed a wide comprehension of the mental state of the race¹¹. For him, fetishist and animist practices among Afro-Brazilian resulted of a mental dysfunction that should be studied as a medical phenomenon. Sacred dances and ritual which blacks engaged in would not be more than ways of reliving phenomena that were perfectly normal in more primitive phases of social evolution. Again, one can notice the presence of the evolutionist argument always constituting Nina's thinking.

The draft that Arthur Ramos gave to his studies of black religiousness was framed in a different perspective as he perceived blacks not as bearers of mental dysfunction but rather as mentally backwards. They were still situated in a pre-logical mental childhood which could be reversed. This argument would also explain the specific shape which syncretism developed in Brazil. Ramos affirmed that the fusion of different Afro-Brazilian religious sources with Catholicism would be something natural once blacks easily embraced superstition, as it is common for peoples in their evolutionary childhood, and thus sought protection from catholic saints as a way to prevent sickness and hardships¹². Furthermore, their incapacity for psychological abstraction made African populations adjust Catholicism to their own sets of beliefs as they were not capable of understanding the logics of a monotheistic religion¹³.

The subject of Afro-Brazilian religiousness gets in density when added to this reflection the theoretical contributions of Roger Bastide. What interests me in the French author thinking is his gazing over Latin America perceiving it as a locus of juxtaposition of spaces and times. Thus Brazilian identity for him would have to be presented from a duality between tradition and modernity¹⁴. Nowhere else would this antagonism reveal itself so clearly as in moral and religion.

Roger Bastide points to the fact that the main pattern by which middle class blacks would stress their acculturation to white and modern values would be distancing themselves from black religiousness, considered as low-class, and adhering to puritan values. He perceives the existence of a color line which, however, could be crossed by cultivating acceptable moral behavior. Therefore, it was necessary to become "black with a white soul".

Bastide was heavily influenced by Gilberto Freyre in his studies of Afro-Brazilian religiousness, especially with the notion of racial democracy developed by the author from Pernambuco. In the first moment, when he undertook his first journey to Brazilian northeast, the Frenchman shaped his perceptions of Brazilian racial reality from his readings of Gilberto Freyre. Subsequently, particularly after his researches along with Florestan Fernandes, Bastide complicated and refined his understanding of the concept of racial democracy. More than a social reality, the harmonious

10 Ramos (2001), p. 32.

11 Souza, *Ibid.* p. 94.

12 This manner of perceiving the *negro* was very common among cultivated classes. Even a theorist of *antropofagia* as Oswald de Andrade could not escape from it. In a conference given in Sorbonne published in French in the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* in 1923 he reflected upon the encounter between the African and the colonizer: "...the negro, accustomed in seeing supernatural manifestations in anything, let himself be baptized with the joy of a child". Excerpt from Andrade (2011).

13 Ramos, *Ibid.*, p. 122.

14 Bastide (2006), p.

relating among races is an idealistic behavior of Brazilians who are prejudicial of those who have prejudice. Thus skin color prejudice and racial democracy go along as social practice and social norm and therefore can coexist.

At this moment it also emerges the fundamental subject of nationality, which has been discussed since the work of Nina Rodrigues and which seems to be, as I have already mentioned in this piece, an essential problem to Brazilian social thinking. As much as one can say that the rites and systems of beliefs of Brazilian blacks are of African origin, it is necessary to have in mind that they are specifically and essentially Brazilian. Their survivor and, at the same time, adaptation symbolizes and synthesizes the process of miscegenation that characterized the formation of nationality.

Brazilian religious syncretism is legitimate heir of our hybridization, a result of the mixture between African fetishist animism and white catholic superstition which is reinforced by incipient indigenous animism. It is from this soil – fertile for the emerging of all sorts of occultist manifestations, according Nina Rodrigues – that the Brazilian population rises. Miscegenation and syncretism thus present a fundamental problem for modern life, that of the antitheses of opposite worlds, of distinct times which collide and intersect in the same space. Herein lies the dilemma of Brazilian modernity.

The same thirties during which Arthur Ramos wrote is also a prolific moment of nation imagining in Brazil. Gilberto Freyre published *Masters & Slaves* in 1933, only three years after Ramos had published his *O negro brasileiro*. The proximity of these two publications gives us knowledge of how different thesis regarding Brazilian miscegenation coexisted and contended. It is possible to perceive however a similar movement to that which anthropological theory was making towards a new way of approaching diversity. Ramos was, as it has been said here, influenced by Lévy-Bruhl's ideas of evolutionary content. On the other hand, Freyre, who had studied with Franz Boas at Columbia University, proposed an interpretation of miscegenation from ideas derived of cultural anthropology developed in the United States whose great contribution until then was the concept of cultural relativism.

So instead of concentrating my efforts on the intellectual debate that emerged in Brazil in that historical moment, I would rather discuss national identity and the praise of miscegenation, which so strongly dwells in the imaginary of *brazilianness*, from a reflection on Umbanda, religion that emerged in Brazil exactly during the moment of constitution of a single and hegemonic narrative on nationality¹⁵. The relationship between Umbanda and Brazilian national identity can be argued, fundamentally, from the idea of syncretism, which represents in religion what miscegenation has come to mean for racial theory. Both these notions refer to a conception of mixture that would be constitutive of the Brazilian *gene*. What would essentially constitute a person from Brazil therefore would be the cultural blending that took place in Brazilian territory which generated a symbiosis of races that gains particular meaning in different levels of social life. Thus miscegenation and syncretism are analogous movements.

The historical moment in which this conception of Brazilian is forged is also that of the birth of a new religion: Umbanda. Renato Ortiz reminds us that it is not possible to precise exactly when this creed originated, for it is related with all the socio-economical processes overpassed Brazil in the transition of 19th to 20th century. One can say, therefore, that Umbanda has had a long gestation whose birth occurred during the thirties.

¹⁵ Instead of concentrating on the debate among authors and their thesis, I prefer to describe the emerging of Umbanda as a concrete process by which one can perceive how the imaginary of a supposedly homogeneity of the Brazilian mestizo is shaped and ends up constituting the central idea of nationality. The thirties are in Brazil a key moment in which a series of processes of nationalization of cultural practices converge. This is the period in which samba becomes national, Umbanda consolidates and a mestizo imaginary becomes visible and begins to give a defined feature to the nation. For the purposes of this article, it seems to me more useful to describe one of these processes rather than just present a debate among authors.

If Brazilian identity consists of miscegenation, Umbanda would then crystallize *Brazilianness*. As Renato Ortiz affirms in this quotation: “Umbanda is an endogenous religion situated at the crossroad of the three races which have contributed to the formation of Brazilian people: the blacks, the indigenous and the European. Thus one can say it is a national religion, that is to say Brazilian”¹⁶. Umbanda is therefore situated exactly at the frontier of the three races, possessing elements that characterize the religion of each one of them, though not being any. Ortiz makes us know that the disaggregation of black collective memory produces a new type of cult, *macumba*. With the consolidation of an urban-industrial society divided in classes conditions are given so as to allow a new religion to flourish from the practice of macumba: Umbanda.

It is important to stress here how Ortiz understands the elements that forged the new set of beliefs have come together. He interprets that Umbanda has constituted itself from a reinterpretation that a segment of Kardecist Spiritists had given to Afro practices, by then still in state of disaggregation as Macumba. The dogmatism of Spiritism impeded this segment of continuing their common practices of receiving the spirits of *caboclos* and *pretos velhos*, two entities of Umbanda. The black cults, reinterpreted by these Spiritists, shaped the new practices that would give the basis for the new religion. Ortiz affirms that by 1941 the new religious practice would have already consolidated.

Hence, Umbanda is essentially syncretic religion and thus fundamentally Brazilian. Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz stresses the fact that this creed was able to impose itself and gather followers in various social segments indicates the unanimous consent established around Brazilian syncretic civilization. The amalgamation of cultures produced in Brazil is therefore recognized by all social segments, even by those hegemonic, as a unique mark of its national identity. Moreover, the author draws an interesting parallel between the affirmation of Brazilian individuality, which creates national identity, and the diffusion of an acute conscience of Brazil’s subaltern economic position¹⁷.

Maria Isaura also reminds us of the historical path undertaken by aboriginal and Afro-Brazilian cults. Initially, they did not represent Brazilian society as whole but rather partial groups. Whites were not affectively attached to these cults as were other oppressed groups. The notion of identity of those was related to ideas such of those of biological and cultural superiority of the whites. With the emergence of Umbanda, the possibility of surpassing those differences opens up as the idea of miscegenation had gained the status of identity. Thus a new religious cosmos consolidates as representative of all national culture. This historical movement can also be seen in Bastide’s thinking. Initially the Frenchman perceived Umbanda as a type of Afro-Brazilian cult but later assumed it to be a national religion of Brazil.

Renato Ortiz points out that even though Umbanda is related to Spiritism, Catholicism, Spirits of *Caboclos* and African tradition, it cannot be considered essentially any of them, but rather all of them at the same time, that is to say, a typically Brazilian religion. Cultural hybridization therefore processes both through syncretism and miscegenation. Redefinition of racial blending operates at the same time through the spread of a new syncretic religion which also turns out to represent the identity resulting from the mixture.

As Ortiz reminds us, every identity is a symbolic construct. It is not a social scientist’s task to decide over the accuracy or falsehood of an identity, but rather perceive the implications of its affirmation. What it seems more fundamental for the purposes of this article is the reflection of people as a modern collective identity. One of the most important concerns of Brazilian social thought has been to discuss the formation of Brazilian people as a collective Subject that gives substance to the nation. Octavio Ianni points to the fact that what is at stake in all racial discussions in the history of Brazilian social

¹⁶ Ortiz (1986), p.

¹⁷ Pereira de Queiroz (1988). Pgs. 59-83.

thought is exactly the problem of the nation. Races, nation, people, miscegenation, in short, all these issues would be a permanent obsession of Brazilian thinking. Our search for an identity of our own in modern times would have to necessarily confront the problems related to miscegenation.

Until this moment, my efforts were in trying to describe two essential historical moments as to the definition of an imaginary to Brazilianness. Firstly, the moment in which miscegenation is seen from the standpoint of colonial racism *tout court* as an impediment to modernization and thus a problem to be solved. Secondly, the moment in which hybridity of the Brazilian tropics becomes a civilizational asset which not only founds the Brazilian nation, but also gives her a certain moral advantage¹⁸. I believe Post-Colonial studies can contribute decisively to make this discussion about Brazilian identity more complex.

A quotation from Sérgio Costa points out how I understand Post-Colonial studies can contribute to a rethinking of Brazilian identity: “post-colonial rethinking of modern history aims to reinsert, reestablish the colonized into modernity, not as the West other, a synonym for backwardness, tradition, absence, but as an essential constitutive part of what was built, discursively, as modern”¹⁹. Whether in its depreciative version of the *mestizo*, or in its flattering version, Brazilian national identity is imagined from a western binary discourse framework that impedes the drawing of a different way of being modern but that which the canonical grammar of modernity allows to exist. The imaginary of Brazilianness thus seems unable to recognize another self-description which is not simply a tainted mirror of a *hyperreal Europe*²⁰.

Modernity is for us Brazilians frequently thought as something that comes from abroad and should be admired and adopted. Partha Chatterjee approaches the subject in manner which I understand being related to how Brazilians imagine themselves: “Modernity is for us like a supermarket of foreign goods, displayed on the shelves: pay up and take away what you like. No one there believes that we could be producers of modernity. The bitter truth about our present is our subjection, our inability to be subjects in our own right”²¹.

Decolonizing the imagining of the national is therefore to decolonize the imaginary²² which holds us back to a necessity of being modern according to the pattern imposed by hegemonic modernity. Thus a proposal that puts forth decolonizing implies opening to cultural features that were subalternized due to the necessity of building up a single national identity that was meant to insert and situate Brazilians in the modern world. Perhaps only this opening will help us understand the continuity of racism, of social immobility based upon racialized social relations, as part of modernity’s logics of segregation in which what is called archaic is intricately connected to modern in a binding way, not as a symbol of backwardness or an impediment to the attaining of a egalitarian modern order, but rather as a concrete fact of modernity itself. Perhaps only in doing so will the long and detestable persistency of racism in Brazilian society be fully understood.

It seems to me that we lack in Brazil a systematic intellectual effort to acknowledge Post-Colonial critique of social sciences. My efforts in this piece were directed to trying and point out how Brazilian national identity was designed from intellectual movements that accepted the duality

18 Gilberto Freyre addressed recurrently the idea that *Lusotropical* miscegenation gave a certain moral advantage to the men of the tropics, among which could be included the overcoming of racism. This would be the most important Brazilian contribution to Civilization. For a more profound reading of this subject I would recommend two of Freyre’s books: *Para além do apenas moderno* (*Beyond just modern*) and *Mundo novo nos trópicos* (*New world in the tropics: The culture of modern Brazil*).

19 Costa (2006), p. 121.

20 Costa, *Ibid*, p. 121.

21 Chatterjee (2004), p. 64.

22 I believe it is important to stress here the meaning I gave to the concept of imaginary. I was based on the meaning given by Cunha (2006), p.14, in which she proposes, in line with Cornelius Castoriadis, imaginary as a locus of production of meaning, of incessantly activated and activating inscription of significations and values.

backward-modern as a given fact and made it into a theoretical model. Brazilian social thinking has had during this process a descriptive dimension as well as a prescriptive one. If the interpretation that Brazilian intellectuals have had of their society was based on an undisputed apprehension of western categories, their proposals could not obviously escape the immobility that the usage of these categories imposed. Overcoming backwardness thus was the only proposal that could come from those who believed in backwardness and saw themselves in that position.

Kabengele Munanga observed wisely that “the example of western countries built according to the model of Nation-State, which gave an image of having a cultural unity conjugated with racial unity and where today reemerge ethnical and identity conflicts, would illuminate the Brazilian process and, above all, the idea that a hybrid identity exists. Such identity results, in my opinion, of the objective categories created by a intellectual rationality and of political will of those who do not want to face the real Brazilian problems”²³.

The struggles for black movements to gaining legitimacy in Brazil seem to have a close relation to this statement from Munanga. Likewise, the problem of indigenous recognition also deals with this intricate web of significations that constitute Brazilian identity imagining. Cultural dissidences exist, obviously. Brazilian multiple identities manifest through various different ways. However, once they enter the arena of political combat, they are systematically constrained by a national cultural which, intelligently, integrated and continues to do so many of the very symbols of resistance.

What I would like to emphasize to conclude is that the field of ethnic-racial relations presents as flourishing for researchers who desire to study and understand Brazil. Beyond the political debate on the implementation of affirmative actions to include blacks and other subalternized ethnical groups, it is crucial to study and comprehend how these groups claim their belonging to the nation. It seems to me though that the way we apprehend identity is compromised by a Eurocentric perspective, which does not allow us to see beyond the rules set out by the grammar of hegemonic western modernity.

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²³ Munanga (2010), p. 453.

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Abstract: This article seeks to cast an eye on the postcolonial theories and on the specificity of the Portuguese colonization, demonstrating that the features of this settlement not only produced different relations between the colonized and the colonist but also built an ideology about miscegenation in Brazil. Analysing the interpretations that discuss miscegenation in Brazil, sought to show how colonization has acted so as to stimulate a re-ethnization process of black groups in Brazil, building a process of black identity in the country trying to get away from the ideology of racial democracy.

Key Words: Postcolonialism; Miscegenation; Ethnic

1. Postcolonialism Theories

The theories called postcolonial have been bringing an intense debate within the field of social science, either both as epistemological critique or a historical review, the postcolonialism seeks to contest the West canon and the Eurocentric thought. The authors who join that thought try to debate the key concepts of social science which were previously studied from the West canon such as modernity, nation, identity and subject.

The challenges of hierarchies and the canon in the postcolonialism approach this line of thoughts to the postmodern theories which won relative strength in social science from the 1960's. According to Sergio Costa (2006), postcolonialism has an opening to the postmodern theories regarding the categories of decentering of the subject and contemporary narratives, but moves away from postmodernism as a political and theoretical program and points to the end of modernity.

Boaventura Santos (2013) points out two streams that can be associated to postcolonial and postmodern theories. A first stream, named as celebratory postcolonialism, has a culturalist part that celebrates the interbreeding and multiculturalism processes in the globalization era. Leaning on the texts discursive elements this stream ends up forgetting the non-discursive phenomenon leaving aside the economic politics as well as the power relations between different subjects.

A second stream, named by the author as critical post colonialism, intends to point out the power relations in a global world like the exploration processes in the shaping of precarious subjectivities, showing that the postcolonial societies, formerly called third world, do not constitute themselves as emancipated societies, but nations that still carry the weight of the European colonization.

Postcolonialism and miscegenation: the Portuguese colonization in Brazil as a particular case

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As noted by Sergio Costa (2006), the postcolonialism has become a huge umbrella above the diversity of thinkers who often disagree with each other. The thoughts of many thinkers of this academic field have joined the postcolonial thought more because of the anti-establishment nature of its reflection than because of its systematization. It is the case of the essayist Edward Said (1999). His work entitled *Orientalism* is considered to be a milestone of Cultural Studies as much as the postcolonial thought. He analyses how the construction of the East as a place of the “other” created a credible regime that justified its domination and built an idea of a West civilization in opposition to a barbaric East. Criticisms to Eurocentric epistemology and the discourse about the other approach Said’s work to the postcolonial theories.

Another case is the thinker Stuart Hall (2003) and his reflections about the Caribbean and British blackness as well as the decentring of the subject put him closer to the postcolonial theories. However, the author has some reservation regarding to the postcolonial denomination. According to Hall the danger of the expression “postcolonialism” would be mainly in the statement “post” as the end of the great Empires era had formed emancipated societies, after all the relations produced by colonization are still in force on peripheral countries.

It is important to remember that the postcolonialism doesn’t question the hierarchies but the discursive way they were built. According to these authors, the whole construction of the knowledge is already marked by the colonial thought. Seen in these terms the postcolonialism is based on the premise that the place of the statement should be critically observed. This assumption leads to a questioning of national constructions and identity formation of “non-Western” societies that are interpreted as a deviation or a continuation of the European canon model. Under this perspective, the Stuart Hall (2003) reservation is valid to whom the “post” of postcolonial does not refer to a chronological past time but to an epistemological reconfiguration and to a questioning of what it has been constructing as central; ultimately, an attempt to reconfigure the power relations between the West and the rest.

One of the most important discussions to the postcolonialism thinkers could be precisely about the difficulty of the colonized reflections on themselves. That difficulty reflects the position of many postcolonialism thinkers. As they come from non-Western countries, they develop and disseminate their theories from institutional hegemonic centres. More than an ambiguity, such fact can reveal a counter-hegemonic tactic and takes possession of the colonist epistemology to hurt it in its own core. However, it is evident that the difficulty of the colonized reflects on them without confirming their subalternity assigned by the colonists.

Analysing the relation between postcolonial theories and Sociology, Sergio Costa (2006) highlights the impossibility of thinking the postcolonialism as critics to Sociology. The author points out that the attack against postcolonialism critics achieves much more macro sociological theories developed in the US than Sociology on its own. That way, the postcolonialism critic would be addressed to the modernization theories that share the idea of the West as the spread centre of a simultaneously civilizing and modernizing process.

Some emphasised phenomena as emergent in the countries of central capitalism such as ethnic hybridity and process of work flexibility are already old-known in peripheral societies. In this sense, it should question the real contribution of postcolonial theories. More than an arsenal of new theories, postcolonialism can be interpreted as a phenomenon that carries social science transformations in a global context. As pointed out by several authors, the process of globalization has brought a displacement of enunciative centres of power which allowed a questioning about the Eurocentric epistemological hegemony. Thus, postcolonialism can be presented as an epistemology that seeks the displacement of the enunciative centres of power.

2. There may be a Portuguese postcolonialism?

It is fact that postcolonial theories are mainly linked to the British intellectuality. Most of its study centres are based in England and in the US. That makes the reflection over these theories to carry the mark of the British colonial experience. On this assumption, Boaventura Santos (2002) considers the specificities of the Portuguese colonization and thinks about a postcolonial theory from a Portuguese point on view.

The first author's reservation considering a Portuguese context is about Portugal's structural position in front of the European nations. Portugal is a semi-peripheral country in Europe and lost its hegemony on the colonial conquest in the late sixteenth century. That's why Portugal is characterised as a "colonized colonial power" or a *Prosperous caliban*, a happy expression of Shakespearean inspiration. The countries' weakness reflected on its colonies formation and for that an irrational disorder took place in both colonial achievements and in the process of emancipation of former colonies. Boaventura emphasizes that the Portuguese Empire opened a model of colonial usurpation despite of being the weakest modern Empire in the world and has left this essence on the social construction of its colonies both in African territories and in America.

The uncertain colonization derivative from Portugal's condition of semi-peripheral country inducted to a very particular type of colonization, as the Portuguese colonial capitalism sat over an imbalance between an excessive colonialism and a capitalism deficit. Such a characteristic ended up creating an oligarchy in the Portuguese colonies that tended to stay in power even after the independence process.

According to José Luiz Cabaço:

Os fundadores do primeiro império ultra marítimo do mundo moderno manteriam, até a exaustão, o último império colonialista da história contemporânea. Tudo isso, obra daquele país pequeno e escassamente povoado, depauperado pela ignorância e pela má governança, amarrado a uma economia atrasada que, ao contrário dos seus congêneres colonialistas, não faria a Revolução Industrial nem construiria uma burguesia tecnológica e financeiramente a par com os tempos. Dessa contradição se alimentará a presunção de uma especificidade da colonização lusíada. (CABAÇO, 2009, p. 92)¹

It is recurrent in the literature of Portuguese colonization the idea that its debility was also its greatest strength to create a mixed-race society. The precariousness of Portuguese colonialism built a subtext that states an alleged positivity, turning the unpreparedness of the settlement into a benevolent and flexible character of the Portuguese people.

Such ambiguity will mark not only the identity of the Portuguese but also their colonies. As stated by Boaventura:

Os portugueses, sempre em trânsito entre Prospero e Caliban (e, portanto, imobilizados nesse trânsito), tanto foram racistas, tantas vezes violentos e corruptos, mais dados à pilhagem do que ao desenvolvimento como foram miscigenadores natos, literalmente pais da democracia racial, do que ela revela e do que ela esconde, melhor do que nenhum outro povo europeu na adaptação aos trópicos. (SANTOS, 2002 p. 54)²

¹ The founder of the first ultra-marine Empire of the modern world would keep until exhaustion the last colonial Empire of contemporary history. All this, product of that small country and barely populated, enfeebled by ignorance and bad governance, tied up to a weak economy that unlike its congener colonialists, it wouldn't make the Industrial Revolution and wouldn't even build a technological middle class which is financially aware about times. This contradiction feed the presumption of the specificity of Lusitanian colonization.

² The Portuguese who are always in transit between Prospero and Caliban (and therefore, they are immobilised in this transit) have been so racist, corrupt and often violent, much more closer to plunder than to the development as they were born to practise miscegenation, literally fathers of the racial democracy of what it hides and reveals, better than no other European people in an tropical adaptation.

The imbecility of the Portuguese personality and its colonization were historically used in social constructions about “Portuguese moral” which celebrates a type of colonization executed by Portugal. The luso-tropical ideology developed by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freire (1940) is based on that mobility of historical interpretations of the Portuguese culture. According to him, the constant contact of Portugal with Africa, Asia and Europe would have created on Portuguese people the ability to merge biologically and culturally together with other people. That way, the specificity of Portuguese colonization allowed the formation of a hybrid mixed-race society in Brazil. There would be a Portuguese plastic character along with certain detachment of the “race” allowing the colonist to be mixed like the colonized was and from that the mulatto figure and the model of Brazilian racial democracy arose.

The semi-peripheral situation of Portugal characterises it as a colonized colonial power, so that the colonial power itself lives the ambiguities shared by the former colonies which means the stigma of deviation from the form. However, it is precisely this shift that has been often used to justify and praise the Portuguese achievement as a symbol of racial tolerance. In this respect, thinking of a postcolonialism in the Portuguese space demands a series of mediations that can handle with the country’s semi-peripheral situation and its debility on the European context.

3. Miscegenation and Nation

Some theses discuss the miscegenation process in Brazil and they emphasise this phenomena as a result of the type of colonization that took place in the country. Part of the historical and sociological line called Iberism seeks an interpretation of Brazil as ramification of the Iberian Peninsula, revealing the transformations and adaptations of that culture in the country.

The importance of these studies to understand some characteristics of Brazilian social formation and the interpretation that destructive colonization added to the flexibility of the Portuguese colonist would be the major ingredient on the miscegenation process in Brazil which has a large cultural tendency. Furthermore, such interpretation cannot be sustained when confronted with a comparative historical analysis. The miscegenation process on the other Portuguese colonies show that this phenomenon was recurrent in Brazil what allows us to state that miscegenation has been linked much more to the historical specificities of colonization in the New World rather than a Portuguese alleged characteristic.

About the miscegenation process in Angola and Mozambique, Perry Anderson (1966) presents the following figures:

De acordo com o censo de 1950, existem 25000 mestiços em Angola e o mesmo número em Moçambique. O número real é provavelmente um pouco mais alto, mas não excessivamente. A população mestiça oficial é, assim, de apenas 0,4% da população total em Moçambique e 0,6% da população total em Angola. A proporção comparativa da população de cor na União Sul-Africana é de 8,5%. (ANDERSON, 1966, p.76-77)³

It is possible to notice that the process of inter-ethnic contact in African territory is shown as relatively close to the Portuguese and British colonies. It is an interesting fact that while the miscegenation was celebrated in Portugal, in the territories colonized by protestant countries the contact between colonists and the colonized was prohibited by law. Therefore, the evidences of

³ According to the 1950s censuses, there are 25000 mixed-race people in Angola and the same amount in Mozambique. The real figure is likely a lit higher, but not excessively. The official mixed population represents 0.4% in Mozambique and 0.6% in Angola. The comparative proportion of the coloured population in the South African Union is 8.5%

proximity of the numbers of mixed-race people on different colonies contradict the culturalist theses of a tolerant nature and inclined to miscegenation with the Portuguese people, after all the celebration of miscegenation as an utterance it doesn't mean it is going to happen.

Luiz Felipe Alencastro (2000) in *O Tratado dos Videntes* attempts to differ miscegenation from mixing. The first one would be the biological joining between distinguished ethnic groups, while the mixing would arise from the joining of miscegenation and acculturation. The mixing that actually occurred in Brazil created the figure of the mulatto differing Brazil from Angola and the US as these countries practiced miscegenation but not the mixing, once they maintained segregation as a State policy.

According to Alencastro (2000), once societies are marked by patriarchy, miscegenation derives from the non-institutional relations between ruling class men and dominated class women. Inside this process, the ruling core only provides the parent, not the father. Thus, in this relationship mixed-race people appear like the fruits of a negative alliance, being disowned by the colonist. Those people end up being part of the dominated class reversing miscegenation into a succession of endogamic marriages. In that sense, miscegenation appears to Alencastro as a residual and temporary phenomenon. If there isn't a process of acculturation and the formation of a mixed race who develop a hybrid culture to themselves, miscegenation tends to progressively reduce.

Analysing the Portuguese achievement in Angola, the historian does the following interpretation:

Desde o século XVI, os portugueses procuravam construir em Angola “um outro Brasil”. No entanto, apesar de uniões inter-étnicas seguidas, os mulatos continuamente se “reafricanizaram” no seio das comunidades indígenas dos vilarejos. A introdução, no século XX, da colonização familiar reduziu ainda mais o alcance da miscigenação: em 1960, Angola não conta com mais de 1% de mulatos. Após a independência do país, em 1975, e a retirada dos brancos, os mestiços tendem então a se fundir com a população negra. Tanto mais que os atuais dirigentes angolanos, como outros governos do continente, pregam uma política ativa de “reafricanização” das instituições e da sociedade. Majoritariamente branco, o clero católico seguiu os colonos de volta a Portugal. Quatro séculos de contatos inter-raciais e de esforços de evangelização evaporam-se atualmente na África Central. Fracasso tanto mais surpreendente quando, como constatamos, se atribui aos portugueses um comportamento particularmente favorável à miscibilidade com os grupos dominados. (ALENCASTRO, p.59, 1985)⁴

In this sense, it can be asked: why the miscegenation phenomenon did occur in Brazil? In other words, why wasn't in Brazil, like in Angola, a reversing of this process?

The answers to these questions are in the Brazilian social formation generated by slavery. Acculturation, hybridism and miscegenation process of enslaved people were only possible because of the diaspora condition of African ethnic groups brought to the colony. In that case, the “invention of the mulatto” and the cultural rise of them were granted by the development of the slavery system economy itself which demanded a more qualified work force. In the cattle farming field, for instance, mixed-raced people and Caboclos were an important role in the hinterland settlement and in the war against the Indians. Mulattos were also an important part of the Army during the fighting against the

4 Since the sixteenth century Portuguese have south to build an “another Brazil” in Angola. However, despite followed inter-ethnic marriages, mulattos continually go back to Africanism within Indians communities of the villages. In the twentieth century the introduction of familiar colonization reduced even more the range of miscegenation: in 1960 Angola didn't have more than 1% of mixed-race people. After the country's independence in 1975 and the retreat of the whites, they tend to merge to the black population. More than the expected current Angolan officials preach an active policy of re Africanism of both society and institution, like other governments of the continent. Predominantly white, Catholic clergy followed the colonist back to Portugal. Four centuries of inter-racial contact and efforts of evangelism currently disappeared from Central Africa. Failure can be very impressed even more when, as we see, is attributed to the Portuguese a behaviour particularly favourable to miscegenation with dominated groups.

quilombos and during the persecution of runaway slaves. In that way, it was through the Army and the slavery economy that Brazilian mulattos could gain visibility and increase their social status. Then biological miscegenation turned into cultural-ethnic mixing, forming a hybrid culture in the country.

4. The mixed black

The “invention of the mulatto” as a phenomenon of cultural hybridation in Brazil didn’t help the groups of enslaved blacks. On the contrary, the mixing process served as an ideological basis for the creation of the racial democracy myth, hiding an intrinsic racism in Brazilian society. The anti-racist ideology of praising a certain type of hybridism, besides concealing the racism in the country, worked like a tool of ethnic erasing of the few references to an Africanism maintained by enslaved groups in the country.

According to Reginaldo Prandi (2000, p.58) until the end of the nineteenth century part of the black enslaved still gathered in nations of ethnic groups throughout Brazilian territory and were organized as mutual aid societies. With the end of slavery and the precarious integration of the black into the class society, the idea of nation as an ethnic grouping in Brazil was over-generalising and formed the “black type” generic. Small ethnic groups tended to preserve only religious cults of candomblé, but outside of the liturgical field cultural institutions came up with the idea of generic Africanism. As Prandi states:

Mais que isso, os próprios afro-descendentes, por não conhecerem sua própria origem, nem sabendo se seus antepassados eram bantos ou sudaneses, também não podem identificar as origens dos aspectos culturais, como se a cultura brasileira como um todo, ao se apropriar deles, tivesse apagado as fontes. (PRANDI, 2000, p.59)⁵

As the class society started to organise itself marginalising the cults and Afro-descendant institutions, aspects of a black culture had to adapt to the model of white and European society so as not to integrate with the pantheon of Brazilian national culture.

There is no doubt that the praise of mixing as stated by the sociologist Gilberto Freire and the modernism of the 1930s put the black culture as a civilised agent of the homeland. However this phenomenon was achieved thanks to the ethnic erasing of groups which were previously enslaved. In this sense, the black cultural productions like music, cooking and liturgical expressions left its ethnic community to get inside an imagined national community.

Such phenomenon of ethnic erasing starts to be questioned in the 1970s when part of the blacks in Brazil claimed a non-mixed ethnic identity. The search for a black ethnicity in Brazil had been linked to a vast movement. In the politic area this search had been influenced by the fight for civil rights of the black Americans and the independency of African colonies. In the theoretical field it represents the emergency of theories called postmodern which were focused on the identity as a central element in the organization of social groups in the fight for recognition as well as the first critics of the Eurocentric epistemology that later would establish the postcolonial studies.

To Antonio Sergio Guimarães (2000) the process of racialization that occurs in Brazil in the 1970s had been associated with the world transformations of that decade: emancipation of the blacks in the US as well as the decolonization process in Africa brought to light a new way of thinking of the relationship between nation and ethnicity. At that moment the miscegenation speech disputed some

⁵ More than that, the African descendants themselves for not knowing their own roots and their ancestor’s origins, if they were Bantu or Sudanese, also cannot identify the origins of cultural aspects, as the Brazilian culture as a whole, by appropriating them, had erased the sources.

space with multiculturalism or “multiracialism”.

Unlike hybrid enunciation of miscegenation, the multiculturalism starts from the idea of familiarity between the cultural peculiarities. So, the emergency of the multiculturalism in a modern world meets the racialization strategies of the black movement in Brazil as tactic of the conquest of rights as well as a complaint of racial democracy as a myth. According to the author:

No plano cultural, significará o direito de não ser absorvido de modo genérico, como “brasileiro”, mas ser respeitado como “africano” ou “afro-descendente”, no plano político ser tratado como sujeito de direitos e não apenas como objeto das leis. (GUIMARÃES, 2000, p. 25)⁶

The multiculturalism was presented as a conquest of recognition politics of the black groups. The re ethnization achieved by the black movement still carries a series of ambiguities, however it serves as denouncement to Brazilian racism and criticism to the ideology of racial democracy. It gives up of a mixed society in the name of the historical rights conquest of the black people enslaved.

The black movement which would be articulated through the discourse of ethnization doesn't look for an essence of identity. As Stuart Hall (2003) states there are no pure subjects in pre-discursive form, subject and discourse are built simultaneously on the political game of always dynamic differences.

In this context, we could try to learn what to take from the postcolonial struggles for the recognition of the black people in Brazil. For Miguel de Almeida (2000, p.237) it is very brave to use the term postcolonial to think the relation between Brazil-Portugal since the emancipation of the country in the early nineteenth century and the formation of a neo-European State raise caution. The Portuguese postcolonialism occurs much more in relations between the colonial power and its former colonies in Africa as well as in the migration process in Portugal. However, Brazil is presented as an important horizon in the ideological discourse and in Portuguese official rhetoric, especially in relation to miscegenation.

In this sense Boaventura dos Santos (2002) tries to set out the specificities and dangers of the discourse concerned to hybridism:

Penso que o pós-colonialismo em língua oficial portuguesa tem de centrar-se bem mais na crítica da ambivalência do que na reivindicação desta, e a crítica residirá em fazer a distinção entre formas de ambivalência e de hibridação que dão efetivamente voz ao subalterno (as hibridações emancipatórias) e aquelas que usam a voz do subalterno para o silenciar (as hibridações reacionárias). (2002,p.41)⁷

The strategies of the struggles and the building of differences and recognition of the black movement find support on the theories formulated by Paul Gilroy (2001). According to him the black diaspora shaped a double consciousness - a diaspora consciousness of the enslaved people's condition that conflicts with the national awareness. In Brazil that double consciousness presents its ambiguities and contradictions even more pronounced if we look at the myth of racial democracy which was presented either as an ideology for national integration either as utopia or as a society without racism.

The search for an ethicised identity doesn't represent a way back to Africa but an accession to Black Atlantic people as said by Paul Gilroy. For Miguel de Almeida:

Se o Atlântico Negro constitui a base desterritorializada, multiplex e anti-nacional para a afinidade ou

6 In a cultural extent, it will mean the right of not being absorbed in a generic way, as “Brazilian” but being respected as an “African descendant” and in a political extent it means to be treated as a man with rights and not as an object of the laws.

7 I think the postcolonialism in an official Portuguese language had to be concentrated much more on critics of ambivalence than on its claim and the critic will be based on the separation of the ambivalence forms and hybridation which give voice to the subaltern effectively (emancipatory hybridation) and those which use the subaltern to silence him.

“identidade das paixões” entre diversas populações negras, apercebe-se agora que o complexo de diferença e semelhança que levou à consciência da inter-cultura da diáspora se tornou mais extensivo na era da globalização do que no tempo áureo do imperialismo. (ALMEIDA, 2000, p. 236)⁸

Thereby, the search for a re ethnization can mean a refusing reactionary hybridism as said by Boaventura Santos, besides a strategy of the black movement of giving voice to the subaltern. The fact is that the emergency of the ethnization worked as an instrument of insertion of the black people on the debate on the middle class public sphere.

Even for ambiguous ways, the process represented awareness that within a mixed-race society the identity rights are not negotiable. It is in this perspective that the black subjects set in motion mechanisms of differences politicised in the building of new ethnic identities.

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8 If the Black Atlantic constitutes a non-territorial basis, multiplex and anti-national for affinity or “identity of passion” among several black populations, notice now that the difference-resemblance complex which led into a consciousness of the diaspora’s inter-culture became more extensive during the globalization era than in the golden era of the Imperialism.

Abstract: The Discovery Letter is one of the most detailed documents and the first one available about the Brazilian territory and its inhabitants. It was written in 1500 by Pero Vaz de Caminha, who, even though not being a sea man but the crew notetaker, tried to elaborate the most precise report possible and containing accurate details of the new land, as well as its people. The Letter reflects the vision of the European about the world at that time and it brings together a variety of possibilities of multidisciplinary analyses. The present study aims to present the imaginary and the first impressions of the writer when reporting the “new land”, which includes the mythical images of the lost paradise, the original innocence of Adam and Eve, the European superiority, the enormous natural wealth found, to the innocent and happy people.

Keywords: Paradise; Great Navigations; Discovery Letter; Brazil.

1. The idealization of Paradise

The origins of the myth of Paradise date back to several versions found in historical and literary writings. Much of what we conceive as the idea of paradise has roots that come from the biblical texts, with the description of Eden and the curse of the original sin, which led to the expulsion of man from the Garden, and also from classical authors from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

According to the religious interpretation, Paradise would be a beautiful garden created by God and it should be inhabited by man since the beginning of time. From this garden a large river would emerge and its extension would be able to irrigate all the earth. But man, who had sinned, was expelled from there and doomed to wander on the ordinary earth. Due to this sacred vision, the belief in the existence of a perfect place became unquestionable and many and successive efforts were undertaken in order to (re) discover its location (Aoun, 2001).

It is also known that for the theologians of the Middle Ages, Paradise did not exist only in the unreal world, lost in the beginning of time, nor was simply an abstract illusion, but a reality present in a hidden place, as Holland (2000).

In fact, comparisons and connections between the Bible Sacred Garden and several legends and myths about paradise have always been made, which were being created and incorporated, becoming part of various literatures and cultures (Delumeau, 1992).

Beliefs and myths for medieval visions of paradise can be found in the book of Genesis, in Chapter 2, verses 9 to 25, and in

Encounter with paradise: the imaginary awakened by the Letter of the Discovery of Brazil

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Chapter 3, versicles 1 to 24, which explain how God, having created man, has spread all over a garden with plants “[...] nice to life and good for food [...]”, one of them would be the tree of life, “[...] whose fruits would give eternal life; and the knowledge of good and evil [...]” (Holland, 2000:184).

That idea of the extraordinary, fantasy and imaginary was not only part of the popular creed. The idea that on the other side of the ocean the real Paradise would be found pursued all spirits. “The legends of the dreamed islands of gold and silver, changing places as flash in the pan , always attracted further away other maritime people” (Prado , 1981:18).

According to Bignami (2002), the literature of that era was also mainly related to the speech of the Church, reflecting the dualism hell- paradise. So, many names of the european literature presented works in which paradise has been portrayed numerous times, and the entire Greco - Roman heritage and latin writing on the subject have been widely spread on the precepts of the Catholic Church.

The poetic idealization is revealed in the Odyssey, “[...] where we read that in those blessed places snow is unknown, as well as winter hurricane or heavy thunderstorms [...]” (Holland, 2000:191). Also, as an example, we may refer the work of Thomas More (1478-1535), Utopia, in which the idea of paradise is related to the image of a happy, ideal and fair place; The Lusíadas, of Camões (1524 - 1580), which narrate the sea voyage of Vasco da Gama from Lisbon to India; while in the El ingenioso Hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha by Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), the author manipulated dream and reality, portraying wonderful places; Francis Bacon (1561 -1626) has a (unfinished) work on a fictional island of Bensalem in New Atlantic, and Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), refers to Paradise in the Sun City; in Lost Paradise by John Milton (1608-1674), the texts were inspired by the Old Testament and a few years later, the same author published the continuation of his work on Paradise Regained, this time addressing the themes of the New Testament .

The same tone is present in the Great Navigations and in the maritime explorations that departure from Europe. Through these, the world had the opportunity to be discovered and connected to the mysteries of history. And so, it began again in the history of the world the mysterious impulse that centuries over centuries sets in motion the masses (Prado, 1981).

In this sense, Portugal was the first country to start the Great Navigations for several reasons, among them: the search for precious metal for coinage, the interest in expanding the Christian faith, and especially, the advanced maritime knowledge due to its connection with the sea. It is worth noting that Portugal had an economic structure which is particularly reflected in the field of a great navigation technique, not only with regard to shipbuilding and guidance on the high seas, but also in regard to teaching, preparation of equipment and the training of cosmographers and cartographers able to disseminate, retain and transmit knowledge (Sodré, 1997).

Regarding culture, new types of expression were created, establishing the so called Traveling Literature. A new literary universe was being established due to the need to register the discovered. The informative literature is developed and texts written by travellers reveal the new territorial discoveries to the european world.

The routes of the East spices, the search for a sea passage that directly connected the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and the mythical Christian kingdom fuelled the western imaginary in the creation of most of the travel narratives of maritime discoveries in the beginning of modern times (Pereira, 1999). The travel literature was endowed with fantastic descriptions of Eden, with the presence of an extraordinary fauna and flora, raised by God’s own hand, besides strange beings. Navarrete, quoted by Holland (2000:21), presents the existence of beings with one eye or dogs that ate men, common in the imaginary of traveling literature.

Another important contribution was the Cultural Renaissance experienced at the time, characterized by the recovery of values and models of the classical era and the importance of

anthropocentrism, thus promoting science, art, and consequently, the Great Navigations. Meanwhile, in the dialogue between the Old and the New World, the European sense strongly predominated, covered by a sense of superiority “[...] search for an idealized society, utopian, the search for paradise, that would be found perhaps in foreign lands” (Bignami, 2002:80).

After its discovery, America was being marked and drawn by thinkers, artists, navigators and writers during a long process of knowledge and establishment of identity. The colonization period was characterized by the pursuit of a society already idealized according to religious precepts. Both the Church, through the Bible, as the literature of the time, preached the existence of paradise. So, the discovery of the New World coincided with the message disseminated before.

The theologians of those times believed that paradise would have been placed below the equinoctial line, because that was the most temperate part of the world, therefore more pleasant for human habitation. Paradise was endowed with four characteristics: the land would be perfect for crops; the weather would have good influences of the sun, moon, and stars; the waters would be abundant in fish, and this place would produce all kinds of animals and beasts. “There immortality reigns, as well as the absence of pain and fatigue, the eternal idleness [...] because there the hoes dig alone and the panicums go to the plantation to get food [...]” (Holanda, 2000: 173).

On the journey carried through Portugal, in 1500, entitled later as the journey of Discovery, it was no different - there was a mythical vision of what one would find overseas. The Letter of Discovery can be considered the testimony of the thought of an era.

2. The imaginary awakened by the Letter of the Discovery of Brazil

The Discovery Letter is one of the most detailed documents about this event and the first one available about the Brazilian territory and its inhabitants. It was written by Pero Vaz de Caminha, who, even though not being a sea man but the crew notetaker, tried to elaborate the most precise report possible and containing accurate details of the new land, as well as its people.

According to Amado and Figueiredo (2001), the Discovery Letter remained without disclosure until the nineteenth century when it was discovered by José de Seabra e Silva, head guard of the royal archives (Torre do Tombo). It was published in Brazil by Father Manuel Aires Couple in *Corografia Brasília*, in 1817. Since then, it has received numerous and varied publications, transcriptions and interpretations.

History tells that landing on April 22nd of 1500, the crew led by the Portuguese Pedro Álvares Cabral soon wrote a letter to His Majesty the King of Portugal, D. Manuel. In such document the first impressions of the “new land” were revealed, initially as to its magnitude and issues relating to nature.

Pero Vaz Caminha is educated in the historical context of the sixteenth century, and as such, his intellect is fully connected to religion and doctrinal precepts imposed by it. And so, as any man of his time, he believed in representations to the reading of “perceived external reality” (Laplantine and Trinity, 1997:25), based on experiences and values to which he was subjected. Such values can be noticed in the narrative by exposing a series of beliefs, habits, ideologies and theories as composing what would be the Letter of Discovery.

Pero Vaz Caminha describes, in detail, the journey of Pedro Álvares Cabral and narrates the mythical images of Eden, when speaks of the fertile soil, the clear waters, the exuberance of nature etc. It reflects its education of man of still medieval mentality, but at the same time, modern enough to foresee the practicality in using this paradise. This myth was current in the Middle Ages and it was part of the literature considered not only fantastical, but also informative and confirmed by testimonies of travellers and scholars.

The Letter as a historic document is important for the perception of the European imaginary of an era. It brings together a variety of possibilities of multidisciplinary analyses. It includes the mythical images of the lost paradise, the original innocence of Adam and Eve, the European superiority, the enormous natural wealth found, to the innocent and happy people. Moreover, it portrays the bodies of the natives, the dances, the paintings and the ornaments used, the nudity, the flora, the fauna, the social relations, the hierarchy, the customs, the weapons, the lack of religiosity, etc.

The descriptions are a clear intent to indicate to the recipients the possibilities of the current versions being real of a possible place of divine creation or of descending directly from this. This idealized view, according to which the land is an enchantment in itself, reinforces what was believed.

In the first reports and impressions on the land, he emphasizes the dimensions, the magnitude and the quality of the land, and especially the fact that it was soon baptized with a name, a fact that makes the nature of the Discovery clear, or the belief in the absence of owners of the new land, in the mind of the discoverer: "To the high mountain the Captain gave the name of Monte Pascoal; and the Terra de Vera Cruz [...]" (Castro, 2008:89).

Still in the beginning of the Letter, Pero Vaz de Caminha narrates the encounter with the other, totally new and unknown in the eyes of travellers. Interpretations are laden with socio-cultural, ethical and aesthetic values of the Europeans. As men believed to inhabit the paradise, the natives also walked naked and were not ashamed of it. The references to the seen men were always full with details and thorough physical descriptions: nudity, brown, reddish, good faces, good noses, strong, slippery hair, with "lower lip bored" etc.:

Their feature is brown, somewhat reddish, good faces and good noses, well structured. They walk around naked without any cover. They care less to cover their intimate parts as to cover their faces. Concerning this issue they are of great innocence. Both presented the lower lip bored and in it a real bone put in, half inch long, and the thickness of a spindle of cotton [...]" (Castro, 2008:91-92).

In the descriptions about the character of the natives, Pero Vaz de Caminha describes an innocence, suggesting the "original innocence" of Adam and Eve, explicit in the natural nudity, in the peaceful behaviour, in the absence of defects, in the beauty and purity of the behaviour, which implies an environment full of possibilities to enjoy and allow pleasures, still to be enjoyed in contact with these natives: "However, while sitting, he did not remember of extending it much to cover. As so, Lord, the innocence of these people is such that Adam would not be greater - with respect to modesty [...]" (Castro, 2008:115).

Both innocence and curiosity of the Indian are so great that Pero Vaz de Caminha often comments on the exchange of "anything" for bows and arrows: "They gave for these bows with their arrows hats and caps of flax, and anything that they were offered [...]" and in another moment: "There they spoke and brought many bows and beads, those already referred to, and recovered them for anything [...]" and reinforces such innocence and curiosity of the Indians:

There, some bows were exchanged by sheets of paper and some old caps and by anything [...]. Some of them carried bows and arrows; and they gave everything in return of the caps and for anything it was given to them [...]" (Castro, 2008:101 - 105-110).

We can only imagine the astonishment that such a view has caused to those present in the Land of Vera Cruz, and in those who, in Portugal, received such a description. Not coincidentally they were characterized as "noble savages", primitive and free of the original sin, perfectly meeting the desired Edenic vision of the Catholic Church.

However, in another passage of the Letter, it is pointed out the reference to a people that, despite

crude and without education, is peaceful and joyful: “At once they started to dance with them, taking them by the hand; and they rejoiced and laughed” (Castro, 2008:103).

To Holanda (2000), the vegetation, the colourful fauna, diverse and of good aspect, together with the innocence of the natives, suggested them the illusion of having discovered the Earthly Paradise. The edenic impression that assailed the imagination of the newcomers was exalted by the charm of the full nudity of the indigenous women. There are also aesthetic descriptions, such as the exoticism of the paintings, adornments, gestures, dances, youthfulness and health of the natives’ bodies, the vigour and absence of defects.

Pero Vaz de Caminha continues describing the natives, highlighting its perception of the feminine element, absolutely different from the european female figure. The indian female is the central personage of the reports and there is a concern in translating gestures, details, body characteristics, feeding, shelter, in sum, its mode of existence (Pereira , 1999).

Amongst them there were four or five women, young, that naked, did not seem bad. Amongst them one with a thigh from the knee to the hip and buttock, all dyed from that black tint; and all the rest of her natural color. Another had both knees with curves as well dyed, and also the laps in her feet; and its private parts so naked and with so much innocence so uncovered that there was no shame of it [...] (Castro, 2008:102).

Pero Vaz de Caminha believes that they are bestial and irrational beings, without homes or housing. He seems convinced that the air is responsible for the great appearance of their bodies and hair, and compares them to birds regarding cleanliness:

[...] I believe in deed they are bestial people and of little knowledge and for it so avoidant. But despite everything well cared for and very clean. And so what I’m further convinced that they are like birds or mountain animals, to which the air does better to feathers and hair to those more tame, because their bodies are so clean and so fatty and so beautiful that it could not be better! And so I presume that they do not have homes or houses in which they may rest; and the air that surrounds makes them as such [...] (Castro, 2008:104).

And makes it clear that these people with no faith and law are easy to be christianized. In this condition, they are naturally subordinate and under the power of the conqueror:

[...] they should and become Christians and believe in our holy religion, [...] for truly these people are good and have a fine simplicity. Any stamp we wish may be easily printed on them for the Lord has given them good bodies and good faces, like good men and women [...] (Castro, 2008:111).

No effort is necessary to well understand what such descriptions would raise in the white, european and civilized man of the sixteenth century. Women are shapely and round, with their private parts, naturally showing off, paraphrasing Pero Vaz de Caminha. Women who danced freely amongst men, even among strangers, without care what so ever with that fact, reveals the exoticism of the indigenous woman. The innocence and joy of the indian, the greatness of the territory, the water quality, the natural resources, the possibility of meeting precious metals, the lack of owners of the new land, this is the first “portrait” of Brazil that arrives to Europe.

After long days of crossing continents, the new world with these gentle appearances, it must surely be Paradise. The fascination for such appearances was so great and sparked an immediate attraction that made some of the crew no longer return to Portugal (Prado, 1981). The eurocentric perception is again confirmed when Pero Vaz de Caminha, inspired by its ideological references and the imaginary of the sixteenth century, emphasizes the absences on earth that from his view, would be essential. Clothing was lacking, and therefore the presumption of being before beings

not human, or rather beings of inferior condition, because of missing knowledge of the chicken, bread, fish, honey, figs and wine, common goods to European customs; the lack of laws, fact represented in the absence of respect and reverence to the representation of the Portuguese Court.

The search and interest for precious metals by Portugal and everything that could be transformed into wealth is well known. Faced with a gold necklace and a silver candlestick, the native signal to the interior of the forest, indicating the possible existence of precious metals and further straining the imagination of sailors and a great interest in the discovery of gold:

For all that, one of them gazed at the admiral's collar and began to point towards the land and then at the collar as if he wished to tell us that there was gold in the country. And he also looked at a silver candlestick, as if there was silver there, too! [...] (Castro, 2008:92-93).

Such assumptions would stir the imagination of any settler, specially, when thinking in the possibility of the existence of natural wealth:

However, the air of the country is very healthful, fresh and as temperate as that of Entre-Douro e Minho (northern province of Portugal) [...] there is great a great plenty, an infinitude of waters. The country is so well-favoured that if it were rightly cultivated it would yield everything, because of its waters. [...] (Castro, 2008: 115-116).

So, for the Portuguese society of the sixteenth century, where the Christianism speech and the literature of that era displayed the existence of Eden, what else could this place represent if not paradise itself and upon this exercise its superiority as "civilized" man? Since then the image of Brazil was being built as paradise.

Chauí (2000) states that three signs are present and visible in the Letter, stating that they had found the earthly paradise: the abundance and good water quality, the comfortable temperature and the qualities of the people, described as beautiful, haughty, simple, and innocent. In fact, there are various arguments that indicate that the Letter - here presented partially and out of the original order - unveils a completely different people from those of the prevailing aesthetic, cultural and behavioral patterns valid at that time, which leaves the colonizer as perplexed, surprised and even seduced.

In Pacheco's view (2004) regarding the analysis of the Letter, at least three important aspects may be noted: the innocent look of the discoverer, romanticized and entranced before the novelty revealed; a economic look, highlighted by commercialism and expansionism, camouflaged by Christianity; and a third look that presents information of an era and offers an insight on how one saw the other and as the meeting and imposition of cultures was proceeded. More than that, the reading of the text of Pero Vaz de Caminha points to the origin of many images that still fall in Brazil and the Brazilian people, legitimating stereotypes arising from the interaction of the self with the other, exotic and wild.

The Letter of Discovery presents, as every document, the idea of the historical context experienced at the time. The analyses are punctual but enough to understand the Letter as the first seed of the imaginary of Brazil.

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Abstract: This article aims to discuss identities and representations of black women in the hegemonic press in Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul. This work is part of the author's doctoral research, conceptually anchored in cultural studies. From collective and individual reports by women, one realizes how they accepted, rejected or transgressed the standards of conduct imposed by a largely white and conservative society.

Keywords: Media; black identities; black women; black social clubs.

1. The *Treze de Maio* Club as a place of representation of black female identities

The *Treze de Maio* Club (Club May the 13th, in Portuguese) was founded in Santa Maria, by “forty-seven citizens” as per SCFTM’s “Founding Act” of 1903 (Escobar, 2010, p. 288). Even though these black workers had a different financial situation from the majority of the city’s black population, they were prohibited from accessing the dependencies of white social clubs like *Caixeiral* or *Comercial*, thereby forging a space where they collectively organized.

It can be stated that the Black Social Clubs have long been privileged spaces of black men. Very few women portrayed in the images of the “Galleries of Presidents” were decision-makers and worked in the administrative management of these spaces. However, the visibility of women and the power of their images are patent, and can be confirmed through the photographic collections, existing in each black social club, that show black women spotlessly and sumptuously dressed, displaying clear signs of high self-esteem that suggest their role in promoting the success, organization, and beauty attributed to black social clubs.



Identities and representations of black women in the press in Santa Maria-RS

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Picture 1. Board of Directors' Inauguration Ball, celebrating the 50 years of the *Treze de Maio* Club, 1953

Source: *Treze de Maio* Museum's Photographic Collection

In their origin, black social clubs “broke with” the society of their time, through party and the apparent peaceful coexistence in society, they stepped out of the inertia that accommodated them in their “due place”. According to Giacomini (2006, p. 143) party is an important screening instrument. A socializing moment par excellence, group meeting, time to enjoy others and yourself, the party plays a central role in community life and in the formation of individuals. Thus, it was through the party, the careful and spotless appearance, with sleeves, lace, satin, sparkles, pearls, that black women were represented inside that black club and outside it as well, as there were norms, according to Alcione Flores do Amaral:

I was part of that period. For me, all things were normal. I do not remember, well, getting mad at Treze de Maio because of some rules. But we were, the dances were very well lit. Our parents accompanied us at parties, at dances. When we were already teenagers, I mean. And there were the ballroom directors. So, they checked if you were having a behavior that they considered inappropriate for that party. For example, dancing cheek to cheek with a boy was a no-no, it was ugly. And we came in with our parents or with someone responsible. Nobody stepped out to go outside and came back in. These things did not hit me. I obeyed, no problem. My mom was always watching, watching with whom I danced, how I danced. (Amaral, 2013. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

Alcione speaks from a privileged position, since she had what most blacks in the post-abolition did not have: a well-structured family, with cultural and financial capital that gave her the essential conditions to a good education, besides being able to attend a social space that required their regulars to belong to this or that family, because everyone knew each other in that club and it was common, according to Alcione, for people to ask “*my dear, whose daughter are you? Then, we said: I am ...’s daughter ... oh, you’re the daughter of so and so.*”

And what was the place of black women within the *Treze de Maio* Club? According to Alcione, there were norms, ballroom directors and parents to “control” Treze’s black youth, who could not break any rules, because if they did so they were repressed and reprimanded in a specific room for this, which for Alcione was not a problem, because, she said, the rigidity of society was the same as her home’s, which helped in her shaping.

In this new century, in most cases, black women are the protagonists in the preservation of club traditions, and they are those holding, with “ironclad hands”, many of the spaces we know today that were not lost in storms. A mapping conducted in 2006 by the *Treze de Maio* Museum - that later became the research subject for the Master in Cultural Heritage UFSM (2010) – revealed that there are 53 black social clubs in Rio Grande do Sul, all with physical space, stories and memories to be told, discussed, socialized. However, there were few black clubs that survived, many have already lost their buildings and what remains are the memories, which urge for records and visibility.

Oliveira Silveira (2008) and the National Commission of black social clubs, formed by representatives of five Brazilian states, developed a concept:

Black social clubs are associative spaces of the African-Brazilian ethnic group, originating in the group’s need for social interaction, voluntarily constituted and with a beneficent, recreational and cultural character, developing activities in a specific physical space (Oliveira Silveira apud ESCOBAR 2010, p. 61).

The *Treze de Maio* Club reached its peak in the 1960s-1980s and saw part of its story succumb in the mid 1990s-2000s (Escobar, 2010). “Treze” is a symbol of resilience and power of the black community, embodied in a privileged place that marks a place of struggle and resistance in town, a will, a place of memory and black identity.

Among the many reasons for the decline of the black club, which from 2001 has revitalized into a

community museum, besides the lack of interest by the new generation to continue the preservation of this piece of heritage built in the early twentieth century, were the low purchasing power of the black community, as well as the decline of the railroad in Santa Maria, and all over the country, because it was scrapped. But Treze remained, imposing itself over nearly a century as a place of black sociability. It became a benchmark for the black community in the South, which felt represented in it and recognized it as a place that aggregated black families, encouraged courtships, engagements, weddings, and gave support to the children of members who wanted to go to university, as reported by Alcione:

[...] And another very strong point is where I used to go, which was Treze de Maio. So I studied in Santana school, but my social life was all in Treze de Maio. So here in Treze de Maio, I was Children's Carnival Queen. I had my 15th birthday party here. I debuted at the Treze de Maio. The celebration my parents' 25th wedding anniversary was at Treze de Maio. My cousin, who just left, my cousin's wedding was at Treze de Maio. So, everything was here. My victory, and some friends' as well, in the vestibular for the Federal University of Santa Maria, was celebrated in this club. So, the club has contributed greatly to my education (Amaral, 2013. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

Alcione attended the *Treze de Maio* Club since she was nine years and only stopped going by the end of the 1980s. "So, I always say this: besides my father, my mother, I had, in my education, two very interesting and strong points": one was her study in Santana private school, from five and a half years old, which she pointed out the help of Catholic sisters to her mother and the other strong point was social life at Treze, which were instrumental in her education.

Alcione (2013) reported in detail her approval in the 1972 entrance exams, which represented a collective victory for the club which projected to see in its children and grandchildren the results of its efforts and project of a "black middle class", of a "family club" in which the family, well structured and stable, is one of the emblems triggered to oppose the stigmas that underlie some of the stereotypes that populate the Brazilian social imaginary of blacks (GIACOMINI, 2006, p. 28).

Those who did the vestibular with me, were like this: they were seven friends, five blacks and two whites. These whites were military, from Rio de Janeiro, who came to Santa Maria do perfecting training course for army sergeant. And here they did the vestibular. They danced here on the Treze de Maio, too. They had that Rio de Janeiro bias, they did not care much about that function of the club being for blacks. So they came here, attended the parties, the carnival. [...] And all of them came here, all were approved. The two whites weren't, they were ranked, it's not that they didn't pass, they were ranked. So that was a victory for the club. Then, the club threw a celebration, a party, where we were announced as the high school students who had been approved in the vestibular for the Federal University of Santa Maria, in 1972. This is very striking, very, very interesting (Amaral, 2013. Interview given to Giane Vargas Escobar).

Alcione was a woman who stood out by her beauty and intelligence, when they said that black was ugly, she said "The Treze will hush that up", being featured on the cover of *A Razão* (The Reason) newspaper (1970), when she was Queen of Treze de Maio Club Carnival and 1st Carnival Princess of the city of Santa Maria. When they said that women should marry and take care of home and children, Alcione studied, and at 17, in 1972, she joined the newly established and largest higher education institution in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the Federal University of Santa Maria. Is this an exception? Did all the queens of the Treze de Maio Club follow this path? How did the Treze de Maio Club influence their lives before, during, and after the disappearance of black society? These are questions that further research aims to answer.



Picture 2. Alcione Flores do Amaral (first picture on the left, third girl). Queen of Treze de Maio Carnival and 1st Carnival Princess of the city of Santa Maria, at 16. At the center of the picture, the Queen of the Carnival of Santa Maria that year, a white girl, blonde, reaffirming the value of “whiteness”.

Source: A Razão Newspaper Archive, 1970.

A distinctive project of black club gave Treze its nickname: “the black elite club”, as the club went beyond concrete and symbolic borders that delimited its own space and stated its identity in a wider sphere. Sônia Maria Giacomini (2006, p. 48) when addressing the history of the *Renascença* (Renaissance) Club of Rio de Janeiro, black social club founded in 1951, says that that statement imposed a dual strategy of differentiation:

Firstly, the others were white or not black, as well as other clubs that usually did not accept blacks; secondly, the others were the black (and also not black) associated with the culture of samba and carnival, usually referred to, in urban space, the hill (GIACOMINI, 2006. p. 48).

Identity, just like difference, is a social relation. This means that its definition – in discourse and linguistics - is subject to force vectors, to power relations. They are not simply defined; they are imposed, as Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2000, p. 81) explains. The author says that they do not live harmoniously, side by side, in a field without hierarchies; they are disputed.

That is, in the struggle for identity is involved a wider dispute for other symbolic resources and society materials. The affirmation of identity and enunciation of difference reflect the desire of different, asymmetrically located, social groups to ensure privileged access to social benefits. Identity and difference are never innocent (SILVA, 2000, p. 81).

2. A Razão newspaper as a place of black (in)visibility

In data analysis, it is observed that during the year 1970, the only edition of the newspaper *A Razão* of that period in which a black woman had prominence was when Alcione Flores do Amaral won the title of 1st Carnival Princess of Santa Maria, in February, when carnival happens in Brazil. And that fact, according to Alcione, was only possible because the paper “had” to publish it, because “they had to put up with the Treze de Maio Society, made of blacks, as competing with their queen in the center”.



Picture 3. Alcione Flores do Amaral (60 years old), Queen of Treze de Maio Club's Carnival and 1st Princess of Santa Maria's Carnival in 1970, at 16 years of age.

Source: Treze de Maio Museum's Photographic Collection

Alcione was queen of the *Treze de Maio* Club during the period of civil-military dictatorship, when the myth of racial democracy was propagated. The *Treze de Maio* Club did not admit interracial relationships, because it preserved black families. Hence, it can be said that the Club had a subversive character by denying the myth of racial democracy that preached the mixture of “races” as an ideal nation, while the hegemonic elites disseminated the idea that Brazil was a racial paradise where all lived together harmoniously.

Santos (2011), talking about the myth of racial democracy, states:

From the beginning of the civil-military dictatorship, implemented in Brazil since 1964, intellectuals and others involved with the problems of Brazilian race relations were persecuted by the military, allegations of racism and prejudice were part of what they saw as “national security” and went against the ideas of racial democracy advocated until the end of the regime. In 1969, for example, there was a purge of the most prominent representatives of the “São Paulo School” of race relations. It was a reprisal for the researchers who showed that racial democracy was a mere intention or ideological resource created by politicians and intellectuals to appease the racial tensions of the first half of that century (Santos, 2011, p. 44).

It is known that the desire of hegemonic elites was to achieve the ideal of “whiteness”, attribute of those who occupy a social place on the top of the pyramid, is a social practice and the exercise of a function that reinforces and reproduces institutions; it is a place of speech for which looking a certain way is enough requirement (Sovik, 2009, p.50). The aim for Brazilian society was to achieve the full disappearance of those who bore the color and markings of black African slavery, remembrance of a crime against humanity that the country wanted to forget.

And, present in these racial tensions, were black social clubs - that in Rio Grande do Sul, after a

mapping process that began in 2006, totaled more than 50 places of black memory and resistance¹ - such as the *Treze de Maio* Club of Santa Maria, political place demarcated in the city, a place of conviviality and affirmation of black identities. The challenge is to think how the *Treze* negotiated these identities in a period filled with racial conflicts, as Sovik (2009) emphasizes:

When one says that “no one here is white”, the contrasting reference is external and throws a challenge against Eurocentric racism. On the other hand, when miscegenation is stated as a universal in Brazil, one runs the risk of reviving the biological arguments about “race” (genetics is where everyone is mestizo, not social practice), and coat social hierarchies with the sugar that “we are all equal” (Sovik, 2009, p. 51).

Brazil has long lived with the myth of racial democracy, until this false ideology, so internationally widespread, finally collapsed. The country officially admitted to being a racist nation and from that recognition caused by numerous claims by black movements, which culminated with the participation of Brazil in the 3rd World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance² held in Durban, South Africa, in 2001, at which point the Brazilian government began to adopt affirmative policies as a form of compensation for people historically discriminated against and in order to fight racism.

Alcione, when asked about the space that the media gave black women in her time and about how much “some black” could disturb an entire society, reported:

It was also very little. In 1970, I was on the newspaper *A Razão*. It’s not that I was on the newspaper, but because I was first princess, they had no other way but to publish it. So, I was there. Another thing, who was it that won Queen of the Santa Maria Carnival that year, I never saw that girl. It has slipped away, and the second princess belonged to the *Esportivo*. So, that night *Esportivo*’s ball was also delayed. Because the president, and I can research this because I have friends who were part of *Esportivo*’s board of directors. I want to talk to them to see who was the president in 1970. Because this president made a very serious speech, claiming that “some black” turned out as first princess, and the one who should be first princess Carnival was his queen (Interview given to Giane Vargas Escobar).

What was noticed when analyzing the *A Razão* newspapers of 1970 is the (in)visibility of black women in this communication vehicle and after Alcione, in that year, no other black woman was featured on the cover or in the gossip column, where white women were daily in evidence. And that 1970 decade was *Treze de Maio* Club’s peak period, when it was frequented by very well dressed, very well groomed and very neat black women, constituting one of the emblems triggered to oppose the stigmas that underlie some of the stereotypes that populate the Brazilian social imaginary about blacks (Sovik, 2009, p. 28). Despite this finding, black women did not gain prominence in the gossip column, for “On the ideological level whiteness is still dominant as a criterion of social aesthetics. On the factual level, a layer of black origin is dominant in Brazilian society, distributed across it from top to bottom. “(RAMOS Apud Sovik, 2009, p. 22).

Alcione emphasized that “they” only had her image featured on the cover because they “had” to publish the moment the awards were attributed, with the other sovereigns of Carnival 1970, two white women, reaffirming the value of “whiteness”. Alcione did not win the supreme title, which was Queen of Carnival, but stayed as 1st Princess and yet it bothered Santa Maria society, because,

1 ESCOBAR, Giane Vargas. (2010). *Clubes sociais negros: lugares de memória, resistência negra, patrimônio e potencial*. Santa Maria: UFSM [Url: http://cascavel.ufsm.br/tede/tde_busca/arquivo.php?codArquivo=3131, Retrieved October 20, 2013].

2 Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality “Event marks the tenth anniversary of the Durban Conference”. Brasília: [Url: http://www.seppir.gov.br/noticias/ultimas_noticias/2011/11/afro-xxi-vai-aprofundar-debate-iniciado-na-conferencia-de-durban/?searchterm=conferencia%20de%20durban, Retrieved October 20, 2013].

according to her, the president of the Esportivo Club, where blacks could not enter, except during Carnival, questioned the fact that “some black” turned out to win 1st Carnival Princess of the city and his queen did not.

The value of whiteness is held in the devaluation of being black and it remains a silent measure of the almost white as well as of blacks (Sovik, 2009, p. 55). The newspaper *A Razão*, by featuring only white women, reinforced a single speech and a single possibility of aesthetics and beauty. Dominant ethnicities are always underpinned by a particular sexual economy, a specific figuration of masculinity, a specific class identity, is what Stuart Hall argues (2003, p. 347).

However, we agree with Hall (2003, p. 347) by stating that there is a politics worth fighting for and communication plays a key role in this task of including or excluding, naturalizing or denaturalizing, maintaining or tearing down stereotypes. Hall explains that there is no warranty, when we search for an essentialized racial identity which we think to be sure, that this will always be mutually liberating and progressive in all other dimensions. And in this game one cannot be innocent, or naive, because there is a plurality of antagonisms and differences that now seek to destroy the unity of black politics, given the complexities of the structures of subordination that have shaped the way we have been inserted into black diaspora.

In this research we made a choice, and our choice was to denaturalize and deconstruct stereotypes of black women through positive representations of their images and stories, thus bringing to the academy and to the center, knowledge about the ways of life of blacks who managed to assert themselves through noticeable social advancement, since the silence in this respect is almost total in Brazil, according to Giacomini (2006, p. 23).

3. Partial considerations

Over the span of a century, the *Treze de Maio* Club managed to develop a positive self-image, as with each Circle of Recollections³ what one hears from participants is that “*The Treze was our second home*” and that to get in “that home” had to be different. And the difference was in the diacritic signals⁴ that each black family showed with pride, giving visibility and importance to a “race” for so long ignored from historical records and relegated to the background.

There was the place for black families to self-affirm their black identity, to feel empowered by the pleasant atmosphere, the way of the social meeting and even by the Club’s strict rules. And black women played a key role in building the visibility, success and importance that this society received for so long, although there were differences within the group and deep prejudices about who actually could go in that space or not, for there was not the place for separated women, widows, single mothers, or any other behavior deemed as “deviant” by black society.

Those were “class citizens” and if one did not behave, one would be banned from the social boards of the organization, and all this contradicted the negative stereotypes about blacks and frontally challenged the representation of the black as poor, lazy, invariably a stray, lonely, without family ties (GIACOMINI, 2006, p. 49). Blacks that frequented the *Treze* did not conform to discrimination, as they had a privileged economic and educational position. They were blacks who reached prominent

3 The Circles of Recollection of the Community Museum *Treze de Maio* were the initial motivation that gave rise to the author’s thesis. And it was through this technique that she was able to meet many old members of the Club, in addition to queens and princesses who are the main oral sources that instrumentalize her research. The author organized and moderated the first four editions of this event (2009-2012), whose first edition, in 2009, was part of the programming of the 21st Week of Black Consciousness in the City of Santa Maria. A Circle of Recollection is wealth, power and emotion, and group identity materializes in it.

4 They are characterized by manifest signals or signs that people look for and exhibit to show their identity, such as clothing, language, housing, or general lifestyle, according to Barth (1988).

positions for resisting and not adapting to any situation of rejection and, for a century, they made the *Treze de Maio* Club one of the most respected black societies in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

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Documental source:

Jornal A Razão. Aloida do centro Norma dos Bairros Soberanas do Carnaval. Santa Maria, 12 de fevereiro de 1970. Cover.



SESSION 18

TOURISM IN
POST-COLONIAL
LUSOPHONE
CONTEXTS

Abstract: This research seeks to explore the theme of Lusophony and consider its importance. It appears that the Lusophony has aroused more interest from scholars, researchers and academics, while it has attracted greater interest in new tourists present an increasing motivation in learning more about this topic. Although the huge distances between the Lusophony countries, the fact is that this culture is still alive. This study thus proposes the creation of a cultural-tourist route in the city of Lisbon, more specifically in the area of Belem , where researchers and tourists can retrieve various moments in history that marked this multiple and diverse culture . This route that we propose starts with the visit to heritage on the time of discovery, then passes through the evocation of the Portuguese World Exhibition, and may finally feel the Colonial War in Africa. This script is denominated by “Belem - The World Lusophone at two steps “.

Keywords: Lusophony, Belem/Lisbon, Tourist-Cultural Tour, Cultural Tourism

Introduction

This paper aims to gather the resources of cultural tourism and put them up to use and available to Lusofonia, contributing to a bigger understanding about the development of the tourism in the zone of Belem, in Lisbon, while proposing strategies to develop this type of tourism.

In the first phase of this paper a reflection will be presented about Lusofonia, exploring the inherent concepts of this thematic, namely the creation of Community of Portuguese Language Countries, and the way this organization works in a way to divulge and protect the Portuguese Cultures.

In the second phase of this reflection an analysis will be done, connecting the themes Culture and Tourism, confirming their direct or even indirect relation.

How tourism helps culture evolving in a sustainable way will be studied, and how culture leads tourism to having a stronger and more diverse offer to its users.

In the third phase will be presented the profile of the cultural Lusophone tourist, which its motivations for travelling, trying to discern when Lusophony is either the main motivation for traveling or when it becomes an additional element to the original motivation, while still developing an important role during the travel.

Next will be placed in evidence the way Belem (Lisbon) has been becoming an increasingly important area for Portuguese speaking tourists. We exemplify drawing attention to the way

Belem – The World Lusophone two steps away: proposal for Cultural-Tourist route in Belem (Lisbon)

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we can recall important moments in Portuguese History to support the idea that, by many authors in this area, Belem area is the heart of the Lusofonia World.

In the final phase of this paper will be presented a proposition of the touristic guide to the area of Belém, Lisbon, referring the monuments that are highlighted for the visit, like the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, Museu do Combatente and Jardim Tropical, which present in a different way, a part of the territory of the city of Lisbon, sometimes farther than what most people is used to see. In other words, we will present this area under the Lusophony History point of view.

1. The Route Tourism-Cultural Lusophone “Belem - The World Lusophone two steps away”

Although born in one culture, this does not impede that cannot meet another one. Tourism can facilitate the knowledge of other cultures, it allows us to have contact to other peoples and cultures. Culture itself is a dynamic reality in constant transformation, which incorporates new values; so neither tourism nor the culture will find a moment of exhaustion, terminal, total knowledge (Jesus, 2012). One of the main vocations of cultural tourism is being able to involve the visitor in a universe of unique experiences, making that the tourist experiment and enjoy the culture through visits supported by practical activities in order to learn new ways of relating to the history and places. More than just transmit information, it is necessary to interpret, raise emotions, stimulate curiosity, entertain and inspire new attitudes in tourism, thus providing a quality experience that is intended to be unforgettable (Finn, 1992 quoted by Jesus, 2012, p.16).

The tourist cultural consumption occurs when someone moves from their place of habitual residence in order to observe / participate in something related to the past or present of a community, thus seeking personal enrichment (Machado, 2006).

We can conclude according from the idea of Machado (2006), that tourism in context of a Lusophone community and heritage is a form of Lusophone Cultural Tourism.

The Lusophone Cultural Tourism annual turnover about 10 million tourists; number that represents people traveling between the Portuguese-speaking countries. (Turismo de Portugal 2012 e Ministério do Turismo, 2009). Annually, approximately 300 thousand Portuguese travel to Brazil, about 500 thousand Brazilians make the opposite journey. (Turismo de Portugal 2012 Ministério do Turismo, 2009) With regard the travels of Africans to Portugal the figure is around one million people, from Africa to Brazil the contingent is about 50 thousand tourists (Turismo de Portugal 2012 Mystery and Tourism, 2009). The number of Portuguese tourists traveling to Angola has also increased significantly, especially in the last 5 years. While in 2000 the number did not exceed the 70 000 people, in 2012 the number raised at 200.000, which represents an increase of 140% in 10 years (Turismo de Portugal 2012 e Ministério do Turismo, 2009).¹

From this quota of tourists, approximately 1 million goes into Portugal at Lisbon airport, and a few kilometers away is Belem, where you can breathe the Lusophony, more intensely than Lusophone worldwide. Is being in Praça do Império and at a look embrace the

Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, where that is expressed the Manueline desire to reach to India, where are buried the biggest names of Lusophone literature; look to the side and see the larger ships of Discovery in the Museu da Marinha; look at left and see the Torre de Belém, which for years served

¹ That are the statistical data available, however we may consider that some of these movements were performed in order to practice paid employment, because people come in Angola mostly on tourist visas, and it is the difficult to calculate which of these citizens traveled with the intention of practicing Lusophone cultural tourism.

as a beacon for ships that were arriving from the huge expeditions, look to the bottom and know the Museu dos Combatentes in tribute to those who died in the Colonial War; look ahead and see the Rio Tejo, where the Lusophone gave their first steps at 500 years ago, and finally look to the right and see the Padrão dos Descobrimentos and the Jardim Tropical.

Being in Belem is having the World Lusophone two steps away!

2. Lusophony and Lusophonies

The concept of Lusophony is a relatively recent, which has been propagated more powerful since the 1990s (Vanspauwen 2012).

Breaking apart the word Lusophony, we verified that combines two linguistic elements that make up the word, in other words, “Luso” and “phony.” “Luso” derives from “Lusitano” inhabitant of the “Lusitania”, the name of the Roman province, including the Portuguese territory at south of the Douro river and part of Spain (Extremadura and part of the province of Salamanca). “Phony” indicates a population that speaks a language. However, the use of the term occurs in a broader concept but diverse than the corresponding linguistic concept, also covering the cultures, economies and policies (Vanspauwen 2012).

Dias believes that the term Lusophony is not just a description of a community of language and co-participated colonial history; Dias says that may even be an evocation of Portugal as historic homeland along the imaginary, which surrounds its global relationships (Dias, 2009).

For Arenas the choice of the term “Luso” can probably be subject to critique, under the democratic and transnational telescope, because even Portugal provides the original linguistic matrix, the country should drop any ambitions to be the center and instead recognize and propagate of the *multipolarity* (Arenas, 2011).

The universality of Lusophony is debatable, in that it is problematic how is shared, either in collective terms or by individuals and groups, political, cultural, artistic elites in Portuguese-speaking countries (Lopes, 2008).

The creation of the CPLP in 1996, and the organization of international events such as Expo ‘98, as well as the emergence of the Internet, as much news as social networks, were also helped to expand the awareness of Lusophony conditions beyond a circle only linguistic (Vanspauwen 2012).

The CPLP brings together more than 223 million speakers of Portuguese in eight nations; they are Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe and East Timor. A unique feature is that the CPLP member states share their cultural and historical elements, which builds bridges between those countries that are separated by long geographical spaces (Vanspauwen 2012).

Since then, the concept of Lusophony has been growing in international relations of Portugal, mainly from its capital, Lisbon. Many government organizations and voluntary associations, academic, cultural entrepreneurs, and journalists openly invoke the concept in its objectives. (Vanspauwen 2012)

CPLP has been established as a fundamental player in the institutionalization of Lusophony, maintaining its headquarters in Lisbon. Moreover, governmental, economic and academic institutions that involve other countries or regions of the Portuguese language use Lisbon as the platform, as a reference point and often use the concept of Lusophony (Vanspauwen 2012).

2.1. The Relationship between Tourism and Culture

The Culture is something dynamic with strong historical and temporal ballast. It is however something permanently evolution, based on a relationship between man and his environment , between different people and their environment , inventing each one unique solutions to problems that put them up . (Cucho , 1999, cited by Machado , 2006 p.62) .

Besides memory is a crucial factor to any culture that want to store its features and even its mechanism of development. In Cultural tourism, memory is essential for the construction of the tourist-cultural product, that tourist segment that has been growing every decade with highly demanding standards. So the memory is something that is neither static nor with a purely academic or scholarly dimension, but something that tells the story of a people, how they lived, by now, and how the past is still alive today. One of the most striking examples is the museums of national or communities History, where visitors are able to review and further develop their own identities (Martins, 2009).

We can consider that what tourism and culture have in common is their nature of sharing, as a set of events , experiences and rules of a given society that allow its operation , but also deepening the daily lives of people as something of nature more individual that provokes an enrichment either individually or as a whole human . (Machado, 2006)

Culture is a key resource for the development of tourism activity, especially in the current context, which are borning in tourists new needs and desires to supplement or replace tourism products commonly known as sun and beach. (Martins, 2009)

“Cultural tourism explores different segments, for example, art is one of the elements that attract tourists. Painting, sculpture and architecture are the same elements used by tourism in order to propagate cultural tourism and the local community, such as music, dance, crafts, local cuisine, etc . . . “(Batista, 2005:32)

Cultural tourism allows and organizes access to the heritage, for example, history, culture and way of life of communities. Thus, cultural tourism does not seek leisure in the first place, and rest. It’s also distinguished by the motivation of the tourist in knowing regions, people, their traditions and their cultural, historical and religious events (Molleta, 1998 cited by Batista, 2005).

Cultural tourism allows the exchange of values and new experiences over the contact with the mode of life of the other. The use of culture in tourism can be expanded in various dimensions and different aspects. (Martins, 2009)

In the same direction the investigations of Santos & Antonini show us that the Cultural tourism is one of the most relevant phenomena of contemporary, due to it provides the interaction and communication between different cultures , experience different situations and environments , as well as the observation of different landscapes. This enables both the cultural individualization and the globalization of culture. (Santos & Antonini , 2003 pag.101 quoted by Baptista,2005)

2.2. Profile of Lusophone Cultural Tourist

The difficulty consists in defining this profile, for lack of empirical data, making it difficult to understand what the Lusophone cultural tourism demand is currently. The data that we present seek to synthesize the information gathered in studies, published legislation and documents of international nature, from the point of view of Lusophone tourism demand, and almost impossible to quantify.

This quantification is increasingly difficult, because one place can be visited by different audiences with very different motivations and may even not exist as the interest by Lusophony in that travel or vacation (Machado, 2006).²

Due to the paucity of data, we present an adaptation of the motivations of tourist demand of cultural goods to the specific area of Lusophone.

Level of Motivation for Lusophone Culture	Description
Highly motivated by the Lusophone Culture	Travel based on the existence of Lusophone attractions at destination, with deep experience in Lusophone culture
Partly Driven by the Lusophone Culture	Travel with combination of motivation and other Lusophone, having a larger entertainment component
Additional motivation for a Home Other	The Lusophony has a complementary role to other factors in the choice of destination.
Tourist Lusophone Casual	Lusophone attractions not intervene on the choice of destination, but when the target participate and have a deep experience.

Table 1 - Motivations of Tourist Cultural Resources Demand

Source: Adapted from Machado, 2006 p.67

As you can see from the observation of different types of cultural tourists in their relations with cultural attractions, only the first two cases (highly motivated and partially motivated) we can affirm that have Lusophony in a central role when the decide the journey. The other two cases only have occasional contact with the Portuguese-speaking tourist resources (Machado, 2006).

Despite having different motivations, agents of cultural tourism cannot stop to produce Lusophone cultural tourism products, which at various times can be made available to the thousands of tourists who visit a given place. (Machado, 2006).

3. The importance of Belem to the World Lusophone - Building a cultural image

Belem represents a point of reference at Lusophone level both in Portugal and even in the Lusophone world. Belem represents the glory of the past, including the fantastic expeditions across the seas who left the Tejo River. That landscape of Belem was a real universal road of the Portuguese, historical path of perpetuity of Lusophone World, where the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos plays a key role because transmit the Manueline energy of the great dream of India. (Nobre, 2010)

The importance of Belem is not recent, from the time of discoveries which is a remarkable place for Portugal and the Colonial World. Also in 1940, Belem was the place choose for one of the biggest cultural events in the Estado Novo, called the Portuguese World Exhibition (from now on EMP), which intended to celebrate the eight centuries of Portuguese independence (1140) and the

² Anyone who travels may have different motivations, participating in multiple activities depending on the available free time. Thus, the tourist can have business as their main motivation may travel being the main motivation of your journey fulfill their agenda. However, after carrying out these tasks, and knowing that a historical museum is relatively close of the hotel the tourist will probably have an interest in visit it. (Pires, 2001 quoted by Jesus, 2012)

three centuries of the restoration of independence from Portugal (1640). (Nobre, 2010)

Belem was the place selected to the event, organized around the Praça do Império. It was a deliberate choice, which validated the historicist discourse of EMP, based mainly on defining moments of the nation past, because it was bounded by elements related to Descobrimentos, like Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, Rio Tejo, Praça Afonso de Albuquerque, Torre de Belém, and others. (Nobre, 2010)

Thus, Belem was not only a neutral zone where the event took place, but a symbolic place loaded in reconstruction and celebration of the maritime history of the Portuguese to keep track of your goals in 1940, Belem is the Exhibition, and Exhibition is Belem (Nobre, 2010)

In this idea we integrate the abundant cultural and exhibition equipment that populate Belem. We know that the creation of museums in Belem are dating back to the early twentieth century, but it cannot lay aside to notice is the abundance of that type of equipment after the EMP, both in space occupied as also in neighboring areas, starting with the Museum of Popular Arts (1948) and continuing with the International Fair of Lisbon - FIL (1952-1957), the Navy Museum (1962), among others. This list stands out most recently the Centro Cultural de Belem (1988-1992), due to the parallelism with the Portuguese Pavilion in the World which was built for the EMP, but also because the equipment that was truly awakened Belem of inertia that the place had lived since 1941. (Nobre, 2010)

This exceptional nature transformed Belem in an eminently tourist area, particularly from the 1960s. This dynamic was steadying himself with the creation of museums listed, but the remaining buildings of the urban core will eventually become bound by the uses terminating. (Nobre, 2010)

Certain is that the attractiveness of Belem is a secular fact, thanks mainly to the presence of the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos. Furthermore, the overall progress of tourism in this zone would inevitably a favored focus for this activity. However, it is believed that the EMP stimulated this phenomenon and dictated the tourism model that Belem adopted (Nobre, 2010)

Belem comes up confirming as a brand whose image strongly identifies the capital, and where is located a significant part of the heritage in which the tourist iconography of Lisbon is supported precisely as ‘international brand’ based on tourism and culture. (Nobre, 2010)

4. Proposal for Route “Belem-The World Lusophone two steps away”

This route will be on the area of Belem, which has an intrinsic value Lusophone quite high, with the concentration of several works that allow us relive the Lusophony having contact with remarkable monuments from the age patterns of tributes to the discoveries, tombs of the greatest figures of the written in Portuguese language, among other!

As all the points to be visited are close to each other, the proposal is that the route should be done walking, in that way the visitors can also contact and breathe this Lusophone atmosphere. The Route proposes³ a visit of just one day to iconic monuments of Lusophony, in Belem. This proposal begins with the concentration of all participants in Praça do Império, place of great impact on the EMP, named that way at the time of the Estado Novo as symbol of Portuguese Empire.⁴ The first visit will be to the Museu do Combatente that is a place that exudes nostalgia, because in the walls are written the names of all who perished in the Colonial War. After this the participant is advised to visit the Torre de Belem, remarkable place in discoveries, which serve as a

³ The more detailed proposal can be found in leaflet, attached, which can be used by Lusophone Cultural Tourist.

⁴ It is with amazement that we found that the designation of Praça do Império, remained after the fall of the Estado Novo, in reference to a historic moment for almost four decades had its epilogue. Anyway this is not the place to explore the reasons for the persistence of this name.

beacon to ships that were arriving from long expeditions overseas.

We propose a stop for lunch, which will be in the Restaurant Espelho D'Agua, that was built for the EMP, and that is of the few buildings that remained from such event. After the lunch we propose the visit to Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, where you can contact beyond fantastic architectural work, with the graves of some of the greatest figures of Lusophony, as Luís Vaz de Camões, Fernando Pessoa and others.

Then we advise a visit to the Jardim Tropical, it was a remarkable place of EMP, and that makes the participants relax, live moments of outdoor recreation and contact with nature. Then we will visit the Padrão dos Descobrimentos, where they are featured some of the most important names at this time, which are intrinsically linked to what is now the Lusophony. The day will end in the ancient Praia do Restelo, where Vasco da Gama sailed to many of his nautical expeditions, and allow us finish the day in a place of extreme beauty, with the sun shining.

For the tourist that wish to explore more Belem, we advise you to visit the Museu da Marinha, the Museu de Arte Popular, the Museu do Oriente, the Jardim Vasco da Gama and the Museu dos Coches.

5. Conclusions / Recommendations / Limitations of the Present Study

Having regard to the present study, we found that the area of Belem has a fairly close relationship with the Lusophony, being seen by many people as one of the most remarkable places of these community, due to the exceptional concentration of monuments and buildings that make relive and remember the World Lusophone and how it was being built over the centuries.

View of this exceptional concentration, Belem becomes more and more becoming a place wanted for those who want to study, learn more about the discoveries, the Colonial War, or even those who just want to visit and enrich themselves. It is in this way that the Cultural Tourism should take this opportunity.

After the study we can see that the part of the tourist offer specifically Lusophone motivation is still poorly organized and harnessed.

Our proposal is create a Lusophone Circuit in Belem, where people can be accompanied by a tourist mediator correctly informed about this issue, who can make the visit an opportunity for reflection about Lusophony, its history and its future, beyond of a visit to monuments. Provide Lusophone information during this visit is a central aspect in this route, to the success, and also appealing to the experience of its participants. Thus, we believe that even those who do not come with the motivation to “visit Lusophony” can end this day in a Lusophone immersion, as with a great knowledge of their own history.

Finally do not want to mention that this is a product that is lacking in this tourist destination taking into account the equity agglomeration already described. This route can bring a large number of economic benefits that can be spent not only to preserve this cultural heritage, but also in supporting the realization of events that had as its theme the Lusophony.

This script does not pretend exhaust the creation of Lusophone tours in the Belem area, and we believe that are space for new routes, with more innovation, although we think that an initial stage it is a key lever to develop this area, under the Lusophone perspective.

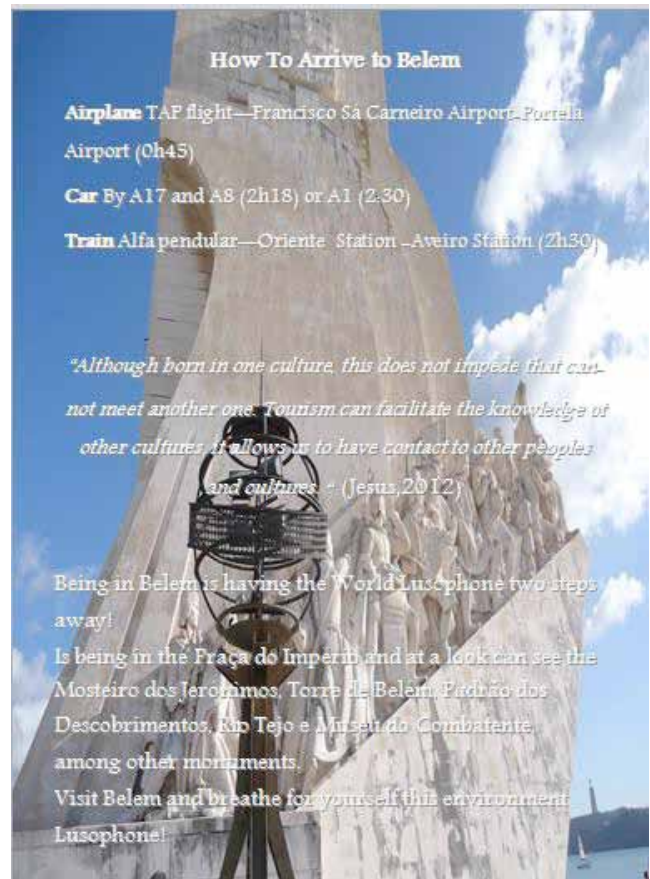
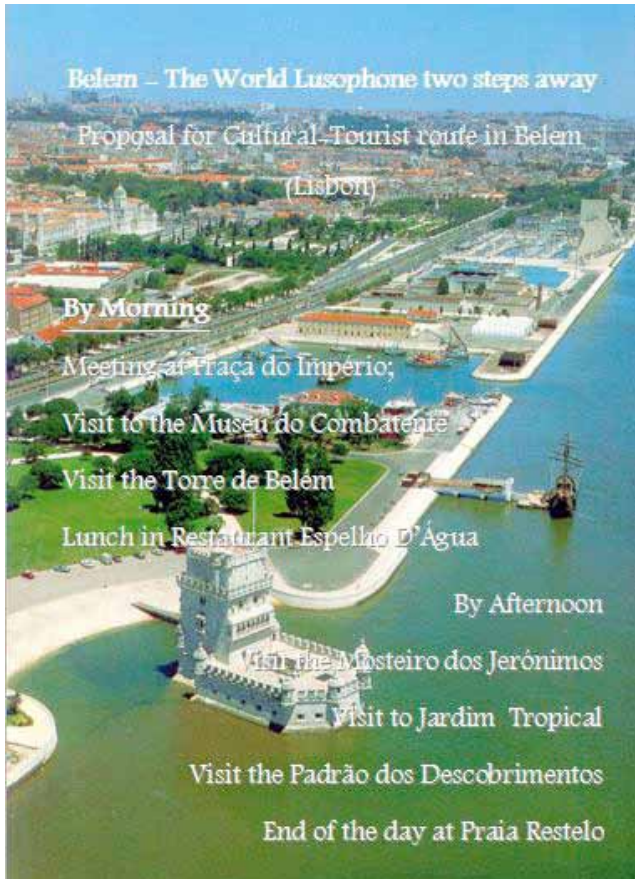
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Attachments

We propose the following flyer for Tourist-Cultural Lusophone called “Belem-The World Lusophone two steps away.”

The Front



Part of the Rear

Abstract: After the initiatives to implement tourist activity in places related to the Portuguese colonial and post-colonial periods, this article emphasizes the need to serve multiple narratives of the events and circumstances that led to these places being tourist attractions. So, the article describes the process of going from a single narrative of Portugal as colonizer - Lusotropicalism - to the multiplicity of narratives that exist today, originating from Portugal and its former colonies. Afterwards, the article demonstrates the potential of dark tourism, particularly of its attractions, as privileged means for the transmission of multiple messages, as each attraction is open to several interpretations. Finally, it concludes with the need for the CPLP countries to make joint decisions about the narratives conveyed by the attractions and to undertake case studies focused on specific aspects of the attractions.

Keywords: Post-colonialism; multiple narratives; Dark Tourism; mediating death.

Introduction

“Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign. But stories can also be used to empower, and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people. But stories can also repair that broken dignity.”
– Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

Recent initiatives by Lusophone countries seeking the implementation of tourism projects that explore the common colonial history have emerged. The Route of Prisons in the Lusophone World project is an example of such initiatives, and aims to create:

A new formal space for reflection and knowledge of our shared history, possibly within the CPLP, about the nature of the dictatorship that lasted for years, in Portuguese speaking countries and the promotion and deepening of the scientific study of the movements and processes of resistance by the Portuguese and African peoples for their freedom and self-determination (Saial, 2013a).

There is also a UNESCO project for the creation of the Slave Route, which aims to understand slavery and its consequences and to foster intercultural dialogue on the topic (UNESCO, n.d.). This initiative, which came from several African countries, includes (or will include) CPLP countries like Brazil and Cape Verde (UNESCO, 2012; Saial, 2013b).

At the same time, there are already several tourist attractions

From Belém to Taraful: Dark Tourism as a vehicle for multiple (post) colonial narratives

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related to colonialism that reflect moments and circumstances of death and suffering in Portugal and in Lusophone countries: the Aljube and Peniche prisons in Portugal, Tarrafal concentration camp in Cape Verde, the Museum of East Timorese Resistance, the Slavery Museum and the Museum of the Armed Forces in Angola (among others).

In all these places, the narratives of Portuguese colonialism and post-colonialism are marked by sometimes diametrically opposed perspectives.

On the one hand, there is the narrative of Portugal as an exceptional colonizer - as it was, at the same time, colonizer and colonized – that colonized underdeveloped peoples primarily through language, culture, integration, development (Santos, 2003). On the other hand, there is another narrative, fraught with violence, repression, racism, discrimination, wherein Portugal appears as invader, exploiter of resources, under the mask of an ideal of unity that never materialized (Almeida M. V., 2008b, Castelo, 2013).

And, amid these black and white views of the same reality, there are endless shades of gray that must be brought to the debate; not only - or not as a priority - within the academy, but also in society, with individuals, whether political deciders or ordinary citizens.

The question that arises is: how to do it? How to encourage individual discussion and reflection on these multiple views of the same object? Other questions stem from that: How can these narratives coexist peacefully? Where can they be available to individuals in ways that everyone can consume, process, discuss and debate?

The thesis proposed here is that tourism, particularly dark tourism, can be one answer to these questions.

Dark tourism can be defined as a type of tourism that takes place in locations with a concrete and identifiable connection to death and suffering. Within this scope are included, for example, cemeteries and catacombs, but also prisons, battlefields, museums and temporary exhibitions (among other things). But, moreover, dark tourism places are social spaces susceptible to multiple meanings and reconfigurations – being, at the same time, places that do not jeopardize the individuals' sense of security.

So, the first section of this text addresses the various narratives concerning the Portuguese colonialism and post-colonialism, from the narrative with hegemonic tendencies of Lusotropicalism to the multiple and contrasting narratives that exist today. The article then discusses how dark tourism can be a medium where all these narratives can coexist and be presented for public discussion and appropriation.

The last section of the article points out ways in which this possibility can be achieved.

1. The spectrum of narratives of the Portuguese (post) colonialism

Narratives of Portugal as colonizer suffered various changes and evolved over the years. If, from the 60s to the Revolution of 1974, Lusotropicalism was the dominant official narrative, the fall of the dictatorial regime and the collapse of the empire gave rise to the emergence of many different perspectives (Almeida M. V., 2008a, 2008b).

The concept of Lusotropicalism originated in *The Masters and the Slaves*, a 1933 book by author Gilberto Freyre, although the term would only be used in later works (Almeida M. V., 2008b). According to this conception, the Portuguese have a natural inclination towards life in the tropics and the easy relationship with native peoples, inclination that is a consequence of the fact that the Portuguese are already a hybrid and miscegenated people (Freyre, 2003).

Although not initially accepted by the dictatorial regime, Lusotropicalism became a useful tool for

the regime from the time when, in the post-World War II period, the newly formed UN organization advocated self-determination as a fundamental human right and began to exert pressure on the countries that held territories under occupation for the disengagement from such territories (Castelo, 2013, Almeida, 2008b).

Lusotropicalism gained acceptance in the academic and scientific community just as it was assimilated as the official discourse of the regime. Adriano Moreira, who played a pivotal role in this assimilation, introduced the study of Lusotropicalism in higher education in the mid 1950s (Castelo, 2013).

In the 60s, with the outbreak of war in Angola, criticism to positioning of Portugal in relation to the colonies first appeared (Ribeiro, 2005), despite the covert criticism that, according to Castelo (2013), already existed, especially in academia.

Since then, a succession of views that contradict the regime's narrative have emerged, for example through literary texts (Ribeiro, 2005). There is, at this time, a decentralization of narrative: instead of traveling exclusively from the center (metropolis), narrative from ex-centric positions (the colonies) begin to circulate (Ribeiro, 2005).

Despite all efforts by the Estado Novo, the "overseas provinces" became independent countries, while the Portuguese authoritarian regime itself gave rise to a democracy, integrated in a community of European countries. The nation needed to be redefined, but could not do so by ignoring or discarding everything that caused the fall of the Empire.

According to Almeida (2008b, pp.7-8):

Three major events took place since 1974 that are important for assessing this change – or lack thereof. The first one was the dislocation from a country that saw itself as based in the discoveries, the expansion and colonization, to a country reduced to its ex-metropolitan territory and part of the supranational European Union; the second was the flux of migrants from the ex-colonies; and the third was the emergence of a new rhetoric (and reality), namely that of Lusophony and the Portuguese-speaking community, including the new notion of the Portuguese Diaspora.

After the 1974 revolution, Portugal reconfigures itself as a country that is integrated in a European space, and, simultaneously, as a bridge between Europe and the former colonies, forming a community connected by historical and cultural ties and economic interests (Ribeiro, 2005, Almeida M. V., 2002, 2008b, Santos, 2003).

According to some authors (Castelo, 2013, Almeida, 2002, 2008a, 2008b, Cunha, 2010), this narrative, albeit long lasting, has several shortcomings. These authors' perspective of Portugal as colonizer is of violence and repression, of resource exploitation, racism and discrimination – characteristics that persist in the post-colonial period and that the country cannot escape in the context of Lusophony and CPLP, where it is faced with the development strategies and political decisions of the other member states.

According to other authors, represented here in Boaventura Sousa Santos' perspective, Portugal was an exceptional colonizer, assuming, at the same time, a position of dominance towards its colonies and of subaltern to England's power; moreover, it was a colonizer that integrated the identity of colonized, thus being hybrid, indecisive, unable to construct a true definition of itself (Santos, 2003).

There are also other authors, with other perspectives, such as Martins (2004). This author (Martins, 2004, p. 91) came to regard Lusotropicalism as "multiculturalism with the common denominator of a language as homeland", and Lusophony as a practical classification or "symbolical order of the world" (Martins, 2004, p. 91), governed by practical functions aimed towards social effects, and composed by distinct nations, culturally solidary.

At the same time, the colonial and post-colonial narratives that emerge from the former Portuguese colonies offer new perspectives and possibilities of (re)configuration for Portugal and for Portugal in relation to the countries it once dominated.

Some of these narratives emphasize, of course, the peoples' resistance to repression by the occupiers; others are manifests against the Lusophone identity that is imposed with some difficulty to some countries, stressing the need for them to define their identities in relation to Portugal in some way other than language (Varela, 2012).

All of these narratives, and many others that are not included here, constitute a broad spectrum of perspectives for the analysis of Portuguese (post)colonialism – that should be thought and debated in the public sphere. The thesis presented here is that tourist activity can contribute to this debate.

2. Dark tourism: mediator and reconfigurer of spaces

Dark tourism can be defined as the tourist activity in places that, accidentally or intentionally, have become tourist attractions, and that have a concrete and identifiable connection with death and suffering (Coutinho, 2012). This definition encloses a broad variety of attractions, able to appeal to different target audiences. But, underlying this variety of supply is the common characteristic of a possibility for visitors to contact/establish a relationship with death and suffering.

According to authors such as Ariès (1988), Giddens (1991), and Stone (2009), cotemporary society has removed direct contact with death from daily life; it takes place only in exceptional places and circumstances – such as medical and funerary institutions. At the same time, there was a devalorization of religion and of the traditional mechanisms for dealing with death, in relation to multiculturalism, diasporas, and even to the emergence of science, which, however, cannot create new truths to replace religious ones (Giddens, 1991). Thus, death has lost much of its public meaning, now belonging to the individual sphere – and each individual must, alone, create his own mechanisms for dealing with death and suffering (Giddens, 1991).

In contemporary western society, Tourism is a privileged means through which individuals can have contact with death and suffering (Walter, 2009, Stone, 2009b) in a way that does not threaten their ontological security (Giddens, 1991). In other words, contacting death and suffering through Tourism – dark tourism, that is – does not cause individuals to feel that what they are, in its entirety, is some way at risk. On the contrary, dark tourism provides a safe and sometimes socially sanctioned environment where individuals can construct their concepts of mortality (Stone 2006, 2008). In the words of Tarlow: “it is in dark tourism that the person's inner space becomes defined by the outer experience” (2005, p.52).

In fact, this kind of Tourism can be seen as symbolic (Tarlow, 2005), which relates to Stone's (2013) statement that places of dark tourism can be considered heterotopias. According to Foucault (1967), heterotopias are places that:

have the curious property of being related to every other place, but in such a way that they suspend, neutralize or invert the set of relationships that are, in themselves, designated, reflected or thought. These places, of any kind, [...] are connected with all other places, [...] and, nevertheless, contradict them. (Foucault, 1967)

Stone (2013) argues that places of dark tourism are, at the same time, physical and social spaces, that reflect the culture of the places but go beyond that, often being representative of past crisis of supra-national significance, where visitors can also reflect on past and future crisis. Thus, these places represent more than a single moment in the past, rather a juxtaposition of time (Stone, 2013).

Therefore, dark tourism places are physical and social places where normality is interrupted and where meanings are projected that are related to the place, what it represents, and the individual/visitor (Stone, 2013, Foucault, 1967).

In order to understand dark tourism's true power, one must relate it to nostalgia (Tarlow, 2005). According to Boym (2001, p.8), modern nostalgia is the "mourning for the impossibility of a mythical return", i.e. the return to a world with defined frontiers and values, but imagined. Tourism nostalgia, however, supposes a restorative possibility as well as a reflexive one – the tourist seeks to heal past hurts travelling to the past (Tarlow, 2005). The author states that dark tourism "may be a form of virtual nostalgia in which the traveler vicariously visits the tragedy's scene, experiencing the tragedy's place" (Tarlow, 2005, p.52).

However, dark tourism places are still tourist attractions and, as such, are part of a commercial enterprise. It is necessary that they be presented as an attraction, a product able to appeal to visitors and answer their needs.

Thus, dark tourism may be presented and consumed in different configurations, depending on how each product is contextualized and thematized in order to be consumed by the visiting public (Tarlow, 2005). Tarlow (2005, p.54) has identified seven forms in which dark tourism can be presented/consumed:

- "A pretext to understand our own age with visits to places of tragedy used as the pretext to explain the current political situation"¹. This way, the visitor not only picks up the message, but is expected to integrate it in his current cultural understanding and pass it on.
- "Romanticism, which is often found at battlefields or in places of torture". Here, visitors can imagine themselves as heroes in the event portrayed by the attraction.
- "Barbarism, where the visitor is made to feel superior to the perpetrators of the crime." This modality shows the cruelty of human beings at the same time that it instills a sense of compassion towards the victims.
- "Part of national identity, producing the message that 'although we suffered we have prevailed'". The author emphasizes the fact that the distinction between "we" and "they" is very present in this modality.
- "A sign of decadence", as in moral/ethic degradation of those who unjustly harmed or mistreated the current ruling group.
- "A mystical experience", born out of tragedy and related to the visitors' connection to the place. Tarlow (2005) gives as example the descendants of slaves that visit old slave quarters.
- "A spiritual experience" that is different from the mystical one because it is "based more on a common sense of humanity than on commonality of race, ethnicity or nationality or religion".

From here, it can be concluded that the same dark tourism attraction can be interpreted by visitors in several ways, and can be narrated in several ways. And the way it is narrated/presented to visitors depends on the decisions of those in charge of the attraction and its content. According to Sternberg (1999, p.125):

If composers of touristic experiences do choose multiple themes, they should do so through careful iconic assessment – they should select themes that are compatible, complementary, or purposely contrasting.

The author (Sternberg, 1999) points out that, when choosing multiple narratives for an attraction,

1 All italics are the author's.

it is crucial to keep narrative coherence from beginning to end in the visitors' experience; coherence not between narratives, but in the structure in which they are told.

3. A dark tourism proposal for Lusophony

Following the initiatives of Lusophone countries to implement tourism projects that explore the common colonial history, it is important to find ways to serve the diverse views that exist about the events that connect all these countries. Dark tourism is presented here as a way to respond to this need, since it is open to multiple interpretations.

Portugal has gone from a system that allowed a single narrative of colonialism, to an era of multiple colonial and postcolonial narratives. Since the 1950s, and up to the revolution of 1974, Estado Novo's official discourse was that of Portugal as inclusive of peoples and cultures, hybrid, with a special aptitude for overseas colonization. With the fall of the dictatorship, the dismantling of the overseas empire and Portugal joining the European Union, perspectives on Portuguese colonialism and post-colonialism diversify. Some almost completely contradict the Lusotropicalist narrative, regarding Portugal as a repressive, violent, and racist colonizer with lingering neo-colonial illusions in a community formed with countries that it once colonized. Others continue to consider Portugal as a *sui generis* colonizer, since at the same time that it colonized, the country was subordinate to British power. Others yet recognize the importance of the cultural ties that were created between Portugal and its former colonies and regard them as a possibility of union with practical effects. The creation and dissemination of these narratives is now not a unique privilege of Portugal: narratives of resistance and courage and affirmation of national and cultural identities now reach us from the countries which were Portuguese colonies.

The fact is there are many ways to look at colonialism and post-colonialism in Portugal - and it is important to think of it in its complexity.

Tourism, especially dark tourism, can be a means to promote this reflection and thought. This type of tourism has to do with places of and related to death and suffering where tourist activity takes place. The events and circumstances of death and suffering behind the creation of these attractions are representative of the history and culture of the place, but at the same time, have global meanings and can be interpreted in multiple ways.

So, dark tourism is a privileged mediator of death and suffering, but it is also especially intended for consumption by individuals, in a commercial logic. Dark tourism attractions are not limited to conveying messages: they integrate them in a thematic strategy and process them so as to be easily assimilated by visitors.

This strategic definition of narratives may represent a single theming of dark tourism attractions, but, at the same time, therein lies their great potential as conveyers of multiple narratives: each attraction can be presented and consumed in various forms.

This position is illustrated by taking as an example the case of the Penal Colony of Tarrafal. The Penal Colony of Tarrafal, also called the Camp of Slow Death or Tarrafal Concentration Camp was established in April 23, 1936 by the Estado Novo on the island of Santiago (Cape Verde archipelago), in order to accommodate "those arrested for political and social crimes" (Câmara Municipal do Tarrafal, 2010) and was in operation until July 19, 1975 (Morais, 2011).

In 2000, the Penal Colony of Tarrafal was transformed into the Resistance Museum, with the support of the Portuguese Cooperation (Mendes, 2012). The museum works in "minimal conditions" (Mendes, 2012, p. 65), with essential tourist information, such as information panels about the field and the different rooms and sections where visitors can circulate. In addition to this information,

there are also panels with photographs and testimonies by former prisoners (Mendes, 2012), as well as lists with the names of all the inmates (Cabo Verde Contacta, 2011).

The Resistance Museum acts as a space of “symbolic compensation”, seeking to reconstruct the memories of prisoners, regarded as victims of fascism (Mendes, 2012, p. 66). However, it lacks a narrative strategy that encourages discussion and debate in visitors: the Museum’s effort on the reconstruction of memory is done in a disjointed manner with local people and with associations of camp survivors, and does not include narratives of resistance formed in Portugal and other Lusophone countries (Mendes, 2012).

Two key aspects to consider in a dark tourism policy for Lusophony can be inferred. One is that museums that explore aspects of the colonial past between Lusophone countries must contain a multiplicity of narratives produced in this context. The other is the need to involve individuals, universities and other organizations in the debate, in order to defining macro and micro strategies for dark tourism between and in Lusophone countries.

In 2009, an International Symposium commemorating the 35th anniversary of the closure of the camp and commemorative exhibitions were held at the Resistance Museum of Tarrafal (Mendes, 2012). These two initiatives represent two other important strategic elements in a dark tourism policy for Lusophony. International conferences can be privileged stages for the debate on colonialism and post-colonialism in Lusophony and the rest of the world, and on the means and ways to explore, configure and present the topic so as to stimulate discussion by individuals.

Traveling exhibitions, transiting between Lusophone countries and produced jointly by them, may also encourage reflection and multilateral debate.

However, the definition of a dark tourism policy for Lusophony is a challenge from the outset: first, it is necessary that the Portuguese-speaking countries understand that tourism in places of death and suffering (dark tourism) plays an important role for society and culture of the countries that make up Lusophony, by promoting discussion and debate on the events and contexts of death and suffering that originated the tourist attractions.

Nevertheless, it is up to those in charge of attractions and to policy makers to establish strategies that determine how dark tourism attractions are thematized and presented to the public. In the context of the countries that were part of the former Portuguese Overseas Empire, it is important to establish joint strategies, in order to give voice to a plurality of messages in such attractions.

Could it be possible to describe only the facts concerning an attraction, stripped of context, and let visitors integrate them in their own constructs? Is it better to set up thematic visits or interpretation packages for each attraction? Can the inclusion of individual testimonies about the places and events that led to dark tourism attractions be the solution for the purveyance of multiple narratives? The answer to these questions can only be obtained by conducting more research. For example, comparative and simple case studies will be required in order to identify best practices within and outside Lusophony and concretely realize how dark tourist attractions in Portuguese-speaking countries can be presented so as to stimulate discussion on every visitor. Indeed, it is intended, with dark tourism, to contribute to the construction of a common Lusophone memory and imaginary, on the basis of which the Other (all Others) may be recognized - an essential condition for constructing a real Lusophone community.

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Abstract: This study discusses practices relating to leisure and to culture, in the first decades of the urbanisation process in Brazilian cities, particularly in Belém, Brazil. These practices are represented by the relation between usual and daily practices in urban life and in the city, implemented according to exogenous concepts, such as European concepts of a city, which has influenced the creation of a series of cultural and leisure amenities, and introduced chasms between the city and nature, resulting in spaces such as gardens, parks and squares.

Keywords: Culture; Leisure; Green urban spaces

1. Introduction

The urbanisation of Brazil began in the eighteenth century, when the rural people started to migrate to the city, making the city their primary residence. According to Santos (2009), urbanisation reached maturity in the nineteenth century, but acquired its current general characteristics during the last three decades of the twentieth century, to the extent that nowadays, there is more than a traditional separation between urban and rural Brazil, as a real distinction exists between an urban Brazil (including the agricultural areas) and agricultural Brazil (including the urban areas).

In the initial process, many rural customs were brought into the cities, which raised concerns about hygiene and the spread of diseases amongst the population. Castellani Filho (1994) and Costa (1983) explain that there was also a definite government action to promote hygienic habits in the population, which influenced the growth in areas such as medicine and physical education. The hygienists came to assume a prominent position, using their medical expertise to educate individuals in adopting healthy living habits.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Brazilian society was to witness the transformation of public spaces and ways of life, in addition to the propagation of new morals and the establishment of a new urban structure, which exercised a mechanism of control over the poor and the gentrified the rich. Brazil's interpolation in the era of modernity involved basic elements, regarded as indicators of "progress": industrialisation, urbanisation, and the technical division of labour and the formation of a national elite.

Many factors contributed to the process of concentrating the population in urban centres. In recent times, the process of Brazilian urbanisation has been greatly associated with poverty in larger cities, as those who work in capitalised agriculture are repelled from rural areas and thus live in urban areas.

Culture and leisure in the Amazon: the European influence on leisure practices and the creation of green spaces in Belém, Brazil

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This paper addresses the everyday cultural forms of leisure in Belém, a city in Amazonian Brazil, with regard to urbanisation and the necessity of creating green spaces, reproducing urban leisure practices found in European cities, such as Paris.

2. The urbanisation of Belém and leisure practices

To understand the urbanisation processes in the Amazon and in Belém, there are various studies that deal with this theme (SANTOS, 2009; SARGES, 2010; CASTRO, 2006), describing these processes and explaining that they are directly inter-connected and conditioned by the political-economic model of exploiting natural resources, from the *drogas do sertão*¹ to the exploitation of rubber, wood and minerals in recent periods

The growth of Amazonian cities and of Belém and Manaus in particular, was mostly influenced by the economy of rubber extraction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and more specifically, in the period between 1840 and 1920. Sarges (2010) presents this panorama, demonstrating the contingents that emerged due to the new economy that was established in these cities, resulting in the expansion and modification of the urban landscape.

In Belém, the process of modernisation took place from the second half of the nineteenth century, from 1840 onwards, due to the enrichment of certain social sectors in the region due to the production of rubber. As part of the process of the Amazonian involvement in the global economy, the urban landscape was transformed in the style of European cities. Sarges (2010) highlights several changes in the city's landscape, such as "paved streets with granite cobblestones imported from Europe, the construction of public buildings, tiled mansions, monuments, squares etc".

Capitalism and modernity were reflected in the urban structure of Belém, which followed the model of modern European urbanism, particularly during the administration of Intendant Antônio José de Lemos, from 1897 to 1910.

Antônio Lemos developed a strict policy of sanitation in the city, controlled by a code of behaviour, based on liberal ideals, which was created to regulate people's habits and re-establish hygiene in the city, based on the ideas of the Parisian urban reform in the nineteenth century, led by the administrator and politician Georges Eugène Haussmann

According to Freitag (2010), Haussmann's ideas for reshaping Paris were heavily influenced by Napoleon III, aiming for a city with "movement", and thus wide avenues- aiding the flow of goods and people, but which also served to prevent barricades by popular revolutionary movements - underground water canals and sewers were constructed, whilst light and gas were installed, and markets and urban parks were created.

Faithfully following Haussmann's principles, Antônio Lemos sought to create aspects of a modern city in Belém, with characteristics of the era known as the *Belle Époque*, such as boulevards, squares, gardens, woodland areas and long, wide avenues. However, this "progress" was clearly concentrated in the downtown area, where the local elite and part of the growing middle class tended to live.

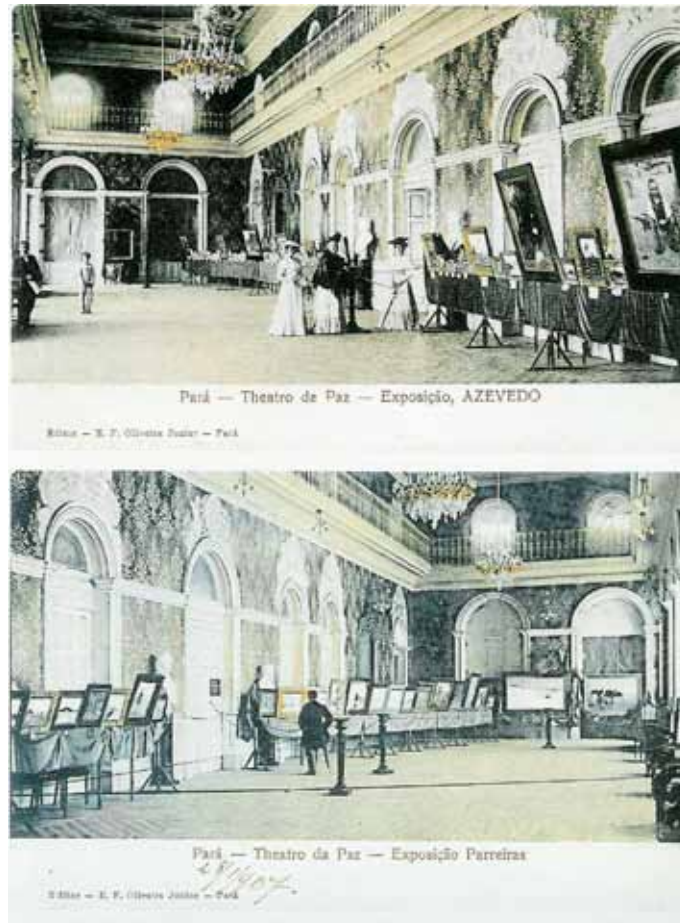
Lemos turned the city into a centre for imported products, especially through opening various businesses with products imported from Europe, as stated by Sarges (2010): Paris N'América, Bon Marché, *Maison Française*, Mme Russo, in addition to some travelling shops which sold goods from France, England and other countries.

Some of the principal spaces and leisure facilities in the city were constructed, restructured or reinaugurated, such as cafes, theatres; the Theatro da Paz (photograph 1); the Olympia cinema

¹ This term refers to plants, herbs, and spices indigenous to Brazil, such as cocoa, cinammon, vanilla, cloves, pepper, Brazil nuts and guaraná.

(photograph 2); several squares, including the Praça da República and the Praça Batista Campos, in addition to the Bosque Rodrigues Alves, originally called the Bosque Municipal (literally, the Municipal Woods).

Aiming to provide entertainment for the bourgeoisie of Para, Lemos invited artistic companies from France, Portugal and Rio de Janeiro, to perform at the Theatro da Paz. According to Sarges (2010), it is possible that approximately 126 shows took place in the theatre between February and December of 1878.



Photograph 1 – The Salão Nobre of the Theatro da Paz. Source: Belém (1998).



Photograph 2 – The anteroom in the Cinema Olympia, 1912. Source: Cinema (2010).

The squares were not places for public recreation. These spaces were created to demonstrate the

bourgeois status Sarges (2010), serving as places to see and be seen - the new hobby of the elite. The square became a place where it was possible to identify to which class one belonged, distinguishing between the ordinary people and the bourgeois, based on how one was dressed.

Aiming to provide healthier recreation activities and greater harmony with nature for the bourgeois of Para, the Intendant increased the area of the Bosque Municipal and reopened it on August 15, 1903. On November 11th of the same year, the Municipal Council named it the Bosque Rodrigues Alves.

Antônio Lemos was intensely dedicated to the reforestation of the city in order to improve the quality of life, via a connection with nature, with regard to concerns about the city's hygiene and purification of the air, in addition to making the city more beautiful and improving the climatic aspects of a tropical capital.

According to Sarges (2010), the city's *Código de Posturas* (code of behaviour) was created in 1900. One of its purposes was to protect the trees – cutting them was now prohibited, especially some species such as andirobeira, rubber and chestnut trees.



Photograph 3 – Reforestation of the Praça da República. Source: Belém (1998).

In some passages of Antônio Lemos' first report, his dedication to the green areas of the city is apparent, when he refers to the gardens, parks and squares of Belém. During this period, the intendant restocked the Municipal Garden, in order to provide seedlings that could be used for planting trees in the streets, parks, squares and gardens, according to his plans for the sanitation of the city.

Lemos' policy of urbanisation redefined Belém's urban space, and was characterised by the segmentation of the city - the sanitised centre for the bourgeois segments and the flooded, stinking suburbs for the poor – the implementation of the ideals of civilisation and the radical change of habits and customs of the Pará population, which created deep social tensions.

After Lemos' era, the sales of rubber fell, due to several factors, namely - "the great profitability of horticulture in the East; the lack of a local political class that represented the interests of the region; the negligence of the Central Power and costly remittances of profit to abroad"(SARGES 2010, p. 133). This resulted in a transformation in the configuration of the Amazonian region and its main cities, Belém and Manaus, witnessed the decline of their economic growth and their importance, both nationally and internationally.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from the initial period of Belém's urbanisation

until the 1960s, the *modus vivendi* of the population continued to have strong ties with the waters. Many children's games took place in the rivers and streams that still exist in the city, making them part of their history, as their main play area and as a space for creating emotional bonds with nature.

The book, "Belém – Estudo de Geografia Urbana", by Penteado (1968), describes the topographic configuration of the city and the presence of streams in peripheral areas. The author illustrates his work with a photo of children bathing in a stream, a small tributary of the river Guamá, located in the Condor neighbourhood (Photograph 4).



Photograph 4 – Children bathing in a stream. Source: Penteado (1968, p. 59).

In another passage from the book, which discusses Belém's climate, the author refers to the customs of going to the riverbanks to cool down with the breeze and using the river to fish.

For some time, many homes in Belém were located on the banks of the Guamá River. For these children and adults, their backyard was the river, where they could play, fish and bathe (photograph 5).



Photograph 5 – The banks of the Guamá River. Source: Belém (1998).

Bathing in the stream was a tradition in Belém, an indigenous heritage, but it was generally more

popular among the poorer people. The upper classes, the city's elite, preferred leisurely strolls in the squares and in the woods, places in which they could demonstrate their social status, places "to see and be seen."

Meira Filho (1976) explains that in reports that from the eighteenth century - a period when the city expanded - references are made to "*rocinhas*", dwellings integrated in their wooded surroundings. In the field, and in the virgin and fertile shadows of the plain, the city's population began to build their *rocinhas*, their homes and their orchards. The preference for living in desolate places increased day by day, thus leading to urban sprawl (MEIRA FILHO, 1976, p. 550).

The *rocinhas* were also referred to by Penteado (1968), in demonstrating the expansion from what is now the Praça da República, with paths through the forest leading to the suburban area, called "sítio de Nazaré" (the place of Nazaré). Several other paths followed, to Pedreira, to Guamá, along the Tucunduba River and the Una stream.

It was usual to walk the tarmac roads which linked the city centre to the Tapanã, Icoaraci and Ananindeua roads, to go down the dirt tracks to the streams which were conserved in their natural state by the owners. As Tocantins (1987, p. 368) explained, "the forest belt of Belém is full of small farms and retreats, with orchards, homes (which mimic the old *rocinhas*) forests and streams".

The relationship with the green areas was a daily practice, especially in the more popular houses which were located on the outskirts of the city in districts such as Pedreira and Marco. Most of these houses still had *quintais* with fruit trees and groves, providing opportunities to relate with nature on a daily basis, with joy and playful spontaneity, whether for children at play, or for adults at family gatherings and parties.

According to Amaral and Guarim Neto (2008, p. 329), those *quintais* can be considered one of the oldest forms of land management, with a long tradition in tropical countries and featuring "trees, shrubs, vines, herbaceous areas, sometimes with domestic animals, all adjacent to the residence", which brought several benefits to families who resided there.

In Brazil, the term '*quintais*' is used to characterise the areas located around the house, which tended to be conveniently accessed, where various crops that provided for the nutritional needs of the family were grown, as well as other commodities such as firewood and medicinal plants.

In the studies by Sousa and Costa (2006), the *quintais* also gained importance. The people interviewed in that survey were generally from "inland" and described the maintenance and clearing of these areas, by "hoeing and sweeping", burning the "garbage" (bushes and leaves), and later setting plants or fruit tree seedlings.

With regard to the existing homes with *quintais* in Belém, Tocantins (1987, p. 322), also produced an interesting report, stating that "the integration of Belém with nature is best experienced in the *quintal*, the point at which the place (the *rocinha* of yesteryear) and the urban home converge."

The author also stated that this may indicate that the city's population "did not want to disconnect from the environment of the orchard, of the forests and of the old farms" (TOCANTINS, 1987p. 322). Thus, for the population of Belém, the *quintais* have a more human sense, and are considered more homely than aesthetic.

The urban sprawl which reached the neighbourhood of Campina, consumed the *rocinhas* along the Nazaré Road. However, the population continued to value the plants and fruit trees in their backyards and essentially, the fact that these brought nature to their daily lives.

In the backyard *quintais* of their own homes, the children played and climbed trees, never having to try and establish a relationship with nature, a relationship which gets "lost" in a city, as happens nowadays.

3. Conclusion

Based on the issues discussed in the text, the conflict exists in the articulation between the two aspects of leisure practices and green spaces in the city. Belém had elements connected to nature that were eliminated during the process of urbanisation. The chasm between the city and the green spaces was maintained through the *quintais*, the urban parks and gardens and the tree-lined squares, as well as the forestation of the city. These parks and gardens belong to a new city concept, in which the green areas are not integrated, but are exclusive spaces. This model perpetually opposes the social leisure practices identified in the history of the urbanisation of Belém, whereby nature areas were used and appreciated on a daily basis (the river, the forests, the *quintais*). It is important to emphasise that at present, a part of that relationship with the river and the forest still survives, albeit scarcely. This dynamic is still present in communities located on some of the 39 islands that are geographically part of the metropolitan region of Belém that were not affected by the accelerated process of urbanisation.

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SESSION 19

IDENTITIES AND
REPRESENTATIONS IN
COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS 4

Abstract: This paper analyzes the representations of Afro-Brazilians in museum exhibitions in Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil, demonstrating how features of colonial heritage still mark the construction of meanings about ethnic and racial difference in some museums and also how cultural representations of otherness can be overcome and ressignified in new museological proposals. This study's main objective is mapping the possible pedagogies that are produced about Afro-Brazilians in museums from the standpoint of black representations portrayed in museological exhibitions. This cultural analysis takes as cultural artifacts the exhibitions from the Museum Julio de Castilhos (MJC) and the Museum of Black Course in Porto Alegre (MPN), based on the theoretical perspective of Cultural Studies and on the dialogue with the field of Museology and Afro-Brazilian Studies. In MJC we analyzed the exhibition denominated *Slavery Period*, where racialized representations of Afro-Brazilians through a eurocentric and hegemonic perspective still predominate. In MPN, we examined the landmarks that composed the museum's exhibition in the open public space of downtown Porto Alegre, where one observes the presence of counter-strategies contesting racialized representations by reinventing aspects of Afro-Brazilian culture and history. Moreover, we propose a reflection on the cultural pedagogies in operation in these museums, from what is exhibited and what is invisible about Afro-Riograndenses.

Keywords: ethnic and racial representations, education, cultural pedagogies; museums.

1. Education, Cultural Studies and Museology: possible connections to rethink racial-ethnic issues

The colonial discourse constructs difference by taking fixity and stereotype as its main strategy of representation. In this sense, Homi Bhabha (1998) argues that an important feature of the colonial discourse is its fixity in the construction of otherness and likewise the use of the stereotype as a major discursive strategy of representation. Bhabha emphasizes the ambivalence of the stereotype as a mode of knowledge and power. According to the author:

(...) A stereotype ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed (p. 105-106).

In the same vein, we believe that the marks of colonial

Beyond the colonial marks: What is Exhibited and What is Taught about Afro-Brazilians in the Museums in Rio Grande do Sul/ Brazil

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discourse in the construction of difference are perpetuated in various cultural bodies. Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2000), when discussing how the ethnic and racial difference has been thematized in education, criticizes the multiculturalist focus on tolerance and respect for diversity. According to Silva “it seems unlikely that a perspective that is limited to proclaim the existence of diversity can serve as a basis for a pedagogy that places at its center the critical politics of identity and difference” (Silva, 2000, p. 73). According to the author, the liberal multiculturalist perspective based primarily on “vague and benevolent appeal for tolerance and respect” (p. 73) is a perspective that tends to naturalize identity and difference, without questioning the power relations involved in the process of their construction. Silva states:

(...) We cannot address multiculturalism in education simply as a matter of tolerance and respect for cultural diversity. Though uplifting and desirable they may seem, these noble feelings prevent us from seeing the identity and difference as processes of social production, as processes that involve power relations (SILVA, 2000, p. 96).

Iara Tatiana Bonin (2009), from the stand point of cultural studies, also discusses the “pedagogy of diversity” and the idea of a society as “naturally plural”. For the author, the rhetoric of diversity does not question the norm and how they define the “same” and the “different”. She states that “it is fundamentally based on the social norms of these ‘equal’, which produce the differences that are being narrated as deviant, unusual, undesirable” (BONIN 2009, p.116). In this sense, in addition to the celebratory nature of the discourses of tolerance and multiculturalism, educational approaches of the difference still have a long way to go.

With regard to museums, Marius Chagas (2006) argues that they are not innocent, but places of memory and forgetting, of power and silences, which can act both as to hierarchize cultures and identities, as to put into circulation alternatives cultural representations. In this sense, museological institutions not only say things about the past, but also naturalize ways of seeing the world, legitimizing and hierarchizing cultures and identities. According to recent studies in New Museology, museums exert a social and cultural functions that go beyond the mere preservation of cultural assets, since they are privileged spaces for the construction of narratives and representations that contribute to the formation of subjectivities and identities. We believe that the investigation of memories, history and culture of the black community is a matter that relates not only to the black population, but constitutes itself into a topic that interests the whole Brazilian society, insofar as it contributes to the deconstruction of prejudices and stereotypes and to the fight against racial and ethnic discrimination. Therefore, the analysis of Afro-Brazilian’s representations in museums in Rio Grande do Sul involves understanding that the cultural representations contained in language not only “talk about” things, but also constitute the things they have said.

2. Representations of Afro-Brazilians in Museums in Rio Grande do Sul

The cultural analysis undertaken here focuses on the most recurrent Afro-Brazilians’ strategies of representation in Museum Julio de Castilhos and in the Museum of Black’s Itinerary in Porto Alegre and seeks to investigate the pedagogical potential of these museums’ representations constructed through written texts, visual images and objects. From the perspective of cultural studies, cultural representations are productive and contribute to the formation of subjectivities and identities. Therefore, to map the representations of Afro-Brazilians in museum exhibitions means to reflect on its productive character.

Museum Julio de Castilhos (MJC) and Museum of the Black´s Itinerary in Porto Alegre (NPM) presented different proposals. The MJC, created in the early twentieth century is a museum managed by the regional administration and originally organized according to the model established by the National History Museum of Rio de Janeiro. Initially its identity was geared to the Natural Sciences and, according to Nedel Leticia Borges (1999), only in the 1950's did the Museum Julio de Castilhos become a regional museum committed to represent the official memory of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. On the other hand, the NPM emerged from a project of social entities in the first decade of this century, anchored in the possibilities opened up by the New Museology. It is considered a territory museum, with landmarks that represent the black memory and spacial occupation in the state's capital and that are distributed throughout diverse public spaces in Porto Alegre. From the perspective of Raul Lody (2005), the Museum of the Black Trajectory can be considered a "non-conventional memory space" in which the concept of museum expands beyond the conventional. On the other hand , the fundamental difference between the two museums analyzed in this study lies in the politics of representation: while in the Museum Julio de Castilhos the Afro-Brazilians are represented as the "other ", in the Museum of the Black Trajectory in Porto Alegre, they are the producers of their own representation.

2.1. Colonialist discourse and racialized representations in the Museum Julio de Castilhos

The Museum Julio de Castilhos (MJC) is installed in a building of imposing façade, at 1231 Duque de Caxias Street, in the city of Porto Alegre, capital of Rio Grande do Sul, in the southern most region of Brazil. The building was home to Julio de Castilhos, former president of the province of Rio Grande do Sul and leader of the Republican Party Riograndense (PRR). The Museum was created in 1903 by the Law n. 589, which established the first museum of Rio Grande do Sul, at that time called the State Museum. After Julio de Castilho's death, his former residence was acquired by the State Government to become the new headquarters of the museum, which in 1907 was renamed Museum Julio de Castilhos. Andrea Silveira (2011), when analyzing the discourses, representations and museological practices developed in the Julio de Castilhos Museum between the years 1960 and 1980, noticed that the narratives and representations constructed at that historical context were linked to the political orientations prevailing in national context and to local profiles of its directors. Silveira points out that "The representations of social memories embedded in objects exhibited in the Museum of Julio de Castilhos were marked by centralizing, authoritarian and exclusive orientations which were legitimized in national and local society" (Silveira, 2011, p . 56). We argue that currently most of the narratives and representations of Afro-Brazilians exhibited in the Museum Julio de Castilhos, particularly in the exhibition *Slavery Period*, as pointed out by Marcelo Bernardo Nascimento Cunha (2008), are part of "the basic speeches referring to African-Brazilian memory" (p. 88) which contribute to reduce the black experience to slavery, reiterating and emphasizing the captivity, and naturalizing the representation of blacks as slaves. Besides, it excludes the history of native people, who were also enslaved during the Brazilian colonization process, from the slavery period.

The exhibition's expographic project is composed of three niches which include images, written texts and objects, each of them labled with specific subtitles which refers to the three main phases of this historic process: Freedom, Slavery and Abolition. The analysis undertaken here does not purport to disclose all possible meanings constructed by representations of Afro-Brazilians in this long-term exhibition in the Museum Julio de Castilhos, but intends to investigate how the "other " Afro-Brazilian is discursively produced at the exhibition as well as which meanings are privileged and which are silenced in the construction of ethnic and racial difference. From the perspective of

cultural studies, we argue that there are three strategies of racialized representation on display in the MJC : the homogenization of the ‘other ‘ Afro-Brazilian, the emphasis on slavery and violence and the silencing on black agency and leadership.

The homogenized Afro-Brazilian

It seems that the homogenization of the “other” is recurrent in the exhibition “Slave Period”, displayed in the MJC. In the words of Carlos Skliar and Silvia Duschatzky (2001), according to this perspective, the cultures of “others” are represented as if they had a uniformity of beliefs and lifestyles. The authors hold that “the myth of internal consistency” assumes that each culture is harmonious, balanced and that identities are constructed in unique references. In this theoretical direction, one observes the recurrence of representations of a generic Afro-Brazilian, always a slave, represented through the white point of view in the MJC. When representing black identity as homogeneous, the exhibition neglects the cultural diversity of African cultural practices and its various ethnic groups. These representations of a homogeneous Afro-Brazilian are built appropriating the works of foreign travelers who visited Brazil in the nineteenth century, such as in the iconography of the German artist Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Slave Ship and Landing of Slaves in Cais do Valongo*, displayed as a mark of the beginning of the slavery process in the Brazil. Such approach has been criticized by Africanists and scholars of African- Brazilian history, since it neglects the history and culture of Africans before the slave trade. This representational strategy also suppresses information about slavery in Pre-colonial Africa, which complicates the understanding of the mercantile character of modern slavery where Africans were transformed in commodities. As Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (2006) claim, colonialism was the watershed of modern slavery. According to these authors:

Slavery existed in various forms since the beginning of history to the contemporary period. However, before colonialism, slavery in the Mediterranean and in Africa were limited primarily to domestic servitude (SHOHAT and STAM, 2006, p 120).

Afro-Brazilians as victim of violence

A second recurring discursive strategy in display at the exhibition “Slave Period” is the representation of Afro-Brazilian as victims of violence. This strategy is also constructed through the foreign white point of view and reproduced in the paintings of Jean Baptiste Debret, *The Iron Necklace and the Application of Public Punishment*. In addition, violence is marked by the portrait of objects of torture in the three modules of the exhibition. Here we are not putting in to question the undeniable violence of slavery, but questioning the representation of Afro-Brazilians mostly as victims of violence, which used to be the dominant approach in the history of the slavery period in Brazil. The exhibition texts, when referring to the instruments of torture, also seem to naturalize and legitimize the existence of corporal punishment, without questioning or discussing them. The presence of objects of punishment and torture in the three modules of the exhibitions, sometimes unrelated to the topic discussed in the module, reflectes what Myriam Sepúlveda dos Santos (2004) said about the display of objects of slaves’s torture in a neutral environment, which without reflection contributes to the trivialization of violence against Afro-Brazilians. The author also questions the memory of suffering as an instrument of domination and states that it is necessary to reflect on the aims of these scenarios. Santos maintains that there is an excess of prestige for the objects of punishment and torture in exhibitions thematizing slavery in traditional museums.

The silencing of black agency

The third strategy of racialized representation of the “other” Afro-Brazilian in the exhibition “Slave Period” in the MJC is the silence on the experiences and knowledges of Afro-Brazilians, the silence about their history and cultural practices. Moreover, the silence about Brazilian runaway slave communities that existed since the beginning of the slavery system and which were a successful alternative to slavery and a powerful testimony of the ability of slaves and freedmen to organize and socialize with relative autonomy within the slavery system. In this sense, it is worth questioning why the various every-day knowledge of slaves and freedmen, their crafts, religious worship, music, festivals and celebrations, their way of dressing and of burying their dead are being neglected in this exhibition. Moreover, why is there silence about the active role played by Afro-Brazilian in the abolitionist movement? In this exhibition, Brazilian Abolition is presented as resulting from abolitionist laws and the pressure of the abolitionist press and highlights only white abolitionists, among them, Princess Isabel, who signed the law which abolished slavery in 1888, and the provincial president, Julio de Castilhos, a republican sympathetic to abolition, making invisible Afro-Brazilian agency as abolitionists as pointed out by Maria Angélica Zubarán (1999). It also neglected Afro-Brazilian brotherhoods and associations whose members, slaves and freedmen, contributed decisively to the purchase of manumission playing an important role in the struggle for freedom in Brazil. The exhibition “Slavery Period ends its narratives about Afro-Brazilians with the abolition of slavery, freezing history and black culture at that historic moment. From that moment on Afro-Brazilians are converted into a vestige of the past. As pointed out by Mattos, Abreu, and Moraes Dantas (2009): “After the history of colonial slavery, afrodescendants practically disappear in Brazilian history, somehow confirming the idea that we are a nation without racial problems. Why study Afrodescendants after abolition if there were no more slaves?” (p. 310).

2.2. Counter-strategies of racialized representations: the Museum of Black Course in Porto Alegre

According to Mario Chagas (1994), applying the concept of a museum to a given space / scenario is linked to a representational intentionality. The author believes that musealization is a selective and political act, linked to a process of attribution of values. In this direction, the musealization of streets, squares and Market, which characterizes the Museum of the Black Course in Porto Alegre, seems to be associated to the intention of recreating spaces of black memories through the display of milestones in the historic downtown, whose meanings are connected to the memories and history of African-Riograndense community.

The Museum of Black Course arose from a project developed by entities of the Black Movement of Rio Grande do Sul, by the Reference Center Afro-Brazilian Community (CRAB), coordinated by Angola Janga, with financial support from the Organization of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and from The Monumenta Program of the Ministry of Culture. It is, therefore, in this scenario of struggles for self-representation, that strategies for reversing stereotypes and for positivization of black identities of Afro-Riograndenses are reappropriated and flexed. Stuart Hall (1997) explains that the transcoding occurs when the dominant negative images are substituted by positive images of black history and culture. In this Museum, the recognition and ressignification of Afro-Brazilians’s cultural heritage are associated to the new possibilities opened up by a different project of Museum, with a different perspective about African-Brazilians.

The design of the Museum of the Black Course, approved in 2003, at the Center for Public Policy for Black People in the Municipality of Porto Alegre aims to give visibility to Afro-Brazilian community through the art projects idealized by black artists to be displayed in public spaces in the historical

downtown of Porto Alegre, visually marking the urban black areas in the city. According to Ilma Silva Villasboas(2010) the structure of The Museum of the Black Course at Porto Alegre is an unconventional museum, organized collectively by the town's black community and creating opportunities for new interpretations of urban spaces in the city, reevaluating different cultural practices and affirming Afro-Rio-grandenses' positive identities (Vilasboas, 2010 , p . 91). The design of the MPN began in 2009 with the establishment of three milestones of the black presence in the historic downtown: the Drum, the African Footprint and the art work of the Bara of Market. The first milestone, the Drum was inaugurated in 2010 at the Square Brigadeiro Sampaio, former Gallows Plaza, space which criminals were hanged in the city between 1830 and 1860, according to the Criminal Imperial Code in Brazil. It is noteworthy that among the slaves condemned to the gallows were included those who resisted slavery. On the other hand, this milestone is also related to the presence of an old fountain where slaves used to gather to supply water to the houses of their masters. The Drum was produced by a collective of artists, among them: Adriana Xaplin, Gute, Leandro Machado, Elaine Rodrigues, Marco Antonio dos Santos, Mattos and Pelopidas Thebano.

The second milestone of the Museum of Black Course in Porto Alegre is the African Footprint, inaugurated in November 2011, in the Alfândega Square, former Quitanda Square. In the XVIII century this small area, located between the Praia Street and the Guaíba Lake, was considered the city business center where black women used to meet to sell their delicacies in baskets containing dried fruit, lace and embroidery. The African Footprint artwork, representing the map of Africa, was styled to resemble a human footprint, on the floor of the Alfândega Square, in front of the Club of Commerce. The design of the African Footprint was developed by the architect Vinicius Vieira using black stones and stainless steel for its contours and it is about 3 feet tall and 2 feet wide.

The third milestone of the Museum of Black Course, the art work of Bara do Mercado, is more recent and was opened in February 2013. The work was drawn in the center of the Public Market of Porto Alegre to mark the presence of black workers in this area of the city and to highlight Afro-Riograndenses's religious practices of African origin in honor of the African deity named Bara. In the Museum blog, a religious leader called Mother Norinha Oxala states that the Public Market is part of the "invisible paths of blacks in Porto Alegre", and has a great importance to the preservation and worship of the Orixá Bara geluOlodiá, seated in the center of the public market. In the African pantheon, the deity Bara is the entity that opens paths, the guardian of houses and cities. In the religions of African origin, "to sit" means to fix the Orixá in a place, through a given object which is specific to the rituals and practices that take places in African cults. This object, called ocutá, would have been buried in the floor of the public market, at its center, meaning that the deity is there and can be visited and worshiped to receive the offerings of the followers of the afro religions. The Bara Market art work, integrating the expography of the MPN was built in a circle and is a collective production, created by Mother Norinha Oxala, designed by artist Leandro Machado and Pelopidas Thebano and executed by Leonardo Posenato, Vilmar Santos and Vinicius Vieira.

From the perspective of cultural studies, we believe that the exhibition of the Museum of Black Course in Porto Alegre involves the construction of discourses and representational strategies on black memories and history in the city. In accordance to the work of Stuart Hall, there are different counter-strategies that have been adopted in the politics of representation of afrodescendants. These counter-strategies challenge the racialized representations and reverse and replace the negative rhetoric of racial stereotypes by positive images of black culture and history. We suggest that the main counter-representational strategy in operation in the exhibition at the MPN in Porto Alegre is the reinvention of afro-riograndenses's culture and history, which not only involves replacing negative images of key aspects of black culture by positive images, but also challenges the historical invisibility

of Afro-Brazilians in the city as we will be discussing in what follows.

Reinventing Afro-Brazilians' territories

One of the first studies to discuss Afro-Brazilians' territories in southern Brazil was Ilka Boaventura Leite's (1996), which states that afrodescendants' territory includes the corpus of representations shared by a group usually attached to a place, through which blacks seek to rebuild their traditions of kinship and religion, land and moral values. On the other hand, the historian José Rivair Macedo (2012) points out that the notion of black territoriality, developed by Iosvaldyr Carvalho Bittencourt Junior is crucial because it explains the peculiarities of Afro-Brazilian's socialization, who were doubly dispossessed: in Africa and the New World, when deprived of their liberty and the places they originally occupied. It is important to note that there are multiple conceptions of territory behind the discourse of deterritorialization. In this study, we prioritize the cultural and political dimension of the definition, inseparable from power relations. According to Deivison Moacir Cezar de Campos (2006) the process of uprooting of the black population is linked to the transfer of traditional black communities from Porto Alegre to areas farther from the center, in a process of reterritorialization, which involves the loss of social and symbolic references of traditional black communities.

Iosvaldyr Carvalho Bittencourt Junior (2010) mentions the intense process of reterritorialization the black population and also of the white impoverished population in Porto Alegre in the early decades of the twentieth century. According to the author, these populations were pressured to move from the urban perimeter of the city to the suburban areas. The expography of the Museum of Black Route means the repossession of the black presence downtown, where the art works evoke the presence of Afro-Brazilians and their multiple cultural values. In the case of the Drum, the human figures applied to its structure evoke the various urban activities performed by afro-riograndenses in the city. As for the African Footprint, it operates a continent reinvention, symbolically marking the many feet of Africans and African descendants who passed by fulfilling their work routines. It is a landmark that materializes the African continent in the Alfândega Square and enables historical roots to acquire new visibility in the shape of the African continent.

Reinventing Africa

According to the authors Carlos Mauricio Serrano and Waldmann (2007) Africa has been the most disqualified continent in the Western thought, always represented through negative images. When one thinks of Africa, what emerges is often pejorative and stereotypical notions that have been built over many years and in different historical contexts and have been reinforced by representations that circulate in the media, especially in movies and television programs. Integrating these images, is the idea of a wild, tribal continent, living outside civilization, with greatly simplified Africa and Africans. Since medieval cartography, Africa was represented as the territory of monsters, as a set of land situated below the European area and therefore symbolically stigmatized as inferior. The authors also note that in the Eurocentric logic, the Egyptian civilization had nothing to do with the African continent and therefore Egypt was purged of its black and African features. In this direction Stuart Hall (1997) argues that European repertoire of representations of Africa was built stressing the subordination and primitivism of African peoples. Hall argues that popular representations of racial difference portrayed blacks as fit for servitude and with an innate laziness that incapacitated them for regular work. Black people were represented close to nature and opposed to culture, so that blacks would be naturally incapable of civilization. For Patricia de Santana Pinho (2004) Africa played a central role as a myth of origin in the construction of black identities and unit. The "myth of Mama Africa" diffuses the belief of a link between all blacks through an essence originated in

Africa and transported in their bodies and souls. According to Pinho: The myth of Mama Africa accounts for the “foundation” of afro-Brazilians’ History and occupies the central role in their identity narratives. This involves the claim of an African past where African memory is built. However, some scholars of black identity warn of the pitfalls of essentialism present in the discourses and practices of Afrocentrism (PINHO, 2004, p. 58). In the same direction, Stuart Hall (1996), when discussing the construction of cultural identity in the Diaspora, highlights the unifying role of Africa, providing “an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation, which is the story of all forced diasporas” (p. 69), as well as a resource of resistance challenging the experiences of traffic, slavery and colonization. It is important to say that not only African traditions, but also the very concept of Africa were invented by Europeans. It seems that the African Footprint in the Alfândega Square in Porto Alegre reinvents Africa not only as a myth of origin, but also as a source of resistance which reverse the negative images of the continent in the central square of the city.

Reinventing Afro-Riograndense’s Religiosity

African-Brazilian religiosity, in its many variants, has as a constitutive feature of reinvention. Beliefs, gods and religious rituals of the various African ethnic groups who have been trafficked to Brazil as slaves had to be negotiated, transformed and reworked as a strategy for cultural preservation. Upon arriving in Brazil, Africans were forced to adopt Catholicism, even if superficially. Thereafter, a tradition of religious syncretism was developed as a strategy used by Africans and their descendants to maintain their cultural traditions. “Syncretism was a powerful weapon used by slaves against the crushing pressure of white’s culture” (Sanches, 2001, p. 69). In this sense, Milton Santos Silva (2012) highlights the fact that until the year 1976 Afro-Religion cults were required to register in the Police Station (p. 19). The author also mentions that despite police harassment and negative representations, the religious practices of African origin ensured the permanence and preserved the collective memory of men and women, slaves and freed of African ancestry. On the other hand, Santos (2012) argues that slaveholders’ tolerance to African-Brazilian’ beliefs were often based on the understanding that rituals were a form of entertainment that served to maintain peace in slave quarters. Still, since its emergence, the religions of African origin were disqualified, persecuted and often identified as “witchcraft and shamanism” (Santos, 2012, p. 19).

In Rio Grande do Sul, the Orixá Bara is considered the first of African deities, the owner of crossroads, and is responsible for opening and closing paths and other elements that relate to money, which explains its relationship with trade and public markets. Marcelo Cunha (2007) explains that the settlement of Bara in the center of the Public Market of Porto Alegre inscribed the site as an obligatory passage for practitioners of all religions with African roots in Rio Grande do Sul. In the same direction José Carlos dos Anjos (2007) reports that Afro-Rio-grandenses religious leaders claim that work of Bara in the center of the public market in Porto Alegre is a sacred space for the afro-Brazilian religions. In this sense, perpetuating the tradition of Orixá Bara in the public market of Porto Alegre through a symbolic milestone in the Museum of the Black Course articulates the desire of the Rio Grande black community to reframe and give visibility to African religiosity that over a long period has been silenced and persecuted in Rio Grande do Sul.

3. What museum representations teach about Afro-Brazilians?

Reaffirming the pedagogical potential of museum exhibitions far beyond the projects reported as educational, this study’s interest is to identify the plural meanings produced by representations of Afro-Brazilians in museums in Rio Grande do Sul. After all, what do museums teach about Afro-

Brazilians? We based our discussion in the concept of racial pedagogies presented by Gladys Elise Kaecher (2010), which contributes to the discussion of the effects of meanings produced by the pedagogies of racialization. The author argues that there is a pedagogy of racialization operating in the Brazilian society, which teaches that racial belonging is related to phenotypic issues, to the physical characteristics which distinguish the color/race of people. These physical signs act naturalizing the process of ethnic and racial origin, so as skin color appears as determinant of racial belonging. From that understanding racial identity would be established by a fixed and essentialist point of view. The author stresses the political aspect of the pedagogies of racialization that “are evidences of conflicts, disputes and clashes of power: the power to represent and to occupy the centrality of the narratives and discourses about the other” (KAERCHER, 2010, p. 91). Kaercher contributes to rethink representations related to race displayed in the museums as well as how Afro-Brazilians are represented.

In this cultural analysis, representations of Afro-Brazilians in museum exhibitions appear to fit into two axes. The first axis is marked by racialized representations of the “other” Afro-Brazilian, naturalizing ethnic and racial difference, building a generic “other”, homogeneous and stigmatized by black slavery, as it was established by European colonial discourse. A second axis relates to counter-strategies of representation, which reverse and replace negative images of Afro-Brazilians with positive meanings. In this direction, aspects of black history and culture are reinterpreted seeking to overcome a stereotypical approach and to promote a more inclusive perspective. At this point, we reaffirm that Afro-Brazilians’ identities are constructed within the representation process, according to the ways in which subjects are represented and represent themselves and it takes a center stage in the politics of identity and in the disputes over the distribution of material and symbolic resources. Moreover, the question of representation of the “other” is of greater importance due to the emergence and visibility of different groups and movements that demand voice and participation in the game of identity politics. In this context, we believe that alternative representations of Afro-Brazilians’ culture and history in museum exhibitions can contribute in a very significant manner to a more inclusive and plural perspective of Brazilian citizenship.

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Abstract: The paper addresses the actions of the intercultural movement “Identities” from the University of Porto, Portugal. The relational art practiced by the group falls between the artistic / cultural practice that enables actions aimed at causing resistance to the standardization of artistic behavior, building an alternative and encouraging discourse of contemporary art practice. Through an intercultural perspective, it seeks the political action and intervention in contexts where populations engage in their own development invoking to the artist as creation his involvement with the world. The interest in the collective is part of a larger research developed by the author entitled: Visual Arts in Northeast: multicultural relations.

Keywords: Art and Identity, Art and politics; identities; interculturalism; utopia.

1. About hegemonic cultural practices

We know that new forms of capitalist sovereignty draw, in contemporary times, the cartography of the economic and cultural power where situations are no longer organized according to a more central point of view, but rather through a system of networks, a multicenter web defending (and imposing) the idea that center and periphery are homogeneous idealizations. Nothing would escape this condition, much less art as an expression of culture. We have about twenty years of reflections on the “other” and its survival over the center versus margins and on the awareness that the flag that claimed an identity in the fragmented world of Post-Modernity has lost its original simplicity that divided us in apocalyptic or already integrated in the classical definition of Umberto Eco (1965).

Beyond the binary idea that surrounded (and surrounds) us of dominating / dominated coming from a neoliberal ideology and a global economic reality, could the debated globalization contain a dynamic return to where margins could find the center?

To Canclini (1995) that globalization would bring with it a dimension where the mixing of cultures and their potential for hybridity would unravel logic and state power. These processes of cultural hybridization would then be so intense that they would mobilize the construction of identities as well as the recognition and appreciation of cultural differences despite power relations.

To Frantz Fanon, however, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) the main weapon of the colonizer always were the imposition of the image that they conceived of the colonized on the subjugated peoples. Thus, to free themselves they would need to expunge this self-deprecating image. A path that involve an educational course

Identity and utopia: a speech for the new times

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in which the imposed values would gradually be replaced.

Charles Taylor, however, on *Multiculturalism and The Politics of Recognition* (1992), states that the full public recognition of equal citizens would require two forms of respect: first, respect for the unique identities of each individual, regardless of gender, race or ethnicity and second, respect for the practical activities and ways of seeing the world.

We can consider, from these and many other thoughts on the subject that: once thinkers recognize and denounce the existence of hegemonic cultural practices that exclude the peripheral even with regard to their cultural identity and that they reflect on the subject for decades, isn't it time to talk of possible reactions? Isn't it possible to chart our own path? Can't we react in praxis? Couldn't we change the dynamics of the mainstream?

In the canvas of the modern Brazilian artist Tarsila do Amaral, *Workers* (fig. 1), the namesakes of the work reveal themselves to the omnipresent and omnipotent smoke of the factories. Anonymous, mestizos, they are the "other" established by the asymmetry of power. Already in modernity, the artist paints them and thus denounces, politicize, questions these rows of human heads painted in hot colors, mestizos apparently complying, as if invisible bars contained them against a background made by the factories' chimneys that swallows them every morning and vomits them at the end of the day.

To what extent the global periphery, economic margins, are aware of this cage, these barriers, which, if previously projected as a result of a background occupation of mercantilist economics, today is kept by the action of financial capitalism that settled on the planet from the end of the 1970s: neoliberalism?

In the design of consumerist heaven of this form of financial control that now guide these heads, what guides us according to Suely Rolnik (2006:5), "is the almost hypnotic identification with the images of the world broadcast by advertising and mass culture", we would then be guided by projections of images that "invariably convey the message that paradises exists, that now they are in this world not beyond it, and, above all, that certain people have the privilege to inhabit them." The heads have been turned into "included hyperactive zombies or excluded human rags".



Fig.1. Tarsila do Amaral. *Workers*. Oil on canvas, 1924.

From the exposed above, in the current reconfiguration of the universe of the visual arts how are introduced the political strategies of complaint and transformation? How can we go beyond the

space allowed to the “other” possible, preached by the new geopolitical dialectic that still comes from, already ad nauseam denounced, hegemonic centers of power?

Artists or groups of artists seems to have discovered a possible way. They embed themselves in a multiple universe of practices that, within a political micro circuit, faces the dominant macro political aesthetic. Its actions seeks life. It is not enough anymore to simply represent the workers and their oppressed condition. It is necessary to interfere in the lives of these workers. Art, politics and action thus enter into a merger process.

1.1. The action of the collective “Identities” as an alternative

The artistic practice of the Portuguese collective “identities” falls between the actions of micro political character. Its intercultural interest for the other implies the idea of an artistic production that has identity and otherness, as raw material and that needs the support of anthropology, sociology, politics, law and other sciences to assist in its conceptualization and action. Its reflection / action is no longer subject to the contemplative gaze of the platonic beauty or of the fine arts in the classical sense. It exists in harmony with other activities of human existence. It brings in its genesis a new global map that includes geographies and diverse interests.

The history of the relationship between art and politics is the crux of its action that takes place through a relationship based in an intercultural perspective. The group promotes an artistic political, cultural negotiation that is not based on the Eurocentric legacy, but is guided due to the construction of plural and emancipated societies having as principle the almost mantras: trust, knowledge and complicity. Its members are artist dipping into the amplified field of creativity where art and politics relate in an integration from the art-making to social action.

Nicolas Bourriaud theorized the proposal for an art linked to a relational aesthetic that creates difference in the legitimate consensus of world. An aesthetic that is based on the basis of inter-human relations in which they appear, produce or create. The world of art and life is increasingly merged and the aesthetics, as the science of sensitive, is in par with this new outlook: “a table of alternative montage that disturbs, reorganizes or enters the social forms in original plots” (Bourriaud, 2009, p.83).

Perhaps the best definition of intercultural artistic practice bears within it the concept of utopia. Utopia enables another place, she wants another place. It reflects a critical questioning of the existing order and harbors the idea of another possible human territory. It could therefore assume and propose a revision of the universalist Western mechanics through an interculturalism that is based in exchanges in which solidarity and participation are not limited to former colonial context. To Catherine Walsh (cited CANDAU, Maria Vera, 2008):

The concept of interculturalism is central to the (re) construction of a critical thinking-another-critical thinking from thus, precisely for three main reasons: first because it is lived and thought of since the experience lived during colonialism (...); second because it reflects a thought not based on the Eurocentric legacy or the modernity and, thirdly, because it has its origin in the South, thus giving a return to dominant geopolitical knowledge that has had its center in the global north.¹

The practice of the “Identities”, in spite of coming from a country with a colonialist past provides a (re) conceptualization of the word utopia: an update of sense. It would be a praxis possible through a process of communication between different cultures in terms of respect, an exchange built between

¹ Free translation from the author of the text

people, knowledge and culturally different practices seeking a new direction in their differences, a negotiation where power struggles are faced by generating practices and conscious actions. A necessary utopia because, after all, its absence at any time, including the one in which we live, is a social failure. A failure to hope.

The conceptual, imaginative and perceptive freedom of practices said utopian that involves the politics may harbor a dream beyond servitudes and a promise of reconciliation with the human in its highest expression. Its proposal is beyond the many bars with which the capital bureaucratizes and regulates art focusing on their production. After all, the art, according to Ramirez (2002) offers the best known alternative to this unhappy world.

It is, therefore, working in the interval, post - colonial and micro political, that the intercultural movement Identities manifests itself establishing its artistic action. Working in isolated communities – in a time in which the universalization of the media generates a conceptual fusion bound to the reality of a global art market that limits the artistic production to the aesthetic and ideological norms of Euro-American circuit - it, the movement mobilizes, since from 16 years ago, artists, teachers and art students that, outside of their area of comfort seeks, through shared reflection, interact with three social spaces of language and Portuguese colonization. From Porto, as previously stated, it relates to Mozambique, Cabo Verde and Conceição das Crioulas (fig. 2), quilombola² community in Pernambuco, Northeastern Brazil.



Fig. 2. Conceição das Crioulas. Salgueiro .Pernambuco. Brasil.

By taking communities with features such as development field to a proposal of intercultural education aimed at deconstructing the subaltern, the group intends to find other modulations for binary oppositions between periphery and center, late and developed, subordinate and dominant, popular and academic, from that in-between place that allows relationships of reciprocity and dialogicity.

The proposal of the movement “Identities” is not turned towards artistic interventions in the most classic sense that these interventions take or for the production of artistic objects. It seeks action and political intervention in contexts where people engage in their own development (Paiva, 2011),

² During the period of slavery in Brazil (XVII and XVIII centuries), the blacks that managed to escape took refuge with others in the same situation in well hidden and fortified places in the middle of the woods. These places were known as quilombos. In these communities, they lived according to their African culture, planting and producing in the community. In colonial times, Brazil has come to have hundreds of these scattered communities, mainly by the current states of Bahia, Pernambuco, Goias, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais and Alagoas.

invoking to the artist his engagement with the world as creation.

In the fluidity of borders, it's therefore processed the theoretical debate of art produced / caused by the collective "Identities". The artist becomes a social mediator or an ethnographer of micro strategies that activates a life that Hall Foster(2005) situates as ethnographic art from which issues dear to anthropology such as identity and community or context and interdisciplinarity are appropriated by the active artists. As language they favor the video or the Web as information sharing; artistic workshops shared by people in public space as interference in its territory or as an epistemological shift as a method of searching for new solutions (Paiva, 2011).

The relational art practiced by the group falls between the artistic / cultural practices that enable actions aimed at causing resistance to standardization of artistic behaviors thus building an alternative and encouraging discourse of the practice of contemporary art politics. Making art from a more generous, sensible and ethical vision. The art as the last reservoir of imagination to escape from being incorporated/taken by the system that today serves the neoliberal capitalism.

The "Identities" therefore means the action beyond the theories of the past twenty years. In the words of the group's coordinator José Carlos Paiva (2011) what sets apart the collective action of social policy is that "the artistic action does not prepare any tomorrow, it deals with what inhabits each one, extends the capacity of admiration, of attention and reflection." The "Identities" invests in the future. It entered Tarsila do Amaral's canvas.

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Abstract: East Timor is a small country situated in Southeast Asia where different people and cultures crossed. Its rich ethnic culture, religious beliefs and languages sounds of more than thirty dialects, or languages are also represented by the different colours of their traditional clothes 'Tais'. This reveals an identity to be studied in this post colonialist period, because of its growing relevance in recent times.

The Portuguese heritage from the 16th century was spread by the missionaries who went to the island and was crucial for the development of the Catholic faith. If the word polyphony means a diversity of voices, and some not always in unison, then this religious music and singing could be a metaphor to what happens in East Timor. In the current post-colonial era, it is urgent that the Timorese build a new identity, disregarding the plethora of external influences; although these have to be critically analyzed and used as inspiration for a new model, not merely a copy. This new identity paradigm should be relevant to our vision of the future, our memory and our independence. In 1981, during the resistance war against Indonesia the Timorese, Fernando Sylvan wrote: "culture is the memory of a people who do not sleep."

A view about the evolvment of this new identity is presented here through a discussion on the role of the media; particularly whether it is giving visibility to East Timorese traditions, while considering some conflicts on the issue of languages.

Keywords: Identity; Religion; Language; Culture and Media

1. Chapter I- Brief historical/cultural review

1.1. Concepts of culture

It was sandalwood that brought of the Portuguese to the island of Timor, an ancient land, always considered as a point of contact among groups of traders from different corners of the world. The existence of the island of Timor had already been noticed by Chinese geography in the 14th century that saw it as the End of the World, and gave it a reputation "famous for its sandalwood." (Paulino, 2011a:89).

Alberto Osorio Castro (1996:24) recalled the date of the move of the capital of Lifau to Díli: "At the port of Lifau, in the current enclave of Oe-Cussi on Dutch territory East Timor, we had the capital in our possession until 1769". In spite of the capital moving to Díli, Oe-cussi remained portuguese, because of religious reasons. He also added that "East Timor is characterized as a territory of cultural crossing of diverse peoples, divided into 31 ethnic groups, speaking their languages or sub-dialects".

Polyphonies in East Timor: a new identity paradigm in post- colonialism

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As to the concept of culture, the French Enlightenment thought it as being the condition of a spirit cultivated by instruction associated with the ideas of progress, development, education and reason. Culture and civilization go hand in hand, because the former refers to individual progress and the second to the collective progress.

In this sense, there is a differentiation between the natural state of man, whether irrational or wild and without culture, and people with culture who acquire it through the channels of knowledge and intellectual instruction. Primitive communities can theoretically evolve culturally and reach the stage of progress known by civilized nations. This process, in our view, was demonstrated during the practice of colonization by the possessors of culture and holders of formal knowledge. Currently the idea is that culture undergoes continuous transformation. According to Laraia (2004, p. 96), the two basic types of cultural changes are: “the first one which is derived from the dynamics within their own cultural system, and the second, which is a result of contact with cultural system exchanges”. Burns (2002, p. 127) presents two processes that induce cultural exchange: “internal, by evolution through invention, guided by its needs or by capitalism; and external, guided by the changes forced by economical, political, environmental and external cultural influences.”

The culture of East Timor reflects many different influences, including the Roman Catholic tradition disseminated by Portuguese, Malaysian and the Papuan and Austronesia cultures. The Island of Crocodile reveals a traditional culture heavily influenced by legends, tales and fables that despite the illiteracy, is still widespread, because of a strong oral tradition in the form of poetry. As for the architecture, there are some buildings of Portuguese style and the traditional houses of the eastern region, which preserve cultural totems. These are known as sacred houses ‘uma lulik’ (*Tetum*), and houses with legs ‘lee teinu’ (*Tetum*) in the region of Fataluku. Handcraft is also widespread, especially the weaving of traditional cloths, the ‘Tais’ which is the subject in the second chapter.

1.2. Traditions and spiritual life

The Timorese are animists by tradition. They worship their ancestors and believe in a supreme being, whom they call God, that is named in their respective languages as: Maromak (*Tetum*), Lelo Hitun (*Mambae*), Uru Vátchu (*Fatuluku*), Uru Uatu (*Makasae*), Amu Deus (*Galolen*), Lara Ula (*Uaimá*), (Araújo, 2010). However, in almost all the different dialects God is called Maromak and possibly has its origin in the word ‘naroman’ which means light and splendour. The term God in the Timorese languages always associates the two cosmic symbols: sun and moon.

In East Timor there are many traditional dances and songs, for example: the work-dance ‘sama hare’; the dance of the handkerchief ‘dança do lenço’ of Suai; the jump dance ‘dances of berliku’ at Fatuberliu, and Barique. It is worth highlighting the work dance for separating the grains of rice ‘néli’ from the ear which brings together traditionally dressed women and men, who flocked to the courtyard ‘sallal’ah’, where they sing and dance the traditional ‘sama hare’ treading the ‘neli’, with great animation, and where the owner of the ‘néli’ orders tea to be served to the guests and ‘canipa’, whisky to be distributed by those who participated, (Thomaz, 1973).

The Timorese spiritual life consists of beliefs and the celebration of rituals in sacred houses. The Catholic religion was slowly introduced and it is very common to see Timorese Christians leaving the church and then going to a sacred house. It is also widely known that married Timorese men always have other wives, hidden from missionaries, and even the Timorese married in church, perform the traditional practice of marriage called ‘barlaque’.

The Timorese culture is rich in legends connected to historical facts or with landmark events of everyday life, such as marital alliances, organization of the family, origins of certain villages and the

solemn agreements among the diverse ethnic groups, especially in certain parts of East Timor. These practices remained even during the Portuguese colonization and continued through the Indonesian occupation. Since they are a part of East Timorese culture and identity, these traditions are nowadays often broadcasted by the Timorese Television of East Timor – (TVTL).

In 1914, the final agreement was signed between Portugal and the Netherlands to end the conflicts between the two countries settled the border that still divides the island, yet is challenged in the western part of the island. There are rumours that that part of the island prefers to be unified with in East Timor, because they say, they are the same nation they feel they have the same identity. The 1914 ratification gave birth to an illusory community, named Portuguese Timor, whose identity was reinforced by the local elite shaped in Portuguese schools, in other words, Portuguese Timor was in a certain way, a fictional entity that gave Portugal the appearance of power to the outside world.

2. Chapter II - The ‘TAIS’ and the Timorese identity

2.1. Traditional Resources

“Weaving produces currency” (Campagnolo, Henri & Campagnolo, 1992:21), and ‘Tais’ is the highest expression of local traditional art which produces an economy. The traditional male cloths were the more flattering symbols of hierarchy and lineage. “The patterns of Timorese male cloths would be my most intense research, in the hope of a better understanding “ (Cinatti, 1987:15). However, colonial Portugal forbade their East Timorese staff from wearing traditional clothes, men were forced to wear trousers, and those who wore the ‘lipa’ (a cloth tied from the waist to the feet, originating from China), were sacked.

Weaving is an activity performed by women, yet is much valued by both males and females from different ethnic groups. Weaving is a collective activity; the men prepare the land and sow of cotton; the women harvest, gin, spin, dye and weave on horizontal looms which are small and very rudimentary, but produce different cloths. Portugal also had some influence on the expansion and popularity of cotton; in the 17th century the significant trade of this natural fibre, established East Timor as a trading center until the end of the 18th century, during which time the cultivation of this plant has reached its peak.

Currently it’s easy to find the pre-dyed yarn in regional markets, for example, the east region of East Timor, Lospalos, is well known for its textile production and markets. Nevertheless East Timor is recognized by the quality of its textiles and different decorative techniques. The warp-faced Ikat, one of the main techniques, that is to tie before dye, is used only with the threads of the loom web and is practiced in all the regions of this island, more than in other ones in the archipelago, because its roots are here associated. Neither in the Portuguese language, nor in Tetum, is there a word or phrase that translates exactly this technique.

The weaver, following the design will tie the yarn with the strips of dried vegetable or palm fibre, covering the areas that correspond to the pattern. Once completed, the skeins are removed from the looms and are dyed in desired colour. The sections that are bound will resist the dye. After the dyeing and before the weaving, the yarn is stiffened with a solution of tapioca and water, making it easier to weave the tight and crisp pattern. The final appearance of the cloth has soft and subtle tones, almost silhouetted, with Ikat motifs that contrast with the natural colour of the yarn.

The ‘tais’ are increasingly publicised by the media, produced for the general market, and beyond the primary function of shelter and protection, represent the symbols of an aesthetic code. In short, it has similar characteristics to the whole island, which are part of the collective life of the different ethnic groups, that identify themselves by the ‘tais’ colours and patterns.

2.2. Natural resources

Many of the colours from natural dyes were easy to obtain in any region of the island, but with the environmental damage caused by Indonesian occupation these natural resources become scarce. So, nowadays the synthetic fibres: nylon, acetate, acrylic and polyester were introduced and today it is possible to buy them in most regional markets, in addition to metal threads, mostly golden threads formerly obtained, in some regions, from the casting of Dutch coins. However, in natural dyes, red is the dominant colour and it's commonly used throughout the entire island, more than in any of the other of archipelago. The explanation for this is not clear, although there are some authors who suggest an inspiration from the colour of the bougainvilleas in flower during the dry season. This colour, for many East Timorese communities, is traditionally associated with life, blood and courage. East Timor is known by the variety and vivid colours of its textiles, as well as by its intermingling "in language and culture" (Paulino, 2011e).

In 1999 the United Nations Transitional Administration for East Timor (UNTAET), restored the public radio and television of Timor-Leste (RTTL), choosing the word 'tais' to name its newsletter - *Tais Timor*. The choice of the word 'tais' reveals that one important sign of the Timorese identity had already been recognized through its textiles.

3. Chapter III - East Timor identity in the media

3. 1. The media in East Timor

According to the newsletter 'Tais Timor' (12-25/3/2001, No. 24:6), the Timorese Television of East Timor (TVTL), directed by The United Nations Transitional Administration in East *Timor* (UNTAET), broadcast 168 hours per week, in Tetum, Portuguese, English and Bahasa Indonesia, these including also more than five hours of programming only in Tetum. The UNTAET Radio broadcasted 15 hours a day, with new programs for several hours a day on weekends. Without the media, it would not be possible to document events in East Timor that are part of its History.

With donor funded community radio stations set up in 13 districts of the country and the publication of several private newspapers, it was noticed that the radio was one of the first means of mass communication that spread the immediacy of the news, because of the possibility of disclosing the facts at the time they occurred. Being less technically complex than television, radio can be at the site of events and broadcast them faster than television. Besides official radio and television, there are local community radios, but some of these do not broadcast now due to technical problems and lack of employees. East Timor has three daily newspapers: *Suara East Timor*, *Timor Post* and *National Journal Gazette*.

The media also incorporates three weekly newspapers, two in Dili, *the National Weekly Newspaper*, *Weekly and Time*, and in the enclave of Oecusse, *Lifau Post*. It should be noted, however, that the news coverage on television, was practically limited to the area of Díli until of May 2007. Due to this fact, the government has invested more than \$ 900,000 in a contract with an Indonesian company to use a satellite to expand television coverage to seven districts. The television signal will reach six other districts in the near future through the support of Portuguese Gabinete para os Meios de Comunicação Social (GMCS) and the Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento -IPAD.

3.2 Training the media

In December 2011, the European Union signed an Agreement with IPAD for the management and implementation of the Social Communication Program in East-Timor from January 2012, for the amount of 1 million Euros. This document confirms that until December 31, 2013 it will be expected to follow and participate respectively, in the preparation of the legislative package and organize the Congress of Communication as well as in the preparation of Codes and Procedures Self-regulation and its adoption; journalists and media professionals specialized training; enable students of Communication of the National University of East Timor to conduct a period of study at a European university, producing and distributing content and educational and informational materials, and scan and protect files of the radio and television - RTTL .

The study of The United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste UNMIT (2011: XII) confirms that the number of newspapers and magazines have grown since 2006 There is however a significant regional variation: Díli dominates with 46 % while Oe-cusse follows with 7 %. Most readers have low or average education, but newspapers are also read by a high percentage of highly educated readers. In the work to which he gave the title of Imagined Community, Anderson (2005) gives us an account of how the work of the imagination is present in the community building process. It can be said that the construction of national identity of the Timorese people is an effort to join the roles of the media, civic action intellectuals and public figures, and especially the social movements. Hence, with the constant evolution of mass communication, society begins to shape and build a new cultural identity. It was after the dissemination of images of Marc Stahl in the massacre of November 12, 1991, and a year later after the news of not authorizing the entry of the ship Lusitania Expresso, that Timor achieved internationally greater visibility.

Nowadays the growing importance of media in its various expressions, has assumed a controversial and uncertain future issue concerning identity. In fact, a lack of awareness can lead to total dissolution of identity. On the other hand one can also rebuild his own identity, considering his culture and the memory of his ancestors.

Conclusions

If we are to draw interferences from what is said above we must first look at the issues of languages. On the one hand, East Timor must preserve its traditions with the native, oral languages that shape its cultural identity, and on the other hand, it has to build a common space of identity in the context of a new nation in the postcolonial era, with a written language of instruction and its mass media effects. The existence of several native languages, but none with a written grammar to be studied, and the fact that Portuguese is the official language, not known by the majority of the people who speak Bahasa Indonesian, and the influence of the English language in schools and its use in the media in a democratic and post colonial context, cause some problems in East Timor. The Tetum, the national language, is still in the process of being consolidated, and its official standardized version - developed by the National Institute of Linguistics - was approved by the government in April 2004. Although most news is written in Tetum, not all journalists practice the standard spelling of Tetum. According to their linguistic backgrounds, they use many words from different sources in the preparation of the news, and their weak journalistic techniques cause many Timorese to have difficulties in understanding the news. Translation problems are common and cause misinformation. Radio provides news services in Tetum, Portuguese and Indonesian language; television broadcasts in Tetum and Portuguese. It remains open to what extent the role of the media is crucial in building a new vision of Timorese identity.

According to Timorese legislation the Portuguese language should be taught in all schools, but there isn't enough staff who speaks it, so its introduction has been difficult. In 2013 a pilot project suggested by Kirsty Gusmão, president of Alola Foundation, for teaching the six years of primary school in the mother tongue, began in five dislocated sites. At the recent Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP) Lisbon Congress on The Future of the Portuguese Language, - it was stated, much could be said on the consolidation of the East Timor identity instead of the introduction of the Portuguese language. Learning in the new Portuguese Reference Schools is taught only in Portuguese because only Portuguese teachers are hired, and the Timorese whose children attend them, feel great pride in having that opportunity. Another improvement has been sending Timorese teachers to Portuguese schools for in-training, and school books for the Timorese Secondary pupils were prepared by the University of Aveiro. This paper ends with the words of the Timorese researcher who has more imposing Tetum and whose vision lies in this paper we present: "we have to build an atmosphere of a hard-working and honest dialogue, between tradition and modernity [...] despite the diversity of ethnic groups of East Timorese, society is fairly uniform, because of the rule of matrimonial alliance, the importance of the lineage and sacred ancestor worship that create among these different groups, strong ties of solidarity and kinship. [...] The Tetum, the common language to all, is one of the most important factors of cohesion among East Timorese [...] With a population of 54 % of people under 30, it is necessary to teach them, their culture and history as well as how to write about it, so that neither their culture would not vanish in a few decades, nor the old wise *lian'ain*, if one wants to keep the belief of their identity. "(Luis Costa : 2006).

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Abstract: Since 2004 the city of Lins (São Paulo) receives proportionally the largest flow in the interior of Africa. There reside and study in the University Center Lins (Unilins), local college, around 140 natural Africans of Portuguese Speaking Countries (Palop): Angola, Cape Verde, São Tomé & Príncipe, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. However, are overweight young people from Angola, about 120 being the only ones who enunciate while Angolan community. By stating this discourse, African students tout and maneuver a set of representations, affirm differences and promote processes of identification. Taking this premise as a backdrop, the overall goal of this research to seek out analyzing the social markers of difference used and operated by Angolan students residing in the city of Lins - SP. From this derives the following specific issues : i) how and why Brazil presents itself as a destination for these students ? ii .) As Angolan students perceive themselves in front of the Brazilian social formation? For, on the one hand , these markers of social difference contributing to better understand their narratives about the tensions and difficulties they experience this new sociocultural context and on the other, the choice of Brazil as a prime target for these young people is not free , is closely linked to relations that Brazil has with Angola and other countries of Palop. My research question is to know how these young people are (re) building complex figures of difference and identity that go beyond their local and national boundaries , articulating them in “diaspora space”. Fundamental element subsidizing the research objectives is not a priori take any position on the difference underlined by these young people. To this end, this research seeks to make an approximation, more precisely an empirical and analytical effort driven from postcolonial and cultural studies perspectives.

Keywords: Angola; black; identification; difference; Lusophone; Lusotropicalism

1. Brazil , Africa and Lusotropicalism

The seemingly unusual scene of young Africans in Brazil promoting parties may be cause for astonishment to unsuspecting Internet users , or amazingly enough for passerby walking casually through the streets of Lins - SP (Brazil) . However , this is a recurring situation for residents and especially for university study of Unilins (Centro Universitario de Lins) ; municipal authority that by FESA (Eduardo dos Santos Foundation) non-governmental organization of logistical support development of the people of Angola that promotes partnerships between institutions Angolan and Brazilian higher education institutions (HEIs) .

Racialization of the ethnicization: a case study of Angolan immigrants in Brazil¹

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The Unilins receives Angolan students since 2004, and from 2005 began performing vestibular in Angola. The first entrance exam of the institution with the participation of 11,000 subscribers, being addressed to foreign students not resident in Brazil who had Certificate of Completion of High School or equivalent document. Today, Linense university student established a specific policy for African students, especially for Angolans. With specific committees that have the responsibility to make seasonal visits (at least twice a year) to Angola, social workers advised to follow these students and a set of information about the “blessings” Graduation in Brazil¹.

The city of Lins, today houses the proportionally greater flow of African students in São Paulo State. Reside and study in today Unilins around 140 young people from various natural African Portuguese speaking countries (Palop) - Angola, Cape Verde, São Tomé & Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique. Of these, about 120 are Angolans, as in 2006 would correspond to around 90% in the absolute number of Angolan students throughout Brazil enrolled in the Graduate Program Student Agreement² (PEC-G) (FONSECA, p. 28, 2009).

In fact, the dialogue between Brazil and Africa is long historic day slavery and is the founding brand that triggers the beginning of this fruitful, and certainly painful “Atlantic dialogue.” According to Scott (1998), historian at the University of Brasília (Unb) connected to the field of international relations, relations between Brazil and Africa in the contemporary period (from 1930) can be understood on four historical moments that mark the external policies established between Brazil and Africa. Establishes policies as the first: “forgetting” the “deliberate removal” of Africa. Period which elapsed between the decades 1930-1946.

The second stage is entered in circumscribed period between 1946 to 1961, called “Brazil and the African Renaissance”, in which the intensification of relations between Brazil and Africa occurs. The geopolitical destabilization caused by the end of the 2nd World War and the decline of the imperialist powers, led to the emergence and consolidation of the processes of national liberation in Africa. At this time, Brazilian diplomacy sought to assert itself on the African continent, but it is only in 1961 with the government Quadros and his Independent Foreign Policy, consulates and embassies that were created in Luanda (Angola), Lourenço Marques (Mozambique) and in the same year created the Africa Division at the Foreign Ministry (Saraiva, 1998) the third stage is named by Scott (1998) as, “Brazil-Africa relations advances and retreats,” which is contained in the period 1961-1969, has the backflow striking aspect of relations between Brazil and Africa, especially if we take as reference the previous time. The main factor contributing to this reflux is associated with the national liberation movements in Africa, which sometimes were linked to communists guidelines. The fourth and therefore last phase is called by Saraiva “a reaffirmation of African politics.” Moment that began in 1969, when Brazil resumes dialogue with Africa, scoring on their agreements to economic and sociocultural interests, a movement that continues to grow to this day.

We can also say that such frameworks are closely linked to scientific paradigms that guided the deal of the differences in the country. What would explain for example, because the period between enrolled late nineteenth and early twentieth or not the compulsory immigration of Africans to Brazil is prohibited by law? Indeed, such paradigms align point, the form and the application of these policies turning center dealing with difference and in this case, specifically, the difference is underlined by category “black”.

So, given this premise adentremos a bottom line not least from the point of view of this contextualization especially during 4th period characterized by Saraiva (1998) which subsidizes the

1 View: <http://www.unilins.edu.br/sejaluno/estrangeiros.php>

2 What is clear is that, despite policies encouraging the arrival of Angolan students to Brazil seek to democratize access, the presence of more affluent youth is preponderant. Considering the pattern of drinking that I could see.

coming of the young students Angolans for the country , as in regard to development and structuring of research. Why Brazil is presented not only for Angola but significantly mainly for Palop as a premier destination and desired for this latest wave of immigrants , with this new African diaspora ? For both depart of some systematic elaborations by Dávila (2011) - *Hotel Tropico : Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization , 1950-1980* . Text that aims to realize

“ (...) The ways in Brazilian diplomats and intellectuals who transited African countries interpreted the Brazilian racial and cultural mix . He explores a way of thinking that some Brazilians interested in Africa embraced and rejected others : that is, the existence of something called “ Lusotropicalism “ . The term coined by Freyre suggested that the Portuguese had a special way of living in the tropics , characterized by racial mixing and affinity with blacks : Brazil would be the best example of this ideal Lusotropical “ (DÁVILA 2006 , p.12)

According to Dávila is Lusotropicalism , which finds its ideological form most rounded on call “ racial democracy “ , would be the hallmark of recent natural process of formation of the Brazilian nation . The author claims that Brazilian diplomats sought to accentuate your African heritage present in Brazilian culture in their missions to Africa because this was certainly the visceral cultural instrument of political and economic rapprochement with African nations . However , we must first understand how this African heritage is articulated in the thought of Gilberto Freyre so we can then penetrate to the central aspect of this dimension of research.

At this point , the reflection of Bastos (2006) in his text - *The Creatures of Prometheus: Gilberto Freyre and the formation of Brazilian society* - presents important propositions for our perspective . Bastos shows that the thought of Gilberto Freyre comes at a time when the nation's equation must be solved. The thought that could equalize the relationship between culture and national identity would be ideal. That is what *Casa Grande & Slaves* performs . This particular relationship that distinguishes national uniqueness is presented as a polished product that articulates “ harmoniously “ the relationship between society, culture and race . Something Gilroy (2007) in his text - *Among Fields : nations , cultures and fascinate breed* - calls critical decentering of the narrative ; radicalizing this process , the author focuses its analysis on the formation of nation-states from the analytical framework raciology call . According to Gilroy (2007) raciology concerns the relationship between “ race “ (understood by the author as a social , cultural and political process that articulates local and global) , culture and nation, demonstrating a close relationship between raciology and administration (GILROY , 2007, p. 83) . According to the author this is an inherent respect the constitution of modern states , we would live in United racially structured , the metaphor “ fields “ summarizes reflection.

Resuming the propositions Bastos (2006) and relating with elaborations of Gilroy (2007) which is if not equalization heave at the thought of a way to Gilberto Freyre raciology unique feature of Brazilian political and cultural processes ? And approaching Dávila (2011) to stress the importance of racial democracy as foundational argument specifies the policy stance of Brazil to Africa and Hall (2003 , p 51). Underlining that multiculturalism refers to the ways and strategies policies to govern and manage problems arising from cultural differences and / or racial . Lusotropicalism would not then also a variant of multiculturalism in which Brazil has developed a particular form ? So it is from this exercise critical decentering , is that “ place “ that this research sought to examine the relationship between Brazil and contemporary Africa. Drawing through this decentering of the narrative , genealogy historically contingent this recent African diaspora to Brazil .

According to the author (Bastos , 2006) , the equalization proposed by Gilberto Freyre has as its cornerstone the conservative forces of patriarchy , is this that enables the accommodation rather than conflict between different cultures , races and people existing in Brazil . Gilberto Freyre shifts

the terms of debate . Walked the race to the sphere of culture , which emerges as the conciliation text Bastos (2006) , Segato (1998) calls for negotiation, although both have in mind the patriarchal core conservative thought Freyre , which in turn defines the terms of trade and African heritages which are either not relevant for the formation of the Brazilian nation . As is known , this was all the misadventures that racism can offer , but since the invention of the “ founding myth “ of the nation , also unfolded here a set of very singular relation to those political and cultural processes that followed the “ black Atlantic “ marked by capricious ambiguities , Brazil is not for beginners .

According to Bastos (2006) is present in the work Gilberto Freyre and also in their actions and political positions to Dávila Lusism ; Lusotropicalism and that , consequently, its ideal model for conciliation guaranteed subsidized by “ racial democracy “ , which put Brazil as the central nation in political and economic relations with Africa , projecting as a natural partner with the mainland . Process that begins in the 1950's , but finds greater strength simultaneously . That is as important as the creation of the founding myth of Brazilian nation formation , are the developments and influence the work of Gilberto Freyre in relations between Brazil and Africa . For it is the nature of these arguments that qualifies the type of relationship that Brazil has with Angola and Palop . How Quadros 's when he says that the role of Brazil in relation to Africa is to provide services to the concepts of life and methods of Western politicians said . “ Our country should become the link, the bridge between Africa and the West , since we're both people ... we give the nations of the black continent an example of total lack of racial prejudice , along with a successful proof of progress without undermining the principles of equality “ (DAVILA , 2006 , p . 51) . In this vein, as Angolan students perceive themselves before this Brazilian social formation ?

2. Racialization & ethnizing

Certainly, one of the central and most recent arguments that supposedly natural relationship between Brazil and Papop is precisely the identification is given by the Portuguese language . In this sense now transcribe the narrative of Vincent , my interlocutor , 26 year old , Environmental Engineering course , natural in Luanda and that in Brazil since mid- 2006 when the Portuguese language , and in particular the “ accent “ is operated as a marker social difference, a marker of belonging / ethnic positioning of young Angolans in the Brazilian context .

Só qui é bom começa dizê qui... o rapais que viveu essa história já não ta no Brasil porque envolve polícia. É qui, é uma feista qui uns colegas foram, eu não fui esse dia, era uma feista aqui pertinho, em Guaiçara. A genti tinha acabado de chega, nu fazia um âno e a gente foi, você sabe como é qui é o nosso sutaque é bem diferente do vosso. Mas quando você em um lugar, você acha que tudo lá é bunito, e gente queria fala quem brasileiro... “ah! que isso...”; “legal”; “na boa”. Assim né! Só que na feista tinha uns cara que mexia com coisa errada. E policia já tinha ouvido comenta e tudo mais. Ai depois de um tempo chego a policia né na festa. Pego todo mundo crio àquela confusão e eles não tavam proguntando direito que vc... só tavam enquadrando já. E tinha um colega nosso... Alguns conseguiram fuji, dos nosso amigos, brasileiros. Só que um colega nosso que acabo ficando. A policia chego pra ele e ele tava falando: “ow não fiz nada mano”; “que isso mano”; “não faz isso comigo”; “na boa mano”. Ai chego um outro amigo que viu que ele já tava com a policia. E foi falando: “fala bem, fala bem, a grita com ele”; “fala bem o portugues”. Ai quando ele se tocou, ele começo a fala: “eu não fiz nada sério, eu só vim pra feista e tudo mais”. Ai os policias perguntaram: você não é brasileiro? Então ta bom fica ai. Então foi o suficiente para apaziguar os ânimos. Ou seja, quando ele tentou fala feito brasileiro eles enquadraram ele.

Vincent 's narrative contains one of the problems faced by young Angolans , mostly men , in the Brazilian context . But is the strategy used to lightly brush the truculent tract police during approach that draws attention , the fact is , yes , we will discuss the police action , a key element of our reflection. For now , however , is : “ I do not fiíz nothing serious , I just came to feesta Maiss and everything , ” the element that emerges as centrality and , in turn , fought in the relationship with the police has the effect of differentiation , an intentional positioning , my first element for reflection . But differentiation with respect to which, or in our case , who? And why? Vincent 's return to narrative and the question of how , through the placement of accent produces an effect of intentional differentiation.

We can understand that there is one more difference implicitly at stake in the game of language and meaning that the young Angolan articulated during the circumstance expressed in the narrative, namely the category - “ black , ” it is through it that it produces an effect of difference (differance) . According to Costa (2006) is taking this position in the field of culture that produces this effect. In the moment of enunciation (Bhabha , 2011) , (paradoxically , the previous statement and the text inscribed subjacentemente during speech) : “ I do not fiíz nothing serious , I just came to feesta Maiss and everything “ that the effect of difference is produced , the young differs from the “ Brazilian black “ , operating a process of ethnicization , producing a border effect , the effect , scoring their group belonging - Angolans. Shifting the meaning of being black in the racialization of their collective experience in this police practice (SILVÉRIO 2013) case: “ you are not Brazilian ? So good is ai ta “ Immediately such a strategy - it is interpreted as a positioning - brand differentiation not only in relation roughly to the “Brazilian black “ . I emphasize this difference by “ Brazilian black “ should be considered as a sign (SEGATO , 2005) being moved in space-time - but especially highlights race as a representational category , ie semiotics, in which the process of meaning is historically contingent . Entered , constituted and organized in systematic relations through economic , cultural and political discourses and institutional practices (Brah , 2006 , p.362). Thus, the position of the student reveals itself as a political and epistemological

How would a Brazilian popular anecdote, that I am tired of hearing : “ black, suspect is stopped, running is a thief “ , perhaps this out the justification of the approach of the police against the angalano student. Guimarães (2002) to investigate the racial slur , as in the case of biased anecdote alludes police practices as a way of building a stigmatized racial identity . The racial slur should be understood as an instrument of humiliation and their logic resides precisely demarcate the removal of the offender in relation to the insulted , the latter referring to the terrain of poverty, social anomie, dirt and animality (Guimarães , 2002 p.173) . However , it effectively understand the nuances of how the “ Brazilian racism “ is expressed in everyday practices that we understand how the “ accent “ while a difference is articulated as a distinctive sign of Angolans in Lins - SP . The “ accent “ to be touted (ORTINER , 2006) as a factor , as we have seen , leads to an effect that differentiates the young Angolan ethnically “ black “ of the “Brazilian black “ , but above all it is a position in relation to racially structured society (GROSGOUEL 2013) Brazilian that tends to perceive the individual “ black “ from the “ stereotype of the offender , ” racializing their experience (SILVÉRIO 2013) . What enables me to state that graph “ black “ in quotation marks to denote three reasons that deliberately .

The first suggests rhetorically, but it is accurate to say , “ black “ is not a substantial category of the viewpoint of an ethical category , much less from the point of view of an emic category , and second, should be considered as an element that operates in an contingent and relational social context and the political and cultural processes that expression objectively also crossed by the experience of the group that is being stressed by this category and third, the epistemological field represents an “ opening another cultural place , epistemological , hence political confrontation at the heart of colonial representation “ (Bhabha , 1998, p. 62) , ie racist, this evidently tacitly inscribed in police practice .

Indeed, we can interpret the position of the student not only reverses the box representations, but proposes another way: search destabilize it, treating the difference not as a boundary between inside and outside, but as a “place” - uncertain and disputed - in the very center of the field of cultural representations. Allowing me to understand the accent of specific form, and language in general, as social markers of difference intentionally operated as ethnic strategy and, if vouchers caveat, vernacular trace of a non-essentialized identity.

Finally, the narrative that sought to develop, as written by my interlocutor are currently allowance so we could expand our reflection on the agency's accent as a marker of social difference. Used strategically as a tool that operates the possibility of a placement / counter-discourse on the specific race relations in Brazil

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SESSION 20

IDENTITIES AND
REPRESENTATIONS IN
COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS 5

Abstract: Theory decolonial needs a Epistemology? Or decolonial discursive perspective itself already imposes the absence of an epistemic logic? The notion of epistemic South Boaventura de Souza Santos and the concept of Coloniality of Power, as discussed by Anibal Quijano, are elements that are constitutive comprising any decolonial epistemic perspective. The notion of Speech and porous border are other discursive representations that may appear in the episteme decoloniality as well as the perspective of the in-between place of Homi Bhabha. Advocate the idea of place representation may also be part of this conceptual group.

Keywords: Epistemologies; Decoloniality; Place of Representation; Identities; Speeches.

Decolonial theory: Episteme/epistemes?

The decolonial theory needs an Epistemology? Or decolonial discursive perspective itself already imposes the absence of an epistemic logic? However, we challenge the readings of building a single epistemology for each discursive field and/ or inability to be an epistemic logic that is not in possession of a discourse centered perspective in search of Truth , or at least multiple truths and affirm that are inserted in them a colonizing vision that understands how epistemology only one that supports and treats as absolute knowledge and epistemic readings does not recognize as the interpretive possibilities that do not claim to be the True and Only Speech about something, but that by itself constitute the from a place of representation, they now carry with translations that alone mean that plural epistemes resignify the world/society. I understand that the discourse of decoloniality, like any other theoretical reading, has an epistemic perspective, even if not intended to constitute itself as a theoretical alternative to a universalizing configuration and much more, is proposed to be a political reading. Is the threshold between both is very tenuous, since the propositions of power tend to put as universalizable and this threshold in Speech decolonial, all the time, broken. Although, in essence, the theory decoloniality break viscerally to any attempt to totalizing/universalizing explanation of societies and the world. We must not confuse decoloniality with fragmentation, with minimization of propositional readings. The decolonial theory is more of a politician facing some issues: it has become, increasingly, a theoretical field that spreads across many areas of knowledge. The archaeological discussion is being tensioned and sociology has been influenced by the Theory of decoloniality. In other fields the theoretical discourse will

Epistemologies and Theory Decolonial

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decolonial penetrating and opening new theoretical perspectives, building a broader and totalizing theoretical reading, without intending, however, have jurisdiction only real, absolute. The search here is not based on the explanation of the world, but in this translation. And this building is configured as translational motion of discursive explanation of a place of representation intended to be enabled through their identity, and discursive memorialistic to accomplish this translation buildings

This process will set up a new epistemic perspective that part of the multiple discursive positions, representation of the numerous places seeking more than understanding, translating social processes. Similarly, there is a tension within the academic discourse in relation to non-academic readings that continue to be treated as something less than or unscientific, as if it were the only academic reading possible. Academic reading is still hegemonic, in discursive terms, Modern. However, the Theory of Decoloniality effectively brings a different construction that is constituted from a place of multidimensional representation breaks with the idea binomial center-periphery logic and a linear relationship that this construction is based. Thus the place decolonial representation dialogues with all other places of representation while a tense discursive folding. Thus, the decolonial reading within the academy has a place in its episteme multidimensional and non-linear representation.

The epistemic notion of how the South was discussed by Boaventura de Souza Santos and the concept of Coloniality of Power, as discussed by Anibal Quijano, are elements that are constitutive including any de-colonial epistemic perspective. Discourse here always understood and used as a link between the act and speech, is another concept that I understand, would form within epistemes decolonial. The notion of a porous border, as commented by many authors, is another discursive representation that may appear in the episteme decoloniality as well as the perspective of the in-between place of Homi Bhabha. On the other hand, advocate the idea of location representation may also be part of this conceptual group.

Identities and place of representation

Understand the place of representation as a symbolic territory that is present in all social struggles. It is within the de-colonial theoretical field, the space of identity construction and is also a portal for multidimensional bridges that connect each representation to other places. They, in this respect, are the vectors that channel confrontational relationships, articulation, negotiation, stress, agreements between the various human and also among people groups. These places of representation while they are the loci where identities are configured decolonial and from where they represent, are also configured/constructed by these identities. It is a double movement that is tangled up in itself, like a braided rope or as an interdimensional wormhole. Adding to this that the identities are not reading decolonial theoretical expression of a revolutionary or subordinate truth. They are an expression of self-recognition, personal or group self with all possibilities that emerge there. Thus the place of representation concept at best decolonial theorist style, appears as the place of the genesis of speech decoloniality and this even in their development process.

The decolonial perspective of the place of representation constructs identity discourses that are assertive and self-centered, but no relation to the discursive logic of modernity. Not so sure which modern identity that, by operating from their perspective locator, anesthesia and makes conflicts and submits them to a center-periphery relationship. Here is the conflictive logic that helps the movement of construction of identity discourses. Not the speech affirming about the Other, but reading Wow, about ourselves. I know what I am, not denying anything, but understand me well. Identities decolonial work in a logical translation, understood here as this reading about yourself. I translate as I understand myself. I do not ask anyone's permission to have a vision about me. I

translate me from a place of representation that is the result of the translation.

Identities are constructed in decolonial perspective as this place representation. It is this process that, when self-know, social groups and people will create a set of representative elements, and these elements will casting a specific reading of the world, and this process goes in a double movement strengthening the nascent identity and this set of elements representative, shall be co-validated by identity discourse that this process will constitute. This is the place of representation. At the same time, the de-colonial identity discourse conceives the process of articulation as a logic of inflexibility, but the possibility of the generator contact conflicts, tensions, contradictions, negotiations, relationships/ social processes. The place is the space representation of the construction of these identities that are not immobilized or located, or fluid, or transitional, or subordinate. However, these identities are not carrying one, or even multiple truths. The modern subject, synthesis of the ideals of human unity becomes meaningless in decolonial discourse. This One Man, Lord of Creation, does not exist. Neither shall One Humanity. There are human beings with different representations of humankind.

Nor am I trying exclusionary differences colonialists nor postmodern localizing, erasing and subordinated people and groups as well as the discourse of modernity and become invisible hegemonic subject, preserving it in this condition of hegemony through this protective invisibility process which is constructed in a movement of universalization of particularism of a group. Thus man and ethno-racially translated as white women, are represented simply as man and woman, so transformed in male and female representations only of Humanity. Are all other racial-ethnic constructs that are nominated from their ethnic and racial identities, prevented from representing the human being. Thus, the white ethnic- racial group disappears, unsighted up to settle in the condition center/ hegemonic group/power. There is another detail this process: while all that is not configured as the hegemonic discourse of modernity are invisible by hegemonic discourse of this field, this is the same place as the hegemonic representation of modernity that lurks. In other words, this movement is autonomous and strategic, favoring their own position, their interests, while the overall process of invisibility is heteronomous and favors the strategy of discursive position of those who erasing and not those that are invisible.

According to the Discourse of Modernity, identities are fixed and located. The great achievement of this discursive field was make others believe in closed borders, imposing and endless walls, where they did not exist. The modern discourse did not find social groups, this place of theoretical representation made everyone believe that they had for each specific locations for each group. And did they take social groups, each of which, your space, your peripheral place subordinate. The periphery and the center were built at this discursive field as relational spaces and oppositional. Within the discourse of modernity, any identity that was built to mark referentially hegemonizados groups and people, was drafted to positively value these people and social groups. All are, as the logic of this discursive perspective, expressions of 'limitations' and/or 'deficiencies' in relation to modern Western hegemonic identities. Thus, we can illustrate this process occurred in the construction of hegemonic discourse about black identity in the Americas. These were seen as barbarians without culture and lascivious, own, so, for heavy work and enslaved; Also on indigenous identity, again in the Americas, the Indians were taken as being different from men, and therefore liable to enslavement and/or annihilation, on female identity throughout the Western Modern World, women were (and in many instances still are) perceive as inferior to men, that they needed to control these, but would be lost, something similar can be described for the construction of homosexual identity, treated as a disease, perversion and aberration by Discourse of Modernity, for non-Europeans were the ratings barbarians, savages and primitive, put them in a hierarchy that invariably always 'down' of European companies, subject as 'civilized' by the same discursive field. The identities in the discourse of modernity represent a form

of control very effective because they send the person or social group and rated the condition of 'subject', the responsibilities for their 'deficiencies' and therefore the 'blame' for their 'incompetence' or 'social impossibility'.

The differences decolonial bear the mark of self-referenced and asserted identities, constructed from a place of representation that is properly theirs. Here explains the tension, conflict and contradiction as forming essences of social processes, identities. This epistemic logic configures the discursive readings decoloniality perspective of difference, interconnection and discursive tension that pervades all fields of this theoretical construct.

Identities decolonial are not represented as fragments of a whole. In this unit decolonial speech does not exist. In every person there are multiple identity positions, because the place of representation as a multidimensional space that is not univocal, nor linear or bearer of a truth, or even of small truths. This produces conflicts and contradictions in the attitudes of individuals and groups. However, the multiple perspectives of identity are the bridges that link the deferent places of representation within each person and between different interest groups. Instead of fragmenting and spray these multiple perspectives of identities are the factor of social construction of worm holes between the various possibilities of places of representation. The places of representation are the entry point of these interdimensional intersocietais, interdisciplinary roads. This process is the construction of an epistemic perspective that spreads itself in the discussion of identities that understand this: The discursive thought that emerges from these two concepts is centered in the perspective of represent themselves as an autonomous place and that is not a condition subordinate and peripheral. When constructing identities and national projects, talk about a position like this is extremely significant because it allows us to interpellate those with whom fought over power in a position that is not begging or debtor, but on condition that tenderer, who has projects and wants make them feasible. The dispute shall then be for projects, proposals building society.

When building epistemic readings of the Theory of decoloniality also we have to think in reading the memories and temporalities. So, understand that decolonial discursive epistemic reading configures a field under construction in whose constitutive movement temporalities and memories play a key role. About memory and temporality understand that a possible decolonial reading can be conceived as being one in which memories are the process of reframing the lived and that in this way, reconfigure and relive what we conventionally call the past. Whereas the time of Modernity can be translated as a linear sequence from the past and that takes the experience of historical events as a reference that helps build the experience and social processes in the present, projecting the future. Understanding that this is built like a fleeting moment in this speech, to have the realization of events in the future, whereas the post-modern time can be understood as the place of the eternal present with past, present and future confined in the same time and having lost the last condition of benchmark experiments for the present and future; understand that from the interpretation of memories and temporalities put above, the de-colonial discourse brings a different perspective of temporality.

Similarly to Modernity and Postmodernism, in reading decolonial temporal representation is the result of social construction. However, for this discursive perspective there is an eternal and immutable time as the discourse of modernity would have us believe, or a non-linear process and confined in one place, as understood Postmodernism. The decolonial temporality can be translated as the representation of lived experiences and social and thought processes through the memories, identities, places of representation and discourse.

Thus, I understand that the field of Theoretical Decoloniality the past can be represented by memories, and therefore it is multiple as are the memories and retrains every moment, because memories are always brought back and they reemerge always different from what seek to represent

and are reworked every translation. This is because what people and groups construct as memory is not a literal reading of events experienced, but how these events were experienced by such persons and/or groups and how these experiences changed their interpretations of what experienced. So this means that the lived facts, configured in the memories of people and groups, return to the current time whenever they are rebuilt through the representations of identity by a person or group who see them in a particular way.

The past is alive. However, it does not replace the present in the discourse of decoloniality. This reading is also different from the post- modern interpretation proposed for the translation of this time gap, which transformed into the eternal present, past and future extinguished. In speaking of the Theory decolonial the return of the past through memory is a process that is not configured as a translation and reconstruction or as a spare part and the social processes that exist or existed. These had their existence in a given moment is not now and here are being retold, translated in accordance with the interests of individuals and social groups who now live. Thus, the timing of memory does not compete with time of the place of representation. They are articulated in a tense dialogic relationship, conflicted, but not if they want exclusive. Rather, in many circumstances the processes of construction of memories and places of representation articulate. What is obvious is that there is a past, but different time represented by memories vying for legitimacy with other temporalities, other memories.

Here arises another question: it is up to each place of representation only an identity or a place of representation may have multiple identities? I believe it is beyond doubt that each identity is identified with at least one place of representation. However, the places of representation can not be limited to contain only an identity, or else we should design the places of representation as processes with interconnectable boundaries in relation to other places that are near to them by affinity and broader structures that emerge, or different levels of representation of the first places that would monoidentity, the latter being multidentity.

So, think of a de-colonial perspective implies translate and relate to the experience of many epistemologies that are not trapped within the Western discourse. The difference is expressed in the subordinate place of speech of Homi Bhabha realize that having equivalence with *alephiana* uniqueness of Jorge Luis Borges. I translate both as a place of representation be understood by a wider and more appropriate term, because I understand that the place of representation articulates identities belonging to this as well, his speeches and memories associated with these processes. At the same time, it is biased by these memories, identities and discourses. And this entanglement is explicit in its definition when it is compared to wormhole physics, precisely because of its folding and its ability to connect multiple locations with representation at the same time. As Borges (2008) describes in his story “The Aleph” is possible from this singularity, which he put in his novel to be located in the attic of an old house in Buenos Aires, see all the people and streets of the world. This is the possibility of multiple quantum articulated and connected to each other dimensions allowing rapid transit between and within them, having, for example, the speculative possibility of Einstein-Rosen Bridges (one of the scientific names of wormholes or holes worm in the field of physics), which, as Albert Einstein and Nathan Rosen published in 1935, would be connecting structures between universes, dimensions and points of our space, so as to allow movement between distant points in three-dimensional space through the connection between a black hole and a white hole in a short time and reducing the spatial distance within our Universe by folding space about him.

The Aleph, as I said earlier, can be translated as the point of the whole space-time that contains all other points. This is an impossibility in three-dimensional space, however, is perfectly achievable in four-dimensional continuum proposed by Theodor Kaluza in 1919, and enhanced by Oskar Klein

in 1926. This fourth dimension, with power to twist and squirm -dimensional space and time is, in one sense, microscopic and twisted like a rope, and serves as a mirror image of any of the identity discourse. The understanding of the physical world as having many dimensions beyond the three or four (if one considers the Einsteinian space-time dimension as traditional) most common use is very recent in Physics . The whole mentality of modernity was founded on the paradigm of classical Newtonian physics. This worldview understood the linearity of the flow of time , the idea of certainty based on the notion that the world could be fully explained with the concepts of Natural and Exact Sciences previously known, and it is based the possibility of knowing the truth.

When I take the reading of Physics Multidimensional for the Discourse of decoloniality, the situation changes completely. The discursive construction of an identity -colonial theoretical perspective this is not limited to one point. She is, in itself, a singularity, ie , a place that embraces all others, through the Einstein-Rosen bridges. Thus a point can simultaneously interact with all the other points, with the other singularities, a place that contains the universe. The uniqueness of this writer Jorge Luis Borges gave the name Aleph.

Moreover, the singularity is a point at which the very traditional view of Modernity linear time loses meaning. In a first move she looks at the idea of the eternal present Postmodern, but uniqueness does not represent a forecast insulation. It can be translated as a point where processes jumble together and mutually influence each other. Thus, the past and future do not disappear into pasteurized present. In decolonial discourse memories, identities, places of representation and discourses are constructed and clash conformation giving what we conventionally call social processes. And therefore, setting their decolonial temporalities.

If in physics the way of seeing the aleph is related to the dimensional position the viewer takes in the social sciences, developing somewhat theoretical perspective of the field of Discourse decoloniality, how it is interpreted and represented an identity, understanding the same as built from the perspective of *alephiana* uniqueness is related to their discursive positions, ie the place of representation of each identity. In physics there is the interpretation that explains the fact that beings belonging to a space with less dimensional vectors fail to realize the other dimensions that are more dimensional vectors than yours. Thus, a being that is able to live and perceive only three dimensions can not see the following or a two-dimensional being can not see the third dimension and subsequent dimensions.

You can not bring this condition to limit and / or natural for reading the Social Sciences disability. The relationship here is to construct discourses that produce perspectives that influence the perception of social processes in a certain way. Thus, we can translate this reading saying that the discursive construction influences how members/patients that logic of discourse operate in relation to social contexts. However, even this process can be seen as a natural phenomenon, not as something irreversible or can not be deconstructed. The speeches are not eternal, social constructions are limited within certain historical and social contexts that influence the process of construction of places of representation. Continuing this conceptual detail, I argue that all speech to be consistent must have an organic quality and internal logic to be followed both in speech and in social action. If it does not, the discursive reading becomes fragile because it loses coherence. While the act and speech, the speeches are configured as synthesis decolonial expression of temporality. This is because if the temporalities are the result of social processes and decoloniality in the field of memory and identity, as well as places of representation are articulating elements of temporality, the speeches, for this theoretical current, are the structural elements of the identities of and representing locations of memories, and therefore the constituent elements decolonial time frames. And the way that discourses are structured by these elements have the configuration of places decolonial representation achieved here. Thus, as the discourse of decoloniality, identities are one of the constituent elements of any discursive

logic. Each speech has its place of representation that generates, articulates and gives consistency and coherence to it. Moreover, the discursive perspectives underlie the representation of places and bring referential link to the respective identities. It is an entanglement that brings the logic of decoloniality. I understand that the concept of identity can be translated as any form of representation through which a person or a social group of any kind can be seen as carriers of a set of characteristics that give them meaning, or allow them to be recognized as producers and/or holders of the references that this form of representation constructed. So innumerable circumstances, these persons or social groups build empathy for these characteristics, producing a discourse with the same identifier. Depending on the theoretical framework in evidence identities can also be read as constructions emanating power and/or location because undergo represent and classify as the Discourse of Modernity, but when we take the de-colonial perspective, they establish autonomous discursive positions which also derive representations of power, however, find no other subordinate groups. Belonging and identities may represent rupture because ultimately create bonds of integration as well as readings of differentiation, exclusion and alienation depending on the discursive content to which they are associated. They can still, through the construction of an autonomous and self-referential discourse, as occurs within the theoretical perspective of decoloniality, break with the hegemonic power of the discourse of modernity without taking this as his central opponent, because the binomial reading center-periphery does sense in this discursive field. Moreover, according to the discursive reading of Modernity, an identity can be polarized as a figure-mirror other identity discourse, becoming thus subject to this other identity discourse or, taking the theoretical logic of decoloniality again establish itself as place of representation and, therefore, be multirrelacional because the representation of places open multiple bridges between them.

Finally, we have the concept of discourse. If this is translated in perspective -colonial act and speak as if it is the result of social practices, whether this constitutes representation in different places, and each of these produces his speech from identity constructions that engenders, then we have a circularity. This can be understood under the aegis of a folding between identities, places of representation, temporality, and discourses that constitute the core of de-colonial theory in its episteme. Or one of these.

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Abstract: In this paper we intend to capture the current views about the cultural politics of Brazil going through the recent inaugural history of the territory given the ideas taking place from the assumptions indicated by Giorgio Agamben - mainly in his study entitled *Homo Sacer*, and its derivatives books. The aim is to start the reflections inserted into the bios of society cultural policy.

Keywords : Cultural politics, Biopolitics, Agamben

1. Introduction

The aim in this paper is to understand the way in which biopolitics according to Agamben and originally presented by Foucault takes place (and it does) in Cultural Policy and Cultural Rights. This expression - biopolitical - is coined by Foucault in the first volume of *History of Sexuality*¹ to establish the body the central concern of power as tamed by multiple disciplines undergone by the individual during life.

According to Foucault the disciplines aimed to control and establish the “body as a machine: in its training, enhancing its skills, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and docility, and its integration into effective and economical control systems²³”.

Agamben’s analysis of the ideas of Foucault and builds paradigms (such term is avoided by Foucault at the same time as practiced in Italian) meant to give notes on current topics, such as emergency days, Sovereign Power, etc.

It is not intended to discuss all these issues because there is so much to reflect on Agamben and contemporary as his philosophy is that we considered for this work which is essential to reduce the boundary of analysis to initial questions posed by him in his *Homo Sacer*. The intersections with Foucault and that nowadays obviously must have a cutout and this is the culture, specifically the Cultural Politics, understood here as a legal - political movement that aims to make the “Right to Culture” exist with some effectiveness.

Sure seems to us that, as the philosopher says, contemporary is a “unique relationship with time itself (...) that adheres to this

Cultural policies and Agamben

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1 FOUCAULT, Michel. *História da Sexualidade: a vontade de saber*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1988

2 Ibidem, p. 151.

3 “corpo como máquina: no seu adestramento, na ampliação de suas aptidões, na extorsão de suas forças, no crescimento paralelo de sua utilidade e docilidade, na sua integração em sistemas de controle eficazes e econômicos”.

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through a decoupling and anachronism⁴⁵” but in this case the term is taken to indicate the fact that Agamben’s reflections are derived from that time also gives some importance - in the West – to the cultural rights, at least nominally.

2 . Biopolitics

The thought of Agamben rests, among others, the idea of biopolitics. Foucault indicated that permeates the understanding that currently the power is consolidated from a “management bodies” or a life management of the individual in more specific details.

Thus the term biopolitics suggests the way in which power - between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth - finds ways to govern not only people but the “whole of the living”. Thus biopolitics is the power - through health, education, hygiene, nutrition, sexuality, birth etc - rules through disciplinary procedures and discipline makers .

The notion of biopolitics permeates historical analysis of the emergence of politics as something rationally established, indicated by Foucault as the period of Liberalism. It is important to point out that to the author, this - liberalism – is not the state to set up but of society “that comes to be in a complex relation of exteriority and interiority in relation to the State⁶⁷”.

In the same sense, Arendt in *The Human Condition*, indicates that there is a historical moment in which the private sphere becomes “collective interest” and as such shall be controlled by a state monopoly causing private and public spheres correlate to each other⁸.

Thus, before considering - directly - the state as an entity to be maintained, subverts up finding a “population” as precious and as such - as it also discovers the individual and the body formable - can or will be the object of intervention, of biopolitics.

According to Judith Revel, there is the crux of the notion of biopolitics: or think of this as the means by which keeps the order (what the Germans called in the nineteenth century *Polizeiwissenschaft*) or as overcoming the dichotomy State/society “out of a political economy of life in general⁹¹⁰”.

3. Some definitions about culture

Culture is a word that carries a range of possibilities and definitions. So the guise of having a parameter in terms of definition presents the three aspects mentioned by John Thompson¹¹: classic, anthropological descriptive and symbolic anthropology.

In the classical sense, we have that Culture is a process of development and ennoblement of man. It’s all tangible and intangible that makes up the human skeleton. In this sense, Aristotle puts the statement that culture is everything that is not material.

In the descriptive anthropological view culture is taken as synonymous with civilization in its widest ethnographic sense, being complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits, acquired by man as a member of society .

4 AGAMBEN, Giorgio. *O que é contemporâneo e outros ensaios*. Chapecó: Argos, 2009, p. 59.

5 “singular relação com o próprio tempo (...) que a este adere através de uma dissociação e anacronismo”.

6 FOUCAULT, M. Nascimento da biopolítica. In: *Resumo dos Cursos do College de France (1970-1982)*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 1997, p. 91

7 “que vem a estar numa relação complexa de exterioridade e interioridade em relação ao Estado”.

8 ARENDT, H. *A condição humana*. 10.ed. Rio de Janeiro: Forense, 2007.

9 REVEL, Judith. *Foucault: conceitos essenciais*. São Carlos, Claraluz, 2005, p. 26.

10 “proveito de uma economia política da vida em geral”.

11 THOMPSON, John B. *Ideologia e Cultura Moderna. Teoria social crítica na era dos meios de comunicação de massa*. Petrópolis/RJ: Vozes, 1995

The third possibility mentioned by Thompson realizes a symbolic anthropological definition that performs culture as the pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms.

With regard to this analysis, the culture can be described as any production or voluntary, individual or collective manifestation aimed with its communication, the expansion of the rational and/or sensitive knowledge through an artistic elaboration of a thought or scientific research¹².

So culture is a dynamic, multidisciplinary system, a subjective well with intangible value (which becomes measurable in profitable markets), a social segment, expression of cognitive sensibilities of a society.

Although the dimension given in contemporary Culture has already expanded into product range, consumer good, as that was entered in the settings and in the way of capital, we can get the small but poetic definition of Umberto Eco : a private and subtle meeting of souls¹³.

In contrast, can be taken as a reflection statement that Teixeira Coelho considers culture not as a noun, a substantive idea - thing , object - but an adjective “or better, a dimension made of trends, differences, contrasts and comparisons describing what the word ‘culture’ covers not as an inherent property of the individuals or groups but as a heuristic tool quota (...)¹⁴”.

4. Biopolitics, cultural policy and culture as a resource

The culture anthropologically as something “natural” is a recent and valuable. Only in the twentieth century has been that any culture, any human production should be valued and, preferably, politicized, inserted in that society as a political value.

However, culture as a vehicle in which the public sphere emerges is something prior. The eighteenth century already has these possibilities in the West and Foucault gives us an account of this situation, taken as a means to internalize the social control through discipline and governance is something visible both in the nineteenth and twentieth century’s.

The “have culture” mistaken impression accumulation of information of cultural possibilities becomes more than a distinctive element of class/social position: a means for “ideological” improvement through which a given society overcome other and themselves by having the greatest “social polish”.

In this sense, this culture has, subject to accumulation through formal education, would be visible setting that that/ those individual(s) digested by an anatomopolitics, i.e.: surveillance of bodies and modes of production and search a model previously thought - would be predicted according to discipline.

This, for Foucault called biopolitics, is the power that is exercised not through prohibition or command, but by facilitating, viability, etc. This power that presents itself in a new way is visible in the evolution (obviously nonlinear) of cultural policies in the West. Thus, art and culture can be singled out as instruments of biopolitics. By the way, Yúdice informs us that:

“(...) Nowadays is almost impossible to find public statements that do not gather the instrumentalization of art and culture, sometimes to improve social conditions, such as the creation of multicultural tolerance and civic participation through defenses such as the UNESCO cultural citizenship and cultural rights, sometimes to stimulate economic growth through projects of urban cultural development and the

12 Ibidem.

13 ECO, Umberto. *Integrados e apocalípticos*. [s.d:s.n:----]

14 COELHO, Teixeira. *A cultura e seu contrário* : cultura, arte e política pós 2001. São Paulo: Iluminuras; Itaú Cultural, 2008, p. 51.

15 “ou melhor, uma dimensão feita de tendências, diferenças, contrastes e comparações que descrevem o que a palavra ‘cultura’ recobre não como uma propriedade inerente a indivíduos ou grupos mas como um instrumento heurístico contingente (...)”

concomitant proliferation of museums for cultural tourism (...)¹⁶¹⁷”

The cultural rights in their current political bargaining power and importance attached by the State are considered as one of Human Rights, basic so by definition and status.

Indeed, it has become clear that human rights are the product of individualistic societies up because in Classical Antiquity - reduced this analysis to the combination of ancient Greece and Rome - the notion that the state should something the individual was non-existent.

As a Fundamental Right, Yúdice calls Cultural Rights “Cinderellas family of human rights” as being therefore one that, innocent, is pure and noble, because the more basic of basic engenders own individuality and identity of people and people in their groups. The problem with this kind of identification is exacerbated idealization of what those rights to the point of no longer being able to be performed .

The discourse of human rights, in contrast, employs strongly normative in the name of justice legal arguments, but often ends in idolatry of abstract principles, thus ignoring the historical and political contexts that must be recognized and traded for a politics of human rights prevail in a given country at a given time. Or, this speech is abused as a political veil of private interests, for which critics often point to human rights as a way to disallow the claims of human rights in general.

Bringing to the fore the specifics of Brazil, when relating the state and culture, have in mind the idea of Public Policy and these, moreover, would be the basis on which citizenship would be built as a sign or as a means. Nevertheless, if we are based according to a historical basic analysis we can say that the Brazilian government was unable or held up by people who wanted to happen installation of effective democratic processes.

This takes place - in the interests of this analysis - also with the cultural route, sometimes used as reinforcement of meanings - as was the Vargas period who treated her as the means by which they proved in (or being built up) “Brazilian man” - sometimes as identity via or even as a “right” .

Furthermore is also demonstrated by the fact that the “market” - understood as the means by which capital is entangled and satisfies their demands - intersperses always so widely Culture as this is more in the country.

In the corner between the use of the State Culture and the satisfaction of the “market” the country embarked on the path of offering tax rebates in exchange for funding - from businesses - the expressions/activities/cultural events and, depending on the incentives are used or have a biopolitics of control or beyond the dichotomy, State / Society sees the construction of a political economy of life in general.

Chasing Agamben closely must also establish how it is understood that the aforementioned economy.

Economy, *oikonomia*, appears in the analysis of the philosopher in the book “The Kingdom and the Glory”. The Italian language describes the genealogy of *oikonomia*, tracing a birth in ancient Greece, through the care/manage of the house. This is about a complex organism in which intertwine varied and heterogeneous relationships that ultimately relate to the economy because they relate to home, since what unites all these heterogeneous relationships is a paradigm.

The Culture, as goods produced by individuals and groups before seen simply as a reflection of legend, marks of individual and collective knowledge being exhibited in the form, for example, art,

16 YÚDICE, *op. cit.* , p. 27

17 “(...) hoje em dia é quase impossível encontrar declarações públicas que não arregimentem a instrumentalização da arte e da cultura, ora para melhorar as condições sociais, como na criação de tolerância multicultural e participação cívica através de defesas como as da UNESCO pela cidadania cultural e por direitos culturais, ora para estimular o crescimento econômico através de projetos de desenvolvimento cultural urbano e a concomitante proliferação de museus para o turismo cultural (...)”

passes in the present century in the country as a part of a national project - a policy that before social issue up.

Hanna Arendt confusion between what is social and what is political is the result of the modern conception of society. Modern politics is seen as the means by which regulates the spheres are including private . Thus the National State ultimately regulate domestic life through a national economy that is at first counterintuitive, since the *oikonomia* is born precisely in the home, realized through the power of the householder.

.If we consider Agamben and Foucault, we also realize that even Cultural Policy, whose design plays an entire social discourse, can be used as a means of adapting bodies/persons for the project because of the state that challenged citizens as producers / users and capable of create resistance and amplified participation needs not necessarily initially planned but that suit, especially young people, wanting to current standard of citizenship.

5 . Zoë and Bios : where does culture? An almost complete

Borrowed from ancient Greece - the term zoe and bios are performed by the philosopher Giorgio Agamben through the thought of Aristotle and his ideas about the function of the city in people's lives. This is, for him , the means by which to ensure a good life .

Zoé is then, in this light, the mere fact of living, while bios is the way to live, qualified life, a particular way of living. We would like to build on this notion of the possibilities of this qualification or to reflect the culture intertwined in these thoughts. The zoe means natural life - human, although producing culture, because it is impossible to live without this human being. This analysis concerns us less than the bios, since the classification of life, necessarily engenders, the ideas of culture defined above who qualify living, performing more bios than the *zoeae*.

The *oikos*, human life in the polis, must then go beyond the simple living. There's the "moment" in which the policy holder is as biopolitics taking account of bodies in as many possible possibilities. "According to Foucault the 'threshold of biological modernity' of a company is situated at the point where the species and the individual as a simple living body become the betting stakes in their political strategies¹⁸¹⁹".

However, this also requires quality life, beyond the political man - strictly speaking - the whole man in their historic cultural and artistic possibilities, why not? In this sense, culture or rather, cultural policy, fulfill the role of the primary "care" element because it would allow the process of subjectivity that leads the individual to " link their identity and conscience (...) to a external power".

This power, the sovereign power, biopolitical body builder would have assumed, as we consider in our thinking, so the role of guardian of "cultures". Taking on the responsibility of doing the "incentive" to actions which result in reproduction and cultural creation proposing, or better "selling" the idea that maintaining traditions matters most to people who make up the society that the State, through this maintenance, reaffirms powers by controlling the incentive possibilities.

After all, the polis aristotelikos defined as the opposition between living (zen) and live well (zen myself) thought in the West today, following Agamben when he says that is the exclusion of bare life, is the "place " (space and idea) that only the culture in a broad spectrum , can generate the good life, to live beyond the bare life .

This is then "politicization of bare life", a task, for Agamben, that metaphysics engenders a double

18 Ibidem, p. 11.

19 "Segundo Foucault o 'limiar de modernidade biológica' de uma sociedade situa-se no ponto em que a espécie e o indivíduo enquanto simples corpo vivente tornam-se a aposta que está em jogo nas suas estratégias políticas".

category in Western politics. This duplication does not occur in x enemy but friend, according to the Italian philosopher, on the bare life opposition between x existence by linking to our reasoning would generate opposition to nature and culture, naturalizing the latter presented as the product of the individual *zoeae* which, if maintained, would enable a well live, bios and so the “bare life (...) is released in the city and becomes both subject and object of political order (...) the common point both to the organization of state power as his emancipation.

There has been a sore point: the overwhelming majority of current studies about cultural policies - primarily Brazilian - consider that cultural policies are almost by definition capable of emancipation.

If we assume that yes, the construction of citizenship is emancipatory, the citizen, biopolitical cosmos (in the Foucauldian sense) containing numerous definitions, obligations, needs is another object and subject styled building society may consider that any element added to the composition of the possibilities of social participation and citizenship are welcome, but consider to be naive from this assumption since the very definition of citizenship is given as if it were a driving force, a power that would realize all the possibilities of the *zoe in bios* .

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Abstract: Institutional consolidation and strategic enhancement of Lusophony should be high priority objectives in Portuguese foreign policy, as part of a project of national achievement. In this article, we aim to define and situate the state of Lusophony and of CPLP within the international community and, simultaneously, to offer a perspective on the future of foreign policy in the Lusophone world, pointing out the (in)compatibilities that exist until now.

Keywords: Lusophony; CPLP; Politics; Culture

1. Introduction

“I propose to speak here of the Lusophony dream. I say ‘dream’, which is no small thing, since the real, all of the real, begins as a dream in culture and only then does it become a cultural achievement (...) In this era of globalization of the economy and markets, I think it makes sense, more than ever, to reverse Marx’s aphorism and accentuate the idea that the true infrastructure of society are ‘*cosa mentale*,’ a dreamed thing, and not exactly economic structures, markets and technologies “(Martins, 2006: 89).

In the light of Moisés Lemos Martins (2006), Lusophony’s cultural space can only be understood as a plural space, where collective memories are also plural and fragmented. This means that despite the fact that there are a number of Portuguese speaking countries, it does not exempt each of these peoples from having very distinct identities and realities. Therefore, understanding Lusophony implies that we recognize and respect the plurality of stories, voices and even feelings associated with the Lusophone community.

In order to understand these realities, we refer to the field of Cultural Studies. In the book *Cultural Studies*, Lewis (2006) refers to the definition of culture and reflects on the pros and cons of postmodern spaces, local and global identities. Some his reflections take us to the issues of post-colonialism in Lusophone countries, as well as to the complex relationships between the various nations that make up the economical, political and cultural heritage of colonial conquest. According to the author, when “countries start the process of decolonization, they appropriate the imperial cultural discourse” (Lewis 2006: 161). Hall (2003) had already pointed out that post-colonial as a concept is useful in that it allows us to think, dialogue, or describe the changes in global relations that mark the transitions from the imperial age to the post- independence era. The author claims that the term “post” cannot be merely descriptive of this or that, of before or of now. It

Lusophony and the CPLP: a game of (In) compatibilities

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should reread colonization as part of an essentially transnational process, producing a rewrite and a decentered or global thinking on great earlier narratives usually centered on European nations. So, reflecting on the decolonization of the Portuguese colonies compels us to understand the profound strategic, social and cultural changes that the new states and even Portugal had to undergo. In this respect, and following Hall's line of thought, Mia Couto (2007) states that many books mention that the Lusophone project came shortly after Portugal had agreed to decolonize African territories. Now, according to this author, decolonization was made by both parties, and thus both colonizers and colonized had to decolonize each other.

2. The “Lusophone galaxy” and the CPLP

In a first analysis, Lusophony carries with it a presumably postcolonial charge and refers to a set of countries and peoples whose official native language is Portuguese. “And as a space for culture, Lusophony cannot but refer us to the (...) imaginary territory of landscapes, traditions, and language, which is claimed from Lusophony, and that is ultimately the territory for cultural archetypes, a collective Lusophone unconscious, a mythical background that nourishes dreams.” (Martins, 2006:89). The same author argues that what the Portuguese understand Lusophony only partially corresponds with what Mozambique, Cape Verde or Brazil construe as such. Or, as Baptista puts it “we cannot fail to see that there is not one imaginary, but multiple Lusophone imaginaries. That is, what we mean by Lusophony – an already vague, imprecise and ‘postcolonial’ concept – only partly coincides with what Brazil, Galicia, Timor, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Guinea conceptualize and imagine under that name” (Baptista, 2000:112). So in order to make sense of the ‘Lusophone galaxy’ (Lourenço, 1999:90) we have to experience it as Portuguese, East Timorese, Brazilian, Angolan, Mozambican, Guinean, Cape Verdean and Sao Tomean. Therefore, we believe that Lusophony should be understood as a space that allows plural and diverse cultural affirmation in a space that should be founded by a shared language and some shared parts of history.

It was a changing environment (where flexibility of geographical boundaries was sought) that saw the emergence, in 1996, of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), an entity that was based on the political perception by eight states of the importance of a common language that should be understood as a factor for strategic projection in foreign policies. In addition to a language uniting them, these countries share some cultural expressions such as traditions, music and gastronomy, but also “a sense of belonging, that geography ignores, but which are inscribed in the soul of the peoples and the ‘grammar of civilizations’” (Santos, 2005:74).

However, Nascimento points out one of the shortcomings demonstrated by Lusophony and CPLP over the years. The author states that the “replica of the political and diplomatic coordination of CPLP as an institution in the life of ordinary citizens” (Nascimento, (sd): 6) is almost non-existent. In order to overcome this shortcoming, he proposes the creation of broader cultural cooperation policies, with shared cultural instruments of broad and lasting impact, and capable of fostering feelings, if not of belonging, at least of cultural affinity, which will, thus, begin to be a part of people's lives.

At an international level, CPLP asserts itself as an unavoidable political reality, since it promotes the attenuation of physical boundaries (preferring to be defined by cultural and symbolic boundaries), seeking to establish new sociocultural reference frameworks for emotional, social, and human expression, thus establishing links of common belonging among the different expressions that characterize the world of Lusophony.

3. (Inter)national political strategies for Lusophony and CPLP

According to Nascimento (s.d.), we are currently witnessing “political and social valorization of the human and cultural dimensions of collective life” (Nascimento (s.d.):3). This author values the possibility of cultural affirmation in a shared cultural space such as Lusophony, but argues that this will depend more on political commitment than any effect of History. Considering the urgency of the defense and promotion of Portuguese cultural identity in the world, we will have to look at the fulfillment of foreign policy goals. From amongst the various actions in recent years, we point out, for example, the fact that Portuguese has been recognized as a working language by many international organizations. In this regard, Santos (2005) states that “the objectives for the defense of Lusophony extend beyond the territorial space of the CPLP, there being recognized that international dissemination and valorization of the Portuguese language must remain permanent national interests by its member states, within a perspective of strategic projection and of globalizing geo-cultural influence” (Santos, 2005: 76).

Santos (2005) goes on by emphasizing that there is not a strategic concept of convergence, operationally defined, on the wide perspective of Lusophony’s capabilities, considered as a cultural vector in the plane of these policies. Perhaps due to the implicit notion that the political dimension of national defense – that transcends the military component – reduces the significance of its long-term effects; amongst many other sectoral policies inherent to the diversified activities of the states’ daily political life, under pressure by the imperative demand of managing circumstances and contingency plans. That is, an integrated perspective on policies, actions and goals regarding Lusophony or even CPLP seems not to exist. The underlying lack of coordination is corresponded by the lack of a strategic planning that integrates policies, polarizes and guides lines of action towards the permanent promotion of a coherent and consistent strategy for the defense of Lusophony and its identity factors/cohesion. The latter should be understood as vectors of strategic projection (in foreign policy) – a fact which is recognized in the very own founding act of this body of Lusophone states.

In the specific case of Portugal, Lusophony’s relevance seems obvious, as it provides a pivotal opportunity for strategic action, through cooperation between its four basic geopolitical components: Portugal/Europe/Africa/Brazil, in a new, very long-term strategy for Portugal’s assertion in the International System. In this regard Ribeiro (2011) points out that:

“the theoretical view on Lusophony emphasizes a decisive requirement of a dual nature: polycentric, because the concept of Lusophony is based on the refusal of a single dominant center with secondary poles (...); and multicultural, because it is based on a common cultural matrix, which is not enclosed within the negative formulation of a single expression; but rather multiplies, fruiting in expressions of different peoples. In fact, what matters in Lusophony is the whole, in its richness and its dynamics, in the sociological and cultural fusion that allows for its partial components to be transcended and enhanced. “(Ribeiro, 2011:2)

In short, we must understand Lusophony and the CPLP not as a community of civil societies and Lusophone peoples projected into action, but as an imagined community, that identifies with the cultural, ethnic and geographic diversity of the peoples belonging to it, but that is extremely confined in terms of achieving objectives, given the constant change of political regimes, actions and interests of Lusophone states. For this reason, we argue that without defined policies, and without a subsequent action, able to create habits of production and cultural enjoyment, Lusophony will not offer substantial advantages over other universes. This awareness should be materialized through a policy that strategically coordinated the convergence of actions asserting spoken and written

Portuguese as a tool, both for national defense, and for the strategic spatial projection of Portugal's capability for international influence, in terms of active participation in the transformation process of the relational environment and, consequently, of the ability to fulfill Portuguese interests within a new globalized world order. To quote Nascimento:

“CPLP, or Lusophony, cannot trust the bonds of the past. At various levels, it must assert itself as an alluring and competitive proposal. (...) Lusophone designs depend on effective, not rhetoric, political will. On such political will depends the result of action and firmness of purpose towards the cultural promotion and provision of a given space that, if common and shared, will then become Lusophone and, simultaneously, as universal, open and cosmopolitan as others.”(Nascimento, (sd):19)

4. Conclusions

It seems clear to us that Lusophony's strategies for identity affirmation and projection in the international community, either through external or CPLP policies, require a common project which must be clear not only on its objectives, but also on its actions, programs, and shared information and resources. This will entail, for example, that the defense of culture and language is considered as a priority in domestic and foreign policies. The analysis of contemporary international political developments allows us to understand that political, diplomatic, economic, and strategic realignments are determined by the inevitable demands of the growing interdependencies and by the presence of new actors and influencing factors. All of these constraints imply the pooling and leveraging of relational skills, based on specific coherences and preferred logics, as well as on the creation of new forms of intervention, and action modalities and instruments. Hence, it is now up to the member states to find a way to coordinate each of the points they consider to be strategic, in a continuous, sustained and consistent manner.

Therefore, we concur with the many authors stating that Lusophony's currently defense objectives transcend the territorial space of the CPLP, recognizing that the international dissemination and valorization of the Portuguese language are permanent interests of the member states, within a perspective of strategic projection and globalizing geo-cultural influence. Thus, the CPLP can be understood as Lusophony's advocacy organization, not only by the unanimous recognition of the previously stated reasons, but because there is a growing, collective, and shared awareness – not only among politicians, but especially amongst the various sectors of civil society – of the fact that Lusophony is an instrument of strategic projection, affirmation, and defense of incomparably broader and more diversified interests than those who acquire content on a strict operational concept of national defense. In this sense, on a political plane, Portuguese should be understood as a factor of cohesion among nations that share not only language and culture but also imaginaries, businesses, traditions, and institutional strategies.

Currently, the political agendas of the CPLP member states are far from compatible. The CPLP seems to have an inconsistent relevance in the political agendas of the different member states, where its importance varies according to the degree of strategic evolutionary priority that each member state decides to assign it, in each circumstance and at certain times, corresponding to a space of self expression and priority defense of each nations' interests. The systematic political and diplomatic coordination, institutional consolidation, and political consistency of decisions are slow in demonstrating the advantages of multilateralism and strengthening the political will of the member states, without which the CPLP will continue to lack a program that is indeed cohesive and common.

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Abstract: This aim of this paper is to contextualise immigrants from underdeveloped countries who are conditioned by socio-political and epistemological procedures which subordinate their lives and identities. This is a daily reality for these individuals, when, for example, they are subjected to political and legal models which manage immigration - such as those in Western countries, which are influenced by a history of control - and to the devaluation of their image as a native/subject from the south, resulting from political colonialism. We think of transnational immigrants (originating from the south and residing in Europe) as bound to the devices and justifications of exclusions inherited from colonialism, which today are maintained by coloniality. Coloniality arises in the context of marginalising the lives of immigrants, as a rhetoric that through its discourses (epistemologies), practices of domination and the natural “inferiority” of people originally from the South has and continues to create social boundaries (native/immigrant, legitimate/illegitimate, legal/illegal, with rights/no rights), manipulating of its subjectivity, through a violent logic of naturalising immigrants as an Other.

Keywords: coloniality; immigration; subjectivity; subaltern.

1. Coloniality in the context of transnational migrations

According to Mignolo (2010) it was Aníbal Quijano, who highlighted the disturbing concept of Coloniality in the late 1980s, referring to it as: “the invisible and constitutive part of modernity” Mignolo (2010, p 11.). It is believed that over the last three to four years, this concept has gained prominence in the work and in the dialogues of those researching modernity/coloniality, who have elaborated a basic vocabulary in order to better understand coloniality. According to this vocabulary, decoloniality became a common expression, alongside the concept of coloniality, in addition to the incorporation of concepts such as: the coloniality of power (economic and political), the coloniality of knowing, and the coloniality of knowledge (gender, sexuality and subjectivity).

The concept of the “colonial matrix of power” also emerged through this vocabulary, a complex structure which, according to Mignolo (2010, p 12.), is intertwined with the following levels:

Coloniality of power:

- 1 – Economic control
- 2 - Control of authority
- 3 - Control of nature and natural resources
- 4 – Control of gender and sexuality
- 5 - Control of subjectivity and of knowledge

Coloniality and immigration: political and epistemological strategies of subjugating immigrants from the South as subordinate subjects

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The coloniality of power is crisscrossed with activities and controls such as the coloniality of knowledge, the coloniality of being, the coloniality of doing and thinking, the coloniality of hearing, etc. (...) Thus, the coloniality of power refers to the complex matrix or pattern of power which is sustained in the pillars of knowing (epistemology), understanding or comprehending (hermeneutics) and feeling (aesthetics). The control of the economy and of authority (political and economic theory) depends on the fundamental concepts from which knowing, understanding and feeling are established. The colonial matrix of power is ultimately a network of beliefs on which action operates and is rationalised – if taken advantage of, the consequences will be suffered (ibid. 12).

Quijano (2007) refers to the formation and establishment of coloniality as one of the constituent and specific elements of the global pattern of capitalist power, with the imposition of racial/ethnic classification of the world's population as the cornerstone of this pattern of power. Although originating from colonialism, we seek to differentiate between the concepts of coloniality and colonialism, as the latter does not always necessarily imply racist power relations.

Maldonado Torres (2007) further emphasises Quijano's (2007) warning of the importance in distinguishing between coloniality and colonialism:

Coloniality does not have the same meaning as colonialism. Colonialism implies a relation in which the sovereignty of a people resides under the power of another people of nation (...) Coloniality, however, refers to a pattern of power which emerged as a result of modern colonialism, but instead of being limited to a relation of power between two peoples or nations, it relates to how work, knowledge, authority and intersubjective relations are articulated in themselves, through according to a global capitalist market and the idea of race. Thus, although colonialism preceded coloniality, coloniality outlives colonialism. This is maintained in school books, in the criteria for good academic work, in culture, in common sense, in the self-image of people, in the aspirations of subjects and in many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, we breathe coloniality in our modern daily lives (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 130).

According to Quijano (2007), colonialism is older. However, in the last five hundred years, it is coloniality that has proved deeper and longer lasting. The author sustains that coloniality was born and globalised from the constitution of Latin America. Furthermore, it was located and established at the same time as Europe was identified as the hegemony of capitalist power, when modernity was installed as one of the constituent elements of the pattern of power.

Quijano (2007) understands that the interpersonal relations in which new social identities of colonialism and colonialism were configured merged into the experiences of colonialism and capitalism as a universe of intersubjective relations of domination through Eurocentric ideology¹.

Furthermore, within this intersubjective Eurocentric universe, a way of producing knowledge (called rational), was developed and formalised. It took the cognitive needs of capitalism into account and was imposed as the only valid rationality, and as an emblem of modernity (ibid. 2007).

Emerging with colonialism and formed as a component of the broad history of colonial submission, coloniality is articulated by the previously cited authors as a constitutive part of this historic relationship, an affinity which seeks its existential expression, which Fanon (1973) defined racial background. Fanon focused his attention on the trauma of the racialised subject meeting the imperial Other: "Look, a Negro" (Fanon 1973: 90) or, to paraphrase to Fanon within the context of immigration - Look, an immigrant!

¹ Quijano (2007: 94) understands that Eurocentricism is not a cognitive perspective which is exclusively European, neither is it restricted to those who dominate global capitalism, but rather involves a group of educated people who are influenced by its hegemony. Although this implies an etho-centric component, it does not explain it, and neither is it the main source. Quijano proposes that it should be considered a cognitive perspective, developed during the eurocentral world of colonial/modern capitalism, which naturalises the experiences of people in this pattern of power, so that they perceive it as normal and hence it is not questioned.

This reality can be perceived from the dichotomous relationship between the European and non-European subject within the context of transnational migrations, especially when we think of this process of differentiation as a mechanism of exclusion for those who had to live with the weight of colonialism. In this sense, colonialism can be understood as a “modern discourse and practice that simultaneously preaches the natural inferiority of the subject (...) which considers certain subjects as dispensable” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 135).

In associating the notion of condemnation of Fanon (2001) with this idea of coloniality, for many immigrants, it represents “a condemnation, in the sense of living in hell” (Fanon, 2001), characterised by the denial of naturalisation of the exploitation and marginalisation of this population, subjected to procedures which regulate and control access to public spaces, in addition to limiting or completely excluding social protection policies.

The series of beliefs expressed by Mignolo (2010) based the Colonial Matrix of Power can be seen here in the migratory context that we seek to elucidate, as a reality that has created and institutionalised regulatory mechanisms based on strategies of differentiation and procedures of exclusion to which immigrants have been subjected, which are sustained and controlled by the receiving State. This type of control (through regulated legislative structures) reveals the dark side of States, in acting to limit access to certain types of rights. According to this logic, certain means of classifications are established, that identify immigrants based on scales of illegality, according to the position (the illegal situation) of the immigrant on the scales on which levels of exclusions to rights are established.

This understanding of the daily lives of immigrants will be linked to the legality/illegality rhetoric, fostered by institutions that were designed to take care of immigration issues, seen as a threat to state sovereignty and to the welfare of its citizens.

Coloniality, therefore, converts “an order of things” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 138) meaning that migrants from the South are subject to the violating naturalisation of the State, which converts them into “racialised” subjects, into presences that menace the security of citizens, of social welfare and of local culture. This is present in realities that surround us, but that quite often, we do not notice.

Maldonado-Torres (2007) believes that the concept of coloniality of being can be better understood in the light of “*ego conquiro*” and “misanthropic Manichean scepticism” (Ibid. 136), as at least two other dimensions relating to the philosophy of Descartes and Heidegger - “I think therefore I am” – were ignored: “under the ‘I think’ we can read ‘others do not think’ and within ‘I’ we can situate the philosophical justification for the idea that ‘others are not’ or are devoid of being” (Ibid. 144). Thus, if those who are “racialised” (in this case, the immigrants) were defined as not ‘being’ and even today are considered dispensable, accordingly, the idea of welfare policies being discarded would not be a problem, as the damage will not be calculated for someone who does not exist or ‘be’. Hence if “not thinking becomes a sign of not being in modernity” (Ibid. 145) and, again paraphrasing Fanon, if in an anti-immigrant world, the immigrant has no resistance in the eyes of the native, it is in Fanon that they are sentenced (Damme), and in Heidegger, Dasein (a being that is not there). Therefore, “the condemned is for the coloniality of being as Dasein is to fundamental anthropology,” Maldonado-Torres (2007, p. 146). In applying this logic to the reality of the “racialised” immigrant, we can verify that this also becomes a point of departure for any reflection on coloniality.

1.1. Coloniality in migrant daily life and the consequent dismantling of the subjectivity of immigrant as an Other subject.

Based on the thoughts of Garcia Canclini (2004), we believe that there is little value in us explaining certain statements - such as how the daily life of the immigrant obeys an order called

coloniality - without explaining the specific forms that this order takes in order to produce the process of submission.

It is primarily important to understand coloniality as a political and epistemological strategy for the subjugation of the immigrant to the lower classes. In this case, linking the immigrants to the “Other” allowed the creation of “the imaginary of the immigrant as an exogenous element” (Suárez Navaz, 2007, p 23), detached from society, serving as a justification for enforcing all denials of rights related to citizenship status; Therefore, according to Spivak (1998) what appears to be a kind of epistemic violence allowed the intellectuals to be complicit in the persistent task of constituting the “Other”, which serves as a justification for exclusion and “concealment”.

The most obviously present element in epistemological violence is this project of remote orchestration, a broad and heterogeneous effort to constitute a colonial subject as the Other. This project also represents the asymmetric annulment of the impression of this Other in its most precarious subjectivity. It is well known that Foucault considered epistemological violence as a complete review of the episteme, in the redefinition of the madness at the end of the 18th century (Spivak, 1998, p. 13).

“The true subaltern group, whose identity is the difference” (Spivak, 1998, p.18) has been included and described in the benevolent appropriation of the third world as the Other (ibid. 22). In this inclusion/description, the agents of rhetoric (political and epistemological) excelled in establishing the European subject as superior, and the Southern subject as the “Other” (from the third world). The epistemological policy established since the first world “of Europe as a place of theory production” (ibid. 27), was almost always created to serve this need of dismantling the subjectivity of the “Other.” This process which Spivak (1998), in quoting Derrida (1967), calls “the mechanics of constituting the other” permitted the creation of a kind of consciousness of the Other subject as a subaltern (marginalized) individual and fundamentally contributed to the legitimisation of violence as natural fact, from the construction of the image of the third world as an inferior subject².

As the established order in the world was instaurated in agreement with the social sciences “in a specific spatial and temporal context” (Lander, 2000, p. 23), epistemological violence was thus part of the process of colonising the lives of marginalised people from the South. This justification contributed to the establishment of a pattern of power - the difference between the coloniser and the colonised - with an existential dynamic that emerged in a context which was heavily influenced by the controls defined in the colonial matrix of power. According to previous reflections by Mignolo (2010), and Maldonado-Torres (2007), this is where feelings of superiority and inferiority, racial slavery, the difference before the different and other contexts of subjugation and exclusion that became a patent for an ordinary reality exist.

By linking the immigrant to the category of “Other”, submitted to the “Eurocentric pattern of material and intersubjective power” (Quijano, 2007, p. 118), we can currently observe coloniality as a symbol of exclusion that focuses on the realities of immigrant life, and particularly with regard to the process of accommodating illegal immigrants. Furthermore, it is through this logic that we can reveal the strategies of submissions from agents interested in maintaining these people’s lives submissive to the pattern of power emanating from coloniality.

Thus, the symbolism of coloniality can be perceived as a sense of normality in a specific order of

² We must also mention the categorisation which Navas Luque (2004, p.363) referred to, with regard to the balance inherent in categorical dynamics, in a manner which, according to the author “accepting the categorisation of others inevitably changes the ways in which one relates to them, thus introducing the possibility of interfering with its specific categories. The dynamics of racism are an obvious example. This is why heterogenous groups have come to accept being defined as black, for example – it is due to a common experience of racism”.

things, which can be represented through daily facts that produce a feeling of normality against the rhetoric of modernity and the project of subjugating marginalised groups.

This is reflected in the migratory context, when policies directed towards the containment of migration flows are created, and through the control and segregation of access to some types of social policies. In this sense, for the many immigrants who are deemed unnecessary (intruders), and are denied permission to enter, or for those who manage to overcome “the crossroads of borders” (Arango, 2003), limits are imposed by creating impossibilities in accessing policies and rights, which are offered to those who hold citizenship.

Understanding coloniality as a result of these cultural practices allows us to create an order of understanding, whereby the values of patterns of power (emanating from the privileges of capitalism) are superimposed on the values or the needs of marginalised (subaltern) groups and victims of the system.

As observed in Garcia Canclini’s (2004) discussions about the idea of disconnection, we can observe a particular form of disconnection which is found in informal contexts.

The author believes that within the context of informality, subjects are more vulnerable to accept certain risks, such as “having job without social rights; you can sell, but only on the street; taxi driving, without a licence; producing and selling pirate disks and videos” (ibid. 74). In the context of migration, the term informality is transformed in legality, and illegality is where one of the most perverse representations of the disinterest in human life takes place. According to Suárez Navaz (2007, p. 16), it is in illegality that “the fragilities of those without documents as social actors are obvious, poverty, unstable labour, anguish and fear of deportation or police repression are some of the common ills affecting immigrants without legal documentation. “

Suárez Navaz (2007), explains that in this downward spiral - sanctioned by the authorities responsible for managing the process of accommodating immigrants - those without papers (without documents) represent anathema to the system, since, according to the author, democratic irregularities can not be resolved by exclusion whilst the economic growth of First World democracies often requires the incorporation of cheap and flexible labour. “Illegal immigration, tolerated to a greater or lesser extent in most democratic countries, is not compatible with human rights” (ibid. 17). In this sense, “the category of those without documents cannot exist in the liberal logic of the social contract; in this political logic, all individuals necessarily share natural freedom and its corresponding rights.

From this perspective, “exclusion is presented more as a destiny (*against which the immigrant has to fight*)³, whereby as a result of social asymmetry, some people benefit at the expense of others” (Garcia Canclini, 2004, p. 75). The differences and inequalities generated by the system of coloniality reappear when, having overcome the ‘breaking the border’ phase, immigrants will again come across other segregationist processes, in relation to the provision of social rights (and the denial thereof) and, accordingly, they are denied the “threshold of citizenship” (ibid. 82).

The threshold of citizenship is not conquered only by obtaining respect for differences, but through “minimal competitiveness in relation to each enabling resource” to participate in society: work, health, consumer power, and the other socio-economic rights which, together with the educational, informative “basket” of knowledge, i.e. the capacities that can be used in order to secure better work and higher incomes” (Garcia Cancli, 2004, p. 82).

Rosaldo (2000) reports that the concept of citizenship is universal only in a formal manner, i.e., in documents; in practice, citizenship is exclusive, since it is impossible to trace the history of

3 The text in italics was added by the author.

the concept without tripping over successive attempts to restrict citizenship to certain groups and exclude others.

As we have previously suggested, it is rhetoric which links an apparent normality to our democratic system. Highlighting the contradictions which manage the mere existence of those without papers as political subjects implies re-discovering, in a way, that some of the most shameful limitations of Athenian citizenship were in relation to human rights. In other words, second-rate workers can live among us, deprived of the legal recognition of their existence. It is extremely similar to the regime of slavery defended by the great philosopher, Aristotle (Suárez Navaz, 2007, p. 16).

If, according to this model, citizenship is a rhetoric against which the immigrant has to fight to survive, then the rhetoric of exclusion can also be seen as an element of coloniality, serving as a justification for the current model of distinction between the citizen/immigrant, and allowing the production of a series of factors that will act as a dictate in the production of the immigrant as an 'other', and therefore marginalised subject.

"Speaking of marginalization is speaking of expulsion and at the same time of reclusion; no longer of the border, but of the wall, from outside and from within. What is inside constructed this wall, thus defining and defending its territory "(Moreno, 2000, p. 164). The inside, in this case, is the included, the indigenous, the elite who seize power and the law and build tools to transfer the subaltern character to the other (in his detachment), in addition to creating conditions of exclusion.

From inside, it is understood that the illegal immigrant is involved in illegal, informal, disapproved, amoral practices. But for those outside (the others - immigrants) such practices are be viewed as a game of survival, actions designed to circumvent the dictated constraints that benefit those on the inside. Those who are on the outside struggle to break through the walls of exclusion, which here, we refer to as coloniality.

Adapting Moreno's (2000) considerations to the daily life of immigrants from the south, within the context of vulnerability described in the relation to work, we must consider that this group, apart from being excluded, must be understood as external, exogenous, "other", with its own otherness experienced in their every day way of life in the world.

In seeking to understand how the otherness of the immigrant was made possible within the context of coloniality, we should consider Foucault (1981), with regard to the experiences of training the immigrant Third World subject. This implies acting on the subjectivity of these subjects, based on "divisions carried out in society" Foucault (1981, p. 256) between immigrants and natives (with/without rights, legitimate/illegitimate, with/without documents) and the "consequences of constituting a normal subject) (ibid. 256).

It is also important that we reconsider Foucault's concept (1981) of "governmentality, the government itself, for an Other (autrui) arises from its articulation of relations (...) therefore we find the requirements of ways of life" (ibid. 257) and the West. These obstacles that meant that immigrants - immersed in the context of exclusion which we have presented - were not able to fulfil their expectations, aspirations or illusions in the West. On the contrary, they have lived their lives under latent racism, therefore racism and coloniality can be assumed, according to Mignolo (2010, p. 84) as one and the same cognitive operation, which is rooted in the philosophical aspect of the Colonial Matrix of Power.

"The coloniality of being and knowing operated and is operated from top to bottom, through the control of authority (political) and the economy" (Mignolo, 2010, p 112.). This is linked to experiences of marginalisation and humiliation; "experiences and humiliations generated by the constant updating of the colonial matrix of power" (ibid. 112). The control of authority established in the migratory

context - clearly present in border control policy, such as the mechanisms of disengagement from social protection policies, and also the denial of individual rights and subjective liberty - should be demarcated within the constant process of modernising the colonial matrix of power and should be understood as a logic that results from positioning the immigrant as a subaltern subject.

This reduction of values which leads from epistemic to political practices and that has allowed people from the south to be identified as subaltern is what has produced noticeable effects within the context of transnational migration, consequently converting the migrant identity into a denied subjectivity.

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SESSION 21

IDENTITIES AND
REPRESENTATIONS IN
COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS 6

Abstract: This article focuses on the chapters that refer to South America in the work entitled *O mundo que os portugueses criaram* ('the world that the Portuguese created'), by the Portuguese journalist, Armando Aguiar. The work, based on a journey undertaken the late 1940s across every continent, was first published in pamphlets and later in book format (Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1951)¹

Armando Aguiar's account of the journey constitutes an attempt to establish symbolic links between Portugal and each country in a particular continent. In a narrative that revisits the deeds of explorers whilst not losing sight of the colonisation process in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Aguiar seeks to symbolically include the Portuguese world throughout South American territory. Similar to a myth of origin, the story that Aguiar tells us is of the separation between that which is part of a world endowed with meaning, a certain cosmos, within the limits of a sacred space and a sacralised time and that which differs and does not participate, chaotic and the profane.

The Portuguese world created by Aguiar reflects - and repeats - the idea of a giant transcontinental Portugal, amply reinforced and disseminated during the Estado Novo Regime. Departing from the Lacanian triad that articulates the Symbolic, the Imaginary and the Real, we aim to follow Aguiar's report according to these three domains and their interactions, along the skeins of an imaginary journey recreated in this journalist's mythical narrative, understood in the context of constructing this Imaginary Portugal.

1. The Estado Novo's Policy, Communication and the Collective Imaginary

In the late 1940s, Armando Aguiar, a journalist at the *Diário de Notícias*, who had already been despatched to cover the Spanish Civil War years before – and a man closely linked to the regime at that time - embarked on his journey throughout the ***World that the Portuguese Created***, which included South America. His task was to produce pamphlets for publication in the *Diário de Notícias*, to give an account of all that was Portuguese in the world, not just in the territories that had been or were still Portuguese colonies, but to find something that would symbolically link all the countries he visited to Portugal.

The journalist's first port of call in South America was Brazil. He went on to Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and the Guianas. For the purpose of this

South America in Armando de Aguiar's *O Mundo que os Portugueses Criaram*: a mythical narrative of an imaginary journey

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¹ This study analyses the 1984 re-edition, published by J.M. Barbosa.

analysis, from now on we will adopt some operational definitions for the purposes of this analysis with regard to the aforementioned theoretical framework for the domains of the real, the imaginary and the symbolic. Therefore, we will operationally define the domains of the real, the imaginary and the symbolic and seek to show how they are articulated in Aguiar's narrative. Due to the space and time constraints of this study, we will not include a full account of what we found for each of the countries visited by Aguiar, restricting ourselves to exemplify each domain with a limited number of examples.

2. The domain of the real

For the domain of the real, we feature all the statements of our author which refer to more objective data such as the names of cities or countries, population or economic data at the time, historical data such as dates, places where battles were fought or where colonies were founded, short descriptions of ephemera, events or general information about the places visited and the Portuguese presence in each of them. It appears that these statements are linked to or overlap elements belonging to the realms of the imaginary and of the symbolic, thus the real domain in the work of Aguiar always gives rise to fabulation and symbolisation.

As an example, we consider Aguiar's account of his arrival in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay. After some brief remarks about the physical appearance of the city, the "luxurious casinos", the "colourful beaches" and the "high price of things," the narrator explains:

After Brazil, Uruguay is the South American nation which most evokes Portugal. Montevideo is an example. Some historians say that a sailor from Ferdinand Magellan's fleet exclaimed, on seeing the high hill – the Cerro – when he arrived there in 1520, giving the city its name:

-Monte vi! Ou Monte vide eu! (I saw a mountain! Or a mountain saw me!)" said the sailor. And thus the name 'Montevideo' was formed (...) (p.122)

The reader remains unaware to which historians Aguiar refers, but the anecdote paves the way for the extension epic narrative João Dias Solis (pp.122-127) which is recounted over the next five pages and is followed by the story of Carlos Frederico Lecor's campaign against the Uruguayan captain José Artigas, who threatened to "bring discord to the Portuguese territory of Rio Grande do Sul" (p.129).

The Portuguese presence in the colonisation of Uruguay, however, is not difficult to attest historically. Conflicts between Portugal and Spain are highlighted here because of the foundation of the Sacramento Colony, in the seventeenth century, "the first white population of Uruguay", and the location of the first Uruguayan independence movement in the nineteenth century, as noted by our journalist (pp.131-132).

In the history of Peru, Aguiar finds fewer elements on which to found a Portuguese-based civilisation, although it was possible to note the facade of a convent designed by a Portuguese architect in the seventeenth century and a devotion to the "thousands faithful" to Our Lady of Fatima (p .218). Most of the chapter on Peru consists of the saga of Pizzaro and the destruction of the Inca Empire, especially the betrayal of the Spanish emperor Atahualpa (pp.207-214). Concentrating on these facts not only builds a wild image of Spanish colonization, but also serves to remind the reader of the time of exploration of the South American continent.

One of the provinces of Venezuela is called *La Portuguesa*, by the grace of a Portuguese lady whose name has been lost in history. Married to the governor of the then captaincy of Guanare, in the absence of her husband she held her position, "maintaining order, enforcing justice and honouring the law" (p.237). In Ecuador, a Portuguese Franciscan monk is considered a saint. In the convent

of San Francisco in Quito, Aguiar was surprised to find portraits of Portuguese kings from Afonso Henriques until Filipe I (p.227).

Many other examples could be mentioned to show that the even slightest trace of a Portuguese presence was valued and enriched by associations made through the process of the Portuguese recognising and occupying the South American continent, a process viewed through rose-tinted glasses with a tendency towards heroism and courage and inevitably painting the Portuguese as pioneering or civilising people *par excellence*, valuing perseverance and hard work above all. But now we are entering the realm of the imaginary. Before doing so, it remains to be stated that the real, in this case, does not escape the Lacanian definition. All that Aguiar tells us reflects the creation of a story formed between the imaginary and the symbolic. What escapes this dynamic remains in silence, devoid of meaning, and is not included in the sacralised narrative of the myth of origin which is told.

3. The Domain of the Imaginary

The domain of the imaginary comprises statements from our author, which from the dynamic of images fertilises facts or events from the past or present, projecting a fabulated dimension, adding to, silencing, or modifying the actual effect through imagination. In Aguiar's text, the domain of the imaginary is primarily oneiric in character, expressed in fabulated narratives that reshape historical events or characters - therefore taking them from the domain of real and making them heroic, fantastic, almost supernatural, as befits mythical narratives. This imagined recreation of the history of the Portuguese presence in the South American world, in which they always appear with features that comprise the self-representation of Portuguese identity: brave, strong, but few in number, always less than the enemy, fragile behind their exuberant nature but nevertheless fearless and victorious.

Before discussing examples of the imaginary domain throughout the chapters of Aguiar's book, we focus on the first pages of the book, a kind of introduction entitled 'The materialization of a dream', in which the author projects a desire to equate to "the glorious deeds of the great Portuguese (p.12), with his feat that would be different to all other trips around the world, his" primary, unprecedented objective: to travel the ***World that the Portuguese Created.*** Aguiar says he felt like a "travelling Knight of Portuguese journalism, traversing continents, across seas, across spaces", achieving what any Portuguese person could do: "But only a Portuguese person! No writer or journalist from any other country in Europe or the Americas could undertake such a journey taking in the sights of 'the World' created by his own country (p.13).

The chapter devoted to Paraguay has the subtitle: "Discovered by the Portuguese Aleixo Garcia". The story of the first pioneer is recounted vividly, with rich detail worthy of an adventure novel. The "discovery" is reduced to the pioneer's journey north and the refuge he found there, when he was forced to retreat by the Chara Indians. The "Portuguese hero" made "a strategic retreat, without great loss of life and with his treasures intact (p. 143). Continuing his pioneering, Garcia lived with his companions among the Indians in Paraguay until the night that the Indians "not only barbarously murdered them but they devoured them with abominable ferocity." A descendant, however, remained. According to Aguiar's reference to a Paraguayan historian, a mountain where the trailblazer died was named after him, "marking the sacrifice of the Portuguese adventurer with posterity" (p.143).

In Quito, Ecuador, a Portuguese Franciscan monk is worshipped as a miraculous saint. In the Convent of St. Francis, the journalist records a collection of portraits of the kings of Portugal, but the big adventure story in the chapter about Ecuador is the expedition of Pedro Teixeira, whom the journalist had referred to in the chapter addressing Brazil with regard to his trip up the Amazon river, "in the capital of Ecuador - Aguiar says "his name is quoted as an example of bravery, courage and

loyalty without fanfare” (p.229).

In Colombia, another pioneering hero of Portuguese nationality is highlighted: Jerónimo de Melo, the first to follow the course of the Magdalena River, which crosses the country, in order to determine its navigability. After travelling about 300 miles inland, the navigator, by the “energy that survives all tests, overcoming difficulties” (p.232), won the sympathy of some, but not all Indians. His expedition was attacked by “copious hail of arrows and other early tools of war” (ibid.).

The same tone permeates the text for all the countries visited. The imaginative functions to serve the construction of a report which merges with the voyages of circumnavigation, the discoveries, the exploration of the ocean, of Amazonian rivers and unknown lands, expressed in an implosion of chronology, a circular narrative, making us rediscover characters like Aleixo Garcia, João de Solis and Magellan himself, mixed with contemporary description of cities or landscapes through which the journalist travelled. We are thus in a position to advance to the symbolic domain, where space and time are space and mythical times are eternal and circular and where the experience of the eternal return is lived.

4. The Domain of the Symbolic

We understand the symbolic domain as all statements by our author which refer to socially shared meanings, values about collective life or the life of the individual immersed in the collectivity (what is important, what is not, what is better or worse, the permitted and the forbidden, etc.). We specifically recognise the links to the field of the sacred, but also to daily life, when referring to the rules of social conduct, relations of power and social difference in a word, the ways of life which were accepted and justified by empirical practices and the Collective Imaginary.

In this paper, we decided to use the categories proposed by the work of Mircea Eliade², which reveal the difference between the sacred and profane, that which is between what has meaning and existence, i.e., ontological consistency and what is not, the latter being the domain of profane reality and of the non-existent.

4.1. Mythical Space

Mythic space is the sacred space that differs from the profane, separated by symbolic boundaries. You must sacralise space for it to be inhabited. For this, an axis or a centre of orientation is needed, which may be a temple, the place or the altar of sacrifice of an animal, a cross, pole or mast, ladder, tree or mountain. Any one of these elements marks the threshold between the sacred and the profane, becoming the axis of connection between heaven, earth and the underworld, among the gods, the territory inhabited by men and the world below (unknown and often associated with hell).

In the account of the colonial enterprise, the symbolic action of sacralising space often coincides with civilizing actions and/or the conquest of territories. Thus, it becomes sacred for the European, in the particular case of this work, a mountain which the Portuguese named, a river or a portion of land on where they Portuguese had their adventures and conquered the savages, renaming it, or sometimes seeing their name being adopted by the defeated Indian chiefs. But a church whose building or part

2 Mircea Eliade (2004) *Tratado de História das Religiões*. Lisboa, Asa;
M. Eliade (2000) *O Mito do eterno retorno. Perspectivas do Homem*. Lisboa: Edições 70;
M. Eliade, Couliano (1999) *Dicionário das Religiões*. (Tradução de Ivone Castilho Benedeti). São Paulo: Martins Fontes;
M. Eliade (1996) *Imagens e Símbolos*. São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 1996;
M. Eliade (s.d.) *O Sagrado e o Profano*. Lisboa. Livros do Brasil

thereof was designed or constructed by a Portuguese architect can also be a sacralising element, or the worship of a popular saint of Portuguese origin or of Our Lady of Fatima, the Portuguese deity *par excellence*.

Armando Aguiar always builds his narrative with the intention of (re)including all the lands through which the Portuguese passed. His journey is a ritual journey, retracing symbolic acts of the sacralisation of space. Not coincidentally, the journalist feels the need to clearly establish the difference between sacred space and profane space. The chapter dealing with the Guianas - where the Portuguese colonial presence was diluted due to the predominance of other European people was dubbed - "Land where not even the devil wants to live." The Guianas functioned as savages, beyond the boundaries where there is no world, where a world cannot exist due to chaos; it was not made sacred and, therefore, did not become a world. The Guianas mean chaos and discontinuity, which do not belong to us and to which we do not belong.

4.2. Mythical Time

The construction of Aguiar's text gives the reader the impression that time stands still, the *illud tempus* of Discoveries, the foundation of the **World that the Portuguese Created**. Hence the emphasis was not on current aspects of the countries visited, although they are referred to, but rather focused on the inaugural narratives, the time in which when heroes walked through those lands, this time returning across the centuries, the constantly recurring exploits, the omnipresent founding figures of Ferdinand Magellan, João de Solis, Pedro Teixeira. Even contemporary reality is described only as a gateway to the ritual time. A strong or popular church, a town on the banks of river immediately lead to the ancestral narrative, whether from the fifteenth, sixteenth or nineteenth century. The tone is always between the epic and tragic, ensuring an anachronistic and circular dimension of ritual time.

4.3. Hierophanies and Ontophanies

When a hierophany reveals the sacred, it occupies a certain space and also makes it sacred, i.e. it is endowed with meaning, and therefore exists for human experience. Which means that a hierophany is the basis of an ontophany, the revelation of being a world.

In short, by hierophanies we understand the emergence of the sacred in the profane, and by ontophanies, its incorporation in the field of Being, sometimes even the concrete reality in which the secret is manifested. In Armando Aguiar's text, the founding ancestors are the Portuguese from the Age of Discoveries, of the colonization period. The world which is revealed is an empire without borders, extending to the ends of all lands, rivers, and oceans, on which the sacralised landmarks of the Lusitanian presence are fixed. Not coincidentally, our author chose part of *Lusíadas* (the *Lusiads*) as his epigraph:

*Eis aqui quase cume da cabeça
De Europa-toda, o Reino Lusitano,
Onde a Terra se acaba e o Mar começa
E onde Febo repousa no Oceano.*³

³ Excerpt from *Os Lusíadas*. III. 20. Reproduced in AGUIAR, Armando (1984). *O Mundo que os Portugueses Criaram*. Lisboa. Editora J. M. Barbosa.)

Lusitania is here
Almost at the head of all of Europe
Where the earth ends and the sea begins
And where Phoebus rests in the Ocean⁴

In symbolically citing Camões' work, Aguiar seeks, through a suggestion of continuity, to include his own narrative in the symbolic category of hierophony and the corresponding ontophany of the **World which the Portuguese Created**.

5. The Eternal Return – Aguiar's mythical journey in an Imagined Portugal

The interpretation of Armando Aguiar's work demonstrated that on each page, time and space are indistinguishable and are not measurable by chronology or geographical distances, thus a set of actions and events emerge, that through the symbolic, compose the mythical tale of a Portuguese ontophany.

Armando Aguiar's journey is imaginary and mythical because it is narrated as a repetition of the inaugural moment of a world and structured as a cosmogony, a cosmogony of a mythical Portugal recreated in gigantic and transcontinental dimensions by the heroic action of the discoverers and explorers of the sixteenth century and perpetuated by the constant, hardworking and affectionate presence of the twentieth century emigrants and their descendants, presented as continuums with which chronological time does not interfere.

The former colonies of Spain or France do not matter. Political ownership is irrelevant in the face of the mythical world created by the Portuguese. Of these, there is always some descendant to witness heroic deeds of the ancestors.

Aguiar's text follows a cyclical structure that can be verified by the repetition of the exploits of the conquerors, sometimes the same, sometimes with different names, but assimilated from the point of view of the functions performed in the narrative, in the curious relationship between writing and images. Often an illustration concerning a reported episode a dozen pages back emerges, as if it moved, but has the power to provoke in the reader a sense that we are always telling the same story, that we have not left the original place. We can say, in short, that the author's effort was in composing a work that simultaneously narrates and reinaugurates a world, and hierophanising and ontophanising the entire journey, highlighting all the rest, that is, the chaos of Lusitanian creation.

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4 Translation in Dainotto, Roberto M., (2007), *Europe (in Theory)*. USA, Duke University Press.

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Abstract: This article is part of the research project of a Ph.D. program in Cultural Studies at the University of Aveiro. This study aims to present theoretical concepts and state-of-the-art on Lusophony and Identity, mainly to analyse and to revise the achievements of the fundamental bibliography on this topic. The principal objective is to comprehend the relations among their conceptions which are developed and provided in the higher education for luso-brasilian students.

Keywords: Lusophony, Identity, Interculturalism, Students of Higher Education.

Introduction

According to UNESCO, the relevant challenges for the democratization of the access to higher education, is the internationalization of teaching because it shows an actual need for intercultural understanding among societies.

By starting from the intercultural principle, the reflection on education and diversity cannot only be translated into respect and acknowledge of the difference among people: the meaning is to think on the relation between the I and the others. In order to do that, the university context is seen as a socio-cultural space in which the different cultures meet themselves. When we think about 'diversity' we imagine that it only refers to external characteristics. However if we go deeper into the meaning of the term we understand that it includes political and cultural meanings as well (Gomes 1999):

Ao considerarmos o outro, o diferente, não deixamos de focar a atenção sobre o nosso grupo, a nossa história, o nosso povo. Ou seja, falamos em semelhanças e diferenças. Isso nos leva a pensar que ao considerarmos alguém ou alguma coisa diferente, estamos sempre partindo de uma comparação. (...) Geralmente, comparamos esse outro com algum tipo de padrão ou de norma vigente no nosso grupo cultural ou que esteja próximo da nossa visão de mundo (Gomes, 1999, p.1).

The analysis of the cultural diversity should not be restricted either to a determined behaviour or to an individual opinion.

From that, we move to the concept of 'lusophony', which is a central point to comprehend the meaning of social identities. According to Cabecinhas (2011), many authors think about lusophony as a continuation of the Portuguese colonial time, in which Portugal represents the epicentre. Anyway, other authors discuss on the meaning of lusophony: they consider the big socio-cultural and historical differences among the countries of Portuguese language.

Lusophony and identity in higher education: concepts and discussions

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We think that the idea of lusophony needs to be analysed from different perspectives: in fact, sometimes it is intended in its linguistic dimension but several other times at its historical and cultural level. Hence, the author claims that “estudar os significados da lusofonia afigura-se assim como uma oportunidade de dar voz a grupos tradicionalmente silenciados e auscultar as várias versões da história que liga estes diferentes países” (Cabecinhas, 2011, p. 171).

Since we identify ourselves as ‘lusofonos’, we need to understand that the area of countries of Portuguese language is not homogeneous but it is a heterogeneous space that share the same language and where the people are linked by different ties. So we start from the concept that social identities can be defined according to the choices and the individual experiences; moreover the different belongings depends on the context, on the social structure and on the historical moment in which we are living.

In order to comprehend the dynamics of identities is necessary to consider that at the same time all the individuals belong to different social groups. The identity process is determined by the face-to-face relations and it is built via the socialisation and the interaction with the other people of the society. Meanwhile, this understanding allows a characterisation of the ‘I’ and of the ‘We’: at the same time the social identity – fundamental in the construction of self and self-image – makes possible the separation and the judgement among groups by having a tendency to positively evaluate only myself and the group I belong to.

Hence, we understand that the notion of identity determines the link between the psychological and the sociological (Zavaloni, 1972, *apud* Amâncio, 1996). According to Mead (1934, *apud* Amâncio, 1996), “o eu emerge da interacção entre um elemento-sujeito criativo de ordem psicofisiológica e um elemento-objecto que constitui a internalização das atitudes dos outros, e se traduz, nas interacções sociais, pela capacidade de assumir a posição do outro” (p. 291). Here, the context, the social and emotional conditions, the attitudes and the behaviours reinforce the ‘social representation’ of the ‘I’ and of the ‘WE’.

In that sense, the issue of this study raises: in the process of intercultural education since the construction of the space of lusophony in higher education should be understood to develop the relations among students of Portuguese language.

1. Lusophony

According to Souza Santos (2005), the CPLP¹ (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa) is a multilateral area with high potentials to establish a cooperative and solidary transnationalization of universities, with the capability of building an effective network to fight its commercial exploitation. Hence, the author says:

Aos países semiperiféricos deste espaço, Brasil e Portugal, cabe a iniciativa de dar os primeiros passos nessa direcção: cursos de graduação e de pós-graduação em rede, circulação fácil e estimulada de professores, estudantes, livros e informações, bibliotecas *on line*, centros transnacionais de pesquisa sobre temas e problemas de interesse específico para a região, sistema de bolsas de estudos e linhas de financiamento de pesquisa destinados aos estudantes e professores interessados em estudar ou pesquisar em qualquer país da região, etc (*ibidem*, p. 199).

So, from the moment we propose to analyse the meaning of lusophony, we need to understand the subjectivity of the luso-brasilian relations and what there is behind of it. In that sense we raise some questions that Soares (2003) explains well:

1 Community of countries speaking Portuguese language

Brasil: como lidar, sem ressentimento, com a herança da raiz lusitana? Portugal: como visitar a nostalgia do mar sem nostalgia? Brasil e Portugal: sem esquecer que o trágico da colonização existiu, como transfigurar “o brutal encontrão” em “encontro de culturas?” Se há ainda, em termos de distância cultural, “tantas léguas a nos separar, tanto mar”, conforme versos de Chico Buarque, como fazer desse mar tamanho “um mar que unisse, já não separasse”, como sonhou Pessoa? Da resposta a estes e outros desafios que no presente se impõem dependerão os futuros caminhos ou descaminhos lusobrasileiros (*ibidem*, 2003, p. 222).

Hence, we need to find the answers to the main aim of this study where we are analyzing the different conceptions of the authors on lusophony and identity. The objective is to understand how those conceptions are related each other built and expressed in the university context from luso-brasilian students perspective. This discussion contributes to move forward in the definition of the status of copartner between Portugal and Brazil that have the advantage of owning a common language. Nevertheless, from the cultural point of view the language comprehends so many complexities that can both unify and divide (Soares, 2003).

Then, it is essential to interpret the idea of lusophony to clarify what is the meaning of the area of lusophony: this is a space that can be interpreted either as a imaginary community or as a constitution of different entities of the CPLP, organized as a shared identity.

The concept of lusophony is wide and complex: it contains cultural and religious components but it can also be explained as a political-linguistic concept. The lusophony is also defined as an extended community of countries speaking the Portuguese language. It comprehends the following countries: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, and East-Timor. Side by side Macau (China), Goa, Daman and Diu (India) can be added to the above list.

This approach is discussed via different perspectives and not consensual. This concept is analysed with the idea that there is a geographical area with the same language however there, not all are speaking Portuguese. Some authors says that lusophony can be a sort of Portuguese colonialism:

(...) ser lusófono não é uma prerrogativa natural dos falantes de língua portuguesa, pois é necessário - e mesmo urgente - aprender a sê-lo. A lusofonia é hoje um modo de conviver. (...) E essa atitude pedagógica é tão indispensável quanto urgente, pois, tal como anteriormente referi, a lusofonia é, simultaneamente, um desafio e uma nebulosa, por vezes tingida de nostalgias (Fernandes, 2004, p. 123).

Eduardo Lourenço explains that the lusophony and the lusophone community have to refer to multiple lusophone imaginaries that is, an imaginary of pluralities and differences.

Por essa razão, se quisermos dar sentido à “galáxia lusófona”, não podemos deixar de a viver como inextricavelmente portuguesa, brasileira, angolana, moçambicana, guineense, cabo-verdiana, são-tomense ou timorense. (...) Ou seja, o espaço cultural da lusofonia é um espaço necessariamente fragmentado. E a comunidade e a confraternidade de sentido e de partilha comuns só podem realizar-se pela assunção dessa pluralidade e dessa diferença e pelo conhecimento aprofundado de uns e de outros (Lourenço, 1999, p. 112).

The simple fact of the mixture of Portuguese language and different African, American Asiatic local languages and – as in the case of Brazil – also with the one of other European immigrants, makes Portuguese a language with cultural miscegenation. So, when we think about the Lusophone space it is required to recognise the multiplicities involved. According to that, the most important aspect is to deal with Lusophony not only at the political and economical level but also from a perspective that is giving value to the space of linguistic and cultural freedom.

Since we are speaking about anthropo-socio-culturally different people, with a common history,

the idea of lusophony may not be pacifically accepted: the colonial past characterised by violence, exploitation and oppression can be seen as a ‘wound’ and not as a romantic idea that the members of CPLP are trying to provide: “neste jogo entre a língua e a história, fica-nos a ideia de que a língua pela dimensão estética, emocional e subjectiva que encerra consegue, em alguns momentos, impor-se à objectividade dos factos históricos que, em larga medida, são também subjectivamente seleccionados e recontados” (Medeiros, 2006, p. 18). In this scenario of ‘re-encountering’ that involves the countries of Portuguese language, it is necessary to take into account the different aspects of the history experienced by those populations. Then, what the Portuguese intends for lusophony partially coincides with what the different Lusophone countries recognise and imagine (Martins, 2004).

According to Medeiros (2006), the relations and the cooperative actions, collaborations and political and diplomatic dynamics are helped among the countries of the lusophone community: in fact, these are considered as a gain for the CPLP. It is possible to notice that – in its fundamentals – the linguistic aspect is the main reason to establish the unification of the community and, in the same way it can be seen in his description a strong presence of the history and sentimental expressions that involve the different countries, members of CPLP. By agreeing with the author, the relevance of the Portuguese language as a common heritage constitutes the connection that links those countries which side by side are motivated by their own values and interests.

Beyond the above discussion, it is unavoidable to understand that there are separate and opposite interests in this extended plural space. The connection and the mission of solidarity among these populations is sometimes transformed into a complex and hard task which needs the understanding of the meaning of globalization and interculturalism. In this plural space, the idea of identity belonging is implicit in the fact that the people are speaking the same language as in the different national conditions experienced in those regions. The meaning of dividing, the relation and the competition of Portuguese language with other local languages sends to the political-cultural panorama of that community and of the lusophony (Martins, 2004).

According to Medeiros (2006), in the creation of the identity of the CPLP, the celebration of the past and the historical connections superimpose one with the other to sometimes defend the promotion of the Portuguese language. For the author, the interests and the positions of Portugal and Brazil, relatively to the community, has been hierarchically demarcate; so the participation of the other countries, considered peripheral, is optional. In summary, we can observe that Portugal – as inventor of the language – and Brazil – as an emerging economy – assume power as a form of promotion of the Official Community of the Portuguese language. The author emphasizes that the project of the community has to be adopted by all the countries and populations in the way that it belongs to all.

In this sense, we have to clarify the importance of the notion of interculturalism that comes from the dialogue, the communication, the recognition and the action to indicate the individuals, the groups, the organizations related to the different cultures (Silva, 2008). Actually, the societies are all the times more multicultural, so it is necessary the contact with other communities to establish the acceptance and the respect of the diversity in order to defeat the defense of the ‘We’, which prevents us from seeing and from approaching to them. The frontiers, that differentiate the individuals among them and maintain the ethnic, cultural, social and economic divisions, make the cohabitation, the exchange of experiences and the communication in the relations among groups, more difficult (Bader, 2008).

1.1. Interpersonal and intergroup Relations and Social identity

In its essence, the social and cultural individual has the need to live in a society so the culture can be considered inseparable subjects so much as the groups. The group comprehends the first *socius* of the subject and it enforces the base to create the social identity of the people together with the values, beliefs and behaviours associated to it.

Then, the process to organize the environment and the differentiation and auto-recognition – done by the subject – make that this becomes aware of belonging to either a determined group or different social groups. When the relation of identification with the group is emphasized, the person passes from the interpersonal pole to the intergroup one.

We can observe in the social-intergroup relations, a conjunction of cultural distinct characteristics by revealing the diversity of identities. Normally, in order to live in group, the people are joining as they identify themselves: the interaction starts from affinities and common belongings. By belonging to different groups, the people acquire a social identity and determine their specific position in the society.

People have the inclination to identify themselves with the groups they belong to. From the positive evaluation of the group of belonging, it is concurrently possible to support the preservation of the auto-concept of group and to relate with a negative evaluation of external groups: in particular, the super-valorization of the endogroup in detriment of the exogroup. That behaviour of categorical differentiation and of social comparison of endogroups, can be understand via the association of the similarities of the own group marked by the inter-group differences. In order to emphasize: “quem somos nós” and “quem são eles” (Bonomo & Souza, 2007). That relation of evaluation of the endogroup and of the exogroup seems to be an primitive element to create the social identity.

Next, we clarify the meaning of identities. In general the identity is understood as we represent it, that is as we define it and we recognize it. Each person is unique so he has particular characteristics which distinguish him from the other subjects. Hence, we can say that the concept of identity is built from the life experience associated to the characteristics of the personality of the individual.

According to Hall (2006), the identities – considered unified and stable – become fragmented and collapse. According to the author, this process produces

o sujeito pós-moderno conceptualizado como não tendo uma identidade fixa, essencial ou permanente. A identidade torna-se uma “celebração móvel”: formada e transformada continuamente em relação às formas pelas quais somos representados ou interpelados nos sistemas culturais que nos rodeiam (pp. 12-13).

The identity unified at the birth, is a way to build our history. The subject can assume different identities along the life, in different moments, by changing according to the multiplicity of possible identities we bring closer and we recognize: in fact, that represents a process of continuous construction. The identities correspond to the ways of identification referred to different categories which depend so much on the social context as on the variation according to the common historical path and personal life.

The discussion on the cultural identity recalls its explication as it is sensed by the actual time so we can discuss it from different perspectives. From the point of view in Stuart Hall (2006) and in Guilherme Carvalho da Rosa (2008), the cultural identities establish a relation among the reference models constituted by the interior of the discussions and the constructivism understood in the cultural identity through the perspective of the differences, of the relations of conflict and of negotiations, by starting from a dialogical connection and not-conclusive.

According to Xavier (2007), together with Bourdieu (2002) e Dubar (2000), the identity does not exist without alterity: the identity results to be a double linguistic operation of differentiation and generalisation; concurrently, these concepts are the definition of the difference and the meeting of the singularity either of any object or anyone relate to other objects or subjects. The identity is also considered a belonging because it looks for a common point among dissimilar components. According to Bourdieu (2002, *apud* Xavier, 2007, p. 39), “a identidade social se define e afirma pela diferença”. The authors describe that those operations are placed in the origin of the paradox of identities since they consider that the social identities and the differences are complementary, hence what exists from the single is partitioned.

In modern world, the national cultures constitute the main sources of cultural identity of people. When we identify ourselves as Brazilians, Portuguese, South Americans or Europeans, although those identities are not written in our genes, when we think about the meaning that we really feel, that are part of our nature (Hall, 2006). The national identities work as imaginary communities in the not-existence of a natural community in which it is possible to group people and it is possible to constitute groups of imaginary national connections.

Conclusion

By starting from the discussion above – without confusing lusophony and identity – we do not dispense the idea that lusophony continues to mean a strong identity reference for the countries which speak Portuguese language.

Hence, we emphasise that lusophony is a concept under construction and through the strategies of mutual interests projects themselves onto the future, which pretends to carry the populations that share this same experience (Medeiros, 2006). In order to understand that principle, we can see the different contributes and get the importance of the valorisation of the meeting of the Africans, Americans, Asians, Europeans and else people for a unification of the feeling and for a cultural exchange in the common “lusotropical” civilisation (Martins, 2004).

So, the raising of the interculturalist idea assume a global position to avoid th cultural conflicts, as racism and xenophobia, to promote “a plenitude dos direitos, a igualdade de oportunidades e a reciprocidade de relação para todos os cidadãos, todos os grupos, todas as comunidades” (Rocha-Trindade, 1995, *apud* Martins, 2008, p. 33). The intercultural approximation is essential for the meeting between individual and universal to achieve the auto-recognition, the exchange and the participation of the individuals in other cultures.

The consummation of interculturalism via education, especially in higher education, is the meeting of the other in your universality, by developing in the person, the capability and the feeling of the transformation. In order to defend the right of being human, it is fundamental to identify the aims of the declaration of Human Rights, by starting from knowledge and the critical view for an active participation in the democratic life (Perotti, 1997).

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The candle and the amazonian imaginary

Iara Souza¹

Abstract: The objective of this article is to reflect on the candle, and consequently on the flame, and their connection to the Amazonian imaginary. It is proposed that in places which have reduced luminosity, shadows are transformed into a blank screen, which opens a door to the imaginary. The article is based on ghost stories collected during lighting classes which were given in the School of Theatre and Dance at UFPA and during workshops in the state of Pará.

Keywords: the imaginary; light; candle; narrative

“In fact, fire was found in us before being robbed from heaven” (The psychoanalysis of fire, Bachelard, 1999, p. 49)

Telling stories, retelling, inventing, adding a little bit here and there, but always telling. In the city where I was born, the light faded at 10pm every night. It was impossible to sleep when it was too hot and when insects found their way inside the mosquito nets. My mother used to bring the chairs to beside the door of the house. And soon after, small floating flames would appear – the neighbours were on their way. Sitting on the floor; leaning against the wall. The conversation always began the same way: “It’s hot, isn’t it?”, “do you think it’ll continue?”. And the conversation flowed on, but there was a time when all would be quiet, silent ... just the sound of cracking branches would cause our muscles to tense. My mother would say: “That’s the cat poking his nose into things that are none of his business.”

Nights outside, days inside. And so, we discovered that it was possible for animals to act like humans, that humans can transform into animals and that you could still physically be half of one and half of the other. Without having made sense of the word, we were zoomorphing, through the belief in the existence of beings which were other than fully human, but rather a bit of bird, half fish, stone, river; snakelike.

My childhood memories mean that my imaginary constructions have always been populated by this universe of wonder and by a pantheon of enchanted beings, invoked whenever the darkness of night covers the forest and small flames are lighting. From there, the skeins of my symbolic, artistic and theoretical processes emerge and are woven together. It is with these threads (or against them) that I work, and they are always associated with the dynamics which I develop in the classroom. Thus, from 2004 to 2011, I collected ghost stories during the lighting classes I taught at the School of Theatre and Dance, at UFPA and during some workshops in the State of Pará. The exercise was very simple. I would turn off all the lights, light a candle, and ask the group to

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tell stories. The candle was conducive to creating an atmosphere. Hence, it was possible to introduce the basic notions of the aesthetic, poetic and symbolic functions of light, whilst listening to the stories, always starting with the first form of light controlled by mankind: the flame.

The proposal developed throughout this paper is that in places where there is reduced luminosity, the shadows become a kind of blank screen, which opens a door to the imagination. With vision reduced to a small field of action, what is hidden in the shadows remains to be imagined. This happens consistently, even in classrooms where students are familiar with the space. In isolated communities on the islands, surrounded by water, and places surrounded by a dense and dangerous forest, where there is no electric light, stories about shapes and forms are frequent.

There are houses in which every day the men have same ritual: they grope along the shelf in search of a matchbox, take the lamp, shake it, check it still has enough fuel for the entire evening, evaluate if they need to add another little bit; evaluate again, now time for the wick: to pinch it between their finger and thumb, pull it out a little more; strike a match. Through the ritual, the phoenix arises from the soot and the wick. It is performed without haste. This ritual is the first passage from death to life. From extinct to lighting. From darkness to light. Along with the flame, a thin line of smoke snaking through the air, continuously rising. Shadows are cast. The pace changes, as even with several lights, visibility is poor, when they are moved from one side to the other, the propagation of light does not extend to much more than a meter away, we need to pick your steps delicately, as we can be surprised by a sudden oscillation and enveloped in darkness. What we hold in our hand is fragile, and cannot withstand even the slightest breeze. Peripheral vision is impaired. And out of the corner of my eye, figures emerge.

Where it can be seen

Nothing is ever named by chance, and accordingly, the Amazon region owes its name to the river that runs through it -the Amazon River. It is so called because on June 24th 1542, a Spanish expedition led by Francisco Orellana was attacked by 12 robust, naked women who had the strength of ten Indians, according to the accounts of the Jesuit monk, Gaspar de Carvajal (CARVAJAL, 1941). It was common for women of various Amerindian nations to participate in battles against the invaders (BENTES, 2006). The hypothesis that Orellana had met with the Icamiabas -who according to Tupi tradition were a matriarchal society, as were the Amazonians – also exists. The Icamiabas have never been found. The fact that two myths of origin are present and were immediately hybridised in the imaginary regarding initial European entries to the Amazon is very interesting, as when this story is told today, the terms “Amazonians” and “Icamiabas” are usually treated as synonyms. And so, our symbolic cauldron was -and continues to be -constructed, replenished by successive attempts to dominate the forest in search of a “lost paradise” or in coping with the “green hell”, always subject to successive population cycles: native civilizations; the Spanish; the Portuguese; the blacks; the Arabs; the northeasterners.

The ideal of paradise projected by those who inhabited the Iberian Peninsula reflected a rich imaginary full of contradictions, an action that sprung from a conception of the world divided between opposites (GERVÁSIO, 2009): The known world on one side, and an unknown world “overseas”. And one could daydream about the endless cornucopias, the search for El Dorado, a country of cinnamon -all elements of earthly paradise. These were the promises of unlimited rewards that led adventurers to the heart of the forest. According to João de Jesus Paes Loureiro:

There were many factors that enriched the real-imaginary image through which the Amazon is

perceived. During the first centuries of the Brazilian development process and even in this [20th] century up until the 70s, the Amazon remained in a diffused condition – unknown, remote and impenetrable. Due to geographical conditions, the difficulty of access, and links to Europe, the Amazon constituted a kind of secret that wove a proposal of an imaginary [...] Two widely diffused expressions characterise this perplexity regarding the secrecy and mystery which surrounded -and in a sense still involve -the Amazon: a “tropical Paradise” and a “green Hell”. It is not allegorical It is everything, or nothing. Forms of totality: paradise, hell. Always immeasurable. The whole is produced by an active and activating ardent imaginary. A tendency towards a wonderful poetic epic, which locates the region from a perspective of plastic monumentality of emotion and imaginary has diffused the myth in historical fact and constitutes an aestheticised character in the epics. (LOUREIRO, 2001 p. 105)

Nevertheless, this hyperbolic dimension of the Amazonian imaginary not only affords a view from the outside in, but rather interpenetrates endogenous discourses, in a complex hybridized relation which emphasizes the articulation of global processes with local or regional standards with regard to customs, tastes, needs and traditions.

In order to understand the mutual articulation of local and global processes, an ability to negotiate their complex intersection is necessary. The term hybridism is used in postcolonial studies to describe the new and different forms of discourses of migrants or minorities, diasporas that flourish in modern and postmodern periods. For Homi Bhabha (1994), the term hybridization is located at the point where cultural differences enter into contact and conflict. However, it is not only the mixture and synthesis of different elements that make up a whole – in an ultimate cultural analysis which does not have a face -the idea is not commonly understood as the mere sum of difference in which eclectic symbolic elements coexist. Rather, the hybrid space marks the reinstatement of several dialogic speeches in a significant time-space zone.

What is important for our argument regarding the impact of globalisation on identity is that time and space are also the basic coordinates of all systems of representation. All means of representation -writing, painting, drawing, photography, symbolised through art or telecommunication systems -should translate the object in spatial and temporal dimensions. Thus, the narrative interprets events in a temporal sequence: “beginning-middle-end”; whereas the visual systems of representation translate three-dimensional objects into two dimensional objects. Different cultural epochs have different ways of organising these time-space coordinates (HALL, 2005 p. 70)

In the introduction to the 2001 edition of the book ‘Hybrid Cultures’, Nestor Canclini (2008) conducted a literature review on the concept of hybridisation. He cited the study of the hybridisation processes with a focus on cultural subjects as fundamental, with cultural subjects arranged in a horizontal manner, so that the correlation of forces is not necessarily linked to the positions of the oppressor and the oppressed. In contemporary societies, there is a mutual impregnation -a constant state of tension and conflict. For the author, the main axis of this statement lies in the fact that a new concept has questioned the vision of power as blocks of institutional structures which are vertically imposed. For him, this was overcome by post-Foucaultian proposals, in which power is not an entity or a condition with which but a few are granted, but rather a replicate, which is also established in the sectors which are designated as ‘popular’. There exists a co-participation of these “relations of force that are simultaneously constructed in the production and consumption, both familial and individual, in the factories and the unions, the party leaders and the basic structures, in the mass media and the structures that receive and transform their messages” (CANCLINI, 2008, p. 262), thus imposing new forms of embedding power in social relations.

Through processes of hybridization, cultures generate new forms and invent new links with one another. It appears quite obvious that hybridisation is inevitable for all contemporary cultures, as well as post-colonial cultures. Thus, analysing and conceptualising processes of hybridisation involves reformulating binary models, such as those of resistance and domination, of the symbolic and the material, of culture and political economies.

There is a contrast between the real and the imaginary. As the real is socially constructed, reality, therefore, is the interpretation that humans attribute to reality through constant exchanges between objectivities and subjectivities, resulting from specific configurations, and in particular, from symbolic systems: language, myth, art, religion, politics, science, economy. These are expressed in various ways, with different contents, which enable the study of the imaginary to be approached from multiple problematics. In this article, I chose to focus on two elements: firstly, the candle (and all sorts of objects that use the flame as a light source: oil lamps, home-made oil lamps such as porongas etc.), and secondly, the stories told in candlelight.

An essential aspect of nights in the small towns and large cities in the Amazon region is the level of brightness which separates them. At night, big cities are transformed into artificial day. There is no difference between day and night, the scenery never fades, only its perspective changes, with varying shades of light, tones and colour, positioned at different angles, which randomly turn on and off. Shadows are confined to the alleys, underneath the bridges or even the closed windows. The further we move away from the urban environment, the narrower our field of vision becomes. The physical eye is replaced: first by the memories of familiar places and then by the mind's eye, the imagination, until we see, through the cracks of the small wooden house lost in the forest, the small flame of a candle resting on the table. We are in the Quilombo community of Igarapé Preto. It is 6pm, and already night has fallen. We talk in the kitchen, excited by the smell of baking bread coming from the wood stove. The lady, who is about 70 years of age, tells us what Quilombo life used to be like, and speaks of her slave grandmother. She answered our questions about the hardships of life in that place – the fact that it is difficult to access, the lack of electricity and medical care, the fear of isolation. When asked whether there were many 'apparitions' in those parts, she almost whispers: there is Tintinta. She is referring to Matinta Perera. In order to avoid naming her, she changed some letters, leaving only the last. The lady's brother, who was sitting on a stool rolling tobacco, grumbles and leaves the kitchen. Then he returns, with a very serious expression, and says:

"Once I had a career. I'm a woodsman; I spent more of my youth in the forest than here. I hunted animals and I wasn't afraid of anything. I was always teasing the others. Then, one day, when I had already been in the forest for more than two weeks -I started a campfire when it was getting dark. Suddenly, I felt that someone was watching me. I thought it was a friend who always used to be around there, so I called to him, but nothing. As I didn't believe in those ghost stories, I thought it must be some animal and grabbed my gun. I got up and went to look around. That's when I felt something move close to my ear. I saw nothing, just heard the beat of wings and then came the whistle. I was covered in goosebumps. I picked up my stuff and left, almost running, when I was almost there at the entrance to the forest, it whistled again, and I shot at it. The people who were outside the house saw me running, and became afraid, because they knew



Image 1. *Lamp and Oil-lamp*

I wasn't afraid of anything – and they started running too, the ladies and children screamed and we locked ourselves into the house, the women pulling out their rosary, everyone awake, and praying until dawn”.

In the most common version of the myth, “Tintinta” is identified mainly by a sharp whistle. When someone hears the whistle, they must promise her tobacco, and ask her to come back the next day. The next day, a lady will appear at the person's home to collect the tobacco.

Usually he or she would be cursed and could be transformed into a bird.

The experiences narrated in the first person always refer to the “evidence” of the presence of the myth, and conveniently there is that which we call “the silence of the protagonist”, those who have had a full encounter with the entity, who were enchanted and suffered 7 days of fever, during which he would languish but then re-emerge stronger than ever, hence the imposition of his silence. He does not tell what happened, for fear of provoking another entanglement and other misfortunes. Instead, a credible witness tells the story, establishing a chain of voices between what occurred and this narrative, thus protecting the one who was

caught from further enchantment. He will always be: Matinta's groom, the son of a

porpoise or a man who turns into a pig. Sharing these stories is a way of structuring the fear of finitudes, by giving them contours, extrapolating them to the field of the supernatural or of the divine and sometimes receiving an answer through the mythopoetic framework of experienced narrators: “Gosh, it was definitely *Matinta Pereira*”.



Images 2, 3 and 4. *The lamp in daily life – the flour oven*

In *A chama de uma vela*, Gaston Bachelard unveiled the process of images that are provoked by light and their influence on philosophers, poets and artists. Coincidentally, this was his last work, as he died the following year. The book takes the form of an essay, in which both the poet and the philosopher are present. For him, in chiaroscuro, the light of the candle is barely visible to the physical eye; the darkness is filled by the eye of the imagination. Involuntary dreamers of the flame, its servants and masters: the flame makes us dream, it is the driving force of imagination, and we cannot perceive anything, what counts are the metaphors and images. Among all the images, it is the flame that brings in itself a symbol -poetry, an ability to gather images (MARTINS, 2011). “Whoever dreams of a flame is a potential poet. All reverie in the presence of a flame is admiring reverie. Whoever dreams of a flame is in a state of primal reverie” (BACHELARD, 1988: 11). As our earliest memory and driven by the relationship between human beings and the candle, the dreamer is transported to a place that is no longer uniquely theirs, but rather the “past of the first fires of the world” (BACHELARD, 1989).

The shadows animated by the candles, framing the myth, create small events where traces of the myth are identified. These may constitute a high-pitched, long whistle, a flutter of wings, footsteps, a fire seen from the corner of the eye, a smell or just the feeling of being watched. According to Loureiro (2001) “light, in the darkness of the rivers and in the darkness of the forest is a hypnotic and sudden revelation of the hidden. It looks like it comes from itself and that it is its own measure [...] the auratic

heat of beauty taken by the hands of the shadows”, establishing an agreement between imagination and understanding. It is a small light in the darkness that carves the sinuous forms of Boiuna.

It is not only the visual field and cognition which change. Rather, there is a full performance posture based around this small object. Light is not simply available at the flick of a switch, when darkness falls, people stop all their activities and light a flame, which implies a series of movements and actions which always involve more than one person, and in a way, technique and knowledge about each object. Hence, dinner is prepared in the light of the flame and amid the wood smoke, the dialogue is established and talk about current life is substituted by telling of experiences, in a sequence guided by crackling time.

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SESSION 22

GENDER:
THE BODY'S
IMAGINARY FROM
COLONIALISM TO
DECOLONIALISM 1

Abstract: this article seeks to ponder the issue of gender through two approaches: a sociological one and a philosophical one. In the sociological approach, the discussion of gender identity and power relations is developed using the theoretical and epistemological framework of Cultural Studies. There is also room for a historical construction of the concept of gender as power, where the structures of male and female dominance are analyzed. The philosophical approach brings to light the ontology of the concept of gender, which is conceived here as a metaphysical power structure.

Keywords: Cultural Studies; power; gender; ontology; unity; plurality.

1. Identity, discourse, and power in Cultural Studies

The analysis of Cultural Studies tends to focus on certain cultural practices, socially contextualized, and founded on fundamental concepts such as power, forming of identity, discovering of difference and of gender. Such concepts, under the ascendancy of post-modernity, are brought to discussion as being complementary, and involved in relations of a complex nature, at the same time that they seek to provide ways for the epistemological understanding of the individual and of his sociological activity.

In fact, the concept of identity is very much present in today's society, as a result of structural changes caused by a moment of worldwide postmodern socio-political crisis (Mercer, 1990). Regardless, the concept of identity is essential for individuals, as it requires a sense of personal orientation, while revealing to be fundamental for the social coexistence of human beings.

Over the last few decades, Cultural Studies have sought to understand how power relations and sociocultural discourses are determinant for the forming and understanding of identity. This thinking is in agreement with the theories of Bordieu and Foucault, which analyze the articulation of practices with social relations and power relations, because, as Martins (2011:64) indicates, "social practices take place within a structure (...) where (...) asymmetrical social relations are played, of more or less power, where individuals occupy certain positions of strength." It is these dynamics that, allied with other forces, namely contextual forces, allow the creation and development of identity(ies).

In his search for individuality, the subject discovers himself, but is never free from his social structures, from the Other. In reality, the relation between the Self and the Other is complex, as the Other seems to exist only as a projection of our own image in it. Individuals use the Other as a mirror where they reflect their

The (de) colonization of gender power: the critique of unity and of difference

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needs, beliefs and concerns, while absorbing representations of the Other, making them part of their own identity representation. These statements are in agreement with Lacan's "mirror stage" (1981), that accepts that the Self corresponds to an internalization of the Other, through identification. This relationship is dual and objective, but leads to states that fluctuate between desire and aggressiveness, bringing interests on both parts into conflict.

The strong relationship between the Self and the Other entails, in fact, a power dynamic "between those who impose othering to some and those designated as the Other" (Fusco, 1990:77). It is this relationship that allows us to measure forces and construct an identity by comparison or by rupture, thus facilitating the construction of an image of ourselves in relation to the Other. Michel Foucault (2010^a, 2010^b) emphasizes that the subject is a political entity, belonging to a community and to its governing systems, while possessing an identity that has been attributed by his own Self. The subjects' identity is therefore a product of discourses and power relations which are not necessarily oppressive, as what matters in an individual's identity formation is his relation with other individuals and the way the discourses of some influence the discourses of others. This indicates that power is not what we want or own, but what is exercised and circulates in the stream of organized micro relations.

Both for Stuart Hall (2001) and for Michel Foucault (2010^a), discourses are what produces subjectivity, and power mechanisms are what devises the Self, demarcating the subject. Both authors advocate that a subject's identity is built from his opposite, from his difference, which is exterior to himself. This perspective implies that the discourse construction of identity entails confrontation between the Self and the Other, comprehending power networks (oppressive and productive). For Foucault, power relations within discourse structures construct subjectivities, but also alternative or resistance discourses.

1.1. Power relations and gender identity(ies)

The complexity of power relations is amplified when they are applied to gender identity issues. Regardless of whether the concepts of gender role, gender identity or gender order are used, it can be observed that the relations between men and women are primarily power relations, which may be understood and analyzed according to different epistemological and theoretical perspectives.

According to Beauvoir (1977), humankind is "male", and it is this masculinity (normality) that defines the woman (difference). The author states that man sees himself as an absolute human being, whereas the woman is the Other: "he is the Subject, he is Absolute: she is the Other" (Beauvoir, 1977:16). Within this dialectic, man refuses to be the Other, and the author states that, although the tendency is for the Other to react with the same behavior, women forsake the claim for their identity. This reality is due, in Bordieu's (1999, 2000) thinking, to a social construction of bodies and to the incorporation of dominance that has been acquired by women as a result of symbolic impositions; the woman accepts herself as a perceived-being, regarding masculinity as the noble position and true doxa.

Gender division is mainly focused on sex division, through systems of man/woman opposition. This division is present in "things", objectively, and in the social world, through "systems of perception, thought, and action" (Bordieu, 1999:8). However, despite their perception, individuals possess incorporated (un)conscious schemes founded in historical structures of male order that perpetuate sexual division and, consequently, in gender segmentation and in its respective principles. This "social order" that naturalizes the division between men and women is historicized and eternalized, which leads Bordieu (1999:1) to admit that we are living a true "doxa paradox": the fact that world order is respected as it is, with its naturalized relations of male domination.

Reality is that a closer look on the relation between man and woman in social space (family, school, professional, media) completely undermines the ideal of an “eternal feminine”, which will hardly be instituted, for symbolic reasons. These statements predict that the androcentric structure is legitimized by the very practices that determine it, dismissing validation speeches. In fact, the incorporation of this structure is applied, firstly, to the body, where relations/ divisions between men and women are imposed, and where women, raised according to norms of moral concealment and physical chastity, submit themselves to male virility. In fact, biological differences between sexes seem to substantiate social differences between genders.

If we consider sociocultural contexts, we understand that male schemas dominate not only the ways of economic production, but also in the context of symbolic goods. This symbolic structure of male domination is perpetuated and resides in mechanisms and strategies disseminated by individual agents and institutions - places of complex symbolic imposition of principles – such as the Church, State, School and Family. These agents and institutions are fabrication machines of symbolic violence, which is instituted through the support granted naturally by the dominated to the dominator.

Indeed, women are ruled by universally shared principles organized around what Pierre Bourdieu (1999) called the “primacy of masculinity”. In other words, male dominance managed to assert itself in social structures and in productive activities, turning women into symbolic objects depending on a reality centered around complex and innate power relations, so much so that we risk “(...) resorting, in order to think male dominance, to ways of thought which are themselves products of domination” (Bourdieu, 1999:5). For the author, there is a method of economics of symbolic exchanges, where the social construction of kinship and marriage attaches women to “(...) their social status as objects of exchange, defined accordingly to male interests and voted to contribute so for the reproduction (...) of the primacy granted to masculinity in cultural taxonomies” (Bourdieu, 1999:37).

The above position shows that, although there are antagonistic interpretations providing the dominated with a chance of resistance against symbolic imposition, the dynamics of power relations are too complex and, sometimes, validated by the dominated themselves:

When the dominated apply schemes that are the product of domination to those that dominate them, or, in other words, when their thoughts and their perceptions are structured accordingly to the very structures of the relation of domination imposed on them, their acts of *knowledge* are, inevitably, acts of *acknowledgment*, of submission (Bourdieu, 1999:12).

This whole posture obscures complex power relations that can only subsist and progress when articulated to their opposite, even when it implies ways of resistance. In fact, it is possible to make antagonistic readings that make possible to resist to some symbolic coercions, in the sense that male social order implies a constituent opposition (Bourdieu, 1999). Thus, women can get symbolic forms of collective organization and action to agitate the naturalness of “things” and the perpetuation of dominant male schemas in modes of action and comparison.

When we consider the potential of symbolic power in the matters of power between men and women, we realize that their effectiveness is dependent on the position of who dominates and who is dominated, and the degree of the structures of perception and evaluation to whom it is applied. All this implies a matter of position or view of the individual, in his role of Self or Other, as the very own power of man also imprisons him in a dominant representation of virility, to which he must be true and that implies a departure from all that is feminine. Thus, these conflicts have led to the male Self being connoted with *separation*, and the female Self to *interdependence* (Probyn, 1993). This means that most males take care in differentiating their skills, attributes, and behaviors in relation to members of the female sex, while the latter are in a constant quest to free themselves from this

network of dependency that has for so long been imposed. However, it is important to highlight that male domination ceased to “impose itself with the evidence of the obvious” (Bourdieu, 1999:77) and, sometimes, “roles” and concerns are subverted.

2. The lesson of History: construction of gender as power

Despite the undeniable historical and symbolic male dominance, which has ruled the social imaginary of many generations, the truth is that social organization has not always depended on the male gender to structure itself. Indeed, if we go back to pre-historical times – from the Upper Paleolithic to the third millennium BC, i.e., until the beginning of the Age of Agriculture – , we understand that our ancestors’ communities depended, in terms of social organization, on the opposite gender – the female gender (Rodríguez, 2000). At that time, female qualities of reproduction - fertility, generation and protection - and of production - gathering, horticulture, among others – turned the woman into an asset of great social and economic importance for communities (Rodríguez, 2000) since *women* were the ones with the *power* to ensure the continuity and survival of those communities.

Although man had his defined place in social structure, as is the case of women today, this place was determined by structures of female domination. In that Era, power proceeded, naturally, from the fact that importance was not given to any particular woman, but to a set of characteristics common to all women (or that all women of the community represented, or supposedly had to/should represent). This means that gender (belonging to a gender) - in this case, the female gender - implied and generated power. Therefore, in those times, real dominance (the real exercise of power) was female, and men yielded to the power that women then represented¹. Or rather: man’s identity and action (whether as an individual or as a social being) were determined (structured) by the power of the female gender (particularly on measures of reproduction and production)².

If we bridge the gap between prehistory and the postmodern world, the design of power is more complex today, surpassing the boundaries of the domination-submission dichotomy. With women’s entry into the paid labor market and their socio-economic achievements in space during the 20th and 21st centuries, the female gender gained a renewed position, which challenged the male structures that have been in place for centuries. In the light of Foucault’s notion of power, which sees it as something that floats between the dominant and the dominated groups, and of the critical works of feminist movements, men (seen here as the dominant group) cease to be the sole custodians of power. The female identity may no longer be seen as a construct imposed by manhood, being solely dependent on discursive structures and social power relations.

Feminist critique has enabled a revolution in the knowledge and approach to the study of the history of women, which in practice was very useful to influence the design of strategies determined in order to modify the current state of the material and symbolic relation between male and female. Today, women think more about themselves, their needs, their capabilities and their centrality, seizing their identity, which, although developed in comparison to others, is experienced more as a Self than simply as a Male Other. However, as we can see, dualism between the sexes and the symbolic distances between male and female genders are too much ingrained both in bodies and in social structures, which, many times, may hinder the gender’s performing ability.

¹ Furthermore, the tasks of protection and social orientation, of which man was in charge, depended precisely on this power. For example: in the task of defending the group or community, the man had the right to be obeyed. However, the exercise of his authority was legitimized by the need to protect the group or community, that is, by the protection (and maintenance) of social organization founded on the feminine gender (Rodríguez, 2000).

² Structure whose dominance was felt even in the religious context, i.e., in the initial conception of the deity as Goddess (and not as God) (Rodríguez, 2000).

In short, this brief historical analysis allows us to come to three important conclusions: first, that the process of power in gender is cyclical³, wherein a structure of thought that submits plurality to unity is repeated, or more specifically, one that submits one gender to the other. Second, that to ponder on the issue of gender necessarily causes the confrontation with a specific dominance structure, one that acts with power. That is to say: to think on the gender issue is to admit, from the outset, the existence of a certain possibility of gender construction that has the strength to dominate as such. Third, that in gender issues, the dominance structure is not exclusive to one gender, or does not have to be necessarily understood from the perspective of one gender (usually male). Especially because there are historical examples of dominance by both male and female genders, which explains why there is no necessary connection between power and a specific gender (especially the male gender, due to the temporal and spatial extent of its dominance). In other words: power is not a matter of gender (male or female), but a gender issue - of how gender is structured to assume a position of power. That is to say that the understanding of power exercised by a particular gender depends not on the gender itself, but on how it is conceived or thought.

3. The ontology of the gender concept

If we admit not to be true that the existence of power depends on the presence of a certain type of gender, and if we accept that the understanding of the power exercised by a particular genre can only be achieved if, first, the construction of the gender concept is understood, then the emergence of the following critical issues becomes inevitable: *what is the nature of gender (of the gender concept)? Why is it that gender (the concept of gender) explains the presence of power?*

Now, to understand the nature of gender is to understand the way how gender is naturally (or usually) manifested or represented. In this sense, it is about studying the *presence* of gender, its occurrence as such; that is, its mode of being, its ontology (Benjamin, 1994a). That study will allow us a glimpse into the existence of a certain possibility to construct the nature of gender (of gender as power). Such possibility is, in this case, ontological, as it regards a possible way of constructing the gender concept (that which defines or identifies gender), and, thus, to determine its own mode of being.

In its occurrence - which is caused by the emergence of the thought on gender - the reality of gender appears immediately connected to a possibility of reflexive construction that envisions it (or conceptualizes it) an aggregate of essential qualities or characteristics. Such possibility is usually present, dominating discussions on the gender issue. Given this perspective, the nature of gender, built on the notion of entirety, necessarily acquires the character of unity, as this is a matter of accepting the presence of gender as a set of essential qualities that make an organic whole. Therefore, and in the case of this constructive possibility, what dominates in such occurrence is the strength of the entirety, the fact that gender is presented as a unity, that it is (or acts as) a unity.

By being presented, primarily, as such, which shall take priority (precedence or anteriority) in the configuration of the sense of identity of beings is, precisely, the conception of gender as a unit (measurement or reference). This right to dominate is translated, then, by the primacy of gender (unity) over beings (plurality) or the subjugation of beings (plurality) to gender (unity).

Concretely, this means that, on the one hand, the plurality of beings must be grouped into a certain order that unites them through relationships of similarity, i.e., where identity is established just by

³ We have identified three cycles here: one that dates back to prehistoric times, where dominance structures are female; one from the Age of Agriculture to the mid-twentieth century where dominance structures of dominance are clearly male; and a cycle of change, that began with the socioeconomic revolutions of the twentieth century and that seems inclined to reverse, once more, dominance structures.

what is similar (or equal) to. For example, the several women who, despite their differences, conform to a given unity of meaning (reference or measurement recognized as authority), for the sake of their identification as women. On the other hand, in the relationship between genders, only one may be valid as unity, being superior to its opposite. The latter, in turn, will be perceived simply as diverse and different (plurality), having to accept that its structure is made through unity. For example: male gender dominating as the sole structure of social organization, generating the corresponding submission of women (of what is different) to the same (the identical, that which establishes what is essential for social identification).

In essence, this highlights a certain kind of thinking (conceptualization) that makes the particular and the plural dependent on a sense of identity-bestowing unity. So if this is the direction of the dependence, then it is easy to understand that gender, as a whole or prevalent unity, exerts power, or rather, establishes a power relation - a relationship between the dominating unity and the subordinating difference (Benjamin, 1993).

4. Unity and plurality: the metaphysical structure of power

But if, ontologically, there is always the possibility of constructing gender as power, it is always possible to construct it as a prevailing unity, it is necessary, at this point, to understand the origin of the relation between unity and power. To pose it as a question: *why is it that unity represents power?*

Thinking about such a relationship entails, necessarily, to call upon the history of thought, or, more specifically, the history of philosophy. Indeed, the systematization of such relation, or the systematic conception of unity as power, belongs to a specific moment in the history of philosophy, namely, the foundation of the philosophical system of Plato of Athens (428-348 BC) (Benjamin, 1994^b). In his work “The Republic”, the philosopher succinctly expressed his thoughts on the relationship between unity and plurality:

(...)we speak of a self-beautiful and of a good that is only and merely good, and so, in the case of all the things that we then posited as many, we turn about and posit each as a single idea or aspect, assuming it to be a unity and call it that which each really is. (Plato, 2001: VI, 507 b).

Such thinking that, by seeking to organize the way of attributing identity to things in general, postulates that the only and legitimate way to do so is through the correspondence of the multiple to the essential (the latter representing, of course, the character of what is one⁴).

That is to say that, for Plato, the essential nature of things in general must be built from what is uniform, that is, from what is identical, similar or homogenous; from what remains constant and equal to itself (Plato, 2000). Hence the Platonic defense that “a human being *must* understand a general conception formed by collecting into a unity by means of reason the many perceptions of the senses” (Plato, 1997: 249 b)

This defense reflects the following dominant logic of construction of a sense of identity: plurality, that is, diversity and difference, can only be conceived, in terms of its nature, if it is reduced to a unity of sense of identity. Or rather: we can only understand what things in general are if there is, before (previously or in advance) a rational reference of unity, which reveals the need for thought to

4 In fact, in the Platonic theory of knowledge, and as we will see next, Ideas, Forms or Essences represent unity before the multiple or plurality. We would just like to add that, due to the limitations of this article, it is not possible to develop such a theory in detail. So, our concern will focus only on explaining the conceptual elements necessary for the understanding of what we will designate, further on, as a metaphysical structure of power.

determine, primarily, an abstract unity, for a further conforming of plurality⁵.

The inevitability of one such conformity reveals, therefore, that the central assumption of Platonic thought is the construction of the ability to “view things in their connection” (Plato, 2001: VII, 537 c) since it is about recognizing that the fundamental (and the essential foundation of everything that can be the object of identification) is, besides the understanding of the preexistence of unity, the perception of unity in plurality, i.e., the structuring of plurality through unity. This structuring indicates the way to reflect on the identity of things in general, which consists in the reduction (or subjugation) of multiplicity to a prior unity of meaning (Robin, 1994).

And it is because such a reduction must be effective that it can be clearly understood that there is a hierarchizing that places unity as superior to plurality, thus justifying the task of corresponding (or of reducing, by subordinating) the latter to that which is superior to it. Consequently, regarding the construction of a sense of identity, unity is what dominates (or pre-dominates, by pre-existing), it is what has power, which is demonstrated (or exercised) in the reduction of plurality that it imposes. And the imposed is but uniformity or homogeneity: the need for all to have a single form (or nature), or for all to be conceived and understood from a single meaning.

To summarize, we can then say that Plato has systematized (thus, legitimizing) a type of thought that reflects a particular structure - the *metaphysical structure of power*. This system serves to organize the identity of plurality (of the diverse and different) starting from a previously established unit, and wherein organization is effective through the reduction (or dependent relationship) of the inferior to the superior (to that which has power, which has the strength to win or to assert its dominance, its way of organizing reality). Only then can parts (plurality) know their essence or know how to act, when, precisely, they are organized as subordinates to the sense of identity-bestowing unity. Such subordination, consequently, contributes for the maintenance of preestablished order, an order conceived (or pre-conceived) to conform to unity.

Therefore, if gender is power, it is because its existence (or nature; mode of being) has been constructed (conceived or structured) as a metaphysical unity (ontologically dominant possibility), thus determining how gender relates to plurality (a process that will always be the homogenization or uniformization). That is to say that gender understood as unity will always reduce plurality to a defined power structure - *the metaphysical structure of power*.

5. Conclusion: gender as a sociological and philosophical issue

Within Cultural Studies, any sociological approach, while studying the phenomenon of gender, is faced not only with an actual social reality, but also with a complex conceptual network (power relations, construction of identity(ies), structuring difference, discourse production). And it is because there is a close relationship between social and conceptual that we naturally assume that the task, on the gender issue (or any other sociological issue), must never be limited to the description of how we act, feel, or think, historically and sociologically. It is equally necessary to analyze the phenomenon of gender in the light of concepts that can make it more understandable. Such concepts are mental representations or ideas that mirror (and explain) socially present elements that are interrelated with the phenomenon of gender. Moreover, to talk about ways of acting, feeling, or thinking is to recognize the presence of the construction of general social representations.

⁵ This formalization (or structure) of thought could also be understood through the cosmological dimension present in Plato's philosophical project, particularly in what regards the existence of a god that is creator and organizer of the universe (the demiurge), who, taking Ideas or Forms as models, which pre-exist his intervention – thus being preestablished - generated the world of sensible things, conferring them the inferior status of copies of the intelligible.

Usually, conceptual analysis only develops in sociological (social or shared cognitive) or psychological terms, overlooking the philosophic dimension. For example: we study how social representations are constructed socially, the meaning that individuals attribute to them, or the social causes that originate them, but there is no question, philosophically, to the *raison d'être* of such constructions (their possibility or existence) or the type of thinking that is at stake (structure and procedure) when individuals construct their representations.

In the present study, philosophy was not neglected. Indeed, it was philosophy that, in its ontological valence, allowed us to reconsider the gender concept (its nature or mode of being), and that explained to us that the social phenomenon of gender as power reflects an ontologically dominant possibility - the metaphysical possibility of the construction of gender as unity over beings (plurality) and, thus, as power.

All of this contributes, as well, to the assumption that it is only through a sociological and philosophical approach that the issue of resistance - resistance to power - can be considered (or reconsidered). Such approach, starting from specific historical and social contexts, will attempt to understand, philosophically, the nature of resistance – as repetition of the Same (from the same *metaphysical structure of power*) (Benjamin, 1994^a) or as an alternative to the Same. This corollary urges us, therefore, to continue to ponder on the gender issue, particularly on the complex relationship between power and resistance. And perhaps this is the sign that the gender issue, due to reasons of its own nature (ontological), is not absolutely given, but open (continuously open), challenging our traditional horizons of sociological and philosophical understanding.

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Abstract: A culturally constructed and hegemonic perception of femininity attributes passivity, delicacy and beauty as essential characteristics of women. Sports in general are influential elements in this construction of femininity, and combat sports are usually identified as aggressive practices that construct and exercise masculinity and therefore are not advisable for women. The objective of this study is to analyze the representations of femininity in professional female fighters and understand to what extent they conform to or deviate from the cultural hegemonic representation of femininity. Based on the theoretical framework of gender studies and methodology of social norms, these athletes construct plural expressions of female characteristics, typically combining culturally conceived masculine traits with feminine delicacy. Thus, they create their own identity in combat sports, which enables them to leave their mark on a predominantly male territory. It is necessary to widen the research on this topic in order to learn more about the different representations presented by female fighters as a way to broaden discussions of the diverse ways of expressing femininity, and thus dissolve cultural norms that seek to inhibit the involvement of women in the field of combat sports.

Keywords: Combat Sports; Women, Femininity.

1. Introduction

Sports exist as one of the most significant cultural phenomena of recent times. Through athletics it is possible to disseminate new values and also to reaffirm old norms. Combat sports, for example, which constitute the field of investigation of this study, were historically defined as the territory of male predominance and are identified as aggressive sports practices, building and exercising masculinity. However, women are gradually arriving at a point of constructing distinct ways of engaging in this field where there is still little consensus about their presence.

The analytical category of gender rejects the idea that sexual anatomy is a determining factor in the imposition of the differences between men and women, but that instead these identities are socially and culturally constructed.

Gender studies from the mid-1970s in the United States and Europe, and in the 1980s in Brazil, initially proposed research that seeks to visualize women as subjects of their own history. More recently, the perspective that sports are a gendered social practice was introduced (since men and women both practice sports), and that sports also bring pre-established prejudice according to gender, therefore establishing itself as an important space for

Different representations of femininity: a Study of Female Boxers and MMA Fighters

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studies on the construction and development of manhood and womanhood (Goellner 2013).

In Brazil, during the last century there was one law¹ that prohibited the participation of women in certain practices deemed “of violent nature to her gender” including “combat sports of any nature”. Currently, an array of dogmas exist to keep women away from fighting, and to construct individuals according to the appropriate standard of female norms.

Becker (2009:38) explains that “the normal behavior of people in our society (and probably any) society can be seen as a series of progressively increasing commitments with conventional norms and institutions”, and those who transgress these are considered deviant. The author also states that the rules and labels are socially constructed in the midst of political processes, in which some groups can impose their views as more legitimate than others. That is, the deviation is not inherent to acts or individuals who practice them, but otherwise resides in the representation of those who react to this.

Regarding the women, it is normal for them to experience the entertainment of sports “provided they do not set aside their beauty and grace, attributes bonded to a supposed ‘feminine essence’” (Goellner, 2007:2). Rather, women are encouraged to partake in physical practices that seek, enhance, or at least highlight that cultural hegemonic representation of femininity that, added to the beauty and delicacy, also provides gestures of a more passive behavior. So it is a misconception to believe passivity as a biological datum of women; otherwise it is the result of the education of girls through our society.

Nevertheless, some women who are indifferent towards social formalities feel seduced and challenged to compete in sport practices considered masculine, following careers as fighters. To Ferretti (2011) these are women who have “something” in their personalities that we cannot explain and who are drawn to sports marked by male hegemony.

In this sense, the objective of this study is to analyze the representations of femininity in professional Olympic Boxing and Mixed Martial Arts (MMA fighters), in order to understand the extent to which their representations conform to or deviate from the feminine cultural expectations.

2. Methodological strategies adopted

This study is part of a master’s program research project which was approved by the Committee of Human Research and Ethics (IRB / UFJF) under number 190 069.

In order to achieve the proposed objective of this study we have selected two questions to discuss in this work from a semi-structured interview carried out with three athletes--two boxers (BX1 BX2) and one MMA fighter (MMA1). The athletes participating are top level national representatives in their sports. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The questions brought to this study are, “Do you think that the technical and physical demands² of the sport (Boxing, MMA) interfere with your femininity?” and “To you, what does it mean to be feminine?”.

The social norms help us to comprehend the issues investigated in relation to how they are characterized as a way to interpret and think about reality as a form of knowledge that is socially constructed. The social norms can also play a role in fixing the position of individuals and groups

¹ Decree Law 3199/41, which entered into effect on April 14, 1941, said in its Article 54 of Chapter IX, “General and transitional provisions” that “women are not allowed to practice sports that are incompatible with the conditions of her nature, and for that purpose the CND must advise the necessary instructions to sports bodies in the country. “And in 1965, Resolution 7/65, the CND has created a rule stating that women - Item 2: would not be allowed to practice “combat or contact sports of any nature, including football, futsal, beach soccer, polo, rugby, weightlifting and baseball”. This Decision would be revoked only in December 1979. Source: Mourao, L. (1998) Social representation of Brazilian women in sports and physical activities: From segregation to democratization. Rio de Janeiro: UFG.

² We refer to technical and physical requirements of combat sports the strength training and practice of techniques that usually lead to development of skills and gain of muscle mass demonstrating force, aggressiveness and virility in practices and competitions.

with respect to situations, events, objects and communications which concern them (Jodelet, 2002). In other words, the interest of the study is to understand what people think about certain individuals, and especially how they communicate about these individuals in the culture, with either common or different ideas according to their immersion in various value systems (Moscovici, 2007).

The representation of an individual corresponds to the set of information, beliefs and opinions about him. The opinions are the result of individual experiences, social exchanges and interactions. Therefore, the elements present in the narratives during the interviews collected for this study have important value. They involve the core of representation that provides athletes with the values investigated, either objectively or subjectively.

3. Battling with plural feminine characteristics

In the field of social representations, sports practices may positively or negatively influence these constructions of masculinity and femininity, seeking thereby to keep men and women in gendered thresholds. What would these female professional fighters say since they are women who cross the boundaries of gender norms? We ask the athletes if the technical and physical requirements of combat sports influence their femininity.

Athlete BX1 firmly said no, because in her opinion *“femininity is always a part of women. Whatever she does, she will never fail to have her femininity, [...] it can be boxing, swimming or judo, whether in combat sports or not.”*³ Athlete BX2 replied as follows:

“Personally I do not let that happen. Often, you see a female boxer who is really strong and is wearing manly clothes. One time I did this story for a reporter and he said: You looked so beautiful just moments ago and now you look like this. I had just gotten off the ring so I said: up there I am the beast but down here I am the beauty. [...] I usually say that because I usually do my hair and nails, I wear dresses and short skirts just to differentiate myself from others who don’t. I am always dressed up.”

Athlete MMA1 said:

“I am a bit weird. I am not delicate at all. I am feminine but I am not delicate. I have never been delicate, you understand. It is a trait of my personality. I am not small, I am not light. I am a thick woman. I am tough but also this environment corrupts you. I am a woman who is always surrounded by men. The way I sit down, I cannot sit with my legs crossed. I do not have this kind of [feminine] behavior because I like to be as equal as possible with the guys I train with so they don’t feel a big difference. In order for me to workout with the guys I need to have an attitude on the mat; I cannot be soft. So I am dense. It interferes with my gestures and my way of being, my tone when speaking. I am clumsy, I talk like the guys do, and I also don’t have a lot of patience with people or with anything. My line of reasoning is not equal to that of women either [...].”

Among the boxers we find different conceptions about the influence of their sport in the construction of femininity. In athlete BX1 we notice a representation where participating in a combat sport may affect her but is not incorporated in her behaviors, gestures and ways of being. The athlete perceives femininity as an essence of women: not as a standard framework but as an individual and unique particularity. In other words, women are just as diverse as their expressions of femininity. That point of view is consistent with feminist theorization which states that the ways of being and living femininity are plural (Louro, 2008; Goellner 2010).

3 The statements of the athletes are highlighted in double quotation marks.

Louro (2008: s/p) says it is naive that femininity or womanhood is currently still thought of “as if there is some essence or a natural way of living that condition.” Multiple experiences and ethnic influences such as religion, class, gender and more build a diversity of possibilities whose confrontation or modes of subordination to these circumstances are also multiple.

In this perspective, Goellner (2010) shares that feminist poststructuralist theory states that masculinity and femininity are mutually defined; on first sight there is not an essence that determines one identity from another. Contrary to that, there is no fixed idea in the constitution of these identities, since they are produced in culture. That is, the subjects are plural because they are of different ethnicities, social classes, religions, ages, etc.

The point of view of athlete BX1 is a decisive and determined woman who knows where she is and wants to go, regardless of the opinions of others. Differently, athlete BX2 distinguishes her femininity between the moments when she is inside and outside the boxing ring. Through the analogy of a children’s animated film “Beauty and the Beast”⁴, we observe that the athlete gives importance to what others perceive about her appearance; she likes to draw the attention of her observers outside the competition times and wishes to be recognized as a woman who takes care of herself and her image. Therefore she seeks to clearly define and differentiate her moments as a fighter from being a “regular” woman.

Thus we understand that athlete BX2 embodies the character of fighter when she is in the ring, a moment in which she puts aside any concern with her appearance. The sweaty body, messy hair, eventually wounded face, the uniform and accessories required to fight, plus the more aggressive attitude characterize her as a “Beast” in the ring. But when she is not fighting or training, athlete BX2 seeks to preserve the normal aspects of her womanhood through investing in her appearance by keeping her hair and nails done, as well as using feminine attire, thus comparing herself to the character “Belle”.

The conceptions of athlete BX2 are similar to what Goellner (2005) points to in common situations in the universe of physical culture. The author states that when related to women, excessive sweat, physical exertion, strong emotions, competitions, consented rivalry, outlined muscles, boldness of character, dangers of injury, lightness of clothing and sexy uniforms cause discomfort in some of the more conservative sectors of Brazilian society because it challenges the ideal image of femininity.

We observed that athlete MMA1 perceives in her femininity a strong influence of the males with whom she coexists. It is notable however, that she intentionally gives up on certain behaviors, gestures and even feelings that are typically feminine and replaces these superficially with characteristics that are culturally masculine. That way we can grasp from the athlete her ability to adapt. Belonging to the space in which she operates (where the majority are men) depends on her adaptability, since the environment does not change because of her presence.

This condition experienced by athlete MMA1 can be confirmed by observing Thomazini Moraes and Almeida (2008: 286), who, based on their research, assert that the environment of sports and of martial arts in general is dominated by a type of masculine culture impregnated by “semantics of manliness that considers the female presence an affront to the symbolic ordering of that universe.” In this sense it is up to the women who choose a career as a fighter to adapt to what is laid out symbolically, historically and culturally by men.

4 “Beauty and the Beast” is a children’s drawing, the Disney production, where the Beast is a character who is judged by his appearance, with the stigma of being a monster. He is a large and hairy (non-human) with pointed teeth and an aggressive face, which is the result of a bewitchment over a prince. However, the Beast falls in love with Belle, a peasant of delicate traits and gestures that uses long and light colored dresses. Belle can see a gentle and kind man through the appearance of the Beast, corresponding to his love and breaking the spell.

Ferretti (2011) speaks of a paradox experienced by female fighters to the extent that in order for them to be accepted in local training facilities they need to equate themselves to men while simultaneously preserving an appearance that others consider feminine. The participants in this study are high-performance athletes; therefore it is important to know their conceptions about “what is to be feminine.” Athlete BX1 reaffirmed with emphasis and little elaboration, *“Being feminine is caring about your appearance. It is feeling and thinking as a woman, independently of what others may think.”*

Athlete BX1 reaffirmed the individuality and uniqueness of being feminine with emphasis on grooming, which is also something particular to the character of each woman. Thus we learn that she knows what is important for her and her life, and she lives it without fear of social pressures. Moreover, she feels at ease with her way of being in the world and in her chosen profession and yet does not care about the opinion of others.

Athlete BX2 emphasized some culturally feminine traits and thus reported to be feminine by stating:

“It is about always maintaining your femininity by demonstrating and acting this way, by showing others that you are delicate and classy. I think this is essential to all women, not just to boxers or other athletes; something needs to set you apart. You have to be different.”

For this athlete, all of sports may compromise the hegemonic expression of femininity, and it is an individual’s own responsibility to make sure this does not happen. Being different here denotes differentiating yourself from the standards of high performance sports and keeping yourself similar to the normal aspects and conceptions of womanhood, which is reconciled by Athlete BX2.

Athlete MMA1 says that being feminine is as follows:

“I do not let go of me as a woman. I always like to look hot when I work out and I would never want to be a man just because I am a fighter. My vanity doesn’t ever leave me, even for a second, but I don’t have to be like every other woman. I like to smell good, I do my hair and I always see myself as beautiful. I dress nice when I go to the gym and it is not because I am a fighter that I have to be ugly. Everything I own is girly; I like to be nice and careful with my stuff. I mean, just look around my room [location where this interview took place], everything here is girly. I am a woman but I am tough; I am quiet and tranquil but everything about me is natural and I like being this way. I also like lingerie and swimsuits but there are some peculiar things about me. I keep my nails done, I dress nice and I like to feel attractive and smell good. But I do it all for myself, so I don’t lose my point of reference. I don’t think women have to be fragile necessarily.”

We realize that athlete MMA1 differentiates her gestures from her appearance. Previously we saw that she is subject to some culturally masculine behaviors in order to coexist with the men, assuming that *“she does not want to be a man simply because is a fighter.”* However, we observe that athlete MMA1 invests in her appearance with garments and grooming identified with symbols and signs that are typically feminine, referring to normal aspects of femininity. Additionally, according to the athlete, this is done without exaggeration and only for herself in order to *“not lose her reference point.”* That way we can see that the athlete displays subjective male behavior within the octagon while simultaneously reinforcing her femininity and thus decentralizes the idea that combat sports affect her way of being feminine and builds new representations of femininity that are more plural.

The investment in appearance from both athletes BX2 and MMA1, which does not seem to appear as a concern of athlete BX1, brings us the idea of a careful balance to their sport, escaping the stereotypes attributed to combat sports when practiced by women--despite knowing that these practices may leave permanent marks to their bodies. Goellner (2003) tells us that when the female

body is excessively transformed by physical exercise and ongoing training it can acquire manly characteristics that may cast doubt on its beauty and femininity. But from what we see in the account from the athletes, being a fighter does not hinder your performance as a woman / female.

Given the above, we can see that even being involved in combat sports; the athletes have some things in common regarding their representations of gender. However, they also present many differences, making it impossible to speak about one single representation of femininity in fighters. This confirms the perspective of feminist theories which say that the ways of being and living femininity are plural (Laurel, 2008; Goellner 2010). It also ratifies the perspective of the theory of social representations, since environment and also the individual opinions and beliefs contribute to the construction and representation of an object (Jodelet 2002; Moscovici 2007), in this case the representation of femininity.

4. Some final notes

In order to understand the extent to which representations of femininity in professional fighters conform to or deviate from the characteristics of a hegemonic femininity, we analyzed the reports of two professional boxers and a mixed martial arts fighter about the influence of combat sports on their femininity and conceptions about what it means to be feminine.

The results demonstrate that one way to understand femininity is to consider the individual and unique essence that accompanies women, regardless of the sport in which they compete. Grooming and beauty are attributes demonstrated by athletes in different ways: as a private component of a woman but also as something to be invested externally.

The athletes incorporate certain gestures and behaviors that are considered masculine as a way of belonging to the environment in which they are involved. However, they also invest in typically feminine care in order to demonstrate that these investments never interfere with their professional performance. This way they mark their presence in this territory of combat sports which remains dominated by a male standard and norm.

We have identified the relevance of this issue and recommend that more studies should be developed so that we can discover the norms of other fighters with the hope of contributing to a broader discussion of the plurality of ways of being and living femininity, and thereby dissolving cultural norms that still hinder women's presence in combat sports.

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Abstract: In the current panorama of changes in Brazilian public policies, this work intends to analyse narratives about prostitution and about the experience of being a sex worker which are in dispute in communicational spaces, especially in the web. We assume the notion that narratives produce knowledge about societies and the web is an important space for production and circulation of ideas that base the public discussion about gender and sexuality questions. This article presents an analysis of published contents and also perceptions from fieldwork in NGO located in Porto Alegre, in the South of Brazil, which is bounded to Brazilian Network of Prostitutes. With this research, we can comprehend that the personal and subjective experiences of the sex workers have little visibility and are poorly taken into account, despite the mobilization of a public discussion about prostitution in the media and alternative communicational spaces.

Keywords: public policies; prostitution; communication; narratives; Brazil.

1. Introduction

Nowadays in Brazil historical demands of minorities and social movements are reaching new spaces, modifying society structure through the adoption of new laws or public policies. Thinking about minorities as groups engaged in the solution to many social problems, as teaches us Sodré (2005), we can give them credit for important conquests like the institution of affirmative actions in different sectors of Brazilian society, the regulation of same-sex marriage in many Brazilian states and also the enlargement of the work rights for domestic workers.

In spite of all these advances, Brazil remains in a moment of discussions about the enlargement of sex workers rights and also about the establishment of public policies for sex workers. In this way, the present article intends to analyse the narratives about this subject published on communicational spaces on web, trying to understand established disputes around the meaning of prostitution and of being a sex worker in contemporary Brazil¹. We think that understanding what is spoken about sex work is important because media have an essential role in building public discourses about this theme. According to Silverstone (2002), media are fundamental to our world experience because they make it richer or poorer by images and ideas we wouldn't reach by another means.

¹ This article is part of the research in development to the doctoral thesis named "Narratives of being a prostitute in a context of communicational fluxes about prostitution", which is being made by Natália Ledur Alles with Denise Cogo supervision.

I'm happy in being a prostitute! – Gender, public policies and narratives about prostitution in Brazil

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To identify these narratives in circulation we had collected and analysed contents published in web communicational spaces in web between March and September of 2013, especially news websites, blogs, NGOs websites and social media like Facebook. Based on Van Dijk's theoretical and methodological principles of critical discourse analysis, we have analysed these narratives not as autonomous verbal objects, but as interactions and social practices based on social, historical, cultural and political situations. The analysis contains also perceptions from fieldwork which is being undertaken since May of 2013 in an NGO situated in Porto Alegre, in the South of Brazil, which is bounded to Brazilian Network of Prostitutes. This NGO deals with female sex workers in a perspective of citizenship and considering prostitution as a work.

We emphasize the reflections here presented are based in the conception that gender and sexuality are constructed during the subject's whole life. Gender is not a pre-existent essence: is something lived, mediated by culture and historically constituted (CHANTER, 2011). Social constructions over gender influence the ways people deal with sexuality in their interpersonal relationships. According to Scott (1998), we segregate people based on society presumed rules. In a queer perspective, we can think those rules produce excluded people and excluded groups, in disagreement with behaviour patterns imposed by cultural conventions (MISKOLCI, 2012). This normalization also happens in sexuality, which Louro (2008), based on Foucault, considers a privileged control target in our society. As people learn and understand gender and sexuality in the culture, rules build the notions of normality and difference in behaviours. The idea of sexuality normalization appears on the debates about sex work realized nowadays in Brazil: for one group, regulation will turn being a prostitute a "normal work", with new rules and also new benefits; another views, although, think that sex work is always violence, and then refuse to accept sex work and other uses of sexuality as "normal".

Thinking that some groups establish different rules about how people, and more specifically, women, should behave when concerns to sexuality and to the use of their bodies, we believe prostitution cannot be defined as the same experience to everyone who live it. It's necessary to consider the plurality of situations that constitute gender identities and also sexuality-related behaviours. This way, in this article we believe prostitution should be thought considering person's unique experiences and recognizing the diversity, as defend post-colonial feminist authors (HERNANDEZ-CASTILLO, 2008).

2. Circulating narratives

In this article, we assume the perspective that narrative reports allow us to understand most of happenings in the world, because they relate events and set up an order and a chronology to facts, and so they integrate actions in past, present and future (MOTTA, 2007). The work of narrative, affirms Leonor Arfuch (2002), is to recover something impossible in a way that gives it meaning and permanency, allowing life and identity structuration. Narrative is what makes the human experience of time accessible to us, defend Paul Ricoeur (2010). Narratives produce knowledge about societies and act like mediators between different world's configurations. In this way, considering the convergence of media in contemporaneity, we think in web and its possibilities as an important space to build and circulate narratives that constitute the debate about public policies related to gender questions and, more specifically, to sex work.

As we consider sex workers as a social group, we can't forget its heterogeneity, as there are many distinctions related to financial questions, ethnicity, education levels, work places and other points. We believe analysing prostitution-related narratives and practices is important because they can play a central role in maintaining and perpetuating inequalities (SHARMA, 2006). These narratives

and practices can also recognize or ignore different life situations of female sex workers. Trying to reflect about the actual situation of the sex workers public policies debate, we consider very symbolic an episode that happened in 2013 involving Brazilian Ministry of Health and Brazilian Network of Prostitutes. Since the beginning of the Network, Ministry of Health is the main interlocutor between government and the sex workers organized movement². On the International Sex Workers Day, celebrated on June 2nd, the Ministry has published on their websites a campaign with images and sentences that have been produced by sex workers in an official workshop. However, some days after publication the poster with the sentence *I'm happy being a prostitute* has been removed from government official websites.

The Ministry announced that the campaign had not been evaluated by its Communicational Sector and then launched the campaign again only with sentences about sexually transmitted diseases prevention. Both publication and the veto transformed the campaign in subject of news and opinionative texts published in communicational spaces in web. Many websites have observed that the pressure of religious members of Brazilian Parliament³ was the motive to these changes in the campaign. As soon as the campaign was first published, evangelical religious congressmen have used a Human Right Commission of Brazilian Parliament meeting to criticize the ministerial action and to compare sex work to incest, paedophilia and children's prostitution. Evangelical's indignation was also supported by some Catholic sectors. In the National Brazilians Bishops Conference website, Bishop Dom Redovino Rizzardo, from Dourados, located in Mato Grosso do Sul, has congratulated the evangelical "brothers" for their "opposition to a such humiliating campaign which is the signal of the degeneration society can reach"⁴.

Identified as the author of the polemical phrase, Márcia⁵, who has been working as a sex worker more than 20 years and is a militant of a sex workers NGO, has been searched by journalists from many places of Brazil. The fact has received special attention from O Estado de São Paulo, a very important Brazilian newspaper, which has visited Marcia's NGO and has told Marcia's history. In other way, the newspaper Zero Hora, from Porto Alegre, in the South of Brazil, has published an editorial criticizing the campaign for "encouraging prostitution" and also "stimulating children's and teenager's prostitution"⁶. After the removal of some posters of the campaign, Brazilian Network of Prostitutes and many associations bounded to it have written repudiation letters and have requested that the entire campaign to be removed from the web. As an answer to what was considered an act of "life's hygienization", Brazilian Network has stimulated prostitutes from many parts of Brazil to remake posters using their own photographs and also these phrases: *I'm happy being a prostitute, Down with censorship in Brazil! We exist! Equal rights for all professions!*⁷. The Network's repudiation letter⁷ also condemns the victim position attributed to sex workers by Brazilian Ministry of Health when denying that a sex worker can be happy.

² Since 1942 Penal Code, Brazil officially adopts the abolitionist system about prostitution. In this system, a prostitute is considered a victim of exploitation. The sex worker isn't criminalized, only your exploiter. According to Rodrigues (2003), however Brazilian legislation is influenced by abolitionism, State practices don't follow it absolutely. It can be noticed when considering that police officers and sanitary authorities are the main agents that act with sex workers.

³ The religious group of Brazilian Congress is formed by evangeic deputies and senators from different parties. They articulate themselves to guarantee some project's approval. On their website, they distinguee law projects they consider "benefic" or "harmful". For example, this group makes opposition to abortion legalization and to gay marriage.

⁴ RIZZARDO, Redovino. Sou feliz sendo prostituta. Published on July 2013. Available in <http://www.cnbb.org.br/site/articulas/dom-redovino-rizzardo/12338-sou-feliz-sendo-prostituta>. Access on August 2013.

⁵ Her name was changed after we have debated the question with Marcia. She asked us to don't use any name of sex workers that take part of the NGO.

⁶ According to sex workers from the NGO and from Brazilian Network of Prostitutes, people can't use the expression children's prostitution. When children and teenagers are involved, what happens is sexual exploitation.

⁷ Available in <http://www.umbeijoparagabriela.com/?p=2988>. Access on September 2013.

The Minister Alexandre Padilha's veto shows a change in the governmental position about the theme. In 2002 prostitution was recognized as an occupation by the Brazilian Classification of Occupations and the Ministry of Health has created an permanent campaign named *No shame, girl, you have a profession!*. Besides stimulating sex worker's health protection, this campaign aimed to strength their self-esteem and their citizenship. And so, considering that cultural representations built by government influence population perception (SHARMA, 2006), we can notice the ministerial decision indicates a victimization vision about prostitution.

Disputes beyond prostitution meaning may also be also observed on discussions about professional regulation, which were debated again after the new law project 4.211/2012, also known as Gabriela Leite Law⁸, was presented by congressmen Jean Wyllys (PSOL/RJ). If this project becomes a law, prostitution will be considered a profession. The project proposes also decriminalization of private places where sex workers work, supposing that regulation of relationship between owners of these places and sex workers will difficult the establishment of exploitation relations.

Many social groups, political parties and religious organizations have expressed their opinions about the law project, and the project isn't consensus even between organized sex workers. In communicational spaces of feminist groups, most opinions strengthen the idea that prostitution always involves oppression. The Brazilian sector of World March of Women (WMW), for example, rejects all law projects that have proposed prostitution regulation. Articles published on WMW websites associate prostitution to sexual violence, poverty, sexual market and absence of women autonomy (MENDONÇA, 2013), exploitation and body's commercial exploitation. In the same way, the feminist researcher Tania Navarro Swain (2004) defines prostitution as a trivialization of rape. She defends that considering prostitution a work is an insult to women and to work. In her point of view, prostitution can be seen as the greatest social violence against women.

For feminists from the movement Women on Fight, which is bounded to a labour union, the 4211/2012 law project means a retrocession in the battle for women's freedom because it contributes to sex industry's growth and, consequently, women's traffic, institutionalizing sexual exploitation (BRASIL DE FATO, 08 de março de 2013)⁹. According to this movement, women in situation of prostitution are slaves trying to survive. Congressman Jean Wyllys's law project is criticized even by his party women movement, which published in its website that prostitution is not a choice for most women, but a necessity imposed by misery and lack of opportunities.

Prostitution regulation isn't consensual even between the organized movement of sex workers, in which Brazilian Network of Prostitutes is the most important member and the main aggregator of sex workers entities and associations. According to Olivar (2012), the rupture inside the movement happened in the end of the 90's due to the definition of the object of claims. Some women believed the fight should be for labour rights which recognized prostitution as a job and as a choice, but other women wanted to fight to enlarging their rights as women. "Some understood prostitution as an identity option, others like a non-wanted condition, temporary and deeply unfortunate" (OLIVAR, 2012, p. 95).

On 2007, after the rupture with Brazilian Network of Prostitutes, some entities have founded the National Federation of Sex Workers (NFSW), self-defined as an entity that fights for women, not prostitution rights. To NFSW, work as a sex worker can only be a choice for men and women if there are not brokers. In this way, NFSW is against prostitution regulation since another law project presented in 2003, because they don't believe sex workers will be favoured.

8 Gabriela Leite was a sex worker, president and founder member of Brazilian Network of Prostitutes, of DaVida NGO, from Rio de Janeiro. She was the most known character from Brazilian organized movement of prostitutes. She has died on October 2013.

9 Available in <http://www.brasildefato.com.br/node/12236>

Prostitution regulation is also condemned by the feminist group Women, Ethic and Freeing (GWEF)¹⁰, a group of women who has been “in prostitution situation”. In its website, they affirm fighting for citizenship and dignity for women, as well as the human right of not prostituting themselves and for finding other ways of living. According to the entity, most women don’t want prostitution to become a profession, but they were excluded of debates around the theme and also of the construction of the law project. Projects are criticized because they considered only Brazilian Network of Prostitutes, especially Gabriela Leite, as the politic subject that represents sex workers. They also criticize the fact that these law projects were written for men, what would illegitimate the presented view about prostitution.

Olivar (2012) shows us that both National Federation of Sex Workers and Women, Ethic and Freeing have or have had some bound with Marginalized Women Pastoral¹¹, branch of National Congregation of Brazilian Bishops. This pastoral organization develops activities with women in prostitution situation and defends the search for alternatives to sex work. It demands public policies to guarantee study and professional capacitation, so those women could have other jobs opportunities and “dignity in life”.

To Brazilian Network of Prostitutes, nevertheless, not recognizing prostitution as a profession and criminalizing prostitution houses turn sex workers and clients vulnerable. The affirmation of labour rights for prostitutes is a central demand for the Network. To assume a collective and professional identity is considered essential to strength the citizenship of this women (and also men, transvestites and transgenders who are also in the law project).

The analysed narratives show that part of feminist groups is strongly against prostitution regulation and decriminalization of places of prostitution, defending abolition and stimulating sex workers to find other jobs. The listed arguments confirm what Pasini (2005) says: to certain feminist groups, prostitution is a synonym of male’s domination and oppression, or a strategy to survive. In this view, prostitution is always violence and abuse against women. However, we need to consider that feminist movements are not consensual in their positions about prostitution. Based on Wendy Chapkis, Piscitelli (2005) argues that, in one side, prostitute is seen as a sexual object, victim of violence and without any power. In the other extreme, work as a prostitute could be thought as a women autonomy turning point. In this case, prostitution is thought as power and as a threat to the patriarchal control over sexuality. And there is also a third point of view that understands sex as a battle field for power where male domination can be strengthened or destabilized.

Beyond discussions about prostitution regulation, other events allow us to identify narratives concerning prostitution. On April 2013, the escort Lola Benvenutti, 21 years old, has become character of many reports published in important Brazilian websites like G1, Folha de São Paulo and UOL. She also has participated of TV shows. Lola became interesting to media because she is a middle class young woman who had graduated in University and who declares she wants and desires to be a prostitute. She also maintains a personal blog where she writes detailed reports about her experiences with clients, preserving their identities. Nowadays, Lola also lectures about sexuality freedom in many parts of Brazil. The exposition of Lola and her reasons to be a prostitute has created many support expressions to prostitution regulation, but has also bothered some feminist groups and even sex workers. For example, World March of Women has published in its website a critic to generalizations about prostitution that Lola’s declarations can provoke. Those feminists don’t agree with the idea that prostitution can have relation with women sexual desires and they emphasize the mercantilist logic which uses the notion of women emancipation for describing relations in prostitution.

¹⁰ Women, Ethic and Freeinf Feminist Group: <http://www.gmelfeminista.blogspot.com.br/>

¹¹ Marginalized Women Pastoral http://www.pmm.org.br/?page_id=71

On 2013, the prostitution thematic has reached more space in Brazilian television, especially in fictional shows. In pay television two channels launched fictional series based on prostitution theme. The *Multishow* channel broadcasted *Uma rua sem vergonha* (*A shameless street*), which tells stories of five sex workers who work in a night club in Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro. These sex workers are a college student who needs money to maintain her futilities, a girl from Pernambuco who wanted to be a top model and another one who had already taken part of a reality show¹². We can observe this program uses stereotypes frequently disseminated about female prostitution. The other TV series is *O Negócio* (*The deal*), produced by HBO. It tells the story of three 30 years old luxurious sex workers who are losing clients because of their ages and then decide to use marketing strategies to find new clients. In a report published on website IG¹³, characters are presented by producers as ambitious and entrepreneur professionals: they aren't only prostitutes. This description forgets that there are a lot of ambitious and entrepreneur sex workers.

3. Reflections

Prostitution is experienced in many different ways, considering this minority is constituted by people with a lot of personal differences like social class, education levels and family situation. We think that is possible this heterogeneity among sex workers also means different ways to access informations, to use media and to reflect about their own position as a sex worker.

There is a scarce use in the organized movement of communicational spaces and media to share notions about prostitutions besides the ideas of victimization or criminalization. The Brazilian Network had a newspaper called *Beijo da Rua* between 1989 and 2007 which was produced by the NGO *DaVida*, from Rio de Janeiro, but now they have only a website with few actualizations. Most part of other entities doesn't have any communicational space because they haven't financial conditions to maintain it.

However prostitution is nowadays receiving more attention from media, it's remarkable that women sex workers' have few opportunities to tell about the diversity of their experiences and also about the different meaning they attribute to prostitution. Except in some cases, when women reach media visibility like *Bruna Surfistinha*¹⁴, *Lola Benvenuti* or the organized movement leader *Gabriela Leite*, prostitutes are rarely considered important voices to tell their stories on media¹⁵. This way, we can think personal experiences of these women are not frequently considered and revealed in governmental strategies, in feminist discourses that consider prostitution as exploitation, in religious thoughts that blame sex workers and nether in discourses produced and displayed by media. Therefore, sex workers aren't the ones who tell us what to be a sex worker means.

¹² This description was made by Multishow channel. Available in <http://multishow.globo.com/Uma-Rua-Sem-Vergonha/Noticias/Com-Juliana-Knust---Uma-Rua-Sem-Vergonha--estreia-no-dia-15-de-julho-no-Multishow.shtml>

¹³ Available in <http://ultimosegundo.ig.com.br/cultura/2013-08-18/hbo-aposta-em-prostitutas-marketeiras-para-alavancar-serie-original-o-negocio.html>

¹⁴ *Bruna Surfistinha* (Raquel Pacheco) was a sex worker and became famous after create a website where she related her experiences as a prostitute. She has published three books and one of them has inspired the movie *Bruna Surfistinha*. She has also taken part in the reality show *The Farm*.

¹⁵ We have to consider that many women may have no interest in speaking about prostitution because they are afraid to lose their anonymity. We have to consider also that media visibility don't guarantee resolution to social inequalities.

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On my way to visit a community which has been pacified by the State government of Rio de Janeiro, I find myself thinking of a poem by the Palestine poet, Mahmoud Darwish:

Write down!
I am an Arab
And my identity card number is fifty thousand
I have eight children
And the ninth will come after a summer
Will you be angry?

.
Write down!
I am an Arab
Employed with fellow workers at a quarry
I have eight children
I get them bread
Garments and books
from the rocks.
I do not supplicate charity at your doors
Nor do I belittle myself at the footsteps of your chamber
So will you be angry?

.
Write down!
I am an Arab
I have a name without a title
Patient in a country
Where people are enraged
My roots
Were entrenched before the birth of time
And before the opening of the eras
Before the pines, and the olive trees
And before the grass grew.
My father.. descends from the family of the plow
Not from a privileged class
And my grandfather..was a farmer
Neither well-bred, nor well-born!
Teaches me the pride of the sun
Before teaching me how to read
And my house is like a watchman's hut
Made of branches and cane
Are you satisfied with my status?
I have a name without a title!

.
Write down!
I am an Arab
You have stolen the orchards of my ancestors

The myth of peace, memory and trauma in complex da Penha: an area pacified in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro

Ane Lise Vieira

And the land which I cultivated
Along with my children
And you left nothing for us
Except for these rocks..
So will the State take them
As it has been said?!

.
Therefore!
Write down on the top of the first page:
I do not hate people
Nor do I encroach
But if I become hungry
The usurper's flesh will be my food
Beware..
Beware..
Of my hunger
And my anger

I return to reality, the reality of the poem and the coexistence with people from the communities of *Fé, Paz, Sereno and Caixa D'Água*, where I have been going every day since I accepted an invitation to work there about a year ago. I have been working with the implementation of public policies for a long time, through a programme called *Mulheres da Paz* (Women of Peace), linked to the *Programa Nacional de Cidadania e Segurança Pública* (National Programme of Citizenship and Public Security) with the Brazil Ministry for Justice (Ministério da Justiça). Thus, I was invited by the manager of the Municipal Health Department, in charge of an area that includes Penha (a suburb of Rio de Janeiro), to coordinate a space for promoting health, social development and quality of life.

In this scenario, the myths of peace and of violence go beyond all the codes of coexistence and social order, from the occupation by national military forces, through to the intervention of the army in late 2010, when the pacification of the area began. Little by little, I started trying to penetrating that universe, by listening to all the stories from the people there, the frightened whisperings, and the incommunicable words, expressed by their gaze.

In the first few months I tried to organize my schedule in order to have the opportunity to visit them regularly, to take part in events and with those who participated in the social life there, as aimed be regularly active in the community, apart from fulfilling the duties of my position. This helped me to feel that I was of benefit to them, despite the cultural shock, and my concerns and frustrations about feeling that I was not achieving anything.

Even after several months, when I had a much better understanding of the situation and also felt at ease, having established a connection with the people, I was still anxious to improve my knowledge of that local culture. In Rio de Janeiro, I discovered a new angle of social contract based on Hobbes theory, whereby collective experiences became signs in the newly pacified community in Rio de Janeiro.

From several interviews, I chose the discourses of three women to exemplify the myths of peace and violence in those places. The first lives in Caixa D'Água, the second in Fé hill and the third in Bangu, also on the periphery of Rio de Janeiro. My choice was based on my belief in the potential of these women as protagonists. For example, the third is a teacher, working in a public institution that assists several pacified communities. In the collective imagination formed by the media and through

the perceptions of many public management institutes, there is a generalization about daily life in pacified communities, but in reality, contradictions, affinities and rivalries exist.

It is important to point out that in order to do the interviews, it was necessary to establish contact over a long period of time, as I noticed that my arrival to their universe had provoked questioning and withdrawals, with increasing silence. As well explained by Michael Pollak, *“the difficulties and blockages that eventually appear during an interview, were rarely a result of an “asleep memory”, but a reflection about the value of speaking about their past.”*(1989). In the women’s statements, I noticed clear signs of lives marked by multiple sufferings, ruptures and traumas. All the terrible experiences they had lived provoked an enormous difficulty in constructing their history with coherence and continuity.

The narrative which refers to the myth of peace is based on a liberal conception that calls for freedom and equality. The new social policies are based on a “new” citizen, who has autonomy and responsibility, aiming for his own welfare and for the welfare of his community. According to Bila Sorj and Carla Gomes, policies for women have emphasized “achievement” and autonomy.

At the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, Georg Simmel (1858-1918), in following Max Weber, was one of the founders of the Germany Society of Sociology. Reflecting about the historical society, Simmel observed a contradiction between freedom and equality, when he proposed that the necessary freedom among individuals only happens if they are equally favoured with the privileges, both internally and externally, a condition, which rarely occurs in practice. It relates to the full freedom of all in a context of total equality related with the freedom of the others in a *community*, and realizes that this is not possible, not only in a personal context, but also in the economical field, as it allows a better use of personal superiorities: *“Only when this possibility was put aside, i.e., when the abolition of private ownership of production chains occurs, will equality among people will be possible, and the limitation of freedom will be inseparable from inequality. Without doubt, it is exactly that possibility which shows a profound contradiction between freedom and equality, which will only be solved through the immersion of the two terms in the negative element of the absence of propriety and power. It seems that only Goethe clearly observed clearly this contrast: he says: the equality requires subordination to a universal standard and freedom to be unconditional.”* (2006).

Thus, the myth of peace is based on a contract of a liberal model that supposes a universal model of correspondence among the different social and institutional actors, without considering diverging visions among them and their own individual interference in the definition of those meanings. The myth of violence originates in these gaps, as in the models described by Michel Foucault as the “governmentalisation” of the State. Writing in the 1970s, he rejected the identification between power and State authorities, but focused on the “molecular net of powers” that has spread out over all the society, besides characterising power not only as repressive, but also as a disciplinary and “standardising” action (2012).

According to Foucault, the “governmentalisation” of the State is an astute phenomenon which allows for the survival of State based on the general tactics of governmentality, whose format, adopted by the great Western economies, consists of: first of all, a State of justice, born in a kind of feudal territory that roughly corresponds to a society of law; secondly, an administrative State, born in territorial borders in the 15th and 16th centuries, and corresponds to a society full of rules and discipline; and finally a State Government that is no longer defined by its territoriality border, by the area occupied, but by the population mass, its volume and its density - the occupied territory is only one component. The state government essentially targets the population and uses the instrumentalisation of economic knowledge, corresponding to a society controlled by its security devices. (ibidem, 2012)

All of the women’s narratives about the military occupation at the end of 2010 are identified by a

temporal marker, with references to the silence associated with fear. It can be a result of an unknown new moment, when the local power held by the traffickers was transferred to the State's power, or through the identification with the suffering of relatives, neighbours and fellow companions on that long journey, parents, siblings, children or spouses, by the death of their loved ones, who took part in the armed traffic in the locality.

In the narrative of all women over the military occupation in late 2010, identified as a temporal marker, there is reference to silence, associated with fear. Be the new yet unknown point of exchanging local power command of trafficking for the State, either by identification with the suffering of relatives, neighbours

Memory and silence form a very important part of investigation into violence. Pollak, writing about this subject, proposes that *"the long silence about the past, far from leading to forgetfulness of the terrible situations, is a resistance, a civil society opposing the excess of official speeches"*, and, *"at the same time, carefully passes on the dissidents' memories among family and friends, waiting for the moment of truth and the redistribution of the ideological and political letters"*. The author admits to the fragmentation between dominant official memory and underground memories, often linked to a domination phenomenon, as well the meaning of silence about the past; but points out that *"this problem is more frequently connected to the relation among minority groups and comprehensive society, than between the dominant State and civil society"* (*ibidem*, 1989).

In this context, the research of Maurice Halbwachs (1994 (1925) about collective memory continues to be an important reference, despite the fact that the structuralist functional radicalism of the first decade of 20th century does not have support nowadays. Even ignoring the fact that memory can be comprehended from the processes of symbolic construction, involving our conscious and subconscious as it rejects the notion of memory connected to an individual phenomenon, his thesis that every memory should be investigated as part of a wider, collectively constructed representation and his belief that there is an appropriation of the individual in collective memory (group memory), are applied as an integral factor in the reports of the women I interviewed, in their responses to a recent questionnaire about violence in the pacified communities.

Maria, the first woman I interviewed said her parents were alcoholics and very poor, that she had suffered a great deal violence during her childhood, and watched her siblings being beaten by her parents. As the oldest child, she was respected and thus avoided being beaten, but needed to intervene in situations to prevent her siblings being badly hurt. In Maria's words: *"People try to achieve internal calm to have peace, but people cannot forget the violence. Violence is very bad."*

Maria is 48 years old, black, has three children and is a grandmother. She has always lived in Caixa D'Água . She got married at 17 to escape from her home, running away from her parents' violence. She still lives with her husband. She attended school until the fifth elementary grade. She is evangelic and a leader in her church. She has always taken care of her house and children and only had one professional experience, in a sewing cooperative, which failed after two years. A year ago, she began to work in a public institution for teaching sewing and dressmaking. She likes to live in the community and answered me with conviction, 'of course', when asked if young Negro men suffer more violence in the society.

When asked if she knows "Lei Maria da Penha" and "Lei da Palmada", she answers 'more or less': *"My opinion about Lei Maria da Penha is that the women frequently go to the police station, but the authorities just want to catch the perpetrator in the act, so it is of no use to go there; or else the women are taken to some place to hide, and the violent man walks free"*.

Regarding Maria's opinion about the presence of the police in the *favelas*, she interrupts the interviewer: "What definite answer can I give? It's better, but it didn't solve the problem."

Analysing Maria's evaluation of violence - "*very bad*" - my focus is on the intellectual exercise of the retransmission: how can the meaning can be re-signified? Through which representations? Marianne Hirsch (2008) and Susan Sontag (2003), two authors who reflect on memory in contemporary time agree that memory does not bring a narrative, but some iconic elements remember the narrative.

Hirsch characterises studies about memory as "projections", not as a remembrances (ibidem, 2008). In this sense, the proposal contrasts with the significance that social sciences have given to developed narratives, but works with feelings and the perceived images which the person overlaps in their projection in the act of reception. The author proposes to work with meaning based on semiotics.

Sontag, analysing the pain of others through photographs, demonstrates her worry: "Photos of atrocities both illustrate and collaborate. The shock can become familiar. The shock can weaken. People have means of defending themselves from what is perturbing; thus a person can get used to the horror of real life, can get used to the horror of certain images... However, there are cases in which repeated exposure to that which shocks, saddens and consternates does not diminish the capacity for a compassionate response (ibidem, 2003).

From Maria's interview, I can observe a search for internal peace, but this is completely separate from aiming to forget the violence. Again, referring to Sontag's research about people's pain: "*The photos trace routes of reference and serve as totems of cause; a feeling is more likely crystallise around a photo than a verbal motto. Photographs which are recognised by everybody are now constituent parts of the subjects about which the society chooses to think about or subjects they declare they have decided to think about. These ideas are called memories, and in the end, they are fictional. Strictly speaking, there exists a collective-memory, part of the same family with spurious notions that belong to collective guilt. But there also exists a collective statement.*"

I am inclined to value the oral tradition as the source of all individual memory, which cannot be reproduced – which dies with the person, as according to Sontag. From this author's studies it is possible to review the assumption of collective memory; if what we call "collective memory" nowadays it is not a recapitulation, but something stipulated by ideologies that create articles of evidential images, representative images that encompass both common and relevant ideas and cause predictable thoughts and feelings.

Some authors have already pointed out the interlacing problem between memory and power relations. In her work about collective memory and national identity, Myrian Santos cites Jacques Derrida and Walter Benjamin as "two authors who denounced with mastery the difficulty of dealing with the past". Myrian Santos attributes Derrida with showing that any searches for meaning that transform the past into a "fixed component" detached from the present, can lead humanity to imprisonment and *obscurantism* (*we know that the time only stops in our imagination and the past can not be understood from the representation of what had been*). She evaluates that Derrida renounces knowledge about the past differently to Benjamin, which contributes to a reflexive and critical thought, which continues to be increasingly sought after: "*This author, analysing modernity, denounces the monuments and registrations of the past as a result of the violence perpetrated by the winners.*" According to Benjamin, although the rescue of the past – whether through history or through memory - has limitations, it still plays a crucial role in modernity (Santos, 2012).

With regard to the impunity related to the violence and the actions of the police, and to an increasing violence directed towards young males and black people, I will return to this issue after discussing the two other women's interviews.

Luciana, the second woman to be interviewed, when asked about the presence of the police in the *favelas*, says that "*in a way, the place got better. So there isn't as much crazy shooting, but, in my view, many police officers are corrupt, because sometimes we see the "thugs" near them, but they*

do nothing; although they can only arrest them when they are caught in the act.” She complains about the police and the public authorities, who have not carried out field research, to find out what the community needs in order to create projects to meet those needs, for example, a project such as sewage disposal is of utmost importance.

When asked about the violence, she answers: *“There are several kinds of violence, not only violence which can be seen, there is also verbal violence.”* She knows a neighbour, who lives near her, who beats and verbally abuses her children. She reflects on the fact and considers hitting a child does not educate anyone. However, she explained that “when the mothers don’t beat their children in this community, a policeman comes and violently beats the adolescents who are twelve, thirteen years old. She stated that the policemen from the UPP (Pacifying Police Unit) also beat adolescents. *“So if the violence doesn’t happen at home, it happens in the streets.”*

Luciana is thirty-seven, white and living in Comunidade da Fé since she was born. She has an adolescent son and has been separated from his father for many years. Nowadays she is contracted by a non-government organization and it is the first time she has been formally employed. She worked as environmental agent at Rio de Janeiro City Hall for eight years. She has finished high school and wants to go to the university to study Social Service. She plays a leading role in her community. She was Catholic, but has now begun to attend ‘non-fanatical’ evangelical worship services. The church is near her house. She criticizes some evangelic habits but says she will continue attending the evangelic church as long as she feels good being there. She is different to Maria, as Luciana does not identify herself with the *favela* and she would like to live in a more urbanised area.

She reaffirms that there has been some progress there, saying that when “she puts her head on the pillow and doesn’t hear the noise of gunshots, it is very good” but explains the peace has not been reached yet in the communities and assigns the blame to the police officers’ behaviour, saying that some of them abuse their power. She cites the example of a boy, her godson who was stopped by the police on his way home from work only because he is young, tall and Negro. During their approach the police aimed their gun at his face, before examining him. She also cited another example that happened with a boy, whose nickname is Rachid, also on his way from work when someone called him by his name and the policemen understood “hashish” - that he was selling drugs (and employed by the traffickers). They took him to the police station immediately.

Both Maria and Luciana emphatically state that young male boys and black people suffer the most violence in the society. Luciana says that *“in any place you go if a group of black adolescents get on the bus, the passengers are gripped by panic for fear of being assaulted”*. She emphasises she doesn’t have this feeling, and neither do those from the *favelas*.

The question of ethnic violence is made explicit by Chimamanda Adichie, when he accuses universalism of producing a single story that robs the dignity of people, which is extremely negative, as the narrative is left impoverished. The author realizes that in stereotyping a single story there is always a relation of hierarchy which proposes subjugating the others. She demonstrates concern with the impact of the representations the other makes, through the single history, and she reflects that the African History is stereotyped by the representation of the savage, from a ‘dark’ history. (2006).

Chimamanda Adichie, the Nigerian poet, is among the intellectuals connected with the “post colonialist” tradition, who transit between two worlds, the “civilised” and the “post colonised”. Edward Said assumed an outstanding role after the launch of his book “Orientalism”, which disseminates the above mentioned debate (1978). He defended the assumption that while the values associated with the West were considered of absolute and universal value, those attributed to other nations are considered individualistic and part of an evolutionary process. The author, who is a literary critic, activist, and a defender of the Palestinian cause, became a reference for the post colonial studies,

denouncing a certain vision of the world by his hegemonic strength and for his responsibility for the hierarchies between the West and the Orient.

Santos, in relation to Said's importance among the post colonialist writers considers that although denouncing the imposition or hegemony of Western values on the others, his studies also demonstrated the processes of re-signification of the past, coexisting through the speeches constituted by dominant sectors and that, in this sense, different traditions from the western ones went on to be reiterated and to resist the dominant speeches. These impressions and perceptions of the author are my own, "despite the recent processes of economic globalization, that involve, among other aspects, new information and communication technologies, and the circulation of assets and several signs, and the weakening of the performance of the national States in several areas, national identities continue to be one of the forms of belonging which is more inclusive in our age."(ibidem, 2012). In this construction of identity there is a discussion between universalism and diversity.

Through the interview with the third woman, who does not live in the community, but works in a public office that assists four communities, we can identify the importance of this debate.

Her name is Francisca; she is black, 51 years of age, divorced with a nineteen-year-old son, and a teacher. She has already been the president of the Adolescent and Childhood Foundation of the State of Rio de Janeiro and has consolidated her professional experience through contracts with governments, non government organizations and companies. She works as a consultant and technician for management and empowerment projects. She participates in the "Black Movement" and the "Women's Movement" and has a wide network of articulation in these spaces.

When asked about violence and pacification in the communities, Francisca replies:

"There is so much disrespect, it's a crime, the people from the favelas don't have the right to exist. They want to impose a pattern of asphalt after three hundred years of abandon. These procedures are not accepted there, they are not appropriate, as these instruments were developed inside institutions which want to control bodies, mainly young bodies How can this be? Does anyone control the young people in the asphalt world? It doesn't seem to me that the system they want to impose in the community worked in the asphalt world. It is unethical, inhuman, without soul and affection. They need to pay attention to what people say and understand them better, but the 'doctoral students' are extremely arrogant – they do not want to allow their arms to be twisted, what to do?"!

Kwame Anthony Appiah, another post-colonialist, evaluates the form of ethnic violence to which Francisca refers. Writing about the "essentialist theory" – that crossing the Atlantic brings a prophecy of a single story – he identifies post colonial African literature as an authentic space in the History of Africa; different to the nationalist African literature of the 1960s, which aimed for a "National Project", identifying literature as the greatest motto of the post colonial mark (1997).

He criticizes the traditional sociological and anthropological narratives which dominate the cultural theories and appreciations, dominated by a Weberian bias: "However, the beginning of the post-modern knowledge consists of asking ourselves if the Weberian rationalisation really happened. According to Weber, charismatic authority - Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Guevara, and Nkrumah - is irrational; however modernity was dominated by this charisma. Secularisation does not appear to advance; religions are mostly growing in the world... What we can observe in all these cases, I think, is not the victory of the illuminist reason with capital R – that would have entailed the end of charisma and the universalisation of the secular - nor the penetration of a more restricted instrumental reason in all areas of life, but what Weber confounded with this: the incorporation of all areas of the world, and of all the areas even of old private life, in the monetary economy. The modernity transformed each of the elements of the real into a sign and what is written on the sign is "for sale", and this is applied even in

the area of religion, where instrumental reason recognized that the market has an ambiguous place.

The author's criticism requires a vision and understanding of Africa that does not apply the assumptions of the traditional sociological and anthropological narratives. It is possible to detect an interface between what the post colonialists are debating and the Brazilian scenario, with its late process of modernisation. Considered an under-developed country and on the periphery for so long, over the past twenty years or so, Brazil was elevated to the status of a developed and civilized nation.

Thus, let us return to Maria's statement about police repression in the newly pacified communities, "What definition can I give? Because it improved, but the problem was not solved"; and Luciana's affirmation "There is corruption in the police force and several kinds of violence." Through the importance of Pollak's contribution, with an emphasis on the references made by Halbwach, "we can see that the collective memories are imposed and defended by specialised compartmentalisation, which without being the only uniting factor, are certainly an important ingredient for the continuity of the social fabric and of the institutional structures of a society." (ibidem, 1989), it is possible to infer, in analysing the works of the post colonialist authors which denounce the relation between symbolic construction and power, and the consequent exclusion of important parts of the population's political life, that the interviewed women's narratives give new meaning to the violence, that stays as a time marker in the pacified communities.

Some Considerations

The premise of passing from a restraining and repressive police to a police force that works closely with the community does not yet appear to be consolidated in the pacified area of Complexo da Penha, on the periphery of Rio de Janeiro; and the formula of a normative consensus, characterized by pluralism at an institutional level, establishes, *in praxis*, a diversity which is not contradictory, aiming to minimise social differences. In this sense, the tension between memory and forgetfulness has become a conflict, dramatically expressed by Maria's - "*We become calmer internally, but we don't forget the violence*", where the violence remains latent because the postulate question of human rights in Brazil insists on not assimilating the sense of loss, or considering the memory.

According to Pollak, memory is a phenomenon which is individually and socially constructed: on a individual level the construction may be conscious or unconscious, and when dealing with inherited memory, we can also say that there is a close connection between memory and the feeling of identity: "*here, the feeling of identity has been understood in its superficial sense, but at the moment, it is the sense of the image of itself, to itself and for the others. That is, the image that a person acquires throughout their life refers to itself, the image that is constructed and which is presented to others and to itself, in order for the person to believe in its their own representation, but also for the person to be understood in the way it wants to be understood by others*" (Pollak, 1992).

The author reflects that this construction of identity is a phenomenon that we produce in reference to others, according to the criteria of acceptability, admissibility and credibility. It happens by means of direct negotiation with others; and infers that if the confrontation between individual memory and the memory of another is possible, this demonstrates that memory and identity are values disputed in social and inter-group conflicts and, particularly, in conflicts that oppose various political groups. In the scenario wherein identities are formed, the identifications not only characterise the individuals but also link them in a special way through mutual practices or projects: "*So, they are something more than mental representations, as they are also translated into social practices*" (ibidem, Pollak 2012).

In this Brazilian case we find part of the collective representation associated with those nations strongly linked to work, to individual responsibility and to reason, whilst the other part that refers

to emotion, intuition and sexuality and also to natural instincts, were attributed to ethnic minorities, emigrants, negroes, those expelled from their lands and still those without a place in the labour market (as well colonised or weaker nations). According Santos (ibidem 2012), culture and nature constituted themselves through being polar opposites.

Social representatives, such as Maria and Luciana are located in this conflict. The first is proud of living in the community, and identifies with the “*favela-community*”, and the other does not feel represented by the “*favela-community*” and dreams about living in the city, in a place where “disorganized occupation” is not an issue.

The formation of identity in the last decades of the 20th century is characterised by a process of interaction with an accelerated rhythm, present among individuals at distant points in time and space (Harvey, 1989). New technologies for information and communication, globalisation of markets, cosmopolitanism and individualisation would make identities fluid and multiform. From the different links of belonging, the individuals would be freer or further from previous identities, configured in their communities of origin, assuming multiple identities related to their nation, social class, social position, race, ethnicity and sexuality, among other aspects.

Francisca’s statement, when she refers to the imposition of an asphalt pattern in the community, after three hundred years of abandon – according to her understanding, those instruments were developed inside the institutions that want to control bodies, especially young people bodies, corresponds with Said and other post-colonialist assumptions. Converting the values associated with the West, considered universal and absolute to Rio de Janeiro, those values are attributed to the “asphalt world”, in contrast, those attributed to other nations, and to the Orient, are considered “individualistic” and part of an evolutionary process, values attributed to the communities on the periphery, denouncing a determined vision of the world through its hegemonic strength and by being responsible for hierarchies that constitute themselves between the asphalt and the *favela*.

In the case of the pacified communities in Rio de Janeiro, the construction of identity is still perpetrated by the heritage of an authoritarian democracy, that forces its citizens to celebrate the silence and to be satisfied with the consumption of the “instantaneous”, making the manifestation of culture and expression more and more difficult, as expressed by Luciana, when she referred to how the young people who live in the communities are treated, among them her godson and the boy called Rachid.

The occupation of pacified territories by military forces aims to project the idea of the “accessible police officer”, nearby and ready to help to the demands of the population. The proposal places the population as the protagonist. An attentive evaluation of Maria’s and Luciana’s reports, when they state that “*it improved, but didn’t solve the problem*” or “*putting the head on the pillow and not hearing gun shots - it’s very good, but the problem was not solved and peace has not yet been reached*”, suggest that to uphold the order and discipline of the police officers alters the proposed horizon for the pacified territories and consequently, alerts the substantial increase of the phenomenon of “the banality of evil”(Hannah Arendt, 2009).

Besides, the interviewed women’s words about the several kinds of violence, not only physical, “being beaten”, but also verbal, the “very bad” feelings, demonstrate lives which are not differentiated from reality, according to the construction and framework of memory, they are far from the polyphony of the reality which affects the chronology experienced. In this case the phenomenon brings new information about the formation of representations in the *favelas*, displaying a dichotomy related to national identity, establishing new links with media channels, from the preference for open TV channels that transmit the happenings which are representative of the individual’s daily life in the *favelas* and on the periphery, inaugurating new audiovisual networks.

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SESSION 23

LITERATURE AND
EDITORIAL POLICIES
IN LUSOPHONE
CONTEXTS

Abstract: Considering colonialism as a power relationship between two entities, where one overpowers the other, repressing it, this article aims to analyze the situations of colonialism and post-colonialism present in the novel written by the Mozambican author Mia Couto, *Jesusalém*. The analysis is based on a parallel perspective between storytelling and theoretical analysis that allows us to see the presence of colonialism throughout the novel. Thus, we divide the article into four parts: the first part corresponds to the beginning of colonialism, in which it is shown how Silvestre Vitalício begins to establish the repression of the other members of the new community; the second part represents the colonial life, and the impact it has on the lives of the characters; the third part focuses on the role played by some of the characters at the end of the Jesusalém colony; and the fourth part corresponds to the post-colonial adaptation life of each character and the way they react to the post-colonial world.

Keywords: Colonialism; Post-colonialism; Jesusalém; Mia Couto.

Introduction

Considering colonialism as a power relationship between two entities, where one overpowers the other, repressing it, this article aims to analyze the situations of colonialism and post-colonialism present in the novel written by the Mozambican author Mia Couto, *Jesusalém*. Given its extent and high amount of elements in the novel that could contribute to our analysis, we divided the article into four parts. First, we show the initial phase of colonialism (the colonization of Jesusalém), the arrival of the characters to the unknown land «where they begin to live a reality constructed according to the delusions of the patriarch (Silvestre Vitalício)» (Carreira, 2010), who seized the lands they inhabit and the lives of the inhabitants of Jesusalém. In the second part we focus on the colonial life, and the impact it has on the daily lives of the characters, such as the adoption of new customs and a culture created by Silvestre Vitalício and the rejection of any cultural aspect regarding their pre-Jesusalém world origins. In the third part we explain the decolonization process and show the roles that Tio Aproximado, Marta e Ntunzi had in the decolonization of the inhabitants of Jesusalém, especially in the decolonization of the mind of Mwanito, who lacked the knowledge of other worlds besides Jesusalém, and therefore had an easier time accepting the wishes of his father than believing he'd been deceived. Finally we talk about the life after Jesusalém showing how the characters deal with the post-colonial life, their behavior given the sudden freedom, and the side effects of the colonialism that remain in their lives.

Predominance of colonialism in the post-colonialism of *Jesusalém* by Mia Couto

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Translators note: Quotations that were part of the main text were translated in order to make it fluent.

1. Colonialism in Jesusalém

The concept of colonialism is commonly associated with overseas conquests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or to the geographic territories conquests. However, it could be argued that colonialism is, in the end, «a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another» (Kohn, 2012). If we use this generic meaning of colonialism without associating it to periods or particular historical events, we can see how the practice of domination is present in many situations and in many ways other than territorial. On the other hand,

embora o colonialismo e o pós-colonialismo pareçam ser simples nomenclaturas que definem um dado período histórico, para os estudos literários [e culturais] tais dimensões cronológicas remetem às transformações de determinados grupos colonizados refletidos em suas culturas, identidades e, conseqüentemente, em seus escritos. (Souza, 2012: 96)

Therefore, we should focus on the importance of its effects, and not only in their geographical or temporal location. In the novel written by the Mozambican author Mia Couto, we find situations that mirror the characteristics of colonialism and post-colonialism in its most generic sense, which we analyze in the following pages.

1.1. Colonization of Jesusalém

Two types of colonization are represented in *Jesusalém*; the first is the colonization of the land, the geographic area which Silvestre Vitalício seized arbitrarily and called Jesusalém; the second, and on which we will develop this analysis, is the psychological colonization of Mwanito and Ntunzi carried out by their father, Silvestre Vitalício.

Shaken by the death of his wife (Dordalma), Silvestre Vitalício decided to move away from the world with his children (Mwanito and Ntunzi), his brother in law (Tio Aproximado), an employee (Zacaria Kalash), and the donkey Jezibela, to an abandoned land. When they reached the place, Silvestre Vitalício adopted the role of God and began to dictate the rules that would govern the life of the new population, starting with the division of the territory and the properties they found.

Nos escombros do acampamento nos instalámos. Meu pai, na ruína central; eu e Ntunzi, numa casa anexa. Zacaria se arrumou num velho armazém, localizado nas traseiras. A antiga casa da administração ficou desocupada.

— *Essa casa* — disse o pai — *é habitada por sombras e governada por lembranças.*

Depois, ordenou:

— *Ali ninguém entra!* (Couto, 2012: 22)

Since he was the main figure of power, Silvestre moved in to the main house. This excerpt shows Silvestre's need of not contacting or letting others contact with the past, to which they were connected through memories. Thus, it would be easier for the children to accept the change and adapt to the new life, while not having a point of comparison. Then, Silvestre Vitalício *unbaptized* the new population, giving a new name to each of the people that were with him, because by having another birth they would be free from their past (Couto, 2012: 41-42). The only one who had the right to retain his name was Mwanito, who was only three years old, and still had no memories to bind him to the past. As we see, the same way that many colonizers chose a new name for the lands they found, Silvestre Vitalício chose a name for the place he had chosen to live in and for the people whose lives he had seized, because that way they belonged to him. Once established these first rules, the new mankind

settled in Jesusalém and (re)started to live or not live, as stated Ntunzi (*ibidem*: 28, 166), who felt contradicted by the decisions of his father.

1.2 The colonial life in Jesusalém

In the colonies, the colonizers imposed new traditions and customs trying to eradicate the indigenous cultures. The Spanish conquests and their results marked the colonialist policy that was then followed by other European conquerors

primeiro, com a submissão política dos habitantes, taças estranhas, impondo-lhes sua forma de vida e a cultura ocidental. A seguir, com a evangelização, ocasionando alterações profundas nas formas de viver dessas sociedades nativas. (Lemos, 2001: 33)

In Mozambique, the law of colonial assimilation¹ approved by the Portuguese State established that the applicant of the assimilated status had to «reject their own culture regarding behavioral habits» (Cunha, 1996:50).

Mia Couto presents a similar situation in Jesusalém when Mwanito and Ntunzi are forced to separate themselves from all the elements that were part of their culture and identity. His father, Silvestre, insisted that they could not «remember or dream anything», because he himself did not dream or remember anything (Couto, 2012: 19-20); he made them sweep the shortcuts, but «it was a reverse sweeping, instead of clearing paths, we were scattering dust, twigs, stones, seeds» (*ibidem*: 39); he forbid them to pray or cry (*ibidem*: 48-49), express affection or feel pleasure (*ibidem*: 23); and imposed a new religion to his children, which consisted in the worship of the Sun and the earth:

Todas as manhãs, nosso velho inspecionava-nos os olhos, espreitando bem dentro das nossas pupilas. Queria confirmar se havíamos assistido o nascer do Sol. Essa era a primeira obrigação dos viventes: ver emergir o astro criador. (...) No final do dia, as obrigações eram outras, igualmente sagradas. Quando nos vínhamos despedir, Silvestre inquiria:

— Já abraçou a terra, filho? (Couto, 2012: 40)

Thus, the everyday life of the inhabitants of Jesusalém «was regulated from sunrise to sunset» (*ibidem*: 40) and all they did had to be approved by Silvestre Vitalício.

In the times of the Portuguese colony in Mozambique, the education of the natives had clear goals: «not letting them develop too much, creating a subjective and inferiority spirit when compared to the colonizing country and linking them to the culture of the metropolis at the expense of their own culture» (Cunha, 1996: 53). Somehow, that was what Silvestre Vitalício intended to do with his children, so the education in Jesusalém was limited to his statements, which they had to accept as absolute truths. Being aware that education could make his children discover that the world hadn't ended, he forbid Mwanito to learn how to read or write, to keep him unaware, and he forbade books or any means of written information in Jesusalém.

The methods used by Silvestre Vitalício worked during the early years of the colony. Although Ntunzi had difficulty accepting his father's words, because he recalled the world and his previous life, and rebelled against him, there were times when he had the opportunity to escape his father's yoke and didn't, because his own mind prevented him to do so (Couto, 2012: 66-69). And even though Mwanito had been influenced at a time by the events and the inter-relationship with other people, for a long time he believed faithfully in his father's words and eventually remained by his side until the end.

¹ For further information about colonial assimilation read: Cardoso, Sara Alexandra Martins. (2013). *As cartilhas de Augusto Casimiro e Pedro Muralha*. Master's Thesis of Teaching Portuguese as a Second and Foreign Language presented to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon.

1.3 The road to the decolonization of Jesusalém

There were three formal resistance movements to Portuguese oppression² in Mozambique which contributed, when they combined forces, to win the country's independence (cf. Hernández, 2005: 605-606). In *Jesusalém* we find three characters who, at different times in the history and in different ways, tried to end Silvestre Vitalício's colony, but only succeeded when they joined forces.

At this point of analysis it seems relevant to recall that we are talking about a mostly psychological colonization, so the establishment of the colony was not based on physical violence or enslavement, but on the psychological manipulation of the characters and the psychological effects caused by their isolation of the rest of the world, the end of the colony was only possible by decolonizing the minds of the people. There weren't any simple decolonization processes, all happened gradually and required a lot of struggle and insistence on the part of those interested in gaining their freedom, and the decolonization of *Jesusalém* was no exception.

We begin the path to the decolonization of *Jesusalém* showing the role played by Tio Aproximado. Although, at first, he agreed to help his brother in law to enjoy the distance he so desired, there came a time when it didn't make sense for him to continue keeping the children away from the world, pretending that the world had ended and that they were the last survivors, as Silvestre repeatedly stated to them (Couto, 2012: 23). The first proof of Tio Aproximado's resistance arose when he announced the death of the president³, with hope that it would approach the end out of *Jesusalém*, but did not get the expected results; instead he argued with Silvestre, and for the first time, Aproximado showed his real thoughts about the situation: «— *Jesusalém* doesn't exist. It doesn't exist on any map, only on the map of your madness. There is no Silvestre, no Aproximado, no Ntunzi no...» (*ibidem*: 81). At this point we see not only the first directly expressed resistance to the orders of Silvestre Vitalício, in fact, the most relevant is that the news brought by Tio Aproximado confirms the existence of people outside of *Jesusalém*.

Weeks later, Aproximado came back with food and provisions, but Silvestre wouldn't accept any help for him or for Ntunzi, who was ill:

— *Ntunzi está melhor, ele não precisa das suas mentiras para ficar bem...*

— *Isto aqui, esta merda de Jesusalém, isto é que é uma grande mentira* — bradou Aproximado a mostrar que ali terminava a conversa. (Couto, 2012: 85)

A very important moment in Aproximado's resistance that contributed to the outcome of the story is the arrival of Marta. Marta is a Portuguese woman that went to Africa in search of her husband and whom Aproximado took to *Jesusalém*. Marta's arrival is very important, firstly, because she is a physical and unquestionable proof of the existence of a living world outside that land; secondly, because she is the first woman Mwanito sees and whom he mentions at the beginning of the novel, and she becomes in his hope of knowing that other world and having the mother he never had; thirdly, because she is a confirmation of Tio Aproximado's rebellion against Silvestre Vitalício's colony

— *O que é isto? Uma invasão?*

— *Isto não é nada de mais. A senhora gosta de fotografar garças.*

— *E você ainda responde «nada de mais»? Alguém anda neste mundo a fotografar garças?*

Era apenas uma excedentária razão para o seu mal-estar. A verdade é que a presença da portuguesa, só por si, era uma insuportável intrusão. Uma única pessoa — ainda por cima uma mulher — desmoronava

² This were UDENAMO (*União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique*), MANU (Mozambique African Union) e UNAMI (*União Nacional Africana para Moçambique Independente*). After they merged and founded *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Frelimo).

³ They probably refer to President Samora Machel (1933-1986).

a inteira nação de Jesusalém. (Couto, 2012: 131-132)

Aproximado's betrayal to Silvestre when he took the Portuguese woman to Jesusalém didn't only mean the end, as stated by Mwanito, of the nation of Jesusalém, because it tore down the basis on which it had been built, but it also meant the arrival of a new opposition factor to Silvestre Vitalício's commandments. From the beginning, she will be seen by the children as a savior that arrived to free them: «(...) there was a certainty, now, inside me. Marta wasn't a visitor: she was sent to us» (*ibidem*: 153).

Marta plays a decisive role in the end of the colony of Jesusalém, because if she hasn't arrived to Jesusalém or Ntunzi and Mwanito hadn't grown close to her, the end of Jesusalém had probably come much later. Marta constantly challenged Silvestre and it was in one of those moments that the children were able to see their father's frailty and humanity for the first time:

– *Caro Ventura, uma coisa lhe posso dizer: não foi só o senhor a sair do mundo...*

– *Não entendo...*

– *E se lhe dizer que eu e você estamos aqui pela mesma razão?*

Aquilo era doloroso de testemunhar. Ela uma mulher, uma mulher branca, e estava desafiando a autoridade do velho, expondo perante os filhos a sua fragilidade de pai e de homem. (Couto, 2012: 156-157)

Against Silvestre's will, the children grew closer to Marta. While Mwanito saw her as a maternal figure (*ibidem*: 153-158), Ntunzi dreamed of her as a woman (*ibidem*: 158-159), both of them hoping that she would take them to Europe with her (*ibidem*: 162-164).

Tio Aproximado's first attempts to end Jesusalém sought to stop the repression and the isolation of the children, hoping that the psychological consequences caused by a life of desolation wouldn't be very profound. However, his last attempt wasn't lead by those reasons, but by politic motives, because the State demanded to empty those lands as soon as possible; thanks to the previous events, both Zacaria (until now Silvestre's loyal servant) and the children agreed with him, but Silvestre refused to leave the place (*ibidem*: 187-191).

To conclude this item, we refer Ntunzi as predecessor of Mwanito's decolonization and the end of Jesusalém, because he is the main responsible for the decolonization of Mwanito's mind. Although his own mind had been colonized, Ntunzi always had difficulties in accepting his father's *truths*, because he could remember life before Jesusalém, and so he tried to pass his knowledge and ideas to his brother, aiming to open his eyes to reality. He shared his knowledge with his brother through apparently simple things that were always concealed from their father, who had forbidden them. In the first chapter of the novel, named «Me, Mwanito, the silence tuner», Mwanito tells the first time that Ntunzi took him to see *the-other-side*:⁴

O Ntunzi largou a minha mão e instruiu-me: eu deveria imitá-lo. Então, mergulhou para depois, todo submerso, abrir os olhos e, assim, contemplar a luz reverberando na superfície. Foi o que fiz: do ventre do rio, contemplei os rebrilhos do sol. E aquele fulgor me encandeou, numa cegueira envolvente e doce. Se houvesse abraço de mãe teria sido assim, nesse desmaio de sentidos. (Couto, 2012: 30)

After this wonderful view, Mwanito came to the conclusion that his brother could be right when he said that «the others, those that were on the side of the Sun, were the living, the only human creatures» (*ibidem*: 31). Seeing the other side was the first weapon Ntunzi gave Mwanito, even though he, in his innocence, continued believing his father's words; the second came soon after, when Mwanito showed interest in reading and the last came immediately later, in the form of writing.

4 O *Lado-de-Lá* in the original text.

Reading and writing became Mwanito's eyes, because for him «writing was a bridge between past and future times, times that, in me, never got to exist» and

quanto mais decifrava as palavras, minha mãe, nos sonhos, ganhava voz e corpo. O rio me fazia ver o outro lado do mundo. A escrita me devolvia o rosto perdido da minha mãe (Couto, 2012: 46)

Teaching Mwanito to read was Ntunzi's clear resistance to his father's authority, who had expressly forbidden it; later, when Ntunzi brings bills to be used as paper, Mwanito understands the truth (cf. Carreira, 2010: 36): the world hadn't ended, «after all, the-other-side⁵ was alive and ruled the souls of Jesusalém» (Couto, 2012: 116). Silvestre knew that reading and writing were powerful tools that could enable Mwanito to discover the truth; by forbidding his son's access to those tools, he was assuring the inequality of power between them. This reminds us of the fact that, in the Brazilian colony, language and writing were seen as tools of power by the white men and *something magical* by the indigenous, but it ended up making possible intercultural dialogue and social equality (cf. Souza, 2012: 99). Once Mwanito learned to read and write, he would have as much power as Silvestre.

Later, Ntunzi and Mwanito tried to take advantage of a unique opportunity and entered in Tio Aproximado's truck in a failed attempt to escape from Jesusalém, which ended up having the opposite result, leaving them with no means to depart from Jesusalém (Couto, 2012: 206-208). This event showed Ntunzi's will of leaving Jesusalém and the change in Mwanito, who was now more willing than ever to abandon his father and run away from that land. Nevertheless, Ntunzi's big moment of rebellion happens later, when he offers to carry out his father's order of killing Marta and, instead, kills Jezibela, Silvestre's great love (*ibidem*: 208-211). This moment is crucial in the story, because it isn't just about Ntunzi's disobedience, it's about the reason why he did it «— *Tonight, was the woman. Tomorrow I kill him*» (*ibidem*: 210).

Jezibela's death had a devastating effect in Silvestre and marked the end of the colony. Silvestre «(...) was the portrait of the widowed sadness. Defeated, lonely, disbeliever of everything and everyone» (*ibidem*: 216) and, in the middle of the delirium caused by the pain, he was bitten by a snake. As soon as Tio Aproximado and Zacaria found Silvestre and realized what had happened, they decided «— *Lets take him to the city. (...) This man needs to go to a hospital*» (*ibidem*: 222). No one was against this decision, on the contrary «Tio's orders were accurate and quick. All of us would leave Jesusalém before our father returned to reason» (*ibidem*: 222), they had to take advantage of the absence of power.

1.4 Life after Jesusalém

The experience of going back to the city was completely exciting for Ntunzi, he was coming back to his home and the life that, for so many years, had been denied to him and he intended to get it back. He wouldn't stay long in the house and «wandered with people that Tio Aproximado classified as “not at all recommendable”» (*ibidem*: 241). Ntunzi was like a caged bird that was suddenly released; he tried to fly away as far as possible from the yoke that had oppressed him for so many years. But the freedom didn't last long, because Zacaria, his biological father, made him join the army and he couldn't refuse. However, when Ntunzi came back he told to his youngest brother that, although he wasn't in charge of his life, he was happy in the army because, for the first time in his life, he could be the boss of someone else (*ibidem*: 275). Somehow, Ntunzi continued being oppressed by others, but having the opportunity of becoming an oppressor made him feel better. Based on the analysis of Stuart Hall's work, Ana Paula Silva concluded that «identity is constructed through the participation as a subject in the space we occupy» (Silva, 2010: 2). In a way, Ntunzi found his identity in the

5 O *Lado-de-Lá* in the original text.

environment of the army, because he was able to play an active and leading role.

Going back to the city, to his house, was like dying for Silvestre (Couto, 2012: 228), and he decided to turn it into «his new seclusion, his new Jesusalém» (*ibidem*: 232). One afternoon they managed to take him to Dordalma's grave and from that day on «he wasn't himself again. He was automaton, without soul, without speech. (...) Vitalício went into exile inside himself. Jesusalém moved him away from the world. The city stole him from himself» (*ibidem*: 238-239).

For Mwanito, going back to the city was both thrilling and nostalgic. On one hand, he would finally see the city, other people, women, the world. On the other hand, «everyone, in that groups, were returning. Not me. (...) The only home I had had were the ruins of Jesusalém» (*ibidem*: 227), where he said farewell to his childhood (*ibidem*: 225). Thanks to Tio Aproximado, who «protected him as the son he never had» (*ibidem*: 261), he went to school for a while. The experience of being in a classroom with other children and being able to run through the pages of a book was fascinating for him, but he started losing his interest after the death of his teacher on the hands of the *disease of the century* (*ibidem*: 261-262). The innocence caused by a life of isolation made Mwanito think that the disease was «a lumpiness of past, a suitcase made of time» (*ibidem*: 263), and when he concluded that his father also had it, he told his classmates, that chose to stay away from him. The solitude that came next was comforting for Mwanito and he slowly stopped going to his classes and devoted himself to take care of his father, who he started greeting

ao modo antigo, consoante os mandados de Jesusalém:

—*Já posso dormir, pai. Já abracei a terra.*

Talvez, no fundo de mim, eu sentisse saudade da imensa quietude do meu triste passado. (Couto, 2012: 264)

This return to the routine of the colonial life could be analyzed in different ways: in many situations throughout history we have seen how the generations that only knew oppression weren't able to deal with the freedom when it was given to them and ended up not enjoying it, because they didn't know how to live differently. In other cases, the return to the colonial life is a personal choice, made because the person wasn't able to adapt to the new conditions, or because they didn't like the world they found and feel safer or more comfortable when they come back to their prior life. In Mwanito's case, it seems to be a personal choice towards the impossibility of seeing the world the way the others did, because he was old, as old as his father, even though he was still a child (*ibidem*: 232) and he felt displaced from his home. Just as many returnees that came back from the colonies to Portugal, to the land of their parents, which they never knew and never belonged to them, Mwanito came back to the city and the house where he was born, but he didn't find anything familiar, or that belonged to him. According to Ana Paula Silva's analysis of Stuart Hall's work, identities are defined historically (according to the environment that surrounds us) and not biologically (according to the environment in which we are born) (cf. Silva, 2010: 2); this statement helps us to understand why Mwanito didn't feel identified with the place where he was born, all his life had happened in Jesusalém, and it was there where his identity was. According to Breckenridge & Veer, «decolonization does not entail immediate escape from colonial discourse» (Breckenridge & Veer, 1994: 3), because the practices of representation used by the colonizers recreate a logic of subordination that lasts even after the colonies have gain their independence (cf. Kohn, 2012); it is because of that predominance of colonialism in post-colonial times that Mwanito embraces again the culture and tradition of Jesusalém.

Zacaria Kalash didn't find his place in the city, so he decided to go back to Jesusalém that had been his homeland, more than any other (Couto, 2012: 243). Zacaria lived in the illusion of the Mozambican colony. He was never able to overcome that period, because everything he had wished to live had been

taken from him when he was forced to go to war. *Jesusalém* had been a shelter, where he could hide from life. However, as time went by he realized that he shouldn't continue being afraid of living and embarked on the adventure that was living his life. The experience of *Jesusalém* freed him.

Conclusions

When Silvestre Vitalício decided to forget his past he colonized the life of his sons, especially Mwanito's. This colonization was based on the establishment of new rules that they had to follow daily and the adoption of new customs and traditions, as well as the prohibition of keeping memories, customs or any other kind of relation with their past and/or the world outside *Jesusalém*.

Each one of the characters experienced the colonialism in a different way. Mwanito, the youngest son, believed blindly in his father's words, who insisted in saying that the world had ended and they were the last survivors, because he had no memories before *Jesusalém*. On the other hand, his brother, Ntunzi, was never able to accept his father's commandments and statements and constantly tried to inculcate his doubts in Mwanito, only succeeding when there was unquestionable proof. Zacaria Kalash supported Silvestre's decisions and delusions because he was there to take care of his son, Ntunzi, and because he found the homeland he never had in *Jesusalém*. At the beginning, Tio Aproximado had decided to support his brother-in-law, but later he turned against the idea of keeping his nephews isolated from the world, and denying them freedom and knowledge. Lastly, for Silvestre Vitalício *Jesusalém* was like seclusion, a way of being far away from his disease, that were the memories, being in power made him stronger.

When the colony of *Jesusalém* came to an end, each character dealt with freedom in a different way, but there was always a predominance of the signs of the colonial life. This predominance escalated in such way that Mwanito, even after seeing the world and getting to know other people, decided to go back to life under the commandments of *Jesusalém*.

As we have seen throughout this analysis, the psychological effects of colonialism prevail even after its end, because «estes efeitos psíquicos, remetendo a uma colonização interior, se traduzem por um empobrecimento, um estreitamento interior» (Haroche, s. d.: 12), that doesn't allow the former oppressed to see themselves living without repression.

To conclude, we would like to emphasize that the work we analyzed is rich in references to other subjects and that the analysis we presented was just one of its possible readings. Some of the topics that could be explored are the relationship between Silvestre Vitalício and God; the game between Silvestre's misogyny, the paratexts (of female authorship) and the arriving of Marta, who breaks the basis of *Jesusalém*; and the cultural identity of Mwanito and Ntunzi, among others.

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Abstract: This article aims fomenting the discussion on the incidence and propagation of Western and post-colonial ideas upon Arab and Muslim women in the present Portuguese book market. For both, it will be briefly analyzed the covers and titles of a selected *corpus* of autobiographic books that deal with this subject, and were published after the S-11, when the Arab and Islamic worlds got notoriety on the Western scene. More than relating the production of the publications on Arab and Muslim women in Portugal to the political events specific of this scenario, this article mainly intends to bring evidence on poignant representations of this female public that, on the last couple of years, has been massively interpreted.

Keywords: Post-colonialism; Orientalism; Stereotypes; Edition; Arab and Muslim Women.

Introduction

Willing to promote a discussion on the Eastern behavior reflected on the biographies and autobiographies published on the Portuguese book market, the first part of this article will be dedicated to presenting the concepts contained on the Orientalism through the presentation of some premises and relevant historical events that collaborated on the consolidation of that idea throughout history. Beyond that, the relation between the Orientalism, some segments of the cultural industry, and the creation and sustaining of stereotypes involving Arab and Muslim societies will be also discussed.

The second part of this article will then be dedicated to a brief analysis of covers, titles, and subtitles of a selected *corpus* of books published in Portugal on life of Arab and Muslim women. In this analysis, it is intended to verify if the premises presented on the first part of this article are true and how they do it on this list of publications.

1. Two weights, two measures: the Eastern “invention”

In one of the first sections of the book *Yo maté a Sherazade* (2011), originally published in England in 2010 and then in ten other countries, Joumana Haddad, the book author, describes the episode that motivated her to write it: once a foreign journalist asked her how “una mujer árabe [...] llega al punto de publicar en árabe una revista erótica tan controvertida como JASAD”²

¹ Jasad is a magazine about body arts, science, and literature for women printed in Lebanon edited by Jourmana Haddad.

² “an Arab woman [...] get to the point of publishing in Arabic an erotic magazine so controversial as JASAD”

Among editions and impression: reflections of Orientalism in autobiographies of Arab and Muslim women published in Portugal

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(HADDAD, 2011: 33), affirming that the majority of westerners were not “familiarizados con la posibilidad de que haya mujeres árabes liberadas³” (HADDAD, 2011:33).

Troubled by these statements, Joumana subverts through this book the reductive representations that compose Western imaginary about Arab women, deconstructing an image about them that she believes to be common:

[...] una pobre desvalida, condenada a obedecer de la cuna a la tumba y de forma incondicional a los hombres de la familia: padre, hermano, marido, hijo etcétera [...], un cuerpo indefenso al que se le dice cuándo vivir, cuándo morir, cuándo criar, cuándo ocultarse, cuándo consumirse [...], un rostro invisible oculto por capas de temor, vulnerabilidad e ignorancia [...], una mujer a la que no se le permite pensar, hablar o trabajar por cuenta; que solo puede hablar si se le indica, y que en gran parte es humillada e ignorada cuando habla; una mujer, en resumen, que no tiene cabida ni dignidad dentro de la humanidad [...]⁴ (HADDAD, 2011: 201, 210).

Although she doesn't deny the existence of women that “endorse” this stereotype, and believing that nowadays this type of woman has become, for many reasons, even more common (cf. HADDAD, 2011: 210, 218), Joumana reiterates the great influence of Orientalism on the maintenance of the Eastern view on that, clearly intending to diminish and deconstruct it (cf. HADDAD, 2011: 161, 169).

In *Orientalism* (1978), Said demonstrates how the path followed by Eastern though history has culminated in the creation of a political space and cultural imaginary which is called East, observed by a westerner point of view as an exotic, homogeneous, and inferior. In the same work, she emphasizes the importance of Napoleonic domination of Egypt in the 1900's for the consolidation of this space, once the Orientalism abandons the representative and descriptive characteristic after that, rebuilding itself as “language” (cf. SAID, 2008: 128).

Description de l'Égypte (1809-1828), a work of twenty-three tomes resulted of the occupation, is taken by the author as a concrete example of this “rebuilding” of thought because, for representing the “new” East it uses historicizing concepts emerging on a time when it was important, above all, the “capacidad de tratar históricamente (y no reductivamente, como un tópico de política eclesiástica) las culturas no europeas e no judeocristianas⁵” (SAID, 2008: 170), and for the new classifications of humanity as “la raza, el color, el origen, el temperamento, el carácter⁶” (SAID, 2008: 171) – opposing to medieval and renescent views legitimated by religious representations on the subject.

Besides that, the “rebuilding” of Orientalism didn't make some historical principles present in the Western view of the East disappear, turning them stronger as happened with the belief of East's inferiority compared to West's, taken as a premise for Napoleonic imperialism that aimed to invade Egypt to “restaurar una región en estado de barbarie para devolverla a su antigua grandeza clásica, y enseñar (en su beneficio) a Oriente los métodos del Occidente moderno⁷” (SAID, 2008, p. 126), in other words, to play the role of “un héroe que rescataba Oriente de la oscuridad, de la alienación y

3 “familiarized with the possibility of Arab women being liberated” (HADDAD, 2011:33).

4 [...] a poor and underprivileged, bound to obey from the cradle to the grave and unconditionally to all men of the family: father, brother, husband, son, etc. [...], an indefensible body to what one tells when to live, when to die, when to build, when to hide, when to consume itself [...], and invisible face hidden by layers of fright, vulnerability, and ignorance [...], a woman who is not allowed to think, to speak or to work on her behalf; that can only speak if asked, and is mostly humiliated and ignored when speaks: a woman, thus, that doesn't have space or dignity amongst humankind [...] (HADDAD, 2011: 201, 210).

5 “capacity of treating historically (not reductively, as a political ecclesiastic topic) cultures non-European and non jewish-christian”(SAID, 2008: 170)

6 “the race, the color, the origin, the temperament, the character” (SAID, 2008: 171)

7 “rebuild an area in a barbarian state, bringing back its old classic greatness, and teach (for its benefit) the East the methods of modern West” (SAID, 2008, p. 126),

de la extrañeza con las que él mismo se había distinguido convenientemente⁸ (SAID, 2008, p.171).

The main West description of the Arab woman presented previously, for example, represents well how this belief of superiority of the West kept itself throughout time, and bases the post-colonial speeches of the present, mostly favorable to the role of “savior” of Western societies related to Arab (and also Muslim) women, fed by a stereotype reaffirmed by their own speech.

1.1. The stereotypes and the media

In *Local da cultura*, Bhabha classifies the stereotype as a main strategy of the colonial speech for being a “uma forma de conhecimento e identificação que vacila entre o que está sempre ‘no lugar’, já conhecido, e algo que deve ser ansiosamente repetido⁹” (BHABHA, 1998: 105), once the “repetibilidade em conjunturas históricas e discursivas mutantes [...], produz aquele efeito de verdade probabilística e predictabilidade¹⁰” (BHABHA, 1998: 106) that despises the sense of alterity.

According to Said (2008: 92), the stereotypes related to Arabs and Muslims result from the combination of two factors: the existence of a kind of “immutable archive” created by Wests through literature related to experiences lived with Easts– the “already known” – and the need of “un método para controlar lo que parece ser una amenaza para la perspectiva tradicional del mundo¹¹” (SAID, 2008: 92), being the “busca pela repetibilidade¹²” a method used with the unknown Islam, associated to Arabs many years before.

In the first chapter of *Yo mate a Sherazade*, for example, Joumana shows some of the present stereotypes about Arabs as a consequence, in some way, of the feel of threat brought by the “Arab terrorists” – a stereotype related to the campaign of the “war against terror” after the S-11 – and the Easts as they are presented in the superficial and sensationalist approach of many West communication vehicles:

[...] cuántas veces [...] habré tenido que explicar ante una audiencia occidental asombrada que sí, que muchas mujeres árabes llevan *tops* sin mangas e incluso minifalda en lugar de pañuelos en la cabeza, *abayas* (túnicas) y *niqab*, y que no, que el desierto no ha tenido influencia en mi expresión poética por el mero hecho de que en Líbano no hay desierto. Una serie infinita de malentendidos y simplificaciones exageradas reforzados por el miedo extendido a los famosos “terroristas árabes”; o por pura ignorancia y falta de curiosidad hacia nosotros; o por la fascinación de los medios de comunicación ante el aspecto superficial/sensacionalista de las noticias (HADDAD, 2011, 218: 226)¹³.

Before the September 11th, the character Muslim Arab had turned popular in the United States, mainly after the beginning of new wars with Israel in 1973-74 (cf. SAID, 2008: 376) and the Petroleum Crisis, in 1973, that affected directly the American safes. At that time, “en el cine y en la

8 “a hero that would rescue the East from obscurity, from alienation, and from awkwardness through what it has distinguished itself conveniently” (SAID, 2008, p.171).

9 “a way of knowledge and identifications that bounces between what is always ‘in place’, what is already known, and something that has to be anxiously repeated” (BHABHA, 1998: 105).

10 “repeatability in historical and discursively mutant conjectures [...], producing that effect of probable truth and predictability” (BHABHA, 1998: 106).

11 “a method of controlling what seems to be a treat to the traditional perspective of the world”

12 “search for repetition”.

13 [...] how many times [...] I have tried to explain to a fearing West public that yes, many Arab women wear sleeveless tank tops and even short skirts in place of fabric over their heads, *abayas* (tunicss) and *niqab*, and that no, that the desert did not have an influence in my poetic expression since in Lebanon there is no desert. An unending misunderstandings and exaggerated simplifications enhanced by the fear extended to the famous “Arab terrorists”; or by our pure ignorance and lack of curiosity; or because of the fascination of the communication vehicles when dealing with the superficial/sensationalist aspect of the news (HADDAD, 2011, 218: 226).

televisión, el árabe se asocia con la lascivia o con una deshonestidad sanguinaria [...]” (SAID, 2008: 379), and until at least 1981, when the book *Covering Islam* of Said was published, the image of Arabs and Muslims was related to words like “oppression”, “restriction”, “extremism”, and “threat” in north-American media.

The changing of these negative images of “terrorist” after the September 11th was not, then, something that demanded a special persuasive ability from the media, and after the attacks¹⁵, not only Arabic societies drawn more attention from the Western but also the exclusively Muslim women immerse in that polemic and combative scenario in Islam (cf. CASTRO, 2007: 13).

1.2. The stereotypes and the book market

Beyond the press, another cultural industry also collaborated since before the S-11 with the reaffirming of stereotypes related to the Muslim: the book market, mentioning indirectly by Said in one of her articles published in 1998 in the *Al-Ahram* in which she reflects about the work of V.S. Naipaul¹⁶, author of two books in which relates experiences and trips through the four Islamic and non-Arab countries: *Among of believers* (1981) and *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions Among the Converted Peoples* (1998).

In this article, Said criticizes strongly the most recent book of Naipul that, as she remarks, was “foi resenhado por muitos órgãos influentes da imprensa americana, que o elogiaram, afirmando que era obra de um grande mestre da observação aguda e dos detalhes reveladores” (SAID, 2003: 15). In the conclusion, she makes clear her view on the consequences of the praising this kind of publication in the market, saying it is a place simply manipulated:

o último livro de Naipul sobre o Islã será considerado uma importante interpretação de uma grande religião e mais muçulmanos vão sofrer e ser insultados. E a distância entre eles e o Ocidente irá aumentar e se aprofundar. Ninguém se beneficiará disso, exceto os editores, que provavelmente venderão muitos livros, e o próprio Naipul, que ganhará muito dinheiro (SAID, 2003: 19)¹⁸.

When picturing the approach made by Naipul in his very much praised work, Said tells us directly of the importance of this segment of cultural industry as a opinion builder and speech articulator that reproduce, along with many other segments, series of materials that bring different matters about Arab and Muslim societies intensifying hate on behalf of Western society.

3. An analysis

Even before the polemic S-11 2001, the life of Arab and or Muslim women already aroused the curiosity in the Western through different expectations created on the harems filled with odalisques or through the oppression caused by the mandatory use of veils even under the high temperatures of the desert – an unquestionable scenario of all and every Arab or Muslim country¹⁹.

14 “on the movies and on the television the Arab was associated to a bloodthirsty lascivious and dishonest man [...]” (SAID, 2008: 379).

15 The mentor of the attacks and the nineteen accused of executing it were all Arab.

16 V. S. Naipul is a tobagoian author naturalized in England, who was Nobel of Literature prizewinner in 2001.

17 “was read by many influent associations of the American press that praised it, saying that it was a work of a great master of the acute observation and revealing details” (SAID, 2003: 15).

18 The last Naipul’s book about Islam is considered an important observation of a great religion and more Muslim people will suffer and be insulted. The distance between them and the Western will increase and get deeper. No one will benefit on it, except the editors which will probably sell many books, and Naipul himself, who will make a lot of money (SAID, 2003: 19).

19 todas estas “imagens” mencionadas foram encontradas em comentários de usuários de diversos blogs que expuseram suas opiniões sobre os livros que haviam lido a respeito da vida das mulheres árabes e/ou muçulmanas e sobre as leis que regem essas sociedades.

Among the various sectors of the culture industry that proposed to build or deconstruct these same paradigms of thought, it can be said that the book market is especially interesting to be analyzed in this aspect because, especially after the September 11th, it has been supposedly busy giving a larger space voice to Arab and / or Muslim women in Western societies through the publication of biographies and autobiographies entirely dedicated to them.

Among the countries which predominantly published translations of this kind of translation is Portugal, whose book market is in an intermediate position for being a producer and/or consumer of this kind of publication if thinking that the Works are nor originally edited in this country, but in other Western countries²⁰ in which the matter of Orientalism is strongly rooted, what makes Portugal a part of a “domino effect”.

As in other countries, the Portuguese market has updated the catalog on Arab and Muslim women since 2001, when some of old editions of this subject were reedited with new titles and covers. This effort, along with publishing new releases, allows us to notice the relevance that biographies and autobiographies on this subject have reached the market, and also the importance of titles and covers on the context of publication.

Guiding us, then, by there matters and on the information presents in the beginning of this article, we will analyze briefly and in sequence three autobiographic book titles and covers²¹, published in Portugal for the first time after the September 11th, on the life of women who belong simultaneously to the Arab and Muslim societies²², in view of the fact that these designations are taken as synonymous.

For the analysis of titles and coves were considered some additional information about the editions that, as the images on the covers of the Portuguese editions analyzed, are set in sequence:



Image 1. Cover of the 1st edition (2004) of the book *Queimada Viva: quando o amor antes do casamento é sinônimo de morte* [Burned Alive: when love before marriage is synonym of death].

Image 2. Cover of the 1st edition (2007) of the book *Desfigurada: quando um crime passionnal se torna um assunto de Estado* [Defaced: when a passion crime turns into a State matter].

Image 3. Cover of the 1st edition (2010) of the book *Divorciada aos 10 anos* [Divorced at 10 years of age]. Porto: ASA, 1st ed. 2010.

²⁰ os livros traduzidos e publicados em Portugal geralmente provém da Inglaterra, França e EUA.

²¹ The three books were selected among six in the same period, based on a theme criteria. It is noteworthy that, in spite of the small quantity of releases, the books whose subject is only life of Eastern Muslim women were not accounted (which includes massive publications on Afghan and Pakistani women, for example) or Western Muslim women.

²² Considering the Arab countries that are part of the League of Arab States, and Muslim the ones which have the majority of their population Muslim, such as: Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, the Palestinian Territories under Israeli Occupation, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Yemen, Oman, Qatar, Mauritania, Somalia, Djibouti Federal and Islamic Republic of Comoros (HIRO, 1996: 22).

Original title	Original sub-title	Translated title	Translated sub-title	Authors
<i>Brûlée vive</i>	-	Queimada viva	<i>quando o amor antes do casamento é sinónimo de morte.</i>	Souad; Maria T. Cuny
<i>Defigurée</i>	<i>quand un crime passionnel devient devient affaire d'état.</i>	Desfigurada	<i>quando um crime passional se torna um assunto de Estado.</i>	Rania Al-Baz;
<i>Moi Nojoud, 10 ans, divorcée</i>	-	Divorciada aos 10 anos	-	Ali Noujoud; Delphine Minoui

Chart 1. Additional information on the analyzed editions.

3.1. Of titles and subtitles

The titles on the portuguese editions, as well as the ones of the original editions, are short, informative, and impacting, as if they were openings of newspaper reports, ready to announce objectively which fact will be touched upon in the body text. Likewise, the subtitles – when existent – resemble fine lines that accompany the news, adding to the titles information that announces previously the story plot.

In the book *Queimada viva*, for example, the subtitle “*quando o amor antes do casamento é sinónimo de morte*” makes clear the reason of the violence suffered by Souad, its author: she “loved” before wedding. Although, reading of the synopsis²³ allows us to infer that this Word was used to designate “sex” and that the choice of a milder term as a “synonym” for “death” may possibly create a more impactful semantic opposition to the reader because, after all, would that be acceptable for the Western society, which is mainly Christian, to be condemned because of “love”?

The use of the present tense on the subtitle (“é”) also contributes to rouse the sensation of unconformity on the reader because it makes “love” being a synonym of “death” not only in Souad’s situation, naturally presented in the past tense, but brings it to the contemporary, as if it was a “crystallized” sentence, and effective for all women that belong to the author’s universe which, as it can be seen in the synopsis, is from the West Bank.

In *Desfigurada: quando um crime passional se torna um assunto de Estado* we notice a similar paradigm in its: while the title written in the past tense informs the reader which kind of aggression was suffered by the author Rania Al-Baz (“defaced”), the subtitle makes clear the reason of the act, naming it as a “passion crime” through the use of the present tense (“turns into”), bringing to it a new information that anticipates the approach of the case that will be done in the book - “a State matter”.

When presenting the case of Rania as a “subject” of “national nature”, it turns into a kind of common denominator in the society which she lives in because, after all, it could not be taken as a State “matter” if there was not a strong social condolatory context. This idea of “recurrence of events” is still enhanced by the use of the expression “to turn into” in the present tense in opposition to the past tense which refers to the sustained action by Rania, after all this *continuum* between tenses denotes the durability of the “matter” that endures to the present, and is recurrent in Saudi Arabia²⁴.

The book *Divorciada aos 10 anos*, on the other hand, does not present a subtitle, but a comment

23 Available at: <http://www.asa.pt/pt/literatura/biografias-e-memorias/queimada-viva/>. Acesso em: 25/12/2013.

24 This information is available at: <http://www.asa.pt/pt/literatura/biografias-e-memorias/desfigurada/>. Access in: 25/12/2013.

of the former secretary of state of the USA, Hillary Clinton, which highlight the greatness of Noujoud, the author, and designates her as an “example of courage”, turning her into an “icon” against the situation that gives the title to the book: the marriage – presupposed by the word “divorce” – of girls increasingly younger in countries that have laws as in the Yemen, where Nojoud was born²⁵.

However, this book title, as said previously, comes very close to the opening of a newspaper and has elements in its construction that aims to have the same impact as “burned alive” or “defaced”. Opposing to these terms, the word “divorced” is not sufficiently strong to make the Western reader uncomfortable, but when noticing that the divorced “woman” is ten years old it gets shocked – possibly, that is why the number “10” is not spelled out, so it has the same kind of highlighting.

3.2. Of images and graphics

Images and layout on the book covers also intensify the sense of estrangement created by Reading titles and subtitles. When taken together, there is a clear effort to enhance the sense of shock and estrangement caused on the reader, thus, collaborating to the creation and maintenance of stereotypes related to Arab and Muslim women.

In *Queimada viva*, for example, the selected picture to illustrate the cover is a woman with her face covered by a white mask, having only her mouth and eyes uncovered, alluding to possible deformations in her face due to the act of which Souad, represented there, was victim; likewise, in *Desfigurada* the image of Rania Al-Baz (before the aggression) is presented under an effect that reflects her face in a broken mirror, a visual metaphor that also permeates the loss of beauty after the violent act they suffered. In both cases, the covers correspond only to the women who are “subject” of the autobiography, even though the factsheet in these books bring the information Western women authors also contributed to their writing.

Also in both cases the choice of some typographic elements also incorporate the conjunction of what is intended to be announced to the reader about the books; the title *Queimada viva* is presented in red, which refers to the “fire”, and *Desfigurada* is presented under an effect of “dissoluteness” or “disappearance” representing the deconstruction of the image of Al-Baz.

In *Divorciada aos 10 anos*, the image of Noujoud, softly illuminated by sunbeams, appears in a blue set with a title written in pink – a color typically associated to the female infant universe – contoured by edges similar to the ones used in some editions of fairytales. These elements that refer to childhood are contrasted with information brought by the title and to Hillary Clinton’s comment itself, referring to Noujoud as a “woman” and not as a “girl”, emphasizing even more the “shock” of the reader when facing the book.

3.3. Final considerations

Considering that the titles, subtitles, and the cover images are the first things in which a reader fixes to when takes a book and decides to read it or not, it is interesting to think about how the dynamics of functioning of these “presentations” as we saw in this analysis, reverberate and stimulate Oriental attitudes presented in the first part of this article.

Starting with the terms that make up the titles and subtitles, and even through the layout, we notice that all choices made to make the book cover seem to have been done to provoke estrangement and/or to shock the reader. This first feeling is followed by curiosity and revulsion when dealing with

²⁵ This information is available at: <http://www.asa.pt/pt/literatura/biografias-e-memorias/divorciada-aos-10-anos/>. Access in: 25/12/2013.

the “exotic” – as if situations of violence against women did not exist in the West – culminating in the sensations of outrage and superiority, usually hidden in comments that elapses from the presentation of these women as icons representing all women of a given society, classify them as “poor victims of Islamic living standards and Arab culture”, in other words, create a stereotype for them.

The strategy used for these means comes from, as seen, from one of the underlying principles of creation of stereotypes according to Said (cf., 2008, 98): the sense of threat to which the reader is exposed when taking a book with titles related to situations that seem so unbelievable, and that are consolidated, as the reader sees himself in front of these works because, after all, how many books of the same type are published reporting cases of extreme violence against women in the West?

4. Conclusion

This analysis did not consider the content expressed in these works, because it was not the aim of this article to classify them under an ideological point of view, however it follows that through the analysis of the considered elements, it is possible to conclude that the Portuguese book market, as a part of the Western cultural industry, collaborates and reflects the maintenance of orientalist interpretations of life of Arab and Muslim women before Islam, even though, as predominantly publishes translations of this kind of work and works in co-edition with the publishers who have the original rights, this market is not the primary producer of this type of work.

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Abstract: With this work I intend to study the impact of the Portuguese colonial history in the acceptance of an orthographic agreement that implies a bigger vocabulary change in Portugal (1,6%) than in Brazil (0,5%). The purpose is to understand how a possible Portuguese and Brazilian collective imaginary, conditioned by the relationships of former colonizers and former colonized, underlies the treatment of this issue of linguistic nature. To this end, I will collect articles from respected Portuguese authors who have been at the center of controversy and analyse the nature of the arguments used to defend or to criticize the agreement.

Keywords: Portuguese language orthographic agreement of 1990; Colonialism; Portugal; Brazil

Introduction

The controversy around the new orthographic agreement has spilled much ink since it came into effect in 2009. The current article seeks to understand if the historical colonial relationships between Portugal and Brazil are present in the argumentation against and pro agreement, in order to comprehend in which way the Portuguese collective imaginary has any influence in the acceptance of an agreement led by Brazil, and which implies a bigger vocabulary change in Portugal (1,6%) than in Brazil (0,5%).

This article consists in an initial chapter that summarizes the history of the controversy regarding the orthographic agreements, since 1911 until 1990. Then we move to the methodology, which consists in a survey and analysis of controversial articles about the agreement by respected Portuguese authors. In the case study, we will examine the arguments pro and con and draw the conclusions about the nature of the argumentation used.

1. Brief history of the orthographic agreements controversy

The history of the orthographic agreements dates back to the beginning of the previous century and was always controversial. However, never the issue dragged on for so long as in the recent 1990 agreement, which took twenty years to be implemented and even today is still being reported for all the wrong reasons. In order to understand where this disagreement came from and if the argumentation now used against or in favour is new, or have been repeated throughout the centuries, we will make a brief summary of the history of the previous agreements, until we reach the current one.

New orthographic agreement: still colonial and post-colonial issues?

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1.1. The Orthographic Reform of 1911

The orthographic reform of 1911 was the first reformation of the Portuguese language and it was internally controversial. Back then, the linguists and scholars were divided between conservatives, accused of “subservience to the classics,” and those who wanted to approach the spelling to orality, creating a “phonetic spelling”. In the end, none of these positions won. The reformation was made upon the ideals of simplification and normalization, supported by the *Portuguese Orthography* of Gonçalves Viana. However, it did not reach the other side of the Atlantic (Mateus, 2006, p.6).

Despite the national contestation, the biggest polemic was related with the non-involvement of Brazil in the reform. This fact is particularly recriminatory when we knew that there was a strong phonetician current, which, like us, fought for simplifying the orthography. Since 1907, José Medeiros e Albuquerque was trying to create an orthographic reform in Brazil.

However, Gonçalves Viana rejected the Brazilian reform because it did not fit the Portuguese phonetic reality and it would submit the Portuguese people to the Brazilian Portuguese (Aguiar, 2007, p.18). Once ruled out of the reform, the Brazilian traditionalist faction won power. This situation led to a divergence between spelling: the Portuguese was reformulated, while the Brazilian kept on following the “old pseudo-etymological orthography” (Ricardo, 2009, p.176).

1.2. The Orthographic Agreement of 1945

The first Luso-Brazilian orthographic agreement came from the initiative of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and was accepted in 1931 by the Lisbon Science Academy. The goals were the same as always: suppress the differences, unify and simplify. However, the agreement was never implemented (Ricardo, 2009, p.177).

The Orthographic Vocabulary of the Portuguese Language, by the Lisbon Science Academy, published in Portugal in 1940, and approved in Brazil in 1942, along with the Orthographic Formulary of 1943, are the documents that regulate the Brazilian spelling until today. Portugal, on the other hand, adopted the new orthographic agreement of 1945, born of the Luso-Brazilian Orthographic Convention of 1945. Signed by the two academies, the Portuguese and the Brazilian, the agreement suppressed almost entirely the Luso-Brazilian spelling divergences and establishes the orthographic rules for all Portuguese-speaking countries, except Brazil itself (Ricardo, 2009, p.177). Initially approved by Decree-Law, the agreement was not ratified by the Brazilian Congress and, ten years later, in 1955, due to the multiplication of protests was revoked.

In the following decades, many were the projects undertaken by Portuguese-speaking countries, but none of them were implemented.

1.3. The Orthographic Agreement of 1990

The Portuguese language Orthographic Agreement of 1990 was born of the negotiations between the Portuguese and Brazilian academies and is an international treaty applied to all Portuguese-speaking countries (Ricardo, 2009, p.178).

The controversy around content of the agreement began on its ratification, which originally had to be validated by all members. However, only Portugal, Brazil and Cape Verde signed the agreement, so its entry into force was deferred. In order to progress with the process, it was approved in the Second Protocol Modifying the Orthographic Agreement (2004) that the ratification of three members of the CPLP was sufficient for the agreement to come into force in these countries.

The commonly called “new agreement” entered into force in Portugal and in Brazil in 2009. The fact that the spelling changes were higher in Portugal (1.6%) than in Brazil (0.5%), and that Brazil’s leadership in the final stage of the agreement was at its height, triggered a series of arguments against the agreement, which were added to the list of existing linguistic claims.

In order to better understand the controversial scenario, we will summarize the Portuguese arguments for and against the orthographic agreement of 1990.

1.3.1. Arguments in favour

One of the most reiterated arguments in favour, and the engine of the orthographic reform, is the unification of the Portuguese language. This unification brings favourable economic, educational, political and cultural counterparts, providing a written communication more clear and understandable to all CPLP, without the need for adjustments. This enables the free circulation of bibliographical, informational, recreational and educational production, with a lower financial cost (Dalmutt & Mello, 2011, p.8).

Another major advantage is the inclusion of Portuguese among the official languages of the United Nations: “The orthographic agreement symbolizes the feeling of unity or brotherhood of Portuguese-speaking countries and will enable the deepening of cooperation and international integration among member countries of the CPLP” (Dalmutt & Mello, 2011, p.8). To this argument, we add that it is necessary to keep the Portuguese language alive and dynamic, consecrate it internationally, in order to overcome the risk of being devalued as a language in a global scenario of globalization — and as far as this matter is concerned we must not forget that the Portuguese have no future without Brazil, a rising force and country of origin of 80% of Lusophone (Dalmutt & Mello, 2011).

Finally, supporters of the agreement highlight that it only changes the writing, simplifying it, and has no influence on orality, not removing the identity characteristics of each country (Dalmutt & Mello 2011, p.8).

1.3.2. Arguments against

In the other side of the equation, we have an equally varied range of arguments. A study developed in the master’s degree in Communication Sciences, in the University of Minho (Cabecinhas & Carvalho, 2010), interviewed 198 students, who were asked about their opinion on the orthographic agreement. Of the sample, 70.7% claimed to be against the agreement. The justifications can be summarized in three ‘points’.

First, the “need to protect the Portuguese cultural identity and preserve the historical heritage linked to the leading role played by Portugal during the «discoveries»” (Cabecinhas & Carvalho, 2010, p.196). The agreement is seen as a threat to the alleged historical Portuguese sovereignty towards their former colonies, mainly due to the second point: Brazil’s leadership in the negotiations. Respondents felt that it should have been the opposite, since the Portuguese of Portugal is the «correct» one.

The third and final point concerns the resistance to change that is “justified with arguments that seem valid rationally, for example, the difficulties that these changes cause in pedagogy” (Carvalho & Cabecinhas 2010, p.198), as well as the financial costs associated with adaptation.

These responses summarize the main arguments used by the Portuguese population in general. In addition, there is the issue of spelling variants, which go against the principle of unification and inclusive the concept of orthography, and undermine the stability of the teaching of the Portuguese language.

Now that we have summarized the positions pro and against, we can already predict that the question of the historical relations between Portugal and Brazil has impact on the acceptance of the

new orthographic agreement. Hereafter, we will analyse how these arguments appear in the texts that sparked the controversy in the media in Portugal upon entry into force of the agreement (2009).

2. Methodology

This article's purpose is to analyse in which ways the colonialism and the historical positions of Portugal as colonizer country and Brazil as colonized territory influence the acceptance of the orthographic agreement of 1990 in present-days. In order to do that, the methodology to be used will be the study of texts of opinion by respected authors who have been at the center of controversy, criticizing the agreement, namely Vasco Graça Moura, Eduardo Lourenço and Miguel Sousa Tavares. To counteract the opinion of these authors, we also will analyse some texts by linguists who support the agreement, namely Malaca Casteleiro and D'Silvas Filho.

In the texts, we will search for arguments with historical, political or colonial nature, supported by a relationship of sovereignty-submission between Portugal and Brazil, in order to comprehend how a possible Portuguese and Brazilian collective imaginary, conditioned by the relationships of former colonizers and former colonized, underlies the treatment of this issue of linguistic nature.

4. Case Study

To implement the methodology presented above, we selected two articles from each author previously mentioned. The criteria was as follows:

- For authors who support the position against the agreement, we tried to select well-known Portuguese names, either academic or literary, who had publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the agreement;
- For authors who support the agreement, we selected Portuguese linguists who had cooperated in the formulation of the agreement or openly defended it;
- We were careful to choose items from reliable sources, preferably that had been published in the Portuguese press, and within a time limit comprised between one year before the entry into force of the agreement and this year, which resulted in the period between December 2007 and April 2013.

AUTHOR	TITLE	SOURCE	DATE
Moura, Vasco Graça	Truly disappointed	Diário de Notícias	27 July 2011
Moura, Vasco Graça	"Vieira burned in ... 'Sphinx'"	Público	3 April 2013
Tavares, Miguel Sousa	Orthographic Agreement is "colonial act" of Brazil	Expresso	20 Sept. 2009
Tavares, Miguel Sousa	"The orthographic disaster"	Expresso	19 January 2013
Lourenço, Eduardo	Orthographic Agreement is a "pilgrim" idea, says E. Lourenço	TSF	25 May 2008
Lourenço, Eduardo	Orthographic Agreement: One could dismiss this agreement	Visão	16 February 2008
Casteleiro, João Malaca	A new orthographic agreement	Diário de Notícias	15 March 2008
Casteleiro, João Malaca	Orthographic Agreement: Opponents have "narrow-minded" position	Jornal de Notícias	4 April 2008
Filho, D'Silvas	Beware who advocates the obsolete "proudly alone"...	Jornal de Notícias	3 December 2007
Filho, D'Silvas	Observations to the latest criticism about the new orthographic agreement	Ciberdúvidas/ Author's blog	13 April 2012

Table 1. Summary of the articles under analysis

4.1. Authors' characterization

Now that we have exposed the selection criteria, we will justify our choices through a brief characterization of the selected authors, to support its relevance to the study.

First, manifestly against, is Vasco Graça Moura (71 years), born in Foz do Douro. He has a law degree, is a renowned academic and writer, and also practiced law and exercised political functions.

Also against the agreement is Miguel Sousa Tavares (61 years), born in Porto and graduated in law. He is a recognized journalist and writer, with his work published in Brazil, under Portuguese orthographic rules, by the express wish of the author.

Having signed a petition against the agreement spelling (TSF, 2008), but with a position that has proved more lenient and thoughtful and that we will qualify as neutral, is Eduardo Lourenço (90 years), born in São Pedro do Rio Seco (Guarda), graduated in Historical and Philosophical Sciences, and a renowned Portuguese teacher and philosopher.

In favour of the agreement we selected João Malaca Casteleiro (77 years), born in Covilhã and graduated in Romanic Philology. He is professor at the Faculty of Letters of Lisbon and one of the linguists who participated in drafting the agreement.

Finally, also in favour of the orthographic agreement, is D'Silva Filho, literary pseudonym of a scholar of Portuguese language, who taught for 30 years, being also a collaborator in "Ciberdúvidas", a website dedicated to the Portuguese language.

AUTHOR	CAREER	AGAINST	NEUTRAL	IN FAVOUR
Moura	Writer / politician	X		
Tavares	Journalist / writer	X		
Lourenço	Teacher / philosopher		X	
Casteleiro	Linguist / teacher			X
Filho	Linguist			X

Table 2. Synthesis of careers and positions of the authors over the agreement of 1990

Through the analysis of Table 2, together with the previous characterizations of each author, we can draw some conclusions.

First, all authors work directly with the Portuguese language in their careers. However, while the authors in favour work with the language in a theoretical approach, the authors against work with it from a practical point of view. Consequently, we have teachers and linguists in favour and writers against.

Regarding their studies, it should be noted that the two authors against the agreement are law graduates.

As to age, we can say, and we will prove it later, that the youngest author, Miguel Sousa Tavares (61 years) is the most controversial and effusive in his statements, while the oldest, Eduardo Lourenço (90 years) is more restrained and thoughtful. Apart from this observation, we can not draw conclusions.

Similarly, it is not possible to draw conclusions from the geographical origin of the authors.

4.2. Analysis of titles

Paying attention to the articles' titles (see Table 1), we can quickly distinguish between sober titles: "A new orthographic agreement", "Orthographic Agreement: Opponents have "narrow-minded" position"

and “Beware who advocates the obsolete “proudly alone”...”, and the fiercest titles: “The orthographic disaster”, “Orthographic Agreement is “colonial act” of Brazil” and “Vieira burned in ... ‘Sphinx’”.

The first category of titles, softer, is associated to the authors for the agreement, Casteleiro and Filho, and are largely a response to the opposite faction, through the expressions: “opponents”, “who advocates” and “observations to the latest criticism”. Their titles, as well as the language of their articles, do not have the exuberance and rapture of the titles of his opponents, who use words like “disappointed”, “Vieira burned”, “disaster”, “colonial act” and “pilgrim idea”. Perchance because they are writers, opponents of the agreement manipulate the language to their advantage, using it to draw attention, shock, demonstrate indignation — show their emotions, something that is not visible in the pro-agreement faction, calmer and rational.

Therefore, we can conclude that there is a certain personal and affective nature in the opponents of the agreement that is not present in the pro-faction. If this nature blurs their judgment is something about we can only speculate.

4.3. Articles’ analysis

Once characterized the sample and studied the titles, we move to the analysis of the content of the articles. From the topics addressed by the several authors, we can group the range of arguments into five categories, which we will present and examine.

4.3.1. Whether or not is the agreement necessary

Four out of five authors cover the issue of the need of the agreement. As expected, Casteleiro and Filho advocate the need of the agreement as a tool to unify and simplify the language: “the standardization of the language is also important for Portugal. It makes no sense that in international organizations appear a variant of the language called Brazilian, when the language is the same” (Filho, 2007) and “the good sense to tell us to seek for a unification [...] to avoid spelling drifts” (Casteleiro, 2008). The authors also point out that the agreement was necessary to put an end to a process that has dragged on for almost 100 years (Lusa, 2008a).

On the other hand, Lourenço claims that there was no need for an agreement because “the ‘linguistic practice of Brazilians’ will continue to be made according to the current terms, as well as the Portuguese” (TSF, 2008). Tavares adds that the reform was “cooked among academics who wanted to meet and travel” (Lusa, 2009) and that “the agreement came out of nowhere, at the request of anyone, not negotiated nor explained [...] and imposed to ten million Portuguese by a committee of wise men [...]” (Tavares, 2013).

4.3.2. Validity of the agreement

The controversy over whether or not the agreement actually entered into force in Portugal is the focus of some of the articles, mainly by Graça Moura. The author argues that the agreement is not in force because not all countries ratified it, “that same fact shall not prevent the agreement, due to the manifest impossibility of its intended purpose [...] achieve an orthographic ‘unity’”(Moura, 2011). Also, in the same article, he points out the lack of a common orthographic vocabulary, an “essential prerequisite”, as another factor that prevents the agreement. He ends saying that there was a “violation of the articles of the Constitution that protect the Portuguese language.”

Tavares corroborates these claims saying that the agreement “is, therefore, and foremost, invalid, resulting from a legal coup not provided for in the original treaty [...] was imposed manu militari by silly rulers [...]” (Tavares, 2013).

D'Silvas Filho replies that the agreement is in force under Notice 255/2010 of 13 September, published in *Diário da República*, the official gazette (Filho, 2012).

4.3.3. Linguistic issues

Within the language issues, the main controversies revolve around the spelling variants and the silent consonants.

On this subject, Moura states that “the agreement leads to the aggravation of the differences, the multiplication of confusion between spellings and it ignores the very notion of orthography, by admitting the chaos of the variants” (Moura, 2011).

Moura and Tavares also draw attention to the fact that there are “three official orthographies in the Portuguese language – the one prevailing in Angola, Mozambique and Timor, which is previous to the agreement, the Brazilian spelling, which is the same as always [...], and the Portuguese [...] resulting from the agreement of 1990” (Tavares, 2013).

Casteleiro and Filho are silent on this matter, but they respond to the controversy of the silent consonants, the source of the largest number of changes in Portugal because, according to them, it is “a plague in European Portuguese” (Filho, 2012). Casteleiro argues that the loss of consonants does not adulterate the language (Lusa, 2008a), and Filho recalls that prior arrangements have already tried to suppress these consonants and we are “finally complying with our word” (Filho, 2012).

4.3.4. Applicability and effectiveness

Eduardo Lourenço denounces the inefficiency of the agreement through the expression “is an idea a bit pilgrim” (TSF, 2008), adding that “the Portuguese will keep writing – especially those of my generation – in the code in which they were taught” (Lusa, 2008b).

Tavares also addresses the question of the applicability of the agreement in Africa, giving the example of Angola, where only 10% of the population speaks Portuguese well (Lusa, 2009). The author “doubts that African Portuguese-speaking countries will fulfil the agreement” and states that “they will begin to reject the Portuguese if we force them to follow [...] a grammar that does not make sense to them [...]” (Lusa, 2009).

On this subject, the authors pro-agreement remained silent.

4.3.5. Submission of Portugal and the ‘mother language’

This last topic, which is the genesis of this article, is the only one present in the texts of the five authors under study, indicating that the question of Portugal’s subservience to Brazil is in the center of the controversy.

Tavares argues that the rules of the agreement are not reciprocal and that “Brazil is the only country that received its language from outside and requires to the mother country a language revision” (Lusa, 2009). In another article, he also says that the agreement was made to “unify the language’, please the Brazilians and do not lose influence in Africa” and he never thought that:

“a nation that had brought its language to five starters of the world, becoming the lingua franca in the seas of Southeast Asia [...] was capable of voluntarily, invoking vague geocommercial interests, propose its submission to the rules in use in a country where we brought the language that unified it.” (Tavares, 2013)

Graça Moura confirms this position by stating that we “may even pay tribute to a certain Darwinism, in which the fact that Brazil has 200 million people would be reason enough to sacrifice the norm followed by more than 50 million other human beings...” (Moura, 2011). He adds that these 50 million are at risk of seeing the “Portuguese language, as they speak [...] be very disfigured” because

the agreement is the “intolerable perversion of language” (Moura, 2011).

Eduardo Lourenço, not taking sides, admits that “the rule for us, Portuguese, is a bit strange, because it is the Brazilian norm” (Lusa, 2008b). He further explains that “‘The Brazilian has a kind of strength and autonomy’ over the Portuguese, which means it takes the ‘leadership of language’”(TSF, 2008).

The authors in favour of the agreement also touch this issue to contradict it: “Those who resist [...] present nationalist arguments, saying that there is subservience to Brazil in the new agreement. [...] They ignore that in the amendments agreed between the two countries there are concessions taken by one side and the other” (Filho, 2012).

Casteleiro also says that “Portugal, although it is the birthplace of the Portuguese language, is not in today’s world its exclusive owner” (Casteleiro, 2008). And he adds that “it is a narrow perspective, to see Portugal as the proprietary of the language, the owner of the language, having the others to follow only what Portugal establishes [...] the greatest wealth of the Portuguese language is when it is being shared” (Lusa, 2008a).

4.4. Discussion of results

Now that we have analysed the main subjects, we can concluded that the historical relations between the former colonizer, Portugal, and the former colonized Brazil are actually present in the discussion of the orthographic agreement. The idea of possession of language is widespread and the leadership of Brazil in the negotiations is intolerable. The emotional attachment of the authors against the agreement towards the Portuguese language is clear and their speeches denounce a collective imaginary tied in to the time of discoveries. These authors use a more emotive and also a more violent language, arming themselves with arguments that are not necessarily correct, as stating that the 50 million speakers who are not Brazilians speak the same language, when there are clear differences between Portugal and the PALOP.

However, although the former issue is in the center of the controversy, there are other arguments used by both factions. The main arguments against, in addition to the previous ones, is the graphical divergence, the “illegal” validity of the agreement, its ineffectiveness and inapplicability in Africa and the simple fact that it is unnecessary. The authors pro-agreement rely mainly on the need to unify and simplify the language, ending the process that has dragged on for decades, and keep on refuting the arguments of the opposition.

5. Conclusion

The main conclusion of this study has answered the question implicit in the title of the article: yes, there are colonial and post-colonial issues in the acceptance of this new orthographic agreement. Through the analysis of various texts we concluded that there are arguments of historical nature in the rejection of the agreement, expressed through two main ideas: the conviction that Portugal is the owner of the Portuguese language and the refusal of the Brazilian leadership, which due to its position as former colonized have no right to impose itself upon Portugal.

We also realized that the authors against the agreement have an emotional bond to the Portuguese language. For them, the language symbolizes not only the country but also the entire Portuguese historical legacy, and to change the language would mean undermine it and therefore undermine the Portuguese history and homeland.

This study is, however, limited, and it would be interesting in the future to carry out a similar analysis but with articles by Brazilian authors or even from the PALOP.

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Abstract: There will be a survey of African and Portuguese authors in this article whose works, through Editorial Caminho, has contributed for the evolution of the expansion of African literature for the past 14 years (2000-2013). We will show the importance of Lusophony in the catalog of Editorial Caminho (a Portuguese book publisher) by analyzing (in a quantitatively way) the catalogs of this publisher in order to understand its route: knowing the parameters which they are guided by, so they can choose which authors to publish, and how they stimulate the creation and autonomy of new authors. To support the results, we based our study on perspectives, analysis and opinions of José Carlos Venâncio, Cármen Maciel and Inocência Mata on African literature (and especially literature from the Lusophone Africa) in the Portuguese market.

Keywords: African literature; African authors; Editorial Caminho; Lusophony; Lusophone Africa.

Introduction:

The presence of African literature in our country is quite recent and therefore there is not much data on the subject. Therefore we decided to dwell on one of the topics of this great subject: the presence of the literature from the African Portuguese speaking countries in Editorial Caminho.

According to Cármen Maciel (2004: 9), “the analysis of the “African literature” raises a number of interesting features for the originality of a structure based on a literature reference resulting from the confrontation of conflicting cultures and idiosyncrasies of a writing that is (re)starting to build.” Based on articles by José Carlos Venâncio, Cármen Maciel and Inocência Mata, we will relate literature from Lusophone Africa with the catalogs of Editorial Caminho (analyzed in order to get an idea of the amount of books from African authors within the Lusophone Africa that are published) in order to understand how things proceed.

We will begin by historically contextualizing African literature; following a brief presentation of Editorial Caminho and its goals for the production of African works and concluding with the results that we obtained through the study of its catalog.

1. Brief history and evolution of African literature

In order to contemplate the expansion and influence of literature of the Lusophone Africa on the Portuguese publishing market, we have to get a sense of how things are created in these countries, as well as its method and its evolution.

The presence of the Lusophone Africa literature on Editorial Caminho: Post-colonialism and Lusophonies

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According to José Carlos Venâncio (1992: 6), “it is impossible to conceive the formation of what is generally designated for African literature (...) separate from the phenomenon of colonialism. Its survival depended on staff training [teaching] that served as intermediaries between the settlers in minority situations, and African populations integrated in traditional and marginal societies in majority situations. When groups of literate Africans realize that the situation they are in is driven by desires of the colonizing countries, it starts a “process of awareness by claiming the cultural authenticity of its status by means of expression that the colonizer had bequeathed to them: the language and the capacity to express it literarily” (Venâncio, 1992: 6).

Therefore, by literary writing, they demonstrate that they are able to confront the settlers and that “they could eventually sensitize their cause with their intellectual rhetoric. [...] Their texts cease to be a concern purely about cultural nature to convey the political concerns of their authors and perhaps potential readers. From this point politics will cease to be the dominant theme of African literature” (Venâncio, 1992: 7-8). This is the beginning of the “African literature”, expressing itself in Portuguese (the language of the colonizers) but “they are not [...] of Portuguese expression, but an emancipation of Angolan culture, Cape Verdean, Santomean or another” (Maciel, 2004: 8), trying (through literature) to shirk social injustice, without ceasing to be reported (Venâncio, 1992: 14).

However, these authors from the “African elite” are not completely freed from the main role that represents the European element:

“biological and cultural mixing was formed, from the earliest times, as a fundamental characteristic of the Portuguese presence in Africa [...]. It emerged as the only means of survival from that [...] colonialism, buffeted, on one hand, the resistance of African potentates and, on the other hand, competition from the other colonial powers. If the weak development of the productive forces and the Portuguese inner situation (the relationship between social forces and organization of power) are responsible for this intermediary role and consequently buffer zone, the lack of “arms” directly blamed the miscegenation of colonizers with the colonized, as well as premature practice of cultural policy assimilation.” (Venâncio, 1992: 10)

Despite all these colonial and post-colonial issues, African literatures won a statute of dignity that allowed them to “be assessed objectively, according to the commonly accepted criteria assessment for the analysis of literary texts. Authors like Craveirinha or Pepetela could win important prizes such the Camões Award - the highest literary award of Portuguese, and many writers from the so called “Lusophone Africa” could be the target of the “exceeded compliments” without demagoguery.” (Maciel, 2004: 10).

Currently there has been a growing interest in African literature (Maciel, 2004: 11), greater openness not only to what is written about Africa, but especially what Africans have to say of themselves. Perhaps it is exactly why there has been an increase in publishing in this kind of market.

Meanwhile, Inocência Mata has a more direct perspective:

“What goes on in the cultural field that is the literary phenomenon, in this case, a fundamental aspect as representation of cultural asymmetries, it cannot be read by the margins of other sectors of society. In addition there is a clear contamination between agencies of instances of a multiculturalism course, one must take into account the socio-cultural, ideological and psychological codes that underlie the reservoir look that welcomes the African work and implement any collective or individual interpretation, either amateur or professional, journalistic or academic.” (Mata, 2009: 7)

2. African literature in the Portuguese market

There are several Portuguese book publishers that publish works from African authors in

Portugal, for example: Editorial Caminho, Tinta-da-china, Edições Colibri, Dom Quixote, Quetzal, Porto Editora, Edições Almedina, among others.

We decided to focus only on catalogs from Editorial Caminho due to be one of Portugal's oldest publishers in the active (and which fought to publish works or authors who had previously been rejected by the censor) and bet on authors from the Lusophone Africa.

2.1. Editorial Caminho

Founded in Lisbon in 1975, Editorial Caminho, as stated on its website (Editorial Caminho, 2013), "is one of the most important and prestigious Portuguese publishers" and belongs to the publishing group LeYa. It also mentions that it "grew rapidly especially in publishing contemporary Portuguese authors", adding that "in Editorial Caminho African literatures in Portuguese also hold a prominent place. Authors like Mia Couto, José Craveirinha, Germano Almeida, Manuel Lopes, Ondjaki are included in the catalog of the publisher. The creation of a publishing house in Mozambique – Editorial Ndjira – and another one in Angola – Editorial Nzila – reinforced the importance of Caminho in this area." (Editorial Caminho, 2013).

Rui Beja corroborates (2011: 26):

"Incorporated in Lisbon, around the Portuguese Communist Party, the property of Editorial Caminho was later shared by a group of employees, keeping Zeferino Coelho as editor, a position he continued to play [...] after the acquisition of the company by the Leya group in 2007. Editorial Caminho grew rapidly, especially in the area of publishing contemporary Portuguese authors - fiction, poetry, books for children and youth, essays about Portuguese topics - and won place among the most prestigious publishers."

According to LeYa in Angola (LeYa Grup – Angola, 2013), it is their "purpose to promote and publish good books that convey the value of Angolan culture." Thus, it publishes African authors' works so that it can:

- "Stimulate editorial creativity";
- "Betting on authors of Portuguese language";
- "Launch to the world authors of Portuguese language".

On the other hand, LeYa in Mozambique says that its presence in this country is "strategic for the fulfillment of the mission of making known authors throughout the Lusophony." (LeYa Grup – Mozambique, 2013).

Editorial Caminho, through LeYa in Angola and Mozambique, attempts to stimulate the emergence of new literary genres in Portuguese-speaking countries either by stating them in Portugal and by conducting sessions with students and teachers in African universities that demonstrate the interest in publishing detective novels or even doctoral or masters dissertations that are linked to the reality of the respective countries (LeYa Grup – Mozambique, 2013).

Other initiatives from Caminho to stimulate the creation of new authors is conducting literary competitions whose respective allocation of prizes and subsequent publication of the works helps greatly to its divulgation. Indeed, many of the works that win awards in their original country are subsequently published in Portugal (like some works of Mia Couto and Ondjaki, for example).

When we contacted Editorial Caminho about the selection process of the original drafts from these countries – reception, analysis and processing of documents from African countries – they said it was similar to what happened with the Portuguese original drafts.

3. Methodology

This article is based on an analysis of scientific articles that have information related to the subject (including the author devoted José Carlos Venâncio, Inocência Mata and Cármen Maciel) and catalog of publications Way over the last 14 years (2000-2013).

The article is based on this methodology due to it being based on the opinions of experts in African literature and there is not much availability by the publishers to help with interviews.

In these analyzes are sought arguments or particulars of a historical nature, colonial and literary in order to understand the story behind the publication of the works mentioned ahead.

3.1. Case Study

The result of the survey of the works (and their respective authors and countries of origin) that Editorial Caminho has published in the last 14 years is arranged in three tables that are attached. Here we will only consider the survey and its conclusions.

From what concerns the Mozambican works, from 2000 to 2013 there were published 36 works in total, all from just three authors: João Paulo Borges Coelho, Mia Couto and Paulina Chiziane.¹

About the Angolan works there were only 44 published works from four authors: Ana Paula Tavares, João Melo, José Luandino Vieira and Ondjaki.²

From Cape Verde there are only 11 works from three authors: Arménio Vieira, Germano Almeida and Joaquim Arena.³

Finally, from Sao Tome and Principe, only three works - all belonging to Conceição Lima.⁴

With this analysis we can see that, in total, Editorial Caminho published 94 works from the Lusophone Africa (reissues are not being considered), and only 10 authors from those same countries.

The published works fall into the categories of romance (its majority), juvenile and chronic. We also see that the top-selling authors are Mia Couto (Mozambique), José Luandino Vieira and Ondjaki (both Angolans).

3.2. Discussion of results

We can notice from the tables (attached) that in the beginning of the new millennium Editorial Caminho made a greater investment in Mozambican works by keeping the interest in artistic productions of that country till the present day (and tending to increase), and also began to focus more on the Angolan literature. On the other hand, the Cape Verdean literature is decreasing its impact on the Portuguese market through Caminho, and the presence of Santomean is so sporadic that we can say it is only vestigial. Could this be due to the literary and political history in those countries? And why is there not a single work of Guinea-Bissau in 14 years of publications? Everything indicates that the reasons are mainly political.

Even with all these publications, even with the supposed encouragement of new authors, one quickly realizes that authors from the Lusophone Africa who publish in Portugal do not vary much, being 'always the same' – they are authors who have already proved to be best-sellers in Portugal (especially with their novels). What about new authors? Why is there not a bigger investment on

1 See Annex, table 1.

2 See Annex, table 2.

3 See Annex, table 3.

4 See Annex, table 4.

them? This proves that the publications in Portugal of works from the Lusophone Africa are focused exclusively on the Portuguese market, with no consideration of the “fulfillment of the mission of making known authors throughout the Lusophony.” (LeYa Grup – Mozambique, 2013).

There is another curious point: most Lusophone African writers publish their works in Portuguese book publishers. Did as suggested Cármen Maciel (2004: 16), which “reflects a certain search for legitimacy and recognition of works of African literature from Portugal [...]?” After all, are not the books legitimate enough, even if edited in the country of origin? Inocência Mata has a theory about this issue that is worth mentioning:

“looking at the human landscape of the African group of the former Portuguese colonies published in former colonial writers, browsing the catalog of the most iconic homes in this publishing activity, there are recurrent and persistent elements that turn to be significant: the ethnocultural origin of the authors, its class and its sociocultural discourse on the ideal of the country and on the relations between the two countries. Actually, the truth is that most African writers published in Portugal are, coincidentally, Luso-descendant, despite this, these do not constitute the majority of African writers in their countries.” (Mata, 2011: 4)

Another question is: when Caminho told us that “the receipt, analysis and processing of original drafts from African countries was similar to what happened with the Portuguese original drafts”, and knowing that the Lusophone African works edited in Portugal were, in its majority, winners of some literary prize before being published in Portugal, does it mean that also the majority of the published Portuguese works had to participate in a literary contest previously or have won a prize? Will they have more legitimacy for it? Mata has another opinion on this issue:

“festivals like ‘Correntes de Escrita’ (Póvoa de Varzim, February), the Poetry Festival in Berlin (Berlin, June and July) [...] and other forums as well as anthologies, awards, honors and tributes are places of visualization that editorial interests result in an inexorable vicious circle. Also, just browse the catalogs of publishers, the space for magazines books and publications to see the preference of the news. But, says the reader, we are talking about African literature in Portugal. We are, and the aforementioned magazines are published in Portugal and, apparently, its object is not only Africa colonized by Portugal. Then wait for African news of events and happenings with the same commitment and generosity.” (Mata, 2009: 6)

Will it be that, after all, the entire editorial process is under this statement?

Conclusion

This paper has made known the number of works resultant from African Portuguese speaking countries that were published by Editorial Caminho from 2000 to 2013 and the possible development trends of upcoming catalogs.

Many questions arise that have no answer for now, but this may be resolved with future work.

We did not consider Portuguese authors who publish in Africa or other publishers who publish in African countries in general due to be necessary, in this case, to modify the subject of the article. Moreover, these subjects would seem too generalized.

One of the limitations that we had was the lack of points of comparison with other publishers who publish works from the Lusophone Africa. This comparison may yield more information about this topic, and it will be possible to reach new conclusions if done in a later paper.

Another problem encountered was to acquire information about the catalogs, as it is no longer on the publisher’s online catalog much information about the published works that have more than two or three years.

So that all these aspects and issues raised during the discussion of results have proper treatment; other works should be carried out in the future.

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Annex⁵

Country of Origin	Year	Authors	Works	
Mozambique	2013	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Rainhas da Noite</i>	
		Mia Couto	- <i>O Menino no Sapatinho</i> - <i>Cronicando</i>	
	2012	Mia Couto		- <i>A Confissão da Leoa</i> - <i>Mar Me Quer</i> - <i>O Fio das Missangas</i>
			João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Cidade dos Espelhos</i>
			Mia Couto	- <i>Tradutor de Chuvas</i>
	2010	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>O Olho de Hertzog</i>	
		Mia Couto	- <i>Pensageiro Frequente</i>	
	2009	Mia Couto		- <i>E se Obama fosse Africano? E Outras Intervenções</i> - <i>Jesusalém</i>
			João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Hinyambaan</i>
	2008	Mia Couto		- <i>O Beijo da Palavrinha</i> - <i>Venenos de Deus, Remédios do Diabo</i>
			Paulina Chiziane	- <i>O Alegre Canto da Perdiz</i>
			João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Campo de Trânsito</i>
	2007	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Campo de Trânsito</i>	
		Mia Couto	- <i>Idades Cidades Divindades</i>	
	2006	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Crónica da Rua 513.2</i>	
		Mia Couto	- <i>O Outro Pé da Sereia</i>	
	2005	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>Índicos Índicios I: Setentrião</i> - <i>Índicos Índicios II: Meridiano</i>	
		Mia Couto	- <i>Pensatempos – Textos de Opinião</i>	
	2004	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>As Visitas do Dr. Valdevez</i>	
		Mia Couto	- <i>A Chuva Pasmada</i> - <i>O Fio das Missangas</i>	
	2003	João Paulo Borges Coelho	- <i>As Duas Sombras do Rio</i>	
		Paulina Chiziane	- <i>Balada de Amor ao Vento</i>	
	2002	Mia Couto	- <i>O Último Voo do Flamingo</i> - <i>Um Rio Chamado Tempo, Uma Casa Chamada Terra</i>	
		Paulina Chiziane	- <i>Niketche - Uma História de Poligamia</i>	
	2001	Mia Couto		- <i>Na Berma de Nenhuma Estrada</i> - <i>O Gato e o Escuro</i>
			Mia Couto	- <i>Mar me Quer</i> - <i>O Último Voo do Flamingo</i>
	2000	Mia Couto	- <i>Mar me Quer</i> - <i>O Último Voo do Flamingo</i>	
		Paulina Chiziane	- <i>O Sétimo Juramento</i>	

Table 1. Mozambican works published by Editorial Caminho between 2000 and 2013.

5 The titles of the works are in the original language, in order to respect their first edition.

Country of Origin	Year	Authors	Works
Angola	2013	João Melo	- <i>Os Marginais e Outros Contos</i>
	2012	Ondjaki	- <i>Os Transparentes</i>
	2011	Ondjaki	- <i>A Bicicleta que tinha Bigodes</i>
	2010	Ana Paula Tavares	- <i>Como Veias Finas na Terra</i>
		João Melo	- <i>Cântico da Terra e dos Homens</i>
		Ondjaki	- <i>Dentro de Mim faz Sul seguido de Acto Sanguíneo</i>
	2009	João Melo	- <i>O Homem que não tira o Palito da Boca</i>
		Ondjaki	- <i>Materiais para Confecção de um Espanador de Tristezas</i>
			- <i>O Voo do Golfinho</i>
	2008	Ondjaki	- <i>Avódesanove e o Segredo do Soviético</i> - <i>O Leão e o Coelho Saltitão</i>
	2007	Ana Paula Tavares	- <i>Ex-Votos</i>
			- <i>Manual para Amantes Desesperados</i> - <i>O Lago da Lua</i> - <i>Ritos de Passagem</i>
		João Melo	- <i>Auto-Retrato</i>
		José Luandino Vieira	- <i>Poesia - João-Maria Vilanova</i> - <i>A Cidade e a Infância</i> - <i>Nosso Musseque</i> - <i>Vidas Novas</i>
	Ondjaki		- <i>Os da Minha Rua</i>
	2006	João Melo	- <i>O Dia em que o Pato Donald Comeu pela Primeira Vez a Margarida</i>
		José Luandino Vieira	- <i>A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier</i> - <i>Velhas Estórias</i> - <i>A Guerra dos Fazedores de Chuva com os Caçadores de Nuvens</i> - <i>Lourentinho Dona Antónia de Sousa & Eu</i> - <i>De Rios Velhos e Guerrilheiros</i>
	Ana Paula Tavares		- <i>Os Olhos do Homem que Chorava no Rio</i>
	José Luandino Vieira		- <i>Macandumba</i> - <i>No Antigamente, na Vida</i>
			Ondjaki
	2004	Ana Paula Tavares	- <i>A Cabeça de Salomé</i>
		João Melo	- <i>The Serial Killer e Outros Contos Risíveis ou Talvez Não</i>
		José Luandino Vieira	- <i>Nós, os dos Makulusu</i> - <i>Luuanda</i> - <i>João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores</i>
Ondjaki			- <i>Momentos de Aqui</i> - <i>Ynari – A Menina das Cinco Tranças</i>
2003	José Luandino Vieira	- <i>Nosso Musseque</i>	
	Ondjaki	- <i>Bom Dia Camaradas</i>	
2002	Ondjaki	- <i>O Assobiador</i> - <i>Há Prendisajens com o Xão</i>	
2001	Ana Paula Tavares	- <i>Dizes-me Coisas Amargas Como os Frutos</i>	
	João Melo	- <i>Filhos da Pátria</i>	

Table 2. Angolan works published by Editorial Caminho between 2000 and 2013.

Country of Origin	Year	Authors	Works
Cape Verde	2010	Germano Almeida	- <i>A Morte do Ouidor</i>
		Joaquim Arena	- <i>Para Onde Voam as Tartarugas</i>
	2009	Arménio Vieira	- <i>O Poema, a Viagem, o Sonho</i>
	2006	Germano Almeida	- <i>Eva</i>
	2004	Germano Almeida	- <i>O Mar na Lajinha</i>
	2003	Germano Almeida	- <i>Cabo Verde</i>
	2001	Arménio Vieira	- <i>No Inferno</i>
		Germano Almeida	- <i>As Memórias de um Espírito</i>
	2000	Germano Almeida	- <i>O Testamento do Sr. Napumoceno Da Silva Araújo</i> - <i>Os Dois irmãos</i> - <i>Estórias Contadas</i>

Table 3. Cape Verdean works published by Editorial Caminho between 2000 and 2013.

Country of Origin	Year	Authors	Works
Sao Tome and Principe	2011	Conceição Lima	- <i>O País de Akendenguê</i>
	2006		- <i>A Dolorosa Raiz do Micondó</i>
	2004		- <i>O Útero da Casa</i>

Table 4. Santomean works published by Editorial Caminho between 2000 and 2013.



SESSION 24

GENDER:
THE BODY'S
IMAGINARY FROM
COLONIALISM TO
DECOLONIALISM 2

Abstract: The following article discusses the tensions, resistances and perspectives in the formation of an area of sexual education and educational politics of genders and diversity in Brazil. With the orientation that the human sexuality is constructed in/by the language and in historical tensions of relations of knowledge and power (FOUCAULT, 1988), it is pointed the constitution of a sexual education with effects of discursive and pedagogical device, which must be problematized in relation with the social context of institutions, the power relations, the cultural pedagogies and the history of the understandings of sexuality in the country. Despite the support of educational policy and the consensus about the significance of the theme, nowadays, the country lives the emergence of an political representation that is conservatory and homophobic that bring the speeches based on the power of anatomy, in the assault of manners and behavior of people and population, in normativity and religion that minimize the proposals and the implementation of the minority rights LGBTTTQIA.

Keywords: Sexuality, Sexual Education, Gender, Sexual Diversity, Discursive Formation Device.

1. Presentation

In the documentary “Out there”, produced and displayed by BBC of United Kingdom, in the year of 2013, and the related stations of other countries, the actor Stephen Fry focuses the advances of homophobia in some parts of the World and, during the visitation to Brazil to compose part of the shooting, interviews the congressman Jair Bolsonaro, one of the political leaders who defends the suspension of rights to the LGBTTTQIA¹ minorities in national sphere. The congressman denies the existence of homophobic crimes in the country, claiming that the death of homosexuals occurs in context of drug use, prostitution and crimes of passion. Also claims that the Brazilian culture is not prepared for the “gay ascension” and the visibility of homosexual families. Defending the bourgeois and nuclear families, is convinced in his concept that the homosexuals would want the heterosexual couples to keep generating children that would become gays and lesbians, serving the satisfaction of the sexual desires of perverted people. To Bolsonaro, no father or mother will celebrate to have a gay son and a family whose arrangement contradicts the standards established by nature and God. In the same production,

¹ In the perspective of appreciation and visibility of sexual diversity, the acronym LGBTTTQIA is used to refer to the lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites, transsexuals, transgenders, intersexuals, asexuals and queers.

Sexual education in Brazil: powers, resistances and contradictions

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Fry also interviews Mrs. Angélica Ivo, mother of Alexandre, a young homosexual that was tortured and murdered by a group of skinheads when he was going home after a party. The life of Ivo family was deeply changed by a brutal crime which was not punished due the ineffectiveness of laws and educational actions against the homophobic violence in Brazil.

The short description of the documentary reflects the games and contradictions between powers, resistances, needs and contradictions that derive from the implementation of public and educational policy in Brazil – that should aim, formatively, the education towards sexuality and respect to sexual diversity.

In Brazil, the debates on human sexuality are presented, formally, as themes to be crossed with the teaching of different areas of knowledge; the Brazilian official documentation prescribe the educational intervention directed to formation of values, ethical conducts, the comprehension of corporealities and prevention of sexual transmitted diseases. However, the historiography of education to sexuality in Brazil leaves in evidence a contradictory field of investees to control and standardize the bodies, the pleasures, the issues of gender in function to desired society, making this field a pedagogical device crossed by scientific, medical and religious discourses.

This initial overview is the mot to characterize the field of sexual education in Brazil, historically configured in “episteme”, speeches, worldviews (FOUCAULT, 1987) put into circulation to mark and legitimate the knowledge about people and their sexual practices and experiences. Accordingly, are highlighted some of the processes that marked correlations of powers and tensions inside the society and the cultural pedagogy that disseminates the beliefs about sexuality and sexual education in Brazil.

1.1. Sexual education in Brazil – A historiographical path²

The social institutions, among them the ones with a pedagogical character, articulate to the knowledge about sex and foment investments and strategies of governmentability. These strategies can be understood as a governance of life, or as management practices that elect the population as their object, the economy as regimental knowledge and the safety devices as social machines of control; in this government there are the control in the sexuality of children, teenagers, women and homosexuals.

These investments can be understood as biopolitics that regulate the bodies and the population (FOUCAULT, 1988). In the implementation of the “will to know” to rule, the sexuality was scanned by religion, state, medicine, pedagogy, right, economy, becoming spoken and disseminated in discursive nets and cultural representations.

In Brazil, the historiographical analysis of politics of sexual education unveils that the school context, in the elapse of different times and spaces, also operated/operate by biopolitics and biopowers that incite cover the sexuality with the speech or to hide. To know some of the moments, it is punctuate the passages of sexual education in the official teaching propositions, pointing its epistemes, some speeches and representations that still echoes through many social practices, being incorporated to the school speeches.

Many positioning about sexuality, corporeity, affectivity (carried to the sexual education activities practiced in the school), are entwined to the discourses constructed and disseminated at the end of nineteenth century and beginning of twentieth century. It is highlighted in this context the definitions guided in medical knowledge, which directs the understanding about sex and sexuality in the nation. Between the strategies and explanations to a social life are: a) the hygienism, which worried about

² A similar discussion was presented, by me, in the I Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Sociales, in Córdoba, Argentina, in the year of 2013.

fighting sexual transmitted diseases and avoid the degeneracy of population; and, b) the eugenics, which aimed the ethnical improvement through a social prophylaxis. These discourses transformed the family in its own police and internalized a range of relations of micropowers that controlled the dangerous classes and sexualities considered peripheral and deviant (mostly homosexuals and children who have adopted the practice of masturbation).

In the core of prescriptive sexual education practiced in Brazil, it is located this technology of sex. It has standardized, managed and controlled, with the support of scientific and eugenicist, what judged to be the perversion and the detriment; also established partnerships with the conservatory sectors of society, with the Roman Catholic Church and the protestant wards with the objective of endorse and guarantee the conjugal sex, a good progeny by reproduction, the elimination of the onanist child, the definition of characteristics supposedly typical for each sex and the banning of homosexuality of the family anchor.

Many propositions, disseminated until the second half of twentieth century, it was postulated that the sexual education should be given in shared phases by the school and families, comprising the preparation of childhood, the anatomical and physiological comprehension of body and development of character and morale. A growing interest of medics, scientists, professors and other professionals, identified with the sanitary practices of urban, collective and personal hygiene, have therefore given the first shape of sexual education in Brazil.

Breaking with the influences of the first moments systematized of curricular sexual education, the ideas of social movements, feminist struggles, the counterculture, the claiming of ethnical minorities and the fight against dictatorships and against the totalitarian political regimes from the 1960 decade, have spread liberal ideals that redefined the paper of men and women in the context of work, the family and Brazilian society. The discursive production and the pedagogical practices about sexuality dragged these differences to the school. However, without the force of continuity, these experimental ideas were suppressed and suffocated by the Brazilian dictator regime, which was held not only by the strong political control, but, also, by the remarkable alliance established with the conservatory ward of Catholic Church.

In the decade of 1970, and with the mandatory of inclusion of Health Programs in school curriculum, the schools were favored in the treating of questions related to human sexuality, planning the demands according to the needs of schools and students; the focus of the action, however, were the investments in biopsychological development, in the nutrition and reproduction of future citizens. Contradictorily, at the end of this decade, the final position of the Brazilian State, under the justification of the principle of morale and preservation of good manners, delegated the duty of inform and train children and teenagers, on issues related to sex and sexuality, the family and the school provided the inclusion of information in its own health programs.

However, where there is power, also there are strategies and tactics of resistance, by the end of military government and the extension of the decade of 1980, the sexual education resurfaces, although shy, dragging the discourses of political opening and the freedom of speech, as the influences arising out of feminist movements and gay and lesbian movements; a moment where “the school was taken as a privileged place to the processes of redemocratization and sexual education as a liberal proposal of bodies, women and subjects” (CÉSAR, 2009, p. 41). From this phase, it could be highlighted the first curricular project about sexual education, in 1982, created by the Coordinating Body of Teaching and Pedagogical Rules, of the Secretariat of Education of the State of São Paulo, entitled “The human sexuality in a curricular focus”, that served as a model to the institutionalization of other propositions to the Brazilian public school.

With the global progress of the epidemic HIV/AIDS, the epistemologies of pedagogical practices

about sexuality, however, started again to be molded by medical speeches of health and disease, reallocating in the school the information about safe sex, which included, beyond the prevention of the spread of STD's, the contraception and the planning to prevent teen pregnancy. As an emerging theme, also caused fear in many educators, mainly because, behind the thematization about AIDS, a series of another subjects considered controversial came up: sex, sin, homosexuality, promiscuity, drugs, death, diseases, agony (SEFFNER, 1998). The educational practices and speeches about sexuality began to reiterate the disease, the danger and guilt as consequences of practicing unsafe sex. Incorporating another social issue – the consume of drugs, the speech of prevention have been incorporated permanently to the school space.

The decade of 1990 was marked by implantations, maintenance and/or expansions of educational projects to prevent AIDS and, at the national educational context, the National Curricular Parameters (PCN) have endorsed the sexual education, consolidating “permanently the schooling of an education of sex” (CÉSAR, 2009, p. 42). Despite the PCN suggests that the school do not try to compete or substitute the family initial training, but subsidize a complement for information and pedagogical interventions, the family, by itself, is not enough to guarantee the sexual education of its children.

Another issue to comment, the objectives must guarantee to the students the respect to cultural diversity and values, the comprehension of pleasure as a human dimension, the knowledge of body and health, the understanding of sociocultural determinations at the formation of gender roles, the proper comprehension and manifestation of feelings and desires, the protection of improper relationships and sexual exploitation, the recognition of mutual consent for relations of people, the knowledge and practice of measures of safe sex, the solidarity to people with HIV and the search to adopt contraceptive methods.

And for this range, the proposals of pedagogical intervention must be transversalities in every level of education, contributing to the citizenship, pleasure and responsibility. The contents must become pliable by the different areas of knowledge and are organized in three content blocks: “Body: matrix of sexuality, gender relations and prevention of sexual transmitted diseases/AIDS” (BRASIL, 1999). This division, according to the document, is guided on the criteria of sociocultural relevance and the biological, psychic and cultural dimensions of construction of sexuality, with the intention to contemplate not only the conceptual and scientific aspects, but a broader vision of the issues that involve the personal development.

Although they bring a more open and transverse view of knowledge about sexuality, the PCN endorse a perspective of sexual education in a prescriptive approach, skewed by the body biology, centered in genality and hormonal changes of puberty. They sin by silence the approaches and recommendations that contemplates the discussion about sexual minorities. Without a explicit reference to the theme of discrimination against homosexuals and other diversities (as transvestites, transsexuals, bisexuals, etc.), the interpretation of the need or not of the inclusion of the theme is at the educators criteria (DINIZ & ASINELLI-LUZ, 2007) that could, by the devices strength, omit in relation of the sexual experiences different than the heterosexual standards.

Recently, the Ministry of Health launched, in partnership with other public ministries, the program “Brazil Without Homophobia” (BRASIL, 2004), which aims to promote a citizenship to LGBTTQIA community in public and private sectors of Brazilian society, and, also, to fight the violence and homophobic discrimination directed to that population group. The program presents a series of actions compromised with: a) the promotion of rights of homosexuals; b) the support to the creation of legislation and public politics; c) the insertion and alignment with the international politics; d) the security of combat to violence and impunity; e) the promotion of education and awareness related to different sexual orientation; f) the consolidation of rights of health and treatment; g) the guarantee

of work without discrimination; h) the right to culture and valorization of diversity; i) the creation of policies to the LGBTTQIA youth and, also, for lesbian women; j) the fight to all forms of racism and homophobia.

Despite the advance in relation to devices of prescriptive sexual education, provided by official documents of education as the PCNs, the Program “Brazil Without Homophobia”, have faced, since its creation, the resistance of conservatory and religious sectors of the country.

Differently of what occurs with crimes against groups like children (defended by the National Statute of Children and Teenagers) and women (protected from discrimination and violence, after the implantation of the Law No. 11.340, or, Law “Maria da Penha” as it is known), the manifestations and racism and violence against sexual minorities are not punished and regimented by its own laws. It has not been achieved to approve at the National Congress measures and laws that protect homosexuals from homophobic violence and neither educational projects that construct ethical respect.

At the year of 2011, the congressman João Campos registered at the Chamber of Deputies a Legislative Project of Decree that proposed to establish rules for psychologists to act in their clinics, in relation to the issue of affective-sexual desire, revoking the resolution of the Federal Council of Psychology in Brazil that forbids the professionals at the area to collaborate with or practice conducts that offer a treatment and the cure to homosexuality. This project, called popularly “Gay Cure”, reinforced the preconception against the LGBTTQIA group, pathologizing the right to express freely the affective-sexual desires, was taken to the plenary, but it was removed from the voting agenda due to the social pressures from the militant groups and some politicians conscious of the human rights.

Still against the achievements like the approval of the stable union between people from the same sex, guaranteed by the Supreme Court of Justice (STF), the National Senate and the Chamber of Deputies passed through a crisis of political representation before the defense of human rights. The political stands from catholic and evangelic bases, at the manifestation of its indisposition to approve some of these achievements, fight that the LGBTTQIA community do not gain visibility inside the social politics, avoiding, also, the approval of the Supplementary Bill 122, which disposes about the discrimination and about the homophobic crimes.

Another strain was installed at the Congress and spread the country, in October of 2013, when the Human Rights and Minorities Committee of National Congress, chaired by the Deputy and also Pentecostal pastor Marco Feliciano, approved a Bill that allows the religious organizations to expel from their cults the people who violates their values, doctrines, beliefs, liturgies and to celebrate the weddings supported and agreed with their beliefs. The objective of this project, really, is to avoid that the judicial decisions oblige the churches to celebrate the union of people from the same sex, and also permit the removal of gays, lesbians and transsexuals from inside the temples and religious houses. The allegation for this measurement comes from the argument that the homosexual practice is described, in many religious doctrines, as an insult to the divine and natural orders; the religious base also appeals on the fact that the church must exercise the right of freedom of expression. The reporter of the Bill is the congressman Jair Bolsonaro, the same interviewed by Stephen Fry, in the documentary against homophobia. The congressman, in assent to the continuity of the recommended in the project (that will go to another commission: the Constitution and Justice), defends that the religious institutions have the right to define its rules and narrow the entrance of homosexuals and people against the precepts of the institution.

Another factor that slips at the public policies and less dogmatic formative trainings, is the imposition of discourses that came from religious teaching, be at the form of a class provided at the schools, as a confessional episteme (when taught by schools and institutions related to churches, missions or religious cults), or, yet, at the representations spread by architectures and artifacts of

the schools and beliefs and conceptions of the educators. To Diniz *et all* (2010), the Brazilian State omits its opinion from the religious teaching, because relinquish of its secularity and fiscal power, cooperating systematically to the implantation of knowledge generated by Christian doctrines of the catholic and evangelic sectors.

These hues install gradually at the most different educational sectors, preventing the advances on politics about the sexual diversity and a sexual education that systematize the respect to different sexualities.

The issues here punctuated deserve to be dislocated to know whether they are ingrained in them the devices and effects of regulations printed to the doings and practices around sexualities. The concern to prioritize the paths of sexual education at the Brazilian school curriculum is allocated at the understanding that certain epistemes are maintained; it is necessary, therefore, inquire why certain things could/can be still said in certain moments! Only then it is understood and problematized why some speeches resonate and are spread at institutional spaces, at the words said and written, at the conveyed words, at the artifacts and cultural practices that, may also compose the strategies of subjugation and invisibility of social minorities or sexual groups.

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Abstract: This paper, aligned with the prospects of Cultural Studies in Education and Gender Studies in its poststructuralist strand, aims to discuss the current behavior naturalization of male and female students that has been happening in the contemporary educational scene. Based on the analysis of scenes from students' quotidian, we realized that, in many situations in the school environment, the relationship between behavior and gender identities is constituted as naturalized, setting ways of being a male student and a female student. Based on Foucault (1987), it is worth noting that the institutional discourses, the teaching narratives, the organization of school space and even the graphics used in teaching materials can be understood as discursive practices. However, these practices end up strengthening a fixed relationship between attitudes and gender identities, producing and justifying teachers' statements such said in the title of this paper: "girls do not fight and boys do not cry".

Keywords: Cultural Studies; Gender Studies; Discourse.

1. A Modern School with Contemporary Childhoods

[...] teachers are prepared to educate children invented in the nineteenth century - naive, dependent on adults, immature and in need of protection - while their classroom is filled with children of the twenty-first century - increasingly independent, disconcerting, eroticized, accustomed to instability, uncertainty and insecurity. (COSTA, 2006, p. 94)

As a teacher of the Public Education Network and Education researcher, I have noticed teachers, administrators and school counselors describe, sometimes with surprise and amazement, differentiated attitudes of male and female students of their institutions. Such professionals claim that the conduct presented by the students of our time would be far from the posture presented in prior periods. Conflicts, excessive talking and agitation described as constant and that seem to be present from early childhood education are examples of narratives of professionals about the students. I wonder: what may be happening?

The words of Marisa Costa (2006) are fruitful to the problematization of the issue: our schools follow methodological and organizational models made from the nineteenth century. An example of it may be perceived by analyzing the Brazilian Constitution of 1824. This document demonstrates that in that period there was already a government concern about girls' education, proposing that they would attend the "school of first letters, the pedagogies, in separate classes from the boys and

Girls do not fight and boys do not cry: permissiveness and Prohibitions Constituting Gender Identities¹

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¹ This paper was published with the support of a lecturer scholarship assigned by the Doctoral Program in Cultural Studies.

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taught by female teachers” (LOURO 1987, p. 25).

In contemporary times, it is common to see some students, at various times of the school day, being separated by gender, as can be seen in the organization of queues with different places for boys and girls, in the delegation of cleaning tasks only for girls and in the organization of Physical Education classes in some of our schools. As stated Guacira Louro (1997, p 62.), “under new ways, school continues to stamp its ‘hallmark’ on the subject”.

It is worth noting that many teachers still crave that male and female students remain over a whole school morning or an afternoon performing only a certain task. However, in third millennium schools, even the little students from kindergarten can perform several activities at the same time: boys and girls talk, play, break up, make up and also carry out the activities proposed by their teachers. In the final years of elementary education, adolescents and preadolescents socialize their affections, date, send text messages while conjugate verb tenses and solve numerical expressions. Many of our students nowadays do *almost everything* at the same time!

Using the metaphor of Bill Green and Chris Bigum (1995), it is possible to think that it is necessary to know more deeply the attitudes displayed by pupils in modern times, since they are often perceived in schools as “aliens” due to their different behaviors. Examples that cause estrangement are those in which postures featured by girls who do not fall into descriptions understood as natural for female childhood.

1.1. A Closer Look

In my Master’s thesis, when investigating the behavior and opinions of students of a public school in regard to romantic relationships, it was possible to notice attitudes of initiative by the girls (VARGAS, 2008). They showed detachment in relationships through expressions such as “*there’s a lot of fish in the sea!*” Also it was noted that such students got involved in violent conflicts since, through acts of bravery, they took on positions within their group. They were perceived as strong and desired girls and they were not bothered by others because they often reacted hurting those who offended them.

However, it does not seem appropriate to describe the contemporary students in a certain form or another, without at least mentioning features that may seem contradictory, such as girls who are explosive at times and that at others are tolerant and peaceful. As stated by Stuart Hall (2006, p 12.), “the subject previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity is becoming fragmented, consisting of not one but multiple identities, sometimes contradictory [...]”.

I assert that the study theme in my Master of research took place around the analysis of behaviors of elementary school students, as well as on their teachers’ estrangement regarding the postures displayed by them. Among the reasons listed for the teachers’ estrangement, there was the fact that the behavior displayed by the girls was decoupled of the postures naturally expected for a particular gender identity. For the group of teachers at the school where I conducted such research, those attitudes, which could not be characterized as feminine, were understood as unsuitable for girls in the school environment. These girls were characterized as “unmannered” because of the attitudes presented, fact that is mentioned by Jorge Larrosa (1996, p 470.) who says: “[...] It’s not that my conduct derives from who I am, but attributes that characterize me stem from my conduct.”

It is important to consider that, according to Guacira Louro (1997), we use some words that end up perceived as “natural” in many situations of everyday school life, and consequently produce characterizations of the behavior of pupils which, in turn, believe to be true and stable descriptions. From this perspective, we can understand that when a student is described as a *sweet girl*, she may be

being perceived by those who describe her as a quiet and obedient girl and that seldom will be involved in conflicts in the school environment. On this subject, still says Hall (2006, p 41.): “The words are ‘multimodular’. They always carry echoes of other meanings that they set in motion, despite our best efforts to clinch meaning.”

I have noticed from my teaching experience that in many situations in the school environment the relationship between behavior and gender identities is constituted as naturalized, setting ways of being a student. From this movement, it is evident that boys can (and should) act in a firmer and more aggressive way, while girls must submit a repressed posture in the school environment. It is worth noting that, based on Foucault (1987), we can understand the discourses beyond a set of signs and thus consider them as “practices that systematically form the objects they speak of” (1987, p. 56). Therefore, it is possible to understand the institutional discourses, the teachers’ narratives, the organization of school space and even the graphics used in teaching materials as discursive practices. And if, as stated by Foucault (1999, p. 8), “the production of discourse is at the same time controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures which are designed to conjure up its powers and perils”, it is fruitful to think that discursive practices also operate well. Thus, these practices end up strengthening a fixed relationship between attitudes and gender identities, producing and justifying statements of teachers, such said in the title of this paper: “girls do not fight and boys do not cry.”

2. (De)Constructing Gender in School

[...] The concept of gender shall include all forms of social, cultural and linguistic construction concerned with the processes that differentiate women from men, including those processes that produce their bodies, distinguishing and separating them as endowed bodies of sex, gender and sexuality. (MEYER, 2003 p. 16)

From the concept of gender in a post-structuralist perspective, we understand the characterizations of men and women not as natural but as productions of speeches comprised differently in different social groups. Thinking that the representations are built from the speeches, it is clear that the representations of male and female are discursive constructions.

It is important to remember that the representations foster identity construction (WOODWARD, 2000). Thus, in the social sphere, masculine and feminine identities are constituted, which are named and described with specific characteristics. I understand, from the concept of gender, that it is possible to deconstruct such representations and, therefore, also mischaracterize the masculine and feminine identities.

However, messages that express ideas, such as to sit properly, walk slowly, do not cry in public and be aggressive, are examples of speeches that affirm and reinforce behaviors considered by different social groups as naturally “girls’ or boys’ attitudes”. Likewise, one can understand that the school, through discursive practices operationalized in curriculum and pedagogic practices, ultimately produces a proper form of understanding regarding gender and sexuality. On the topic, Louro (2003, p.43) explains:

A singular notion of gender and sexuality has been sustaining curriculum and practices in our schools. Even assuming that there are many ways to live genders and sexuality, there is consensus that the educational institution has an obligation to guide their actions by a pattern: there would only be a normal, suitable and legitimate way of masculinity and femininity.

According to Louro (2003), the standardization on issues of gender and sexuality occurs in a school setting: a particular form is considered as true, as the real expressiveness of the constitutions of masculinity and femininity. Jimena Furlani (2004) corroborates with Louro (2003) by stating that the protagonists are characterized as “deviant” or “abnormal”, due to their behaviors noticed and narrated as differentiated.

In our society, boys learn very early how to play football, while girls soon in their tenderest childhood, understood as a “natural” way, are interested in dolls. As Maria Eulina de Carvalho points out together with other researchers (CARVALHO et. al 2008), in the family girls learn to perform practices that associate the female gender with an organized way of dealing with the spaces and times of daily domestic life. Contrarily, it is allowed for the boys to be disorganized and sloppy about such routine care. This “problem” occurs often when boys and girls, young men and women differ in their lifestyle by living in a way construed as naturalized to be and act. In other words, it happens when their attitudes differ from speeches included as correct descriptions of their behaviors.

It is important to point out that, according to Foucault (1999), discourses cannot be perceived as a catalogue of regular practices, organized and produced in a continuous system. Foucault (1999, p. 52) states that “speeches should be treated as discontinuous practices that intersect at times but also ignore or exclude”. However, even if the speeches are understood as discontinuous practices, their circulation turns out to relate certain characteristics such as adequate or inadequate on the behaviors of individuals. Discourses produce, as stated Louro (2003, p.47), “a ‘truth’ about the subject and their bodies [...] translate themselves, fundamentally, in hierarchies that are assigned to subjects and which are, many times, assumed by the subjects themselves”.

The ideals of Louro (2003) regarding a truth that marks the subject and eventually produces their identities and (im)possibilities of life corroborate with the claims of Andrea Cornwall and Susie Jolly (2008, p. 31) when these authors say: “A monochrome view of sex in the development discourse represents women as powerless victims, men as voracious and sexual predators and children as innocent beings”. It is fruitful to think that, in line with such monochromatic vision, discursive practices that separate children from sexuality or even practices that understand that girls can be, solely, well behaved are leveraged within schools.

In line with the above ideals, I think that there are, in the school environment, conservative ways to understand, describe and control the sex and sexuality of the subject. Likewise the operationalization of strategic sets presented by Foucault (2007), which produced knowledge about the hysterical woman and the masturbator child, I think the school uses -within their discursive practices- (in)appropriate representations to control the students. Thus, the idea of an impulsive sexuality hormonally uncontrolled ends up producing, among many issues, discourses about girls dating with various partners. Such discourses define them as ill-behaved students, as representatives of bad attitudes, which should be corrected since “[...] the speech reflects the power we want to seize [...]” (FOUCAULT, 1999, p. 10).

Also, according to Foucault (2007), it is possible to understand that there is a link between what is said and what is kept in silence in the production of discursive practices. The author states: “There is not one but many silences and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses.” (FOUCAULT, 2007, p 34) Thus, it is understood that both the circulation of discourse and the existing silences in schools permeate the organization of students’ behaviors, whether they are boys or girls. In other words, the use of pejorative adjectives or even keeping quiet in the face of certain postures and behaviors presented by students can be understood, for example, as discursive practices that support (in)appropriate manners for students to experience issues about gender and sexuality.

Doubts and also the concerns of teachers in the approach and curricular work with issues of gender and sexuality are significant. Besides the space constituted by the National Curriculum Parameters, through the volume of Cultural Plurality and Sexual Orientation, issues of gender and sexuality are present in school, since they are inherent to the human being. Such questions are composed and defined by social relationships we set up as subjects and also traversed by networks of power that we experience (LOURO, 2000). However, difficulties in addressing such issues in schools can be understood by definitions as Claudia Maria Ribeiro (2008, p 239.) points out:

Our cultural heritage left impregnated in our bodies the relationship between sin and flesh; sex and sexuality restricted to genitality. Imposing limits, penalties and blame reduced sexuality to [...] what is appropriate and what is inappropriate, what is normal and what is pathological.

The contemporary public schools have not discussed, in broad terms, the thematic issues of gender and sexuality since legal documentations and government actions on the subject have not permeated the school setting. Thus, we can say that, in everyday school life, such issues have been discussed as ‘problems to be solved’ in certain areas of knowledge (Science, Biology or Health Professionals) or even from individual representations of teachers on the topic. So, postures presented by male and female students, in everyday school situations, can be perceived and narrated from such representations.

3. Questioning to Form Possibilities

Faced with the problems presented here, I think that it would be relevant to organize studies in order to investigate, in greater depth, some questions, such as: how have the discursive practices of gender and sexuality been comprising contemporary curricular practices? In what way are the postures and behaviors displayed by male and female students in contemporaneity interpreted, narrated, described from the perspectives of gender and sexuality embedded in the school curriculum?

In line with these ideas, it is worth thinking that certain “permissiveness” and “prohibitions” in the school environment may occur, since the public school sometimes does not use legal contributions (MEC / SECADI¹) on the topic as encouragement for discussion about gender and sexuality in their curriculum, nor use them to form differentiated and more equal teaching practices; i.e. less prohibitive or permissive ones.

I realize that the occurrence of episodes of violence in which gender discrimination occurs and the existence of homophobic attitudes in the school environment can be understood as an example of permissiveness practices on the topic. Yet prohibitions would occur, in my opinion, regarding the attitudes and behaviors different from those naturally expected for the gender, since they are generally corrected by teachers through narratives and discourses that demonstrate to students certain forms so that boys and girls can transit and be noticed in the school environment.

From the ideas presented, would it be prolific to think of the permissiveness and prohibitions as forms of disciplinary control or as modes of subjectivation of male and female students in the school environment? Could the permissiveness and prohibitions constitute an *orthopedics of sexuality or gender* in the school environment? Thus, I consider the development of studies relevant in order to comprehend exactly how attitudes and behaviors displayed by male and female students in contemporary times are interpreted, narrated, described from the perspectives of gender and sexuality inserted in the school curriculum.

I think the debate of issues as the one abovementioned would be profitable for the production of

¹ Ministry of Education. Department of Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion.

differentiated curriculum practices, closer to contemporary subjects. Similarly to Gilles Lipovetsky (2000), I understand that, in times of “hypermodernity”, the gender positions are reorganized; thus, it is necessary to be attentive for new configurations in the researches we have been conducting and for practices that we have been developing in our everyday teaching. It is possible to say that, today, women seek space, but not the same space of men. As Lipovetsky says (2000, p 14.): “Democratic Modernity: no interchangeability of gender roles, but formation of shorter differential distances, less nullifying and nondirective ones, no longer constituting an obstacle to the principle of free disposal of themselves.”

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Abstract: “Niketché – a story of polygamy”, written by Pauline Chiziane, leads us to reflect about the post-colonial period in Mozambique, showing us the cultural diversity of a country affected by the interferences of war, by the western influences, subjected to the erasing of traditions, to the transformation of customs and consequently to identity fractions. The feminine figure used to silence, to the complete dependence in relation to man, to suffering, to the double marginalization by the colonial dominion and to the subordination to genre, to a no-place emerges. Yet, the fight of the woman for a condign place stands out in this novel. This fight is represented by the narrator that passes from the silence to the voice, from the conformism to action, from imprisonment to liberation.

This text makes perceptible a process of reconstruction of the identity of the woman that has been separated, in parallel with the reconstruction of the identity of a nation, also divided, what makes us to see here a double re-edification of the identity in the course to liberation, to the independence of the feminine universe (nation and woman).

Keywords: post-colonialism; liberation; reconstruction; identity; feminine.

Introduction

Literature is an important zone of contact, where the transaculturation emerges in all its complexity (cf. Omar, 2006: 211). The des-construction of the West defended by the post-colonial studies implies a constant attack to the western hegemony and one reevaluation of the values of the conventional cosmopolitanism, a re-accommodation of the cultural standard.

And it is this reflexive reading, multidimensional, questioning the discursive authority, conscious of the existence of a “third space”, a “zone of contact”, a place of a mixture of cultures generator of post-colonial identities (cf. Omar, 2006: 211) and illustrator of the marginalization and silence of certain social groups that Paulina Chiziane, a Mozambican writer, proposes to us in “Niketché, a story of polygamy”, the novel in appreciation in this work.

In this novel, Paulina Chiziane, with her African glance, takes us to get into the Mozambican society, with its patriarchal mark, in its panel of different cultures, in its legends, in its traditions and in the feminine universe, prisoner of an ancestral muteness.

Through a seductive writing, a language contaminated by the magic of the African oratory, this Mozambican writer prompts us to listen to the silence of the feminine voice, to understand it in its

Matters of genre in colonial and post-colonial contexts: the Feminine Universe in Niketché: a process of identity reconstruction

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historical and social context. The tune of orality announced by the author lets us to guess, since early, the valorization of orality and the intention of not eradicate from this novel the voice of those who didn't have access to the written word.

It is through this telling stories or singing, so insistently underlined along the text, that we propose to analyze the portrait of the woman in the African culture and ask about her role in the reconstruction of a feminine identity in a “in-place”, where the weight of the African traditions and the colonizing influences of the modernity are interacting in constant tensions.

1. The feminine voice

In “Niketche: a story of polygamy”, Rami, the protagonist, after twenty years of marriage, finds out that her husband, Tony; a police commander, a man with a good social and financial situation is polygamist. Tired of his continuous absences and a life of loneliness, decides to leave in a desperate search of his footstep. In that search, she finds out four other women with whom her husband lives, several children, four homes with a common point – the same man. After the first impact of bitterness, of abandonment, Rami is assaulted by a growing desire of revenge and she joins her rivals with the purpose of changing the course of this saga.

The voice of Rami is the back-cloth of the entire plot, disclosing other feminine voices used to silence.

The feminine thematic polarizes the entire narrative, the subordinated woman, made inferior, is the central motto.

2. The dance of life

The dance traverses the entire narrative submerging it with rhythm and movement, underlining its vital presence in the Mozambican day life. The title predicts the importance given to the dance in the feminine universe. Niketche is “a *macua* dance, a dance of love that the recent initiated girls do for the world to see, to affirm: we are women. Mature as fruit. We are ready for life! Niketche. The dance of the Sun, and of the moon, the dance of the wind and of the rain, the dance of creation. (...) In the young women emerges the urgency of loving because Niketche is the perfect sensuality, queen of all sensuality” (Chiziane, 2002: 160). Here the dance assumes the expression of the overflowing sensuality of the African woman.

We dance to celebrate situations and feelings full of antagonisms. We dance to conjure the maleficences and the worries, to liberate. We dance in an explosion of anger. The dance ties all the textual plot under the sound of the narrator's voice which leads us in movements cadenced by a society divided between the feminine and the masculine, the matriarchal and the patriarchal, the monogamy and the polygamy, the tradition and the contemporariness, the north and the south, the voice and the silence. And it is in dichotomous steps that Rami moves between tradition and the contemporariness, between the initiating rituals of love and the Christian education, between the place of the woman as servant for procreation and the role of the reflexive woman, in a dance of life, making mistakes and corrections in a permanent search of her own identity.

3. The pendular movement of the narrative: the baton of the narrator's voice

The entire narrative is marked by a pendular movement. Under the baton of the melodious voice of the narrator we oscillating between the North and the South, between, the man's status

and the woman's status, between the African cultures and the colonial influences, diving into the Mozambican cultural diversity and verifying the dichotomous binary scheme that adorns the entire novel. This dichotomy is visible in the cultural differences between the hermetic North and the external influences of the South, permeable to the Portuguese colonial influence. Along the novel women that witness that educational duplicity emerge: those from the North, more cared, more considered by men, "educated to life and love" (Chiziane, 2002: 207), those who attend the school of love and the rituals of initiation, those who know the importance of love and pleasure; those from the South, exclusively dedicated to work, to procreation, to children and husband, dominated, slaves of man, without any rights, nostalgic, "condemned to die, without knowing what love and life is" (Chiziane, 2002: 175), physically careless, insecure, marginalized, "exiled in their own world" (Chiziane, 2002: 175). According to the voice of Mauá, one of Tony's woman, the society of the North is more human, the woman has right to happiness and live and to the same freedom as men in what concerns love.

At the beginning of the narrative we understand Chiziane's purpose of locating the plot in the post-colonial war period: "a detonation is heard on the other side. A bomb. A antipersonal mine. It may be the war coming back again." (Chiziane, 2002: 11). Insert in this epoch the reader can easily understand the game of tensions that is developed. We also notice the narrator's Europeanized education when she is revolted and accuses the church and recognizes that she was thrown to marriage without any preparation and that learnt "all those things from the European ladies such as to bake angel cookies, to embroider, good manners, everything from the dining room. From the bedroom, nothing!" (Chiziane, 2002: 46). Several passages expose the marks left by the Portuguese colonization and make proof of the mixture of cultures done during that period and the consequent fracture of identity.

Indifferent to this diversity, there was Tony as a unifying element. For Tony women were a sample from North to South, the entire country in the hands of a unique man. In what concerns love, Tony symbolizes the national unity." (Chiziane, 2002: 161).

4. Places in the Mozambican society: a matter of genre

In this novel, Paulina Chiziane leads us to rethink the years that followed to the independence of Mozambique and to disclose the place of women, in confrontation with the masculine position, in this country with fractures of identity.

Through the Rami's constant reflections and questions about her condition of being a woman and through the voices of other women that the narrator brings to the stage, we get into a society markedly patriarchal and visualizing the space reserved to women, explicitly made subaltern, marginalized and made slave by the prepotency that the patronized stereotypes give to man. The legitimation of man's superiority, the right to the difference in the family relationships, of marriage and extra-marriage are already determined by fate, as the narrator states: "Polygamy is the destiny of man and chastity is the destiny of woman". (Chiziane, 2002: 130). This way, in love, woman always appears as a loser, as the narrator concludes, listening to the life stories of other women. Woman is always defeated and voted to loneliness, according to Rami's voice: "In love, women are a defeated army, we need to cry. To put the arms down, and to accept loneliness". (Chiziane, 2002: 15).

The coercion of the women's rights, the annulment of her freedom, in dichotomy with the privileged position of man, are very well explained in Tony's response to Rami's lament for His absences and the incrimination by the suspected treason: "Treason? Don't make me laugh, ah, ah, ah, ah. Purity is masculine and sin is feminine. Only women can betray, men are free, Rami." (Chiziane, 2002: 31).

The oral patrimony, with ancestral roots is also summoned to justify the obedience of the woman to the male, as in the legend of Vuyazi, told by Rami's aunt during a family council, asked by Tony to pledge the obedience of the polygamous' five women. According to this legend, a princess that hadn't satisfied the commandment of obedience to men had been punished by her father and printed on the moon, as example of punishment for the whole world. We must point out the incitement to punishment to the transgressors of the law of the masculine domination.

The woman also appears as a family property. In the South, when the man dies, the widow is "tchingada" subjected to levirate by one of the brothers-in-law, as the narrator says, referring to the supposed death of her husband: "And all of them sharpen the teeth to "tchingar" me." (Chiziane, 2002: 211).

The woman also appears as a victim of wars, conquered, raped by the guerrilla fighters, by the dominators, as a kind of a trophy, of appropriation of the feminine territory (woman and nation). When the narrator recalls the story of a woman in Zambezia, with five children, four of them result of rapings by soldiers in periods of war, she mentions that: "That woman burdens the story of all wars in an only womb. But she sings and laughs." (Chiziane, 2002: 277).

We share Margarida Calafate Ribeiro's opinion: "the African women are doubly victims of oppression: from one side, oppressed by the African colonized society, patriarchal and male, where they are integrated and, from the other side, by the colonial society, white and patriarchal that patronizes everybody" (Ribeiro, 2006: 136).

Following Spivak's line, it is built a feminine subject that is marginalized twice: by the colonial dominion and by the subordination of the genre. (cf. Omar, 2006: 221).

5. What may the genre of religion be?

Along the narrative, we can't ignore the feminine critical voice that questions one religion and one God, in the presence of the injustices and humiliations whose victims are the women. We guess a subliminal censorship to the naturalness and conformism

towards polygamy in Mozambique, when Rami asks God to invent a new bible with one Adam and many Eves, to legitimate that natural and fatal nature of polygamy: "If polygamy is nature and destiny, please, my God, send a new Moses to write a new bible with one Adam and so many Eves as the stars in the sky." (Chiziane, 2002: 95).

The same dissonance between the earthly and the divine and a veiled criticism to God are expressed in the narrator's expressed oddity by the fact of God remains single while in the African land the polygamy is the rule: "In this thing of making men similar to Him God failed in some formula: He remains single and men polygamous." (Chiziane, 2002: 130).

The women's condemnation to silence, to invisibility, to inutility, to cruelty seems a curse that is rooted in femininity and comes from ancient times and divine protection, as the narrator thinks: "... even in the bible, the woman isn't good. The saints, in their ancient preaching, say that the woman has no value, the woman is an animal which nourishes iniquity, is the source of all discussions, disputes and injustices." (Chiziane, 2002: 70).

In her reflections, Rami, in a tone of doubt, expresses her suspicions. "But the goddess must exist, I think. She must be invisible, I think. She must be as invisible as all of us." (Chiziane, 2002: 70).

Saly, one of Tony's five women, also accuses the religion of fighting and transformed the traditions, the culture of the southern region: "You from the South, you have left those people from Europe and his priests that fought our practices to colonize you" (Chiziane, 2002: 180).

In the field of religion, the feminine voices intone criticisms, misunderstandings, strangeness, revolts, and we guess the prolongation of the masculine dominion to the divine kingdom.

6. From silence to voice: a course of identity reconstruction

The deep silence to which the Mozambican woman is sent comes from this narrative. In a feminine meeting of women, in which the old ladies, with “the morbid voices of the captives” (Chiziane, 2002: 126), dictate to Tony’s women the commandments of the feminine law of slavery, remembering them that they should serve their husbands on their knees, giving them the best food, as an investment in love as in food. ” (Chiziane, 2002: 126), the new women imprison the laugh and the speech: “we kept in silence towards the litany with which they always have kept in sleep along the time...” (Chiziane, 2002: 126). By the end of the family council asked by Tony, the narrator concludes: “We close our mouths. Do we have the right to speak, by the way? And if we did, what would its value be? The voice of a woman that is good enough to rock the children at nightfall.” (Chiziane, 2002: 154).

And asleep, the women stayed in a secular lethargy, in a morbid conformism, doing nothing to change their course of life, as the narrator confesses. (Cf. Chiziane, 2002: 20).

In the presence of the pain of loneliness and the humiliation of the abandonment, Rami is assaulted by the desire of liberation for all the years in silence and oppression and starts to feel the revolt by her feminine condition. Adopting a reflexive attitude, questioning what the place of the woman is in a society where the tensions between the Mozambican traditional culture and the western culture provoke fractures of identity, Rami realizes the power of silence and she begins to use it as a weapon against men: “They want to destroy and we want to build, so we fight the fight of the deposed arms.

We can identify here the understanding of the imperceptible power of the silence expressed by Smedt: “The silence and the power are subtle and that’s the reason why we don’t notice them because it is easier, but not more intelligent or understandable, to deal with the noise of the words.” (Smedt, 2003: 34).

Conquering her financial autonomy, creating strong mutual ties with her husband’s lovers, winning strength in the cooperative spirit of the united women, Rami gets freedom and independence and helps others in this process of liberation. Step by step, in a well thought way and using the silence as one of the weapons, she conquers the right to speak and to have a life of her own, getting free from the masculine dominion.

Using the same method and under her orientation, the other Tony’s women got into the market of work, building their independence and assuming collective initiatives to destroy the myth of the dominating male. All of them looked for a way out, won new places in society, all of them built their identity. Nevertheless this process of feminine liberation generates many conflicts, which we watch in Rami’s constant internal fights, to get free from the ties of her condition, and also in the tensions existing between the African ancestral cultures and the western contemporary culture, by the problems of acculturation generated by colonization.

Modernity and tradition are two powerful strengths that are part of the post-colonialism and sometimes they chock against each other framing the status of the new African woman that is still divided between the traditional culture and the European contemporary culture.

In this novel, representative of the feminine voice, stand two groups of women: the group of women searching their liberation and a dignified place in society, and the other that defends the African traditional culture, and the consequent, masculine dominion.

It seems to us that, in this defense of the traditional culture, there is a revival, a recuperation of traditions and beliefs that were suppressed by the colonizers, emerging the phenomenon called “inverse ethnocentrism”, that consists of valorizing the colonized culture, staining those that are associated to the period of colonization. (cf. Omar, 2006:262).

We also verify that polygamy is worshiped and guaranteed by men, but also perpetuated by the

African women. Nevertheless in this painful and slow fight by the feminine liberation, in the middle of divided tensions, the narrator's voice seems to announce the fading of tradition, when she remembers the family council asked by Tony, after expressing the men's revolt because his descendents are losing privileges, she speaks her reflection: "But the traditions are born and die, as life." (Chiziane, 2002: 152).

7. Final considerations

In Niketche, Paulina Chiziane leads us to reflect on the post-colonial period in Mozambique, showing us the cultural diversity of a country affected by the interferences of the war, subjected to the erasing of traditions, to the transformation of costumes and consequently to identity fractures.

From the very beginning, the binary structure of this novel stands, and it is visible in the opposition between North/South, masculine/feminine, African tradition/western culture, silence/voice, a suggestive dichotomy of a desperate searching for the national identity of a country that, after the independence, begins a process of identity reconstruction, and where the opposite poles reclaim their place in a unstructured space.

Because this panel sends us to the need of considering the questions of post-colonial identity, the phenomena of mixture, the combination and the fusion of cultural, racial, linguistic, and religious forms, we have to take into consideration that any concept transmitted by the colonizer to the colonized will be, in the dynamics of transcultural appropriation, renewed and reinterpreted under the light of the Other's culture, it inevitably appears the cultural and linguistic crossing of races and the congregating mimetism of similitudes and differences. What we have to do is to recognize the intrinsically hybrid nature of the identities as well as of the cultures in this African space.

In this novel we identify the presence of a "third space" (cf. Omar, 2006: 211), a space of fusion, of communication and cultural negotiation, projected by Chiziane's hybrid look that focuses simultaneously Africa and Europe, in an attitude of questioning and reflection, which develops a cultural dialectics that avoids politics of polarity between the traditional culture and the western culture, between the colonizer and the colonized. At this purpose, it seems pertinent to revisit the poem "Naturalidade" by Rui Knopfli, where the poet says: "I don't know if what I write has the root of some European thought. /It's probable ...No. It's right, /but I am African" (free translation) (Knopfli, 2003: 59), because it's quite an example of this fusion, of the interpretation of cultures.

It's to be stressed the absence of the reducing Manichaeism in which the presentation of binomial induces the reader to the questioning and to reflection, without expressing condemnations or absolutions of situations or attitudes.

In the generative centre of the text, we meet the protagonist-narrator that allows us to dive into the Mozambican patriarchal society and identify the place reserved to the woman made subaltern, marginalized, dominated by the masculine prepotency.

This is how the feminine figure emerges, sent to silence, to the total dependence of man, to suffering, to the condition of "possessed object" to the double marginalization by the colonial dominion and by the subordination of genre, to a non-place.

The fight of the woman to conquer a condign place stands out from this novel. This fight is represented by the narrator that passes from silence to voice, from conformism to action, from imprisonment to liberation. In Niketche, the feminine rising takes form as the main character questions about her life, thinks over her situation as a woman, understands and uses the power of silence, uses the cooperative strength to her liberation and the liberation of other women, opening paths to the conquest of the voice and of the place in society. Nevertheless we register conflicts in

this process of the woman's liberation, resulting from the fight between the traditional culture and the European culture, two powerful strengths that get into collision and cause oscillations in the status of the African woman that is still divided between the traditional and the modern, between the liberation and the imprisonment to the masculine prepotency.

On one side, we notice that reflexive women able to question, able to fight, with voice and able to build their own path, we also notice that there are still women that go on cultivating the male condition and perpetuate silence and polygamy.

In "Niketche: a story of polygamy" it is perceptible a process of identity reconstruction of the divided woman, in parallel with the reconstruction of a nation, also divided and it is possible for us to see here a double re-edification of identities in the course of liberation, of independence of the feminine universe (nation and woman).

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Abstract: This article evaluates the marital conflicts when they are experienced in public spaces involving the denunciation of violence against women, since the enactment of Law No. 11340 (Maria da Penha Law), with the goal of measuring subjective and social impacts produced by these individuals. It is analyzed the critique by some contemporary authors like Sorj and Monteiro (1985), Grossi (1995), Gregori (1987), Rifiotis (2006), Debert (2006), Spivak (2010), Agambe (1998) in relation to the penalty under the law of the author of conjugal conflicts. To Debert (2006) the judicial approach is the main way of coping with interpersonal marital conflicts in the home environment. Thus, it is seen the difficulties and the progress of the law, allowing evaluating of how women, mobilizations, police and legal configurations are prone to change.

Keywords: Violence, Women, Subalternity

1. The Maria da Penha Law - From Death to the Movements

This is a first part of the research doctorate in sociology for the Federal University of Ceará focusing exclusively on conflicts in love relationships when they become experienced in public spaces and involve denunciation of violence against women, as it was reinforced by the promulgation of Law No. 11340 (Maria da Penha Law), with the objective of assessing the subjective and social impacts produced by these individuals.

This new law reflects how interpersonal relationships became the groundwork for modern public institutions¹, changing the mechanisms of control exercised over private configurations, defining behavior and uses of violence as a result of increased publicity of what was once lived as strictly intimate. These new forms of institutional regulation that blame and criminalize practices of domestic violence are already pointing to limits and reaches that should deserve the watchful gaze of Social Sciences.

My object of study is the possibility of observing the woman when she is under tension experienced by this new role, from the breakup of violence with the subsequent remaking of trajectory. Along the way, the women try to recover from the pains of ill-treatment - that also seems to reveal a fragmented identity that lurks in the pain, but also shows what appears to be her desire to weave new networks of sociability, through a process of singularizing her feminine self.

The law that was passed made it possible for this woman

¹ Police Women's Defense, Special Court of Women in Situations of Violence, Reference Centers Caring for Women in Shelters and Homes

Subaltern Voices: Gender Conflicts within Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts

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to emerge out of her private world exposing the situational contexts related to the maintenance of violence. That's how this woman is led through a raped/victimized path in order to confront domestic violence and bias.

This output changes its subjectivity involved in the production of a new historical subject - "the same woman more empowered." The situation of violence does not separate its two stories, but prepares and manages to reassess the extreme situation, experiencing and reflecting how to overcome this everyday reality. For some, the way they are treated in the police station is an outrage:

When I leave, she will see, the devil is already singing in my head (ethnographical man in WPS - after arrest in the spot - 03/11/2013).

Crazy is the man who trusts the beast that bleeds for seven days and does not die (joke made by ethnographical man in the Nuah Group -16.05.2013)

In the minds of some men women are seen as an extension of their assets, bodies or gender, but when one reads Spivak (2006), Das (1997), Foucault (1999), Versiani (2005), Agambe (2004) who show an identity deteriorated as Goffman (2004) puts it, or present as Spivak did (2006) a female subject who cannot be heard or read, I ask how female identity becomes a subordinate identity. Agambe (2004) in his State of Exception, evaluates that death of some people is of no interest to the state. In Agamben (2004) , we find this category as homo sacer, people who lead a bare life.

When he mentions it the author sets parameters for the dying, or rather death being acceptable. It is somehow possible to kill, as Agamben(2004) says there is a distinction. In this life, in this environment where lives the homo sacer, there is no distinction between public and private, right and left, none of this makes sense. It is a kind of social psychopathology. There is the perception of lack of institutions. It is nothingness, emptiness ultimately leading to chaos. There is a bio-politic machine (Agamben 2004) that produces this "new" homo sacer. It produces juice. It produces human juice. Consider the story of one of the ethnographic ones:

I think that if there really is such a law is just on paper. Is only on paper because I've seen, for example, what happened with the father of my children, I've done several complaints against him in the district [WPS], he followed me here, was arrested and always is set free. Often he uses the phrase, he says that when he gets the summons from a police station or a court order he makes toilet paper out of them, do you understand? Then you take the weight of the word, no. I do not believe, I know there is the Maria da Penha, the Maria da Penha Law, but I do not believe in this severity of that law, I don't believe it is actually so severe. I do not believe it (ethnographic woman-Fortaleza).

As shown in the studies done by the author, one is led to believe that there is the archetype of the modern state of exception, called *iustitium*² . It implies, therefore, a suspension of not only the administration of justice, but of the law as such. Since it allows us to observe the state of exception in its paradigmatic form, it serves as a model to a situation of exception; from the time the obligations imposed by the Act are suspended by the action of the magistrates. The *iustitium* suspends the law and, from that, all legal requirements are set aside. (Agamben, 2004, 70)

In the account of the prosecutor put the police in case of called Law Maria da Penha they turn a blind eye leads only if the guy lay snowman, ie , if the offense beyond - always talk , advise , make that man can fall on you . But if any contempt, or injury they will have to take. (Diario Field, May 2013)

² Iustitium: The term literally means "interruption, suspension of the right," almost an interval and a kind of termination of entitlement. (Agambe 2004, 68)

However we can predict the statistics of death in women is higher than expected, what the law is, what happens to these deaths occur? Delegate from the perspective of WPS:

I 'm here for 9 years , even before the term of the Maria da Penha law, what I'm seeing is that actually had the 42 % increase in complaints, the rule of law here, just that we're actually seeing due to number of complaints, but we're starting to feel a slowdown of violence . I say the law be strong today, the law is actually respected, the protective measures can have a big intimidating, victims are not continuing what is denounced it also hurts because she comes she registers the instance when she does when it is not public and unconditioned nature, i.e. , bodily injury, it is retroactive. What I see in some situations is that they make the law, but coming to the police station to scare the perpetrator and do police procedure and we note, and if there happens to effectively police procedure that violence is gradual, is the kind of thing she put the case but did not pursue the investigation they get more violent. (Delegate, interviewed 05.16.2013)

The author adds to a situation of exception, from the time they are suspended with the obligations imposed by the Act to the action of the magistrates. The *iustitium* suspends the law and, from that, all legal requirements are set aside. Even with the Maria da Penha law, women are feeling empowered to report, is a state of exception in the procedure of the law. Relational and social processes are preventing the appropriate action.

I have noticed this, but when I speak of the increase in real violence have been recorded many bulletins saying: I did because now I'll just threaten to be stuck because now I 'm going to kill . Then there is the aggressor he has not changed the culture, it has the feeling of possessiveness, and he wants the victim the object of his desire. Even though he'll be arrested, he did not cease to kill and then we're back to a very characteristic phenomenon that one kills the victim and then killing himself. That's right; we have noticed an increase after the rule of law. It is a paradox, right? We have increased the complaint, an increase in the credibility of women, but matched against a face so still seeing no change of mach culture. Delegate, interviewed 05.16.2013)

In this sense, the state of exception as a form of manifestation of a legal vacuum is the space in which the author seeks to capture Benjamin's idea of a pure violence and anomie subscribe in the body of the same prefectures. According to Schmitt, it would not be a pure violence that is absolutely out of the law, because the state of exception, it is included in the law for its own exclusion. The state of exception is therefore the device through which Schmitt replied to Benjamin's claim of a wholly anomic human action. (Agamben, 2004, 83-84)

Agamben(2003) stated verbatim in the state of exception the concept of need. The author places the Latin adage "legem non habet need", i.e., necessity has no law. For him, a divergence - two opposite directions, the necessity knows no law and necessity creates its own law (requiring *fait loi*). Thus the lawful becomes unlawful, the need acts here as justification for transgression in a specific case by exception (Agamben, 2003, 40-41)

Men act beyond the law, it intimidates reinforces empowerment longer be protecting. See some issues of women who passed the law report:

If I can protect, I've been married for 12 years and my husband has always had these fits of jealousy, had tried to hang myself over my little son was two years old at the time took on his foot and he stopped, but now he woke me at dawn to know where was the message from my phone, as he said he had gone out got angry and started attacking me. I wanted the law to protect me. I could separate myself, but I have three children, back to my parents' house with three children is impossible not work, I am from another state, I live here with him and my mother, and she does not really care what you do. (Ethnographic report in DEAM 09/05/2013)

I watched to see (...) I did not see results, I think it needs to be stronger, so she made this law to be recognized, I think women fear more for the delay, I do not think I'm protected by the police, in no way, because besides being slow, not that women at the station do not do the job well, here they do the work to be done. But it is because justice is slow, has a wife that one of two or submits to those threats, the delay. Just giving why it is called a scoundrel, because coming back. But the truth is fear, or other she really fell in frailty and just removing the complaint because it is taking too long. The woman for you, she is already fragile and when you're going through such a moment it becomes weaker still and then what happens , I mean it is without support, that protection . She often hidden by the family, is alone, so she comes here to seek refuge at the police station. And when she arrives, she is just a B.O. and wait and have to go home, or just not going home, but returning to the arms of the abuser. (Ethnographic report, police woman - 16/05/2013)

The reports show hope in reducing violence and despair for the delay in justice, police ordered the protective measures, but who is the court defers. We can see how women are at the mercy of what can happen. Each situation presented realized the identity of the subaltern woman³ (Spivak, 2010, p13).

Indian society, for the author mentioned women are in a more peripheral position by underlying problems of gender issues, women's junior 's still more in the dark (p15).

In the official report of the round , reported that activity in the forehead (activity on the street) that the car was called by the occurrence of Maria da Penha , to reach the place the offender was taking the police station , in coming as the boy was only slightly intoxicated the officer released two hours later the same car was driven for attempted murder , the woman companion of the aggressor had been beaten and stabbed with a machete (field diary - official report of the police - 21/03/2013).

Another way to let the bare lives is through the allocation of bail by some delegates in Ceará by a legal action that the Supreme Court considers the man a subjective right of the prisoner, to better understand this reality explains the story is action:

Bail actually legally speaking, the Federal Supreme Court ruled as a subjective right of the prisoner, the prisoner was then fulfills the requirements of bail has to be granted, but most of those arrested for domestic violence at first this would bail. You have to understand that the issue relating to bail is a matter of law is a matter of criminal policy. The domestic abuse is very difficult, it is very dangerous the offender return to the residence where he is, only that the imminent risk to the victim, and the sheriff has no way of removing that risk. From the moment he gives such bail it may the greatest evil to the victim because the risk is very serious. And he understands that it is a risk, but it is unfortunately bound legal decisions he remains in a vulnerable position, on the applicability of the law. So why this partnership between the police between the judiciary, including the prosecutor, is necessary because if this bond will fall to naturalize the same 9099 law, the offender pays he left, returns home and kills the victim, then it will lose all the efficiency and effectiveness of Lei. To my understanding does not fit for adjudication by the delegate of the precautionary measures, protective measures and then the impossibility of protecting the victim then at that moment who should consider it is the judge (delegate of Fortaleza - 05.09.2013)

Disregard in practice, Judge of the Court of Rio Grande do Sul granted appeal in favor of not applying for bail in domestic violence case, the latest decisions have shown that the tendency is to seek the effectiveness of the Maria da Penha Law and protection woman, exposing down the appeal:

³ Spivak puts the subaltern is no outcast, to her the term must be rescued; recovering the meaning of Gramsci assigns you to refer to the proletariat, i.e., one whose voice cannot be heard.

STF- 19 ADC - Minister Marcus Aurelius :

“Dessumiu is to let the woman -author of representation - decide on the initiation of criminal prosecution would mean disregarding the power asymmetry due to historical and cultural relations as well as other factors , all contribute to reducing your protection and to extend the framework of violence , discrimination and offense to human dignity “(Informative n . 654/STF) Appeal no. 70050937861/2012- Id - Judge Jayme NetoWeingartner

“Thus , to conceive how atypical the conduct of disobeying protective measure of urgency, taking into account the exceptional protective segregation for crimes related to domestic violence , would - renewing venia those who think differently to increase women’s vulnerability and the sense of impunity of the perpetrator , emptying the very rationale of the Law n . 11.340/06 , and in the limit of § 8 of art. 226 of Constitution.

You can report the delegates interviewed perceive this situation.

“That so being arbitrated.” Thus , the question of bail in cases of Maria da Penha Law, at least so the DDM in Fortaleza we do not arbitrates bail, right we do the procedure and report immediately to the right of the woman Judgeship, and anything request arbitration of bail would be there, because from the moment we announced the prisoner is to justice after we report the arrest in flagrante so it is ... to justice , then only those who could arbitrate some kind of guarantee would be Judgeship the right woman , which is the competent judicial part in this case , the crimes of domestic violence . Thus, we do not do to avoid it, because well, now left, now leaves home, already have that kind of violence, we greatly fear for the physical and psychological integrity of this woman, we are afraid that there is any breakdown in the relationship this occurrence, right. Often he comes here, he’s trapped there by the time we bail it’s like, you know well, this thing does not pass the prison, because he is fast, he posted bail, met the requirements and loose. Sometimes they come out even angrier, more put at risk this woman and we have a recommendation from prosecutors, right, who works here, the promoter of justice, which acts here in Women’s Judgeship and he recommends that we do not arbitrate bail because, before that, you have to judicial review if necessary transforming into preventive, and also because there is a legal provision for such cases of Maria da Penha law, domestic violence, violence within the family, right, we do not arbitrate bail. The new law exe ... the law of criminal procedure code a few items there, the question that should not arbitrate when bail is ... is ... when there is a domestic violence case, in the case when there is, there is a risk of physical integrity of women so we do not do it based right here, based on that recommendation. Why take the woman of that kind of violence, take this offender to immediately reinsert it at home , it will be a much higher risk , and also because we are supported legally , then why do not we just do it . Who does it , think the , think , uses the law itself saying it is supported by law to arbitrate bail . “ It’s because so few people have said ‘ not because he has the right , is a right is .. ‘s ... is a right of the prisoner , in case if the penalty is less , is less than four years .. then it would behoove the ... be arbitrated bail right , and they are afraid to answer for abuse of authority right . Based on that they grant bail , right . But in this case ... is , they grant bail ... But in this case we do not, we do not exactly see that one of the devices , this change in the Code of Criminal Procedure right , because in the case of noncompliance with the protective measure up to probation, then probation is up when we do not bail arbitrates to is ... is ... drop that arrested immediately after the act, see? This is an understanding of DDM Fortress. “

2. Call of the police authority

Article 11 . Care to women in situations of domestic violence , the police authority shall, among other measures :

I - ensure police protection , when needed , communicating immediately with the public prosecutor and the judiciary ;

II - direct the victim to the hospital or health center and the Legal Medical Institute;

III - provide transportation for the victim and her dependents for shelter or safe place when there is risk of life;

IV - if necessary , accompany the victim to ensure the removal of their belongings from the place of occurrence or the family home;

V - inform offended the rights granted to it by this Law and the services available .
Article 12 . In all cases of domestic violence against women , made the record of the occurrence , the police authority shall adopt , immediately , the following procedures without prejudice to those provided for in the Code of Criminal Procedure:

I - listen to the offended , till the police report and take the representation term , if presented;

II - gather all the evidence they serve to clarify the fact and its circumstances;

III - remit , within 48 (forty eight) hours , the judge departed hours with the request of the victim , to grant urgent protective measures;

IV - require that we proceed to the examination of corpus delicti of the offense and request other necessary expert examinations;

V - hear the offender and witnesses;

VI - order identifying the perpetrator and to adduce as evidence of his criminal history sheet , indicating the existence of a warrant of arrest or other police reports record against him;

VII - remit , within the statutory period , the records of the police to the judge and the public prosecutor investigation.

§ 1 The request of the victim will be taken forward by the police authority and shall contain:

I - qualification of the victim and the offender;

II - name and age of dependents;

III - brief description of apparel and protective measures requested by the offended .

§ 2 The police authority shall attach to the document referred to in § 1 the police report and copies of all available documents in possession of the victim.

§ 3 will be admitted as evidence the reports or medical records provided by hospitals and clinics;

Article 326. To determine the amount of bail , the authority shall take into consideration the nature of the offense , the personal circumstances of fortune and life history of the accused , the circumstances indicative of its danger , and the likely importance of the costs of the proceedings until final judgment .

Article 328. The bailed defendant may not , under penalty of breaking the bond , change of residence without prior permission of the prosecuting authority , or if absent for more than eight (8) days of his residence , without communicating that authority where will be found .

NOTES: - address? The same victim ? evaluate, in the act, the defendant's personal circumstances, dangerous , life history , existence of protective measures and safety of the victim .

Article 112 - § 1 - Within 24 hours after completion of the prison, will be forwarded to the competent judge and the public prosecutor, the prison of self in the act and , if apprehended not tell the name of his lawyer , full copy to the Ombudsman publishes .

§ 2 - Since we understand the present requirements contained in Articles 312 and 313 of the CPP, the police authority will represent the remand of the accused or other injunctive relief, forwarding the application together with the communication from prison in striking the judge.

Article 145 - The police officer who becomes aware of the occurrence involving the practice of domestic and family violence against women, caught in flagrante delicto the aggressor , adopt , without delay , without prejudice to other measures , the procedures in arts.11 and 12 of Law n . 11.340/06.

Each deed was perpetrated delegates from the northern region , and gauging the prohibition of bail stipulate the man arrested for Domestic Violence . But these considerations do not actualize

actions to protect the woman.

Against women in the third world to Spivak(2010) is between patriarchy and imperialism , the constitution of a subject and object formation , the figure of the woman disappears , not into a pristine empty, but in a violent pitch that is the displaced figuration of woman third world , caught between tradition and modernity .

For Butler (2009) in *Las lloradas* lives , we can perceive an endorsement in the death and life of people , especially because the incident of September 11 . But the author living conditions of certain less special than other social groups . So talk to HIV patients , deaths in war, we analyze the extent to which death and life of women are important to us .

This time dichasóloresponsabilidadpuedarealizarse by the empezaruna critical reflexión on esasexcluyentes standards by which estánlas constituted reconocibilidad certain fields , fields that son unoscuando implicitly invoked by cultural reflejo , keep mourns lives reaccionamos con unasfrialidad ante la pérdida of otras. Antes suggest unamanera thinking about La responsabilidad global estostiempos during war , quierodistanciarme of algunas mistakes maneras addressing el problem. Quienes for ejemplo , hacen la guerra en nombre del biencomún , quienesmatan en nombre de la laseguridad democracy , quienesincursioneshacen en otros sovereign countries en nombre de la sovereignty , all elloscreen be ‘ acting globally ‘ and included ejecutandocierta ‘Global Responsibility ‘. In hacemucho , en United States hemostasis oídohablar de la necessity of ‘ llevar la democracy “ to countries where this brilla apparently by su absence . (Butler , 2009.56)

The author argues about that death can and should be mourned, in a state of war, terrorism, attacks, death arising is a speculation that events mark the die, the self , or rather the identity of the person, group , can be engendering point in killing and dying. Some lives, or deaths can be cried or not

I'm Barbara , I'm 32 , I'm separated three years and four months , a situation not yet resolved in court. I am the first child of a couple who dated for 10 (ten) years . According to my mother, there were many comings and goings until marriage . After a year I hoped and planned and expected forward . But without programming before make two year olds reached my sisters (twins) , as reported by family members who had very jealous . Always protected by all (mom, dad , grandparents and uncles) , received different treatment , considered the “ preferred “ . I grew up always surrounded by many friends and relatives . Liked to study, which also differentiated me from my sisters who most often did not get along in the final results. In adolescence I started dating, more precisely at 13. My father had many boyfriends be moralistic and domineering despite. Given the rigor with which it was treated by my father ended up getting engaged with 1 year of dating and two months later I got married at 19. I think much more to conquer my “ freedom “ . He gaucho without family ties in Sobral , came to work in Grendene . Despite having a different culture, get along. Sometimes I wonder whether I love it really. The relationship is over, lasting 10 years. We had two wonderful, educated , intelligent and very smart daughters . Currently own 10 and 7 years. As already mentioned we separated 3 years ago, amicably and have a “good” relationship until now , all contacts because of meninas.A separation was a difficult decision , because my father did not accept and continued to have much contact with her ex-husband and stopped talking to me for almost two years . So understand that I needed to be happy. Once I separated, with less than two months, I started dating. A young man two years younger and very jealous. Even so were together for about eight months. We passed several conflicts due to jealousy, because I have several friends. He was jealous even of friends . It was hard to break up because he did not accept the order , called me , was in my house , in the house of friends to try and they convinced me to return . The decision to end was when he took me to look at a house that was considering

buying for us to live . The impact of a new relationship with a jealous person as he left me scared . In order finished. Two months later, I went to a party in the neighboring municipality (Santana 's Acaraú) and there met Francisco (the aggressor) . The friend with whom I had gone there drank much booze and transport it was that we were following us and he came to my house . Knowing where I lived and we exchanged phone that week he came in contact. We talked by phone a few days to combine a date. He picked me up and we went to a party. He was coming up and when I realized he was already living in my house. We shared accounts, of course I was with most of the girls were already mine and I had a little bigger than his monthly income. Was already aware that he was using drugs (cocaine) , but reported that he wanted help to quit , because only wore when she went to parties . And made a deal if he came back to use while we were together, everything would end. But almost a year and a half relationship he had a relapse if he used during that time, did not realize. One day, goes to class and he went out, spent the night out without explanation. When we arrived the next day, I questioned what had happened and he ended up reporting the use of drugs. I asked him to leave my house and despite promising to never do it again, I kept my decision. Called several times and did not attend , was at my house and would not even talk . Days later he contacted stating that he was going to a clinic recovery, asking for my support. Gave much strength and encouraged. He asked me to be getting his calls, so he had the strength to perform the treatment. Mistakenly tried to help and I regret to hoje. Permaneceu there two months when he returned, I made another mistake, gave a new chance. But did not live together. He went to live in the residence of the parents. After all liked him, I think that was the reason. For three months he did not use any drugs, I noticed, not even alcohol. We would leave, holidays, restaurants, social gatherings (Christmas) passed and was able to stay firm. On April 7, 2012, went to prom with a friend in Viçosa , where we would spend the night and would return the next day .(Ethnographic report, interviewed after the attempted murder)

In Germans, we find the analysis of Nazi genocide, among genocides and validity of the theory of Elias (1990 [1897]) of the civilizing process. People's consciousness mark the twentieth century, as an ongoing problem, genocide structured several important points in history, Stalin, then Uganda, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, some sociologists called intervenes category as modern genocide, others would call ethnic cleansing. We can demonstrate in numbers such fees. When we talk about the deaths of women in Brazil and Latin America.

Femicide / femicide is a concept under construction, which is in development and, as stated Gómez (1), based on Sandoval, "el asesinato de mujeres en el landmark las large structures del y la misogyny patriarchy" (p. 22).

Several countries are trying to work with the criminal typification of femicide / femicide means define it as an autonomous crime, other than murder, with its own penalties. To Mota (2012) the challenge is to define what kind of murder of women can be named femicide / femicide. In the opinion of Jill Radford and Diana Russell (1992) analyze this crime is a homicide due to the fact of being a woman, "in a social and cultural context that puts them in positions, roles, or subordinate roles, context, therefore, favors and .exposes them to multiple forms of violence "as Vásquez (., 2008, p 203) explains to Mota (2008) femicide occurs because:

(...) gears that structure in culture female subordination and violence against women appear to have deeper roots than we imagined. It is the formation of subjectivity of social subjects that one can understand the subjection and domination as elements of the constitution of these subjects. The persistence and continuation of domineering and violent men should be sought not only in the individual history of each subject , but especially in the state , society , whose discourses and practices interpellate the male and female control and domination and subjection to and dependence . What factors, values feed this kind of questioning to be macho and controlling man and woman to be subordinate and dependent ? Getting

prevention, with school subjects on human rights and gender relations, from kindergarten to the upper level can be a positive public policy action to steady recognition values, diversity, human rights and citizenship, can be our next step. Not take a class, a lecture or workshop, but create a learning content for a new way of being a man and a woman based on experience of full citizenship.

These questions reflect the modern, rational, civilized societies that produce actions tend to lose permanent achievement of a final state of civilization.

The armor of civilized conduct would quickly be undone by a change in society, the degree of uncertainty that existed in acomettesse once again, and the danger became as incalculable as it was before. Corresponding fears would soon knock on the limits that are imposed them today (Elias, 1993, 253)

We are not living in a time of open war, as Elias puts a violent outbreak descivilizador under Hitler, but guides the perception training in long-term status as forming a gaping space witnessed increasingly appalling deaths, ask if the problem VD somehow does not feature a genocide, or rather, femicide, open for all to see.

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SESSION 25

CINEMA,
REPRESENTATIONS
AND IDENTITIES 1

Abstract: Drawing on insights from Cultural Studies, this text focuses on three issues of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and cinema in Brazil: a) Introductory reflections on how Cultural Studies can enhance research on Brazilian cinema b) the presentation of results of the project entitled ‘Indigenous Filmmakers’, which the authors participated in c) the authors’ research and pedagogical experience with a youth group belonging to Sateré-Mawé (Indigenous nation of the Amazon region). In the first issue, rather than attempting to define what ‘indigenous cinema’ is, the authors focus on the critique of how non-indigenous filmmakers have usually portrayed Indigenous peoples in Brazil; the two remaining issues derive from the authors’ contact with Indigenous filmmakers themselves, whose production of Indigenous films has aimed at criticizing both national and globalized societies, defining them as extensions of colonialism. For the past two years, relying on decolonizing approaches from the field of Cultural Studies, as well as on research funds provided by the Federal University of Amazonas, the authors have helped to create the project entitled ‘Indigenous Filmmakers’. In it, we have been able to offer technical training and access to technological equipment to young Sateré-Mawé students. This has helped to open an ideological horizon for the emergence of ruptures, resistance and cultural innovations in the field of cinematographic representations. Basically, this text describes and discusses this ongoing experiment in which a group of young Sateré-Mawé have been transforming themselves from spectators to protagonists and producers of their own films.

Keywords: Brazilian National Cinema, Cultural Studies; Sateré-Mawé.

1. Introduction

As a contemporary cultural construct, cinema is part of and contributes to important bodies of theoretical and field research, documentaries, bibliographies, experimental and political actions of various areas. To the purposes of this paper, it is important to highlight the relation between epistemological debates within the field of Cultural Studies - many of which favour colonial, postcolonial and decolonial approaches – and contemporary Brazilian filmmaking.

The cinema here is understood as a mechanism to “[...] spread culture through a broad discursive continuum, in which texts are embedded in a social matrix and produce consequences in the world” (STAM, 2003, p. 250). In addition, the study of cinema should be interested in all kinds of text and not just those

Cinema and Representations of Indigenous Groups in Brazil: spectators, actors and producers

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created/published by scholars and, thus, seek to carve out moments of both hegemonic ideological manipulations as resistance amidst various social, cultural, economic and political contexts (STAM, loc. Cit.).

Thus, situated within the field of Cultural Studies, this paper pretends to open spaces for marginalized voices and underrepresented groups. This will be done through analyses of visual representations of minorities, by situating cinema in the broader spectrum of the cultural practices, while considering the representation and signification systems, which express distinct social and cultural voices, as well as alternative political and economic perspectives. If it is through developing narratives that culture produces and reproduces meanings, then filmic productions constitute a powerful tool for the construction of ideologies and identity discourses.

Brazilian national cinema has portrayed Indigenous themes since its foundations around 1910. Since then, it has contributed - in line with literature and mass media - to build an image of indigenous peoples that characterises them basically in 'savage' and 'wild' terms. These narratives, based on dominant ethnocentric viewpoints, have helped to fix stereotypes about Indigenous peoples which they have little power to challenge. Particularly, these representations continue to reinforce the image of Indigenous culture as people belonging exclusively to the past, depriving them of the position of being active subjects in contemporary power struggles (cf. Cunha, 2000; SILVA, 2007).

Today, through complex processes of rupture with the past, Shohat and Stam (2006) identify the emergence of an "indigenous media": the use of audiovisual technology for cultural and political purposes of Indigenous peoples (Ibid, p 69). In Brazil, since the 1980s, more than 70 indigenous films, including medium and short films, have been produced. These works represent only the beginning of the production of filmic narratives by Indigenous peoples themselves. For the first time in the country's history, they are having the opportunity to take the role of creators/subjects of their cinematic representations and to draw their own images to be shared with non-Indigenous members of national society, as well as among other Indigenous societies in Brazil.

Thus, Indigenous films may function as potential counter-narratives, resulting in a set of representations that will be able to confront the collection of stereotypical images produced so far in Brazil. In a national society that still defines Indigenous peoples as 'backward' and as "belonging to the past", these visual narratives can insert the stories of different Indigenous groups into the present time, giving visibility to their cultures and struggles, while also operating as a platform for the reelaboration of their cultural identity discourses, subject to the production of new meanings.

Dealing specifically with cinematic representations, Silva (2007, p.124) understands that the cinema implies a type of ownership of the world based on the points of view of each social group that produces these symbolic representations that, many times, contradict the viewpoints of Others. Films are one of those spaces "[...] where men fight not only through and for material wealth, but also for 'collective representations' " (Silva, 2007, p.124). Thus, it was no wonder that the States and policymakers who engaged with processes of nationalization of societies used films as strategic ideological tools that attempted to simplify the complexity and contradictions of the place of Indigenous peoples in the country.

Bessa Freire (2010, p.18) points out that Brazilian national historiography, in order to imagine the national community, promoted the 'forgetfulness' of the image of indigenous peoples. The author highlights some misconceptions: 1) the notion of generic 'Indians' 2) the image that Indigenous cultures are backward 3) the image of indigenous groups as 'frozen' cultures; 4) the idea that Indigenous peoples belong essentially to the past, obliterating the fact that they integrate, in increasing numbers and spaces, most spaces of contemporary Brazilian society.

Expectedly, many elements of national historiography also appear on the historiography

concerning Indigenous cinema. In this respect, Stam (2008, p. 445) lists some representations: 1) the “noble savage” of Indianists films whose stereotype has literary origins; 2) the Indian positivist objectified documentaries of the 1920s; 3) the comic Indigenous of the 1950s; 4) the Modern and Tropicalista Movements’ Cannibals of the 1960s; 5) the allegorical rebellious Indigenous of the 1970s; 6) the “Indian victim” of the social-documentary of the 1980s; 7) the self-represented Indigenous peoples and Indigenous media activists of the 1990s. The following parts of the text will develop on this last point.

2. Indigenous Sateré-Mawé in a rite of passage: the audience of actors and filmmakers

Based on the presented theoretical framework above-mentioned, and of the “Indigenous Filmmakers’ project, created by NGO ‘Video in the Villages’¹, a group of teachers and students at the Federal University of Amazonas proposed to carry out a project titled “Indian Cinema House in Transit Sateré-Mawé of Parintins” (Amazon). The project aimed at showing, to Sateré-Mawé living in urban areas, films produced by Indigenous filmmakers. One of the main goals was to discuss the film’s contents, emphasizing the issues of existing indigenous cultural identities in Brazilian territory of the indigenous Park Xingu, inhabited by the Indigenous nations Kuikuro Panará, and the Xavante of the Brazilian Amazon region, inhabited by HuniKui and Ashaninka.

Our primary intention was promote, during six months, the opportunity for some members of the Sateré Mawé nation to watch films produced by members of other Indigenous peoples, inviting them to a critical debate on the contrasting representational productions made by non-indigenous filmmakers, whose wide circulation through Brazilian widely watched open TV channels results in the recording of its fabrications on indigenous memories, accustomed to the ubiquity of images conveyed in the mainstream media.

We understand that the proposed training of Indigenous Filmmakers, an initiative launched and implemented by the NGO “Video in the Villages”, involving various ethnic groups located inside “Brazilian territory” from the point of view of their viewers, already implies a diffusion and expansion of geographic, social and cultural practices that subvert the logic between subjects and objects of filmic productions. This means that most film productions do not touch on the possibility of this inversion, trapping the spectator in as consumers and non-producers. It is necessary to state that the current Indigenous cinema, produced by Indigenous filmmakers, invokes points about most of us spectators were estranged, unaware; ignorant so to speak. For the Hollywood industrial logic monopolizes the production in order to turn everyone into consumers of symbols, meanings and solutions to human problems.

In this sense, our work, in the context of socio-academic project in question, points to the existence of the ideological dimension in governance and structuring of social, cultural, political and economic behaviors. We are, therefore, epistemologically located inside the field of Cultural Studies, more specifically, as suggested by Shohat and Stam (2006, p.445), in the area of “[...] self-representations and political identities [...]”, responsible for addressing “[...] questions about the political tensions about who speaks, when, how and on whose behalf. Political identities struggle for ‘self-representation’ of marginalized communities, the right to ‘speak for ones self.’” Both the project “Indigenous Filmmakers” and our actions at the university outreach program with the Sateré-Mawé (an extension of the same project), raised the possibility of action hitherto ignored, unknown and unauthorized. The other Indigenous, in the field of alterities, relieve us from certain alienation.

1 Consult the site www.videonasaldeias.org.br

After this initial hurdle, which implies a passage that goes from the symbolic impediment to awakening the desire for action, we move to confront the material conditions of film production in the context of the project. This is the part of the execution and operationalization of the pedagogical, didactic, technical and technological elements of the project. It is important to note that, although we experienced an initial rupture in the ideological field, the timing of the construction of the material conditions of the film production revealed the persistence of other obstacles and problems of ideological and symbolic order. This was especially true considering the context of technical and technological experience of the production issues raised by cultural studies about the construction of identities, from the dynamics of conflict, resistance, denials and affirmations in the field of differences.

In this sense, three pedagogical objectives were achieved: a) to offer a chance to break with the idea that filmmaking is an art only to a few or only to non-indigenous Hollywood productions b) to produce a estrangement between the novelty of Indigenous filmmaking and customary film productions by non-indigenous c) incite the reflective and practical interest in producing “Indigenous videos “ beyond the condition of spectators alienated of the means and modes of production about their own identities and cultures.

For this work, we highlight the latest offshoot appointed, which resulted in the proposition of another project, titled “Indian Cinema and Audiovisual Production House in Transit Sateré-Mawé”. This project emerged from the direct demand of Sateré-Mawé participants, between July and August 2011, to produce their own audiovisual imprints. We suspect that the participants’ media contact with the images other Indigenous groups that became subjects rather than objects of the filmic production, ignited their own desire to move from the position of spectator to becoming key actors and producers.

This new project consisted of practical and reflective workshops focused on the dimensions of the production of a documentary. The developments of the actions were divided into the following workshops: a) script writing b) use of video cameras c) cinematography d) video editing. The script workshop worked on the dynamics of designing a proposal for a film and the development of the participants’ project. Topics ranged from the discussions around political, cultural, social and economic interests that underlie the starting point of a film production to questions about how to elect the story, the narrative genre, the characters, the environments or scenarios and duration of a film. It was a process of appropriation of the technical and technological means of filmic production.

At the same time, the camera handling workshop consisted in teaching technical functions and technological resources, such as brightness control, focus, pans, zoom, sound capture capabilities, etc. Concerning the cinegraphic exercises, we focused on practical application of the technological resources in situations of shooting. This was followed by dynamics in which we watched the film and discussed the quality of the productions, to insert improvements and other possible activities. Finally, the video editing workshops involved discussions around the assembly or completion of scenes. We emphasized the relationship between editing and the first moments of the construction of the scene, especially with the focus or central theme of the recording, since this element is responsible for directing the selection of images, scenes and voices.

Throughout the technological, technical, pedagogical training of the project participants, we noted that our (the authors’) initial motivations responsible for bringing us to a dynamics of Indigenous self-representation and critique of ethnocentric and nationalistic stereotypes, were not the same as the ones of the Sateré-Mawé project participants. More specifically, we identified this gap in the context of finding motivations for the script workshop. The participants search for goals, interests, and the justifications linked to the desires to produce a film, not made explicit in the discourse, did not necessarily relate to the critical resistance and confrontations around the themes of identity, culture, politics and economy; themes usually cherished by research and reflections promoted by Cultural

Studies. In short, the justifications of the young Sateré-Mawé were related more to the importance of gaining technical and technological training. The questions about the purposes of what to do with after this technological learning appeared diffused.

In this sense, we understand that the issue of recovery and strength of a culture through the appropriation of technical materials and technological skills has as a necessary starting point, namely, the notion of political militancy. At the core of our local experience, a fascination for art, technology and also the possibility of acquiring the epistemological and institutional power to manipulate video cameras, as a rite of passage conditions the spectators to become producers, marks the question about the empowerment processes from the point of view of militancy and vanguard. In anthropological terms, we understand that the other will fulfill a direct and arbitrary function in the processes of cultural transmission of behaviors, so that leads us to think that the emergence of social behavior comes before its political, social, cultural and economic awareness.

Henceforth, we questioned the Sateré-Mawé participants about the reasons that led them to want to shoot the 'Ritual of Tucandeira'², responsible for initiating the Sateré-Mawé from youth into adulthood. Beyond the silence, we got as an answer a few fragments based on incomplete, timid and uncertain justifications guided by a desire to film their community realities, and then to watch it along with the other members of their ethnic group. Insisting on a few more questions, we asked if they would like to emphasize some particular aspect of the ritual or even some problem between the contemporary ways the ritual has been performed and its traditional forms, to the molds of the narratives of the older, since some elements and mechanisms were excluded, as for example, the participation of mothers in the care of their children and the pre and post-diet ritual.

As we were faced with the frequent silence as a response, confirming the hypothesis that the technical and technological interests precede and sometimes overlap the political and cultural discourses of ethnic identity resistance, we decided to interview some older Sateré-Mawé and also Indigenous activists to inquire about the possible objectives to be sought from indigenous filmmaking itself, so we could contrast with the justifications and the silences of young people who formed the specific project we participated in. Immediately, the responses expressed by these subjects may be approximated from theoretical discussions promoted by scholars of Cultural Studies around the inversion of the relationship between hegemonic and subaltern.

From the standpoint of militant indigenous actors, we identified, as the basis of the motivations surrounding the adoption of new practices and technologies, the question of resistance and cultural confrontations given the threats of non-indigenous modern and national societies. About the interests related to cinematically register Ritual Tucandeira, the militants did not hesitate to address us about the importance of such an action for the recovery of the rite within communities that no longer practice and argued towards the memory of the people and strengthening their language, since the film, they said, should be produced in the Sateré-Mawé language, including subtitles. Nevertheless, this demonstrates that the emergence of ethnic consciousness in the political and cultural differences are not born and are not given immediately, easy and ready to the common sense of the people's way; thus implying tirelessly building consciousness exercises. The film training of indigenous youth, therefore, involves not only mechanisms for the expression of content and finished forms, but also relates to a mechanism of formation and constitution of ethnic identities.

² In discussions about the choice of the object and shooting scene, the indigenous project participants decided on a male rite of passage from childhood to adulthood called Ritual Tucandeira. The tukandeira is a typical Amazonian forest ant whose sting causes severe and lasting pain. The preparation of the ritual has its onset in capturing the tukandeira in the forest. Then after they rest in a liquid anesthetic finally being placed in a straw glove, where the young, at the time of solemnity, put their hands out to be stung by ants. The rite lasts twenty-four hours, the duration of the effect of the poison of tukandeira.

3. Final Thoughts

There is a point to be noted about this process of accessing the desire for film production and its material realization: the young Indigenous participants' interest in filming the ritual Tucandeira before the devaluation of urban indigenous surrounding or within the national society. Why were they disinclined to act out - reproduce - filmic strategies observed in some television soap operas or some Hollywood movies? Why, even in face of the devaluation of indigenous within the surrounding society, they were motivated to invest in a film production about one of the main traits of ethnicity rather than play traces the life of the white perchance wish?

In other words, could it have been the contact with other "Indigenous Filmmakers"- Ashaninka Xanvante, Panará Kuikuru and HuniKui - and the suggestion of our project, that produced in their "relatives" Sateré-Mawé the desire to be "Indigenous Filmmakers" instead of wishing to be "Hollywood filmmakers"? Or had it awakened their ancestral Sateré-Mawé soul regardless of the films? However, when we choose the hypothesis that the desire to return a cinematic look, even if still as amateurs, their own culture, it was only possible for Sateré-Mawé because of their "relativity" to other ethnicities such as protagonistas production. This is the policy function in the "post-colonial" entities such as non-profit Organizations "Video in the Villages" and the "Indigenous Filmmakers" projects, as well as projects of this text, "Indian Home Cinema Transit Sateré-Mawé Parintins" sense and "Indigenous Cinema and Audiovisual Production House in Transit Sateré-Mawé".

It is possible that, if they were shown other modalities and film genres, their desire would manifest differently? We began to believe that we should not expect tradition to resist modernity only by the action of the pristine tradition or ancestry who speaks of the past but in a natural way and self-motivated about resistance and cultural strengthening. It is necessary that the subjects of the present to evoke their past and ancestors by any material means available, mainly through social material promoted by the actions of another. If there is a desire for preservation and resistance of non-modern ways of life, it is necessary that they are committed explicitly in order to invade and affect those subject to their fields of action and perception, indigenous or non-indigenous.

From this perspective, it is a failed idea that the non-indigenous or indigenous themselves should be sensitive to the indigenous political and economic issues only by the illusion of some ancestral genetic identification and spirituality that may eventually be in your unconscious interior in abeyance ready to awaken willingly or through some fortuitous and unexpected dream. A political agent for the subjects to produce their dreams in the field of culture and tradition is necessary. Accordingly, our first opinion about the political motives of militancy and vanguard that would lead young Sateré-Mawé participants to become interested in filmmaking was a mistake.

If the so-called "relatives of" Indigenous peoples do not invest in raising their cultural elements for the extensive field of contemporary public expression, it is useless to expect that the native desire to turn to tradition for some natural route or common sense. Thus, while the fields of visual ubiquities are occupied by modern and white images, indigenous and non-indigenous people continue to want things of modernity as opposed to our technical and technological, American Indians and Africans are always hidden, veiled and ashamed.

In line with Guattari (1993, p.177), we can no longer act on a classical thought that "[...] had the soul fallen away from the essence of the matter and cleared subject of body gear." Otherwise, how can we "[...] speak of the production of subjectivities and sensibilities today, without considering that "[...] the contents of subjectivity depends, increasingly, on a plethora of machinic systems [?]" (Guattari, 1993, p. 177). However, what we have been watching in Brazil is the distancing and deprivation of the indigenous and non-indigenous disadvantaged and marginalized workers in relation to the means of production

of modern capitalist and machinic systems responsible for representing and subject these same people under points of views that are not their own, condemning them to a dispossessed and illusory past.

The argument that supports this deprivation is attached to the notion of the essence of the modern subject that must withstand any environmental change, in case s/he is strong. This is a true enticement to weaken the roots of the essence in the field of diachronic synchronic existence opposite to the hypothesis, which we admitted him to, that is being dependent on the act of existing in society. Thus, to be indigenous is not sufficient, but it requires existing publicly as such, influencing and affecting all those who come in, either pleasing or displeasing. Attitudes of such orders are likely to contribute to the struggles against conservative and hegemonic thoughts that say, common among Brazilians, that the others can be, as long as they do not alter the common order of things.

In sum, the hegemonic thinking say that marginalized as indigenous, blacks, homosexuals, proletarians, rockers, rogues... can exist providing that they are not under the eyes of conservatives. This kind of argument is to say: you, marginal, can be provided that you don't exist! Now, how can one be without publicly appearing as such? How can we be indigenous, black or gay and not dressed up, sing, or even and danced as such? How can we exist as indigenous whites? That is, how can we exist without spectators and indigenous filmmakers without getting inspiration from ourselves?

Nevertheless, it is specifically in this point concerning cultural and identity issues living with the Sateré-Mawé House Transit that our outreach projects, titled "Indian Cinema House in Transit Sateré-Mawé Parintins" and "Indigenous Cinema and Audiovisual Production in the House of Transit Sateré-Mawé", sought to act to reflect on the need to value and record their own knowledge and culture, to share some of this knowledge with the members of the project in order to bring into light the need for recognition, registration and formulation of strategies by the group itself, through role reversal, to give visibility to the key role of their past, current and future representations in the context of the city, motivated from film productions authored by indigenous filmmakers from diverse ethnicities living, to promote a field of productive interactions and broadened towards its spread and impact on indigenous and non-indigenous social life.

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Abstract: Based on the works of authors such as Fanon (1975), Said (2002), Stam (2006) and Shohat (2002), I aim to discuss the possibility of reflecting on African cinema and post-colonial theories. Nowadays, African films address different viewpoints on global themes like decolonization movements, the utopia of independence, migration, wars and the identity policies. These films reveal relations and connections between worlds, cultures and individuals, as opposed to a 'specific culture'. They displace and decolonize the way in which the Other is 'viewed'. New African films bring new critical positions and new cinematographic languages that can be analysed in the light of post-colonial theories.

Keywords: Africa; African cinema; post-colonialism

When we refer to African cinema, the first films that come to mind are those produced in Hollywood, which are widely accessible, such as *Hotel Rwanda*, *The Constant Gardener* and *Blood Diamond* - movies generally produced from a foreigner's perspective of Africa which very often implies the inclusion of a series of stereotypes.

My first contact with African films was in the context of visual anthropology, principally through the analysis of ethnographic films, in particular those by Rui Carvalho (Angola) and the work of the French anthropologist filmmaker, Jean Rouch who dedicated his life to producing ethnographic movies about the Republic of Niger, Mali, the Ivory Coast and the Republic of Ghana, which mainly focused on African rituals. It was only from the 1950s onward that this filmmaker recorded rites, habits and African ceremonies. Possibly one of the most visceral anthropologists who has worked in Africa, Rouch held a Doctorate from the Sorbonne (1953), was a researcher at CNRS and the author of several works and ethnographic films.

At a later stage, through participating in the project entitled "A trilogia das Novas Famílias" (The trilogy of New Families), to broaden the debate and the knowledge about the sociocultural dimension of HIV/AIDS in Brazil and Mozambique, I made contact with Isabel Noronha, and later with Camilo de Souza and Licínio Azevedo, Mozambican filmmakers.

The project was made possible through the participation of Pro-Africa of CNPq, which organised the exchange between researchers and professionals from three universities: UFSC, UFRN and the Polytechnic Institute of Maputo, Mozambique.¹

¹ In 2009, I participated in the Dockmena Festival, working with Ilka Boaventura Leite (UFSC) and Isabel Noronha (Polytechnic Institute of Maputo) in a cycle of cinema

The African audiovisual: displacements and decolonisation

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My role in this project involved organising debates in both countries, with guest speakers and specialists, aiming to raise public awareness and stimulate new research about the sociocultural aspects surrounding HIV/AIDS². As a result of these debates, an exhibition of Brazilian and Mozambican films on AIDS took place during the *Dockanema* Festival, in Maputo, Mozambique; at UFSC, Florianópolis and at UFRN, Natal, RN.

Once the project was concluded, I focused on understanding African cinema. With post-colonial theories and authors like Said, Fanon, Babha and Appadurai as my points of reference, I immersed myself in cinematographic production, mainly from Mozambique and Nigeria.

In this paper, I aim to present some reflections about African cinema, which - like the African continent - cannot be unified. According to some studies, African cinema is “plural”, as it is a cinema that disseminates a plurality of images and imaginaries about Africa.

According to Ferid Boughedir (2007:37), to study African cinema is to study the cultural and political changes that occur in African nations as consequences of the liberation struggles against Colonialism, of the culture of the past and the politics of today. By immersing myself in this universe, I came to understand that the main focus of these films was the conflict between the new and the old.

For Boughedir, this conflict has been addressed in various ways, for instance: the rural exodus, the city and the village, the westernised woman and the woman who respects the traditions, art as a means of maintaining traditions and art as object for consumption.

Departing from the premise that African cinema is plural, Roy Armes (2007) states that *African cinema is a post-colonial experience*, born of the efforts of the newly-independent governments in the 1960s, but that unfortunately these efforts were not sufficient to support cinematographic activity in a context, wherein the producers and filmmakers lacked almost everything they needed.

It was only from the 1960s onward that African cinema gained autonomy and developed its own characteristics, which displayed its culture and identity, but above all, African cinema began to reflect on processes of independence, adaptation to the urban environment, daily life and work. This process coincided with the fact that these countries had gained their independence. Thus, African cinema was born with the independence of African countries.

Unfortunately, displays of this range of production is still mostly restricted to festivals in Africa, such as the Festival do Cinema Africano (African Cinema Festival) – FESPACO, in Burkina Faso; the Carthage Cinema Festival, in Carthage, Tunisia, the Festival of Documentary Cinema of Mozambique (*Dockanema*), in Maputo, Mozambique; the Festival of African Cinema in Khourigba, Morocco; The Festival of Cinema in Nigeria and Senegal. We can also mention festivals outside Africa, for example, those in Brazil, the USA and various European events, specifically those in France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal. However, the general public’s access to this type of cinematography remains very limited.

From the cinematography of these African countries, I started to carefully analyse the production at the time of independence in Mozambique. A substantial proportion of films made before Mozambique’s independence comprise films which promote the regime, pedagogical and/or politically-oriented documentaries.

In this article, I intend to present some questions about Mozambican cinema, which thus far has not been greatly researched, but which has important implications for understanding aspects of the international cinematographic industry.

In his speech in the documentary “*Moçambique em movimento*” (Mozambique in movement), the Mozambican moviemaker, Camilo de Souza, affirms that Mozambican cinematography emerged due to the

and debate about HIV/AIDS and new family dynamics, part of the project “Trilogia das Novas Famílias” (Pro-Africa, financed by CNPq, coordinated by the Dr. Ilka Boaventura Leite (UFSC).

² Trilogia of the families: Aleluia, Ali-Aleluia; Delfina-Mulher. These three short documentary films intend to highlight the problem of socio-familiar fabric disruption in Mozambique, as a consequence of HIV/AIDS that, despite being an increasingly alarming reality, often goes unnoticed by the wider world, including Brazil.

efforts of the newly-independent government, to create of a cinema industry in the 1960s, despite the fact that, as opposed to other African countries, Mozambique had a privileged connection with cinema even before its independence³.

In 1975, the new Popular Republic of Mozambique became independent, starting a process of political, social and cultural transformation, very much inspired by the Cuban and Soviet examples. The FRELIMO – Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) -, in aiming to achieve political goals, invested in the production of films, particularly documentaries, and knew how to use cinema as a means of unification. Apart from the production, the exhibition of Mozambican films also became a priority for the government in the post-independence period.

Cinematographers such as Ruy Guerra and Jean-Luc Godard, Cubans, and socialists from the Eastern Europe participated in the creation of the National Institute of Cinema, proposing ideas and teaching courses. Thus, the first post-independence films made in Mozambique were made by foreigner cinematographers, at the invitation of FRELIMO.

From 1975 to 1980, during the first years of independence, cinema professionals, directors, technicians, cinema operators and sound engineers gathered in Mozambique to put their ideas in practice. The result of this experience was so important that it led to the creation of the *Ateliers Varan* some years later.

During this period, the filmmaker and anthropologist, Jean Rouch, and his French team arrived in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. According to Mahomed Bamba (2009), in 1977, Jean Rouch contacted the Mozambican authorities, going to the University of Maputo with his proposal to create workshops that would film the reality of that time.

Between 1978 and 1980 *ateliers* were established in the Research Centre for Communication Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, which aimed to train specialists in documentary film technique. For Bamba (2009:105-6), *the experience with the Super-8 in the young Mozambican republic was valued as a "test" for the real potential (political, economic and aesthetic) of this new light and cheap technology*. According to the author, *"Mozambique engaged in such an experiment because it was a "virgin" land in which everything was under construction"*.

In 1978, the authorities of the young republic of Mozambique asked recognised filmmakers, including Jean-Luc Godard and Ruy Guerra, to try to create an innovative policy for cinematography and television. According to Ribeiro (2007), with regard to Jean Rouch, *in the Super 8 format, he had found an optimal tool to initiate a teaching programme dedicated to Visual Anthropology at the University in France*.

(...) With regard to Jean Rouch, he vouched for an experience based on the training of future local filmmakers. With Jacques d'Arthuys, cultural attaché of the French Embassy in the Porto, he established a training studio for documentary films, namely Super 8, with a simple pedagogy, founded in the practice: «film in the morning, develop at midday, project in the afternoon». As a result of this experience, the *Ateliers Varan* will be created in Paris, in 1981.

According to José Ribeiro (2007), that is how the *Ateliers Varan – Association Varan Ateliers* emerged: although it was created in January 1981, it originated in the mid-to-late 1970s in Mozambique – thanks to the support of Jean Rouch, the influence of Jacques d'Arthuys and their proposal to several filmmakers to film what was happening in Mozambique. Jean Rouch, *in this context will propose that the Mozambicans film themselves. The objective is to train future moviemakers through the initiation of documentary film-making* (Ribeiro, 2007).

In 1978, the incipient industry of distribution and exhibition was nationalised, and the “Cinema

3 “Moçambique em movimento”, directed by Lisabete Coradini, 15 min, Navis (UFRN) / CNPq.

Móvel” (Mobile Cinema) - namely thirty-five cars equipped for travelling projections that brought films entitled “Kuxa Kanema” (“The birth of the cinema”) to the villages - was created. The mobile cinema spread the government’s discourses in rural areas, in addition to allowing the rural audience to discover cinema. Although it served as an instrument of FRELIMO’s political propaganda, it was an extremely visceral experience. However, Jean Luc Godard’s proposal, to teach cinema courses to the needy populations, was not accepted by the government.



Figure 1. Soviet car that projected Mozambican cinematography. (Source: http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/clpic/img/cinema/kuxa_kanema.jpg)



Figure 2. Movie *Kuxa kanema* (Source: Osfazedores.blogspot.com.br)



Figure 3. *Movie Kuxa kanema* (Source: Osfazedores.blogspot.com.br)



Figure 4. *The mobile cinema team* (Source: estradopoeirenta.blogspot.com.br)



Figure 5. *A frelimo patrol to several villages accompanied by the cinema team* (Source: estradopoeirenta.blogspot.com.br)

During my staying in Maputo, I had the opportunity to see the beautiful film, “Makwayela”, by Jean Rouch, which shows a dance sequence that originated in South Africa, where several Mozambican workers worked in the gold mines. Later, I could watch - in the itinerant exhibition - Jean Rouch with Mateus Araújo Silva as a curator – an event promoted by NAVIS (UFRN) in 2009, in Natal, RN.



Figure 6. *Makwayela* (Source: www.e-flux.com)

According to Camilo de Souza:

“The first cultural action of the Mozambican government right after the independence, in 1975, was to create the Instituto Nacional de Cinema (INC) (National Institute of Cinema). The cinemas were nationalised and the mobile cinema units were to show the most popular production of INC, the cinematographic journal *Kuxa Kanema*, to the whole country. The objective was to “film the images of the people and give them back to the people⁴”.⁵

Camilo de Souza also stated:

“But today, after many years of war, delusions, and having been destroyed by a fire in 1991, the great company that was the INC no longer exists. Fortunately, the images, the only testimony of the first 11 years of independence and the years of the socialist revolution, survived in the archive. It is through these images, and through the words of people that filmed them, that we can discover the path of a country’s ideal, that collapsed little by little, the ideal of “a cinema for the people”, and the dreams of the people that once believed that Mozambique could be a different country”.

The National Institute of Cinema and the series “*Kuxa Kanema*” played an important historical role by showing the charisma of Samora Machel and the euphoria of constructing of a newly independent country. Nowadays, only the ruins of the INC building remain, due to a fire. The movie “*Kuxa Kanema*” – *O Nascimento do Cinema* (2003), by Margarida Cardoso, documents this time in history and the birth of the cinema in Mozambique.

Many things have changed since then. Delusions and political changes, the civil war, the degradation of the equipment and the cinema screenings, their privatization and the fire in the National Institute of Cinema in 1991 almost destroyed Mozambican cinema, but, despite the difficulties, it survived, particularly due to the support of the foreigner collaborators. However, according to the Mozambican

⁴ Camilo de Souza – Mozambican moviemaker. He is the founder member and vice-president of the Mozambican Association of Moviemakers, created in 2003. According to an interview in the *Kuxa Kanema* film – see also interview in TVZINE Magazine on Mozambique Cable TV.

filmmakers, it is still insufficient.

In reaching an understanding as to what happened to this audiovisual production, some studies highlight the difficulties and divergences of constructing a utopian project for the nation. Other studies focus on more global matters, such as the end of the financial subsidy from the former Soviet Union, the international pressure over the socialist government of Samora Machel, the Cold War, among others.

According to the moviemaker Licínio Azevedo's statement in the documentary "Moçambique em Movimento", today, cinema in Mozambique is an action between friends.

Currently, in Mozambique, I would highlight the work of Isabel Noronha, Camilo de Souza, Licínio Azevedo, Orlando Mesquita, João Ribeiro, Sol de Carvalho, Luís Carlos Patraquim and Teresa Prata. I would also mention the production company "Ébano Multimédia", which among other cinematographic activities, participates in the organisation of the *Dockanema* Festival, in cooperation with the Mozambican Association of Cinema. This festival exhibits movies at the Teatro Avenida, the Cultural Centre at the Eduardo Mondlane University, the French-Mozambican Cultural Centre, the ISPU Auditorium and the Auditório Municipal da Matola (Municipal Auditorium of Matola).

From my point of view, Jean Rouch, Ruy Duarte, Jean Luc Godard, Ruy Guerra, Licínio Azevedo and Camilo de Souza, were "masters" that lived in a unique moment, using the technological innovations that were available at the time to make films, leaving the world an important legacy: a revolutionary experience of making cinema. These masters surpassed barriers broke taboos and showed to a generation of filmmakers that it is possible to have a new perspective on life and things in general.

When I make a film, after the first few minutes of watching this movie on the screen of my camera I know, at each moment, if what I did is valid or not. This permanent tension is exhausting, but it is an indispensable fever for the success of this random quest to find the most efficient images and sounds, and this without a certainty of a result until the last sequences are filmed. With regard to the films I left unfinished, it was because nothing happened (a dance of possession without possession), because the night would fall (a nocturnal ceremony in which the daytime was only a prologue) or because I had did not have a film anymore (a foreboding of how it would end) (Jean Rouch)

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Abstract: This paper discusses the relation between music and identity construction in Flora Gomes's films: *Those whom Death denied* (1988), *Yonta's Blue Eyes* (1992), *Tree of Blood* (1996) and *My Voice* (2002). It will therefore study in detail the employment of music in each film by the filmmaker from Guinea-Bissau who is one of the most respected African directors. This study aims to demonstrate how profoundly the soundtracks are linked with the filmmaker's notion of national or transnational identity in process. By so doing, it will try to point out changes and continuities over time, that is, between 1988 and 2002.

Keywords: cinema, music, Guinea-Bissau, post-colonialism, identity

1. Introduction

Florentino (Flora) Gomes is doubtlessly the most expressive and internationally recognized filmmaker of the PALOP (*Países de língua oficial portuguesa/Countries with Portuguese as official language*). In consequence, he has already attracted some critical attention¹. The musical aspects of his films have, on the other hand, not been the focus of analysis, even though they are an important tool in his discussion of postcolonial identity construction. By discussing the importance of music in Flora Gomes's work, this text aims to demonstrate how profoundly the soundtracks are linked with his notion of national or transnational identity in the making.

2. The role of music in Flora Gomes's films

2.1. Mortu Nega/Those Whom Death Refused (1988)

While all his following films are co-productions (financed with the former colonizer Portugal, among other countries) that discuss in one way or another the tension between Western influences and the preservation of traditional culture and values, Flora Gomes's premiere as a filmmaker took place with a genuinely national production, subsidized by the Guinean Film Institute. *Those Whom Death Refused* centers on the construction of the country's identity during its transition from colonial to postcolonial times by using the story of a couple, the peasant Diminga (Bia Gomes) and her husband, the freedom fighter Sako (Tunu Eugénio Almada), their suffering and hopes related to the anti-colonial struggle.

The first part of the film, which is dedicated to the last war year, works partly within the war film genre. As a low-budget art film it differs from what we have come to understand as representative

From ceremony to musical music's role in post-colonial identity constructon in Flora Gomes' films

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for the genre, even though there is a clear antagonist. The beginning of the film gives also a first idea of how music is employed. It starts with a very short music piece while the screen is still black. In fact, it is only a chanted expression in Creole – “há sinale” meaning “there is a sign” – and a strong but equally short tambour percussion. The dramatic appeal of this piece stands in contrast with the slow pace of the first shots that show a group of children, adolescents, women – among them Dminga – and soldiers picking up and then carrying munitions and arms from the frontier with Guinea Conacry, independent from France since 1958, to the front line. The music, all of which was written by Sidónio Pais Quaresma and Djamuno Dabé, is a first call for participation followed by people of all ages and from quite different regions of the country. They have come together to undertake the arduous task of carrying weapons by foot through the country, overcoming numerous obstacles like helicopter attacks, land mines, the sometimes hostile nature, etc.

Since the film has no interest in exploiting the spectacle of war or to present a demeaning portrayal of the enemy, this march is its main focus. Indeed, it stages the anticolonial-fight as an act of solidarity, which takes the form of a long walk through the country. The march has a metaphorical dimension as the path towards independence and a dramaturgical function since it binds the colonial and postcolonial parts together. Its main feature consists, however, in pointing towards a national identity in the making. It is continuously invoked to demonstrate that becoming a people with a collective purpose and identity requires an insistent effort, first during the war but also, or particularly, when it is over.¹

Gomes follows in this closely the ideas of Amílcar Cabral, the famous Guinean intellectual, anti-colonialist freedom fighter and agronomist who studied in Portugal in the late 1950s and founded the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde) that fought and won the war of independence. In his *Revolution in Guinea* (1970) he mentions the concept of the march when remembering the young intellectuals Agostinho Neto, Mario de Andrade, Marcelino Dos Santos, Vasco Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane, leaders of the independence movements in the PALOP, who had met as students in Portugal: “All of us, in Lisbon, some permanently, others temporarily, began this march, this already long march towards the liberation of our peoples” (Cabral, 1970: 76-7).

Gomes translates visually the idea of the march during the sequences of the war. Accordingly, the first thirty minutes are dedicated to shots that show people walking towards the frontline. The music, which consists either in songs performed in a low key – flute tunes, short tambour or ukulele pieces – punctuates its course and indicates its mostly joyful spirit. Occasionally a group of people sings together so as to indicate their solidarity and sense of collectivity. Whereas the pieces are always of short duration and sometimes just a few notes long, they are repeatedly employed in order to create analogies between earlier scenes, indicating that the march and the feeling it involves are continuous.

The very first shots may serve as an example of this method. While the titles blend in, we see the soldiers and the common people marching through a high grass savannah. The soldiers walk quietly, zigzagging from the back of the shot to its front, while the people are humming a song that increases in volume once they get closer to the foreground, designating their communion, willpower

¹ Gomes follows in this closely the ideas of Amílcar Cabral, the famous Guinean intellectual, anti-colonialist freedom fighter and agronomist who studied in Portugal in the late 1950s and founded the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde) that fought and won the war of independence. In his *Revolution in Guinea* (1970) he mentions the concept of the march when remembering the young intellectuals Agostinho Neto, Mario de Andrade, Marcelino Dos Santos, Vasco Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane, leaders of the independence movements in the PALOP, who had met as students in Portugal: “All of us, in Lisbon, some permanently, others temporarily, began this march, this already long march towards the liberation of our peoples” (Cabral, 1970, p. 76-7). Cabral (1979: 18-19) challenged Portugal's so called “historical right to be in Africa” by arguing that it concealed the realities and results of colonialism, the film avoids any kind of open political discourse in its representation of the war. While Cabral put it quite clear that Portugal was not at all superior to its African colonies: “this [civilising] process is being carried out by an underdeveloped country, with a lower national income than, for example, Ghana, and which has not as yet been able to solve its own problems” (*ibid.*)

and disposition to act together. As the sequence goes on and the path gets gradually more difficult and starts costing lives, there is no more music. Only when the group of soldiers and civilians finally arrives at the camp they commemorate at night with traditional percussion played by the soldiers, singing and dance. It is a celebration to have overcome the obstacles, a war dance – with guns lifted in the air – and the confirmation of their community and reunion. But the celebratory spirit of this moment is soon overshadowed by the difficulties to fight for freedom. Gomes juxtaposes in due course a sequence that foregrounds the ambivalence of victory and defeat, the desire for independence and the high toll it takes: after listening to a radio report on a victorious battle at the Fort of Bula, which cost ten enemies their lives, a soldier who Diminga had just been talking to passes away.

At the front Diminga gets to meet her husband. While the reencounter is a happy one, the arms supply implies that the war is entering its decisive phase. This ambivalence is again stressed with music. The moment of the encounter of the couple and the military offensive in which Sako then participates are linked with a few flute notes that introduce a melancholy quality and mark the connection between personal life and political struggle. The flute is actually the couple's leitmotif that not only indicates their mutual caring but also their sorrow. The sorrowful pitch therefore reappears soon after when the soldiers return from the battlefield to the camp and hear that Amílcar Cabral has been murdered. A sad melody sung softly in Creole by a female voice signposts that the war for independence is necessary but means, above all, suffering: "I remember how Morés received my spirit/I remember how Komo received my spirit/the rebellion grows apeace/it spreads on Komo island". War is a terrible undertaking, and the film leaves no doubt about this.

There is, on the other hand, no possibility to avoid more battles and further deaths. In order to signal the acceptance of more fighting, the sound of fast-paced tambour percussion accompanies the soldiers who are moving towards the front in the following sequence. The most intense war scenes of the movie now take place. Even though the event is dramatized with the help of the extra-diegetic drumming, the sequence is again in tune with Amílcar Cabral's (1970: 155) viewpoint that the war was not against the Portuguese people but against colonialism. There is no ideological condemnation of the colonizers, who do not even appear, only the manifest desire to expel them. Once the native soldiers that fought for the colonizer are rendered, they therefore insist: "we are all brothers".

Whereas the war now seems to be as good as over, the film does not stage a clear cut or official end, no celebration of a specific moment or date, and no feelings of resentment towards the colonizer. It rather makes perceptible that the march – as a process of decolonization and political change – will go on. Accordingly, the music remains on a low and melancholic key instead of becoming festive. There are two reasons: the fighting needs to carry on and the war's sequels can already be perceived. Sako has a wounded foot that will hospitalize him for a month. And there are again personal costs, since the couple needs to separate once more. Sako asks Diminga to return to her village, which she had left nine years ago when her children became victims of the war.

Two farewell scenes are dedicated to the couple's feelings. In the first, when Sako speaks to Diminga about her departure, the woman's voice we heard before sings again a sorrowful melody. Their desolation is then linked to the war, and the same low register invades a short sequence in which the soldiers sit together, clean their weapons and sing a sad tune that, nonetheless, also expresses their union. In the leave-taking scene between Sako and Diminga the flute we heard when they reunited underlines now Diminaga's sadness.

Between her departure and that of the soldiers in the previous scene Gomes constructs another musical analogy. While the men leave for yet another battle, accompanied by a song sung by a male voice, Diminga and an elderly lady she has befriended take up their march while the woman's voice sings another woeful song. It comments on the recent past and its gloomy events that need to be

overcome: "I too bear the memories of the struggle/I too feel the suffering of all mothers/I too bear the marks of suffering/... will never speak of it/for I too, I too live in hope". The new phase, related to the overcoming of the war's suffering, is again seen as simultaneous to the ongoing combat and its further losses.

But the end of the war also entails the overcoming of repression and conflict. This is articulated in different scenes, one before Dimanga's departure, and others during her long walk home. In the first scene school children are already learning that the war ended at Komo; then, when marching through the country – now straight forward towards the screen or parallel to it and not in zigzags anymore – small events indicate the change of paradigm under way and the joy associated with it. The most charming scene occurs when the two women see children playing war in an ancient Portuguese fortress. Once they know about the end of the war, they start jumping and cry "viva". A ukulele plays jubilantly to their commemoration of the close of colonialism.

Similar ukulele music underlines the warm welcome the women receive in the village. The solidarity perceivable during their first march is also the overriding feature during their return: they are offered refreshments on their way, the family who is living in Diminga's house can stay with her, the teacher from Bissau helps her work in the fields. However, Diminga's feelings are mixed. The deep sadness due to the loss of her children overcomes her frequently, making us aware that the feelings about the end of the war are as ambivalent as during the war itself. What is more, the solidarity of the village community does not last long. The historical drought from 1977 puts pressure on the people, as does the difficult construction of a post-colonial society.

As David Murphy and Patrick Williams (2007: 141) observe, the drought is both real and symbolic. Gomes uses another journey to stress how fast the common goal of fighting colonialism is being replaced by the selfish interests of social upstarts working for the one party government who want to take advantage of the society under construction. After returning from the front, Sako suffers from chronicle pain in his wounded foot and Diminga decides to take him to a hospital in the capital. Their trip is introduced with images of the draught, accompanied by tambour percussion, reminding of the call to remain united and resist. Once we see Diminga and Sako on a boat we hear again the flute tune, which proves their commitment to one another and to the young nation's cause.

However, Bissau, the political and social center to which they are heading, is incapable of healing Sako's inability to walk straight. The doctor does not know how to cure his pain, while a former comrade who became a bureaucrat is unwilling to help him, faking not to remember. Diminga does not give up and looks for another comrade in the city. Her ongoing "march" is again underlined by music, namely by the repetition of the song that accompanied her departure from the war front: "I too bear the memories of the struggle (...) will never speak of it/for I too, I too live in hope". The hope of the lyrics is not without purpose, given that the second comrade has not yet sold himself to the city's modern life style and the privileges of the mono-party regime. True to the values of comradeship he takes Sako home. This second homecoming from the inefficient and corrupt capital is again accompanied by images of the draught and the tambour percussion – reminding of the call to fight back as a community – and leads to a dramatic intensification that transforms the community by pointing towards the possibility of a better future. It needs to be constructed without counting on the capital, based on the same simple people who united in the beginning of the film against colonialism.

Change is brought about by a dream by Diminga in which images from the draught are superimposed with remembrances of the war that could also be a foreboding of future conflicts. The country actually entered a civil war in 1998 when the one party regime of Nino Vieira was challenged by a military coup after nineteen years of rule. Once the dream – that features again the insistent percussion call for action, overlapped by the sounds of a helicopter reminiscent of the war – is revealed to the other

women, the oldest suggests that a ceremony needs to be invoked to summon the ancestors for help.

This ceremony initiates with a performer drumming on a wooden trunk, followed by shots of boats carrying chanting people to the village. The singing, which we already know from the war scenes as a unifying element, does not represent a return to the origins of genuine African culture. The march has been long – colonialism, the anticolonial war, the construction of a young and already vicious society – and the revitalization of tradition has incorporated these experiences. It therefore centers on the idea of community as the overriding value. As Murphy and Williams observe (2007: 141), “the purpose of the gathering is political, not mystical or spiritual”.

This is perceivable when Diminga leads the ceremony as “mother and sister of the freedom fighters”, since it was traditionally held by men and used to invoke not only the ancestors but also Djon Cago, a deity of the Balanta people (see California Newsreel n.d.).² They are, however, not the only people organizing or participating. Different ethnic groups are arriving with their specific costumes, rhythms and traditions. But they all join in the same chant and dance, demonstrating their union. As one of the women explains: “Gathered here are the ethnic groups our struggle is starting to unite and also the trouble-makers seeking to profit from the situation”.

Interestingly, the colonizers are not held responsible for the *status quo*. On the contrary, Diminga and the two other women who lead the ceremony ask for the disclosure of the enemies within. The women are, decisively, not calling for a revolutionary praxis³. The aim of the ceremony is political in the sense that it aims to reunite the society and to point out those who are upsetting its community: “there are those who are for union and those who are against”. Percussion, song and dance are means to incite this unification happen so that the community can function again, based on solidarity instead of personal interests.

Since nature has served as a symbol for the drying out of the anti-colonialist principles and the emptying out of its values, the possibility to construct a post-colonial identity is confirmed in the last shot in which Diminga and Sako look at the rain that ends the drought. Children are dancing and shouting in the rain to the same happy ukulele tune that we heard before. Thus the film has a hopeful ending, even though it would be contested ten years later by the outbreak of a civil war.

When the Portuguese Film-museum, the *Cinemateca Portuguesa* in Lisbon, first exhibited the film, António Rodrigues (1995) depicted *Those Whom Death Refused* as “almost a hymn of the official History of the young state, seen from the point of view of the governed and not of the governors”⁴, observing that it turned historical events into myths of origin. As my analysis has shown there is, in fact, no such thing as the creation of an original myth. Albeit the film's portrayal of the war for independence and of the profound problems of the young nation, it focuses on process instead of foundation, on practice instead of theory, on ambivalence instead of certainty. There are neither peak moments for the end of the war, nor for the establishing of the new nation. And the ceremony for the ancestors is far from being a return to a mythological moment. Time, people and nature are in flux. The constant use of percussion, which opens the film and is repeatedly employed whenever the march needs to go on and during the ceremony at the end, expresses most clearly that it is necessary to keep on adapting, to reinvent tradition, in order to deal with the changes that characterize nature and human life. The soundtrack is a way to express this heterogeneity – as for example with the flute

2 It is worth noting that the Balanta people are organized by the principle of egalitarianism and that therefore the Portuguese had difficulties in governing them. Representing 30% of the population (next to Fula – 20%, Manjack – 14%, Mandinka – 13% and Papel 7%), they enlisted strongly in the PAIGC. Despite their importance in the struggle, they were excluded from participation in the new government.

3 Fernando Arenas (2011: 121) confirms Manthia Diawara's reading of the ceremony as revolutionary. However, the entire film is based on the intrinsic relationship between personal story – the couple – and the construction of the nation. Once the independence is achieved it is this goal that remains and is invoked during the festivity.

4 Translations from the original in Portuguese by the author.

tune or the melancholic songs – as well as the double nature of the war and of post-colonialism. Its main feature is, indeed, that of expressing community, its liberating but also painful connotations.

2.2. Udji Azui de Yonta/The Blue Eyes of Yonta (1992)

Gome's following film picks up the question of post-colonial Guinean identity but sets its multi-narrative in the capital Bissau. The war hero Vicente (António Simão Mendes), his comrade Amrust (Henrique Silva), his comrade's wife Belante (Bia Gomes) and their children, Yonta (Maysa Marta) and Amílcar (Mohamed Seidi), engage now in an urban setting with the conflict between remaining faithful to the ideals of the anti-colonial struggle and the pressures of market economy. Music is used very restrictively but, when employed, marks important dramaturgical points.⁵ Interestingly, some of the short pieces on the soundtrack are used in the same way as in *Those whom death refused*, that is, they are leitmotifs associated to certain characters or actions.

A slow-paced ballad “Bissau quila muda” (Bissau changes), composed by Adriano Atchutchi⁶, responsible for the entire soundtrack, speaks about the modifications the city is facing and sets a somber tone at the film's beginning. It accompanies the point of view shots of a driver coming into Bissau. We will soon find out that they are Vicente's. The march from Gomes's first film is thus still going on, but now takes place with the help of the key symbol of modernity: the automobile. Cars are indeed a central motif of the film, used frequently by Vicente or other representatives of the progressing nation and in contrast with the steady walking of the less fortunate population, such as Yonta and her brother, Belante and her friend Santa (Jacquelina Camera) or Zé (Pedro Dias), a migrant from the province who first works at the port and studies at night until he becomes Vicente's driver.

Vicente runs a cold storage for fish and is torn between becoming a successful businessman and being frustrated by the fact that the progress he fought for during the war is only reaching a few. Yonta, a beautiful young woman, who abandoned her studies early and works as a salesgirl in a shop, represents the desire for material wellbeing. The world of modern consumer goods is also identified with the joyful and entertaining music at the discotheque *Tropicana* where she and other youngsters spend their Saturday nights. Having trouble accepting the modern life-style he himself represents, Vicente dislikes the place and does not want to engage in the fancy choreography shared by the crowd when he accompanies Yonta on one occasion. Everybody else engages with the cheerful and fast-pasted music in *gumbe* style, Guinea Bissau's famous swift and rhythmically complex dance music.⁷

The nightclub gains, effectively, a negative connotation when Mana (Dina Vaz), Yonta's best friend who is soon to be wed to a young man working for the government, reads out loud the love-letter that Zé wrote to the protagonist. It is a welcome entertainment for the crowd when the power fails once again. Due to his poor schooling, Zé copied a Swedish poem that glorifies a girl's blue eyes. The misplacement of European beauty standards is perceived as hilarious, even though the joke hurts the feelings of the writer.

It is another way of showing the difficulties in integrating the traditions of the past, as well as the idea of community and equality from the war. There are no easy answers and the film offers

5 Arenas (2012, p. 122) speaks of the “lively music soundtrack” but this is only true for the two scenes at the discotheque *Tropicana*.

6 Adriano Atchutchi was the original lead and composer of the band Super Mama Djombo that later released an album entitled “Yonta” with all the songs on the films' soundtrack. The choice of the musician is not by chance. Atchutchi formed the band during the 60s in a boy scouts camp, using the name of a spirit, which fighters would appeal to during the war of independence. In fact, “Mortu Nega” is a song from 1977 from the band that inspired Flora Gomes's first film.

7 The songs such as “Noiba noba” or “Vicente da Silva”, which make reference to the characters Mana and Vicente, are compositions by Super Mama Djombo.

diverse solutions. Festivities are a comforting possibility to live traditional customs. Mana's wedding ceremony occurs therefore twice, being the first a joyful traditional ceremony whose anachronism – the dominant role of the husband – is being mocked by Yonta and other young people; the second is a Western civil ceremony with an ambivalent reception at a hotel to which I will return again.

Vicente is the character that struggles most with the incorporation of the ancestors he worships, the values of the anti-colonial struggle and his role as a capitalist patron. He is visited by Nando (Adão Malan Nanque), a comrade from the war, who, after sleeping a night at Vicente's middle-class home, turns his back on modern life-style and returns to the roads that he has been roaming ever since the war ended. In two earlier scenes he approached the city to the percussion music from Gomes's earlier film. In a self-referential comment, Gomes distances himself from the march through the country and shows that even the percussion has become obsolete since it is not capable of creating union in a modern city.

In order to underline the necessity to move on, we then see Vicente's despair in a dance with a sculpture that symbolizes his ancestors and tradition culture to the same percussion music on the balcony of his house. He asks them to liberate him from the past while vultures are flying over his head – a symbol used earlier in an eviction scene where the foreboders of death were reinterpreted as premonition of a new beginning. Since his dance is only the performance of an individual, it does not set Vicente free.⁸ This is rendered perceptible when Yonta appears at his house and brings about a confrontation. She calls him childish after being accused to be a superficial materialist. Since Yonta is obviously attracted to him, this implies as much a moment of growth for her, as it might be a chance for him to realize that he will have to accept modern life's contradictions. As it is his last scene in the film, his fate remains open-ended.

Yonta clearly recognizes the necessity to re-evaluate and renegotiate the countries' identity. The paradoxes are apparent not only in the relationships between Yonta and Vicente, but also between her and Z; especially when he asks the love letter back at the fancy wedding and she realizes that she behaved insensitive and arrogant. What is more, a similar poem is recited at Mana's reception in occidental style after the civil ceremony. Instead of being laughed at, it has now become a status' symbol. Given this acceptance of the odd replacement of African ideas on culture for European ones, the party has a surreal feel to it that expresses the effects of a growing alienation from autochthonous culture, standing in sharp contrast to the traditional festivities accompanied by music and dancing earlier in the film. Only when the children and Yonta awaken the next morning around the hotel pool where the festivities took place does the joyful rhythm of Guinean music return. The children and Yonta dance together, reminding of and celebrating their community.

Resistance to the new and westernized values is most strongly performed by the children. This occurs not only in the last shot, but, more poignantly, when Amilcar and his friends return the furniture to Santa's house from where she had been evicted. This is also one of the few moments of the film in which cheerful Guinean music is played.

Yonta thus demonstrates that it is neither desirable nor possible to fully assume a Western life-style, and that children and young people who are keen on its commodities and status symbols are capable of constructing a proper identity in which traditional African values, respect for their own society and the memory of the anti-colonial past are integrated. The soundtrack is witness to this capacity, especially at the closure of the film when the speedy percussion piece to which Yonta and the children dance demonstrates a more modern rhythm, however, reminiscent of the slower percussion

8 Arenas' (2012: 122) reading of the scene differs from mine when he says that "the vulture scene may refer to the Duga, or the vulture song/dance honoring celebrated heroes in the oral tradition (...) but it is suggestive of a predatory quality in Vicente's newly found place in postcolonial and post-Marxist Guinea-Bissau".

music associated with the war heroes Nando and Vicente and their ideal of community.

2.3. Po di Sangui/Tree of Blood (1996)

Flora Gomes's following film, *Tree of Blood* (1996), abandons the anti-colonial context and focuses, more generally, on the negative effects of western technology on African identity. They are caused by white-collars from Bissau who want to set up a lucrative wood trade. As Murphy and Williams (2007, p. 142) remark, the film is "simultaneously more modern (in terms, particularly, of higher cinematic production values) and more traditional (the film is set in a deliberately allegorically stylized African village (...))."

The movie develops a poetic imaginary that results from references to African traditions, their symbolism and magical believes. In order to stress this, it is from the start associated with traditional cultural practices, especially oral storytelling. Accordingly, the narrative content of the film is conveyed as a story to a group of children by Antonia (Bia Gomes), and, as the first shots eloquently demonstrate, immediately related to other artisan activities, namely weaving and its symbolic meaning of interlacing the destiny of a people.

The soundtrack, composed by Pablo Cueco, is again scarce and consists off flute, percussion or *akonting* (folk lute) tunes and singing. It is part of a wide range of symbolic expressions such as sculpturing, the already mentioned storytelling and weaving, as well as dance and painting. Not by chance, the ending of the film takes again the shape of a tale, conveyed by a child that resumes the film's story by describing a mural painting whose last image, in which she participates as its painter, expresses the desire for a better future.

The story told by Antonia sets off at the moment in which the harmonious life of the village *Amanha Lundja*, Creole for "Tomorrow Faraway", starts getting out of order. Dou (Ramiro Naka), who left this idyllic place probably to life in the city, returns only to find his twin brother Hami dead. Whenever a child is born in this *tabanka* (village), a tree is planted. Strangely, however, the tree of Dou died as well, indicating as yet changes in the community that, initially, have no explanation. Later in the film his mother declares that she was not willing to sacrifice one of the twins, as custom would demand, and this might be yet another explanation for the village getting out of kilter.

The villagers live together with their sorcerer Calacaladou (Adama Kouyaté) in what is characterized as a world with magical believes and powers. Shortly after Dou's arrival a fire breaks out – an indication of a lingering threat – and only the sorcerer is capable of containing it. Representing traditional knowledge but also supernatural capacities, the sorcerer will sacrifice himself once modernity, conveyed by the sound of chainsaws, is used to reveal the outbreak of violence against the communal life that results from the neoliberal interest in wood trade. Consequently, Calacaladou, whose name means something like "silent silent", will ask the villagers to leave, staying behind by himself to defend, unsuccessfully, the values of traditional Africa.

The sorcerer is reference and guidance until he asks Dou to assume the lead and take the people out of the village. Saly (Edna Evora) is one of the villagers he tries to counsel. While waiting for Dou, whom she is in love with, she has begun to imagine that the sun is her lover. Related to her character and passion is the first use of music, a few notes played by a flute that are reminiscent of the use of the instrument as an ambivalent signifier of romance in *Those whom death refused*. Here the sound is sharp as the hot sunlight, which, according to Calacaladou can burn when it is asked to be in the wrong place. The relation with the sun is not by chance; the villagers are considered its children. However, there are obviously limits to their mythological connection, as the breakout of the fire demonstrated.

The fact that Saly is an outsider but also of central importance – she will become the mother of Dou's baby, which operates as a symbol for the future of the village – becomes clear when the girls who are washing clothes chant that the “birds”, that is Dou, have returned. Songs equally accompany Dou's reintegration into the community. He first sings to his dead tree, asking for an answer about its death. Then a song of his niece, who treats him as her father, makes him get closer to her and his sister in law.

Singing is a means of communal integration that stands in sharp contrast to technically produced music, which has a negative connotation. Dou brought with him a portable radio. A villager switches it on twice in order to listen to modern dance music but Dou turns it off quickly. It is only used to listen to a news-broadcast once the community has left the village. Its information value is, nonetheless, also restricted, since the broadcast consists in useless because disconnected newflash. Furthermore, it is barely audible once they are in the desert to which Dou takes them.

Dou's reintegration into the community and the beginning of his leadership factually takes place when he finishes the wooden house that his brother Hami started. Even though an impressive construction with a beautifully crafted door in shape of a turtle, it is ambivalent in meaning. We will later learn that the reason for Hami's death, which Dou tries to inquire, is somehow related to the sacrilege he committed by participating in the wood business. As a result, the conclusion of the wooden house triggers off two events. First, a dreamlike scene about the future in which the central women of Dou's life – Saly, his brother's widow, Antonia – appear with naked breasts painted with clay. They deliver to him a vessel that represents a newborn, while his mother is screaming as though in labor. The scene points towards the cycle of life and it is accompanied by the sounds of traditional instruments such as horn and lute. Even though indicating birth and the continuation of the village, the wooden house also attracts the interest of the men from Bissau. The theft of the turtle-shaped door signals that traditional craft is producing valuable objects and that traditional culture is turning into a target of commerce, just as the trees are being stripped bare of their symbolic meaning by becoming a commodity.

The stealing of the turtle-shaped door has yet another meaning. After Dou's vision the villagers come together in order to commemorate the yearly tree-planting ceremony, referred to as a baptism. The ceremony begins with a song, performed by a young woman, and reminds of the final ceremony in *Those whom death refused*. Her song tells the mythical story of the genesis of the village by simultaneously pointing towards its future. Moreover, it explains the symbolism of the turtles with which the villagers are associated. The turtles are, in fact, the villagers, while the wood traders are spiders: “Where did the turtles of Tomorrow Faraway go when the Leading Spiders betrayed them/ They spoke of things that do not exist anymore/The turtles did not find the way home/The talked a lot that night/After 25 days tiring day of waiting, they constructed their village/that they called Tomorrow Faraway”. The entire village sings the last two lines, clapping their hands and dancing, expressing as such their unity.

But the ceremony of tree-planting cannot take place because Calacaladou does not appear. He remained in his hut where he foresees the arrival of the wood-cutters, which occurs in due course, expressed with the sound of chainsaws. They are first heard by the sorcerer and then invade the entire village that starts panicking. Instead of realizing the tree-planting ritual, Antonia starts to play percussion on the floor. She does not try to hold the community together but conveys with her drumming that “men have become mad and deaf”. It is an alarm but remains without effect. Other sounds, made by a xylophone and lute, invade the space and orchestrate a somber polyphonic music that communicates audibly the devastation that begins to take place in form of a drought (reminiscent of the drought as symbolic stagnation in *Those whom death refused*).

Dou is chosen to lead the villagers who need to search for a new place after a second betrayal. The allegory of the march is once more invoked by Gomes. In this film, however, it is related to the idea of giving up a traditional life style. Calacaldou therefore remains. His role as leader within a traditional Africa has been fulfilled. The magical world, in which a sorcerer can resolve the problems, is left behind and a new way of living has to be found. Consequently, the music that accompanies the villagers leaving their home is not sad but joyous, introducing modern occidental instruments, namely a jazzy sounding trumpet and a violin.

The long voyage takes the villagers through a desert. It is as an even stronger metaphor of human relationships built on exploration and destruction of nature than the drought. There is death and despair, and the return becomes only possible after two symbolic incidents: first the encounter with another group of villagers on quest for a better life, and, second, when Dou's and Saly's son is born – as foreseen in the prophetic scene. The encounter with the other community is celebrated with the same joyful music of the departure from Tomorrow Faraway. They offer water and their sharing and sense of community changes Dou. He goes to find Saly who is still in love with the sun. His approaching her equally symbolizes a necessary communion: only when everybody is able to engage with the other, either individually or as a group, a new foundation can be built on which a common future may be constructed.

As a result, Dou can lead the villagers home. Their march is accompanied by a new song, which he sings as a duet with his sister-in-law. It tells their tale and expresses the newfound equilibrium and union between “the turtles” and “the spiders”. It is storytelling in the form of a ballad: “The turtles came from 52 different points of the earth/Each one bears the marks of its tribe/The spiders accompanied them, since they wanted to see the world/The price paid by them is the knitting of a web, which indicates the way/ The turtles carried the spiders through the unknown land/Where water becomes sand/Where day becomes night/Where the birds bury the dead/Where one forgets the dead”. All the villagers sing the last lines on their union and their different way at looking at the world together: “Until the day when the turtles and the spiders finally arrive/The union holds on/The turtles talk endlessly/They do not agree about the way the world is made/At night they burn a fire/to enlighten the woods”.

When they reach the village, it has been devastated. To the sound of a traditional *berimbau*, the villagers roam through it and find Calacaladou dead. But Dou's little niece also encounters a mural painting that tells their story in images. She she tells it to her people while we hear the natural sound of birds singing that we also heard at the beginning of the film. When she smiles into the camera, hope can be sensed.⁹

Obviously, there are no easy answers on how to resolve the conflict between tradition and modernity, modern western technology and ancestral knowledge. The march will go on and songs, paintings and films will tell of the intent of the “turtles” to remain their spirit of community.

2.4. *Nha Fala/My Voice* (2002)

Gomes's last fiction feature from 2002, which was not even produced in the country due to the political uproars in 1998¹⁰, takes a completely different approach to the question of tradition and modernity, as well as to the role of music. Filmed in Cape Verde, the colorful and stylized musical extends *Yonta's* optimism by adding a more marketable perspective on identity, comparable to other

⁹ Murphy and Williams (2007: 146) speak of a “quietly optimistic ending”.

¹⁰ Due to the political and military conflict on 7 of June 1998, the film was entirely shot in Cape Verde and did not receive any funding from Guinea Bissau.

Luso-African productions¹² on cultural synthesis. In fact, the film encounters in western culture and technology the chance to overcome an obsolete African superstition and to construct a new Afro-European identity. Nonetheless, it insists in being daring for a better life and future.

Using one of commercial cinema's most popular genres, the musical, *My Voice* is visibly directed towards a Western audience. The beautiful main character, Vita (Fatou N'Diaye), leaves Guinea-Bissau to study in France. Before her departure she says farewell to her family and friends. Musical numbers – composed by famous Cameroon musician Manu Dibango – present the wide range of contemporary social problems that Guinea Bissau is facing: the difficulty in dealing with the memory of the heroic fight for independence, corruption, the coexistence of Animism and Catholicism, and the unemployment among young people with university degrees. While walking the streets, Vita is followed by her former boyfriend Yano (Ângelo Torres) who has become a corrupt merchant. He will, nevertheless, redeem himself at the end of the film when he resigns from his desire to become rich and powerful and buys a school.

Just like in *Yonta* the society seems incapable of keeping track with the ideals of the anti-colonial fight. They are remembered with a light-hearted running gag in which two characters try to find a place for the statue of Amílcar Cabral, which grows each time it is moved around. In this post-colonial political situation, Vita's route of migration seems to be the only escape, a suggestion affirmed in the course of the film.

Once in Paris she falls in love with the young music producer Pierre (Jean- Christophe Dollé) and enchants all the people she comes across because of her solidary and friendly nature. Not only does she have a positive influence on her surrounding, it changes her as well. By singing one of her boyfriend's compositions, she leaves behind an old family superstition that says that women of her family died when they sang. What follows is a fairy tale: her first appearance at Pierre's studio impresses everybody and her sugary song turns into a major hit.

With the purpose of dealing with the offence of her ancestors and after having become a European music star, she returns with her boyfriend and band to her hometown. By staging her own funeral, she simultaneously respects and transgresses her mother's (Bia Gomes) belief and conception of identity. In tune with the genre, the film presents a vibrant and utopian Africa that embraces western culture and technology without hesitations. The resulting hybrid identity has the key failure that it is restricted to stardom.

Nonetheless, the lyrics of the last song persevere Gomes's theme of trying to construct a better life by daring: "What must you do when someone blocks your path?/Dare/What must you do to move ahead?/Dare/When no one listens to you/When you're just a candle in the night/What must you do?/Dare/Dare/When you are poorer in the morning than at night/Dare". The music is contagious and, accordingly, first sung by Vita and then joined in by her mother who thus embraces her daughter's daring.

In contrast to Flora Gomes's previous films, Vita needed to incorporate a European experience to be empowered. Unfortunately, her dependence on Europe is mirrored in the concession the film makes in terms of plot and aesthetics. However, it still preserves the filmmaker's defiant outlook on identity construction, which, nonetheless, was much denser and insightful in his earlier productions.

3. Conclusion

The metaphor of the march and the hope related to children, the key leitmotifs in Gomes's films, are his way of working on the idea of identity in the making that is unfinished and always open-ended. As I have shown, music is an important tool to call a group together for a momentary construction of

this collectivity, especially when it is used to gather a group that can act, either against colonialism or to found a new country.

What is more, be it through music or in songs, there is generally a non-essentialist gesture in Gomes's films that defines life and identity as non-fixed and ambivalent. In *Those Whom Death Denied* the fight for and the achievement of independence are seen ambivalently. Different musical instruments are used in order to make this perceptible, such as the flute that underlines the relation between the personal and the political, or the percussion that calls for persistence and solidarity but also for war. In terms of narrative, there is also no clear ending or beginning, no rite of passage that would mark a new identity or the sudden appearance of a national collectivity. The final ceremony, which calls the different ethnic groups together with the help of percussion, is a momentary reunion that it is capable of creating a sense of union. But the ceremony does not want to consolidate a specific identity. It is no guarantee or expression of national identity. It is transitory and will need to be repeated in order to confirm again the partnership between the people.

Music seems less important in *Yonta*. Set in the post-colonial capital Bissau it uses again percussion music, but more modern, to unite the film's heroin with her brother and other children so as to point to a future identity. At the disclosure of the film, it is the traditional rhythms that make Yonta and the children dance. They are the still missing people that have proved that they can differentiate between empty collectivity with entertainment purposes (the dance scene in the Tropicana) and solidarity (in the scene of civil disobedience of the children). Again, nothing is fixed, but the communion occurs and it expresses the preservation of solidarity that might bring about a better future.

Even though the village in *Tree of Blood* lives together in communal harmony, they need a symbolic rite of passage, the march through the desert, in order to regain their collectivity. Initially, music functions more as an illustration of moods. Nonetheless, when the villagers leave the town, it serves again as a call that unites. It only becomes important when it assumes a narrative function and tells the tale of the community. As such, it is embedded in other cultural practices – above all storytelling – that are no commodities but have a vital purpose: to hold the people together. The film therefore opens and ends with orality. And two songs – one at the baptism, the other one on the way home – aim to affirm the people in their desire to reinvent their communal spirit.

In *My Voice* music seems to lose this quality. Songs are primarily used to indicate aspects of Guinean or French society or of the characters. This changes only when Vita starts to sing and music turns into an individual tool of empowerment. Collectivity is not an issue until the last sequence when a song reassumes the dimension music had since Gomes's first film: a means to create community. All the people present are included, beyond ethnic, regional or national boundaries, aiming for a community of a transnational people. As such, the soundtrack is certainly more utopian but also less credible in its political implications than in Gomes's previous, more inspiring films.

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SESSION 26

CINEMA,
REPRESENTATIONS
AND IDENTITIES 2

Abstract: Indigenous communicators, particularly in the last three decades, have worked to increase their nations rights to create and, especially, re-create their own images in diverse media formats, from community-based videos to mainstream feature films and television programs (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002). This paper will discuss the recent upsurge of first nations audio-visual productions in Latin America and Australasia, especially in Brazil and Australia. It departs from the assumption that these productions have been able to construct contemporary narratives for the present and coming Indigenous generations, as well as to globalised audiences (Wilson and Stewart 2008). Arguably, one of the reasons for their appeal to audiences and critics is the recurrent portrayal of topics such as land and water; two themes which, due to on-going ecological concerns and recent economic global crisis, have increasingly gained worldwide attention. As a central hypothesis, I will argue that the cinematic dialogues produced by Indigenous peoples are based on the negotiation of global and local meanings of these natural resources, fostering critical analysis of non-indigenous discourses. Therefore, this paper proposes to analyse the ways recent Indigenous audio-visual materials display local aesthetics and incorporate oral stories that, at the same time, are able to dialogue and engage with non-Indigenous audiences. In the context of debates on interculturalism and plurinationalism, this paper is also concerned with the challenges of studying Indigenous cinema inside the field of national cinemas. In this sense, it aims to investigate both hegemonic interpretations of colonialism and recent decolonial approaches, opening up the opportunity to compare contemporary Australasian and Latin American national cinemas through the gazes of first nations.

Keywords: Indigenous filmmaking; post-colonial cinema; national cinemas.

1. Introduction

The international movement of Indigenous peoples producing their own media across the world has been called as “New Media Nation” (Alia 2005, 106) or “Indigenization of visual media” (Prins 2004 cited in Pamela and Stewart 2008). These productions often challenge wide spread mainstream representations that alternate between romanticisation and criminalisation of Indigenous peoples, cultures and knowledges. While mainstream media still presents Indigenous issues from an outsider’s perspective, Indigenous media have focused on self-

Decolonizing Cinema: An analysis of Indigenous filmmaking in Latin America and Australasia

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representation by assuming the fundamental role of Indigenous peoples on showcasing their own views on local and global matters. This process of self-representation has also been strengthened by “constructive representations” (Allia and Bull 2005, p.76), in which non-Indigenous people work in partnership to empower Indigenous voices and perceptions. The aboriginal scholar Marcia Langton calls as “Aboriginality” (1993, p.81-

83) the current efforts of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples to have an “intercultural dialogue”. She argues that this effort is a fundamental path for mutual comprehension and interpretation. More than that, Langton sees these “subjective exchanges” as crucial for the production of images and contents that go beyond colonialist and Eurocentric representations.

In this sense, this paper presents examples of contemporary Indigenous media produced in Latin America and Australasia that are based on partnerships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. To enhance the interpretation of these media, this paper follows the notion of “border thinking” (Walter Mignolo’s, 2000, p.67), which challenges the idea of universal forms of knowledge, thus allowing a researcher to be in-between two places. Mignolo describes it as the possibility “to think from both traditions and, at the same time, from neither of them” (p.67). Therefore, he argues for the importance of a way of thinking that is able to engage at the same level with hegemonic as well as subaltern forms of knowledges. This notion is based on the idea that both groups are equally important to the production and interpretation of cultural, artistic and epistemic productions. Therefore, this paper wants to draw attention to the importance of subjects who have been able to act inside and outside the boundaries of mainstream culture, dislocating cultural notions of margins and centre. In the same way, this paper does not want to speak about the other, but talk with them, near and alongside them, acknowledging the epistemic forces of Indigenous media and their creative as well as political role in the field of media studies and national cinemas.

2. Indigenous media in Latin America

In Latin America, several recent projects involve partnerships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous filmmakers who work on training or assisting with production, circulation and distribution of Indigenous media. A good example is the *CEFREC (Centro de Formación y Realización Cinematográfica)* created in 1989, in Bolivia, by filmmaker Iván Sanjinés. It is a project that teaches and produces digital videos primarily targeting Indigenous audiences. It encourages Indigenous communication between geographically and culturally distant communities organizing networks and social mobilisation. It has a large participation on Indigenous film and video festivals and is supported by the Bolivian government as well as international corporations (Vilanova, 2012-2013). The same political aim is present in the Chiapas Media Project in Mexico, which since 1998 introduced audio-visual equipment and professional training to Indigenous communities in the region. As explained by the filmmaker and project’s main creator Alexandra Halkin (2008, p.56-57), “the videos offer an example of successful indigenous resistance to globalization and present a sustainable agricultural model for collective survival”. At the same time, Indigenous productions face challenges of distribution as many Indigenous communities (such as the Chiapas) prefer to base their relations on the reciprocity of exchanging films for films rather than for money. This strategy reveals the priority to strengthen forms of communication that do not allow for the commodification of the audio-visual media, but are rather concerned with its immaterial gains and meanings as a form of cultural exchange.

In the specific case of Brazil, it is worth to mention two different projects involving partnership between Indigenous and no-Indigenous communicators. The first one is the on-going project

Video in the Villages (Video nas Aldeias) started in 1987 when the Belgian filmmaker Vincent Carelli began training different Indigenous nations (such as Xavante, Panará, Nambiquara, Kuikuro, Mbya-Guarani) how to film and produce videos. The project focus not only on strengthening Indigenous identities, territories and cultures, by promoting a dialogue between different Indigenous nations, but also displays an updated portrayal of Indigenous culture and reality to the rest of Brazilian society (Monte 2004). The prolific production of Video in the Villages is mostly available online. It includes a number of short-films, educative television programs and documentaries, many of which received awards on national and international film festivals. Of particular relevance to this paper are the videos produced that directly dialogue with public policies and were created to denounce Indigenous struggles for land and water rights. This was the case of a video-letter made in partnership with Associação Indígena Kisêdjê for Rio+20, the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. The video showcased the speech of the Kisêdjê nation. They are only one of the Indigenous groups struggling against the construction of Belo Monte Dam in the heart of the Brazilian Amazon basin. This monumental project will primarily benefit multinational aluminium industries at the expense of major environmental and social impacts, including the flooding of Indigenous ancestral land and the destruction of native tropical rainforest (Fearnside 2006). While, in this specific case, the construction was not interrupted, the video still stands as a document on which Indigenous peoples are able to denounce the potential catastrophic outcomes of this ambitious project. As one of the Kisêdjê women argues, life depends on land and rivers. By destroying them, the white/Euro-descendent people are destroying everybody's life. A more optimistic case is portrayed on two videos also produced by Video in the Villages about the Indigenous reservation Raposa-Serra do Sol, where more than twenty thousand Indigenous peoples are living. A judicial decision determined that rice farms must move away from the reservation, leaving it as a continuous and unbroken territory. The first video, *Ou vai ou racha! 20 anos de luta* made, in 1998, and the second one, *Vamos a Luta*, made in 2002, are both directed by the members of the Macuxi nation, one of many Indigenous groups currently living in the reservation. These videos centre on the struggles of the Macuxi towards the recognition of their land rights and their final success. As mentioned, there is an abundant production from Video in the Villages available in the Internet, as well as there is also an increasing presence of Indigenous production in Latin American festivals. On the other hand, in the particular case of Brazil, there is still no an Indigenous channel or Indigenous program available on public or private television. To overcome this invisibility, Indigenous networks have been relying on digital culture and new technologies such as making videos on mobile phones. This is the case of the second project studied here, *Vidas Paralelas*. It was created in 2010 as part of the demand of Indigenous students at UnB (University of Brasilia) to maintain their connections with Indigenous communities. The project involves many different nations such as the Pataxó, Kariri-Xocó, Potiguara, Tupinikim, among others. The university's students engage the community to participate on photography and audio-video workshops willing to promote and display Indigenous contemporary life.



Picture
L a t i n
Indigenous
ProMedios,
Projeto Vidas



1. Logos from
A m e r i c a n
projects: Cefrec,
Video nas Aldeias
Paralelas –



a n d

Indígena.

3. Indigenous media in Australasia

Different from Latin America, most Indigenous film productions in Australasia result from individual and particular enterprises, not from collective projects such as Pro Medios and Video in the Villages. This means that the partnerships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous led to very specific productions such as successful features films. One example is *O Le Tulafale (The Orator, 2011)*, directed by Samoan Tusi Tamasese in association with New Zealand Film Commission. The film, which is completely spoken in Samoan language, was simultaneously praised by Samoans for its careful depictions of local culture and prized in international films festivals (2011

Venice Film Festival and 2012 Sorta Unofficial New Zealand Film Awards) even competing to be in the short list as „Best Foreign Film Award’ for the American Academy of Motion Picture (Purcell-Sjölund 2012) and selected to the Native Indigenous films program of the Berlin Film Festival 2013. This type of partnership is not new in Australia. Carolyn Strachan and Italian Alessandro Cavadini offer a pioneering example in 1972, with the creation of Redirtfilms, to produce films with Aboriginal communities in Australia. Among many films, the acclaimed *Two Laws* (1981), made in collaboration with the Borroloola Aboriginal Community and based on their oral storytelling is “widely considered to be a landmark documentary” (Davis and Moreton 2010) and an “actual dialogue” resulting in a collaborative and cross-cultural production (Langton 1994). The film generated a filmmaking tradition in the Borroloola region, including recent production of animations in partnership with the Associate Professor Dr. John Bradley. Finally, another successful example of partnership is the film *Ten Canoes* (2006). This was the first feature film fully spoken in Aboriginal language. It was made in collaboration between the Yolngu peoples of Ramingining and non-Aboriginal director Rolf de Heer. The Yolngus peoples led the film’s script and shooting with Heer defining his position as a simple “mechanism” that allowed them to tell their story (Wood, 2008). However, since the power position held by Heer as the film’s director can hardly be taken as a mere instrument, the film resulted in an interesting cross-cultural product that converges two different traditions of storytelling. It was awarded the Jury Prize at Cannes Film Festival in 2006.

Although there is a relative lack of collective Indigenous film production in Australia and New Zealand, both countries currently have specific Indigenous Television channels. In Aotearoa/ New Zealand, an important space for Indigenous voices is the Maori TV channel. Launched in 2004, it is a central media to promote Maori language, culture and customary laws. Most of its programmes are spoken in Te Reo (Maori language) and centre on Indigenous current affairs, arts and politics. The channel also showcases a number of international documentaries and news related to environmental and social problems around the world, especially in areas inhabited by Indigenous peoples. In Australia, the NITV - National Indigenous Television became an independent channel in

2012 and is responsible for disseminating Indigenous content across Australia. It follows a similar pattern as Maori TV, displaying both local and international Indigenous productions. There is an indisputable growing production of Indigenous media. However, in terms of numbers and funding, Indigenous self-representation is not yet at the same level as mainstream media's representation of Indigenous groups. The large number of images and content produced by State and Corporate-owned media did not decline after the growth of Indigenous self-representation. Regarding this theme, the aborigine scholar Marcia Langton (1993, p.26) points out:

It is clearly unrealistic for Aboriginal people to expect that others will stop portraying us in photographs, films, on television, in newspapers, literature and so on. Increasingly, non-Aboriginal people want to make personal rehabilitative statements about the Aboriginal „problem and to consume and reconsume the „primitive (...) Rather than demanding an impossibility, it would be more useful to identify those points where it is possible to control the *means* of production and to make our own self-representations.

On the other hand, it is necessary to point that Indigenous representations are not essentially „good' in themselves. After all, Indigenous self-representations are not necessarily exempt of falling into common racist or sexist stereotypes found in mainstream media. In this sense, Indigenous media faces the same challenge as no- Indigenous filmmakers: to have a critical position of its own productions. In the case of partnerships, in order to guide no-Indigenous filmmakers and avoid possible cultural shocks or legal offences, Screen Australia, for example, published the book: „Pathways & Protocols: A filmmaker's guide to working with Indigenous people, culture and concepts". This rich material is fundamental tool to understand some of the challenges and negotiations requested in order to transfer and display Indigenous culture and values into the media.



Picture 2. Logos from Australia Television and National Indigenous Television.

Indigenous television channels: Maori

Conclusion

Environmental problems linked to climate change have been central to discussions concerning sustainability. One recurrent observation is that climate change does not only alter the environment but also exposes human limitations to deal with these alterations. Australian scholar Emily Potter (2013) argues that climate change creates a feeling of dispossession similar to colonization, because it damages previous settlements, creating an emergence of reconstruction and reappropriation of the space. At the same time, there is a trend on Indigenous media, to assume a position in favour of environmental policies and sustainable life. Therefore, the human vulnerability to climate change

situates Indigenous discourses in a key position. Not only because of their traditional knowledges and discourses favouring sustainability, but also as they are indeed survivors of another form of violent displacement, such as the process of colonization.

Indigenous media form an important part of contemporary Indigenous social movements, contributing to the empowerment, self-organising of Indigenous peoples and struggles for sovereignty (Schiwy 2009). As this paper attempted to show, there is an increasing number and variety of Indigenous audio-visual productions that challenges any attempts to homogenise their contents or aesthetics. However, it is possible to affirm that most of Indigenous media share a common opposition to dominant cinematic traditions and an intention to reinforce Indigenous' struggles for cultural as well as physical survival (Wood 2008). By studying some examples of Indigenous filmmaking, especially across Brazil and Australia, this paper willed to investigate how the recent and growing field of Indigenous media have been playing important political and cultural roles on producing actualised portrayals of Indigenous reality.

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Abstract: Singular gesture in Portuguese film production in *Youth in Motion*, Pedro Costa filmed Cape Verdeans - *sampajudos and badius* - who came to Portugal to work on the construction of large public works and who were organizing in neighborhoods more or less closed on themselves and almost always forgotten by the rest of the population and political power. The film is analyzed here in the light of “an imaginary time of crisis” (Martins, 2011-187), being the imaginary the anthropological crossroad that allows to enlighten the particularities of a human work through the particularities of another one. (Durand, 1989). Resulting from a meeting *Youth in Motion* is not a film about “the other”, is about the loss of a sense of community, about the silent resistance of a way of being and a language and perhaps even a proposal to establish a new logical of relationship: that of a post abysmal society.

Keywords: Pedro Costa; Youth in Motion – Colossal Youth; imaginary; Cape Verdean

Imaginary

The archetypes “that may be more or less visible, but constitute anthropological invariants” (Mafessoli, 2001-22) are the genuine founders of culture: temporal ratings serve only to allow comprehension. The forms are always in the culture over time, secretly, discreetly or ostensibly, and archetypes we thought forever buried can resurface at full intensity, when we least expect it (Mafessoli, 2001).

At first glance, Pedro Costa’s imagery does not match the contemporaries “common” forms of representation in art (in general) and in cinema (in particular). The materiality of the represented, the non-existence of virtual worlds, an attempt to capture “the real as it is”, that one can put near the documentary, the simplicity of technological resources, and particularly the length of time given to *Youth in Motion* a product’s feature seemingly anachronistic. In Pedro Costa’s films, time (art) appears to seek to recover the accents prescribed by Paul Celan: the grave accent of historicity, the acute of relationship and the circumflex of expansion, (Celan, 1996 - 46) and, perhaps for Costa, as for Celan, the more convenient accent is the acute of relationship, of actuality (Celan, 1996 - 48). But when we try to understand in *Youth in Motion*, the regime of dreams (images) that allows the movie, the grotesque forms, baroque and tragic stand. And so, realizing or beginning to realize that the archetypes or symbols which estheticize our time, after all, are also part in the work of Pedro Costa, it is still an amazing adventure, perhaps paradoxical.

Black is a color¹: youth in Montion² by Pedro Costa

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1 Title originally assigned by João Bernard da Costa to an essay on the work of Pedro Costa, contained in the bibliography of this text.

2 English title *Colossal Youth*.

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Reconfiguration of modern *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* in post- modernity

The theoretical framework used for the accomplishment of this text is proposed by Moisés de Lemos Martins at *Crise no Castelo da Cultura, das estrelas para os ecrãs* (2011). In this work, the author seeks to understand how the Aristotelian scheme- consisting of logos, pathos and ethos- reorganizes itself in an era of technologies, information and communication. According to Martins, from the classic logos, where smooth, clear forms predominated as an idea of straight line of time, with beginning and end, set between a Genesis and an Apocalypse, predominant in modernity, we got into a baroque logos, post-modern, “ambivalent and confused, exuberant, rough shapes”, (Martins, 2011 - 189), which serve hybrid creatures, and time is now introduced with curves and folds full of shadows. The modern pathos would be dramatic and therefore all *thesis* would have their antithesis and of course their synthesis. Thus, in modernity, the reason (logos) controls the action. In post-modernity “the feeling, emotion and passion” (Martins, 2011 - 189) dominate all existence and therefore its *pathos* is tragic, hopeless...a tension that no synthesis can redeem. Ultimately, in modernity it associates itself to the sublime, appealing to higher values, putting itself at the service of a duty to be. In post-modernity there is a grotesque *ethos* that subverts values, equating categories never comparable before, prevails the individualism and the relativism (Martins, 2011 -189). However in postmodern society the need to identify with the group, by individuals based on the need for solidarity and protection featuring social group, for lack of other resources, has led Michel Maffesoli to consider that individualism was replaced by a kind of neo-tribalism (Meffesoli, 2006).

The Black Sky – Logos Baroque

Colossal Youth, by Pedro Costa is a story of a slow time where past and present mingle and dead coexist with the living. A time that presents itself in a place without horizon, because the sky we see, when we see it, is almost always black. A space full of shadows, even white stripped of new houses, which send the sensation of warmth to another one, dirtier, more decadent and damned.



Figure 1- *Youth in Motion* by Pedro Costa- first image of the film. Fontainhas: dirty, decadent, damned. Clotilde lays out the window pieces of furniture.

According to Ruy Gardnier, the difference in *Youth in Motion* – *Colossal Youth* is achieved through a set of movements, relatively easy to identify:

“A camera often positioned a few degrees above the parallel line to the ground (contra- plongés), a camera usually pointing to the vertical lines that limit the walls, a light normally directed to the middle bottom of the screen, creating an unusual sharing of light and shadows. Sometimes the camera also arises

outside the vertical axis by 90 degrees in relation to the soil. And that's it, just the regular use of these elements and youth in motion reinvents the look, reinvents the visual organization of the frame. It's born (it rises) a strange and alluring composition balance, without depth of field or vanishing point, where each movement to get near or far away from the framework implies mostly(especially) an increase or decrease of the figure's size. (Gardnier, 2006).

Technical and technological resources may be simple but the film intentionally offers a rugged look to the world, impossible to embrace completely, because it is composed of concave surfaces filled by shadows. The materiality of what we see on the screen brings us, indeed, to Cézanne, but the pregnancy of faces, eyes, and bodies, in contrast to the total absence of naturalism interpretation, offers the scenes a multiplicity of disparate meanings. The camera *contra-plongé*, (often used for filming Ventura, which emphasizes the power of this character) an unusual light, the eye of the camera converging to a point - within rooms of a house, and that diverging from a point - outside, creates a sense of monumentality and intimacy, (Gardnier, 2006) of a closeness with the characters and their problems but paradoxically a feeling that what is on the screen is somewhat strange and dangerous because it is impossible to encompass in its entirety.

Reminds us of Desnos verses: "*Méfiez-vous des roses noires/II en sort une langueur/Épuisante et l'on en meurt*" (Desnos, 1933).



Figure 2- Youth in Motion by Pedro Costa. Ventura at Fontainhas.



Figure 3-Youth in Motion by Pedro Costa. Ventura in the new neighbourhood "a little lost", looking for Vanda, one of his daughters. The aseptic white building contrasts with the black sky.

The action takes place among the wreckage of Fontainhas neighbourhood and the new apartments, aseptic white, which were built by the state, through a special plan of relocation for this community. The film doesn't develop any controversy beyond the visual. Fontainhas neighbourhood, although dirty, cluttered, decadent, looks warmer than the oppressive white walls of the new buildings. The new houses are not necessarily habitable and this feeling is clarified during the film only through images. The proximity that allows the filmmaker to shoot these people's lives, is the result of a long process of rapprochement that began in another movie many years ago. Pedro Costa lives in the neighborhood, is part of the residents' association, and has godchildren, participate in decisions, and in afflictions, probably. He tries to fix things, to remedy wrongs that have been done (Costa, 2006). This proximity allows the filmmaker an understanding of what he films that pervades the work only through the images without ever resorting to melodramatic contrivances. In fact, this is nor a documentary or fiction, but a hybrid of both. The neighbourhood was heated because there

was life in community, a certain camaraderie among the workers, a sentiment that also littered the awareness of the independence of Cape Verde that happened in the same July 5 in which Ventura won Clotilde, his children mother. *Youth in Motion* builds up itself in a relationship between love life and politics, among family and community life. The elegance and delicacy of Ventura, who wears a black suit and a white shirt represents the feeling of lost class, a reality of mixed times, lost love, hope foiled. After all, the time at which Ventura dictates a letter to his friend/son Lento, a letter to his love in Cape Verde, while still working in construction, is still today. This letter, as well as the rotating disks that plays a song of political liberation “Labanta braço”, is more than a nostalgic memory, simultaneously emotional and political, of another state of things. That son who died also meets Ventura. Pedro Costa presents events/experiences, without resorting to flashback, or any other device to make clear their chronology. The times appear mixed to us, becoming all equally present, equally important, and equally impossible to understand in whole. A time so full of wrinkles, lines and curves, of not always understandable outlines. As Meffesoli would say: an eternal present where nothing ever happens because it happened. We are in a mythological time in which the past is never dead and so is never passed (Meffesoli, 2000-50) a time, so full of bends, curves and layers of lines, not always clear contours. The past time, the present and the time of production of the work mix/coalesce in this structurally fragile world” which is accompanied by the sense of loss of what never had and by the feeling of waiting for what will never have” (Martins, 2011).

Flowers of the Asphalt – ethos grotesque

The world that Pedro Costa films was swept out of time and out of Town, because it doesn't perform, because it's not beautiful, because it does not have sex appeal, or speed. Fontainhas neighbourhood is a community, is a leftover, a mistake, a warning that there is a failure in the construction of democracy, equitable, prosperous and caring. Here people aren't beautiful, are not good, they don't know what is justice. They are the flowers of evil of our time that cannot be included in the contemporary equation. So, they are the excluded from life and from the circuits of progress (Martins, 2011 - 131).



Figure 4-*Youth in Motion* by Pedro Costa. Vanda and Ventura in her room. Talking.

In *Youth in Motion* almost all characters have their drug: heroin, methadone, something to sniff, something to drink. Zita- a character in the previous Costa's film *Vanda's room*-dies now with the “usual poison”, says Xana; Ventura rectifies: “it was not the poison she swallowed, it was all the poison taken by her, before she came into the world”.

In the current *Vanda's room*, heroin was replaced by methadone and television. The hypnosis of images, the loud sound, allow Vanda to forget or, at least, to soften the distress of the hangover. Vanda talks with Ventura about a life of drugs and its consequences. She suffers from asthma,

smokes... coughs, spits, confesses to be afraid of dying before her daughter grows up. The television seems to connect her to the world; she watches television, looking for a map and is on television that she seems to find everything she can hope for. Vanda's behaviour does not observe any attempt to construct meaning and we cannot say that there is a mobilization for whatever, except perhaps for consumption. Vanda, who is not ashamed to catch things in the trash, wants to throw everything away and buy new furniture. Encourages her daughter to watch television; the doll that the little girl plays with is a materialization of a character from the television. They sing the songs of generics and clap their hands. It's hard to accept "things" as they are, in there. You can't do anything about it. The film does not judge, nor proposes any alternative; no cure, no salvation. "Nowadays, radical art means dark, black art as the key color" (Adorno, 1970).



Figure 5-*Youth in Motion* by Pedro Costa Ventura in the Gulbenkian Foundation which he helped to build, while a mason, and where is not accepted as a visitor. People like him don't go there. Only the guard of the exhibition is like him.

Ventura is the spiritual father of almost everyone in the film. A connecting link between all, and of rebind with a memory of a way of being that stemmed from the knowledge of the beginning and the end (genesis and apocalypse). Now that the houses they live in difficult socializing Ventura is Ariadne's Thread that lets others to find the way back, and so he invents the continuation of "community". Ventura, who is often found prostrated to the ground, fulfils a religious mission. The father of all doesn't profess any idea of universal salvation. On the contrary: wanders between neighbourhoods, between the past and the present, between his children and a lost love, pills, beer, something that he sniffs. He goes to Gulbenkian museum, which helped to build while a mason (and where we are surprised by a pair of Rubens and a Van Dick totally contrasting with the reality of the film) but he is prevented of visiting the exhibition. However, all that Ventura meets with are his children. And to his children he gives a hand, to his children he listens, to them he provides assistance, provides shelter. All his children talk to him very deeply about their lives, about their failures, their defeats, their hiking, and their crossing. Ventura listens to them, understands. His son Paul, who has a bad leg, is like "on his knees" before Ventura, while speaking naturally of his "tricks" of beggar. He gives his hand and listens to his suicidal son, Nhurro. He takes care of Vanda's daughter and listens to her with infinitive care. With Bete, the lap of whom he lies (an image of the Pietà), "reinvents" walls, talk at length about good and evil, about how to be a good man. So he builds a new reality, a new form of organization of the network, a new possibility of life. Ventura is like a desert breeze that allows the Rhizome, a possibility of life that does not exist and that he is making it up (Deleuze, 1997). Alongside, Ventura rereads (from memory) the letter he wrote to his love in Cape Verde, "put this in your head", says to his friend/ son Lento:

This way, he constructs a new reality.

“Nha cretcheu, my love, our meeting will make our life more beautiful for over thirty years. For my sake, I’ll came back to you strong and loving.

I wish I could offer you 100.000 cigarettes, a dozen of fancy dresses, a car, that little lava house you always dreamed of, a four pennies bouquet.

But before all things, drink a bottle of good wine and think of me. (...)”¹

This letter is also a memory inside a memory, a kind of *mise en abyme* love: on July 15, 1944, about a year before his death, Robert Desnos wrote to his wife, from the concentration camp of Floha, a last letter. In this letter, he tells her he wanted to offer her (he would like to offer her):

“one hundred thousand blond cigarettes, twelve dresses of grand couturiers, the apartment in Seine street, the little house in the forest of Campiègne, the one in Belle-isle and a sprig of flowers of five pennies. In my absence, buy the flowers, I’ll pay for them. I promise the rest later. But, above all, drink a bottle of good wine and think of me.”²

In a time of micro narratives, to tell the love and suffering of Ventura, it was necessary to hear the love and pain of a French poet (Costa, 2006). Ventura’s story of lost love in the dark tunnel is part of the story of lost love of all exiles. The ethereal corpus of this letter, which is being rebuilt over the course of the film, contrasts with the reality in which they live imprisoned, because they are hostages of a world that they cannot and do not want to abandon. They are ghostly figures that wander on the shrapnels of shanties and are, themselves shrapnels from a familiar world that is about to disappear.

To Resist is to Win – tragic pathos

They resist, and their silent existence represents a failure, a fallacy, and it disturbs. Because this is the story of a stagnant community which is also in a march of resistance. Therefore, this the tragic story of a crossing (passage). Crossing because they lost, long ago, the energy of the beginning and a lot longer ago (and a lot longer still), lost the point, the course, the idea of where they want to go (of where they are going); only the path (the road) was left for them(they’ve got only the road), the survival, the process. This is all tragic because there is no solution, no way out, it won’t end well and, most likely, it won’t end at all.



Figure 6 -*Youth in Motion* by Pedro Costa. Ventura and Nhurro his suicidal son, who is already dead.

1 The English version of the letter here presented is a compromise between the one in the film and another one by Felisbela Ramalho.
2 Translation: Felisbela Ramalho.

Long ago the children of Cape Verde (and their descendants) lost hope and desire to return to the islands that are no longer their own, which does not mean that they feel Portuguese or are accepted as Portuguese. Living in a kind of limbo, they are no longer *sampajudos* (St. Vincent) or *badius* (Santiago) but, obviously, they did not become *alfacinhas* (Lisbon). They have this safe place, unique and unsharable, this language they call creole (without knowing the disregard) and that being also hybrid allows a union and a resistance. The resistance is done at the expense of the “bright side” of the rejection (exclusion). They are workers and unemployed workers; if formerly they worked the clock to earn their livelihood, now they’ve got all the time in the world. A privilege that stems from the disappearance of work and with it the figure of the worker. There is a leisure that pervades throughout the film.

The characters of *Youth in Motion* seem to be trapped in a reality that they cannot, nor they want to escape from. Ventura resists the new house because it has spider webs and for being too small for all his children. Bete is still in her house in Fontainhas and says to Ventura: “by the time they give us those white rooms, we will no longer be able to see these things on the wall. It ends”. She refers to scratches, dirt, holes that they have been trying to recognize, as children do with the figures of the clouds. In this case, they see figures of the devil and other hideous creatures, obviously. Because the symbols here may not be those of daytime regime of images, only the night, which confuses, league, diluted (Durand, 1979), may serve as an imaginary to this couple’s that can be daughter and father and also mother and child.

Pedro Costa, as Nicholas Ray, films the losers of life. But, unlike what happens with the characters of the American director, in *Youth in Motion* they all end up accepting what fate offers them. Pedro Costa’s characters are not persecuted by the police and they show no concern or political character. This youth in motion cannot be considered “exploited” in a modern sense, they even no longer have to work, they are just abandoned, marginalized (Rancière, 2009). Appealing to Maffesoli we can say that ended the period in which questions of the present should be answered in future. In present, traditionally, we should prepare, plan life ahead. Nowadays, we witness the “return of destination, which is expressed in the form of the unpredictable, of the pure gift”. (Maffesoli,

2006). The individualistic ideology of progress was replaced by a set of collective rituals and shared imaginary. “Ethics born of this new society can only be the tragic. An acquiescence to the fullness of the moment, duplicate of lucid acceptance of the ephemeral.” (Maffesoli, 2006).

Post Abysmal

However, to choose watch and think about *Youth in Motion* by Pedro Costa is still an act of resistance inscribed in his own work. Because this film provides a “real” experience by refusing the logic of frenzied presentation of events, while allowing a relationship with what you see in the screen, simultaneously unmatched (unique) and intimate. Youth in motion contains a paradox in its title. Youth in motion is a motto (slogan) of the Cape Verdean liberation, but during the film we don’t see nor young people, nor march. On the contrary, as has been said, there is a lounge that permeates the entire work. A feeling that the most valuable asset owned by that group of people is an enormous amount of time to waste. If we must die, let it be slowly. Only Ventura who, in his own words, confirmed by Bete, is a good man, seems to move, going from corner to corner, visiting his children; he roams among Fontainhas and his new apartment, visits the museum that he helped to build as a mason. The film is made, as has already been mentioned, from the relationship between a past/present and a present/past: memory and present mingle. However, youth in motion points to a revolutionary past and a melancholy present through the figure of Ventura. At the same time, it

shows an intense confidence in its characters, in resisting the fate, and creates new opportunities of relation with time and space. If it is true that the march of youth doesn't happen in thought, during the liberation of Cape Verde, is also true that youth in motion shows, through the communicative power of its images and its words (nearly all in Cape Verdean), an intense confidence in the power of those who have no power. Power to resist the state of things, to create rhythms, atmospheres and behaviours that demand an adjustment, a change of tune. Revolutionary logic in a world still and always separated, transformed in merchandise, cold. Revolutionary logic, operationalized in a radical co-presence between the director and those he films, to bridge the gulf that traditionally prevails in the form of seeing others in Western societies, and that prevails nowadays (Santos, 2007). Pedro Costa's film suggests a utopia of community," a community that comes", referring to Agamben, community event, formed by whoever: singularity without identity, which craves the belongs to no group or class (Agamben, 1993). Community as an event which extends to those who see it, to those who participate in it, built in the acceptance of life as a crossing.

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“There are more valid facts and details in works of art than there are in history books.” (Chaplin, quoted by M. Bolognani et al., 2011)

According to Rehana Ahmed (2009), a series of controversial events, such as the “Rushdie Affair” of 1989, the protests against the Gulf War in 1991, the assassination of Richard Everitt in 1994 and the battles of Bradford in the same year, the subsequent racial battles of 2001 in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, the terrorist attacks of September 11 (9/11) and the protests against the so-called “war on terror” carried out by the United Kingdom in Afghanistan and Iraq, the London bombings in 2005 and the 2007 attack to Glasgow airport, combined with the large number of muslims associated with drug traffic, has led the media speech to reduce the the British-Muslim youth to a homogeneous unit increasingly connected to terrorism (MacDonald, 2009).

In *Yasmin* (2004), directed by Kenneth Glenaan, it is possible to witness the representation of the impact of the events of the 9/11 in the lives of these British Muslim families that became a target in this discursive storm, being frequently associated with acts of extremism and terrorism. The film is the result of a 6 months research work carried out by the director and the writer in the Pakistani communities in the north of England and the suffering that these British Muslims experience in a context of growing Islamophobia (Ahmed, 2009). Bolognani et al. (2011) consider *Yasmin* (and the films that portray the British Muslim reality in general) as a source of information of life in the diaspora, constituting a hybrid genre between artistic production and sociological commentary, reflecting the development of Pakistani communities in the United Kingdom. Stuart Hall (1992) believes that women, as represented by Yasmin (role played by Archie Panjabi), are members of new diasporas caused by post-colonial migrations, confronted with the need to live in between two identities, to speak two languages and two cultures and to translate and negotiate between them. These hybridism cultures (Gilroy 1993; Hall, 1992) are often celebrated in music, films and literature. In this text I intend to focus on the expression of cultural hybridism in the film *Yasmin* and how the main characters negotiate their identities within the social and local context of their daily lives. In this context, I regard the concept of identity considering Stuart Hall (1992) that defines it more as a contextual and relational positioning than as a fixed essence. Identity is, as we may analyse it through the character of Yasmin, a process in constant development.

The action of *Yasmin* is filmed in the district of Bradford, in northern England, and focuses on the influences of the repression of the state and the brutality in England towards

The Cultural Hybridism in Yasmin

Márcia Fontes Ferreira

the characters coming from Muslim families born in the United Kingdom. Yasmin is a young British Pakistani woman married against her will to a Pakistani cousin (Faysal, played by Shahid Ahmed), to satisfy the will of her father in exchange of a favour to his family in Pakistan. However, Yasmin intends to divorce as soon as Faysal gets his permanent visa. Alison Shaw (2006) reports that most immigration movements from Pakistan to England in the 80's and 90's concern marriage purposes. Thereby, marriages between children born from Pakistani families and raised in England with spouses born in Pakistan and who came into England as husbands/wives or fiancés marked the beginning of a new phase of a significant immigration. These spouses are often close relatives, frequently first degree cousins, which contributed for these transnational marriages to become the target of severe criticism by the United Kingdom. Nasir, Yasmin's youngest brother (played by Syed Ahmed), is presented at the beginning of the narrative as a young drug dealer forced by his father to read the Koran and to recite prayers at the local mosque and that, throughout the narrative, becomes a radical jihadist. A series of critical events, including a counterterrorism raid on her house and her father's house, the consequent imprisonment of her husband, the ostracism of her father and the departure of her brother to become an Islamic militant lead to Yasmin's acceptance of the different and hybrid layers which constitute her own being and the renewal of a commitment to her culture, her community and her faith. Ostracized by her co-workers, abused by her husband and target of mistrust by John (role played by Steve Jackson), with whom she seems to have more than just a friendly relationship, Yasmin loses the ability to handle the events. Even her own car, which until now has been a symbol of freedom, has become a claustrophobic space where she pours out her intense psychological drama culminating in an accident. Yasmin evolves from someone able to dominate her own life and choices to an object of surveillance by the disapproving eyes of her colleagues, the Pakistani community where she lives and the police officer that keeps her arrested on suspicion of condoning terrorism. Resulting from the foreign British policies and the state repression the British Muslims find themselves obliged to make an effort to realign their expectations and, possibly, personality changes (such as Yasmin has done), to address differences between the imaginary (ideology) and the current racist reality (MacDonad, 2011).

As the film's subtitle indicates ("a woman, two lives"), Yasmin lives in the middle of two worlds. At home and in her community she maintains a subservient posture where, with the veil on her head, she cooks for the whole family and does whatever she can to help those close to her. On the other hand, her Volkswagen Golf convertible (which she names as "sex on wheels") is the link with the western world driving her to work, allowing her to listen to modern pop music and to stop on the way to free herself from the garments that cover her curves. In this other world Yasmin dresses differently, smokes and hangs out in pubs with her colleagues, embracing western ways and refusing to be just a typical Pakistani woman. At the end of the film Yasmin eventually "returns" to her culture through a process of reflection and reinterpretation triggered by her arrest during a visit to her husband unjustly arrested for alleged association with terrorist crimes. At that time the prison guard gave her a copy of the Koran whose reading, allied, perhaps, to her isolation period, made her reflect on her own faith. The final encounter with a former British work colleague and the refusal to go out with him (unlike a trend present in so many other narratives that culminate with the celebration of an interracial relationship by the rejection of the culture and the native community) reveals Yasmin as a woman comfortable with her eastern robes, her faith and her social and cultural identity.

Yasmin is strongly marked by the dualities of life arising within and outside the British Muslim community. The symbolism of clothing in the film deserves careful attention. At home and within the community she wears traditional clothing that quickly changes to tight jeans and tops that she uses at work and that bind her to the western world. In terms of relationships we observe, first, a

forced marriage with her Pakistani cousin and secondly a flirting friendship with John, her English co-worker. In their last conversation is possible to witness a new dualism: his invitation to go to the pub which is counterpointed by her proposal to go to the mosque, thus marking the opposition between the liberal secular culture to the Islamic one. We may understand this final dialogue (along with images showing the protagonist reading the Koran in the cell where she was arrested) as the resolution, by Yasmin, of the contradictions of her life. I would like to emphasize the last part of the film in which the same music track links the three main characters showing pictures of all of them finding the solution to their lives in different scenarios. We are presented to Yasmin reading the Koran, Nasir contemplating suicide bomber images and their father looking at pictures of the house that he dreams to build for his family in Pakistan, their homeland. Yasmin's final acceptance of her Muslim identity it is not a submission to the patriarchal power (as we may confirm by the insistence on divorce); on the contrary it shows respect for her culture, never leaving aside her own will. Yasmin can, with the aid of religion, divorce without harming her cousin and without disrespecting her father. The inversion of John's invitation for a drink shows, as well, that in the event of a future relationship Yasmin would be the one to take control, not giving up the practice of her faith. However, Yasmin's final decision to (re)embrace her culture does not exclude a complete commitment to the British society, at least not from her side, since the barriers come mainly from the United Kingdom (and not from herself), whose pressures are in the basis of what is known as separatism (deconstruction of the ideological binary religious separatism vs liberal multiculturalism integration advocated by Ahmed).

Even Yasmin's father reinforces this binary character by drawing attention to the contrast between the freedom that his children experience in the western world and the codes of conduct that rule the domestic and community life. This tension between generations is present throughout the film, from the opening scene in which father and son go to the mosque to pray and where, once again, we can observe the disparity in the way they dress (father wears traditional Muslim robes and worn slippers while the son is presented in a western-style wearing Nike sneakers). The visual character of the film helps to enhance the dualistic nature of life between two cultures. A clear example of this are the two scenes in which Yasmin sees her reflection in the mirror: initially she sees a British Asian rebel and westernized young woman, dressed in modern clothes and wearing makeup (associated with rebellion and a threat to the ethnic and religious purity) while a later mirror scene reflects Yasmin covered with the veil (hijab) denoting a devout Muslim woman. I believe that Yasmin's choice of clothing is based on the pressures that she feels both inside and outside the community and it is one of the main ways in which she negotiates her identity. The first image precedes the scene where she is marginalized by her co-workers, while the second precedes her visit to Fahsal in prison.

Nasir, Yasmin's brother, is also a victim of this dualism. The character of the alienated young Muslim recently transformed into terrorist is exposed as a constructed identity that he was forced to adopt due to the material conditions experienced especially since the events of 9/11 and the subsequent raid conducted at his home. Nasir is frustrated between the passivity of older generations (represented by his father, who seeks to excuse the injustices arising from the behaviour of British authorities) before the oppression in which the community lives. Influenced by pamphlets and lectures introduced into the community by Kamal, a young propagandist, Nasir turns to a more militant version of Islam that seems to help him to better understand the ambiguities and uncertainties. In parallel with the image of Yasmin in the mirror, Nasir also contemplates pictures with strong emotional burden of victims of Palestinian and Israelite attacks, of fighters, martyrs and suicide bombers culminating with the expropriation of what connects him to the west and to its current existence: his cell phone and a package of drugs that he was carrying. His actions

symbolise the rejection of the previous lifestyle and his determination to become a more devoted Muslim in what concerns his faith. The following scene in which, within Yasmin's father TV shop, all screens show images of struggles in Israel, reflects the state of the Muslim world. The devices are turned off, one by one, and the store closes at the end of another day, as Nasir's father refuses to accept the harsh reality his country and his people are experiencing. Later Nasir and other youngsters analyse images of training camps for Islamic fighters while the father contemplates the photos of the house that he is building in his hometown. We are, therefore, faced with the parallelism between the determination of these two characters: the older generation that seeks the peace and tranquillity of the return to their homeland and the fulfilment of a life dream and a younger generation that looks forward to fighting for what they consider to be the ideal of their faith. Myra MacDonald (2009) sees this importance given to pictures, clothing and appearance in general as suggestive of a treatment of stereotypical images of British Muslims.

Yasmin, as a romanticized fictional story based on real observations and reports, presents the cultural hybridism that British Muslim communities of the diaspora face, whose identities go through processes of development and evolution within the social and local context where they are located which, in the presented case, may mean a return to the basic culture. I think that it would be relevant in a future approach to the subject, to examine how the generation that has experienced this existence between two cultures between the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the current century, sees the evolution of the identity in their own personal development and that how this perception affects whether or not the values they want to instill to the younger generations. Do the young British Muslims of today feel more Muslim or more British?

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SESSION 27

YOUTH CULTURE
AND CULTURAL
POLICIES IN POST-
COLONIAL CONTEXTS

Abstract: The work has as main objective to discuss the democracy and mobility from the study of the social actors who compose the Collective Fora do Eixo and the application of its identity politics, between the period of 2005 to 2013. To show internal settings to the groups, as well as its shared working models of a democratic and symbolic way, and further, the role of their mediators in this process of democratization and participation. As general objective, it was sought to comprehend from what spaces, individual and discursive strategies the Collective Fora do Eixo operates in Brazilian contemporary debate about the culture in their segments. The methodology applied was to analyze the virtual spaces like *sites* and social networks, the space of the official representation of the collective, studies of academic trajectories of the coordinators, individuals who are chosen as occupants of representative roles of scenery. It is intended here to approach in a sociological field of a discursive action to understand the vast social actions of this group.

Keywords: youth; politics; social movement; identity; collective.

1. Democracy And Mobilities: A Study About The Youth Of The Fora Do Eixo Circuit (2005-2013).

Sociology is one of the social science areas that search to comprehend the phenomena that arise in different groups, is formed from an idea of society. This work follows a line of approach that gives emphasis the discussion of the social movements and democracy, where needed to think about the model of society that consolidated in the youth.

In this study it was sought to comprehend the ways and paths of mobilization and achievements that young people's Collective Fora do Eixo conquered since its creation until the present day. We will also contrast the significant presence of "mediators" in this democratic process, that gains space in social networks, television and newspapers. However, it's important to emphasize that, the presence of these young in social networks, on the streets, in caucuses starts from cultural demands facing the music, theater, literature, performing arts, creative economy (cultural entrepreneurship) among other artistic and cultural segments.

Every year studies grow and discoveries of new facts before the social mobilizations, because of indignities that passed by ethnic, sexual and gender issues, in the contemporaneity are vast and include other themes like education, culture and politics with the participation of multiple movements.

Faced with this perspective we surround ourselves with care,

Postcolonialism and politics of identity – democracy and mobilities: a study about the social actors of the collective Fora do Eixo and its politics of identity (2005-2013)

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because inside of a manifestation, for example, it is likely that there are many other variations, either right or left, sympathizers or not.

So we sought to examine the theoretical, conceptual and methodological tools that sociologists and other social science researchers present around the Circuit mobilize within a politicized remarkable universe. For this, the present article sought a better care not only on the Collective Fora do Eixo, but in virtual space like *site* and social networks, the space official representation of the collective, studies of academic trajectories coordinators, individuals who are chosen as representative roles occupants of the scenario – either by time of belonging, frequency of appearance in citations.

The axis of interdisciplinary institutionalization in the Fora do Eixo Circuit occurs first in the virtual proposal, but also face-to-face through what they call experiential, and information sharing, technologies, exchanges between the Houses Fora do Eixo and the University Fora do Eixo, productive fronts that are moved daily. This character official and established, representative of the way as the group performs, does not only remains discursively. In the practice of discourse it is noted that an apparent officialdom is just one method for a deeper social intervention. It is intended here to approach in a sociological field of a discursive action to understand the vast social actions of this group.

2. The Collective Fora Do Eixo: Voices That Echo

The Collective Fora do Eixo was founded in 2005 by four independent collective states of Mato Grosso, Paraná, Acre and Minas Gerais, which together sought alternatives to the disposal of cultural works that produced. Each collective actively participated in the cultural activities of their cities, they attended national independent music festivals and performed exchange of produced works. Many of these cultural producers and artists collectives were presented at festivals in order to make their work, their music in music business and their brand in an entrepreneurial and dynamic way. If the artists of the *underground* scene, far from the “traditional” Rio/São Paulo axis had no space to promote their work, amount to burn a CD and turning the wheel of independent music production, it was necessary to develop ways to make it happen.

The Espaço Cubo was the start to what is today the Collective Fora do Eixo. Conceived in 2002 the Espaço Cubo longed to create and think collectively their strategies and objectives, and, their activities, carried out collaboratively.



Picture: 5th Fora do Eixo Congress – Global Networking Meeting

Source: Fora do Eixo Circuit

This picture allows to show one of the moments of the Fora do Eixo Circuit held that meeting. This was the Global Networking Meeting which was held in December 2012 in Rio de Janeiro.

This congress was attended by debaters from Brazil, Latin America and Africa, where they treated the youth, culture, art and entrepreneurship through workshops, seminars, plenary sessions, free meetings and observatories assembled and articulated by young. Beyond the artistic programming.

We observe the speech of Maria da Glória Gohn, which reveals a new look youth participant of the new social movements. She describes that groups are focused on guidelines that require the problems of everyday life such as employment, finance/wages, debts, social services such as education and health, dwelling etc. They are no more movements that require identity around gender rights, sexual orientation, ethnicity.

Even within this perspective, Maria da Glória Gohn defines, in a dossier for the Cult Magazine nº169, which are, for her, these new demands and discussions searches that young people engaged in movements and collectives are achieving results, thus strengthening, the actions.

They are repoliticizing socioeconomic and political demands, regardless of party structures, having as a focus opposition to the financial market, especially speculative capital that operates on a global scale and large corporate finances (GOHN, 2012).

To achieve this, it is necessary to understand what is democracy and social movements. To reach the new social movements it is necessary to comprehend the evolution of groups and societies values indicated by preceding that phase. The social movements. In this sense, The Collective Fora do Eixo concentrates on its joints as general maps can organize and plan their goals, as illustrated below:

The illustration above shows the form of political organization that the Colletctive Fora do Eixo elected, in order to better organize the activities of the network, understanding that making 06 regional reference points better articulate the responsibilities and flow of work and discussions between all Fora do Eixo Points of each region. This event led the youths to the Fora do Eixo Congress II – Highest deliberative body of the network, created in 2009 in Rio Branco (AC), which set up courses used to this days as Carta de Princípios, Regimento Interno and the General Chart of network which comprises: Fora do Eixo Points, Partners Points, subnets, beyond the Thematic Groups that define the Sectorial Fronts, Mediation Fronts and Producers Works Fronts.



Picture: Politics
Illustration Way
Source: Fora do Eixo
Circuit

To Becker (2008) the desviation moves social action, leaving the individual to social groups. He describes in one of his works, *Outsiders – Sociology of Deviance Study* – an empirical study which permeates the stories in music, for example, where analyzes the musician nightclub. The work addresses concepts and definitions of who this deviant individual would be, that follows the “normal” social work seen by society and by themselves. That is, for Becker deviant can either be one that breaks the rule as it may be one that is out of “abnormality”.

Thus, we can observe that juvenile social movements are seen from different points, but connected. Movements as the Fora do Eixo Circuit is notable for working class actions, through popular assemblies where decisions are taken and implementations seeking to strengthen the Circuit. However, as Maria da Glória Gohn presents, these traditional forms are combined with new forms such as the use of new technologies, generating online protests.

Twitter, Facebook, You Tube, LinkedIn, Groupon, Zynga etc. They are triggered primarily via mobile devices such as Blackberries, iPhones etc. The cyberactivism tools are incorporated into the profile of

activism. To know how to communicate online gained the status of main tool to define the collective actions. So, it is necessary to incorporate in the analysis this important change in the relations established and structured these movements (GOHN, 2012).

In view of this sociological scenario, new theories are constructed based on authors who bring with them several theoretical paradigms such as Marxism, libertarian socialism and holistic humanism.

We observe the speech of Ilse Scherer-Warren (2005), who introduces us to a new form based on the paths of political culture and civil society organization demonstrated in the historical formation of the organization, and that goes for the understanding of what it was until nowadays.

After a period of relative immobility of civil society, resulting from power state oppression, began to emerge movements with different characteristics from those of the past and that, according to international nomenclature, have been termed by many “new movements”. Rezende (1985, p. 38) thus refers to this new form organization: “social movements can not be thought, of, only as a mere result of struggle for better living conditions, produced by the need to increase the collective consumption of goods and services. The social movements should also be seen as producers of History, (and they, of course, their agents) such as instituting forces that in addition to questioning the authoritarian State capitalist, question, its practice, itself centralization/bureaucratization so prevalent in political parties” (SCHERER-WARREN, 2005 p. 51).

Among sociological theories we include the neomarxims that accentuates and discusses the subject of the action, and even, Marxism with its traditional thought which explores the social system. Visions like these inspire other theories as humanism with its holistic views. Holism is the heart of sociological thought itself. He considers the whole of the social system as more than individuals who participate. As an example to better understand, the war cannot be understood as a simple sum of impulses and aggressive and warlike behavior of individuals.

3. Democracy And Mobility In The Fora Do Eixo Collective

We can say that these new forms of mobilization are unanimous for those analyzes in contemporary social movements across the New Social Movements and the Brand New Social Movements, as are stocks that are achieving change the discourse and way of working, seeking alternatives without involvement with political parties. But, despite of these social movements are working, does not mean they are working in all geographic and cultural spheres in the outside world. Movements like Occupy and The Indignados, social movements in Europe and the U.S. did not get the same result when they arrived in Latin America.

Studies show that we take into consideration the historical specificities of the region, the various anti-colonial struggles, priorities which that particular nation considers relevant. What is meant is that while it works and be supported successful achievement of positive results in a particular social group, does not mean that the same actions and attitudes will be effective for any company.

Many of these social movements is against violence. They believe in more peaceful tactics that serve to constrain or challenge power as roadblocks, barricades on the roads, demonstrations and concentrations are strategies that put against the wall rulers and make the dough, to some extent, questioning the system.

Movements in Latin America have created slogans and a new language as a way to mobilize society bringing questions and debates in the social parameter.

The author Robert A. Dahl puts democracy in question, in the book “*Sobre a Democracia*”. According to Dahl, there are criteria for the democratic process to happen and so he questions whether democracy actually exists, where it points at least five criteria that he considers part of the process:

1) effective participation: all members should have the same opportunities and everyone should be equally competent to participate in decisions; 2) equal voting: equal and effective opportunities to vote and numbered as equals; 3) clear understanding: also learn alternative policies and their likely consequences; 4) control of the planning program: it would be the exclusive opportunity to decide how and what questions should be asked in the planning; and 5) inclusion of adults: all or most at least should have the right of citizens implied in the first step of these criteria.

The author states that if one of these criteria are violated, means that politically are not equal, leading below what would be democratic. In other words, until the democracy requires rules to hike. Inclusion in the movements is necessary prior specific knowledge about it, putting themselves included in the group.

The Fora do Eixo Circuit is a collective that it is about information and prioritizes “democratize” the statements and positions of the participants in the movement, but set rules institutionalized as a way of organizing thoughts and attitudes. For many “young” deviant social normality imposed by rules and laws of social groups decades ago.

The issue here is simply: when rules are made and enforced? I have noted that the existence of a rule does not guarantee that it will be automatically imposed. There are many variations in the imposition of rules. We can not explain it by invoking some abstract group ever vigilant; it is not possible to say that “society” is undermined every offense and acts to restore balance (BECKER, 2008).

For this it is necessary to examine which features of this collective mobilization and how young people involved come to a single approval. The social networks are tools worked daily, but for them not enough online experience. The dynamics of the experience, including the name experience already reveals that the ultimate goal is to live multiple social experiences, each with distinct trajectories, reaching common denominators.

Presenting a methodological proposal Gohn analyzes social movements under two basic perspectives: internal and external, where both are interlinked and that the internal search presupposes the construction, dynamics and identity of the movement. The external focuses on the external influences.

4. The Role Of Mediators

To analyze the presence and form as “mediators”¹ of social movements do happen, it is important to better understand how to process performances as the Fora do Eixo Circuit, who has gained access to meetings with the president of the Brazilian republic and ministers, for example. That is what the author Scherer-Warren (2005), in the text *Novos movimentos sociais, a construção da democracia e o papel dos mediadores*, addresses.

However, it is important to analyze that in the pursuit of creating a more democratic society, such as the Fora do Eixo Collective, undergo a process of daily creation formatting a new cultural model as drawing claim more precise actions of first instance as health, education and employment. The social networks, creation of new technologies and modes of cultural flow used by the Circuit aims to return to the attention of civil society in social causes of first instance getting it the attention not only of individuals, but mostly the State. But, which roles these mediators assume?

We assume that the New Social Movements want to break with the force that the government machinery has. Although it is common to say that the company has the strength, it is worth noting

¹ The author SCHERER-WARREN uses the term “mediators” referring to intellectual, pastoral ministers, religious, educators, political leaders etc., because according to him they are bearers of formal knowledge and political experience brought of others experiences (outside) to work together to the movement.

that the State has the machine that governs and its possession all resources belonging to society. For it is worth mentioning Scherer-Warren (2005), which asserts a privileged role of the State and society has another mechanism of force, numerical and vital in social production. In other words, both have distinct types of forces, which depend on the type of action which is thus more or less aggressive in the social transformation.

In Brazil, the dictatorial period, with a regime that restricted and constrained the activities of the lower classes in the economic, political and cultural/ideological plans, was the space for former lobbyists from organizing in new ways (p. ex.: New Syndicalism, New neighborhood associations, and new groups emerge as political forces within civil society (p. ex.: Ecclesial Base Communities and pressure groups influenced by them, Feminist Movements, Environmentalists, ethnic and other) (Scherer-Warren, 2005).

These aspects relate to the sociologist thinking Maria da Glória Gohn (1997) dealing with trends and prospects of the ‘new’ social movements in Brazil in the 90s.

The first characteristics of the Brazilian development model in this period as the emphasis on informal sector; the integration of social exclusion; struggles for jobs; changes in labor relations allowed the political legitimacy of the State and its main effect the redefinition of social-political actors (unions and social movements lost their forces and the NGOs gains space) and the public sphere. So, for Gohn, there was a reframing of civil society, while social participation and mediating.

Still thinking on changes in Social Movements to New Social Movements, this reframing treated by Gohn (1997), is observed in Scherer-Warren (2005) as a redefinition of citizenship, where movement like the Fora do Eixo Circuit, deny some kind of political model as a partisan political involvement or affiliation with. So they show new forms of social relations.

In this case, Ivo (2001) believes that, there are changes in the contemporary State, but with changes of roles is in international relations, in the context of classical social development of the State. For him, these changes contain paradoxes at different levels, revealing the complexity of relations that permeate the institutionalization of new political processes and government step in globalization of the economy (op.cit.p12).

Therefore, considering such placements it can be observed that these social and State transformations brought to contemporary cultural actions as public announcements and release of funds from the private sector that enable collective as the Circuit to keep the demands of the existing group. Mediators use technological joints, classroom and social networking to do cultural activities that reach different groups representing Brazilian society.

5. Considerations

Social movements within the context of democracy, mobility, and youth are involved in various social, cultural, political, economic aspects and other.

The Collective is currently negotiating with new businesses, participate in bids, interact with other groups and collectives, implementing cultural activities in order to interact with each other territories reaching beyond Brazil and gaining ground in political atmosphere. By using public announcements of incentives and funding to culture, raise the flag and the role of “*hacking*” the system (hacking, use of something open and share their benefits), through cultural activities that involve volunteer work of many people, some critics of Fora do Eixo Circuit place it on a par with the old explorers of collective symbolic production.

Based on this analogy, it is pertinent to understand the correlation of the Fora do Eixo Collective with the capitalists, cultural, educational, and empirical social currents. And is relying on gaps

produced by these lines, that the Circuit builds a cultural network worked in digital media (including new media and technologies), which reacts against the system from the inside out where they themselves are part of the system.

Although they are quite reprehended, forms used by the Fora do Eixo Circuit, where critics argue that the movement is not an instructor in business culture, we can not deny the broad and vast originality that the project offers to create models of mobilization and democratization and culturally different portrays the diversity of our society. We also emphasize that although this process of the Fora do Eixo Circuit relation, political and market be seen as a “negotiating culture” we consider that part is responsibility of social mobility that aims to achieve a structural change. Therefore, we can put it briefly that the Fora do Eixo Circuit is the network itself that unites the cultural producer, the artist, the audience, and the system.

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Abstract: This paper presents a case study on the Ponto Cultura Mais Circo (lit. “Culture Plus Circus Center”) of the Programa Cultura Viva (Live Culture Program), located in Feira de Santana city, Bahia - Brazil. Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus Center) was created by Companhia CUCA (Culture and Arts University Center), in 1998, and it has worked with young people attending public schools, and who are in a situation of cultural vulnerability, through workshops in circus techniques, theater and music. The main aim of this paper is to demonstrate how an action made possible through the implementation of a public policy, allows people, who were previously neglected by the State, in direct contact with cultural and artistic activities, to promote a transformation in the way they see themselves and in the relationship with their own socio-cultural context. In order to arrive at such an understanding, we made regular visits to monitor the artistic workshops and interviews with the people involved (young people, educators and coordinators). In the end, we achieved a satisfactory result, showing the positivity of a policy’s design and implementation, a public policy as a matter of fact, which includes people according to their diversity, appreciates different types of knowledge and promotes a learning and cultural inclusion environment.

Keywords: Culture Plus Circus Center; Live Culture; Public Policy.

1. Cultural Policies and Programa Cultura Viva (Live Culture Program)

Brazil experienced a long period of Portuguese colonization, 322 years in total, because although the Portuguese Royal Court (Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves) was transferred from Portugal to Brazil, with the opening of its ports in 1808, the term ‘colony’ can be used until its independence in 1822. During that time, there was a process of imposing a Portuguese and elitist culture, therefore disdaining the black and indigenous one, and alienating the population from their right of living their own culture, a fact that continued until the Old Republic (1889-1930) and so, according to Rubim (2007):

One cannot think about the unveiling of the national culture policies in the Second Empire, let alone in colonial Brazil or even in the so-called Old Republic (1889-1930). Those requirements prevent its birth from being placed in colonial times, always identified by the Portuguese monarchy’s obscurantism which denied the Indigenous and African cultures and blocked the Western one, given that the

Ponto Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus Center): An example of culture decolonization¹

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colony had always been closely controlled (p.13).

Therefore, it is only possible to think about “culture decolonization” for first time with the Revolution of 1930, when Getúlio Vargas¹ takes over and becomes President of Brazil, and tries to create a new perspective for Brazilian people, looking to build a national identity and with Mario de Andrade² working at São Paulo’s City Hall Culture Department during Varga’s term. By mentioning the term “public culture policy”, he was responsible for the fact that, according to Anita Simis (2007), “a culture policy in a public sense was formulated, and not only focused on the elites, the national agrarian oligarchic elite. Culture became a right of all citizens” (p.144). The innovation of Mário de Andrade’s proposals is related to the various aspects mentioned below by Albino Rubim (2007) when he organizes some of the goals of this first combined thinking effort of a culture policy:

1. Establish a systematic state intervention covering different culture areas;
2. Think about culture as something “as vital as bread”;
3. Put forward a broad definition of culture that goes beyond fine arts, without disregarding them, and that includes, among others, the popular cultures;
4. Take cultural heritage not only as tangible material and owned by the elites, but also as something immaterial, intangible and relevant to the different social strata;
5. Support two ethnographic missions to the Amazon and northeastern regions to research their residents, who are far from the dynamic area of the country and its administrative jurisdiction, but who possess significant cultural collections ways of life and production, social values, stories, religious beliefs, legends, myths, narratives, literature, music, dance, etc.) (RUBIM, 2007, p. 15).

And even though this period was short and primitive, this break from the past was extremely important for resuming the discussion during the following decades, and according to Anita Simis (2007), “(...) the signs will show up again later.” To that end, the year of 2003, with the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva for President and Gilberto Gil for Minister of Culture, can be considered a moment of renewal (with the reconceptualization and adaptation to contemporary issues) of that inspiration in Mario de Andrade’s modernist vision. The then Minister’s inauguration speech confirms that vision:

[...] The actions of the Ministry of Culture should be understood as exercises in applied anthropology. The Ministry should be like a light that reveals, in the past and in the present, the things and the signs that made and make Brazil, Brazil. Therefore, the culture mark, the culture focus, will be placed on all the aspects that reveal and express it, so we can connect what unites them. [...] the State must not fail to act. It should not choose omission. It should not wash its hands of the responsibility for the formulation and implementation of public policies, betting all its chips in fiscal mechanisms and thus throwing the culture policy away, throwing it at the flavors and whims of the god-market (GIL, 2003).

Only in Gil’s term did we start having a culture policy whose project was based on diversity and inequality, dispelling the project exclusively focused on ensuring a homogeneous national identity (which was the focus of the culture policies of the Vargas Era and of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship period). The diversity issue has been considered key to developing a different culture policy. It is no coincidence that the minister mentioned the necessary transformations of a culture policy into a public culture policy.

The Ministry of Culture was faced with the need to assist the groups excluded from the scope of

¹ After a coup d’état, during which he took over power, Getúlio Vargas began what would eventually be called the Vargas Era, which lasted from 1930 to 1945, having returned to office by winning the popular vote and being the president from 1951 to 1954.

² Mario de Andrade is an important Brazilian writer. He was one of the leaders of the Brazilian modernist movement and he was crucial for the Modern Art Week in 1922. He taught at the University of the Federal District (Portuguese: Universidade do Distrito Federal) (Rio de Janeiro) and held several public positions related to culture, which highlighted his national folklore researcher side.

the network actions from colonial times to the Ministry of Culture's present day and to make them feel part of the world that both culture and art offer to all of those who are favored and assisted. This motivated the creation of the National Program of Culture, Education and Citizenship – *Cultura Viva* (Live Culture) in June 6th, 2004, by Ministerial Ordinance No. 156, one of the most important public culture policies in Gilberto Gil's term. In Celio Turino's understanding, program coordinator at the time, *Cultura Viva* (Live Culture) approaches those he calls "the Stateless", that is, thousands of Brazilians who do not have access to the basic rights of citizenship, not even the right to culture. (*quoted*, BARBALHO, 2007)

The main purpose of *Cultura Viva* (Live Culture) is to promote access to means of cultural enjoyment, production and dissemination, within a practice of social cooperation. The program includes five actions, among them *Pontos de Cultura* (Culture Centers) which is the object of study of this paper.

The *Ponto de Cultura* (Culture Center) does not have a unique and fixed pattern of occurrence, not regarding its physical facilities, nor program and activity-wise, which means it can be installed in a small house, in a shed, in a large cultural center - it is only necessary that the institutions, the groups, those ultimately interested in becoming a *Ponto* (Center), present themselves and offer their support. The *Ponto* then triggers an organic process, adding new agents and partners and identifying new sources of support such as schools, church halls, associations, and others. (REVISTA RIO DE JANEIRO, 2005).

In order to become a *Ponto de Cultura* (Culture Center), one must participate in a public tender. Once accepted, the applicant organization signs an agreement with the Ministry of Culture (MinC) or the State Bureau of Cultural Affairs (in States which have already taken over the management of the program). After these steps, the *Ponto* (Center) receives up to 185 thousand R\$ (around 60 thousand €), in semiannual tranches, to invest within two and a half years, in accordance with the host institution's own project. In the original proposal of *Cultura Viva* (Live Culture) it had been established that up to 50 grants, worth 150 R\$ each (around 50 €), from the Programa Primeiro Emprego (First Job Program) of the Ministry of Labor and Employment would be handed out to young people aged 14-25, and that each grant would last for six months. Once this period was over, another student would be selected. This young person would get this money in order to develop the *Ponto's* project and attend courses that would enable him to generate his own source of income, through culture. However, this measure was not implemented completely, since most institutions that became *Pontos de Cultura* (Culture Centers) offer no support to young people. *Ponto Cultura Mais Circo* (Culture Plus Circus Center), where there are no recourses allocated for such a measure to be implemented, is example of this.

Because the Programa *Cultura Viva* (Live Culture Program) is a national policy and due to decentralization, it is currently implemented all over Brazil. The state of Bahia was a major figure in the implementation process, given that it was the program's first experience of state control, collaborating with the Ministry of Culture in developing *Pontos de Cultura* (Culture Centers) Tenders, carried through in partnership with Brazilian states. It is important to note that, in those states where the policy of the program's decentralization was implemented, the selection tenders became the responsibility of the local Bureau of Cultural Affairs and the agreement is to be signed with the State Government and no longer with the Federal Government.

According to data from the catalog of *Pontos de Cultura* (Culture Centers) of Bahia, in Tender No. 001/2008 issued by SECULT (State Bureau of Cultural Affairs)/Bahia, 150 institutions received support; 149 of which have signed collaboration agreements. The financial aid budget for these institutions is 60 thousand R\$ (around 20 thousand €) per year, over a 3 year period. Thus, by the

end of the agreement the total investment amount will be 27 million R\$ (around 9 million €), 18 million (around 6 million €) from the Ministry of Culture and 9 million (around 3 million €) from the State Bureau of Cultural Affairs.

Among the 149 institutions receiving support in Bahia, there's a project in the city of Feira de Santana³ named Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus), proposed and carried out by the Cooperativa de Teatro para a Infância e Juventude da Bahia (Theater for Children and Young People of Bahia Association), aimed at offering workshops on circus techniques (acrobatics, contortion and balance), drama (focused on clown techniques and theater games) and music (giving students basic musical perception) to children and teenagers in public schools and from neighborhoods in situations of social vulnerability. All workshops are based on concepts that ensure respect towards others, the community, the environment and social values that keep young people away from drugs and violence, according to data from the catalog of Pontos de Cultura (Culture Centers) of Bahia.

The Theater for Children and Young People of Bahia Association, created in 2006, comes from the CUCA Theater Company (Culture and Arts University Center), which began in 1998 and was based in the Center of Culture Amélio Amorim, in Feira de Santana. It was initially formed by three independent artists: Elizete Destéffani [the current general coordinator of the Ponto de Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus Center)], Geovane Mascarenhas and Jacy Queiroz, and later by other members, like José Henrique Rodrigues who is the company's administrator since 2002 and the legal representative of Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus) project.

1.1. Ponto Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus Center)

The Ponto Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus Center) began in 2009 and the idea for it came from the willingness and need for the Company to expand its range of activities, establishing the circus and the whole environment surrounding it. When it started, the goal was to have 100 annual positions available for children and teenagers, aged 12-15, attending public schools and from neighborhoods in situations of social vulnerability, so they could participate in workshops on circus techniques (acrobatics, contortion and balance), drama, music and information technology (digital inclusion). The Ponto (Center) has already offered workshops for over 200 young people and it has not even been a year, so, once the process is over, more than 300 young people will have attended these workshops.

Nowadays, the Ponto (Center) is developing a project called Viver-Arte do Circo (Living - Circus Arts), which aims at spreading and keeping alive the circus arts as an educational dialogue tool in the education process of students attending public schools in the neighborhood and outskirts of the city of Feira de Santana. This project is comprised of workshops conducted by some students of the Ponto (Center), known as Jovens Aprendizizes do Ponto (The Ponto's Young Apprentices), who were chosen through an assessment of their behavior, their determination and responsibility skills, not to mention what each and every one learned on their own, taking into account their ability for elaborating, executing and performing circus acts as well, according to some data collected through interviews.

2. Art, Culture and personal transformation

In order to understand what changes were brought by this public culture policy, which aims to bring young people into direct contact with cultural activities, thus breaking with a history of

³ A city in the State of Bahia, located 108 km from the capital, Salvador. It is the second most populous city in the state, with over 600 thousand people.

exclusion, where policies were designed by and for Brazilian elites only, we first gathered prior knowledge through information acquired from the Ponto's and CUCA Theatre Company's websites; on institutional brochures and on the catalog of Pontos de Cultura (Culture Centers) of the Ministry of Culture/State Bureau of Cultural Affairs, so we could then make official contact. After this, we made regular visits in order to understand the daily routine activities, how they worked and how often they were carried out, therefore being able to then think about a way to help develop our project. We decided to conduct semi-structured interviews as we were looking for more qualitative data. During the field research process several people were interviewed, such as the Ponto's coordinator (crucial for understanding the development of the Cooperative as a Center), its teachers, a volunteer and some beneficiaries of the activities. The first interviewee was the coordinator, Elizete Destéffani, with whom we talked to during the Ponto's normal school hours, in a room reserved for the event. All answers were recorded with a hand-held recorder. Following her interview, we talked to both the teachers and the volunteer, having interviewed 3 out of the Ponto's 4 teachers in different occasions, given their different schedules at the Ponto, and we took notes and recorded audio. In the volunteer's case, we also emailed her some questions, besides going through the same process as with everybody else. All interviews were properly recorded and transcribed.

The stage concerning young people went a little differently than with the others, as we believed it would be more interesting to ask them some questions when they were all together - which actually created a kind of detailed conversation about their opinions on the questions asked. This took place on one of the activities' days, before classes started. Once we got to the Center, we invited the students to take part in a conversation and we immediately explained to them what the purpose of this research was and what motivated us to do it, so they would know why they were answering those questions.

After analysis of the data, we found that, the teachers and professionals directly involved with the beneficiaries, were pleased to see their physical growth, which is natural and obvious as time goes by, given the activities are developed, and especially pleased with their personal growth - their personal growth as human beings, aware of the transformative role the social project can have in people's lives, and disseminating, themselves, the knowledge they acquired with it. These professionals have stated that, at the beginning of the project, the students had no interest in sharing what they had learned with future students, they only wanted to keep that acquired knowledge to themselves. However, with all the work done directly with the community over time, the students started understanding how important disseminating this acquired knowledge actually is - more people can have their lives changed and it's better for everyone, as one of the interviewed teachers stated:

I'm also the result of social work, and I learned everything I know from that. So, I'm very pleased to be able to see their growth and to see them become more mature. I'm very happy with the path they're taking. And it's cool to see these kids' artistic, personal and social potential. Many of them were shy when they first got here, not really wanting to associate with their colleagues, while others were very jumpy, restless and lacking concentration, but over time we gained their trust and we were able to be a little more part of their world, thus creating bonds of friendship and great respect. And today we see the importance they give to passing on the knowledge they acquired- in the beginning we noticed they kept it all to themselves, but that has changed and they understand that the more people know, the better it is for everyone.

It is very rewarding for teachers to be able to help show their artistic potential, boosting their self-esteem, since many of these students had no self-confidence and they had problems focusing when they first arrived, now feeling able to achieve everything they want. The overall power that this social project has is fantastic, according to the teachers, because it can show them that, although society may not believe in their abilities, they can have control over their own lives, contributing directly to

an improvement in their social and emotional conditions - and this is truly the greatest fuel for this determination on the project.

During the regular visits to the Ponto (Center), observing the development of the activities, the daily routines of all participants and subsequently analyzing the data obtained from the interviews, we realized that the beneficiaries felt pretty comfortable with the project; among all the workshops conducted, the circus workshops were the most mentioned ones, relating to questions about satisfaction.

The motivation to participate comes from the willingness, from a young age, to do things related to art, and they saw that opportunity at the Ponto. Nowadays, they show that their goal is professionalization, acquiring the experience, the theory and the practice needed to pass on that knowledge. They explain the importance of spreading the knowledge of circus, drama, and music practices, getting to more people, given that they are aware of the lack of good workshops in those areas, in Feira de Santana. And the greatest impasse for them to continue pursuing that goal is their difficult financial situation, along with the pressure coming from parents for them to work, given the situation of cultural vulnerability they live in.

When asked about the changes they felt in themselves, they mention physical aspects, such as the body strength they acquired, but mainly describe the process of personal growth they went through, as one of the interviewees states:

I changed a lot physically. When I first got here, to the Ponto, I was pretty chubby, I wasn't confident enough to do anything, and throughout the experience I was losing weight and getting stronger. And with that strength, I gradually grew up, because I was discovering new things and learning how to work together with others in a group and getting to know myself as an artist.

And according to these students, this personal growth process is highly due the problems found in learning how to behave in a group; understanding each other's limits and taking that into consideration in every activity to be done instead of disdaining them because of a certain limitation. And that made them grow up and develop some critical thinking, knowing how to stand up for what they believe in, when the situation presents itself.



Figure 1. Source: Ponto Cultura Mais Circo (Circus Plus Culture Center), 2009.

And given all of that, looking back now, the students realize how important the Ponto is in everyone's life, as an interviewee explains:

To me, the Center is like a “second home”, where my dreams are coming true. This project is a priority in my life today. I always feel like being here. I know an artist's life isn't easy, I give up a lot of things every day to be here, because I believe in this project and in the artist I'm turning into.

It was throughout their experiences at the Center that they “opened their eyes” and changed their worldview for the better. This applies to them understanding, for example, the role the social project can play in people's lives, creating more opportunities and revealing potential - specifically in Cultura Mais Circo's case, which besides offering the circus, drama and music classes, also included information technology classes, therefore helping the students understand what popular culture is. The change in worldview they experienced also applies to when their role is put into context in the cultural universe around them, valuing their native roots. For instance, in the long research process for the show “O encontro de Maria Quitéria com Lucas da Feira” (Maria Quitéria's meeting with Lucas da Feira), performed in 2011, when they had some direct contact with these historical figures' stories and influences, who are major representatives of Feira de Santana's popular culture. So, according to the students, the Center is always guiding them towards appreciating culture, and, despite encountering some challenges, they do recommend that those willing to participate visit the Center, given that this project was a big boost of encouragement in their lives, enabling them to go beyond their physical and mental limits through concentration, dedication and willingness to learn.

Final Thoughts

With this project, we realized that the Ponto Cultura Mais Circo (Culture Plus Circus Center), our object of research, proved to be very efficient, given the undeniable changes the activities have been developing in their beneficiaries' lives, making them more mature, more self-confident, and making them have critical thinking, besides the artistic and cultural improvement. The kind of transformation art can have on people is the most remarkable one, because, through activities and mechanisms, it can set all the different and distant contexts in their realities, making people understand and respect everybody's differences, stimulating the appropriation of history and artistic creativity and cultural expression. Therefore, this public policy plays its part, as a “smoothing agent” between the population in a situation of social vulnerability and every citizen's right to culture.

Finally, we must consider how important designing and carrying out programs, like Cultura Viva's (Live Culture), is in Brazil, given that it helps the decolonization process of people's perception and sensitivity, since it allows people previously neglected by the State to have the opportunity to experience art and culture and cultural enjoyment - which is what we believe are the key factors for people's physical, personal and professional growth and for the development of the socio-cultural contexts they live in.

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Abstract: The reflection built on this article aims at questioning the justifications from the following questions: Is there a culture of youth from different social classes? The prevailing culture is re-signified by the young in their daily lives or a young person finds a culture and makes it a representation of their attitudes? The theme of young people forms large foci of debate and several factors may legitimize the existence of a youth culture or justify its negation. The development of this reflection finds its theoretical foundations by focusing on contextualized cuttings of this society. An intriguing question is triggered in attempting to point central foci showing by means of a renewed view the proposal that presents as the object of study the figure of the youngsters. Being able to capture actions of everyday action, in a process of transformation and involvement, could mean the beginning of a new dialogue about a new youth culture.

Keywords: Youth; Youth Culture; Everyday

Introduction

There have been several approaches that focus on the topic of youth dialoguing directly with issues related to social and cultural movements . The debate on ‘youth ‘ becomes central to the extent that the many concepts that intersect at key points , such as crime and the challenge set looks and even acts of public authorities .

Permeated with generic definitions , and problems associated with expectations , the category tends to be constantly substantival, adjectival, without which seeks self - perception and identity formation of those who are defined as “ young “ . There is much to be explored in this investigative field to reach out to many youths without, however , we fall into a dual perspective (rural urban young young X , X poor young rich man , among other constructs).

The effort of this work aims to contribute to the discussion of various forms of construction of youth cultures , seeking to understand them in its multiple meanings , which resulted in some questions that justify the following questions : Is there a culture of youth from different social classes ? The prevailing culture is re-signified by the young in their daily lives or young person finds a culture and makes his representation in their attitudes?

The development of analysis is maintained in the explanatory theoretical foundations linking youth and culture, whereas both central foci are susceptible of different discussions and historically constructed . Initially , we present a theoretical approach covering some chains that focus on youth and their youthful condition. According to the view of some experts , the concept of youth comes unglued an effective understanding of the difficulties and

Reflections on youth cultures: towards an understanding of youth culture in contemporary society

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deficiencies involving the young person's life in its broadest sense.

Initially we proceeded to construct a theoretical approach covering some chains that focus on the young man and his juvenile condition . According to the view of some experts , the concept of youth comes unglued an effective understanding of the difficulties and deficiencies involving the young person's life in its broadest sense.

Then , a relevant analysis was focused on the three main theoretical perspectives of sociology that involves the concept of youth and their varied conditions of being young . The analysis of the paradox for understanding the term culture was necessary in an attempt to make an intersection of several concepts and existing conditions with various youth terminologies .

And finally , we sought to articulate the thinking of theorists covered in other emerging cultural universes that can be highlighted. It is noteworthy that the theorists who come talk to young culture relationship are many and vary within various historical contexts . In this case , we will try to articulate only some of the authors who excel in specific clipping questioning the existence of a separate youth culture and its importance as such .

CONDITION YOUTH AND YOUTH : theoretical trajectories

In an attempt to elucidate the major issues involving the various concepts attributed to youth, we are facing a huge range of contributions , with different approaches . After several attempts , coming from philosophical roots , to seek a concept for the youth category , found in the Roman period , theoretical approaches Lucretius , Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian , who argue the influence of the figure of the Greco - Roman goddess “ Juventa “ characterized society as a myth , created to explain the changes that have occurred over the centuries . Whereas “ Juventa “ as a creation of society , some theoretical risk in saying that youth is but a socio- cultural invention .

During the Middle Ages (XIII / XV centuries) , with contributions from Espinoza , proposals revolved around theological factors . And only by the eighteenth century with Rousseau , began to envision a social categorization composed by young people . However , the current company was not prepared to accept this category of youth , and , therefore, questioned the existence of these subjects integrated into society . The young, in turn , sought to achieve very quickly adulthood and therefore had on their attitudes and behavior a reflection of the attitudes of adults , being ashamed of their own youth.

Only in the twentieth century, the juvenile phase acquires new force and take proportions that underlie difficulties in clarifying their concepts of identity. In this context , many were the thinkers who contributed their analyzes , among them Stanley Hall (1904) ; Erick Erickson (1902), José M. Pais (1993); Eric Hobsbawm (1995); Levi & Schmitt (1996); Mellucci Albert (1997) , Luis A. Groppo (2000); Helena Abramo (2005) , among others.

Given this overview , the call for a new look that we drive on youth believing in and valuing their diversity arises . As Pais (1996, p. 36), “puts it there is indeed a unique concept of youth that can cover different semantic fields that appear associated with it . The different youths and different ways to look at these correspond youths , as necessarily different theories”.

To Maffesoli (2000) , about young people is to consider forming heterogeneous groups , which were termed “ micro - tribes “ , understanding that are of common features such as: feeling, ethical behavior and communication patterns . The choice and suitability of a particular tribe coincides with specific integration of belonging to a group that induces exclusivity, causing the formation of an identity matrix with its visible and recognizable features . In the “ tribes “ , the young anchor on the safety of the group, as well as adopt for themselves the duties , codes of honor and obligations determined by the tribe.

Ariès (1981), returning to medieval society shows that in this context, no distinction was made between the world of childhood and the adult world and, even less, a separation between the social universe, broadly speaking, and familiar universe. According to Ariès, the individual is socially developed without major highlights for the different stages of transition. Thus, the child “(...) had acquired some physical clearance was soon mixed with adults and shared their work and games. Small babe, she immediately turned young man, without going through the steps of youth “(p.10). Only in the twentieth century, as Aries, is that arises distinguishable social classification of adolescence, justified by the modern concept of childhood that arises in European societies of the seventeenth century.

The author also draws attention to an important differentiating factor inserted in the youth context: gender. Until the seventeenth century, only the young men enjoyed the privilege of a good education and were pressured to show themselves holders of shares that reflect a clear, straight and aware of current values training. The girls were reserved for the exclusive privilege of training focused on preparing to be “good mothers” and “Good Wives”, thus making them, “adult” early.

The analysis by Groppo (2000, p.8) become relevant considering that “(...) Youth is a design, or symbolic representation of creation, made by social groups or by individuals themselves as young taken to mean a series of behaviors and attitudes attributed to it.”

According to this author, sociology underscores a curious difficulty “set” the object that she herself helped create, and thereby raises the controversy on two criteria for youth who actually do not find a point of cohesion: “the criterion age and socio-cultural criteria” (GROPPO 2000, p.9). Its intention is based on demonstrating the “crucial importance of understanding the different characteristics of modern societies, their functioning and their transformations” (op. cit., 2000, p.12), setting the youth as a social category.

Increasingly perceive an increasing openness with regard to juvenile condition, especially in the twentieth century, involves other social sectors, encountering a myriad of meanings, behavior and age references.

In the history of Young, Levi & Schmitt (1996) consider youth as the other times of life, defining it as a transitory and temporary condition that carries symbolic meanings of potentiality and fragility of cultural construction. We highlight the concerns between sexual maturity and immaturity, and lack of purchasing power and authority.

Returning to the so called, “crazy 20s”, the philosopher Ortega y Gasset (1987) refers to the “triumph of youth,” seeking a defining characterization of these protagonists. According to the author, “the current young live your youth today with such determination and security, which seems to exist in it. Absolutely not concerned with what it thinks maturity, but still: this has his eyes an almost ridiculous amount” (p.245).

Reflecting finally within a perspective found in contemporary Melluci (1997) legitimators leading to the reflection points for a nominal setting. Thus, the author states that “(...) adolescence seems to extend above definitions in terms of age and begins to coincide with the suspension of a permanent commitment, with a kind of nomadic approach in relation to time, space and culture” (MELLUCI, 1997, p. 9).

People “remain” young people in a range of increasingly long time, not caring more about the age at which they fall, but valuing only the desire and pleasure of experiencing certain existing features exclusively on the juvenile period (MELLUCCI, 1997). Excessive cultural diversity that today we have the possibility to move promotes an expansion of the imaginary boundary that each of us is capable of exercising. Physical and biological factors, which hitherto determined accurately the beginning and end of the cycle juvenile, shall be incorporated into the individual imagination.

THE CURRENT THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY

This discussion aims to aid in direct dialogue with the sociologist José Machado Pais, which addresses the various conditions of juveniles theoretically grouped according to the three main sociological theories : a generational, a classist and youth culture. It is noteworthy that we will go through each of these currents without a thorough analysis , seeking an understanding of each of them and the relationship that permeates the three concepts without , however, dwelling on in -depth analysis of each.

Reflecting the author , we take as starting point the current generation . This sees youth as a phase of life , and therefore , a unitary aspect . Within this chain, the main discussion is the issue of continuity / discontinuity of intergenerational values . Pais (1996, p. 40), states that

there is talk of breaks , intergenerational conflicts or crises when the discontinuities between generations translates into a clear tension or confrontation. Because they are in a state of availability, learning and social life of some ideological permeability, young people would live these processes in a very own way , forming between them a generational consciousness.

Interacting with other theorists of the same chain, Parents (1996) shows that they are unanimous in believing that the young lives and experiences of the situations and problems as members of the same generation . The experiences that are shared between them show up like, and by being of the same generation , similes face problems .

About the relationship between young people and adults , we present two references that fall into generational theoretical current : the relationship of a type free of problem, and another type presenting problem . The first will feature a non-confrontational relationship, so it is feasible living together in harmony between two generations : young people and adults . However , the problematic type will highlight the threatening character that young people can perform for adults . These are shown angry when faced with a “ youth culture “ (often presented as counterculture), which comes against “ adult culture “ .

In this sense, Bourdieu (1983) leads to the reflection that when we look at young people with the evaluative behaviors of “ adult culture “ are evidenced the existence of a “ universe of adolescence” (p.114). Thus, the author characterizes this universe with the framework of a “ provisional irresponsibility “ (op. cit . , P. 114), where subjects biologically categorized as young , can be considered as adults in some situations , but in others situations , are “ dropped “ child category are considered children. For Bourdieu (1983 , P. 114) , young people are “ (...) half- child , half -adult , neither child nor adult.”

However , trying to individuate the main social issue of youth in contemporary society , we are faced with the fact that the financial independence of young people which coincides with the entry into the world of work delayed . This same society justifies such a fact to the requirement that youth need better technical preparation to be well qualified in today’s job market. This consequently results in a prolonged period of study and , therefore, for some, means postponing entry into the labor market .

However, Bock (2004) raises a new reflection that comes camouflage the true and controversial social issue , ie, inserted in the youth labor market is considered a threat to financial stability gained by the adult . The adults , in turn , becomes vulnerable when the chances of being substituted in his employment duties for a professional lower chronological age are evident and significant , thus causing a disharmony between the generations .

As the generational chain, issues relating to youth are polarized and run two different positions . The first will focus signals continuity in which the young generation living , internalizes and acquires

values , beliefs and norms of the adult generation , ensuring a continuous flow of generations . Moreover, the fractionation generates a discontinuity between the cultures with respect to the transmission of behaviors and attitudes of the adult generation to the new generation.

Another chain with which we exchanged , refers to class-current. According to Parents (1996), young people are grouped as social classes produced politically. The distinctions that can be observed in this chain are analyzed as differences interclass more than differences occurring inside each classes (p. 49).

And, concluding this analysis , we will make a brief reflection on youth culture , without pretending to exhaust the discussion itself and its main arguments . As stated by Country (1996) , “ the value system of socially attributed to youth (taken as a whole that a stage of life) , that is, the values that will join young people from different backgrounds and social conditions “ (p. 54) , comes as definition of youth culture , in contrast with the current intergenerational culture and classist current.

Everyday life presents itself as a “ barn “ where young people build their own base of understanding and social understanding. Still , according to the author , the current suffering and social interactions among themselves noting that young people share the many ways to communicate , as well as the various values that advocate . These are legitimated by the permanent coexistence within the group itself and the move to make young people in socially different contexts .

YOUTH CULTURE

Regardless stage where every nation is one of the main goals to be achieved is the preparation of the young for a role with responsibility and ethical adulthood . This objective constitutes an obligation of all nations , be they developed or under development , large or small .

There are several factors that can legitimize the existence of a youth culture or justify not truthfulness . An intriguing question has been brought forward to this reflection in an attempt to point centralizers foci that show with a renewed proposal to have as its object of study the young look.

The culture of the young or the young culture ? The development of this reflection finds its main theoretical foundations centralized in specific and contextualized clippings in a given society . According to Gottlieb and Reeves (1968) “ in a society like ours , the problem swells and takes on a variety of considerable dimensions “ (op. cit . , P.54) . Accordingly, point out some aspects that are responsible for the introduction and development of the youth culture in our society , namely:

1) industrialized society with a complex division of labor , 2) the possibility offered to young people to achieve a higher professional position than that which his father managed to achieve ; 3) a system of public schools open to all young people , but linked to have mandatory frequency , independent of the consideration that it may be useful to society , and , finally , 4) the free choice of his profession , allowing the teenager to the (un) requirement to overcome the lack of society . (GOTTLIEB and REEVES , 1968 , p 54.)

Agreeing with the analysis made by Gottlieb and Reeves (1968) , which addresses the complex social reality experienced by young people before the industrial revolution we see the responsibility of the family of this young man in preparation for adulthood . The family , representing a secular institution , constituted a primary source of socialization of the child which was interrupted by the urgency of the knowledge of the machinery of production that brought the requirement for an increasing number of skilled workers .

The need for professional learning , with the centralization of specific equipment housed in educational training centers , led the youth to break away from the traditional succession of father's

professional skills , acquired in the family environment . Important attitudes indicate that the home is becoming a place for young people in transition, as this is being offset by greater time into an educational institution in the expectation of achieving the demand for specialists required by society. Young people drive to their homes only to sleep , dine and change clothes .

Moreover, the school begins to develop several other functions beyond the transmission of knowledge , such as : providing entertainment through sports, dances and plays , acting as a center of information about fashion , music , clothing and accessories for cars , thus underscoring the consumer market. As the social system of the school , the young man goes to live longer than your day with other kids his age and therefore isolated from whole context of society . The formation of homogeneous groups gives the young man a closer personal relations with his group , thus acquiring characteristics of a “ small private company “ . Thus , arises in this society its own subculture with its rituals, symbols, fashions, vernaculars and individual values .

There are several social scientists who structure their hypotheses characterizing the period experienced by the young as agitation and tension, thus believing in a “ youth culture” .

In Coleman (1961) , realized by the results presented in their studies , young people , along with other young people , appropriate in different values of those who submitted them out by adult society, thus constituting another small company with its own culture , keeping only some communication links with the external society. Coleman supports the idea of the existence of a youth culture .

In contrast to this proposal , we dialogue with Elkin and Westley (1955) who stand with ideas contrary to various theorists who seek a thorough study featuring youth culture . According to these authors , the possible differences that reveal themselves among youth and adults are of minor importance and therefore is not so relevant for the legitimacy of a youth culture factor, but is presented with a “ mythical character “ .

Finalizing the report and agreement presented in this study , we dialogue with Albert Cohen (quoted Gottlieb and Reeves , 1968) that asks: “What do we mean by a subculture “ (op. cit , p 67 . . .) In this context the author is a reflection of that, for verifying the existence of juvenile social systems , does not mean admitting the existence of a distinct youth culture . The differences will be highlighted at the time an adult , for example , on the particular behavior of young people admit differentiated value of their own behavior . The author calls us to reflect that “ much of what is construed as a “ youth culture “ distinct part of the common culture , and is not” sub-cultural “ . It seems to me there are distinct subcultures teenagers “ (op. cit . , P . 68-69) .

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The theme of young people has been established in a broad focus of debates, especially because of the methodology of research that do not usually take into account the diversity of contexts and realities, in which young people belong.

While youth traditionally fixed during the transition to adulthood is perceived that is , young people , those most affected by any transformation and change in social structures. In fact , it is through them that circulate modes of clothing, music , languages , haircuts , predominant colors , among others . According to Pais, “ (...) the problems that are attributed to youth may be more problems of” society “than the very “ youth “ (p.6) . This reflection leads us to factors already mentioned , the diversity of activities , objectives and evaluation criteria , which may be present in the same culture .

This implies that the term youth still has many definitions , and in general the meaning is in a socio- cultural dimension . As Grinspun (2005) , “ (...) the point of view of modern science, youth, or youths , as a step of the human condition , has the function “ societal “ maturation of the individual.

(...) The complexity of the word is not in itself but in the interpretations that contains (...) “ (p. 9-10) .

Although this study is focused on the analysis and acceptance of the existence of a youth culture as a truth you can not define specifics of how and where it differs from the general culture . As concluded Gottlieb and Reeves (1968 , p . 59) , that “ The question of the existence or nonexistence of an adolescent subculture should not depend on the degree or types of differences found among adolescents and adults . The differences may be sufficient, but in no way necessary to establish the importance of a specific phenomenon. “

To undertake the process of interaction that regulates these points analyzed , it was necessary dialogue with Bourdieu (1983) , emphasizing the concept of *habitus* and how this is understood as a system of durable and transposable provisions , integrating all past experience , runs every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions .

In this context, it was possible to grasp the concept of *habitus* pervades the relationship of individual and society in an attempt to set up the relevant considerations that the contemporary world requires this . This is an ongoing and dynamic process of socialization as having the search for interaction between opposing realities of the objective world and the subjective world of each individual relationship. An individual who is immersed in a pluralistic process stimuli without homogenous references, and frequently also not consistent .

Immersed in this cyclic process can consider the possibility of a new culture , a new cultural “matrix “ . We can also consider the emergence of a new social agent embedded actions that meet the modern vernaculars pressures and consistent behaviors . Anyway , being able to grasp the act everyday actions in the process of transformation and “ roundness “ can mean the beginning of a new dialogue . In this sense , we have to think, it is the culture of the young or the young culture ?

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Abstract: The public management of culture has been fostering discussions about the creation of new models and new approaches, especially in the case of Brazil. The participation of these groups allowed the creation of other models of cultural circuits and has impacted the way of circulating the produced culture. The goal of this article is to discuss specificities in the Cultura Viva Program, a governmental initiative that *gestão pública de cultura tem despertado a discussão sobre a elaboração de novos modelos e novas abordagens, especialmente no caso brasileiro. A participação de grupos da sociedade civil proporcionou a criação de outros modelos de circuitos culturais e tem problematizado a forma de circulação dos produtos culturais desenvolvidos. O Objetivo deste artigo é discutir as especificidades do Programa Cultura Viva, uma ação governamental que tem ganhado grande visibilidade em toda a América Latina.*

Keywords: Cultura Viva Program; cultural circuits; State-Society relations.

The Culture Station is a public policy initiative from the Brazilian Office of Cultural Affairs that received great visibility in the country and inspired similar initiatives in Latin America. It is inserted in the democratic policies and aims to increase the engaging possibilities for the citizens in the creation, promotion and reception of their native cultural practices (and other external ones). We can consider one of its bases in the encouragement of a mode of investment that aims to include other subjects and create new cultural paths away from the large metropolii, in an approach that aspires the access to culture as an exercise of citizenship. With that, we are talking about a program that relates to the ideas of cultural paths, as presented by Brunner (1985^a, 1985b).

We must mention that while in the post-colonial context the public investment in culture had as a goal to encourage totalitarian national identities, the fragmented state related to our actual moment started changes in the way the state invests in culture. According to Miller and Yudice, “se reconstruyeron muchas políticas culturales nacionales para justificar y promover lo que ahora se percibía o proyectaba como sociedades multiculturales.” (MILLER; YÚDICE, 2004: 165)

The concepts of multiculturalismo and cultural diversity originated, in different moments, to account for the new social scenario that noticed the multiple interests and views of the subjects. The role of the state could not put this debate aside.

In the case of Brazil, the public policies in cultural had been for over a decade (maybe two) very attached to a market logic,

Culture stations: new typologies for cultural fostering – a Brazilian example

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directed by the private sector (mainly from large corporations), although financed with public resources (laws of fiscal waiver in the federal, state and city realms). The direction at that time was to create cultural routes that would give visibility to the sponsors interested in investing in the events; methods of establishing an audience or groups with limited scope of action were not the main focus of this model (given that this policy is still seen in the country, although not exclusively). This situation increased the discrepancies of access to cultural good by low-income sectors and increased the resource concentration in few regions of the territory (mainly the área between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil's main economic center). The federal initiatives started in 2003 during President Lula's tenure aimed to break this colonized scenario with the purpose of increasing the ways of producing and distributing culture to the various segments of the Brazilian population.

We would like to discuss in this essay the analysis of the public policies in a double fashion: as a government-sponsored program (The Cultura Viva Program, to be exact), and as a community effort, in this case based on our case study – the Niterói Oceanico Cultural Station (implemented in the outskirts of the city of Niteroi, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil).

Our goal is to problematize not only the approach by the State but also to highlight and discuss the importance of the support to communitary groups, emphasizing the existing potential to create new modes of cultural circuits. Therefore, we go beyond the discussion about public policies and its debate over efficiency and effectiveness, we also analyse how the cultural agents involved in the process are also active promoters of public policies. That way, we understand the actions of the Niteroi Oceanico Cultural Station, our case study, as cultural policies directly related to objectives that unfold in long and médium-term actions, engage various agentes (public and communitary), establish priorities and activate means for its realization. We conclude then that the social organization, although limited in range of action, defines activities that work together with other actors to create new cultural circuits.

In this, Brunner (1985a) defines culture as a set of circuits in which the producers (artists and creators) intervene, the modes of production (understood as the available and used technologies, the economic resources and the ownership of the previously said modes), communication manners (promotion of cultural goods, distributing agentes and Exchange devices), the public and organizational instances (these connected or not to the public, private or communitary sectors); in them are the financing agents, private producers, public organizations of regulation and stimulus, etc. In conclusion, Brunner's concepts about the cultural circuits remind us of the cultural production system and its phases: production, distribution, exchange, consumption (or acknowledgment).

Still according to Brunner, the cultural circuits demand specific policies for each of its parts:

Hemos sugerido que el objeto de las políticas culturales son esos circuitos. Se vê claro, ahora, por qué hablábamos antes de un descentramiento de la política cuando ella ingresa al terreno de la cultura. Pues las políticas culturales son hechas, em gran medida, al interior de esos circuitos, por los propios agentes directos que operan em ellos. (BRUNNER, 1985a: 9-10)

Under this perspective, the public investment in culture must notice this complexity of action and the need of a dialogue between diferente contexts and subjects, suggesting the establishment of cultural circuits that work cooperatively. The challenge, especially in the case of Brazil, is to combine the needs of the field with the various ways of approach.

In another of his texts, Brunner shows reflections in the perspective of constructing aids to evaluate the public policies, suggesting a diagnostic matrix that crosses the organizational instances of the circuits (market, public administration and community) with the four kinds of agentes identified by him: professional producers, private companies, public agencies and voluntary association. Each matrix cross (Instance versus agent), is understood by the author as a circuit, as its own system of

producing culture. It does not interest us here to discuss Brunner's evaluation matrix and yet highlight that the cultural programs and policies can and should leverage actions in the various phases of production, from creation to reception; from production to the strategies of acknowledgment and fruition.

The Cultura Viva Program innovates when emphasizes Brunner's vision and not only is based on diferente actions for each of the phases of production bur also when it has the premise that there are no models or orientations to follow. The state is merely a sponsor of a social process that is inherent to the social groups, does not produce models, methods or typologies. The design of a public policy that privileges a democratic mode of action is discussed because it respects the autonomy of the individual and does not put the state as the center of a role that is in the civilian society.

At this moment, it is importante to detail the actions enterprised by this public policy and the case study. We move now to the description of certain actions by the Niteroi Oceanico Cultural Station and to the presentation of the Cultura Viva Program.

CULTURA VIVA PROGRAM

The Cultura Viva Program was an initiative started in Brazil in 2004 by its Cultural Affairs Office with the goal of sponsor and potentialize the work already done by existing artistic groups. In practice, the Federal government tried to open public calls for the creation of what was named Cultural Stations. Each cultural station created was a result of the work of a civil organization with a history in its locations. The group was responsible for task assignment, demands and utilizes approaches. The state would define only the subsidy to be invested and the timeframe. All the rest should then be defined by the organizations (each of them received a stipend of R\$ 180.000, 00 in three installments).

The Cultural Station was the most noted initiative in the Cultura Viva Program, but it was not the only one. According to the definition written by the Program creator, Célio Turino, "The Cultura Viva is conceived as an organic network of management, creation and cultural promotion and will be based on the Cultural Station". (TURINO, 2009: 85) This organic network that is part of the Program consists of five interdependente actions: the Cultural Stations, the "Alive School", the Digital Culture, the "Live Culture Agent" and the "Griô Action". All these arms that compose the program aim to interact and interconnect diferente affairs while fostering Brazil's cultural diversity.

We believe the State proposed by this model puts in check the idea of cultural intervention. After all, if the fundamente arguments of the pre-existing neoliberal approach was the fear of governamental management in case the state opted for an active posture in the field., it showed it was possible to combine state intervention with a democratic posture since the state showed a conductor more than a manager. In practice, the Cultura Viva can be understood as a reflection of change in the perception of the role cultural policies have in today's society. An alternative that aims to define a new relationship between State and Culture.

The Cultura Viva aligned to the goals of the cultural democracy, as noted in the report by the Applied Economic Research Institute (AERI), a federal agency for public policy evaluation:

Her [cultural democracy] does not consist only in the right of access or reception of artworks, nor in the right of information or just in the right of production or to the resources that foster it, o even the right of expression and of a life recognized as a holder of equal dignity and legitimacy. The cultural democracy must be seen as the combination of these elements. It is associated with social and political democracy, i.e., the cultural democracy is an instrument of social objectives and an has its own function. It associates

cultural rights with democracy and with the larger channels for participating and exercise politics. (SILVA; ARAÚJO, 2010: 15)

At least in theory, the Cultura Viva was highlighted by the tentative of including new subjects in the discussion over cultural public policies. When allowing the adoption of more democratic postures that allowed not only the access to cultural affairs but also the necessary means for their production.

What we can notice along these almost 10 years refers to the process of propriety and the advances and drawbacks when it comes to the participation in deciding political processes. In its evaluations about the cultural public policies in the Lula presidency, especially the Cultura Viva Program, the AERI studies noticed that this program lacks self-assessment to bem ade during its maturing process that counts on the presence and voice from various social members in that same process.

NITEROI OCEANICO CULTURAL STATION¹

The Niteroi Oceanico Cultural Station was implemented from a partnership with the Office of Cultural Affairs (OCA), inside the Cultura Viva Program. Selected by a search, the project was associated in the end of 2006 and had its development from March 2007 to February 2010. It received the 2010 Asas Award, which allowed its development for one more year.

The project associtead to the OCA by the Oceanic Region Artistic and Cultural Center (ORACC), located in Itaipu, Niterói-RJ, was born from a proposal built in partnership with the Cultural Actions Laboratory of the Federal Fluminense University (CAL-UFF). Its main goal was foster the use of the ORACC facilities mostly by the youngsters with little access to culture.

Given that the ORACC was almost the single space in all Niteroi's Oceanic Region, we must highlight the importance the project had. Besides that, developing a project has complementary functions, responds to the delineated goals, established future paths. It is a learning experience. In the case of this action (the Niteroi Oceanico Cultural Station), the learning occurred in various ways for various subjects.

Along with the urban sprawl of Niteroi's oceanic region, various áreas of social risk, poverty and urban segregation have been consolidated. These come from irregular settlements or the disqualification of existing fishing colonies. To the population of these áreas has nothing but all exclusions left: cultural, educational and even functional, increasing the risk of association of the young ones with social misconduct: abandonment, drugs, early pregnancy, etc. as well as the low professional capacities when adults. As in many other locations, what is noticed in Niteroi's Oceanic Region is the settlement of two universes: the subdivisions and fencing of urban áreas for middle and middle-high classes versus urban invasions and settlements of low sociospatial conditions.

The project focused in the principle of cultural formation, crossing the sphere of the education based on knowledge reproduction. It aimed then to guarantee the conditions for human empowerment and qualification, respecting cultural and historic values from the contexts from the youngsters in the actions but most of all it aimed to enlarge demands. The project was held up by three pillars: cognition, qualification and inclusion and aimed to develop its actions fulfilling the phases of the cultural production system: production, distribution, exchange and reception. When understanding the actions in art and culture as collective processes based on doing, enjoying, participating and living. It was defined that the teenagers should have autonomy of the processes, strenghtening their social protagonism and reinforcing the social presence with the other living groups.

That way, the project tried to incorporate knowledges and participate in actions that were

¹ The specific case in this article is fundamental for us to be able to measure the impact of the effects produced by Cultura Viva and the creation of the Culture Stations.

gradually increasing cultural demands and reshaping social values without forgetting to consider and value the processes and capacities the participants had previously from their lives. The increase in cognitive support (the access to the understanding of various cultural expressions) that would allow establish the establishment of our culture as resource to be used and not only momentarily consumed, as the contemporary society aspires. The art workshops developed by the project² aimed to fulfill various functions: stimulate expression and cognition, rescue group interactions, foster human dignity and citizenship and qualify and open new perspectives for the participants.

Focused in the youngsters, the project was based on the constructivist and participant method in which values, attitudes and knowledge are absorbed by daily practice and then being encouraged that the young ones take up the protagonista role as historical practice for a life in society that encourages sharing the direction and the responsibility for certain processes.

The project planned actions that would integrate experimenting, the doing and the enjoying. It intended to make the cultural equipment a space for experimentation and development of artistic activities that allowed the strengthening of the cultural and educational spheres as sociability factors in conjunction with cultural public policies in city, state and federal realms.

The project took action in various and complementar ways: creation (through the workshops), production (with emphasis in the products developed in the workshops), fruition – external activities and movie screenings, discussion according to various points of view (discussion about public policies for the Station and discussion on how the Station project contributed to public policies); assessment – of the project, the program, the Brazilian Public Policy.

After three years of completion of the Niteroi Oceanico Cultural Station, what assessment can be done? Definitely a positive one. We firmly believe that what the teenagers experienced along their participation will be taken with them in their minds and hearts. The conversations and informal testimonials accounts for that. Statements such as “I was lost and now I am found”, “Now I am on the right track” were recurrent. We should have a look at some evaluations performed by the youngsters on the process they experienced while in the project.

Getting in touch with art was a self discovery journey through a long and continuous process, similar to the construction of the idea of group - the construction of a collective identity. Like a member from a Station or from a specific cultural group: dance, drawing, video, capoeira, etc.

About the possibility of this experience be carried to adulthood many students, despite the fact the activities do not have this goal, see the Station experience as a way of building a career. Many start to notice what seemed somewhat distant or would be presented differently.

We notice two motivational tools that led the students to the Stations: first, the prompt realization with the lack of an after school activity was the main reason – many mentioned they would stay home with nothing to do. Secondly, a perspective of future. A great part mentioned also that the reason to join the Station was to have something to do in their professional life. For that, many members of the dance group showed interested in becoming professional dancers.

“You said dance takes you out of your center [referring to one of the testimonials]. I feel quite the opposite: it put me back in it.”

“Here we are at a different place.”[The kind of experience is different from the one at home or school.] *“It is a place of gathering with yourself and others.”*

“Here, I am the story!” – said by one of the students in the Digital Video workshop. In activities such as dance, the idea of protagonism is even more noticed. The stage experience for these kids build up their confidence and the aspiration of a future completely different when they would just

² Weekly workshops in Drawing, Contemporary Dance, Digital Video Production, Reading Academy and Creative Writing, and Capoeira Gatherings were organized. The latter after the first year.

attend school: *“At the stage no one is better than anyone”* – a statement that shows the potential of becoming an artist and a reason for living.

“I study film and dance. At the movies, I am behind the camera, writing the plot. In dance, at the stage, I am the plot.”

At a first glance, we notice the feeling generated by the students in regards to the place, to the culture station was of perceiving it as a place where a relationship and a sense of belonging was created.

For many, the self awareness was changed; we have the discovery of new modes of doing, new actors and new possibilities for these youngsters. Some with family issues said they would feel happier there than at home. The dance group especially defined themselves as a family, that has issues just like any other but still a family.

The relationship built with the place is intense as well as the ones within the groups. The activities allowed feelings and knowledge to rise that these students were not aware. Although for some, it was mainly an activity to spend time after school in something other than watching TV, it is impossible not to notice and not try to discover the effect these actions had in the participants' lives, being in the way they think, they see the world, they build relationships, etc.: *“I felt empty; had no goals... no dreams; I was not the best kind. Now I am someone else.”*

The change generated in the reception and acknowledgment phases seemed very expressive. We can consider the experience of the Niteroi Oceanico Culture Station as a collection of actions that occurred in that specific cultural circuit: it worked with the agents of production (giving them more venues for culture enrichment and human development), with the modes of production (up until now inaccessible by that social group, in its great majority), through its ways of communication, strengthening audiences and suggesting complementary strategies to the approach of certain organizations (public and private).

Locally, the Niteroi Oceanico Culture Station participated in a larger scope within the Cultura Viva, as an exercise of creating a new cultural circuit. In an area with little access and options of fruition of cultural goods, we notice boys and girls producing it. We can assess the impact of the activities not only through the making of culture but also in the contribution to new areas.

We believe that the Cultura Viva program is based on the perception that the potential within culture is in guaranteeing the access and production from the various artistic groups. The role of the state in this is of a facilitator. It does not matter the location, the language of expression, the audience. The Brazilian Culture is so diverse it allows each station to be unique in type, management, community outreach and developing a tailored cultural circuit.

The challenge in such a heterogeneous model can be exactly in its potential. If we do not aim for totalizing models and emphasize the idiosyncrasies of each location when it comes to the scope of action of a policy, we are looking at a wide range of demands and people involved in the process. The biggest obstacle is in the reshaping of the state in dealing with such distinct dynamics. For that it is necessary fostering mechanisms, action assessment and engagement of these new policy holders.

In conclusion, we believe the Cultura Viva Program materializes questions that are currently in the public policy agenda. A scenario that requires small changes, in investing in the social autonomy and reinforcing the self esteem of the citizens while being represented.

It also highlights a feature of contemporary public actions: a closer proximity between state and society. A trend that takes shape in experiences that establish more specific dialogues with the people, such as the Cultura Viva Program. A process not as simple that creates a new exercise: the reinvention of the Brazilian state. It reveals fragile areas and latent demands that now have a place and voice when the dialogue starts.

In general, we notice a government attitude focused in a prism of democratic values that do not forget the symbolic role of culture but gives her an important place in the governmental agenda and treats it as a vehicle towards citizenship.

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SESSION 28

BRAZIL: EXPERIENCES
OF COPING WITH
COLONIALISMS IN
VARIOUS HISTORICAL
PERIODS

1. As an introduction: epistemic colonialism in question

Colonialism as a social relation, as authoritarian and discriminatory mindset and way of sociability materializes into multiple expressions that have been problematized within a de-colonial critical theory. These are economic, political and cultural denomination that hybridize with the forms of capitalist rule in the history circuits.

In this web of colonialisms, epistemological colonialism imposes itself, as a powerfully subtle way, to produce denial and suppression of the knowledge of colonized peoples and nations, disqualifying colonial subjects, relegated to the status of mere assimilators of knowledge and dominant epistemic standards, derived from the Westernized world, with particular attention to European countries and North America, in their homogenizing processes of colonization.

Indeed, epistemic domination, in an extremely unequal relationship of power-knowledge, pervades colonial relations in the civilization of the capital, with multiple manifestations, subjecting populations, social segments, groups. It is undisputed that the field of knowledge is one of the spaces where major political battles are waged in this XXI century, marked by extreme scientific and technological development.

This instigates us, in particular, to problematize the dominant epistemological colonialism in the academic world, seeking to circumscribe ways to counter this multifaceted domination that, over the past decades, has been woven in the university context, particularly in Ceará, Northeast Brazil.

In fact, this is a foundational debate that needs to be disseminated within University, in the midst of the academic productivism that, in its various forms, is becoming more important in universities, in the contemporary times of extreme liquidity, of competition and intensification of individualism, of expendability, under the aegis of science technologization, disconnected from the ethics of good living.

In this scenario, this discussion that constitutes a historical requirement, concerns the prospects of “doing science” in this twenty-first century, focusing on the issue of the standard of rationality, the *ethos* of research, the theoretical-methodological paths, the researcher / field subject relationship, finally, the positions and postures assumed by teachers and students in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

It is worth noting, as a privileged way to deconstruct epistemic colonialism in Latin American – and particularly Brazilian – university context, de-colonial thinking and, in particular, the

Epistemic Colonialism in the Academy: dissident experiences of emancipatory epistemologies in a university context

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theoretical-epistemological construction of Boaventura de Sousa Santos, in his proposition of another rationality, incarnated in the Epistemologies of the South.

Sousa Santos (2000; 2006), in his epistemology, driven by the search for cognitive justice, makes effective a break with the Eurocentric epistemological perspective and its claim of universalism. Founded on the principle that “[...] social experience around the world is much broader and more varied than the scientific or philosophical Western tradition knows and considers to be important” (2006, p. 94), he advocates “*to think from the south and with the south*”¹.

Thus, following the tracks of Sousa Santos, we critically discuss the manifestations of epistemic colonialism in the Brazilian university context, seeking to demarcate “dissident academic practices”, to embody different ways of doing science from the South, from Brazil, more precisely. In our view, these initiatives and practices have contributed with the construction of decolonial perspectives and pointed fruitful analytical ways of apprehending the social reality of our country and of our subcontinent, in its multiple facets and determinants.

2. Epistemological colonialism in the Brazilian university context

For centuries, Brazil embodied a colonial condition, expressed in economic, political, and cultural life, assuming a position of assimilator and consumer of knowledge, elaborated in what are considered to be the scientific knowledge production centers: in European countries, notably France, England, Germany, Italy and the United States. Specifically, within Social Sciences, we have built a dominant tradition of working with European and North American analytical matrices, unable to cope with the complexity of the socio-historical and cultural experiences of Latin America and Brazil. The effort undertaken by certain critical analysts that, from specific angles, elaborated explanatory paths to reflect the Latin American and Brazilian particularities is undeniable. Notably, in Brazil, we point out national thinkers such as Caio Prado Júnior, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Gilberto Freyre, Florestan Fernandes, Octávio Ianni, Carlos Nelson Coutinho, among others.

Thus, we share Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ (2009) epistemological gaze, to delineate critical demarcations from Social Sciences which, in his opinion, carry a conceptual inadequacy, are monocultural, founded in Western culture and do not address, effectively, the issue of colonialism.

Brazilian Universities, which started to emerge in the first decades of the twentieth century, have embodied an expression of epistemological colonialism from their origin, considering the strong influence of European training, which includes the presence of teachers and researchers coming from Europe to lay the academic foundations of certain colleges and courses. Therefore, the influence of German and French conceptions for the foundation and the first decades of operation of two prominent Brazilian universities – the University of São Paulo (USP) and Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) – is emblematic (PAULA, 2002).

And colonialisms, that permeate Brazilian universities, are manifest in the very own tendency to enclosure universities as locus of scientific knowledge, disconnected from the knowledge of subjects in motion in social life. It is the claim of modern science itself - dominant for centuries in the academic context - the exclusivity of scientific knowledge in Western standards as the only means of access to credible knowledge, disqualifying and/or suppressing other knowledge as alternative knowledge. In this hierarchy of colonial domination of westernized scientific knowledge, we can circumscribe what Ramon Grosfoguel (2013) calls “epistemic racism”, which dares to impose a standard of knowledge produced in the West as universally valid, disregarding the specificities of culture and knowledge of

¹ In Boaventura de Sousa Santos, the “South” is a socio-political metaphor for nations, peoples, groups and social groups who have suffered and suffer the domination of the capitalist system and the colonial violence, in different historical moments.

indigenous peoples and segments of the population located in the margins of social life, deprived of the condition of thinking subjects, able to draw legitimate knowledge within their own cultural logics.

In fact, in times of liquid modernity in this twenty-first century, that radicalize an individualized and privatized perspective (Bauman, 2001), “doing science” in the plots of two trends that overlap predominates in university context: one is the technical-scientific production in the pursuit of “cutting edge technology”, to meet market demands; the other is the cult of postmodernism and its postulates of fragmentation, of contingency, of particularism, of the ephemeral, of diversity, with a deep hostility towards any theories of entirety, structure and processes, of general-particular relationship, analytically disqualified as “*grand narratives*”. So, strangely, in the context of universities – either public or private – criticism of the civilization of capital in its destructive tendency of limitless expansion becomes scarce or even rare, making it difficult to exercise critical thinking. Accordingly, there is a stimulation of the dilemma outlined by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1994; 2000), in the 1990s and the threshold of the 2000s, namely, the thinking of emancipation within the capitalist system and, thus, formulating a critical theory. And Sousa Santos (2006, 2007) claims to be decisive, in the (re)invention of emancipation, to construct this critical thinking, formulating “an alternative thinking of alternatives”.

Strictly speaking, it is effective in the context of Brazilian universities, an epistemological domination of the perspective of technologization of science and thought named postmodern, confronted by resistance cores of critical thinking in its various aspects and fields of study. It is a hegemonic dispute in process, demanding to be critically analyzed. In this sense, it is important to discuss the issue of epistemic colonialism within this hegemonic dispute.

Ramon Grosfoguel (2011) outlines a fruitful route to enter this debate, by identifying and reporting epistemic colonialism, both within what he called “right-wing point of view”, as under what he called “left-wing point of view”. And, such colonialism, that pervades the dominant conservative thought and critical theory itself, focuses on the pretense of universality of different theoretical productions, conceived as valid for all contexts and situations in the world, disregarding the specificities of very different realities. Basically, it is the claim of universality of Western thought, by seeking to impose Western reasoning schemes and analytical matrices worldwide, not taking into account, as an epistemological way, the prospect of production of other knowledge and expertise with other logical thinking, embodied by people and groups with different and specific realities. So Grosfoguel (2011), directed by its referential critique of Western thought, circumscribes what he calls “*right-wing colonial epistemology*” and “*left-wing colonial epistemology*”, by not taking seriously the theoretical work developed in non-Western realities, in a clear expression of epistemic racism.

In this direction of denouncement and epistemic deconstruction of colonialism, Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Menezes (2009) estimate that, over the past two centuries, a dominant epistemology claimed as universal has been imposed, eliminating the cultural and political context of production and reproduction of knowledge from epistemological reflection. And they argue that this dominant epistemology is, in fact, a contextual epistemology and that such claim of universality, being molded on modern science, is the result of an epistemological intervention that was only possible based on the strength with which the political, economic and military intervention of colonialism and modern capitalism were imposed on the non-Western and non-Christian peoples and cultures (SOUSA SANTOS and Menezes, 2009).

The hybridization of forms of capitalist and colonial domination was indeed deep in the processes of colonization, by homogenizing modes of thinking, concepts, practices, knowledge, thus reaching the colonized peoples, in this deconstructive violence that is to obliterate cultural differences, disqualifying knowledge and social experiences. On behalf of a “*legitimate and sacrosanct colonizing*”

mission”, this economic, cultural, political and military intervention by colonialism and capitalism, violated indigenous and African populations, suppressing local knowledge and imposing western, alien knowledge, as the one true universal knowledge. Thus, an “epistemicide” was put in effect that ousted colonized peoples of the condition of thinking subjects, producers of culture and knowledge. This epistemicide was such that, even within Marxist-inspired critical theory, that conducted the unveiling of the logic of capital, in its contradictions and relations, there predominated a perspective of disregard towards the forms of colonialism domination that violently imposed themselves on peoples and nations, on groups and segments of society, as a way to ensure the expansion of capitalism itself. In fact, in their analysis, within the civilization of capital, this Marxist critical theory, produced in the West, sought, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to move its analytical logic to think societies with other socio-historical and cultural settings and other logics of production of thought.

One must consider, however, productions that occurred within critical theory to integrate dimensions and features of the reality of socio-historical formations in Latin America. The elaborations of José Carlos Mariátegui and Rui Mauro Marini, who, in different periods, developed creative and innovative formulations that gave important contribution to the de-colonial thinking, are emblematic in this sense, although they have not been explicitly formulated with this perspective. Indeed, in his work *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality*, Mariátegui introduces “indigenous peoples in the political training programs”, thus demarcating himself from “Eurocentric Marxism and affirming that the Latin American Marxism could not be “neither decal, nor copy’ of European Marxism (MARIATUÉGUI, 2004). In this sense, Roberto Leher (2009) states that there occurred, with Mariátegui, a clear latinamericanization of socialist and Marxist ideas (Leher, 2009).

When addressing the “Contributions of Hispanic critical thinking to postcolonial theories” Urquidi and Fuscaldó (2012) refer to the critical thinking of Mariátegui and Che Guevara and its influence in the debate against the forms of Latin American colonialism. The authors emphasize the brilliance that marks the work of José Carlos Mariátegui and the political action of Ernesto Che Guevara, within the particular socio-historical context and conditions in which each lived and worked, by “[...] taking the tasks of interpreting and guiding political projects that, later, will inspire struggles and criticism for new decolonizing political projects”. By recognizing the need to incorporate the need to reflect and take into account the situation of the Indian in the Peruvian scenario, Mariátegui, in an innovative way and embodying a vanguard thought in relation to his contemporaries, produced formulations that contradicted not only the liberal positivist ideology of time, but also the guidelines of the emerging international socialists. Thus, “[...] disregarding Soviet guidelines and without losing the bias of left-wing critical analysis, the author has imposed an interpretation of the local reality and the role of the Indian in Latin American socialist revolution.” (URQUIDI and FUSCALDO 2002, p. 6). Thus, decades later, Mariátegui, influences new libertarian struggles for and those for decolonization in the region.

Carlos Eduardo Martins (2013) concretizes an intriguing discussion of Rui Mauro Marini’s legacy in the construction of Latin American critical thinking. He points out that Marini, in his theorizing in the 1970s, already heads towards the theoretical construct from “[...] a larger whole that that theorized by Eurocentric thinking, that saw Western Europe from their internal relations and the world as a space to be occupied by its external deployment” (Martins, 2013, p. 1).

When working with the concept of global economy, Marini circumscribes the international relations of production and the world market, linking center and periphery, as well as the countries of real socialism. In his production, Marini also dealt with dependent capitalism and its specificity, addressed issues of transition to socialism, besides having carried out an assessment of Latin American social thought and of the analysis of the processes of globalization, inaugurating an

important analytical approach for the analysis of the condition of sub-imperialism, of countries, capitalist-dependent, like Brazil, within global economy (Martins, 2013).

In the current historical context, in which discussion and theoretical treatises about decolonial perspectives in the Latin American and Brazilian context are thriving, where progress on new forms of colonialism and developmentalism, disguised as innovative appearance, even redeeming of economies and societies of the south, where resumption of critical debate about these ongoing political and ideological processes has taken place, the thought of these authors and of lived experiences gains ground within de-colonial thought, deserving special attention.

3. Neo-colonialism and its expressions in academic production

In contemporary times, in the circuits of history, the forms of colonial domination are updated and become complex, in the framework of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious choice, place of origin, destruction of Planet Earth and of the environment, of the spoliation of spaces and places, destroying identity forms of groups and populations, of the explosion of exclusions... And, thus, the so-called neo-colonialism is set, in its multiple expressions of violence in the contemporary civilization of capital. In fact, new forms of dominance in global capitalism and forms of domination of neo-colonialism hybridize, challenging critical theory, in its various matrices. Social movements in contemporary, interpellate critical thinking, with flags of specific struggles, confronting with forms of neocolonial domination. In response to such political interpellations, multiple formulations mark the theoretical-critical production in the mid-twentieth century, and the first years of the twenty-first century, such as: feminist theories; theories relating to indigenous issues, to the issues of the black and the immigrant; theories in the field of LGBTT movements; ecological and environmental theories; theories about people living on the margins; theories about religious freedom... And more: theories that make a critique of the civilization of capital in its multiple forms of domination and violence, from which we emphasize, from among others: the thought of expanding the Marxist analysis of Antonio Gramsci, on the threshold of the twentieth century; the thought of the twenty-first century Marxist István Mészáros; the thought of the critic of contemporary social life Zigmunt Bauman and his provocative metaphor of liquidity; the emancipatory thought of Boaventura de Sousa Santos, in his radical critique of Western modernity, articulating new forms of domination of capital and forms of neocolonial exclusions and oppressions.

Strictly speaking, in the midst of advances under critical thinking, we face epistemological dilemmas related to the very analytical breadth of theories, highlighting a key issue, which is: the absence and/or fragility of a relational perspective that is able to, dialectically, reflect neocolonialisms on the fabric of capitalist civilization, linking the global dynamics of unlimited expansion of capital, in its peculiar expressions of class struggle, with colonial violence, pervading social life at present time. It is undisputed that multiple pathways for analytical expansion have been gestating, in past few decades, in the field of critical theories, putting in the contemporary agenda, the deconstruction of epistemic colonialism as foundational dimension.

In this direction of analytical expansion of domination, in the tessiture of hybridization “capitalism/colonialism”, Boaventura de Sousa Santos view of “reinvention of emancipation in the XXI century” is emblematic. This perspective is based on “the principle of recognition of equality and difference”, stated thus: “defending equality whenever difference generates inferiority and defending the difference whenever equality implies mischaracterization” (SOUSA SANTOS, 2004, 2006, 2007). It is the tension between equality and difference, between the demand for recognition and the imperative of redistribution, facing the rule of capital and colonial violence. Boaventura Santos

argues that we need to build emancipation from a new relationship between respect for equality and the principle of recognition of difference, in a political dialectic that cannot be broken.

Entering the discussion of epistemic colonialism in universities, it is necessary to delineate its contemporary manifestations and localized in the Academy, as a way of preserving a supposedly perspective of universality and externality, from which academics, as specialists, holders of a “legitimate knowledge”, can “tell the world”, “describe phenomena” and “solve riddles”. From amongst these manifestations, two deserve special mention: the imposition of **analytical matrices** and **research processes**.

Epistemic colonialism in analytical matrices manifests itself, precisely, in the imposition of theories produced in specific contexts, particularly European and North American context, as universal processes of uncovering the real. Indeed, it is the imposition of abstract universalism of certain analytical matrices, to the detriment of real pluralism of discourses and prevailing intellectual praxis in certain places and times (Moraes and Coelho, 2013). How Sousa Santos and Menezes (2009) argue – in their critical unveiling of the epistemology considered to be universal and that became dominant in the last two centuries – any valid knowledge is always contextual, both in terms of cultural differences, and in terms of political differences. Therefore, this epistemological colonialism by “application” of analytical categories to contextual realities and distinct subjects caused a huge waste of social experiences, reducing the world’s epistemological, cultural and political diversity. (SOUSA SANTOS and Menezes, 2009)

Today, in the Brazilian university context in the XXI century, there has been a redefinition of this epistemic colonialism within contemporary analytical matrices, handled in decontextualized form, requiring a work of theoretical production, in order to build mediations, effecting conceptual redefinitions in response to questions of specific realities. Plus, there are still colonial marks on the hierarchy of universities, pervaded by regional settings and the rating of the fostering research institutions and scientific production. Such institutional hierarchy is a manifestation of neo-colonialism, in the sense that production of innovative knowledge seems to be restricted to “cutting edge institutions”, located in the Southeast and South regions, relegating universities in the North and Northeast to the status of mere consumers. Indeed, there are mechanisms that reproduce the coloniality of power in the context of public universities. It is undeniable that there are processes of epistemological decolonization, breaking ratings and parameters in the production of dissident academic practices. This is a dispute in the field of theoretical production, seeking to promote and carry out political and epistemic alternatives amid the hegemony of disciplinary structures that work on theoretical matrices in an alleged universalism, preserving an alleged externality and objectivity.

In conjunction with this colonial manifestation in the field of analytic matrices, in the Brazilian contemporary university context, there is an assertion of epistemic colonialism in the context of research, submitted to the ruling agenda in the current market for financing and publications, disconnecting from demands placed by the ongoing movements of History. Thus, issues of academic research end up being defined from “cutting edge” debates that are imposed as dominant demands, many of them imported from the global north. “Relevant issues” are delimited, from particularisms, fragmentations, subjectivities, designed in themselves, disconnected from real historical processes. And, it must be particularly pointed out, the colonial reframing in field work, in the difficult and delicate relationship between researcher and social actors that constitute the so-called “research field”.

Amid so-called qualitative approaches that, often, have the intention of developing ethnographic pathways, researchers reproduce colonialist postures and attitudes toward the subjects that make up the investigative field. Such colonialist attitudes are manifest in the very position of the researcher,

which, in different ways and in different methodological routes, seeks to appropriate the ideas, thought, and experiences of those that make up “their field”, in order to understand senses and meanings that pervade social life. In this relationship of appropriation, a considerable segment of the researchers do not care about sharing and mutual exchanges, reaching the point of, ultimately, not giving back to the “subjects” the field of the interpretations embodied in academic works. It is an attitude of “looting”, like the settlers who appropriate wealth, taking it to their territories. Strictly speaking, the researcher takes “his field” to the territory of the Academy, to consubstantiate the scientific productions that give him titles and socio-intellectual capital to play the game and advance positions in the academic field. In this attitude of appropriation of the knowledge of social actors, often, some social scientists see themselves in the right to talk about the other, to the detriment of the ability of social actors to articulate themselves. And, worst of all, they are heard as the priority voice in interventionist State bodies and even in the private sector (Moraes and Coelho, 2013). Ultimately, this positioning of the researchers with the field subjects embodies a disqualification of such subjects as real partners, not leading the research as a social relation and increasing the distance of the University from the spaces of social life, undermining the prospect of praxis. It is a manifestation of epistemic neocolonialism, in the form of an alleged approximation of the Academy towards populations and popular cultures.

4. In search of Epistemologies of the South: dissident academic experiences in the university context

In the processes of reinventing emancipation in the twenty-first century, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2006; 2007), in perfect hybridization between an anti-capitalist perspective and a de-colonial perspective, advocates “Epistemologies of the South”². This is the set of epistemologies that value the knowledge that resisted the violence of colonialism in the civilization of capital, recognizing different perspectives and logics of knowledge production and investigating the conditions of a horizontal dialogue between different knowledge in pursuit of an “Ecology of Knowledge”.

The Epistemologies of the South are founded on the principle that the world is epistemologically diverse and that this diversity represents an enormous enrichment of the human capacity to confer intelligibility and intentionality to social experiences. Strictly speaking, it is the principle of the “epistemological plurality of the world” and, with it, the recognition of distinct knowledge - “rival knowledge” - endowed with different validity criteria, making visible and credible much broader spectra of actions and social agents (SOUSA SANTOS and Menezes, 2009). And Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Menezes (2009), in the creative effort to circumscribe the Epistemologies of South, make two clarifying demarcations:

- epistemological plurality does not imply epistemological or cultural relativism, but it certainly requires analysis and evaluations of the different types of interpellation and of intervention in the world produced by different types of knowledge;
- recognition of epistemological diversity takes place, today, both within science (internal plurality of science), and in the relation between science and other knowledge (external plurality of science).

In this horizon of Epistemologies of the South, in confrontation with the dominant epistemology, colonialist and capitalist in nature, there are dissenting experiences in the university context, designed as political and epistemological movements that intend the dominant tendencies of epistemic

² Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Paula Menezes clarify that in the name “Epistemologies of the South”, the South is conceived metaphorically as a field of epistemic challenges, seeking to repair the damage and impacts historically caused by capitalism in its colonial relationship with the world.

colonialism, in its many manifestations, foreshadowing the possibility and necessity of epistemological alternatives, to embody redefinitions of perspectives, principles and practices (Moraes and Coelho, 2013). In fact, those movements are within the scope of de-colonial thinking in an effort to (re)invent emancipation in certain spaces and times. Thus, such dissent experiments embody expressions of “descolonizing and emancipatory activism”, in response to challenges, requirements and demands in different spaces and times of contemporaneity.

In Brazilian universities, over the past four decades a multiplicity of dissident experiences, with greater or lesser visibility, have emerged and asserted themselves, being able to achieve institutional dimension, in terms of groups and research centers, forums and networks of researchers. Strictly speaking, a mapping of such experiences in the Brazilian context is a necessary requirement, setting up what could be called the “cartography of dissent to the dominant epistemic colonialism”. This is the call for a specific study.

We want to highlight here, as an experience that really challenged us in our construction of this article - assuming the character of an epistemological essay – the recent production, dated from 2013, by the Group of Studies in Critical Anthropology, University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos - UNISINOS – Rio Grande do Sul, with the provocative title “Decolonial Thinking and Academic Practices”³. Indeed, in this production, anthropologists and members of the Research Group in Anthropology Critical present a set of texts that they consider as “windows open to a cartography of dissent” (Moraes and Coelho 2013, p. 4). And they explain that, by using this notion of dissent, they intend to “[...] emphasize the constant political, theoretical and organizational movements that point out, at all times, the contours and the defenses that support certain orthodoxies, while conforming, as well, heterodoxies and indiscipline “(ib idem).

5. RUPAL in the context of the Federal University of Ceará: a dissenting experience in the epistemic deconstruction of colonialism.

Shining our reflective focus on Ceará/Northeast of Brazil, more specifically, on the Federal University of Ceará - UFC, we have identified, currently, a group of dissident experiences, that challenged us to build a cartography. Within this multidisciplinary together, we focus on the field of social sciences and, more specifically, on the experience of the University Network of Researchers on Latin America - RUPAL. In forwarding this approach, we feel the need to rescue historical paths, in the prospect of breaking with the parameters of dominant epistemology. Consider this!

In the context of the Federal University of Ceará, and in particular, in Social Sciences, dialogue and openness to interactions with specific sectors of society in Ceará have been exercised since the ides of 1970/80, in the contestation of the military regime and active participation in the struggle for democracy in the country. Even though the first initiatives of these decades did not question the colonialist bias in relation to social subjects and, even less, the reference and the appropriation of imported categories, especially from European countries and the United States, these experiences have left as a legacy the possibility of knowledge production with the appreciation of popular knowledge, in an emancipatory perspective.

There have been allowed to arise, in Ceará, rich work experiences in the field of popular education and participatory research, with the formation of popular researchers, capable of giving value to the knowledge of their areas of work and life, but of going beyond, in the unveiling of social reality, of the contradictions that mark our society and in specific, the Brazilian social formation⁴.

3 This is no. 44 of Cadernos IHU, by the Instituto de Humanitas Unisinos, UNISINOS, published in 2013.

4 The experience of participatory research, focused on the figure of the popular researcher, endowed with appropriate

We can say that experiments of this nature have allowed for a differentiated attitude of academic researchers in relation to social subjects, traditionally regarded as “informants” or pockets of academic knowledge.

In an attempt to reinvent spaces/times of critical reflection, in the countercurrent of contemporary trends and imperatives of multilateral agencies of the UN system, nationally undertaken by governments and funding agencies, with their evaluation processes guided by academic productivism, collective experiences of research and academic production have been constructed in groups, networks, forums, centers and institutes.

In 2000, on the threshold of the twenty-first century, the construction of the University Network of Researchers on Latin America - RUPAL is part of this idea of building locus of critical reflection, in the university context, to involve more experienced researchers and young students, beginners in the craft of research, around the specificities of Latin America, in its historical course of contemporary transformations. It is a network of researchers that articulates Latin American scholars, allowing for moments of dialogue with acting subjects in civil society, in different forms of mobilization and organization. The collectively assumed task is to build via critical apprehension of Latin American reality, entered in the perspective of construction of critical decolonial thinking.

RUPAL seeks to produce, socialize and disseminate knowledge about Latin America in a permanent process of reflection and discussion on contemporary issues in economics, politics, culture. It is structured as an inter- and transdisciplinary network, based in the Postgraduate Program in Sociology at the Federal University of Ceará, bringing together researchers from the UFC and UECE, Ceará - Brazil and UNAM in Mexico, as well as scholars and researchers linked to organizations and social movements that turn to the causes and struggles of the Latin American continent.

Over more than ten years, RUPAL has been reflecting and discussing the changes in Latin America in the processes of hegemonic struggle in different historical contexts, working on topics related to economic cycles and circuits, the processes of democracy building, the reconfigurations of State and Public Policy, the redefinition of civil society in the processes of redesigning and organizing social movements and expressions, dilemmas and challenges of the emancipatory struggles.

In the journeys of reflection, discussion and critique, RUPAL consolidates its public visibility in events and productions, especially seminars, debates and book publications. Thereby, we build a trajectory of collective production of critical thinking, committed to the emancipatory processes in Latin America, outlining contours of an Epistemology of the South.

Strictly speaking, RUPAL embodies a dissident experience, confronting dominant trends in academic production within the Brazilian University, facing epistemic colonialism in the field of analytical matrices and research processes. In fact, RUPAL's academic productions try to delineate pathways and contributions and build analytical theories so as to respond to questions of Latin American reality, in its specific configurations, history circuits. It is a multidisciplinary knowledge production, from the issues and dilemmas of different socio-political and cultural contexts of Latin America, seeking to think ongoing emancipatory alternatives.

In our assessment, a central question arises: how to expand the potential of RUPAL, as locus of critical decolonial thinking, within Ceará and Brazilian university context itself? How to expand this

methodologies and recreated from the clash of academic and popular knowledge, pioneering and innovative in the late 1980s, resulted not only in strengthening urban struggles and processes of social organization in popular neighborhoods in Fortaleza/Ceará/Brazil, but supported the realization of unique experiences of rescue and dissemination of the history of popular neighborhoods, their struggles, their achievements, based on the idea that research is not done just within the walls of universities, with the centrality of scholars, researchers and students from academic bodies. It has also contributed to the implementation of one of the first schools of research and urban planning directed at leaders of urban associations interested in understanding the dynamics and urban conflicts in a wider and more consistent manner, and intervening in a more qualified way on the design of urban policies and projects and more generally in city management.

network, in its work perspective and its patterns of doing science, committed to the reinvention of emancipation in the twenty-first century? How to advance in methodological pathways and research processes, able to embody a social relationship of mutual exchange and sharing with the constituent subject of the fields of study? How to enlarge University spaces for critical and horizontal dialogue with social movements, groups and segments arranged in peculiar struggles, in a genuine practice of ecology of knowledge?

It is undisputed that the dissident practices in UFC space constitute nuclei of resistance that move in counter-hegemonic processes. So, is the decisive to establish links between these practices and critical thinking initiatives, strengthening de-colonial thinking.

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1. Introduction: the lençóis maranhenses national park and the circuits of global tourism

The theme of this paper stems from research which forms part of the thesis which was submitted to the doctoral program in Culture, at the University of Aveiro in 2010¹. The main focus is the discussion of global tourism, inspired by the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park - PARNA in the city of Barreirinhas -Maranhão (Brazil), in its provision of a regional centre for access to the park. In this context, tourism is a major force that stimulates the imagination, stirs desire and creates the motivation to produce space and redefine time. This great spectacle of nature, the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park, features in tourism circuits. It is a media construction in which the State and the business community engage in a powerful investment of marketing, disseminating and propagating images and speeches, in order to commodify this natural heritage, to encourage tourism demand, and thus include the park in global capital dynamic. In fact, in producing a “tourist place”, they managed to idolise the great and singular spectacle of the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park.

Viewed from the logic of tourism, it is *sui generis* merchandising, selling under the signs of the exotic, the picturesque, and the exciting adventure of having space to enjoy life. This is a tourism commodity with strong appeal in the global market. In fact, today, the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park (PARNA) is a contemporary space which attracts a powerful demand in the competitive tourism market, integrating networks of investments that embody capital expansion.

In order to discuss PARNA under the aegis of global tourism, it is necessary to focus on the key issues in the context of marketing and fetishisation, in the construction of the material and the immaterial, in the imaginary of tourism, of time and space connections, and of landscape and culture.

In the processes of expanding global capitalism, tourism is emerging as a sector of economic activity that imposes marketing logic in different areas of the planet, redefining these spaces as “tourist areas”. Thus, “beaches, mountains and fields enter the exchange circuit, both aptly and privately, as recreational areas for those who can make use of them” (CARLOS, 1999 p.25). The “production of ‘tourist spots’, in general, through the elaboration of rhetoric, contributed to the objectification of a fetishisation of certain parts of the territory” (SILVEIRA, 2002, p.36). In the context of tourism production, the intense management of fluxes and displacements, turn tourism into a mass phenomenon on a

¹ Since 2012, this course has been integrated to the Doctoral Programme in Cultural Studies at the Universities of Minho (CESC) and of Aveiro.

Global tourism and its impact on the life of the local population in Barreirinhas: new forma of colonialism?

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global scale. In fact, tourism can be considered a “framework of globalisation” (RODRIGUES, 2002).

Data from the World Travel Tourism Council (WTTC) reveals that tourism is one of the economic activities that has experienced the biggest growth, expanding worldwide, included in investment networks, business services and international relations. Thus, with regard to exports, it is competitively consolidated as a global capitalism strategy to expand markets, and transform spaces into consumer products, building images through advertising. (TSUJI, 2002)

From the research perspective of tourism, north-eastern diversity is expressed in an exotic spectacle of dunes, lagoons, mangroves, salt marshes and exuberant flora: the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park. In fact, this place is regarded as “a spectacle of nature for the world” with its sheets of moving sands, interspersed with streams. The Park’s importance as a tourist attraction is undisputable, and links Maranhão and Lençóis in a hybridisation of contemporary times.

Since 2000, the region of Maranhense has emerged as an object in which federal, state and municipal governments intervene. Proposals are formalised through planning entities institutional arrangements and partnerships, which establish concrete ways of attracting technical and financial support for the region of Lençóis Maranhenses. Over the years, the focus was on Barreirinhas, which has already become a tourist destination, although other districts in this area were also included. The main attraction is undoubtedly the PARNA at Lençóis Maranhenses, a central tourism destination of Maranhão and Brazil, expanding with an ever-increasing flow of tourists, who eager to experience this exciting and exotic natural phenomenon.

Today, the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park is a “global space”, due to tourism in that region, as its unusual characteristics contributed to it becoming a main attraction for visitors from different parts of the world. The Park has consolidated its position as a regional, national and international tourist destination. Thus, Barreirinhas – Lençóis Maranhenses as a destination represents the inclusion of Maranhão in the global economy, through the competitive tourism market, through its capability of attracting consumers to “lost paradises”, attracting those in search of adventure or even those lovers of tourism whose focus is the appreciation of ecosystems, in the form of ecotourism.

In its new connections with the space-time continuum, global tourism transforms the territory of Maranhão. The Lençóis Maranhenses National Park is an unusual commodity in global market circuits, resulting in an increasing flow of tourists. Thus, with regard to tourism routes as a global activity that embodies dimensions of global capitalism, the site is an attraction for tourist consumerism. In keeping with this global-local logic, the flows of tourists transform spaces, productions and products, usually in local goods, for the consumer, are “exotic”, “different” and “artisan”.

2. Barreirinhas: a social space with new configurations for tourism

The Lençóis Maranhenses National Park is responsible for bringing geo-economic and social relevance to the State of Maranhão, due to its status as a global destination in tourism circuits. Thus, the PARNA of Lençóis Maranhenses has been a key factor in generating spatial and socio-cultural changes. Such changes are particularly visible in Barreirinhas, which is currently considered a tourist hub, making it one of the priorities for the federal and state governments and the target of incentives to develop infrastructure to meet the accelerated expansion of tourism demands. Indeed, among the municipal towns in the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park region, Barreirinhas is the main regional attraction, as it provides privileged access to the Park.

Thus, in assuming the status of a national and international tourist destination, the small town in inland Maranhão, which was isolated until the 1970s/1980s, has experienced a true socio-spatial metamorphosis, with changes in the lifestyle and social relations of those who inhabit this tourism

space. It is an indisputable that the era of tourism in Barreirinhas represents a milestone of intense changes in the urban and rural landscape, as a “new” socio-spatial “order” was generated. This new order engenders a peculiar dynamic in the daily life and work of city’s residents, producing changes in the forms of sociability, in patterns of consumption, values and references, culture and the use of natural resources, provoking a reconfiguration of space which has repercussions on people’s lives. This scenario of metamorphoses is synonymous with changes in the trajectories of social segments involved in the tourism supply chain, as well as other aspects of their social place, due to the tourism experience in Barreirinhas, from the 1980s onward.

The city and its population are therefore experiencing a cycle of changes imposed by the dynamics of global capitalism, through tourism routes. The inversion of the balance between the “inside” and the “outside”, is evident in the current scenario of the city, as what comes from outside exerts a powerful influence. The global tourism movement establishes new space-time connections, giving new meanings to ways of life in the “Barreirinhas tourist destination”.

The construction of the MA -402 motorway in 2002, is representative of the tourism boom Barreirinhas, and of the privileged access it offers to the Lençóis Maranhenses PARNA. Thus, a seasonality of tourism was established in the city, in which time would no longer be considered in relation to the seasons and alternations between winter and summer. Rather, a new seasonal alternation was created, identified by the characteristics of the “high season” and the “off-peak season”, determined by the tourist flow. Thus, the high season in Barreirinhas corresponds to periods of long holidays and the months of February, June, July and August. There is also a period in which the tourist flow reaches an intermediate level, the “regular season”, occurring in January, September and December. The months of August and part of September present a peculiar characteristic in relation to the international origins of most tourists who come to Barreirinhas at this time, as it is the holiday period in Europe. Therefore, this is the time in which the flow of foreign tourists in Barreirinhas is most intense, mostly from the following countries, in descending order: Portugal, Italy, France and Germany. (BRASIL, 2007)

In the processes of socio-reconfiguration and the enhancement of certain sectors of the municipal economy, apart the tourism sector and two important sectors emerged due to tourist activity, namely crafts and construction. These sectors, whilst stimulating and boosting other sectors of Barreirinhas’ economy, also impacted on the environment and contributed to the spatial reconfiguration of the city.

Indeed, in this context of new market opportunities due to the development of tourism in PNLM, certain investor groups focused on land located in the prime areas of Barreirinhas. In fact, the property speculation flared up even before the opening of the MA - 402 motorway, and was intensified to the extent that the tourist destination was widely promoted in local, national and international media. Thus, the marketing Barreirinhas as a place of privileged access to the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park was one of the most important factors in attracting networks and real estate companies with an interest in investing in the newly discovered tourist market. This process involved generated questions regarding the use and modification of social space and Barreirinhas’ urban landscape, leading to the development of a new spatial order in certain areas, with a view to appreciating and consequently appropriating urban and rural land for hotel developments and holiday-home condominiums. Strictly speaking, this dynamic embodies the logic of tourism marketing and flows of capital in Barreirinhas.

The increase in real estate activity, particularly for commercial ventures, has intensified in the prime areas of Barreirinhas, especially land located along the Preguiças River and the beach areas, such as the villages of Caburé, Atins and Canto do Atins. Many of these villages are located in areas

of permanent preservation, and form part of the “Buffer Zone²” in accordance with the specifications contained in the PNLN Management Plan³. In this process, the hospitality sector is of particular significance, due to its growth which has spread to the city’s limits, as the features of the villages are also a great attraction. The prospect of tourism development in the city has attracted national business groups as well as entrepreneurs from the locality and from São Luís. It has been reported that Portuguese and Spanish groups have carried out feasibility studies with a view to investing in this sector in Barreirinhas. In this sector, this fact is evident with the presence of large and medium scale foreign investors.

Confirming this trend, research shows that, each year, Barreirinhas broadens its range of hotel services and equipment with quality standards that are consistent with the specifications of the Ministry of Tourism and which have the capacity to meet different demand profiles, according to the socioeconomic characteristics and preferences of visitors, such as guesthouses, hotels, hostels, resorts and apartments. The city also has condominiums and houses, usually used as second homes, which meet the regional demand. Guesthouses are most predominant, providing a variety of standards with regard to the quality of the facilities, equipment and services, with a range of prices.

On the other hand, the winds of tourism also attracted the rural population from Barreirinhas and other municipalities, in search of work and a higher income, generating a growing demand for permanent accommodation. This resulted in an increase of the city’s population. According to the IBGE’s data, the city had 39,669 inhabitants in 2000, which increased to 46,729 in 2007. In the 2010 Census, the population has reached a total of 54,930. The consequences of this growth in population can be seen in the expansion of areas occupied by families from the rural areas and other cities, with new housing developments in the city, such as: “Residencial Brasil”, “Cidade Nova”, “Abafadinho” and “Vila São José”.

Artisanal activity in Barreirinhas occupies a prominent position in the tourism supply chain, both as a major cultural and tourist attraction and in the generation of jobs and income for large numbers of the female population. Craft production of “Barreirinhas Tourism” has gained national and international markets due to the uniqueness and beauty of products made with Buriti thread - *linho* – such as tablecloths, placemats, bags, hats and other accessories such as earrings and necklaces, which also use seeds from regional fruits.

However, the ever-increasing demand for raw material – Buriti thread – has contributed to the decline in of buritizais, due to the practice of indiscriminate extraction without respecting the basic criteria corresponding to the “protection period” in managing each palm, i.e. giving the plant time to recover recovery time after removal of the fruit. This results in a reduction of the plant’s reproductive ability and leads to the death of many palm trees. However, without considering the conservation of the Buriti palm trees, people removed the fruit to sell to local artisans or even to export to other municipalities, including the state capital of Ceará that also has craft tradition. The artisans recognize that the situation requires an urgent response by the agencies for environmental protection in order to combat the accelerated devastation of the Buriti palms due to mismanagement.

Trading of the Buriti palm fruits, without the board of environmental protection exercising proper control in order to curb the indiscriminate practice of extraction, has been touted by researchers as one of the causes of over exploitation of Buriti palms in the Lençóis Maranhenses region. The

² The Decree nº 9.985 which established the SNUC (National System of Conservation Units), defines a buffer zone thus: “the surroundings of an area of conservation where human activities are subject to specific rules and restrictions in order to minimize negative impact on the area” (inciso XVIII, artigo 2º). (MMA/IBAMA, 2002 p.59)

³ “The Management plan is the Unidades de Conservação (Conversation Units, UC) official planning instrument. It contains the characteristics of the Areas of Influence and the PNLN Buffer Zone, identifying the threats and opportunities according to the UC, and evaluating these dynamics for future management actions” Brazil. MMA / IBAMA (2002) Plano de Manejo do PNLN

researchers claim that “the extraction and increased marketing of non-wood forest products (PFMN) interfere in local and regional socio-politics through political empowerment of certain groups and interferences with land and resource tenure systems.” (SARAIVA; SAWYER, 2007, p.9)

3. Trajectories of social subjects in the Barreirinhas tourism movement

In this scenario of metamorphoses, subjects are moved to processes of redefining their identity, which is articulated and intertwined in dynamics of hybridisation. From a research perspective, the process embodies three segments and different subject-positions: artisans, tourism service providers; and artisanal fishermen.

In their traditional category, the Artisans redefine and affirm the tourist routes, crossing borders to promote their merchandise and their art of weaving. In fact, under the aegis of new scales of space and time, tourism circuits break with local dimensions. The artisans produce in the local space, but disseminate their products throughout the state and the nation, by participating in trade fairs and fashion events. Accordingly, through their crafts, such women have achieved positions and larger spaces in the local and national market, after a long journey from the construction of community life, to training and developing the craft and stimulating the creative process in order to meet tourism demands.

The Artisans’ trajectory, constructed by generations of women, constantly produces new meanings, constructing new identities of *being an artisan in* “the Barreirinhas Tourist destination”, in which they engender processes of fragmentation and identity reconstructions, amid dilemmas and struggles, achievements and disputes for recognition in the fashion world and taking their position in the national and international markets.

With regard to the present state of local artisan activity on the tourist circuit, the artisans’ products are valued on the market, especially by SEBRAE, from the perspective of training and developing artisanal work, through seminars and workshops. In fact, the artisans demonstrate that they have assimilated key elements of marketing as developed by SEBRAE-Maranhão, through the “Crafting with Buriti Thread” Project. Similarly, Artecoop’s production – an entity associated with artisans - seeks to maintain the artisan essence of beauty and creativity, whilst adding new concepts of modernity and versatility required by the marketing standard. It hybridises the unique and the regional of traditional crafts with the aesthetic standards of the tourism market. Due to the imposition of capital in tourist circuits, it is an expression of neo-colonialism.

In this context, “Barreirinhas Tourism” has been reconfigured, with a redefinition of the Artisans’ lives. Therefore, this implies significant changes in the life trajectories of each artisan, whether on socioeconomic levels, or in symbolic or cultural terms. In this trajectory of change, the artisans affirm that they are reaching higher levels of training and are perfecting their art work, weaving new, creative plots with quality and of a marketing standard. The analysis of their narratives reveals that the life histories of the artisans in the time of tourism, is fraught with disruptions and hybridizations relating to a common past for all. In other words, the artisan-women are rebuilding their identities and redefining directions and routes to their destinations. This means that the Artisans have experienced changes in being a woman and being an artisan, in new forms of sociability, in everyday family life and craft work, in a collaborative system, in break prejudices and facing new dilemmas and challenges, whether in public or private life. The emerging question is how this segment incorporates such rapid change in standards of living, how these redefinitions are expressed in social life.

With regard to environmental awareness, and specifically in relation to raw craft material, the artisans are critical of indiscriminately increasing the practice of Buriti thread extraction, as without adhering to the basic guidelines, i.e. protecting the tree of a certain period in order for the palm to

recovery, the result will be the destruction of the Buriti palm trees.

In a study on the economic and socio-environmental potential of Buriti craft in traditional communities in Lençóis Maranhenses, Saraiva and Sawyer (2007, p.5) claim that: “The extraction of the Buriti fruit involves traditional management practices based on detailed knowledge of the natural environment and associated species. However, the collection of these fruits, if poorly managed, can exert great pressure on resources and cause the death of the palms. Fernandes-Pinto (2006) identified the region of Barreirinhas as [...] a critical situation of overexploitation of buriti palms and fifteen activities that have a directly negative impact in these areas.”

In fact, the situation has reached unsustainable levels, as there is neither supervision nor effective action by municipal managers and other public agencies in order to curb the devastation of the city’s buriti palms. Hence, in their narratives, the artisans denounce the lack of a public policy that would effectively protect this palm, which is both a symbol of Barreirinhas and source of income for the large number artisans who work with its produce. Furthermore, in relation to the environmental aspect, other adverse effects that are accelerated in times of tourism are mentioned, such as the increase in pollution of the Preguiças River and the reduction in fish, in the face of the illegal trawling practiced off the Barreirinhas coast for over 30 years.

The Providers of Travel Services are an emerging category, established in the context of tourism and comprising identities based on the dictates of a competitive and exclusive market, in relentless pursuit of space and positions. The webs of relationships that are established in the Barreirinhas tourist chain demonstrate an extremely competitive scenario, following the capitalist logic that reinforces the strong by absorbing the weak. It is a competitive situation, which benefits those who own capital in its various forms.

It is worth remembering that, whether considering the jeep or the speedboat drivers, in thinking of the near future, of what is necessary for the discussion of the sustainability of tourism in Barreirinhas, an interpretation of current situation is taken as a point of departure. Thus, in the critical perspective of members of these professional categories, the main challenge to the Barreirinhas–Lençóis Maranhenses destination is precisely the disorganisation of tourist activity in the city, due to the lack of effective action and political commitment of public managers at both municipal and state level. Thus, the criticisms aimed at the municipal and state authorities, reveal the sense of insecurity and uncertainty with regard to the future of tourism in Barreirinhas, especially for the *children of the land*. In this discussion, these subjects clearly refer to the “us” from Barreirinhas and “them,” those who come from outside. This also demonstrates how they perceive themselves in this relationship between “us” and “them”, recognizing themselves as the weaker side in the tourist chain by emphasizing what they lack: entrepreneurial vision and financial resources to invest and compete. Again, expressions of neo-colonialism are visible in this contemporary capitalist civilization in times of tourism.

Finally, a third social segment is represented by the Artisan Fisherman/Fishermen, in the category of living tourism as mere spectators, trying to be included in the margins and observing the ever-increasing extinction of perspectives and spaces for artisanal fishing according to the Barreirinhas tradition.

Undoubtedly, these men and women involved in the craft of fishing communicated information, insights, doubts and anxieties about central and relevant dimensions in their lives, such as catching fish and seafood; other activities linked to fishing that are integrated in time and space - in winter and in summer/at the beach and inland - such as agriculture and pottery; the insecurity generated by the lack of official information from the Chico Mendes Institute for the Conservation of Biodiversity(ICMbio⁴) about the situation of families resident in the Lençóis Maranhenses National

⁴ The Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade (ICMbio) created according to Law No. 11.516/07. Under Article 1, First Instance, its objectives are: to execute a national policy for units to conserve nature, with regard to federal responsibilities for the

Park ; different views on the effects of tourism on their lives; the scarcity of information about the Project for the Development of Artisanal Fisheries in Lençóis Maranhenses; and the outrage due to the practice of overfishing which has been on-going for years, off the coast of Barreirinhas. These narratives, from people along the margins, situated on the banks, provide ways of thinking about the identity processes of a segment of the population which is considered surplus - that “their social place” is a place of exclusion in these times of “Barreirinhas Tourism”. Accordingly, we focus our gaze on certain recurring issues in the discourses of these men and women from the artisanal fisheries in Barreirinhas, configuring the limits and challenges and even threats to their lives and to the eco - system of Barreirinhas:

1. The lack of public policies to support artisanal fishermen. In this sense, men and women from the artisanal fishing industry express feelings of indignation, of vehement criticism, of disappointment and even of impotence in the absence of effective public actions to support artisanal fisheries, especially in terms of credit for investment in boats to fish on the open seas and for technical assistance.
2. The practice of overfishing or “trawling”. This key issue perplexes fishermen, and leaves them indignant with feelings of insurgence and helplessness. In fact, the phenomenon has been occurring for many years, without incurring punishment from the body responsible- currently the ICMBio - for violations of environmental laws.
3. The social risk of being a resident of the Lencóis Maranhenses National Park. In fact, this situation is both complex and controversial, as it brings two distinct rationales into dispute: the rationality embodied in traditional views that focus on the conservation and the protection of conservation units, based on existing legislation and rationality in environmental vision that is “broad and inclusive”, emphasising the relationship between man and the environment. In fact, it is artisanal fishing and the seafood industry which have been compromised by the capital expansion that reached Barreirinhas in various ways. It is undisputed that global tourism, in the contemporary circuits of capitalist globalisation, is a vector of economic and cultural change, which changes the lives of populations. The processes of global tourism reconfigure space-time connections, producing tourist places and times subject to capitalist logic. Leisure itself is commercialised, recreation is transformed into consumer products for those who can pay and for those who can sell.

4. Interpellations of the debate

Due to the global tourism circuitr, the Lençóis National Park turned into a “spectacle of nature for the world”, constituting a *sui generis* merchandise, comprising the exotic, the unusual, an exciting adventure in a “lost paradise” to be enjoyed and consumed. The spectacle ignites the tourism imaginary, keeping it in high demand in the fiercely competitive market.

In fact, the unlimited expansion of capital, through its new processes of accumulation and exploitation, is a modernised form of colonialism, as it subjects locations, populations and cultures, thus forming what could be called “neo-colonialism in contemporary times.”

The metamorphosis of Barreirinhas / Maranhão / Brazil, immersed in new connections of time and space, interpellates the debate on neocolonialism in contemporary capitalist civilisations. Strictly speaking, the social groups of artisans, providers of tourist services, and artisanal fishermen from different places and in different social positions, embody expressions of this neocolonialism,

proposition, implementation, management, protection, supervision and monitoring of protected areas established by the Union.”

reconfiguring lifestyles and identities: the artisans redefine meanings of work and life, submitting to the dictates of the market; as an emerging category, the providers of tourism services, constitute their own experience of work and configure identities depending on the dynamics of global tourism; the fishermen experience the ordeal of being “on the margin”, as surplus and redundant workers in Barreirinha tourism.

The question that arises is how this neo-colonialism imposed on global tourism circuits can be resisted. Indeed, what forms of deconstruction are possible and feasible, given the strength and magnitude of globalised tourism at the Lençóis National Park? Furthermore, how does the population of Barreirinhas perceive these forms of neo-colonisation to which their lives and their culture - in short, their present and their future – are subjected?

The debate is open to investigation and discussion, which allow the unravelling of the interstices of neocolonialism in its peculiar forms of domination, with an awareness of the expressions of resistance within this capitalist civilization that limit us. It is an historical demand of critical thinking to compare the forms of ideological mystification which are imposed on circuits of contemporary capitalism.

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Abstract: In this paper I will discuss the integration experiences of African immigrant students in public and private Brazilian universities. By analyzing those individuals' situation in university life experienced in Fortaleza, Ceará, I will examine their daily lives, their encounter with alterity, prejudice and racial discrimination, the difficulties in integration into colleges, as well as their social dramas at the end of their studies, related to the possibility of returning to their home country or staying in Brazil. It is true that Brazilian universities are many times unaware of those students' and their countries' reality, as they are simply regarded as knowledge consumers, whose experiences are underused or wasted. That student migration has been making student groups, movements and associations gather African students according to national distinction, making them quite sterile with no negotiation skills with Brazilian higher education institutions. As foreigners and as dark-skinned people, African students often experience a state of social anomie, where they have to "fend for themselves", finally adopting a capitalist identity based on consumption.

Keywords: African students; Brazil; Universities; Experiences; Integration.

Introduction: presenting the African diaspora in Ceará

To briefly summarize, the metropolitan citizen would accept the immigrant if he were invisible and silent, but once a certain demographic density has been reached, the ghost assumes a terrifying consistency. To make matters worse, reassured by his growing numbers, he dares, on the contrary, to talk out loud in his native tongue and sometimes appears in his native dress. *Albert Memmi*.

The presence of African students in the state of Ceará, as immigrants, began in the second half of the 1990s, with the very first group coming from Angola. Over that period, only students from Portuguese-speaking African countries came to be part of the Federal University of Ceará (UFC, Portuguese: Universidade Federal do Ceará), through the Undergraduate Student Partnership Program (PEC-G, Portuguese: Programa de Estudantes Convênio - de Graduação).¹ The immigration of Bissau-Guinean and Cape

¹ Undergraduate Student Partnership Program (PEC-G, Portuguese: Programa de Estudantes Convênio - de Graduação), the result of cooperation in the area of education and higher education between Brazil and developing countries, collectively administered by the Brazilian Ministry of External Relations and the Ministry of Education, and comprising 45 countries, with 32 active countries which send students from Africa, Latin America and East Timor. The African continent has the biggest student contingent, with 20 countries

African Diaspora in Ceará: Integration experiences of African immigrant students in university¹

Ercílio Langa

UFC, Brazil

¹ Translation: Soraia Redondo.

Verdean students started in 1998 and, two years later, Santomean, Angolan and Mozambican students follow. By the early 2000s there is a significant increase in the number of African students living in Ceará, most of whom come to study at private colleges, with contracts signed in their countries of origin, through ads and admission exams done in Guinea-Bissau. The increase in immigration of African students to Brazil, at the start of the 21st century, was also fuelled by president Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva’s political stance and his policy of cooperation and tightening of bonds with Africa².

That ongoing policy of cooperation is particularly directed at higher education, by creating different mechanisms, such as trainee programs, scholarships and agreements, in order to facilitate the possibility of Africans studying in Brazil. Within the context of different mobilizing strategies, students leave their respective countries with academic expectations regarding Brazil, due to the country’s greater level of economic, technological and academic output development, bolstering their hopes of easy integration because of a common language and culture – the Portuguese language, the cuisine, the religion and the African culture brought by slaves permeating Brazilian life.

According to Mourão (2009), in the 2000s, the African students who were part of the international agreements with Brazilian public universities called themselves the “African community in Fortaleza,” including, particularly, young students of Cape Verdean and Bissau-Guinean nationality, united and dealing with common issues at the time, such as adjusting and solving everyday problems. The author argues that, even so, that union at the diaspora did not dispel the historical differences of class, income, status and level of education between citizens from both countries. Over the years, the number of African students at Ceará has grown, establishing a contingent of immigrants becoming complex in its diversity. In contrast, Baessa (2005) states that, given the increasing number of Guinean and Cape Verdean students in the city, these individuals begin to establish greater distinctions among themselves, highlighting their specific nationalities, contradicting the previous designation of “African community.” Nowadays, there is a growing segment of students from different countries, social classes and religious beliefs, not only from Portuguese-speaking countries but also from English-speaking and French-speaking countries, such as Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In 2011, the Federal Police of Ceará registered a 1260 African students in the state, of whom 1000 attended several private colleges, a 130 attended the Federal University of Ceará and 20 attended Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE), the majority being from African Portuguese-speaking countries (PALOP) (BRÁS, 2011). In fact, the number of students seems to be greater than what the Federal Police had previously registered, because many students are in an irregular situation. A significant portion of students, the majority, studying at private colleges, live in precarious conditions along with prejudice and racial discrimination.

I call the increasing presence of students – from Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo and São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal – in the State of Ceará, African diaspora³. Those individuals, who belong to several ethnolinguistic groups, feature multicultural identities and several kinds of differences that mark their lives in this state. This diaspora is comprised of both male and female students, of whom the majority is young men between 18 and 35 years old, dark-skinned, of several ethnicities, belonging to the big Bantu ethnolinguistic

which send students every year. In 2010, there were 383 African students, most of whom Bissau-Guineans, Cape Verdeans and Angolans, enrolled at Brazilian federal and state universities. In the same year, under that program (and other similar ones), there were about 18.917 students from Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) in Brazil.

² Over the eight years of Lula’s government, spanning from 2003 to 2010, the student exchange between Brazil and African countries intensified. During his two terms, President Lula visited 27 African countries, while his predecessor, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, only visited three.

³ The notion of diaspora, which drives this research, is inspired in Hall’s ideas (2011) about the identities of immigrants from the Caribbean region and Great Britain, their origin myths, the needs and dangers they face under globalization.

family. The African diaspora has created groups and movements, gathering African students in a mobilization and organization process in several student associations, the most important being: the Associação de Estudantes Africanos no Estado do Ceará (AEAC), the Associação de Estudantes da Guiné-Bissau no Estado do Ceará (AEGBECE), the Fundação de Estudantes Cabo-verdianos nas Faculdades do Nordeste (FEAF), the Centro de Estudantes Estrangeiros da UFC (CEEUFC) and the Movimento Pastoral de Estudantes Africanos (MPEA). Usually, such African student associations are based on national distinctions, making them quite sterile with no negotiation skills with Brazilian higher education institutions, these students attend.

In light of this student migration situation, marked by the massive arrival and presence of African students from several countries in Brazilian public and private higher education institutions, and by the emerging of African student associations in those institutions, I feel compelled to understand this phenomenon, discussing these students' presence and integration in Brazilian universities. My analysis is limited to the expectations of African students in UFC, the largest public higher education institution of the State of Ceará, in northeast Brazil. Therefore, I analyze the experiences of African students at the Fortaleza campuses, where I have lived for about three years, being myself a student of UFC. For questioning the problems of such phenomenon, here are some questions that guide this paper: Who are these students? How do they live? How are they received by universities? How is their integration carried out in Brazilian academic life?

The daily lives of African students in Fortaleza and their encounter with alterity

Once in Brazil, African students face daily challenges, especially financial difficulties, given the high cost of living in this metropolis in comparison to what they can afford. A significant portion of the contingent of students claims feeling discriminated against every day, due to the color of their skin and their own African descent, in different degrees and forms of the discriminations found in their home countries. Gusmão (2005) opens up ways for reflection, by circumscribing Brazil's own position, in receiving the African diaspora:

A multiracial country which is part of the so-called "developing countries," but that differs from the European countries, until very recently privileged in the search for qualification of personnel by Palop. In question, the position of a relatively peripheral country in the international division of labor, with a Portuguese colonization past as well, and which, though structurally mestizo and black, thinks of itself as white and European. In discussion, the existence of internal processes of discrimination and racism in Brazilian reality and the perception and experiences of the black and African individual in this context. (GUSMÃO, 2006:16).

In Fortaleza's daily routine, racial prejudice and discrimination toward African students occur in several ways, often subtle ones, which range from looks of suspicion and discomfort in waiting lines and rooms, when accessing services such as hospitals, banks, lottery retailers and busses. Just like changing from one sidewalk or one street to another, people change their wallet, purses and cellphones from one side or pocket to another as soon as an individual of African descent approaches. These situations represent types of what Bourdieu (2007) defines as symbolic violence.

Such violence involves gestures, signals, symbols and cultural practices shared by society, often carried out subtly and inconspicuously by those who act, as a form of oppression, if not constant repetition. The African students part of the federal and state universities, who are, in fact, the minority, survive on the PEC-G scholarships and on other signed agreements between Brazil and their home countries. As for the students studying at private colleges, they receive money from their

families to pay for tuition and to stay in college, adding to their income from some undeclared work – at stores and markets, beauty salons, auto repair garages, factories and construction, restaurants or parking lots of big shopping malls and supermarkets, or even at people’s homes as babysitters – to thus ensure their survival and their own means of transportation in the city.

Within this group of students studying at private colleges, there are a number of them who, in their free time, trade clothes and footwear between Brazil and their home countries. Finally, a select group of private college students, mainly Cape Verdeans, survives and studies in a relaxed manner, thanks to the money sent by family members living in Africa and by immigrant relatives in European and North American countries.

Private colleges – as a mechanism of attraction - claim to guarantee paid internships to students once they finish their Management, Accounting, Marketing, Communication, Science and Information Management degrees. In reality, African students are offered “paid internships” that are forms of precarious work such as being pamphleteers, security guards at shopping malls and parking lots or electronic surveillance operators, in a ploy used to bypass the norm which forbids them from working.

In everyday life, African students realize how hard it is for Brazilians to call them by their given names, replacing these by the Brazilian native category “*negão*” (lit. “big black”) and easily forgetting their nationalities and the names of their home countries, blurring everything into the African generic category. Mendes (2010:27) highlights that “[...] African students are not fully aware of the social limits traditionally built by whites to segregate the blacks. They are not informed of those environments of exclusion, they go through the delineated borders and walk in whites’ environments.” African students, in everyday Fortaleza, notice the social distance of Brazilian blacks who, many times, believe that Africans are *playboys*, rich individuals from African political elites, or that they are individuals who come to Brazil to take up the seats which, by right, would be theirs.

There is also, among the Brazilians blacks, the idea that Africans are “*cotistas*” (lit. “quota holders”), in other words, students beneficiary of racial quotas in higher education in Brazil. To be exact, forms of African student integration with Ceará’s population, on a daily basis, tend to express discrimination mechanisms, making them outsiders (BECKER, 2008); (ELIAS & SCOTSON, 2000). One can notice, among the people of Ceará, the existence of multiple ideas about the African presence, particularly, stigmatizing points of view of racial prejudice because of being black. In a report, Guinean students, as an organizational strategy within the scope of the Movimento Pastoral do Estudante Africano (lit. “pastoral movement of the African student”) reported expressions of racism:

We have faced racial discrimination in the city and on campus as well, which characterizes institutional racism, by college staff, teachers and academic departments. The academic departments have even implemented rules for us, such as: Take showers, wear perfume, skin cream, don’t arrive sweaty [...]. These demands are only made of African students (2012: 7).

In fact, many of those students come to Brazil bearing expectations of easy academic integration and personal and professional growth, however, they come across Brazilian society’s social structure, organized in a hierarchical way by race, skin color and social classes. Being black, African and poor places them in a subservient position, preventing them from accessing several opportunities.

The difficulties and different forms of discrimination faced by African immigrants, their racial interpellations and identity resignificance are similar to what Turner (2005) calls “*social dramas*,”⁴

⁴ According to Turner (2005), social drama appears as a life experience which refers to the notion of danger, allowing individuals to access the social and symbolic universe, contrasting the ordinary to the extraordinary. This notion emerges as a model for reading reality in tribal societies, viewed in four moments: rupture, crisis and crisis intensification, repairing action and outcome. Drama presents itself as an important moment in repairing crisis.

difficulties in recreating social and symbolic universes in the modern world, where people feel isolated and abandoned faced with the responsibility of giving meaning to their lives. In that context, several African students struggle to pay tuition and others are caught working and threatened with deportation. Even so, student migration to Brazil is a *life experience*⁵, an intensely lived, unique and significant experience which forms and transforms these student's lives and paths. The migration experience is almost always given a positive resignificance, and it is perceived as an education, learning and career development opportunity. However, it is also perceived as a change in their worldview and stance, acquired because of the financial difficulties they go through and challenges finding work and paying their bills.

African students' experiences in Brazilian universities

African students in Brazilian universities seem to live in a state of *social anomie* (Merton, 1970). Social anomie in African students in Fortaleza manifests itself through disorientation in their personal and academic lives. It shows in the constant skipping between programs and colleges, where many can't adapt to the programs they enrolled in, when they would rather take others befitting their "heart's desire" of their "calling." Others still, become aware of other programs and colleges that offer better segues into the job market and, with time, "find" their calling in a different profession. These intentions of constantly switching programs cause problems for the students, as well as for the college's academic departments and heads of the students' programs. They are seen as "a problem," as "problem" students. Most Africans are in undergraduate programs in private colleges. Few can manage to break through into graduate programs.

Education in Brazilian higher learning institutions offers new disfigures and new identity synthesis through different cultural practices observed in the Brazilian university experience, however these institutions - students, teaching body and staff - ignore the students reality in their home countries (FONSECA, 2009). The author also points to conflicts originating in the stigma of being temporary immigrants and the war refugee stereotype. In reality, these subjects adaptation is slow. In a colonialist attitude, Brazilian universities and colleges create gaps where the experience and knowledge African students bring are not applied and are not considered valid. There's a notion that African students are not producers of knowledge, merely consumers who come to Brazil only to learn and not bring or produce knowledge. The universities' hegemonic scientific order isn't concerned by those students' reality, nor that of the countries they come from which results in what Sousa Santos (2011) calls a *waste of experience*.

[...] the worldview is wider than the western one. The South African, Indian, Mozambican colleagues perceive sociology, society and the world differently from those in the north. So, I thought that, probably, what is most worrying in today's world is the amount of social experience that is wasted, because it occurs in remote places. The media is adverse to very local experiences, the ones not well known nor legitimized by hegemonic social sciences, and that is why they have stayed invisible, discredited (SOUSA SANTOS, 2011:23-24).

In fact, most African students cannot join extracurricular or research activities in and outside

5 Turner (2005) literally defines experience as "trying, going on an adventure, taking risks", where experience and danger have the same origin. Turner differentiates three types of experiences: the *daily experience* which refers to the simple, passive experience of accepting daily events; the *life experience* which refers to the unique experience that happens in regards to perception of pain or pleasure, which can be felt more intensively and; *learning experiences* which differ from external events and internal reactions, such as the beginning of new ways of living, romantic adventures, which can be personal or shared.

universities and are underused by the precarious work job market. Usually experience and knowledge not originating in the West are ignited by the “dominant paradigm” in scientific work doesn’t dialog with other world views (SOUSA SANTOS, 2010). In this context authors, facts, stories, narratives and experiences from the African and not western world are ignored and considered nonscientific, local and, in consequence minor.

The migration experience of African students in Brazilian territory influences and changes their worldview and stance. Many start building a “capitalist identity” (Fonseca, 2009) and sometimes an “entrepreneurial identity.” These identities are based in the consumption of goods in a capitalist market, with various products at accessible prices, as has been the case in Brazil in the last few years. Consumption of clothes, footwear, famous brand cellphones, as well as trading clothes and footwear between Brazil and their countries of origin - clothes, tunics, colorful cloth from African countries and Havaianas flip-flops, blouses, bikinis, footwear, jewelry from Brazil - is predominant in these identities. In this scenario, part of the students are attracted to remain in Brazil or settle in permanently, by a set of “conveniences” and a greater “quality of life,” as well as because of the social and certainty returning to their countries of origin, because of their feelings of lack of place, change of identity references, social and emotional ties, etc. Gusmão (2008) appropriately describes the position of an African student in Brazil:

What they learn and what they forget when staying “out of place” for too long is now the challenge for the home countries’ authorities. It is also a challenge for family, relatives and friends, who often sacrificed themselves to support their quest for education, when they finish their degrees and return to their families and home countries. Because of their new ways, how they dress, how they behave, the students no longer fully recognize themselves in their original group, feeling weird at the same time in that world. Those who stayed in that world also feel uncomfortable around those who returned. They see themselves as modern, globalized individuals, who have perspectives and different values which contrast with the more traditional context values and habits. What they understand is that they are no longer from there, but they also know they are not from the land where they seek new paths through education and professional qualification. In these are, mostly, foreigners and then “Africans and blacks.” In Africa those who are: Angolan, Mozambican, Cape Verdeans Guinean, Santomean. They are Balanta, Fula, Pepel, Kimbundu, Ovimbundu, Creole, Mestizos and with no reference to ethnic origin, and so on and so forth. (GUSMÃO, 2008:8-9).

A majority of students who remain in Brazilian territory marry Brazilian women or start a family, but few manage to continue their academic life and take graduate degrees. Others are observed by the job market in larger metropolis like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. This scenario, based on the experiences of African students in Brazilian territory, raises several questions: What historic power relationships have formed between African countries and Brazil? What educational reality do African countries and Brazil feel, when accepting these students?

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SESSION 29

LUSOPHONIES,
TOURISM, CULTURE
AND PATRIMONY

Abstract: To talk about heritage means also to talk about the construction of a discourse, in which some elements were selected and instrumentalized ideologically in a precise historical moment. The symbolic value given to these objects encompasses discourses of belonging, an aggregating factor in the local community or the Nation-State. Nevertheless, these same objects sometimes represent dissonant or shifting values which adapt themselves to the needs of those who reproduce the discourses. Although the official discourse responds to political needs the society's collective memory, as well as the individual memories of those who experience these spaces mould as well alternative discourses.

In the case study of Safi, we are talking about a national classified architectural heritage, mostly of Portuguese origin, selected and settled by a second colonial power, the French Protectorate (1912-1956). Although nowadays the Portuguese colonial past does not represent a major symbol of a problematised colonialism for Moroccan society. French settlers appropriated this historical moment, during their administration with a very clear sense of imperialism.

The French Protectorate elected some heritage elements that were obvious in terms of representation of the local communities, some important elements such as examples of local artistic expression, culture and ideology. However, the transition to the post-colonial period gave rise to a discourse reconstruction and an appropriation of the same symbols which the French(?) coloniser had chosen which did not necessarily integrate alternative symbols and elements of contestation in the colonial discourse.

Keywords: heritage; city; identity; memory; Morocco.

1. Heritage as a vehicle of identity discourses and power

[...] the world is itself intertextual. Places are intertextual sites because various texts and discursive practices based on previous texts are deeply inscribed in their landscapes and institutions. We construct both the world and our actions towards it from texts that speak of who we are or wish to be. Such 'texts in the world' then recursively act back on the previous texts that shaped them.¹

To talk about heritage means also to talk about the construction of a discourse, in which certain elements were selected and instrumentalized following a certain ideology in a

¹ Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, *Writing Worlds. Discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992, p.7-8.

Portuguese castles in Safi: the decolonization of heritage discourses

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precise historical moment. The symbolic value given to these objects intends to justify discourses of belonging, as an aggregating factor of the community or of the Nation-State. Nevertheless, these objects sometimes encompass dissonant or shifting values, that adapt themselves to the needs of those who produce the discourses. The official discourse responds to political needs, but the society's collective memory, as well as individual memories, of those who experience these spaces, mould as well alternative discourses.

In the study case of Safi, we are talking about a classified architectural heritage, of Portuguese origin in its majority, selected and settled by a second colonial power, the French Protectorate (1912-1956). Although the Portuguese colonial past does not represent nowadays a major symbol of a problematic colonialism, for the Moroccan society, this historical moment was appropriated by the French settlers, during their administration, with a very clear sense of imperialism.

The French Protectorate elected some heritage elements, in despite of others that could seem more obvious from the point of view of representation of the local communities, as some important elements representative of the local artistic expression, the culture and ideology. However, the transition to the post-colonial period resulted in a discourse reconstruction as well as an appropriation of the same symbols elected by the coloniser, and, not necessarily, an integration of alternative symbols and elements of contestation to the colonial discourse.

As far as the Province of Safi, fourteen monuments were classified as National Heritage. All of these classifications go back to the period of French colonialism. The first classification in Safi was the "Potters Neighbourhood" in 1920 (*dahir* of November the 19th 1920, published in the B.O. n°423 of November the 23rd 1920 P.16) and, the last one, in 1954, was the house of the Caïd of the Abda tribe, *Dar-Si-Aïssa* (Vizirial Decree of December the 2nd 1953, published in the B.O. n° 2150 of January the 8th 1954 P.41).

The heritage of Portuguese origin in Safi inscribed in the listing of the national heritage corresponds to six classifications, considering that in the urban perimeter of Safi we only find the "Potters Neighbourhood" side-by-side to Portuguese artefacts. The six classifications are as follows:

- Portuguese Sea Castle (*dahir* of November the 7th 1922 de 1922 published in the B.O of November the 21st 1922 P. 1642);
- *Kechla of Safi* (*dahir* of November 25th 1922 published in the B.O. n° 528 of December the 5th 1922 P. 1718);
- City walls of Safi (*dahir* of July the 3rd 1923 published in the B.O. n° 560 of July the 17th 1923 P. 871);
- Portuguese Church of Safi (*dahir* of January the 21st 1924 published in the B.O. n° 593 of February the 26th 1924 P.382);
- Easement areas of artistic protection around the Portuguese Sea Castle of Safi (*dahir* of February the 20th 1924, published in the B.O. n° 596 of March the 25th 1924 P. 544);
- Traces of the Portuguese Church of the Alley Sidi Abdelkrim in Safi (*dahir* of May the 7th 1930 published in the B.O. n° 921 of June the 2nd 1930 P.735);

The heritage artefacts represent the official historical memory, which the French Protectorate had chosen in the town of Safi. These are mostly a 'monumental past' with a foreign matrix. The French colonial politics in Morocco didn't restrict itself to the political and economic administration domain, but it also meant cultural education of a colonial mentality and policy. The choice of the heritage artefacts, therefore, was not entirely innocent. Rather, it shows precisely the intents of the colonisers in appropriating those symbols which had to represent national power.

All monuments of Portuguese origin in the list of national heritage in Morocco go back to the colonial period, except for those monuments outside the jurisdiction of the French Protectorate.

In the colonial discourse, the appreciation of this cultural heritage represented a distinction factor and not a contact zone. As Henri Terrace suggested: “Portuguese architects had nothing to learn from these [Moroccan] fortresses, archaists, poorly adapted to the landscape and barely capable of resisting the canon power.”² The Portuguese past corresponded to something rather monumental and of strictly European character, in opposition to the indigenous model. Similarly, Herzfeld’s (1991), case study of Rethemnos the French colonial administration in Morocco, particularly in Safi, saw itself in a similar revaluation of the past civilization European models: “Those in power seek to monumentalize and eternalize the “European” values of Greekness, respectability and order.”⁴ The colonial discourses and the cultural heritage practices, along with the urban and architectural interventions at the time show an intent of valuing, in a certain way, a sort of continuity of the European domination of Safi.

The turning to the post-colonial era represented a rupture with the colonial cultural policies, nevertheless the chosen heritage artefacts have remained important references to the Safiot identity, to collective memory and to spatial referents in the old historic town of Safi until nowadays. The discourses have been restructured integrating these elements. If, through the archives, we barely find some dissonant moments regarding the official discourse, through ethnographic fieldwork we can identify a series of discourses that reflect the contemporary moment.

Although a vast local heritage is not yet inscribed in the list of national monuments, the recognition by local authorities of other architectural artefacts is visible. In the Safi Province website (www.safi.ma) 23 architectural or natural elements are listed as historical monuments, although is clearly mentioned if the element is classified as National Monument, or not, or even if the classification has been eventually removed, as for the case of the Zima Lake. To the list of the national heritage of Safi two mosques are added, as well as a *madrassa* and a *zaouia*. The cultural heritage discourse isn’t then an historical fact enclosed in itself, but a vehicle of discourses and ideologies which is reformulated according to the needs of those who detain the power, but also of those who inhabit these places of memory.

The heritage discourses manifest in several forms, particularly through spatial practices that offer possibilities of new discourses. This reading of space, namely the patrimonial space as a text, is essential to understand how the different dimensions of the patrimonial process articulate themselves.

The notion of space as a multidimensional entity with social and cultural as well as territorial dimensions has been a prime concern in recent scholarship, particularly in the fields of post-colonial literatures and history, and social and cultural geography. Space has been linked to concepts of power, as in the writings of Michel Foucault, and there is a growing body of historical and literary criticism which deals with the peculiarities of colonial space and its relationship to, and representation through, the eye – and the pen – of the imperial beholder.³

2. Processes and politics of cultural heritage in Safi

The metaphor of the empty centre which Françoise Choay identified proposes to consider “the town as a non-verbal system of signifying elements that reveals itself in a pure state in the slow evolution

² Michael Herzfeld, *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991. p.26 .

³ Kate Darian-Smith et. al. (ed.), *Text, Theory, Space. Land, literature and history in South Africa and Australia*, London and New York, Routledge, 1996, p.2.

of enclosed societies”. This clearly applies to the fragments of towns as the *medinas* because, in its slow death or its metamorphosis, they continue to question themselves about what will happen with the cultures and the memories and about the inevitability of the historical bifurcations.⁴

The evolution of the Portuguese Land Castle in Safi medina is an interesting example of these inevitable historical bifurcations and of how space was adapted and abandoned in different historical periods through the several installed powers. In this construction of Portuguese matrix the town governor installed his palace in the XVIII century, denominated as the palace *Dar Sultan*, which the French Protectorate later appropriated, expanded and transformed in the office of the colonial administration, named *Bureau Arabe*. After Independence it was converted into the National Museum of Ceramics, and the headquarters of the Regional Delegation of Cultural Heritage and the Inspection of Historical Monuments and Sites of Safi. This process shows the symbolic importance of a patrimonial object that went by a certain degree of hybridism and subversion throughout time.

The community of the Safi’s medina historical centre continue to feel the presence of this construction that dominates the area. Nevertheless, although the people understand this element as a symbol of colonial domination, the *Kechla*, the Portuguese castle or the *Bureau Arabe*, also see it as one of the prominent local town icons. A negotiation process of public memory and of the representations around this patrimonial object was produced over time, with sometimes dissenting, or at least polyphonic, discourses. The official vision is certainly not the same as the one of the old town communities or of those of the modern neighbourhoods, or even of the town visitors.

Analysis of the processes and politics of cultural heritage in the Portuguese castles of Safi – the Sea Castle and the Land Castle – discloses its appropriation to legitimize identity discourses and relations of power and alterity. This helps us better understand how heritage was decolonized within discursive practices and how this process and its politics manifest into the spatial practices and in the urban design.

2.1. The Colonial Space

During his tenure in Morocco, Lyautey perfected his idea of “dual cities” or geographical “association”. This meant the strict preservation of monuments, streets and all kinds of ordinary cultural forms in the existing cities, with some attention to the differences between various religious and ethnic groups within the indigenous population. Alongside the “traditional” cities he envisioned expansive extensions for the French, called literally *villes nouvelles* or new cities where all the benefits of modern urbanism would be applied and appraised.⁵

The archive’s ethnographic work raises questions about how actors of local administration, as well as the State or a fraction of the local community perceived the processes of cultural heritage in Safi, during the French Protectorate period. These questions relate mostly to the urban options and the actual interventions, as well as the impact that such actions had on Safi’s spatial development and in the spatial practices of these communities. The colonial relationships determined the urban growth of Safi and the identification and conservation of the historical tissue of the medina in Safi.

4 BOUMAZA Hadir, «Experience occidentale et construction maghrébine d’une approche du patrimoine» in GAVARI-BARBAS Maria and GUICHARD-ANGUIS Sylvie, *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans le monde à l’aube du XXI^e siècle*, Paris, PUP, 2003, p. 118.

5 BOUMAZA Hadir, «Experience occidentale et construction maghrébine d’une approche du patrimoine» in GAVARI-BARBAS Maria and GUICHARD-ANGUIS Sylvie, *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans le monde à l’aube du XXI^e siècle*, Paris, PUP, 2003, p. 118.

During the first years of the French Protectorate the colonial administration promoted cultural heritage policies in Safi on the basis of what it considered most important to the Safiot identity. This entailed identifying historical monuments and architectural elements to classify and preserve. In 1921, the Regional Inspector for the South of Morocco sent a document to the Chief of the Fine-Arts and Historical Monuments Service in which he described the particular interest of some architectural elements, which he submitted with some projects of classification, namely the walls of Safi that included both of the Portuguese castles.

[...] The city walls include, besides the defensive system that contours the medina with its walls, towers and doors, the monument called the *Kechla*, occupied nowadays by the Civil Control, and the old forteress-castle located by the sea, near by the port. All this fortification system is clearly Portuguese; It seems that there is not anything that can be done for this monument or in all the surroundings of the town, but is in the old forteress-castle of the sea that we are going to work. [...] it is in the towers, in the interior domed rooms, and in the ammunition deposits, in the battlements, that is necessary and urgent to do maintenance works and reconstruction. [...] There would be, nevertheless, something charming to be done in this old forteress-castle, inspired maybe in what has been done in Rabat. The interior is actually occupied by the indigenous, unhealthy and degraded by toilets that infect the neighbourhood and finally, something rather unlikely, by a medical dispensary. We could already predict the disappearing of all these moles and prepare the project of a garden and a museum in this place.⁶

The colonial cultural heritage practices were based on the creation of alterity. In the case study of Safi, the search for ideology of European values resulted in the epuration of historical monuments, along with the spatial fragmentation, according to the colonial model of the dual city. The colonial city previewed an idealization of drawing and of functions in view of the establishment of an artificial balance.

The notions of urbanism and cultural heritage evolved side by side during the modern colonial period and had an important impact in the social, economic and cultural dynamics in the Moroccan cities. The *old medina* has lost, in a certain way, its ‘urbanity’ to the colonial conception of modernity transposed to the *ville nouvelle*, also designated as the European neighbourhood set, by opposition to the indigenous neighbourhoods. In 1926, Borely, the responsible architect for the Fine-Arts Department wrote a service notification, concerning the architectural interventions in Safi, regarding the first action of “Preservation of the *medinas* according to the texts that implement an aesthetic servitude” and it shows well the current spatial and patrimonial conception.

It’s a matter of obtaining from the owners of the medina that they will build according to tradition, with the country’s carved stone (we largely abused the use of terrible mortars for the door frames in the last years in Safi) and according to the old proportions and shapes of sober ornaments, etc...

Therefore, we must oppose any intervention of European character in the old towns. On the other hand, in the new towns, where we intervene officially or officiously, there is an interest in assuring the value of contrast and, by other reasons, in building the new; with the spirit of a climate-inspired architecture.⁷

Therefore, we can see how the historical centres preservation policies had at their base an ideological imperialist discourse for the creation of a model of alterity and for territorial control. In

⁶ Unknown author, letter from the Regional Inspector to the Chief of the Fine-Arts and Historical Monuments Department, 5th November 1921. Rabat: Archives of the Cultural Heritage Direction.

⁷ BORELY, Note for Teillet – Rolle de notre service – 10 Conservation des medina suivant les textes instituant une servitude d’aspect, 15th January 1930. Rabat: Archives of the Cultural Heritage Direction. p.2-3.

the case of Safi, this became apparent in preserving the building traditions of the medina through the museolization of Portuguese heritage, and in re-establishing what was understood as its original appearance, erasing the traces of disfiguring squatters.

As far as the Land Castle was concerned, the colonial administration chose the maintenance of its architectural value and its “original” aesthetics but with a profound intervention. This process occurred by appropriating this space, because of its strategic location over the medina. However, in the case of the Sea Castle the patrimonial intervention was particularly aimed to the repositioning of its architectural original character.

The Sea Castle, at the time of the classification proposal, was taken in its interior and several constructions were added to its exterior walls. These constructions and squatters belonged to diverse owners:

The building belongs to the State, but once individuals have usurped several parts, then transferred by *adoul*⁸ acts, to certain people that today claim their rights. Their demands have no relevance to the classification because in what concerns the historical monuments themselves, and this particular case, the *dahir* of February the 13th 1914, didn't predict that indemnity could be allocated to the owners of these buildings.

These owners were Mr. da Silva, Mr. Thami Ould El Hadj Mohamed el Mostari and the Murdoch, Butler et Cie.'s British House. The *Habous* would also have the possession of a room in the ground floor of the castle with the tomb of the Saint Sidi Tahar ben el Kebir⁹

The colonial administration gave to this monument a cultural heritage classification to the monument, meanwhile it was still hostage of several other constructions that still continued to interfere with this space. The interferences came not only from local citizens, but from also from foreigners and from a religious space. This sacred space, the sanctuary of the *Marabout Sidi Tahar el Kebir* is the only of these constructions that was preserved until now in the interior of the Sea Castle.

In 1922, Marechal Lyautey promulgated the *dahir* that introduced the classification as historical national monument to the Portuguese Sea Castle of Safi. Therefore, the colonial administration legitimized the interest in the protection of this architectural element was legitimized by the colonial administration, even though an important condition was safeguarded:

Article II – It is in effect and it was authorized, by the previewed conditions by OUR GENERAL DIRECTOR of Public Works and by OUR GENERAL DIRECTOR of Public Instruction, of Fine-Arts and Antiques, the crossing of a tunnel by this monument for the passage of the port railroad.¹⁰

Safi's urban space absorbed several transformations that the French colonial administration experimented locally, deeply shifting its character. The cultural heritage value could not be promoted alone, forgetting the whole of the landscape and its potential value to the interests of the Protectorate. The matter of the railroad, as for the future of this monument, was the subject of several letters over time in asking to coordinate the interests of the Fine-Arts Department and the Public Works. Other institutional actors, or unofficial ones like the Syndicate for Tourism and Initiative or the Historical Chamber of Morocco followed.

8 The *adel* (plural in arab: *adoul*) is the notary of muslim/Muslim law. In Morocco he is the responsible for the matters of individual law.

9 PAUTY, letter of the Chief of the Fine-Arts and Historical Monuments Department to the Main Director of Public Instruction, of Fine-Arts and Antiques, Rabat, Cultural Heritage Direction Archives, October 18th 1922.

10 LYAUTEY, November the 7th 1922 *Dahir* (17 Rebia I 1341) that introduces the classification of the historical monument the Portuguese Sea Castle of Safi, Rabat, Cultural Heritage Direction Archives, November the 7th 1922.

2.2. The decolonization of cultural heritage, from social memory and institutional discourse

The city's cultural heritage and the elements identified as cultural heritage have obtained this status through a process of construction and negotiation. Each cultural heritage classification occurs through a production on which several agents, social, economic and cultural factors intervene in a direct relationship with the dominant discourses that structure power. These discourses often search to generate cultural representations that allow to orientate a vision of homogeneity towards the society, so that it recognizes itself in a national dimension as cultural identity.

If the cultural heritage achieves its function of aggregating entity at a national level, the local discourse is often more volatile. A sense of sharing of the patrimonial values and collective memory is rather present in Safi. Public or collective memory still bases itself on the classified patrimonial elements, and particularly in the Sea Castle. The civil society shows its interest in thinking about the meaning of the historic past, although a great part of them doesn't have a consistent discourse about Safi's cultural heritage.

In March 2010, a new collapse of the Southeast tower of the Sea Castle triggered in some Safiots a wave of outrage which they expressed in the social media, by demanding acts of preservation of the historical monuments of Safi. The national newspaper *Le Matin* warned about the consequences of this event:

The collapse [of the tower], that was only a “logical consequence” of the state in which the monument was already, provoked, in the eyes of many, the countdown to the extinction of part of Safi's memory and identity, at the same time that it witnesses the sad transformation of a great monument in a big pile of stones that falls a part with the waves lapping.¹¹

In these last few years the Sea Castle has been closed to the public. Only some few extraordinary visits are allowed, during special occasions, which the Cultural Heritage Delegation and the Historical Monuments and Sites Inspection monitor. In the memory of the Safiots, the Sea Castle remains the remembrance of a monument that was visited freely each Friday. The Friday in Morocco is the day reserved to a special Muslim prayer and to the sharing of the couscous meal with the family. It was once considered the day of leisure of the Safiots to enjoy this monument and its special relation with the town and the sea. The place is associated with the *Marissa*, that was: the little fishing docks of traditional fishing, where a significant part of the original Safiots from the medina learned how to swim in their childhood. This affective memory is also very present within the community.

With the closure to the main public of *Dar Sultan* – (the Land Castle), due to its structural problems – and of the Sea Castle, the city inhabitants increasingly avoid these places of memory which are slowly disappearing from their spatial vocabulary. The official discourse recognizes the Portuguese origin cultural heritage as Moroccan cultural heritage, justified by the country's multiculturalism, integrating communities of distinct origins in its formation. The historicist discourse often uses this cultural heritage as a symbol of the victory of Morocco upon the foreigner invasions, and by so a symbol Moroccan territorial integrity.

3. Collapsed Castles, Castles rebuilding

The drawing of space and the choices in urbanism create a series of possibilities in spatial practices,

¹¹ «Safi: Le Chateau de Mer lance un cri de detresse», *Le Matin.ma*, 08-04-2010, article consulted online in 31-08-2013, www.safi-ville.com/presses/le-Matin- ma_08042010_idr=103&id=131145.pdf

but as well as restrictions for those who walk through the space and that redefine it. The individual transforms new possibilities in realities and he transgresses also the interdictions, creating a series of new possibilities, transforming or abandoning some spatial elements. The individual that walks through the space can then transform the spatial significant in something else (Certeau, 1984: 98).

The elites that once lived in the old medina of Safi have left it, in search of the advantages of new houses which are more adapted to a modern lifestyle. The old medina lost its status and was converted in the shelter of outside populations, dilapidated houses, unhealthy housing. A great part of the marketers of the old medina doesn't live in its houses anymore. This reconfiguration of uses in the historical areas, of the spatial practices of the local community, shows a tendency to abandonment and undervaluation of their cultural heritage.

The urban landscape is a particularly interesting scenario, because the town is itself the centre stage of complex relationships between local and national, informal and institutional, individual and collective.

Ethnography can empower voices not usually heard in discussions of tradition, historic conservation, and the like, the voices of those who live in the places decreed as monumental by the state. It can recover the unofficial meanings that people often read into official discursive forms (see de Certeau 1984:xiii; Herzfeld 1987a:144-151). In this way, in places in question official interpretations of past and present.¹²

The spatial practices in Safi's castles nowadays, with the exception of some special character organized activities, refer in a large scale to subversive transgressions of the limits which urban planning imposes. These transgressive practices are also discourses of demand of spaces claimed for public use.

The local administration and Safi's associations are conscious of the urgency in to reinvigorate these places. It has been very interesting to follow this process. Even if the lack of funds is an important barrier to the preservation of the architectural cultural heritage, the communitarian effort is very efficient. A large number of voluntary actions gather several dozens of people, mostly youngsters of the old medina, as well as the old Safiots, the living 'treasures' of Safi's memory.

The Safi's castles are threatened by forgetfulness, as well as its concrete irreversible collapse. These issues constitute important subjects of reflection on the evolution of urban space of the town and on the urban policies to be adopted for the historical centre. It's now up to the local politicians to try to articulate their agendas with the needs of a changing population.

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¹² Michael Hertzfeld, *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991. p.13

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Abstract: This work aims to present ex-voto, through the release of the vow in catholic sanctuaries, more specifically, in the miracle rooms, with tradition that comes from Portugal. Here, a clipping of the production of the project ex-votos in Brazil: phase museums, which has been presented in museums and miracle rooms of 17 Brazilian states and also in some regions of Portugal, places dedicated to cultural heritage that have, among their richness, the testimonial nature of faith, and that presents histories of life, portrayed in pictoric and photographic supports, notes, sculptures, organic objects and industrialized objects, presenting individual and collective situations that exalt social memory which, in Brazil have come from Portugal and nowadays remains a continual and rich tradition.

Keywords: Ex-votes; Religiosity; Art; Lusophony; Social memory.

1. The ex-voto

The ex-voto is considered a testimony placed through the release of the vow in miracle rooms and catholic sanctuaries, in a varied range of forms such as notes, sculptures, pictorial frames, photos, locks of hair, Cds, DVDs, monocles, in all, an infinity of objects that can be found in miracle rooms, crosses, cemeteries and museums.

In a Portuguese language dictionary the following definition is found: "Picture, image, inscription or wax or wooden limb, etc., offered and exposed in a church or chapel as commemoration to a fulfilled vow or promise. (FERREIRA, Apud OLIVEIRA, 2013).

National Brazilian encyclopedias follow the same defining direction as the dictionary, by conceptualizing the ex-voto as a picture or object in a holy place, as a fulfillment of a promise or as a memory of a grace obtained. (Id.)

Esculapius, physician in antiquity, in Greece, received from whom was cured by him, a reproduction of an arm, leg or head of the sick person. Those objects brought in its forms, traces, scars and signals, artistically detailed, of the illnesses suffered on those parts of the body. This habit was generalized from Greeks becoming widespread to a great area of the Mediterranean, by 2000 B.C., in holy places, sanctuaries where the believers fulfilled their promises to their gods. Delos, Delphi and Epidaurus sanctuaries, in Greece, have become known by the quantity and quality of the received offerings. (Ib)

Nowadays, all around the world, small and great catholic sanctuaries present ephemeral collections in their miracle rooms. The objects remain in these rooms for a brief period of time. Some

Ex-votos: tradition, art and permanencies, from Portugal to Brazil

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of them go to museums and others simply vanish as a result of some kind of discarding. Famous rooms like Nossa Senhora Aparecida, in Brazil; Lourdes, in France; Cartago, in Costa Rica and others, present the typological range of such objects, joined by collections turned into museums, such as in Guadalupe, in Mexico; Fátima, in Portugal and Aparecida, in Brazil.

The ex-voto objects, in their diversified typology, are full of richness and situate themselves in a multidisciplinary perspective, so they can be studied by several science fields: they are historical testimonials, artistic sources, popular culture media, literature source, catholic religiousness source, media that testify on behalf of several values of humanity and that, by delivering messages, express themselves in multiple languages, being challenging for language, communication and information sciences.

The types of ex-votos known are almost infinite and although there is a larger number of a specific model conditioned to the geographical region, this is not a determinant, for northeastern models can be found in South Brazil and we can notice similar typologies in the Midwest region and also in the North/South Brazil. There is similarity among Brazil, Mexico and Portugal. There is diachronicity in these regions just as a great distance from the typology found in the USA.

Obviously, aesthetics will be predominant in several locations, but models are spread out in the regions and abroad, beyond North and Central America. All these similarities and typological richness show the expansion of pilgrimages and peregrinations within the catholic world which has that millenary tradition which, in turn, was brought by Portuguese people to Brazil in the seventeenth century.

1.1. Society and tradition

Peregrinations, pilgrimages, tourism or simply or just go because of faith, are the channels that foment the ex-voto tradition. One factor that comes from ancient Roman period and that the Iberian world assimilated and spread out with the catholic faith.

Pilgrimage is a trip or religious peregrination, especially the one that is done by devotion to a sanctuary, although pilgrimage is not a privilege of religiosity. It can be also a village popular festivity celebrated with dancing, typical food, etc., in a place near a hermitage or sanctuary during the days of festivity. Also, a great contingent of people comes to the place.

Thus, most definitions of pilgrimage have a religious sense towards belief and also towards a cultural richness, for there is a convergence of elements of folkloric, artistic, historical and ethnographical interest, such as dancing, costume, food, colors, etc.

Reminiscences of old habits unfold in the breeding ground of pilgrimages that came, as a tradition, from Portugal to Brazil from the seventeenth century on. Pilgrims offered objects to the saints, prayed and sang for them and also proceeded the release of ex-votos, fulfilling their promises and asking for a grace.

Nowadays, the principal centers of pilgrimages, in Brazil, are: Nossa Senhora de Nazaré, in Belém (Pará); São Francisco de Canindé, in Canindé (Ceará); Juazeiro do Norte, (Ceará); Santuário do Nosso Senhor do Bomfim, in Salvador (Bahia); Bom Jesus da Lapa, (also in Bahia); and Nossa Senhora Aparecida, Brasil's patron saint, in Aparecida do Norte, (São Paulo).

In Portugal, the concentration of the major pilgrimages is on the region of the districts of Alentejo (a great center of ex-votos collections), Aveiro, Beja, Braga and Bragança, being the largest center of pilgrimages, the one called Fátima.

Annually, thousands of pilgrims go to these sanctuaries, believing that those places are the breeding ground for the requests and fulfillment of their promises. They believe that the miracle can be achieved in the sanctuary.

The pilgrimage has no specific date for the thousands of believers. It can happen every day, anytime. What is specific is the date of the celebration of the sanctuary or the one of the patron saint.

The pilgrimages grow in number and are abundantly organized. Also, besides those ones organized by people who hire trucks in order to transport pilgrims for long distances, many of them are promises that the truck owners made with that purpose, what can be verified by the hundreds of vehicles that go to the pilgrimage centers.

These movements, either of small or great groups, contribute to the typological enlargement of ex-votos in the miracle rooms or in sparse locations, as in Fátima, Portugal, where people deposit their objects oriented by faith, while effectively enrich and keep the ex-voto tradition.

1.2. Art and Tradition

Ex-voto paintings, in canvas, planks or paper are the first forms of traditional ex-votos to be analyzed by researchers, principally by their documental aspect. A rich media that projects itself as an important testimony of its time. Its narrative aspect stimulates the spectator to discover not only subjective religious connotations, but also the reality of a time and specific space either rural or urban, anytime, once facts are projected.

The pictoric ex-voto, a traditional milestone of ex-votos, that currently is rarely made in Brazil, is largely produced in Mexico, Italy and in Portugal. It bears writings and dramatizing images in its message, which tells us a story and shows a strong vehicle of emotions. The discourse which appears in ex-voto planks and canvas produced in Évora(PT) and Matosinhos(BR)(v. image 1), concerning to its constitutive elements, pertains to the alphabet of an implicit writing, in which the narrated story is syntax.

How Prampolini(1983) explains, referring to what Frida Kahlo takes from ex-votos:

“Frida recoge del alma popular del exvoto (...) la sinceridad, el infantilismo de las formas y la realización de una verdad dicha de tal manera que parece encerrar una mentira, porque no hay limites que demarquen el mundo de lo real (...) y el mundo de la invención...” (p. 37)

Within the ex-voto, it is expressed a subjective truth which does not seem real for eskeptical or “cultured” eyes, and it is so true what happens as the “extraterrestrial” intervention (in the spiritual sense) that becomes possible in the miracle.(Id, p.47)



Image 1. Ex-voto from the seventeenth century from Matosinhos, Brazil.

Message: *Merce que fez o Senhor do Bomfim a Maria da Silva, que estando [] Sua sogra doente de bixigas já dezegada de seruçõens e Medicos e [] Apegadoce Com o Senhor, Logo teve saúde a da sogra no anno de 1778*

Artistic conventions in ex-voto paintings came from collective interest and participation and that is why the language of popular ex-voto, either from nineteenth or twentieth centuries, is similar in Europe and America. Anita Brenner (1929) observed that “so much busy people painting things common to everyone resulted in a development of a language”.

In its tradition, widespread from Europe to America, the ex-voto uses a double narrative: Imagistic and verbal. In general, the image, or miraculous images come at the superior part providing the resizing of celestial space. The text, in entries, appears at the inferior part, in most examples, although there are types in which textual narrative, already in the twentieth century, is placed at the superior central part or diagonally superior.

The text offers a commentary about the success represented and, in general, is short and rather objective. At the same time, words are used as a composition resource to give more detailed information about the fact that occurred, the name of the patron saint, the illness, the state of the sick person and, depending on the case, just as the one documented in march 2009, in the sanctuary Divino Pai Eterno, in Trindade, Brasil. The ex-voto, from 1933, in excellent state of preservation, narrates an accident occurred in a rural road, in an oxcart, when a man and a boy were saved. (v. Image 2). The image shows three people: two of them helping a child that is inside the overturned car and in front of them, the animals standing. Right below, there are the subtitles, in five lines, composing the summarized discourse. In the entire production there is no signs of saints or of the patron saint, either above or beside the narrated fact. Such characteristic is far, in certain way, from the pictoric-verbal synthesis that was inherited from Portugal, when the patron saint is present surrounded by clouds in the event.



Image 2. Pictoric ex-voto in the Sanctuary of Trindade, Goiás, Brazil. Message: Desastre ocorrido com o Sr. Geraldo Cândido de Queiroz e o menino Manoel Gerônimo, em sua fazenda-Mun. Aparecida de GO.- em Março de 1933 – Chamando pelo Divino Pai Eterno, foram socorridos, e o menino que teve a perna quebrada, recuperou totalmente, ambos rendem graças ao Divino Pai Eterno.

Other outstanding characteristics that appear in the majority of ex-voto planks and canvas are orthography, phonetics and the use of terms of the colloquial language which show the cultural level of the “promise accomplisher “ or even of the “miracle artist”. The subtitles are, in general, written in the third person, with syntax not always clear, in a popular vocabulary and without accurate orthography. But it is important to notice that all these aspects show the spontaneity and bring about the sympathy of those who contemplate pictoric ex-votos. Furthermore, it shows that, in the ex-voto communicational universe, the “wrong” grammar produces understanding in the spectator. (LUHMANN Apud OLIVEIRA, 2013)

On the other hand, it is worth to point out a preoccupation with calligraphy observed in the

majority of pictoric ex-votos. The predominance of the verb “invocar”, always mentioning the miracle done by a certain saint after someone had invoked the request to that patron saint in a difficult moment.

In the pictoric spaces of the ex-votos there is simultaneity in two paths: one of a daily life of the believer and the supernatural of the divine image, which offers a wide range of possibilities to the fantasy of the artist (miracle artist), who constructs the work according to the narrative of the believer. The same happens with the ex-voto letters from people who dictate to someone able to write, factors still recurrent in several places in Brazil and in Portugal.

Ex-votos have an iconography and symbology of their own. The presence of a deity is one of the definitive elements of ex-votos, once it breaks with the visible facts of the world and “establishes the reality of all other elements integrated to the painting, thus providing significance and movement”. (PRAMPOLINI, 1983, p. 58)

In general the sacred images are suspended by cloud formations at the superior part to highlight the supernatural deed. In some moments, deals with hierarchy, when characters of greater importance are highlighted.

The scholar of this subject will be able to notice arrangement of space, ambience, light and movement in the scene. However, the scholar will be able to understand that the impulse of the technique aims to deal with a world of hope where the miracle is possible. Precisely for that reason, it situates heterogeneous elements of the world of invention and of the symbol, yet distant of chronological time and natural space.

(CALVO, 1994, p. 73) All (un) framed with the hands of popular culture, from the miracle artist which enriches the social communication, history of art, language arts, semiotics, history and particular substances of time, such as fashion, objects used at that time and furniture.

The pictoric space of the ex-voto tends to distortion, as if the staging and its action were about to engulf the spectator. In some examples, the pictures invade landscape or certain interior spaces forming an uniform design. Undoubtedly, ex-voto paintings show a moment that seeks emphasizing a certain expressionism of the strokes: palpitating lines and applying strong colors juxtaposition.

Thus, the ex-voto - pictoric and written - presents a strong aspect of dramatism and produces a great number of emotions on the spectator and, consequently, is led to take participation on the intimate narration of the success.

In order to analyze an ex-voto collection and to define it as a rich and important source for history of art and fine arts, one must study the signs (variation) of signals used in different languages (artistic, written, photographic) their specific nature and the codes, rules which govern their behavior and utilization. (VOVELLE, 1987) Such investigative form reveals itself every moment in which a more hermetic type is catalogued such as car plates, clothes, hair locks, orthopedical devices, computers etc...

This way, decoding the signs in order to elucidate the messages and histories of life will be done by starting from semantics, branch of semiotics which studies meanings, which decodes a message starting from signs. (ECO, 1991)

Umberto Eco wrote an entire book on signs in which he presents several distinctive notions.

There is no need to expose all of them, but only a few notions that are close to the theme ex-voto: “imperfections, indication, manifest signal from which one can draw conclusions and similar ones about every latent thing. (...) any visual process which reproduces concrete objects, such as a drawing of an animal in order to communicate the object or the correspondent concept”. (ECO, 1977, p. 15-16)

Semiology studies the signs, subject to be visualized in their infinite forms, with the aid, evidently, of interdisciplinary studies. Starting from the two notions by Eco, one can refer to the sign and symbol

question. This implicates, also, in the perspective of the object as a testimony, once semiology allows us to read, to discover the sign aspect of the objects which bring indications of facts, events and narratives.

Thus, the ex-voto, in written, artistic forms - in two and three dimensions -, as miniatures of houses put in the “miracle rooms”, crutches (symbol of illness or wellness), and one infinity of objects that can be analyzed and interpreted, one world in which visual and tactile perception allocate for decodification-explanation of communication between the believer and the deity (v. images 3 and 4)

What can be noticed, nowadays it is the strength that art possesses (by the symbolic charge it has within) in representing the significant elements of a given society. The work and the constant production-reproduction of symbols which portray and develop the *modus vivendi*, the belief and the attitudes are pertaining to a community and constitute a constant essence of the cultural production that leads to the cultural identity, stimulating the significant referential of the civilization, an immense contribution from the Lusitanian movement that came to Brazil and that becomes constant. Just as, also, a tradition that, in Portugal, remains in its rich catholic sanctuaries.

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Abstract: The objective of this article was to comment the care of the Dead based on the post mortem wills from the State of Sergipe d' El Rey between the years 1800 and 1819, a total of ten (10) handwritten documents (primary sources) belonging to the Judicial Archives of Sergipe State (AJES) – Brazil, as well as the essay “Baloma: Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands”, ethnographic study by Bronislaw Malinowski in Papua - New Guinea, Melanesia, between 1915 and 1916, during ten months. From this perspective, despite the chronological difference verified and the fact they treat people so distinct from each other and so far away geographically and historically, it was verified that between these early people and the Sergipe society it existed similar behaviors related to the funeral rites, burial and mainly the care of the Dead. Bibliographic and documentary research, with exploratory, descriptive and analytical emphasis, with a qualitative approach, is supported by the method of content analysis.

Keywords : Care of the Dead ; Rite and religiosity , Sergipe and Trobriand Islands .

1. Introduction

Physiological phases of human life, and above all, its crises, such as conception, pregnancy, marriage and death are the core of numerous rites and beliefs. Thus,

beliefs about the conception, [...] [among them] reincarnation, spirit-entry, magic impregnation exist, in one form or another, [in almost all societies] in almost every tribe and they are often associated with rites and observances (MALINOWSKI, 1984, p. 50).

In all religions, from primitives to those considered civilized and evolved, the supreme crisis and the end of life, or the death, lies coated with utmost importance. In all of them the man lives life in the experience of death, and the one who lives with intensity material life, is afraid of approaching death. “Death and its denial immortality have always formed as they form today the most poignant theme of man’s counterpart in his attitude to death” (Malinowski, 1984, p. 50). Death brings with it violent and complex religious expression and even in societies considered primitive man’s attitude towards death, bear a striking similarity to modern societies, among them the Sergipe society in the nineteenth century and even today.

Rites and religiosity in the care of dead in Sergipe and in Trobriand Islands (1800-1819/1915-1916)

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2. Rite and Religiosity: Society and Culture

All people, even the most primitive, have a religion and in all societies studied so far, two main points distinct from each other were detected. One linked to sacred and the other to the profane, or rather, the fields related to magic and religion, and science.

In the field of sacred, it can be found the acts and traditional ceremonies, which the natives of Kiriwina in the Trobriand Islands consider important, performed with reverence respect and fear, surrounded by a series of prohibitions and regulations governing the conduct and the behavior. In general, they are associated with belief in supernatural forces, often linked to magic, or related to spiritual beings, dead ancestors, ghosts or gods.

In the field connected to the profane, the natural process, in which arise organized forms of hunting, fishing, agriculture and food, demand is observed, besides a firm conviction in its regularity, without the ability to understand and without the trust in the strength of the reason or the rudiments of science.

Directing the analysis to the religious action, we found its definition: “the one which is called, handles or love the supernatural order. This action can simply be an expression of reverent attitudes or worship in the strict sense or can be also directed towards a goal, for example, to heal a sick person or guarantee the rest of the soul of a dead person “(JOHNSON, 1967 p. 472) which leads directly to the understanding of rites.

The first author to consider the social significance of the rites was Van Gennep, which contributed to the terms rite of passage or ritual of transition “in simple societies [means] any change that could be considered as a transition from one state to another” (MAIR, 1969, p. 220). This change could represent from “removal from the daily contact, also called the rite of separation, until ‘inputs and outputs’, not only passes, but rather, ‘passes through’” (MAIR 1969, p. 221).

The rites aim several aspects from the removal of daily contact, also called the rite of separation, exemplified in

output elements from one village to the place outside where one must go during a period of initiation or placement of a bride in the hut where she will spend a period of imprisonment before meeting her husband, or her house before assuming her domestic duties as a wife (MAIR 1969, p. 221).

During this period the person undergoes a ritual of transition, during which he/she abandons the old status but not entered yet in the new, considered until then as a marginal rite or a threshold between one phase and another. Followed by the rite of aggregation, which refers to the new status achieved when this position is affirmed, however, the sacralization of the status change is never the sole purpose of rituals that surround it. Generally,

[...] [They] usually include elements addressed the success of the person of its new status, for example, the rites of marriage shall include the fertility ritual from birth to safety and health of the baby and its happy progress during its existence (MAIR 1969, p.221).

In addition to the rite of aggregation, there are the confirmation rites that can be made towards the community in which it is assured the new status. There are also rites which contains the essence of religion, usually annual where one intends to establish a continued satisfactory operation of both natural and social order, exemplified in the new year from the time of harvest (MAIR 1969, p. 222). This ritual aimed to repeat of good harvests in the future.

Individuals or atonement rituals “are performed in hazardous situations which, as one could understand, are often caused by some fault,” moreover, “they are prominent to own creation and

explanation,” referring to physical well-being and moral of the individual; above all the connection between religion and morality rise in them (MAIR 1969, p. 226).

Likewise, when a person suffers a misfortune, it is recommended the rite of atonement, which helps ward off evils, especially the disease that, at some point, happens to everyone, counting on the help of the chanters, herbal healers or shamans who put together body treatment and self-examination (MAIR 1969, p. 227). Through this examination one can find numerous actions that might have offended spirits of different types. Remind that in some societies, especially African, “one believes that the spirits of the ancestors are concerned with the behavior of their living descendants and punish with diseases those who break the obligations to the dead” (MAIR 1969, p. 230). Through the funeral ritual the status of the dead person is established as an ancestor.

There are rituals still tied to myth, when those represent again events described in this, with the strong presence of religion in addition to “present a glorified past for the repetitive actions in the present” (MAIR 1969, p. 240).

2.1. Main characteristics of rituals

The ritual is a form of action full of religiosity, where we highlight six characteristics. They are:

1. The ritual often involves the manipulation of tangible sacred objects, and the action has meanings within the reference system of the supernatural order.
2. Unemployment is part of the religious system to achieve a sort of salvation. Sometimes, it is assumed that their efficiency depends on the supernatural, so when one speaks of prayer or supplication in which the supernatural entity addressed may or may not satisfy the desires of the supplicant. However, in certain rituals performance is automatically efficient provided that it is accomplished with certain requirements.
3. The ritual can be happy, even joyful, although not primarily seen by the faithful as entertainment.
4. Being directed towards a goal, the ritual is a kind of instrumental action but is also expressive and full of symbolic content expressing, among other things, the attitudes of the participants and possibly the spectators (passive participants) who may be considered as co beneficiaries. This aspect of the ritual distinguishes it from purely technical exercises that mystics sometimes use to facilitate contemplation or blissful apathy.
5. Any ritual tends to be limited to a particular form for long periods of time, just because symbols are arbitrary within wide limits; the ritual action needs to be stereotypical, if it wants to keep its meaning.
6. The ritual must be distinguished from “moral action”, i.e. the action that conforms to accepted social norms for its own sake. Performing a ritual implies more or less differentiated activities, but the standard function as a whole, rather than being intrinsically valuable, it is estimated by considering it as a necessary means to achieve good relations with the supernatural. On the other hand, the moral action is at least partly determined intrinsically. Thus, one must distinguish the ritual of all moral duties religiously sanctioned, although it may be considered that the achievement of these has a consequence (non-empirical) for the soul of the person (Johnson 1967, p. 115).

According to Malinowsk (cited MAIR, 1969 p.240 emphasis added), the meaning of the rite appears endorsed by the motivation of “homo religious, which tends to dominate his anguish on an environment that he does not control, or before the impenetrable mysteries of his condition. “In his

view, the meaning of the rite should not only be looked for in psychological needs of the faithful,” as it passes the same protection of a substitute behavior, deceiving him with false security of a “how to” that turns, at the symbolic level, an endangered world and an enigmatic destination “(MAIR 1969, p. 240). For him, “the performance of the rite changes the situation of the faithful, it strengthens and restores the solidarity of the group, when taken seriously as being mandatory” (BOUDN; BOURRICAUD, 1993, p 468.).

Moreover, the rite fulfills its purpose by feelings that mainly create confidence and hope. Religion offers in the religious act its own purposes and helps man to have safety and renewed faith to face the uncontrollable universe (MAIR 1969, p. 212). Thus, the ritual incorporates the overall conception of the basic order, a legitimacy of the social system, an explanation of the existence of evil and a means to put the supernatural powers in the service of men. As for religion, this

meets the needs of man in integrating societies, recognizing the need for collective representation, commonly accepted beliefs whose effects justify and therefore protect the existing social order, [...]. [For Malinowski] the essential importance of religion was that it gave man the courage to face the world and particularly the inevitability of death (MAIR 1969, p. 213).

Thus, the rituals mainly and deeply express the wishes and feelings of those who practice them.

3. Taking care of the Dead: Sergipe and Trobriand Islands (1800-1819/1915-1916)

In any society, the presence of death takes on mysticism and importance, and many theories of primitive religion had their religious inspiration in death and in this respect, all orthodox perspectives are related. Some anthropologists, among them Welhlm Wundt believe that the “dominant feeling of living in the horror of the corpse and fear to the spirit, which in some cases it even build the core of beliefs and religious practice itself” (MALINOWSKI 1984 p 51).

Death brings with it extremely complex, confusing and contradictory emotions, with elements like love for the dead, the still strong link with his personality and fear of separation, interfering and contradicting the emotions of those who shared his daily life, causing distress sadness and insecurity (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998).

For the natives of Kiriwina in the Trobriand Islands (1915-1916) - Twentieth Century - New Guinea¹, death affected the individual who died and his soul (baloma or bolon) leaving the body which was going to another world (Tuma)in which it led from there, a shadowy existence. The concern for the reintegration of the soul in everyday of the tribe required some procedures that were found in spontaneous behavior as a part of the funeral. These procedures were initiated in the wake of the corpse, from the way it was placed to the post-funeral and evocative ceremonies. Among the saddest relatives, the pain of loss was mixed with the pious feelings of love, but never negative elements arises isolated or in a dominant way (MALINOWSKI 1984).

Concerns with the corpse of the dead and the rite of passage, among the natives of Kiriwina are similar to those of the Western world, with presence of contemplation and the arrival of relatives for burial procedures. The pain of grief and mourning that between them passed through bodily lacerations and tearing of hair, occurring in a public display, were associated with “visible signs of mourning, such as black or white daubs on the body, shaven or disheveled hair, strange or torn garments.”(MALINOWSKI, 1984, p. 52).

¹ Essay: Baloma; Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands, ethnographic study in Papua New Guinea - Melanesia, between the years 1915 and 1916, ten months - Twentieth Century (MALINOWSKI, 1984).

On the other hand, in Sergipe society between the years 1800-1819, nineteenth-century² Northeast Brazil, the death was announced to the mourners, women hired by the deceased in his material life, in order to mourn his death. The crying was shared with family members and neighbors, and expressed the pain of loss. In this sense, women of the family started the ritual of prayer where, rosaries, litanies were recited and blessed the feet of the dead, with reference to the movement full of Christian religiosity separation. Behavior that aimed to promote the salvation of the soul of the deceased, at the time that served to ward off evil spirits so they do not interfere in this process. As soon as the death was confirmed, the body was washed, anointed and dressed, doing the purification ritual, and “sometimes closing up their openings, tying up the arms and legs.” Once prepared and adorned, he was exposed to the visitation of relatives and friends. After the sentinel (waking the body), it started the rite of burial followed by mourning (using dress predominantly in black), most important phase for the demonstration of the sense of loss suffered by relatives and their descendants (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998).

The same way as among the natives of Kiriwinain, in Sergipe, the deceased was prepared for the funeral (contemplation). The care of the cleanliness the body guarantees that his soul would not be grieving. The cutting of the hair, beard and nail, was part of this ritual, followed by washing of the body. As for the scent, it gave preference to imagine that they had to smell at home as it “post mortem” wills that provide some of these data, omit this information, however, it seems the choice was lavender, in some cases, associated with the benzoin commonly used at the time. As part of the ritual, the use of incense was common in order to scent and protect the environment as well as avoid the presence of negative fluids and evil spirits (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998).

To dress up the Funeral clothing on the corpse, the family resorted to people used to manipulate dead. In general, chanters and professional healers, men and women who did understand the dead, even calling him by name, seeking their cooperation in placing the garment. Usually the funeral clothes were chosen beforehand by the deceased during his life and materials specified in the post mortem will, leaving relatives and friends, in charge of his nature and ranged from the various invocations of Our Lady, through clothing of saints, or the profession practiced by the deceased to simple black or white shrouds that often expressed their socioeconomic status (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998).

In primitive wakes of Trobriand, mummification and burning are two expressions frequently found in the description of the funeral ritual. Also, “the fundamental attitude of mind of the surviving relative, friend or lover, the longing for all that remains of the dead person and the disgust and fear of the dreadful transformation wrought by death “triggered a deep sense of loss. In this sense, include “[...] [the] extreme and interesting variety in which this double-edged attitude with the presence of death [mainly represented by] sarco-cannibalism”, meaning in other words, “a custom of partaking in piety of the flesh of the dead person”(MALINOWSKI, 1984, p. 52).

In Sergipe society it can be highlighted the symbolism of farewell, represented by wreaths and corbels and ribbons with motifs, tickets, laces, veils, candles, rosaries, missals and celebration of masses and masses of chapels³. Usually, the corpse should be positioned with the feet towards the exit door, in this case, to prevent his soul to stay lost in the home environments. These symbolic acts demonstrate a link with the deceased, meaning at the same time, the need to purify the soul of the deceased and concern for their eternal rest. Then the performers washed and withdrew all traces of

2 “Post mortem” Wills Registry of São Cristóvão - CSC - 1st Office-Cx01 - Book of Testaments # 2 - 1770-1819. Judicial Archives of the State of Sergipe (AJES) - Brazil. Post mortem Testament are notarial manuscripts that have the purpose to present and describe in detail all the desires of a person, both in material and spiritual ways, to be executed after his death by previously elected executor, being prepared in the presence of the notary public and may be open or closed.

3 A chapel of masses represented the single set of fifty Masses celebrated consecutively after burial, depending on the soul of the dead (REIS, 1991).

contact with the dead performing lustrations rituals to avoid future interference the dead in the lives of who remain alive (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998).

As for burial, in Sergipe, preparing the house was usually organized by a male member of family. On the other hand, the organization of the funeral was the duty of the nearest dead relative. Liturgical celebrations directed the soul of the deceased, taught by fathers and priests, aimed at the solemn commendation as a guarantee of their salvation. At the time of the funeral, the church bell chimes folded in, announcing that the hearse leave the residence of the deceased toward the burial site that was specified in advance in the post-mortem will, including amounts in thousands reis currency of that time specified for the occasion (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998).

Among the primitive Melanesians,

the body is sometimes kept on the knees of seated persons, stroked and embraced. At the same time these acts are usually considered both dangerous and repugnant, duties to be fulfilled at some cost to the performer. After a time the corpse has to be disposed of. Inhumation with an open or closed grave; exposure in caves or on platforms, in hollow trees or on the ground in some wild desert place; burning or setting adrift in canoes – these are the usual forms of disposal. (MALINOWSKI, 1984, p 52).

Most of the Sergipe burials occurred in churches and chapels belonging to the territory of the deceased or close to places where he lived. Many dead were buried in chapels in their homes because they are considered safe and free place of violation, where the body would rest in peace and the spirit was refreshed every Mass that was celebrated there (REIS, 1991; GONÇALVES, 1998). Remind that in the late nineteenth century according to the Sergipean literature reviewed, there was only the cemetery of the village of Estancia, which served as a refuge for those with a condition of lower life in the context of local society of that time.

Thus, regardless of the society and its evolutionary phase, the emotion about death and preparing the dead for burial rite trigger natural responses of humans to specific situations, which have their basis in a universal psychophysiological mechanism of separation. “In this game of emotional forces, in this supreme dilemma of ultimate life and death, between religion, choosing the positive creed, the comforting vision, valid cultural belief in immortality, the independent spirit of the body, and the continuation of life after death “(MALINIWSKI, 1984, p 54.) was in the hope of the eternal rest of the soul.

3. Final Considerations

Faced with death, each culture has as main function to satisfy in its own way emerging needs of the deceased, both in the material and the spiritual aspects. For that, it seeks grants and instrumental imperatives related to the physical and intellectual activities, as well as the integrative imperative that turn around knowledge of magic and religion.

When we talk about religion, we meet in extravagant death rituals or ways to bury a great representative of specialized values that arise from the organization, implying a scheme or a well-defined structure, in which the key factors are universal, because “shall be applicable to all organized groups, which still, in its typical form, are universal to the whole humanity “(MALINOWSKI, 1962, p. 46).

The care of the dead and the funeral ceremony turns the most private act of man in a tribal or social event and concerns of practical and religious order are mixed with the aim of appeasing the satisfaction of ritualistic, religious and mystical psychic and spiritual needs.

The death of a group member or family is an event that interferes deeply in the emotional lives

of relatives and friends in a disturbing way and, “the ritual behavior immediately after death, can be taken as pattern of the religious act, and [that] the belief in immortality, in the continuity of life and in the nether world, can be [...] [understood] as the prototype of an act of faith “(MALINOWSKI, 1984, p 54.), turned to worship of the soul of the deceased. From this perspective, actions and attitudes emerge full of religiosity as a means to appease the pain of loss and the physical separation, at the same time that promote a sense of obligation of eminent care of the soul of the dead.

The procession in primitive societies was part of the traditional ritual that always followed the same ritual script, whereas in Sergipean society, the dead could establish itself in the post-mortem will their posthumous desires regarding funeral and burial religious rituals. And yet, to instruct third parties (relatives and / or friends) in the position of executors, usually three in number of people in case of cancellation or sinister, aimed at ensuring that all its provisions were met in a timely manner.

Thus, “the ritual of despair, the funeral, and the acts of weeding express the emotion of the deceased’s family and the loss of the entire group.” Also, confirming and redoubling the natural feelings of those who remain, creating a social event from a natural fact. However, although in the funeral ceremonies nothing transcendent occurs during the despair mime, the mourning during the treatment of the body and in his burial, these acts represent an important function and have considerable value to “all cultures” (MALINOWSKI 1984 p 54.).

As for religion, it makes the individual ascend to what might be called spiritual cooperation in funeral rites in order to attain the sacred, while making from a dead body an object filled of rite obligations and religiosity.

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Abstract: This research intends to explore the theme of Lusofony and its importance. To be noted, Lusophonic countries have built a strong relationship between them, to which the contributions of literature have been essential. Many writers describe the history of these countries and/or are present in the minds of many, which is the case of Eça de Queirós. This study proposes the creation of 2 cultural and touristic itineraries, in Aveiro, where the visitors can revisit what they have once visited through the works of Eça de Queirós.

Keywords: Tourism Itinerary; Lusophony; Cultural Tourism; Literature Tourism; Eça de Queirós and Aveiro.

Introduction

This study proposes the creation of 2 cultural and touristic itineraries. These itineraries will be developed in Aveiro and will be about Eça de Queirós. This way this paper will be organized in four chapters.

The first chapter will contain a discussion about Lusophony, colonialism and post – colonialism. This discussion is going to be about some aspects, like “equivoco lusocêntrico”, the language and the different perspectives about Lusofony in the countries that speak Portuguese. In conclusion, we will show how tourism can contribute to oppose the “equivoco lusocêntrico” and how the Portuguese language can be important to the tourism industry.

In the second part of the study, we will present a discussion about tourism, culture and literature. We intend to show how culture can use literature to build a tourism product.

The third chapter will be about literature tourism. So, we will show motivations of tourist, their expectations and how many works of Eça de Queirós have been adapted to television, radio and theater.

In the last chapter, we will present two proposals of cultural and touristic itineraries. These proposals include some places to visit, like Oficina do Doce, Aveiro Museum and illustrate the reference of this writer to the city of Aveiro.

1. Lusophony, colonialism and post – colonialism.

Lusophony has a lot of definitions in literature, they all focus on the fact that 250 million people have the same language (Sousa, 2012) and that the Portuguese language is one of the most spoken in the world (Trigo, 2013). This way, lusophony refers to:

1 For these terms we didn't find translation.

Cultural Tourism – Discover Aveiro with Eça de Queirós: two Literature itineraries

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“Ao conjunto de falantes de língua portuguesa à escala global. Geralmente abraça o total de habitantes dos países de língua oficial portuguesa (ou seja Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Moçambique, Portugal, S. Tomé e Príncipe, e Timor-Leste); mas também os falantes das cidades de Macau (China), Goa, Damão e Diu (Índia); e os membros da diáspora (lusófonos e seus descendentes)” (Galito, 2012, p.5).

What the Portuguese people understand about lusophony it's different in part from what the people from Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and East Timor understand. (Baptista, 2000). This reality is justified by the existence of some historical resentments among the colonized countries, (Galito,2012).

For the portuguese people “a Lusofonia preenche um espaço imaginário de nostalgia imperial, para que « (...) nos sintamos menos sós e sejamos visíveis nas sete partidas do mundo»”. (Lourenço, s.d., said by Baptista, 2000,p. 5). The post-colonial review says that this idea has a political character that can be used to justify some neo-colonialism projects (Seixas, 2007).

This way, we need to explore the “equivoco lusocêntrico”. This theory says that lusophony is a place of imaginary refugee and imperial nostalgia that puts Portugal in the epicentre of the idea of lusophony. This reality has persisted since the independency of the countries whose mother language is Portuguese and has prevented the development of lusophony as a community of multiple cultures (Martins, 2011, said by Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2008).

The same authors say that the “equivoco lusocêntrico” is based on two main ideas: in a privileged relationship of Portugal with its ex-colonies and also on the fact that the Brazilian and African elites believe that lusophony is a way for Portugal to maintain a post-colonial supremacy on others countries that speak Portuguese.

Tourism can be used to combat this theory because with this activity, people from different countries, regions, cities and continents come into contact among themselves. So tourism provides a way for people to share ideas, traditions and behaviours. This way, tourism is a way for the Brazilian and African elites to speak with the Portuguese people and see that the idea of lusophony that Portuguese people have is different from what they believe. Can also be fought with the cooperation between the lusophonic countries to the economic development. To achieve this economic development some measures have been implemented, like promotion of exchange of agents and tourism operators; build projects of investment and management of tourism developments, vocation training and tourism promotion and the investment of Portuguese entrepreneurs in the Lusophonic countries (Sá, G. C., & Rangel, J. (Coords.),2011).

This investment appears because the entrepreneurs saw the potential that lusophony market has. This way, we hope that several entrepreneurs cooperate between them and build a business network, to develop the lusophony market (Sá, G. C., & Rangel, J. (Coords.),2011).

The portuguese tongue is the center element of the existence of the lusophonic community because it's shared for all the individuals. During the colonial period, it was one of the most important expressions of power, but after this period, it was adopted by several African countries as their official language (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2008).

The sharing of a common language is an advantage to the touristic activity because the commutation and exchange of ideas, traditions and behaviours is easier. This reality is justified by the fact that with this activity, people from different countries, regions, cities and continents speak with each other (Ramos, 2013). However, thinking in devolping the tourism between the lusophonic countries based in a shared language is an adventure, because these are countries in different continents, with a lot of cultural, economic developed and human devolpment index differences, yet the common language and some cultural aspects can and should be developed to improve the Lusophony market (Trigo, 2013).

2. Tourism, Cultural and Literature

Lusophony is a community with several cultures, which it important to understand this diversity and how we can promote the communication between the cultures (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2008). Culture is: “sistema integrado dos padrões de comportamento apreendidos, os quais são caraterísticos dos membros de uma sociedade e não o resultado de herança biológica” (Hoebel & Frost, 1976, said by Goulart & Santos, 1998, p. 20). This way, we can say that culture is built with beliefs, past moments and that it is through culture and the language that “(...) o homem organiza e constrói o mundo” (Almeida, R., Trigo, L., Leite, E. & Malcher, M. (Coords.) (2007)).

With the definition of culture and the fact that tourists travel because they want to be and participate in different societies and environments, we can say that there exists a strong relationship between culture and tourism. This relationship exists because culture and tourism bring the individual closer to several forms of cultural and social organizations in the tourist destination (Goulart & Santos, 1998).

From the relationship between tourism and culture appears the concept of cultural tourism. In this paper, we understand cultural tourism this way:

“O turismo cultural pode ser definido como o tipo de turismo que abrange, exclusivamente, as atividades que se efetuam a partir do deslocamento com o intuito de satisfazer motivações relacionadas com o encontro com emoções artísticas, científicas, de formação e informação nos diversos ramos existentes, em decorrência das próprias riquezas da inteligência e da criatividade do homem” (Andrad, s.d., citado por Goulart & Santos, 1998).

This way, cultural tourism can use literature to develop a touristic product because literature shows the experiences, heritage, identity of a nation, region and/or a place. In other words, it's an expression of a culture (Simões, 2009).

Literature tell us stories and wonderful travels. Therefore, it offers a lot of facts that interest the tourist and show one territory, like Eça de Queirós and Jorge Amado, on Brazil and Portugal (Simões, 2009).

3. Literary Tourist

Literature stimulates the imaginary because it shows a different reality. This way, the tourist's motivation is to visit the place that inspired the writer. In others words, it is to visit the places that have been turned into fiction (Simões, 2009).

In this context, the literary tourist is a tourist that travels to visit and relive a destination previously visited through literature. This way, literature is a tourist's route because it shows a culture, the habits of a community and it's natural and cultural heritage. So, the literary tourist searches for places, habits and food exposed in a book and doesn't separate reality from imaginary. This idea should be considered carefully because the places and the communities change with time, so the tourist may not find what he read about. (Simões, 1993).

During the last decades, the touristic demand due to literary tourism is related to the adaptations of books to movies, theatre, radio and to comics (Simões, 1993). Like this, we expect that the adaptations of Eça de Queirós books to theatre, television, movie and its translations have given rise to the the interest of individuals to visit the places referred in his books (Table 1 e 2).

Adaptations	Books in English	Books in Portuguese
Theatre	<i>Cousin Bazilio</i> <i>The Crime of Father Amaro</i> <i>To the Capital</i>	<i>O Primo Basílio</i> <i>O Crime do Padre Amaro</i> <i>A Capital</i>
Movies	<i>Alves & Co</i>	<i>Alces & C.^a</i>
Television	<i>Cousin Bazilio</i> <i>The Maias</i>	<i>O Primo Basílio</i> <i>Os Maias</i>

Table 1 – Adaptations in Brazil
Source: Adapted from Eça de Queirós, 2009.

Adaptations	Books in English	Books in Portuguese
Theatre	<i>As Farpas</i> <i>The Crime of Father Amaro</i> <i>The Maias</i> <i>The Relic</i> <i>The Tragedy of the Street of Flowers</i> <i>The Mandarin</i> <i>Short story</i> <i>The illustrious house of Ramires</i>	<i>As Farpas</i> <i>O Crime do Padre Amaro</i> <i>Os Maias</i> <i>A Relíquia</i> <i>A Tragédia da Rua das Flores</i> <i>O Mandarin</i> <i>Contos</i> <i>A Ilustre Casa de Ramires</i>
Adaptations	Books in English	Books in Portuguese
Movies	<i>The Mystery of Sintra</i> <i>The Sin of Father Amaro</i> <i>Cousin Bazilio</i> <i>Short story</i>	<i>O Mistério da Estrada de Sintra</i> <i>O Crime do Padre Amaro</i> <i>O Primo Basílio</i> <i>Contos</i>
Television	<i>The Mystery of Sintra</i> <i>The Crime of Father Amaro</i> <i>To the Capital</i> <i>Alves & Co^a Lusitana</i> <i>Paixão Short story</i> <i>O Conde d' Abranhos</i>	<i>O Mistério da Estrada de Sintra</i> <i>O Crime do Padre Amaro</i> <i>A Capital! Alces & C.^a Lusitana</i> <i>Paixão Contos</i> <i>O Conde d' Abranhos</i>
Rádio	<i>The City and the Mountains</i> <i>The illustrious house of Ramires</i> <i>Short story</i> <i>Cousin Bazilio</i> <i>The Tragedy of the Street of Flowers</i>	<i>A Cidade e as Serras</i> <i>A Ilustre Casa de Ramires</i> <i>Contos</i> <i>O Primo Basílio</i> <i>A Tragédia da Rua das Flores</i>

Table 2 – Adaptations in Portugal
Source: Adapted from Eça de Queirós, 2009.

4. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to give a cultural and touristic experience to the tourist of Aveiro. For that, we call the Lusophony and the books of Eça de Queirós.

The methodology process used was a literary review to help in the construction of the cultural and touristic itineraries in the city of Aveiro. For that, several concepts were defined and analysed, like lusophony, tourism, Culture, literature and literary tourism.

After that, we started to create the itineraries. For that, several attractions in the city were analysed, as well as studies about literary itineraries and some references from Eça de Queirós to the city of Aveiro in his travel books. This way, we present two itineraries:

- “Aveiro e Eça de Queirós” (Aveiro and Eça de Queirós)
- “Lusofonia em Movimento” (Lusophony in action)

These itineraries give the opportunity to visit the places and the attractions that Eça de Queirós could have visited in his visits to the city. In the itinerary “Aveiro and Eça de Queirós” you can visit the places visited by Eça de Queirós, in 1880, and with the itinerary “Lusophony in action” you can visit the places visited by the writer, in 1884.

The names of the itineraries are based on the attractions and places included, as well as on the emotions that they can induce in the tourist. The name of the first itinerary comes from the fact that it shows the presence of the writer in the city while the name of the second itinerary comes from the fact that it includes two great Lusophonic persons, Eça de Queirós e José Estêvão.

In conclusion, these itineraries include several touristic attractions from the city, which will help not only to enrich it, but will as well strenghten touristic activity in the area.

5. Proposal of itineraries

5.1. “Aveiro and Eça de Queirós” itinerary

The places to visit are close to each other so this itinerary’s purpose is to do it on foot. We propose that the itinerary start at the Museum of Aveiro (where congress is). In here tourists will know that Eça de Queirós lived once in Verdemilho, during his childhood. After that the tourists’ attention will be directed to Santa Joana. To do so, it will be shown her importance to the city of Aveiro and her reference in the book *The Crime of Father Amaro*, as well as the fact that the museum church is covered with gilded woodwork from Brazil.

After visiting the museum, we propose a break for lunch at the restaurant O Bairro. In it, the tourists can enjoy the local gastronomy and see some influence from lusophonic countries in the dishes. Next, we advise a ride in the Ria of Aveiro in it’s traditional boat called moliceiros. In this ride they will know some facts about the city, it’s relationship with the Ria and the reference of Eça de Queirós to the Ria and to the Gabão of Aveiro², in his book *The Maias* and in his travel diaries. The visit will end at the Oficina do Doce where the tourists get to know, make and taste the local delicacy of Aveiro, called Ovos–moles, which are referenced by Eça de Queirós in his book *The Maias*.³

For the tourists that want to explore more of Aveiro, we propose a visit to the Fábrica da Ciência (Plant Science); Sé de Aveiro (Cathedral of Aveiro), University of Aveiro, Praça do Peixe (square of the fish), Arte Nova Museum and the house of Eça de Queirós in Verdemilho.

² It’s a typical outfit of Aveiro.

³ In the appendix there is a more detailed panflet of the proposals, which a Tourist may use.

5.2 “Lusophony in action” itinerary

We propose that the itinerary start at the statue of José Estêvão. José Estêvão was born in Aveiro and was a radical. For that, he has spent a lot of years as a refugee outside the country. This man built the *palheiro*⁴ called José Estêvão, in Costa Nova, and the first road and bridges between Aveiro and Costa Nova. Here Eça de Queirós lived through several moments with the woman that would eventually be his wife, Emília de Castro Resende, and where he rewrote some manuscripts of his romances.

This way, we propose the visit to *palheiro* José Estêvão, at Costa Nova. For that, the tourists may use the public transportation from the company Transdev. With this visit they will know a little bit about the history of Aveiro, the visit of Eça to the *palheiro* and the relationship of the city with the sea.

After visiting the *palheiro* we propose a break for lunch at the restaurant Marisqueira of Costa Nova. In it, the tourists can enjoy the local gastronomy and see some influence from lusophonic countries in the dishes. After lunch we propose that the tourists come back to Aveiro and finish the visit at the Oficina do Doce. At the Oficina do Doce they get to know, make and taste the local delicacy of Aveiro called Ovos –moles, which are referenced by Eça de Queirós in his book *The Maias*.

For the tourists that want to explore more of Aveiro we propose a visit to the Fábrica da Ciência (Plant Science); Sé de Aveiro (Cathedral of Aveiro), University of Aveiro, Praça do Peixe (square of the fish), Arte Nova Museum and the house of Eça de Queirós in Verdemilho.

6. Conclusions/Recommendations /Limitations of the article

In conclusion, literary tourism and the lusophony market is an opportunity for touristic destinations to provide new offers to tourists. So, we propose the creation of two cultural and touristic itineraries. These itineraries will present the writer Eça de Queirós and his relationship with the city of Aveiro and with lusophony. During the trip, the tourists should have the company of a tourist guide. This tourist guide should be able to inform the tourists about lusophony, the writer and the city.

These itineraries include several attractions and activities in the city. This fact brings a lot of benefits to the city, through the diversification and organization of the touristic offering. These itineraries do not intend to stop the creation of other new itineraries in Aveiro. There will be room for new and more innovative itineraries, however we believe that, in an initial stage, these are a necessary push to develop this city, from a lusophonic perspective.

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Abstract: António Manuel Gonçalves, museums, palaces and national monuments curator, formed at National Ancient Art Museum (Lisbon), in 1957, having by principal curator João Couto, National Ancient Art Museum director, has been de Aveiro Museum director from 1958 until 1984. During this time, on the sixties he leads the Museums works of transformation and enlargement, hold by the National Monuments. During his direction period, also, his professional attention and intervention, spreads to several museums of Aveiro region and either, namely *Egas Moniz House-Museum*, at Avanca, which opens to the public by this time, and prepares the museological programm of *Vista Alegre Museum*, and he leads the intervention of change of Museum of Guarda, by superior request, city and region of Beiras (Portugal), to whom he had familiars ties. His bibliography extends from 1954 until 1996, what means he writes much more than his professional life, after Aveiro Museum and after Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, at the Fine-Arts Service, where he goes in 1984.

ICOM member, since the sixties years of the last century, representing Portugal at the international conferences and congress, it is in 1994 that he presents his last communication: “A secção oriental do Museu de Aveiro / The oriental section at Aveiro Museum”, published in *IV Encontro de museus de países e comunidades de língua portuguesa, Macau, 1994* Comissão Portuguesa do ICOM, Macau, Comissão Portuguesa do ICOM, 1996 (pp. 47-50).

This interest by the museum he directed during almost three ten years, the choice of the collection of Aveiro Museum, for the presentation of this paper, already at the nineties, indicate that, his international projection, first in Brazil (on the sixties) during “Estado Novo” Portuguese politic period, but of much more importance than it, through the democratic period, with the independence and autonomy of the African Portuguese colonies, but whose patrimony/heritage maintains on the world of the Portuguese language.

Keywords: Aveiro Museum; António Manuel Gonçalves; Art Oriental Section

António Manuel Gonçalves, Aveiro Museum director (1958-1984)

António Manuel Gonçalves (AMG), born in Lisbon, Graduate in Historic-Philosophical Sciences by the Letters Department of the University of Coimbra, in 1955, and curator formed with the museums, palace and national monuments curator course

António Manuel Gonçalves and the Oriental Art Section of Aveiro Museum

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She has benefit a bourse supported by Science and Technology Foundation in 2011, 2012 until now.

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managed at the National Museum of Ancient Art (MNAA), after the frequency of the two years of course and the presentation of the final essay could be named national museum curator, entering the MNAA. With theoretical and praxis preparation with particular capacities of reflection on the profession area, the museum studies, the research and the write, AMG has the requests to be the director of one of the national museum.

So that, from the MNAA, he' ll go to Aveiro, in 1958, succeeding to Alberto Souto, on the Aveiro Museum direction, during the social and political regime of “Estado Novo”, where he will maintain until the eighties of 1900, already during the democratic regime; for a short while he will increase functions at the Fine-Arts Service of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, at the end of what, having to choose, he' ll choose the returning to Lisbon to this Service.

“*Enlargement and renovation of Aveiro Museum*” is the theme of the AMG paper presented at the 3th meeting of curators of the museum, palaces and national monuments occurred at *Soares dos Reis National Museum* (Oporto), in 1962, published latter-on. ¹

Aveiro Museum is housed the former Convent of Jesus of Aveiro (belonging the female branch of the Dominican Order), with the Church and the tomb of Princess Saint Joana, classified monuments of national interest, at 1910; it is a museum created by the 1st Republic, and its legal foundation dates from 1912, however its organisation began in 1911, by João Augusto Marques Gomes, the figure nominate by the District Governor of Aveiro, who will be the first museum director.

Besides the monumental tour, composed by the Church, lower-choir, cloister, upper-choir, devotional chapels, kitchens from the XVIIIth century, that until nowadays we can see a long the museum tour, the rest building has been object of several works and adaptations over a century of museum. At the first direction period, of Marques Gomes, the exhibition tour still shows the convent reminiscences. To that one succeeds for a short period of time José Pereira Tavares, the rector of Aveiro secondary school, and to this one, Alberto Souto, with whom, at the final of the 30 years and along the 40 of 1900, Aveiro Museum is submitted to great works of renovation, namely of the permanent exhibition tour, with new room and the introduction of the «zenital» light in some of them, for example; on the other side, being Alberto Souto also an archaeologist, he preserved inside this museum the artefacts found during the champ work campaigns he made.

Under the museum direction of AMG, Aveiro Museum is object of another taskwork of improvement, made by the «General Direction of the Buildings and National Monuments»², namely in 1960, finished in 1961, managed by the architect Amoroso Lopes (Coimbra); nevertheless: «*being the programm and realization the result of attentif and clear collaboration with the museum director*». ³

This «partnership» of strait collaboration between the «architect» and the «curator», that we can think as a «classical» in the museum middle, was frequently defended by João Couto on the area of the national museology, on the remodelation or founding of new museums. ⁴

So that, on the context of the works which we refere here, we can undestand the words of his director about the role of Aveiro Museum at this time: «*To us it belonged to propose some master files of the actual arrangement of Aveiro Museum as: the general programm of circulation and adjustment of the exhibition sections, of the deposit and of other services, considered in relation with the public new row (as*

1 Gonçalves, António Manuel. (1963, Agosto de). “Alargamento e renovação do Museu de Aveiro (comunicação à 3^a reunião dos conservadores dos museus, palácios e monumentos nacionais, Porto, 1962)”, in *Revista Museu*. Porto: ed. Círculo José de Figueiredo, II^a Série, n^o 5, pp. 112-116.

2 «Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais »

3 «*sendo a programação, projecto e realização resultado de atenta e esclarecida colaboração com o director do Museu / GONÇALVES, António Manuel. (1963). op. cit. in Revista Museu, p. 5.*

4 COUTO, João. (1962, Janeiro). “O Conservador e o Arquitecto”, in *Ocidente*, vol. LXII, n^o 285, pp. 30-31.

consequence, by the way, of a previous plan that have been applied to the old enclosure already benefit».⁵

Repairs of amelioration – (of high bank, so as of jambolan), of painting and plaster – of new spaces as conferences room, temporary exhibition room, library, and deposit (“depository”), with adequate conditions to the different collections ⁶, taskworks of urbanisation of the surround museum area – the priority of the taskwork began by Alberto Souto and concluded when Chairmain of the council of Aveiro – and taskwork of the permanent exhibition renovate, in concret of the «great hall of Sacred Art»; sculpture rooms; but also of painting or also carriage rooms; installation of other collections to the public acknowledgment, as the Colonel-doctor Nascimento Leitão donation (oriental collection), or, at the end, the installation on the «second step suitable the ‘Aveiro Galerie’, with the section of Archeology, Ceramic, Painting, Iconography of important figure of Aveiro village, until a great room consacred the ‘Sea-shore’ to what we decide to construct (by a competent worker) a boat «moliceiro», at the scale of 50%, to center an artistic and documental ensemble about the littoral of Aveiro».⁷ So we could say that, under AMG direction/chief, Aveiro Museum emerges renovate, with areas public and appropriate to develop its aims and plain social fonction, under de «modern» principles of the national and European museology. However, about the «museological programme» as we say today, the museum conception of AMG seems to present some contradictions as well as in his exhibition.

On one hand, during «Estado Novo» period, under the protection of the exaltation of our national identity, surely the social, political and cultural context of that age hasn’ t been indifferent to the ethnographical aspect that AMG gave to the museum, when presententing a boat «moliceiro» inside it.

On the other hand, the same AMG in the collections of Aveiro Museum description, when speaking about the rules of the permanent exhibition and about the monumental tour of the former Convent of Jesus, pretends indeed to consider the Museum, as he says, the «national museum of baroque» ⁸.

Besides baroque art – with gold carved work arhitectonic and sculptural – AMG considers that the sculpture collection of Aveiro Museum completes that one of Machado de Castro Museum, and in the early portuguese painting he considers it the second national museum, after the MNAA. Indeed, the name of Aveiro Museum (at the beginning «Regional Aveiro Museum» as «national museum of baroque» has been used and defended in the years after the direction of AMG, nevertheless it has never been institutionally adopted, being only used as a reference to the museum hepa and collections.

In this context, it belonged also AMG the mission of editing a new museum guide, actualized and modern, mainly in according to the collections presentation (of painting, sculpture, gold carved work, goldsmith, textiles, ceramic, glass and metals, archeology and other, originally from the ancient funds of the museum or from other incorporation), of the room and the monumental tour, on the scope of the task-work and renovation of the museum of that period. This actualized guide is already a “guide”

5 «A nós coube propor algumas linhas mestras do actual arranjo do Museu de Aveiro, como: a programação geral da circulação e o ajustamento das secções de exposição, de arrecadação e de outros serviços, considerados em relação à utente ala nova (na sequência aliás de um plano que se vinha aplicando aos velhos recintos, já beneficiados)» Gonçalves, António Manuel. (1963). *op. cit.* in *Revista Museu*, p. 5.

6 This organization of the “reservas”, is referred as an example still today, by Joana Amaral (Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Lisboa) em: AMARAL, Joana. (2011, Dez.2012, Fev.) “Gestão de acervos em reservas museológicas”, in *Informação ICOM.PT, Série II, nº 15.*

<http://www.icom-portugal.org/destaques,6,317,detalhe.aspx> - 12.12.2011: 01:57

7 GONÇALVES, António Manuel. (1963). *op. cit.*, *Revista Museu*, p. 7.

8 He says precisely: «(...) Aveiro Museum is actually the plus extensif museum of the country, thereupon «Janelas Verdes Museum» (countaining sixty rooms, spaces ans enclosure), is the known «baroque museum» (XVII-XVIII th centuries); it is certainly one of the most interesting exemplars of decorativ and architectonic elements from the XV to the XVIII th century; it is one of the most opulent of our galleries of sculpture over all of the XVI-XVIII th centuries), indoubted complementing that one of the Museum of Coimbra, Machado de Castro. with the painting collection already restaured and conserved, or in conservation by the «Restauration Institut of Lisbon», Aveiro Museum has the most significant colection of wood painting of the XVth century, the most large in number, after that of the «Room os the S. Vincent de Fora Pannels», of the National Ancient Art Museum» GONÇALVES, António Manuel. (1963). *op. cit.* in *Revista Museu*, p. 8.

on the proper word permitting the visitors a completely tour, profitable and consistent.

On one other side yet, to the subject of this paper, and pertinent on the social and cultural context of “Estado Novo”, it’s important to point out, the attention gave by AMG in maintaining open to the public in the permanent exhibition, having renew the artifacts exposed, the two room with the collection donate by the Colonel-doctor Nascimento Leitão, oriental art collection, already named by his predecessor director “oriental section of the Museum”.

This collection composed by the works of art assembled by the Colonel-doctor born in Aveiro, António Nascimento Leitão has been offered to the museum in 1954, and he himself made the catalogue, published at the same year: «*Catálogo e relação descritiva da Secção Oriental do Museu Regional de Aveiro*», being museum director at that time, Alberto Souto. It has been a donation of nearly 500 japanese and chinese works of art example of great and patient artistic labour, with a notable interest to the Museum: «*artistic, historic, mythological, ethnografical, geographical and superstitious – aspects saw by the eyes and phantasy and philodophy of the Orient people*», on the words of the author ⁹. In this description of the donate collection, Nascimento Leitão catalogues the objects of art by typologie, nature and theme, as: numismatics, japanese furniture, with red pieces of lac, other furniture, the eight immortals, parietal suspension brackets, chandeliers and lantern, porcelain, polychrome terracota, decorate argenterie, parietal painting and of table of different forms, argent objects, photographies, biblots, other objectos Japanese superstition, animals symbolic significant, plants, fruits and flowers symbolical significant, mysthic number, colours of Chine, oil portrait paintings.

The collection congregate by the donator in the Orient, precisely in Macau and near lands, where he has passed as he arrived there, the «*tins-tins*» of the town, «*bric-à-bracs*» and antiquities marchandisings in Canton, Hong-Kong and in Japan, also in Timor, has became an important collection of oriental art, bought in auctions, obtained as retribution of medical services, or, through the diplomatic contacts, that he studied, comparing its historic and artistic value with other collections, in Aveiro city. So that, it’s (notar/sublinhar) the importance that Aveiro Museum, State institution and first museum of the district, assumes, as the faithful deposit of this collection, that, on other size wouldn’ t be known by the public, and namely during the «Estado Novo», where the preservation of the possessions of the Empire has been the leit-motiv of the nation. It is as well to note, that this collection has been object of an individual section inside Aveiro Museum, the «oriental section» as indicate before – that, as also refered above had nothing to do with the other museum collections – not only at the moment of the donation, in the 50 years , but also its preservation on the years later, of the 60, under the direction of AMG, demonstrating that the the museologic policy of Aveiro Museum – similar to other national museums – continues the valorisation of the heap of national identity, regional ones, as the «*moliceiro*» boat, of portuguese art, or of the art of the portuguese colonies. Then, this has been the “order word” of the policy to develop and it is in this context that we can completely understand the value of this donation to Aveiro Museum

António Manuel Gonçalves and his international projection

The perspective of the international sense of the valorization and protection of the cultural and museum national heritage, AMG soon acquires it in Lisbon, in 1956, at the moment of the constitution

⁹ “*artístico, histórico, mitológico, folclórico, paisagístico e supersticioso – vistos pelo prisma da fantasia e filosofia dos povos do Oriente*», LEITÃO, António Nascimento. (1954). *Catálogo e relação descritiva da Secção Oriental do Museu Regional de Aveiro*. Aveiro: A Lusitania, p. 1.

of the Commission to take care of the national cultural (bens) in case of war ¹⁰; later on , when exercising the direction functions of Aveiro Museum, it competes to him to assure the register of the museum property works of art, to this purpose, turning back to the central administration tutelage, precisely to MNAA and its director João Couto, the President of the Commission indicate, attaining to board and present this theme on the 4th meeting of the curators at Coimbra.¹¹

As a researcher, museum curator and as Aveiro Museum director the Luso -Brazilians relationships established by AMG along his professional life will be frequents and with continuity, either in the Art History area, either in the Museum studies domain. In this domain, besides M^a José de Mendonça (at the time director of the National Museum of Coaches), as well as AMG, disciple of João Couto having been the coordinator of the Ist symposium Luso-Brazilian in museum studies and History of Art, being held by the Cultural Services of Portugal Embassy at Rio de Janeiro, occurred in 1966, it belonged to the other disciples and collaborators of Couto to participate in this symposium, namely AMG, whom, in the session dedicate to the theme of “Museums of Portugal” presented a communication about “Aveiro Museum”.¹²

These bilateral Luso-Brazilian relationships developed overcoat under the protocols of cultural and intellectual cooperation established by the Governor through the Institute to the Upper Culture (IAC) with the Cultural Services of the Portugal Embassy in Brazil and the cultural Brazilian offices, at the end of the 50 and on the 60 years of 1900. We still refer, that AMG also developed the Luso-Brazilian exchanging promoting the truck of bibliography spoil, revealing the importance of the regional history of the Near-sea, in which Aveiro Museum was rich.

On the museum international plan, it can't be mention the creation in meantime of the Portuguese National Commission of ICOM; AMG has been his secretary from 1962 until the end of the 60 years.¹³ Ten years later, now during the 70 years of 1900, we can understand that the international projection plan of the Portuguese museum panorama, began by João Couto, attaints with AMG. In 1975, *The Directory of Museums*, the reference of the Portuguese bibliography is precisely the Lisbon museum guide written of AMG authorship.¹⁴

On another plan, almost theoretician and politic, and as an example-synthesis of this question, it's singular to note an hand-written paper of AMG, transcription of an interview to Mário Barata, art historian and founder of ICOM in Brazil at the final of the 50s, when his journey in Aveiro, in 1976. It's interesting not only the introduction that AMG makes of his interlocutor, where he evidences his open consciousness of the important role of the museum on the democratic development; as, on other side, from the interview results a museum policy evaluation of Aveiro Museum, from this one, of franc recognition of the work made by AMG on the museum modernization.

To conclude, we refer that AMG will continue to integrate the National Commission of ICOM and will participate in meetings promoted by this Commission until the 90 years of 1900. On the ICOM ambit, now during the democratic period, we refer the importance that the meeting promoted by the Portuguese Commission of ICOM, one first between the Iberique Commission (Portugal and Spain), and pursuing the meeting of the countries of Portuguese language: II Meeting of Museum and Countries and Communities of Portuguese Language, in 1989, III Meeting in 1991, IV Meeting in

10 Allowance : “Ministro da Presidência de 17 de Julho de 1958, dado ao abrigo da Lei nº 2084, Diário do Governo, I^a Série, nº 172, de 16 de Agosto de 1956.

11 Administrative archive of Aveiro Museum (paste M-4).

12 Administrative archive of Aveiro Museum (paste M-6/2).

13 Administrative archive of Aveiro Museum (paste 6/1).

14 HUDSON, Keneth; NICHOLS, Ann (1975). *The Directory of Museums*, London and Basingstoke, The Macmilian Press Ltd, pp. 374-376: PORTUGAL (de A a Z); pp. 861-864: Bibliografia selecionada; p. 863: “Portugal – Gonçalves, António Manuel, *Museus de Lisboa (Guiã Turístico de Lisboa, 1960)*”.

1994 and V Meeting in 2000.

AMG participates in the IVth of these meetings, that happened in 1994, in Macau, being important to note finally, his presentation of the theme entitled “the oriental section of Aveiro Museum”, originally from the Nascimento Leitão donation, fact of much more importance / much more relevant, than the context in which it is presented it’s not already the Portuguese Empire, but that one of the “Lusofonia”, that is to say the context of a commune language, culture and history, of these meetings, promoted to recognize the heritage and cultural heaps of a commune matrix, that came to pass the evolution of the politic regimes and the autonomy of the peoples and nations of Portuguese language.¹⁵

In his communication about the collection of the oriental section of Aveiro Museum, AMG presents enlargement the figure of the donator, his literary and scientific curriculum, graduate by the Medicine School of Oporto and in Lisbon, where he began the military career, in the Central Institute of Hygiene, and his career at the service of the country in Macau and Timor during three ten years, his published works, and his studies about the Aveiro region geography, an *in memorium*,¹⁶ the reference to the donation to the Museum of the city he was born, and, at the end, he notes the role and the value he, AMG, attributed to this collection at the Aveiro Museum, when he was its director: “(...) *distinct personality of Aveiro he consecrate to Macau the better of his professional life and donate the Museum of his born city all the collection of oriental art that he assemble we only point out the 22 pieces of Japanese furniture. In the context of the program of renovation of Aveiro Museum that we purposed to raise, we did not forget to congregate, in 1962, on the room near the great room great hall Marques Gomes, not only these Japanese furniture of lac but also a choice exhibit of the most expressive of the collections*”.¹⁷

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¹⁵ GONÇALVES, António Manuel. (1996). “A secção oriental do Museu de Aveiro” in *IV Encontro de museus de países e comunidades de língua portuguesa – Macau*, 28 de Fevereiro a 3 de Março de 1994. Lisboa: Comissão Portuguesa do ICOM, pp. 47-50.

¹⁶ With the courses of Tropical Medicine and Sanitary Medicine, following in the first ten years of the XXth century to the career in Macau and Timor, having been director of the Laboratory of Clinic Analysis and

Bonchitis of Macau; at Timor having leader de Sanity Services during the military campaigns of Ocussi, in 1913. In Europe by a leave in 1914-17, during the period of the Ist World War he made surgical practices in the Medicine Department at Sorbonne and the Hospital of Saint Anthony, and in Lisbon he exercised the functions of first guard of the Sanity; He obtained several prizes, since the secondary school, and has been distinguished with the graduation of official of commander of Aviz Order, and other. In his bibliography is to note: *A Bacia Hidrográfica de Aveiro e a Salubridade Pública e Aveiro e a sua Laguna*. In GONÇALVES, António Manuel. (1996). “A secção oriental do Museu de Aveiro”, in *IV Encontro de museus de países e comunidades de língua portuguesa, Macau*, 1994 - Comissão Portuguesa do ICOM. Macau: Comissão Portuguesa do ICOM, pp. 47-48.

¹⁷ :“(...) *distinguido aveirense que consagrou a Macau o melhor da sua vida profissional e doou ao Museu da sua terra natal todas as colecções de arte oriental que reuniu, salientamos apenas as 22 peças de mobiliário japonês. Dentro do programa de renovação do Museu d’ Aveiro que nos cumpriu realçar, não olvidámos reunir, em 1962, na sala anexa ao Salão “Marques Gomes”, não só esses móveis lacados japoneses como uma seleccionada mostra das peças mais significativas das colecções*”. In GONÇALVES, António Manuel. (1996). *op. cit.*, p. 50.

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SESSION 30

COLONISATIONS AND
DECOLONISATIONS:
HISTORICAL
PROCESSES 2

‘The quiet and preservation of the colony of Brazil depends in part on the friendship of the Indians. With this in mind they should be permitted to enjoy their natural freedom ... Orders should be issued that they are not outraged by their commandeurs, hired out for money or forced to work in sugar mills against their will. Each [Indian] should, on the contrary, be allowed to live in the way he understands, and to work where he wishes like men of our nation.’ (Johan Maurits of Nassau, September 1644)¹

‘So come to our side while there is still time, so that with the help of our friends we can live together in this land which is our home and in the bosom of all our family. We are all agreed about this. Therefore come and join us, and I assure you that the Dutch will give you the same benefits as they do us. Have not the slightest doubt; the Portuguese will slip away; those bandits will disappear like the wind.’ (Pieter Poti, Potiguar Indian leader, October 1645)²

If ‘decolonizing hegemonic thought’ is considered a task of post-colonial cultural criticism, then the critical analysis of historiography, and indeed of colonial history itself, should be part of this endeavour as well. In this context the history of 17th-century Brazil is greatly illuminating, because its complexity and its political and cultural contradictions provide important evidence for the thesis that there was no simple hegemonic structure in colonial society or in colonial discourse and ideology. Nor was there a lack of will or capacity on the part of the colonised ‘non-Europeans’ and different non-dominant groups to contest such systems of European domination as existed. The historiography of colonial Brazil of the past half century or so has given ample attention to the complexity that needs to be addressed and cannot be said to be lacking in quality or in the will to be ‘objective’ and multidimensional, having overcome the worst colonial and ethnocentric distortions of the past. That groups like the Brazilian Indians,³ black slaves, or immigrant Jews were not just victims but active participants in the historical drama and perfectly able

¹ Johan Maurits of Nassau, Report to the States General of the United Netherlands, 27 September 1644, quoted in John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (2nd ed., London, 1995), pp. 296, 614. Hemming’s reference is to José Antônio Gonçalves de Mello, *Tempo dos flamengos: influência da ocupação holandesa na vida e na cultura do norte do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1947), pp. 234-5, still one of the most important works in Portuguese on the ‘Dutch period’ in Brazil.

² Pieter Poti to Antônio Felipe Camarão, 31 October 1645, quoted in Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 310, 618, where reference is made to Pedro Souto Maior, ‘Fastos Pernambucanos’, *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 76 (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), pp. 153-6, another important and even earlier Portuguese-language work based on Dutch sources.

³ Although the term ‘Amerindian’ is sometimes used when referring to the native peoples of the American continent, we will simply speak of ‘Indian’ in the knowledge that each expression has its drawbacks and that even an author like John Hemming uses this term.

The Miracle of Maurício: Multicultural Toleration and Decolonising Tendencies in Seventeenth-Century Brazil

Zuzana Poláčková & Pieter C. van Duin

to define their own interests, is probably generally recognised today. It is also understood that among the dominant groups in mid-17th-century Brazil, notably the Portuguese and the Dutch administrations, European settlers, and various cultural and religious agents, there was no unity of perspective on colonial policy, with Portuguese Jesuits contesting settler attitudes to the Indian tribes and enlightened Dutch administrators those of the puritan Calvinists or short-sighted merchants. Among the many dilemmas faced by colonial administrators, religious institutions, and different social and ethnic groups alike was the question of the right of certain groups in Brazilian society to enjoy their own freedom and 'otherness' versus the other idea that all should know their place in a common society with a specific hierarchical structure but also a common religious and cultural identity. This was a dilemma that was never resolved by any side in the Brazilian colonial labyrinth and that was influenced by opportunistic considerations and conflicting interests as well as by different ways of life, cultural and religious traditions, and ideological perspectives.

During the period 1630-54 the cultural and political complexity of Brazilian society was further increased as the Dutch occupied a part of north-east Brazil centred on Recife, introducing patterns of social and political behaviour and cultural and religious policies which posed a threat to Portuguese hegemony in Brazil as a whole. Especially during the rule of Governor Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen ('Maurício') in 1637-44, the Dutch administration succeeded in winning and keeping the friendship and support of various Indian tribes and even of a part of the black and mulatto population, while enforcing a policy of religious toleration benefiting the Jews and Catholics in addition to the newly dominant Protestants. All of this had consequences for prevailing notions of power structure, group identity, and inter-group relations. The multicultural segmentation and the social complexity of colonial society increased as a result of the more enlightened and pragmatic policies, which were partly motivated by strategic considerations but also by the principles of toleration of diversity and freedom of conscience that were characteristic of the more 'liberal' type of Calvinist, of which Johan Maurits was a typical example. The struggle for Brazil between the Portuguese and the Dutch created a new constellation of political forces and opportunities which provided several non-dominant groups in the colony with new possibilities for resistance and struggle for freedom. This was true for a broad range of ethnic, religious, and social groups, ranging from independent or semi-independent Indians to local 'New Christians' who could join the Portuguese-Jewish immigrants from Amsterdam and also including groups of black soldiers, slaves, and free mulattos some of whom took the Portuguese side and others the Dutch, with each of them anticipating particular advantages from the choice they made. Maurício's period of administration came to an end, and so did the Dutch period in Brazilian history, but the legacy of this historical episode may have had a long-term impact on the consciousness of Brazilians in the north-east. Perhaps a greater sensitivity to social and multicultural toleration was a part of this, or even a 'decolonising' tendency in the sense of conscious rejection of certain hegemonic structures and extreme inequalities, although the system of colonial slavery and racial inequality was soon consolidated everywhere (including, not much later, in Dutch Surinam). While the memory of Maurício may have played a part in encouraging some people in Portuguese Brazil to visualise a more tolerant society, the 'moment of decolonisation' of 1654 may have set a precedent (especially through 'Pernambuco nationalism') for later moments of 'relative decolonisation' in Brazilian history, including those of 1822, 1889 (with its new republican and egalitarian ethos) and various moments in the 20th century when brown and black Brazilians began to contest racial hierarchy. Perhaps it is possible to say that the 'Maurício episode' had demonstrated what could be done in terms of 'dehegemonising' some of the features of the political, cultural, and racial structure of Brazilian society (even if Dutch Brazil itself was a case of 'recolonisation'). Some of Maurício's policies had helped to destroy aspects of the old Portuguese colonial and cultural hegemony, and the void was partly filled by the response

of non-European and non-Catholic groups who discovered new social space for demanding a degree of equality and new forms of social coexistence. This new promise was one of the legacies of *Maurício o Brasileiro*.⁴

This paper tries to analyse in broad outline how this ‘promise’ originated during the second quarter of the 17th century. What is intended is not primarily a descriptive history of the ‘Dutch Brazil episode’ but, while including such historical description as is necessary, to problematise some crucial issues that are part of our subject-matter of the legacy of colonialism, historiographical debate, and ‘decolonising thought’. These issues include the nature of the new dynamics created by the emergence of ‘Dutch Brazil’ in the midst of and alongside ‘Portuguese Brazil’; the question of what this meant in terms of new opportunities for non-European and colonial subaltern groups to act as historical agents, especially for various groups of Brazilian Indians; and the contradictions and dilemmas that the Dutch and Portuguese were confronted with as a result of the new conflicts triggered by the Dutch invasion and the wars between the two colonial powers. These contradictions were also located in the sphere of cultural and religious policy, including the nature of strategic alliances with Indian and other non-European groups and disagreements within the dominant colonial groups as to the matter of political and ideological perspectives. It is not claimed that all these questions are satisfactorily resolved in this paper, which is not meant as an original contribution to historiography but primarily as a contribution to our reflections on the colonial and post-colonial ‘interpretative problematic’. The paper wants to argue that colonial history itself, the older and especially the more recent historiography, and our own evaluation of these questions from a post-colonial perspective are all closely intertwined. We cannot say that ‘history speaks for itself’, but neither can we reasonably claim that we always know better than those who were involved themselves. As for the historiography of colonial and Dutch Brazil, we must admit that its quality and orientation have greatly improved during the past decades. This historiography is indispensable for all who wish to understand colonial history or say something sensible about its meaning and its legacy, including the evolution of multicultural and post-colonial Brazil. It must also help us to avoid the cultivation of simplistic and a-historical reflections.

Visions of social and political change and anti-colonial resistance in 17th-century Brazil embraced various population groups and different perspectives. In Portuguese Brazil before 1630 different Indian groups – especially those usually called ‘Tapuia’⁵ – continued to fight against the Portuguese and Brazilian colonial masters, including on the frontier and deeper in the interior, and every European rival or enemy of the Portuguese – the French, the English, the Dutch – was keen to win their support. Indian groups settled in the Jesuit-controlled villages known as *aldeias*, most of whom, in coastal north-east Brazil, belonged to the language group known as ‘Tupi’, had become more submissive and partly acculturated, but since their incorporation into colonial society was by no means complete either in economic or in cultural terms, they continued to express various forms of resistance including refusal to work on European terms or full acceptance of the Christian religion and colonial ideology. Black slaves working on the Pernambuco sugar estates and elsewhere often tried to escape, with the Palmares community of runaway slaves and other ‘marginal’ colonial elements

4 A classical biography of Johan Maurits added the nickname ‘Brazilian’ to his name, following an old tradition. See P.J. Bouman, *Johan Maurits van Nassau, de Braziliaan* (Utrecht, 1947). The open-minded, broadly interested, and culturally tolerant but also ambitious and glory-seeking Johan Maurits has been described, among other things, as a ‘humanist prince’. See E. van den Boogaart (ed.) in collaboration with H.R. Hoetink and P.J.P. Whitehead, *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil* (The Hague, 1979). In his introduction to this notable collection of essays H.R. Hoetink speaks of the ‘modernity’ of Johan Maurits, i.e. his forward-looking, ‘secular’, and ‘rational’ orientation.

5 We follow the spelling of names like ‘Tapuia’ or ‘Tupi’ as adopted by authors like Fausto and Hemming. See Boris Fausto, *A Concise History of Brazil*. Trans. by Arthur Brakel (Cambridge, 1999); Hemming, *Red Gold*.

becoming the most notorious. Even part of the mulatto and *mameluco* mixed-race population, including former slaves, free blacks, and other ‘coloured’ people, by no means invariably expressed contentment with their position. The New Christians or Marranos (often crypto-Jews) were another story specific to the Catholic Portuguese and Spanish world and to Iberian colonial society, being – if in Brazil perhaps to a somewhat less extent – not only the victims of religious persecution but also of the idea of the Christian ‘purity of blood’, which was hardly less notable in the Portuguese than in the Spanish world. While Portuguese and Catholic Brazil may have been a relatively easy-going society as far as the general phenomenon of miscegenation was concerned, it was certainly not with regard to the almost caste-like social distinctions, racial prejudice (especially against blacks), and the ideology of European hegemony and white superiority.⁶ The Dutch were not much better than the Portuguese and, at a later stage, perhaps even worse. But during the Dutch Brazil episode they seemed in some respects to be more open-minded and culturally relativising than were the Portuguese, perhaps the attributes of a nation that had just recently begun its colonial adventure.

If the Dutch should have a chance of replacing the Portuguese as the hegemonic power in Brazil, they would have to conduct a policy of greater ‘multicultural’ and religious toleration towards at least *some* groups in Brazilian society and on the frontier. This would help to strengthen their position in short-term strategic and military terms, but also in terms of consolidating their political, economic, and socio-cultural (including religious) position in the long run. The idea was to use Brazil as a strategic base from which to fight the Spanish Empire, as a source of wealth (especially sugar), and, possibly, as a territory of settlement for Dutch and German colonists. To achieve this aim the Dutch West India Company (WIC, established in 1621), the colonial administration, and the private settlers (‘freeburghers’) would have to insure a measure of toleration of the freedom, autonomy, and culture of the Indians, but also of the colonial and Portuguese Catholics and groups like the immigrant Jews and local New Christians (the Jewish community in Recife and elsewhere quickly began to grow in the 1630s as numbers of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam arrived in Dutch Brazil and many New Christians returned to the Jewish religion). Even the more intricate question of the black and slave population had to be paid attention to and an improvement of their lot was at first a matter of consideration as well. The weakness (if also the strength) of the Dutch was that they were newcomers to the Brazilian scene – apart from their involvement in the sugar trade, which had often been conducted through Marrano middlemen from Porto and Viana with whom they entertained good relations – and therefore dependent on support from a less privileged section of the colonial population and frontier Indians. Their strength was that the Dutch administration and part of the settlers were predisposed to tolerating the Jews, who were with their knowledge of the Portuguese language and colonial society an important element in the complex Brazilian context, and that they were willing on strategic grounds to take a relatively open attitude to the Indians. Some of the latter had already been brought to the Netherlands after the Dutch withdrawal from Bahia in 1625 to receive political and religious instruction in anticipation of the invasion of Pernambuco in 1630. The most famous of them was Pieter Poti (Pedro Poti), a Potiguar Tupi chief from Paraíba who led a contingent of Indian warriors on the side of the Dutch and who wrote letters to persuade other Indian chiefs to join them. This did not mean that the Dutch always respected the Indians and their culture more than they did the colonial Portuguese or even the blacks; some of them had a lower regard for the Brazilian Indians than for the West Africans.⁷ But others developed a strong sympathy for them, including

6 See e.g. C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 86-130; Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (Minneapolis, 1984), esp. pp. 411-9; Fausto, *Concise History*, pp. 25-30.

7 Ernst van den Boogaart, ‘Colour Prejudice and the Yardstick of Civility: the Initial Dutch Confrontation with Black Africans, 1590-1635’, in Robert Ross (ed.), *Racism and Colonialism: Essays on Ideology and Social Structure* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 33-54, here esp. 47, 54.

Johan Maurits van Nassau and a number of Indian administrators ('commandeurs', government agents) some of whom were even married to Indian women.⁸ While a not inconsiderable proportion of Brazilian blacks, mulattos, Tupi Indians and even some Tapuia remained loyal to the Portuguese, many others were anxious to support the new invaders, which in the case of some of them on either side – at least those who were not simply forced to serve as soldiers or carriers – was a strategic decision. On the attitude of these non-Europeans to the military, political, and cultural developments in the colony might depend the fate of Brazil.

It is remarkable that on the eve of the 1630 invasion the Dutch seem to have been confident that they would be supported not only by the Marranos in Olinda and Recife, but also by the anti-Portuguese Indians and even by the black slaves, who were expected to rise against their Portuguese masters.⁹ At this stage the Dutch themselves had not yet become large slave traders or slaveholders, but this would change soon, in fact immediately after they got hold of the Pernambuco sugar plantations in the mid-1630s. They understood that they would have to conciliate the Portuguese estate owners in order to keep sugar production going, and of course this contradicted the idea of improving the status of the black slaves, especially since the Indians were to be protected from any attempts to enslave them. When the conquest of north-east Brazil began the Dutch were initially confined to the coastal areas of Pernambuco and the captaincies further to the north, the Portuguese putting up stiff resistance. Nevertheless, a degree of demoralisation may already have existed among a part of the colonial population. When in his book *O valeroso Lucideno e triunfo da liberdade* (1648) the Franciscan Manoel Calado criticised the corruption and degeneration of Brazilian colonial society, he referred to the prophetic warning of a Dominican friar who had declared shortly before the invasion of the Dutch that they would come as a punishment for this corruption, 'for when there is no justice on earth, divine justice will intervene.'¹⁰ This could be seen as a later explanation for the Brazilian crisis, but it is clear that among leading Catholic figures (Jesuits, Franciscans, and others) there was a strong consciousness of the wrongs of Brazilian society, which in the case of some – most notoriously the Jesuit António Vieira – also included Portuguese policy on the Jews. After the 1630 invasion wealthy Marrano merchants in Portugal were forced to provide loans for an armada against the Dutch and when in 1649 a similar policy was introduced again with the establishment of the *Companhia do Brasil*, António Vieira (disliked by many Portuguese as 'a friend of the Jews') persuaded the restored Portuguese king to give the Marranos guarantees that their property could not be confiscated by the Inquisition.¹¹ Apart from Jewish and Indian support, by 1631 the WIC troops in Brazil included blacks as well and in April 1632 the desertion to the Dutch of Domingos Fernandes Calabar, an influential mulatto figure, proved to be crucial in turning the military tide to the favour of the invaders; by now several hundred blacks, mostly runaway slaves, had joined them. Even more important, the Dutch were actively working for an alliance with various Tapuia groups in the interior of the captaincies of Pernambuco, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará; especially their friendship with the cannibal Tarairiu, much feared by the Portuguese, was a remarkable feature. Other Tapuia remained loyal to the Portuguese, especially to Martim Soares Moreno, who had a special relationship with some of

8 Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 293-6; Frans Leonard Schalkwijk, *The Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil (1630-1654)* (Zoetermeer, 1998), pp. 41, 49, 53, 210-1.

9 Charles R. Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië 1624-1654*. Trans. by H.G. Nijk (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1977), p. 27. This Dutch translation of Boxer's *The Dutch in Brazil 1624-1654* (1957) contains the original text where Dutch sources are quoted.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

11 George D. Winus, 'Two Lusitanian Variations on a Dutch Theme: Portuguese Companies in Times of Crisis, 1628-1662', in Leonard Blussé and Femme Gaastra (eds.), *Companies and Trade: Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 119-34, esp. 125-9; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *De Braziliaanse affaire. Portugal, de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden en Noord-Oost Brazilië, 1641-1669*. Trans. by Catherine Barel (Zutphen, 2005), chaps. 3-4 *passim*. Vieira was seen by Portuguese public opinion as a friend of the Jews also for other reasons.

them, but it seems that most Tapuia groups that played a part in the war took the Dutch side. The more acculturated Tupi were divided as well, even if in their case a majority remained on the Portuguese side, especially those that were led by the notorious Indian leader António Felipe Camarão. However, in Paraíba and Rio Grande do Norte the Tupi from the local *aldeias* went over to the Dutch, providing several hundred additional soldiers in January 1635 following the desertion of the Jesuit Manuel de Morais, who not long after went to Holland, married there, later came back to Brazil, and finally ended up before the Inquisition.¹² Part of the Portuguese *moradores* (the rural colonists and estate owners) gradually became conciliated to Dutch rule, encouraged by promises of religious freedom and respect for their property. Some of the Catholic friars even began to collaborate with the Dutch (Calado and Morais were examples of this in different ways), some for tactical and pragmatic reasons, others on grounds that were perhaps more difficult to understand but which may have included resentment of aspects of their life under the old regime.

The Brazilian historian and political scientist Boris Fausto has described the extent of the indigenous support that the Dutch invaders received in terms that seem to overestimate rather than underestimate it:

Because of his importance, Calabar has been recognised as the great traitor of the first phase of the war. But he was not alone. In fact, the Dutch could always count on local support – from different plantation owners and cane growers, as well as from people poorly integrated into Portuguese colonial society or from those totally outside it. New Christians, black slaves, Tapuia Indians, and poor, destitute mixed-bloods aided the Dutch. It is true that Camarão's Indians and Henrique Dias's blacks sided with the Luso-Brazilians. However, these mobilizations were relatively small.¹³

Other historians of European expansion and Iberian colonialism made observations on the phenomenon as well. J.H. Parry, for example, writes that the Dutch 'made valuable allies among the Amerindians, some of whom thus found means of expressing a longstanding hostility to the Portuguese.'¹⁴ Another important group of people that the Dutch, if not had to win over then at least had to neutralise, was the Catholic clergy. From 1635 the secular clergy and some of the Franciscans, Benedictines and others were tolerated in the Dutch-controlled territory and some of them seemed more supportive of the Dutch than might at first have been expected, for example the Franciscan Father Calado, who assisted in the rapprochement between the Dutch and the Portuguese *moradores*. Calado later wrote in his *Valeroso Lucideno* that a figure like the Dutch admiral Jan Cornelisz Lichthart – who apparently wanted to do his bit in the rapprochement as well – had told the Portuguese that he was a 'crypto-Catholic' to help them overcome their mistrust. However, the offer of toleration was not extended to the Jesuits (who were ordered by their Provincial to leave anyway), who were seen by the Protestant Dutch as a real evil and who had encouraged the Indians in the *aldeias* to fight against them. A notable exception was the rather bizarre case of the Jesuit Morais, who after he surrendered with his *aldeia* Indians began to show an interest in the Calvinist religion and to support the Dutch Reformed Church, and who also gave a lot of useful information about Brazilian conditions. While some Dutchmen and colonial Portuguese found each other in good undertakings or bad, the Pernambuco governor Mathias de Albuquerque withdrew to Bahia with more than 7,000

12 E. van den Boogaart, 'De Nederlandse expansie in het Atlantische gebied 1590-1674', in E. van den Boogaart and M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs (eds.), *Overzee. Nederlandse koloniale geschiedenis 1590-1975* (Haarlem, 1982), pp. 113-144, here 119-20, 125-6; Hermann Wätjen, *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien. Ein Kapitel aus der Kolonialgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (The Hague/Götha, 1921), pp. 61-2, 254-7; Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 68, 75; Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 299-302; Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church*, p. 41, according to whom Calabar even became a member of the Reformed Church.

13 Fausto, *Concise History*, p. 44.

14 J.H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration and Settlement 1450-1650* (London, 1973), p. 323.

people, both soldiers and civilians, after the Dutch occupation had been consolidated. Perhaps the most dramatic episode in this Portuguese withdrawal in 1635 was the capture by the Luso-Brazilian forces of the 'traitor' Calabar, who seems to have been executed in a gruesome way.¹⁵

In January 1637 Johan Maurits of Nassau arrived in Recife and soon there were a thousand Indians or more fighting on the Dutch side, perhaps a natural result – apart from the work of his predecessors – of his talent for negotiating with Indian leaders and keeping their loyalty. The religious freedom given to the Jews seemed for him a matter of course and that of the Catholics even included the holding of processions, which actually went further than what was allowed the Catholics in the Dutch Republic. The Portuguese in Dutch Brazil were brought within the scope of Roman-Dutch Law, with the same civic rights, taxes, etc. This did not mean that all Dutchmen were happy with it, neither with the freedom of the Catholics nor with that of the Jews, but Johan Maurits ignored most of the objections of the more intolerant among the Calvinist pastors and other critics of his liberal policies. An interesting measure was the admittance to Dutch Brazil of a group of French Capuchin friars, who soon expressed their contempt for the ignorance of the local Catholic clergy although they also observed that the Catholic zeal of the Portuguese was by no means weakened by it (this was obviously a question of cultural patriotism rather than religious 'knowledge'). The status of the black slaves was more difficult to resolve than that of the other groups. It was decided that those who had run away from the Portuguese to the Dutch before the Portuguese surrendered and who had given military help to the Dutch, would not be sent back to their former owners. But Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council of New Holland (as Dutch Brazil was officially known) soon had to acknowledge that without African slave labour there was no economic foundation for the further development of the colony. As late as the early 1630s the Directors of the WIC had hesitated if participation in the slave trade and the institution of slave labour was acceptable from a Christian point of view, but now most Calvinist ministers – there were some exceptions – declared that it was if certain conditions were fulfilled (including reasonable living conditions and conversion of the slaves).¹⁶ Forcing the Indians to work as slaves was strictly forbidden in Dutch Brazil, even if this prohibition was not always respected, and a policy of large-scale European immigration – the ideal of the more enthusiastic colonisers including Johan Maurits himself – was bound to fail for various reasons. It seemed that there was no alternative to continuing and extending the old Portuguese policy of working the sugar estates and other branches of the colonial economy with slaves from Africa. This meant that the level of support the Dutch could expect from black Brazilians was limited.

By 1639 the armed conflict between the Portuguese and the Dutch flared up again, with guerilla bands on the Portuguese side organising terror in Pernambuco and the Dutch retaliating in kind. Both sides refused to make prisoners and the war became a bloody mess even with regard to civilians. In this situation the role and significance of the Indian and black allied fighters could only increase. The Portuguese military commander André Vidal de Negreiros, assisted by Camarão with his Indians and Henrique Dias with his blacks, faced the Dutch with their own Indian allies, who knew that the Portuguese would kill all prisoners and therefore fought with great tenacity and loyalty to their side. At the beginning of 1641 a Dutch delegation went to Bahia to negotiate with the Portuguese on making the war less inhuman by at least giving quarter to all unarmed men and women, 'regardless of status, race or colour, and including Indians, mulattos, and Negroes.' When shortly afterwards the events of the Portuguese Restoration of late 1640 became known in Brazil, the armed conflict died down. The Portuguese began to remember that they actually hated the Spanish even more than the Dutch, and Johan Maurits celebrated the Restoration in Recife and in the new residence Mauritsstad.

¹⁵ See e.g. Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 74-5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-9, 107-8, 111.

The vicious animosity between the Spanish and the Portuguese was illustrated among other things by the Spanish custom of associating things Portuguese with things Jewish, by their use of rather dirty expressions equating the two, which in 1630 even caused the administrator of the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro to submit a request to the Spanish Crown voicing his indignation about it. The Dutch and the Portuguese would insult each other too, with a respectable man like António Vieira declaring in Bahia in 1640 that the Dutch were a ‘depraved and apostate people’. This he said even before the rather cynical occupation of Luanda by Johan Maurits in 1641.¹⁷

Measures like the institution of religious toleration – Father Calado could even celebrate mass in Johan Maurits’s own residence for the sake of the latter’s Catholic servants – or of local councils on which the *moradores* could express their grievances and of law courts in which they could use their own language, were not enough to definitively conciliate the Portuguese. Boxer is probably right in observing that the religious difference remained the main problem preventing acceptance of the Dutch regime by the Catholic Portuguese, even if it was also a question of social, cultural, psychological, and national differences and the Calvinist hard-liners represented only one aspect of the problem. On the other hand even vicar-general Gaspar Ferreira of the Brazilian Jesuits was impressed by Johan Maurits’s religious tolerance, and in 1643 Father Colombe de Nantes of the French Capuchins wrote to Rome about ‘the good prince Johan Maurits.’¹⁸ The Council of the Reformed Church in Recife frequently complained about the freedom of the Catholics to celebrate their religion in public. Apart from exceptional cases, Calvinist attempts to convert the Portuguese had practically no result because they seem to have abhorred the Calvinist religion, while the Portuguese wives of Brazilian Dutchmen – there were quite a few ‘mixed marriages’ – made sure that if anything had to change at all the Dutch husband would become a Catholic and not the other way around. The (in their eyes rather extreme) religious freedom of the Jews led to Calvinist protests as well. By 1644 there were some 1450 Jews in Dutch Brazil with synagogues in at least four towns, representing a third of all non-Portuguese freeburghers in the colony. Their critics claimed that the Jews could marry Christians, convert Christians to Judaism, ridicule the Christian religion with impunity, and so on. (In the same year 1644 the Supreme Council warned in a letter to the WIC Directors that the Dutch habit of ridiculing the Catholic religion might lead to a Portuguese reaction.) But though by no means insignificant, the number and influence of the Jews was often exaggerated and they were not a homogeneous community, with Jewish immigrants from the Netherlands or Portugal, Brazilian former crypto-Jews, and others (including Jews from Germany) forming different groups. The fact that blacks and Indians were also often left alone in religious matters was not to the liking of the Reformed Church either, which insisted on greater efforts to convert them. Not all Calvinist efforts remained without effect, especially as far as certain groups of Indians were concerned. Among some of the Tupi and Tapuia tribes progress was made, which perhaps confirms the old thesis that ‘animists’ were more susceptible to conversion to a new monotheism than were people belonging to a rival monotheistic religion. Of course, part of the Indians had already become acquainted with the Catholic faith, especially in the *aldeias*, but this may not have been decisive given the Indian tendency to only partially adopt elements of Christianity and to develop various forms of syncretism. A measure of resignation among the Dutch as to the limits of what could be achieved in terms of exerting religious and cultural influence among the Indians, certainly emerged – quite apart from the

17 Ibid., pp. 117-35.

18 ‘Prince’ Johan Maurits’s first Brazilian mistress Margarita Soler – he always remained a staunch bachelor – was actually the daughter of a former Augustinian monk from Valencia who had converted to Calvinism in France; he married and later became a Calvinist pastor in Pernambuco. See Jose Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, ‘Vincent Joachim Soler in Dutch Brazil’, in Van den Boogaart (ed.), *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince*, pp. 247-55.

strategic need to show respect for their autonomy – but a handful of Indian leaders (Pieter Poti and others) seem to have become ‘good Reformed Christians’.¹⁹

Perhaps the question of the Calvinist religion is not entirely insignificant when it comes to trying to understand the role of the Indians in Dutch Brazil. They may or must have understood that it was a major identity symbol of the new rulers, the radical opposite to Portuguese Catholicism. Developing new forms of syncretism may have been a conscious response to the new situation of inter-European power struggle. A not insignificant number of Calvinist preachers and others made attempts at Indian conversion, and a not entirely negligible number of Brazilian Indians were sent to the Netherlands for further education. In 1641 a Calvinist catechism in Tupi – or actually a trilingual (Dutch-Portuguese-Tupi) one – was printed in the town of Enkhuizen for distribution in Brazil, and even some Tapuia were educated in Holland.²⁰ Although at first the Calvinists were disappointed by the results, by 1645 progress was reported despite the realism and pessimism that existed as well. The Tapuia were generally more resistant to European cultural influences than the Tupi, but their eagerness to collaborate with the Dutch against the Portuguese made some of them adopt Calvinist symbols and even a smattering of Reformed religious culture. As Boxer has written about the Dutch influence on the Tapuia and about the observations of António Vieira:

they still retained a strong memory and a certain liking for what they had learnt. A Portuguese Jesuit missionary visiting some Amerindian villages in the interior soon after the final expulsion of the Dutch, was horrified to find that ‘many of the inhabitants were as Calvinist and Lutheran as if they had been born in England or in Germany’. Padre Antonio Vieira, S.J., and his colleagues soon eradicated such traces of Protestantism, which otherwise might perhaps have endured in the hinterland of north-east Brazil for as long as they did in Formosa.²¹

Exerting religious and political influence was facilitated by the tendency of Dutch representatives including Johan Maurits to treat the Indians as equals, and apparently Johan Maurits – who had his own style of ‘going native’ at times – was delighted to be called ‘brother’ by tribal leaders. When he had to leave Brazil in 1644 he took a group of Indians with him who not long after gave a dancing performance in The Hague (which was not to the liking of local Calvinist ministers), and he continued for years to send letters and gifts to Indians in Brazil. It is noteworthy that some Spaniards and Portuguese admitted that the ‘northern nations’ were more successful with the Indians than they were. The Franciscan Juan de Silva testified to the Council of the Indies in Spain in 1621 that the Dutch tended to behave better towards the Indians and that the Spaniards’ maltreatment of them had enabled the Dutch to penetrate South America (the Amazon and Orinoco regions and the Guyanas). Indeed, the Dutch had told the Indians that it was not the Protestants but the Catholic Spaniards who were the ‘heretics’, because ‘they were breaking God’s laws by their evil deeds’ committed against the Indians. António Vieira had to admit in 1654 that the Amazon Indians hated the Portuguese but entertained peaceful trade relations with the English and the Dutch, ‘who respected their freedom.’ A few years later he visited the isolated region in western Ceará known as the Serra de Ibiapaba where many Indians had fled after the collapse of Dutch Brazil, some of whom were dressed in Dutch clothes

19 Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 144–64, 191n14, 192n28, 203; see for the Jews more in particular Arnold Wiznitzer, *Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo, 1966) and Van den Boogaart, ‘De Nederlandse expansie’, p. 122 for figures; Wätjen, *Das holländische Kolonialreich*, pp. 230–5 for anti-Jewish grievances and p. 259 for Tupi syncretism; Hemming, *Red Gold*, p. 297 for the argument of relative failure of Calvinist and Dutch cultural influence among the Indians; but Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church*, pp. 152–67 for the Reformed mission to the Portuguese and, above all, chaps. 8–11 for various aspects of the Reformed mission among the Indians, an analysis that is more detailed and more penetrating than any other on this issue.

20 Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church*, chap. 11; C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800* (London, 1977), p. 150.

21 Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, p. 150. Formosa was another example of relatively successful Dutch Reformed missionary activity among the native (non-Chinese) population.

and had Dutch books which according to Vieira they could read. In addition to his comments quoted above he described the region as having been transformed by these Protestant Indians into 'a local Geneva'. The Jesuits' opposition to the Indian policy of the Portuguese colonists in Maranhão and other parts of northern Brazil led to their expulsion from the region in 1684.²²

The Reformed Church also made a (much weaker) effort to bring the Calvinist religion to the slaves, more than 23,000 of whom were imported by the Dutch to Brazil during the period 1636-1645 – the beginnings of their African slave trade and colonial slave-labour system, a continuation of that of the Portuguese. Although the issue of the conversion of the slaves was frequently discussed by the Reformed Church Council, few practical steps seem to have been made, probably because both the slave owners and the Dutch administration were not very enthusiastic. Especially during the first ten years or so, policy on the slaves was rather contradictory, and during the war years until 1641 large numbers who fought on the Dutch side were manumitted (the Portuguese did the same thing). But thereafter the system of slave labour came again into its own, now supported by the Dutch, and as a result slaves began to escape in growing numbers. Some of their runaway settlements (*quilombos*) were destroyed by Dutch soldiers and their Indian allies, tragic evidence that the latter did not necessarily sympathise with the black slaves but rather had their own vision of their place in Brazilian society and of the proper basis of relations between the different groups. When in 1645 the uprising of the Pernambuco Portuguese and their allies began it was especially the Indians of the northern captaincies (Itamaracá, Paraíba, Rio Grande, Ceará) who proved important military allies for the Dutch, helping them to hold on to the region as far as possible. The sugar-growing area of Pernambuco was lost by the Dutch after August 1645 and the uprising was supported by pro-Portuguese mulattos, blacks, and Indians. It is the mulatto leader João Fernandes Vieira, born in Madeira, who is often credited with having started the uprising, but he probably also acted from opportunistic motives (he had become an estate owner under the Dutch regime and was indebted to Dutch or Jewish merchants). The first to join him were 150 black and mulatto fighters led by Henrique Dias, followed not long after by the Indians of the notorious Catholic and pro-Portuguese veteran Camarão. To complete the picture, Martím Soares Moreno with his Indians and the major Portuguese military commander André Vidal de Negreiros joined the rebels as well. A remarkable feature of the fighting in 1645 was that a group of slaves on the Portuguese side seem to have played a crucial role in turning the tables on the Dutch.²³

Indeed in August 1645, during the battle at Monte das Tabocas in Pernambuco which pitted some 1000 fighters on the Dutch side (including 300 Indians) against another 1000 on the Portuguese side, the latter were almost defeated when at the critical moment J.F. Vieira promised freedom to a group of black slaves if they managed to halt the Dutch attack, which they did. It was the incredible toughness of these West African slaves which not only prevented defeat but finally brought victory to the Portuguese and Luso-Brazilians. Other events caused serious problems for the Dutch as well. In Rio Grande do Norte a number of Portuguese *moradores* were killed by Tapuia led by Jacob Rabe (Rabbe, Rabi), a Dutch agent with the Indians who came from Germany and who was married to a Tapuia woman. In later years Rabe was referred to as a 'German Jew', but it is not certain that he was Jewish even if his name suggested it (the historian Arnold Wiznitzer has expressed his doubts about Rabe's Jewish identity). However this may have been, in 1646 Rabe was shot by a Dutch army officer

22 Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 165-8, 188; Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, p. 150; C.R. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure: Padre Antônio Vieira, S.J., 1608-1697* (London, 1957), p. 20, where the Jesuits are described as the only Catholic religious order in Brazil with 'a long tradition of upholding the freedom' of the Indians; Wätjen, *Das holländische Kolonialreich*, pp. 254-60; Fausto, *Concise History*, p. 46; Hemming, *Red Gold*, chap. 15 on Antônio Vieira.

23 Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 169-75, 202-6; Wätjen, *Das holländische Kolonialreich*, pp. 260-1 on the black slaves; Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church*, p. 151 on the mission among the blacks; Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 299-301 on the remarkable fighter Camarão.

(or some of his subordinates) who was married to a Portuguese woman some of whose relations had been killed in the Rio Grande massacre. The murder of the popular Rabe led to a temporary withdrawal of Tapuia support for the Dutch in the region, which badly affected their position. It is clear that the ‘multicultural complications’ on both sides could lead to a weakening but also a strengthening of political cohesion and military effectiveness, depending on the details of any given situation. It is also clear that the actions of the Indians or the blacks could be decisive. This dynamics also led to more bloody forms of warfare again and to unexpected developments, with Dutch civilians massacred in addition to Portuguese *moradores* and some Dutch army officers married to Portuguese women deserting to the other side (the well-known Brazilian Vanderley family are the descendants of one of them). While Indians fighting on the Dutch side that were captured by the Portuguese were executed without mercy, the Tapuia in their turn killed as many Portuguese as possible. The Jews were rather nervous too, believing that a Portuguese victory in Brazil would mean their physical destruction, and this fear was only growing in the following years. Indeed, after the Portuguese occupation of the town of Penedo in the south of Dutch Brazil in 1645 a number of New Christians accused of practising Jewish rites were arrested and sent to the Inquisition in Lisbon. Since most of them could prove they were Dutch subjects and the Portuguese-Jewish community in Amsterdam successfully pressed the Dutch government to demand their release, all but three were later released by the Portuguese. Another case attracting much attention was that of Isaac de Castro (José de Lis), a Portuguese New Christian who had emigrated to Dutch Brazil in 1641 but three years later went to Bahia, where he was arrested – after being denounced by people who had seen him visit a synagogue in Recife – and then sent to Portugal, finally to be executed in 1647 after having gone through the procedures of the Inquisition. The prominent rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca in Recife fiercely attacked the ‘treacherous’ rebel and mulatto leader J.F. Vieira, who was also criticised by *moradores* who claimed that he had only started the uprising because of his debts to the Dutch, and not from patriotic or religious motives.²⁴

It is revealing that both sides tried to seduce each other’s Indian allies. Most fascinating of all in this connection was the correspondence carried on in the Tupi language in October 1645 by the two major acculturated Potiguar leaders on the Portuguese and the Dutch side respectively, Felipe Camarão (who used a cousin to write his letters) and Pieter Poti, who were actually cousins, too. Poti argued that the Dutch treated the Indians better than the Portuguese did and that they lived more freely under the Dutch, who had never enslaved any Indian and called them ‘brothers’, unlike ‘the Portuguese rascals’. He blamed Camarão for calling him a ‘heretic’ and argued: ‘I am a better Christian than you. I believe only in Christ without polluting religion with idolatry as you do in yours. I learned the Christian religion and practise it daily...’ Poti had been educated in Holland and also believed that Dutch naval power would prevail. While Camarão remained loyal to the Catholic Portuguese – and with him a large number of Pernambuco Tupi who had left the region together with the withdrawing Luso-Brazilian forces in 1635 – most of the Tapuia tribes in the north-east remained loyal to the Dutch despite the Rabe incident, as did the pro-Dutch and Calvinist-influenced Tupi groups in what remained of Dutch Brazil. Nevertheless, by 1648 the Dutch position had become pretty hopeless in Pernambuco and even in the more northern regions, with the Portuguese forces now embracing a broad coalition of white, mulatto, black, and Indian units. In 1649 a Dutch counter-attack failed and Pieter Poti was captured by the enemy. Although he was badly maltreated, he refused to disavow his allies or the Calvinist religion; he was brought in chains to Portugal but died on the way. His fate was later described in an appeal or memorandum (*Two Remonstrances*) presented in Holland by an Indian representative, Antonio Paraupaba (Paräupába), a close friend of Poti and ‘Regidoor’

²⁴ Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 207-12, 220-1; Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 303-4, 307-8, who has a somewhat different story on Rabe; Wiznitzer, *Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial*, pp. 91, 97-104, 149-51; Cabral de Mello, *De Braziliaanse affaire*, pp. 88, 193n17.

(captain) of the Tupi in Rio Grande, which was published in The Hague in 1657. A Dutch report on the 1649 defeat admitted that among the enemy forces there were many ‘Brazilians [Tupi], Tapuyas, Negroes, Mameluks [half-castes]’. Many of them were good guerilla fighters and dangerous enemies, and apparently it was difficult to prevent Henrique Dias’s black soldiers from killing Dutch prisoners of war. In 1649 the Dutch admiral Witte de With claimed that the Tapuia and Potiguar allies were losing patience with the way they were treated by the Dutch. Clearly in a situation of retreat not all was well with the relationship between the Dutch and their Indian allies, but many of them remained loyal till the end and were also present in besieged Recife. By 1652 the mood among the Supreme Council had become not only desperate but vicious. In a letter to the WIC they spoke of Portugal as ‘the most idolatrous Catholic country’ in the world, and if Brazil were kept, then in the future there should be ‘no religious freedom’ for the Portuguese, ‘who have a natural antipathy against every other nation with a different way of life’. But when Recife surrendered in 1654, the Portuguese commander Barreto not only managed to keep discipline among his troops – described by a Dutch observer as consisting of ‘Whites, Mulattos, Brazilians, Negroes and Tapuyas’ – but the Capitulation of Taborda even stipulated that the Jews were allowed to stay if they wished. However, it seems that not a single Jew dared to do so even though in Recife, at least, they were not maltreated. Most of them went to the Dutch Republic, with a smaller number going to the West Indies, New Amsterdam, and France.²⁵

The Tapuia and Potiguar Indians blamed the Dutch in bitter words for the collapse and for abandoning their settlements in Brazil, thereby also abandoning their Indian friends to the revenge of the Portuguese. A letter from a Dutch official described how the Indians – more than 4,000 of them – fled from the north-eastern captaincies to seek refuge in western Ceará in the Ibiapaba hills (presumably the place where Antonio Vieira found them), cursing the ‘Flemings’ for what they saw as their lack of courage to fight on. There they founded a republic called Cambressive, from where they sent António Paraupaba to the Netherlands to make another attempt to obtain Dutch support. He presented twice an appeal to the States General, in 1654 and 1656, asking for help against ‘the cruel and bloodthirsty Portuguese, who since the first occupation of Brazil have destroyed so many hundreds of thousands of persons of that nation...’ Around this time the Luso-Brazilian victors had seriously begun to quarrel: apparently the mulattos, blacks, and Indians, who had done the hardest fighting on the Portuguese side, felt insulted by the treatment they received and were ready to revolt. This appears from a letter written to Lisbon in 1655 by J.F. Vieira, who already in 1652 had stressed the need ‘to treat the Negroes, Indians and other people well who sustain the war with their lives.’²⁶ It would seem that the phenomenon of ‘Pernambuco nationalism’ and the Portuguese-Brazilian multiracial coalition were problematical from the start, even if it cannot be denied that something like this broad nationalism existed given the active participation of ‘non-white’ people in the movement for Pernambuco ‘restoration’. The history of 17th-century Brazil and the struggle between the Portuguese and the Dutch, that great crisis of European hegemony, colonial society, and the structure of inter-group relations, cannot be understood without the critical role played by the Indians and other ‘non-Europeans’. If in this history all Brazilian actors – including the Dutch, the Jews, and others – were part of the same ‘colonial’ drama, it is also true that each group played a specific role and defined its interests in its own particular way, politically and culturally. For a certain period of time the situation was relatively open-ended both in terms of the pattern of colonial

²⁵ Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 309-11 for the Poti-Camarão correspondence and pp. 314-6 for the capture of Poti and the Paräupába memorandum; Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 224-5, 235-6, 258-61, 268, 273, 277, 280-1, 287-8 for the most crucial events of the last years of Dutch Brazil (the bibliography contains the full title of the Paräupába memorandum: *Twee versheyden Remonstrantien...*); Van den Boogaart, ‘De Nederlandse expansie’, pp. 124-5.

²⁶ Boxer, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, pp. 290, 300; Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 315-6, 619, referring for the Paräupába appeal to Souto Maior, ‘Fastos Pernambucanos’.

domination and in terms of the options available to the 'free' or 'half-free' Indian population and other subaltern groups. We should take care not to fall into the trap of anachronistic judgements and generalisations, for example that no meaningful change was ever possible in the social positions of the different colonial groups – Indians being eternal victims, Catholic Portuguese destined to be the colonial masters, and so on – or in the structure of early modern Brazilian society. It was not foreordained that Brazil should be a strictly hierarchical, culturally rigid or intolerant society, with little flexibility in terms of multicultural positions.

Both for strategic reasons and – in the case of some people – for moral or even 'idealistic' (including religious) reasons, a measure of 'multicultural toleration' was envisaged in 17th-century Brazil, perhaps especially on the part of the Dutch and people like Johan Maurits of Nassau, for whom the idea and the reality of religious toleration and cultural diversity were more 'natural' than for the monolithically thinking Catholic Portuguese (although the Catholic world had its own internal diversity). This 'multicultural' and more egalitarian perspective, including the protection of an 'original' or modified state of Indian autonomy and a mutually acceptable mode of Indian-European coexistence, was also part of the Indian mindset and Indian aspirations. Among the Lusophone free blacks and mulattos visions of a more egalitarian order existed as well, as became apparent in the 1650s (see above), while among the black slaves both resistance (mostly in the form of flight and *quilombo* formation) and resignation to inequality were part of their situation. It is this complexity, not only of different social and multicultural patterns in colonial society but also of different visions on what this society should or could be like, that must be a topic of further historical investigation which will also inform our post-colonial reflections on the meaning and legacy of colonialism. The crisis and instability of colonial Brazil, and the 'decolonising tendencies' or 'decolonising potential' that were always part of it as perspectives of change, have perhaps not been fully examined as an issue of research and post-colonial debate. At the end of the day the Indians were indeed the major victims of the course of Brazilian history – the victimisation of the colonial Africans was even worse in some respects but also less hopeless in other respects – but for a long time they were also active participants in this history with their own political and military role, their own cultural initiatives (e.g. regarding their religious syncretism and ambivalent attitudes to Christianity), and their own alternative aspirations in the colonial context.

John Hemming has written that the tragedy of the Indians was that 'they were being armed and incited against one another by colonial powers ... Not only did traditionally hostile groups fight one another, but also tribes normally as cohesive as the Potiguar were violently split by the rival European colonists and religions.'²⁷ This is undoubtedly part of the truth, and yet the different groups of Indians – or their chiefs and more acculturated leaders – must be given the benefit of the doubt as far as their ability to make their own strategic and rational choices is concerned. This ability was revealed during the crisis triggered by the rise of 'Dutch Brazil', when an unprecedented degree of destabilisation of the colonial order created new opportunities of autonomy for the Indians, a re-arrangement of multicultural patterns, and prospects of 'relative decolonisation', i.e. the removal of the Portuguese colonial power through the intervention of another one. This was, of course, an exercise in recolonisation first and foremost, but by putting in place new political, social, and cultural patterns it also held the promise of 'decolonising' certain spheres of Brazilian society. For many groups of Brazilian Indians, for New Christians and Jews, and for others (even some Catholic friars), there must have been reasons to support the new colonial power which seemed to be willing to respect their freedom more than the Portuguese had done.

27 Hemming, *Red Gold*, p. 309.

Abstract: The text explores the possible continuities and ruptures in the historical context of the forced displacements in Tete Province, Mozambique (1961-2013). Through this topic, it questions the decolonization of certain practices and analyses the risks of talking about recolonization. As an alternative, it offers an investigative agenda that contemplates the experiences of the displaced themselves, in this case, the experience of inhabiting and of the universe of houses that were possibly adapted, reorganized, rebuilt and even denied by the displaced in the colonial settlements, communal villages and current resettlements in Tete.

Keywords: Displacements, Mozambique, Tete, Housing, History-Anthropology.

Is it possible to talk of “decolonization” and “recolonization” in Mozambique?

This text is the result of the theoretical and methodological concerns of my doctoral research on the displacements of people in Tete province, Mozambique, from the late colonial period until current days. With an historical and anthropological interest, I seek to research the permanences and possible ruptures of the practices of displacing and concentrating people in pre-determined areas, namely: *colonial settlements* (or strategic hamlets) during the last decade of colonialism; the *communal villages* in the post-independence period, and the current *resettlements*, resulting from the mining megaprojects, like the one carried out by the Brazilian company Vale.

In light of this historical perspective, it is important to discuss three main points, which, due to their non-conclusive nature, are presented in the form of questions: 1) Was there in fact a decolonizing practice in relation to the people who were forcefully displaced in Mozambique? 2) Can the current resettlements undertaken in Tete be analysed as a recolonizing practice? 3) How to analyse the forced displacements in Tete, from the point of view of the displaced people?

The possible answers are outlined in the three topics that follow.

Forced displacements in Tete, yesterday.

The decade of 1960 brought with it evidence that colonialism, as an economical and obviously political and social venture, was becoming unsustainable. We can use as examples of this statements: the rebellions in Cassange, Angola, in February 1961; the pressure from the United Nations (supported by the concept of

Is it possible to talk of “decolonization” and “recolonization” in Mozambique?

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development and human rights of the post second world war); the criticism from Salazar’s opponents inside and outside Portugal; and, above all, the movements for the liberation of former Portuguese colonies. In Mozambique, the onset of the liberation war in September 1964, changed some of the colonial practices, among them the forced displacements of most of the peasant population to the so called villages.

The villages (*aldementos*) in Mozambique, or *sanzalas* in Angola and *tabancas* in Guiné, had as a main goal to isolate people from the nationalist ideas, disseminated by the colonial powers as “subversive” and “threatening”. Beyond this strategical role, the villages served as a way to show the world the colonial effort to promote “community development” amongst the dispersed African peoples. The villages would therefore be “protection” and “social welfare” areas, which, in theory, would help attract people to the Portuguese side of the war.

Between 1964 and 1968, villages were mainly concentrated in the districts of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, and between 1968 and 1971, with the *Frente de Tete*, the militarization of the region became obvious and the number of villages grew in the same proportion. It is calculated that at least 50% of the population of Tete was displaced to the villages (Coelho, 1993).

The selection of the site for the villages was made from a military strategic point of view, thus disrespecting the local space organization logics. Is it important to stress that from the legislative reforms of 1961, the categories of *indigenous* and *assimilated* were eliminated. With that, citizens of the metropolis or the so called *Ultramar* were theoretically considered part of a “pluricontinental nation”.

Therefore, the pattern of Portuguese settlers should extend, in a paternalistic way, to the former indigenous population, and that includes the village’s dwelling patterns. Regarding homes, the former ways of inhabiting and occupying communal spaces should be replaced through the “construction of dividing fences in residential plots”, in addition to stimulating the construction of bathing compartments and “the gradual replacement of the circular dwellings by rectangular houses with a larger area, compartmentalised and with better ventilation and lighting conditions”¹.

The so called traditional houses should be transformed. Until then, the rural villages in Tete, especially north of the Zambeze, were constructed by a small number of inhabitants, and the productive activities were organised taking into consideration the familial links in these small communities. The new villages broke this logic by quadrupling the number of people in a same area.

Another issue caused by the removal of people was the combination of different traditional authorities in the same territory. It wouldn’t be hard to find two or three kinglets (*régulos*) or group chief in the same village, especially between 1971 and 1972. Many families were forced to live together with people they didn’t know, and that weren’t part of their worldview. Entire crops were abandoned and because of that, the symbology of land as a space for cultivating with their ancestors was affected. To summarize, the old ancient orderly land, with a specific place for cultivating, socializing, worshiping, housing, pens, trees and birds, was substituted by a space constituted in a Cartesian fashion, closed by fences made of barbed wire and land mines.

Numerous groups fled before and during the implementation of the villages. The reasons were varied: lack of arable land and water in the new territories, adherence to nationalists or because they didn’t agree with the villages, moving very often to the neighbouring countries.

With the independence of the country in 1975 and FRELIMO’s ascension to power, the forced displacements didn’t cease. According to FRELIMO’s project, the agricultural production, through the *state-owned machambas* (small farm) and communal villages, would “root” the revolutionary

1 Desenvolvimento Geral da Região do Zambeze, sem data. Pasta 67, DREPA, Arquivo do Gabinete Plano do Zambeze. Tete

conscience and modernize the country at the same time. That is, the whole population should once again “leave their homes to live in “communal villages” and work in the old colonial farms, now in the hands of the State” (Fry, 2005:65).

The communal villages would be a space to combat “tribalism”, “obscurantism”, and religions and practices considered retrograde like the fidelity to lineages and clans. The communal villages should promote a rational and scientific spirit and thus refuse the Mozambican diversity in name of a single national political project.

It’s a fact that the artifices of the field socialization utilized by FRELIMO were deeply criticized (Geffray, 1991), precisely for not meeting the rural population’s cultural and social practices. Furthermore, a rural area was also idealized as a place to re-educate a few elements interpreted as memories of the old colonial order, such as: kinglets, witchdoctors, prostitutes, vagrants, amongst others (Thomaz, 2007).

Once again, the local patterns of housing were disregarded. This becomes clear in the document below:

The definition of the place for inhabiting and producing is not compatible with improvisations, because it always depends on scientific equipment which the population doesn’t possess yet (...). The process that leads to a new life must guide itself through paths that search and find a new morphology. The revolutionary morphology demands from the construction technique more durability, protections from the elements, total salubrity, dignity of life, less cost. To build a hut every year and live every year of a lifetime, a lifetime in a hut is uneconomical at the individual level and catastrophic at the national economy level. Therefore, the birth of new units in the structures of the communal villages cannot be independent from the birth of new structures of national production.²

The similarities between the Colonial Villages and the Communal Villages were identified by a few frames of the new nation, as can be seen in a document produced by an organ linked to the Eduardo Mondlane University: “the already seen solution of long streets margined by matching square huts, fails for being morphologically similar to the colonial camps, the *acampamentos* (camps) or *aldeações* (villages). The village was constructed under the concept of a prison, or restricted freedom. The communal village must reflect an idea of organized freedom³.

In the two contexts briefly presented, the imposition of exogenous housing patterns, the forced displacements, the condemnation of dispersion as a symbol of retardment, dismantlement of local practices such as the symbolical and material use of the land, the house, the space, repeat themselves. With that, can we say that there was decolonization in the practice of forcibly displacing people? The answer seems to be a loud no. Concentrating people to promote the “benefits” of colonialism (and try to postpone its end) or to build the Mozambican socialism don’t seem like different answers.

Not by chance, the Mozambican historian Gabriel Mithá Ribeiro, by analysing the social representations about the actions of the colonial state, the post-colonial socialist state and the post-colonial democratic state in Tete city, said that “at the level of the social perceptions of the state, there are tendencies for a higher approximation between the model of action of the colonial state and the model of action of the post-colonial state of the first Republic, than between the former and the current democratic state” (Ribeiro, 2004:5). That is, the majority of its 61 interlocutors identified the type of government undertaken by Samora Machel to be more like the colonial administration than the administration of Joaquim Chissano, president of Mozambique at the time of the research.

² *A aldeia Comunal*. Documento em formato de apostila com índice. AC/ 86 Documentos Diversos Tete 1983. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Maputo.

³ *A aldeia Comunal*. Documento produzido pela UEM, IIC, TBARN 27 de setembro de 1977. AC/ 144 organização habitacional de uma aldeia. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Maputo.

In this case, it might be interesting to talk about colonial continuities. Going back to Gabriel Mithá Ribeiro, what made people identify the proximity of Samora with the Portuguese administration was the violence exercised by both regarding the rural space. Both forced labour (colonial) as the forced cooperativisation (socialist) were understood as violent by the interviewed. Another emphasized point was the control over people’s displacements, symbolized by the mandatory marching orders in both the colonial period and the post-colonial socialist period.

But, if the similarities of the authoritarian practices in relation to the peasant population in Mozambique are present in both the colonial administration and the post-independency, what can we say of the present resettlements undertaken by the mega-projects? Would they be recolonizations?

Forced displacements in Tete today

With the presence of the mining company Vale, it is attested that the history of displacements in Mozambique is ongoing⁴. Besides the Mozambicans and non-Mozambicans that have been migrating to the Tete region in search of a job (Mosca and Selemane, 2011), one of the greatest impacts of the company are the resettlements finalized in 2009. The first phase of the Moatize coal mega project undertook two resettlements which, together, sum 1313 families from the communities of Chipanga, Malabwe and Bagamoio. The 717 families considered to be rural were relocated to the neighbourhood of Cateme (40km from Moatize village) and the 596 families considered to have an urban profile formed the current neighbourhood of 25 de Setembro, nearby the village.

The same Cateme where 717 families were resettled in 2009 was a colonial village created in 1971 in the region of the then Caldas Xavier Administrative Post. The communities from this post were made into villages due to the fear that FRELIMO would gain access to Moatize-Mutarara and, as a consequence, reach the neighbouring districts of Zambézia, Manica and Sofala. Furthermore, the post of Caldas Xavier should be sheltered due to the passing of the train line Moatize-Beira, which ambush, in January 1972, threatened the transport of materials to the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam, the apple of Portugal’s eye.

The same train line that connects Moatize to Beira (a target of the nationalists in 1972) was interrupted at dawn on the 10th of January 2012 by about 600 resettled people from Cateme. The inhabitants were protesting against the living conditions to which they were submitted to. The lack of arable land, transport to Moatize and the cracks in the houses handed by Vale, were some of the points raised by the population, who were brutally repressed by the Rapid Intervention Forces (Forças de Intervenção Rápida – FIR)⁵.

Cateme is a good example of how the history of the displacements in Mozambique repeats itself continuously. Can we then, in the case of the current resettlements in Tete, talk about recolonization? That would be a possible interpretation if we take into account that a foreign company, Vale, does in fact undertake its activities without great obstacles, that is, with the endorsement of the Mozambican government. This reminds us of the Concessionaires Companies of the 19th century, which had autonomy to act in the territories granted to them by the Portuguese crown. But, if we contextualize that the practice of forcibly displacing people was a colonial one, which persisted with the socialism of the post-independence, it becomes odd to speak of recolonization.

Cateme was a colonial village, and is today a resettlement, so if we were to discover that it was also a communal village, the scenario would be almost theatrical. Many communal villages were raised in the same place where colonial villages were, so it wouldn’t be that impossible. The development

4 Vale is undertaking the Moatize coal mega project, its biggest investment in Africa

5 Ver: <http://www.verdade.co.mz/nacional/24499-o-que-valeo-preco-do-desenvolvimento>

speeches, promotion of wellbeing, of no-dispersion, of stronger houses, and an alleged protection are present in the three contexts. But how to insert the displaced in this process?

The experience of the displaced yesterday and today, investigative proposal

Maybe one of the options is to include in the analysis, in addition to historical documents, the interpretation of the individuals that experienced the different forms of population concentration mentioned above. To understand their survival strategies against the displacement processes to which they were submitted might enable us to look at the subject from an interesting point of view.

One of the options is to discuss the category of house. By understanding that a house is one of the spheres of “social actions”, we can come up with an infinite number of questions. A house can be a space of economic relationships, kinship, worship, with world views becoming evident.

Bourdieu (1970), describing the *Kabyle* house shows us, for example, how the architectural oppositions (higher and lower part of the houses) and the cardinal positions (west and east) organize and guarantee the balance of the families, and even of the group, since the houses are inter-related. The dark lower part of the house where humid objects are kept, green or raw like water jugs and soilage, is also the place of natural beings, like oxen, cows and mules. Because of that, the lower part of the house functions like the place of natural activities, like sex, sleep, parturition and death. The highest part of the house, on the other hand, nobler and brighter, is destined to humans and guests, objects made with fire, cooking utensils, the fireplace – “the womb of the house”-, the rifle - emblem of virility-, and the loom – symbol of protection. Even the act of exiting the house on the east side respects the direction of the light. The house must remain open in summer, representing the prosperity of the fields, which if closed, can bring scarcity and barrenness. Thus, according to Bourdieu, the lower part of the house is destined for nature and the higher one to culture. The oppositions of gender, of inside and outside space, of west and east, cooked and raw, amongst others, expressed in the house and its set, would also be represented in the universe itself.

Without a doubt, a house is a very rich exploratory universe. It is important to stress that one of the main motivations that led the resettled to manifest in January 2012 were the houses built by Vale. Some of them had cracks, but possibly, other elements were added to the discontent. The fact that the houses were built by external agents, that is, without the participation of the resettled, made it difficult for them to visualize these new buildings as theirs. As Marcelin very well demonstrates:

“The construction mobilizes individual projects, human resources and materials of a collectivity, built from sociocultural mechanisms, driven by the family and kinship ideologies. It is a practice, a strategic construction in the production of domesticity. It is not an isolated entity, focused toward itself. A house only exists in the context of a network of domestic units. It is thought of and lived in inter-relation to the other houses that participate in its building – symbolically and literally. It is part of a configuration (Marcelin, 1999:36).

With regards to the people of *nhungue*, numerous in the Moatize region and in the current resettlements, a house has singular contours. In the *nhungue* houses, questions of gender and generation are present in the sizing of the territory destined for the house. The young *nhungues* stay in their parent’s house until they build their own family. However, when they reach puberty they move to the yard, away from the main house, in a building called *guero* in the case of boys, and *nthanga* in the case of girls. It’s in this room that the girls receive their grooms and the boys their wives, during the first few days of marriage, deciding afterwards if they will improve the construction or move to another place.

This piece of information helps to think how the *guerros* and the *ntanhga*, important social institutions, were practiced (if they actually were) in the colonial villages and communal villages, and how they are practiced in the current resettlements. How did the people displaced in these contexts reinterpret and rearrange their living space? What problems and solutions did/do they face in this important question?

To give us an idea of how the question of the houses mobilizes speeches and disputes, a small example are the toilets in the new houses of the resettled, built by the company Vale. As Carolina Coutinho⁶, an employee of Vale in Mozambique, explained to me, the toilets were built outside of the house, following, according to her, the population’s pattern before the resettlements. The chief of the Provincial Resettlement Committee in Tete, Albertina Tivane, on the other hand, said in the media that the toilets should have been built inside the houses, because that would be “an ideal room”⁷, and besides that, she emphasized that “as the government, we abolish the type-I houses (one room) because they are small and they don’t allow for the harmonious development of the families”⁸. In this small anecdote, two speeches are at play, Carolina Coutinho believing she is respecting the local habits, and Albertina Tivane believing Vale to be a possible agent of transformation of habits liable to change, in her perspective. What wasn’t done was to ask the interested how the toilets should have been placed.

To sum up, the proposal of thinking about the displacements through the houses of the displaced and their relation to said spaces is still seminal. With the advancements of data and theoretical discussion, the idea is to include the action of the displaced in the presented contexts, and not just the displacing agents, those already having a guaranteed place in the history of the world.

Conclusion

Regarding the question that gave rise to this text: “Is it possible to talk of “decolonization” and “recolonization” in Mozambique?” the answer is: it depends. It depends on the empirical context in which the categories apply themselves. That is, the interpretation of societies goes through the analysis of specific social situations (Gluckman, 1987).

Without a doubt, we can talk of a political process of decolonization that ended the Portuguese colonial period in Mozambique. However, no matter how good the intentions of the very few frames of FRELIMO⁹ were in the construction of the new nation, it seems the minds were not properly decolonized. Regarding the administrative practice of the new Mozambican nation, the Portuguese idea was replaced by a socialist ideology, equally averse to the numerous singularities of the Mozambican peoples. This alleged homogenization fed unresolved questions that last until today.

Given the empirical context of the forced displacements in Tete, I dare to say, with some reservation, that the pheasant population didn’t experience a significant change in their lives. From the villages they went to the communal villages without having a say on the matter. Criteria of wellbeing, development, and work were inserted from the outside in, without taking into account the local experiences. That is, in the specific social situation of the forced displacements in Tete, I’d rather speak of colonial continuities. And if that is my choice it doesn’t make much sense to speak of recolonization, even if companies like Vale are similar to the old Concessionaires.

6 Entrevista feita em 13 de janeiro de 2011

7 www.opais.co.mz Acessado em 12/10/2012

8 www.opais.co.mz Acessado em 12/10/2012

9 I say this because I interviewed a few people who worked in communal villages during my field research in Maputo and Tete between April and August 2013.

Furthermore, to speak of a recolonization or neocolonization, I think, diminishes the debate at the level of the big structures like the State. I choose to focus the analysis in the symbolic and material experiences in the forms of inhabiting, and the universe of the houses experienced by the displaced themselves. Who knows if this way, the concept of housing can offer us languages capable of evoking forms of sociability which have been disrespected for long?

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Abstract: This article aims to identify some features of the process of colonization of Brazil by Portugal, in particular those related to the field of bodies. The purpose of this study is to analyse how the discovery and subsequent conquest of the then Portuguese colony overseas span beyond the territorial reach to the bodies of the settlers, while also affecting the Portuguese themselves. The research is focused on socio-cultural habits related to nudity and homoeroticism, and the consequent punishment by the Catholic Church. In this sense, the present discussion builds upon theories of history and sociology, as studied by authors such as Figari, Trevisan, Mott and Del Priori. The results emerging from this discussion point to certain devices of Catholic doctrinal and moral control that impacted the homoerotic practices of the time. It concludes, therefore, that the historical composition of homosexuality in Brazil is rooted in aspects related to the indigenous and African sexual model, as much as in those related to the hegemonic sexual model originating in Europe.

Keywords: Colonization; Body; Sodomy; Inquisition

1. Introduction

They currently are everywhere: on newsstands, in *outdoors*, films, soap operas and TV reality shows. In the so-called ‘Secret Story’, there are no secrets, rather on the contrary; they are freely and shamelessly exposed. They can also be seen on Facebook, Instagram and other social media, as well as in celebrity websites. These celebrities, in turn, often seem not to care about making explicit their preferences in bed, their sexual habits and their intimacy. The bodies and the nakedness, once controlled and punished, are no longer marginalized and circulate naturally across several media. They are now displayed on the different screens, even in prime time. However, since Pedro Álvares Cabral arrived in Brazil, the ways of seeing the body, nudity and sexuality have undergone severe changes.

Since then, men and women were led into redefining their ways of seeing and experiencing their own bodies, subjected to the ‘good manners’ arriving from the Old World. If previously ‘the innocence of these people [was] such that Adam’s would not be greater, and the same goes for shame’, as described in The Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha in 1500, these same people are now sometimes taken for beings that are worse than animals: wild, filthy, sinful. Indian children, who according to the reports of the Bible itself were the owners of the ‘kingdom come’, were taught by the Jesuit priests, at Sunday Schools, how to hide their ‘shame’, since the nakedness of the natives resembled the shamelessness

The Colonization of the Bodies: nudity, Sodomy and the Inquisition in the Luso-Brazilian Territory¹

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¹ This study is partially based on the dissertation entitled ‘Cabral follows his vessel: The representations of Luso-Brazilian male homosexuality in the Junior and Com’Out magazines’, supervised by Dr Silvana Ferreira da Silva Mota Ribeiro, which will be presented soon in a viva to complete the Master’s degree in Communication Sciences.

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of the beasts and encouraged the sins severely condemned by the Catholic Church – even when embodied in the small indigenous. Therefore, between innocence and debauchery, this institution implemented their own control devices so as to police intimacies and punish sexual practices deemed deviant.

However, how did this process go? Does this transformation in some way reflect how we experience our intimacy and deal with our bodies in contemporary times? This research builds upon the early history of the Portuguese in Brazil to study how the civilizing processes were used to progressively produce knowledge, disseminate information, denounce and repress our relationship with sexuality – namely, homosexuality. It investigates History to find reasons for that body exposure in the *media*, while we are (still) faced, even nowadays, with moral and repressive judgements originating from the early sixteenth century.

2. Land in sight! And bodies, too!

Pêro Vaz de Caminha, in his letter to the king of Portugal, seemed to describe Paradise: ‘The water is plenty and endless. And in such a grandiose way (this land) that anything will grow here, if we so wish’ (CAMINHO, Pêro Vaz. A Carta. 1500). In this scenario, the bodies of inhabitants did not escape the eyes of the navigator.

When we set sail, about sixty or seventy men, who had gathered little by little, were already standing at the beach. [...] local men, young men and with good bodies [...] Their skin is tanned, reddish, they have beautiful faces and beautiful, nicely shaped noses. They go about naked, wearing no coverage whatsoever. They do not even bother to cover up or to show their shames. In this respect, they are as innocent as when they show their face (CAMINHA, Pêro Vaz. A Carta. 1500).

Under the watchful eye of the Portuguese, it was repeatedly observed that the Indians were not circumcised, rather on the contrary, they were ‘just like us.’ Caminha’s positive impression of the naked inhabitants, however, was far from unanimous. Although many European travellers of the early sixteenth century perceived the Brazilian Indians as the purest of beings (thus nurturing the Renaissance myth of the ‘noble savage’), other travellers considered them ‘worse than beasts’ (or, further to the French captain Villegaignon, in his letter to Calvin, ‘animals with a human face’). For Renaissance freethinkers, the Indians should be respected, since they were humans; for missionaries and slave traders, however, they were wild animals that needed to be indoctrinated and domesticated (TREVISAN, 2000, p. 63).

1500 saw the absolute flourishing of the Renaissance in Europe and the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil. Del Priori (2011) recounts that, at this time, in 1566, the word *erotic* was first included in a dictionary, in France. The term defined ‘that which has a relationship with love or originates from it.’ In the arts, humanism placed Man – and no longer God – at the centre of the world, showing bodies and their nudity. During the Renaissance, as a result of the Neoplatonic theory, love and beauty walked hand in hand. Petrarch, like other authors, addressed this topic to discuss the relationship between the beautiful and the good, between the visible and the invisible. Notwithstanding, sixteenth-century chroniclers considered Brazilian native women to be innocent creatures. Their nudity and decency were seen through a lens that, being unaware of evil, related ‘beauty’ to the idea of purity. Even their ‘depilated shames’ alluded to an image without sensuality, at a time when the hairy fuzz was the ultimate symbol of feminine eroticism (DEL PRIORI, 2011, p. 15-16).

Since the beginning of colonization that nudity and all that it symbolized were rejected. The Jesuit priests, for example, imported cotton fabrics from Portugal so as to cover up Indian children

that attended their schools. In the eyes of the colonizers, the indigenous nudity was similar to that of the animals, since the Indians, like the beasts, lacked the shame and natural decency. The naked body was seen as the focus of sins then harshly condemned by the Church: lewdness, lust, sins of the flesh. Therefore, dressing them up meant taking them away from evil and sin. Moreover, as the priest Anchieta complained, besides walking about naked, the Indian women did not say no to anyone (*ibid*, p. 17). Given this simultaneously candid and libidinous pansexualism, the historian Abelardo Romero called the Brazilian indigenous ‘fornicators in heaven.’ In fact, the sexual codes of the Indians at that time had nothing in common with the Western Puritanism; they attached little importance to virginity and even condemned celibacy (TREVISAN, 2000, p 64.).

However, for the Christians of the time the most shocking of all habits that the fornicators inhabiting the tropical paradise had was the practice of ‘sodomy’, the ‘heinous sin’ or ‘filthiness’ (*ibid*, 65). These were some of the terms used to name homosexual relationships that, in Portugal, also gained other names, sometimes rather ambiguous, such as: sodomist, bugger, bad sin, love of the nobles, Greek love, courtly love, queer, knavery, bitch, Italian addiction, clerics’ addiction, heinousness and faggot. ‘Sodomist’ was definitely the most commonly used name, which, in addition to the homoerotic connotations, was also used to mean a ridiculous, miserly or stingy person (FIGARI, 2007, p. 61). Although the expressions ‘courtly love’ and ‘love of the nobles’ may seem to have a positive connotation, the association of the term with other sins – greed, for example – clearly shows the negative and stigmatized connotation of homoeroticism at the time.



Picture 1. *Natives and practices of ‘sodomy.’*

The colonizers, stunned by the rudeness of the natives, almost doubted that they were humans (von Martius *cited in* TREVISAN, 2000, p. 65). This is due to the fact that, for Europeans – Catholic or Reformists – the sin of sodomy was one of the four *peccata clamantia* (‘sins that cry to heaven’) of Medieval Theology (FIGARI, 2007; TREVISAN, 2000). The priest Manoel Nóbrega was probably the first to note that custom in Brazil, in 1549, when he reported that many colonisers took the Indians for women, ‘according to the customs of the land’ (TREVISAN, 2000, p. 64). To Figari (2007), the sixteenth century, in particular, but also the seventeenth century represent the time in which the duality Empire-Colony are built upon this foundational signifier. In 1571, when he promulgated the ‘Law on the abominable sin of sodomy’, D. Sebastião made the following remarks:

I have realised for some time now how some people of my Kingdoms and Lordships were found guilty

of the heinous sin, which I terribly felt due to the severity of a sin so abominable, and from which my Kingdoms, for God's goodness, have been exempt for so long (MOTT, 1988 cited in FIGARI, 2007, p. 49).

Since sodomy was already mentioned by medieval books of the thirteenth century, such a claim was not historically correct. Additionally, there was a marked homoerotic experience in major Portuguese cities (MOTT, 1988; HIGGS 1999 cited in FIGARI 2007, p. 49). However, a re-signification can be noticed here of homoeroticism as another negative feature of the uncivilized and wild inhabitants of paradise. This fact can be confirmed if we take into account the persecution of sodomy in Portugal. In the sixteenth century, twelve of the first thirty prisoners accused of sodomy were not Portuguese, and the only that were burnt at the stake were one Turkish and the other mulattoes (FIGARI, 2007, p. 49). Thus, according to Mott (1988), it can be stated that in the first one hundred years of its existence, 'the Inquisition persecuted the aliens more than in the following centuries, i.e. 31% of all sued sodomites, against 9% in the eighteenth century' (cited in FIGARI, 2007, p. 50).

But the Brazilian population of colonial times was not made of Indians and Europeans only. A large part of this population was also made of black slaves brought from Africa by the Portuguese and British traders, from 1542. The arrival of African slaves originated an increase in the number of homosexuals in Brazil. A number of sources provide significant evidence of the existence of the traditional and pre-colonial practice of male and female homoeroticism, both in the Congo-Angola region and in the Costa da Mina. Captain Cadornega, in his work on the history of the Angolan wars, *História geral das guerras angolanas*, demonstrated how institutionalised the practice of the 'heinous sin', 'Greek love' or 'Italian vice' was among the blacks:

There is among the people of Angola a lot of sodomy, as they perform with others their actions of filth and dirt, dressing up like women. They are named after the land, *quimbandas*, and they are said to be able to communicate with each other in the district or territory where they exist. And some of them, amassing all there is bad, are fine wizards, and all the people respect them and no one offends them in any respect. They always go about shaved, looking like capons, dressed up as women (CADERNEGA [1681] cited in MOTT, 2005).

It is important to note that the discourse is depreciative and ironic, as the use of qualifiers like 'dirt', 'filth' and 'looking like capons' demonstrates. In addition, the African habit of 'dressing like women' is mentioned twice, which makes explicit the relationship between transvestism and 'sodomist' practices. Another important point is that *quimbandas* were respected and admired for their quality as 'wizards', despite being transvested. Mott (2005) argues that the tribal population feared the resourcefulness of the *quimbandas*, who used and abused their power. As the priest Cavazzi confirmed (quoted by the author): 'There is no law to condemn them as there is no action that is not allowed to them. Therefore, they always pass unpunished, despite abusing shamelessly from their impudence, so great is the esteem that the demon inspires for them'. In 1591, upon the first Visitation of the Inquisition to the overseas colony, the presence of an authentic 'quimbanda' was reported in Salvador: the slave Francisco Manicongo refused to wear the men's clothes that his master gave him, thus 'refusing to dress in the men's clothes that his master gave him'. This is the first transvestite ever heard of in the history of Brazil (MOTT, 2005). It is appropriate to say that the notion of sin was so softened in the tropics that repression became more lax in the colony than in the Kingdom. This laxness justifies the spread and resourcefulness of *fanchonos* and *sodomites*, and *tibiras* and *çacoaimbeguiras*, *adés* and *quimbandas*, and explains why they practised their most tender and deep desires: the love between equals.¹

¹ MOTT, Luiz. Sodomia na Bahia: o amor que não ousava dizer o nome [online]. Salvador: UFBA. [http://www.inquice.ufba.br/oomott.html, acedido em 20/08/2012].

The same cannot be said, however, of the Europe of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Sodomy was severely punished, not only in Portugal, but also in Catholic Spain, France and Italy – as well as in Protestant England, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The punishments ranged from fines, imprisonment, confiscation of property, expulsion from the city or the country and forced labour, through to hot iron marking, abomination and public flogging, amputation of ears, castration, death by hanging or at the stake, drowning and impalement. Those being punished included not only nobles, clergymen, sailors and university students, but also simple peasants, artisans and servants. Yet, homoerotic relationships were rather common among the aristocracy, generals, kings and artists. Among the latter, there is evidence from several sources that demonstrate the homosexuality of Michelangelo, Shakespeare, Cellini, Caravaggio, Leonardo da Vinci and Marlowe (TREVISAN, 2000, p. 127).

Fearing the threats of the Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe, the Catholic Church fought back with the Counter-Reformation and cracked down on all these deviant customs, in all social classes. To enable such doctrinal and moral control, the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was established, which began operating in Portugal in 1536 and remained active until 1765, being officially extinct in 1821 (HIGGS, 1999 *cited in* FIGARI, 2007; TREVISAN, 2000). However, it was not until January 10, 1553 that D. João III granted the Provision, authorising Inquisitors to act against homosexuals². Since then, the concern of the royal power and the clerical power of the metropolis was focused on finding more effective ways to control the population of the overseas colony, which, precisely because it was so far away, had a natural tendency to neglect the precepts of God and His Majesty (TREVISAN, 2000, p. 128).

Notwithstanding, there were no Holy Office Tribunals in Brazil, unlike other territories of Hispanic America (where the Inquisition ran offices in Cartagena, Lima and Mexico). Brazilian inquisitorial activities were a responsibility of the Bishop of Bahia. Nevertheless, the Tribunal of Lisbon visited the country on four occasions: two visits to Bahia (1591-1593 and 1618-1620)³, one to Pernambuco (1594-1595) and one last visit to Pará, in 1763 (FIGARI, 2007, p. 66). Among the first three visits, the ‘moral deviations’ accounted for 26.83% of confessed guilt and 18.24% of the complaints submitted, sodomy being the most frequent sin denounced (Vainfas, 1986 *apud* FIGARI, 2007; MOTT, 2010). Among the over four thousand complaints and 400 cases of sodomy filed at the Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, Mott (1994a) identified about 283 complaints of Brazilian residents for practising sodomy. As far as the punishments for this sin are concerned, Book V of the Ordenações Affonsinas (1329), as well as the Ordenações Manuelinas (1512) and Filipinas (1603) (which prevailed in Brazil in colonial times and were subsequently incorporated into the Constitution of the Empire in 1823) make it clear that:

Anyone, of any quality whatsoever, that in some way commits the sin of sodomy, shall be burned, and by fire made into dust, so that for ever any memory of the burial and of the body vanishes away, and all their goods shall be forfeited to the Crown of our Kingdom, if they have descendants; by the same token, their children and grandchildren shall be deemed incapable and infamous, just like the ones of those who commit the crime of treason (Ordenações Manuelinas, Tit. XII, [1512] 1797:47-49; Ordenações Filipinas, Tit. XIII, [1603] 1999:91-94 *cited in* FIGARI, 2007).

Paradoxical as it may seem, the greatest effect of the processes of the Holy Office was not the punishment itself, Figari (2007) argues, but the establishment of ‘whistle-blowing mechanisms’

² MOTT, Luiz. Sodomia na Bahia: o amor que não ousava dizer o nome [online]. Salvador: UFBA. [http://www.inquice.ufba.br/oomott.html, acessado em 20/08/2012].

³ C.f. MOTT, Luiz. Bahia: inquisição e sociedade [online]. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2010. Available at www.creasp.org.br/biblioteca/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/mott-9788523205805.pdf.

around these punishments, which circulated the dominant discourse on sexuality and gained shape as norm in the popular opinion. For that purpose, such punishments needed to be enacted in an exemplary and impressive way. For this reason, scenic and flamboyant ‘Autos da Fé’ were organised where banishment, scourging, confiscation of property or death at the stake were inflicted. Indeed, the discursive formation about homoeroticism, rather than prescriptive and silencing, was reflective and educational. It represented a complex mechanism of knowledge production, information dissemination, whistle-blowing and punishment about the construction/statement of the masculine/active model. The fact that people believed, for example, that sodomy was related to the pests, earthquakes, plagues and other calamities revealed the persuasiveness leading to the exclusion and / or extermination of sodomists, transforming acts of burning at the stake and ‘Autos da Fé’ into real festivals⁴ (FIGARI, 2007, p. 68).

‘The Church was the preferred tool of definition, meaning production and control of sexuality discourses’, Figari (2007) argues. The author further states that ‘this mechanism of production of behaviours and sins is erected as a control device’ (FIGARI, 2007, p 60). In fact, the rules of the Catholic Church seemed to lie under the beds, along with all sorts of couples. They were forbidden any practices considered to be ‘against nature,’ all relationships ‘outside the natural cannons’ and ‘any shameful strokes’ that culminated in ejaculation. Thus, foreplay and ‘preparation’ for sexual intercourse were persecuted. Allowed sex was restricted to the purposes of breeding. So much so that even among heterosexual couples certain sex positions during sexual intercourse were forbidden, as was ejaculating outside the ‘cannon’ and penetrating another ‘cannon’ besides the ‘natural cannon’ (DEL PRIORI, 2011, p. 42-43).

3. Final Remarks

The reports included in the Carta de Caminha describe a dispersed paradise, whose inhabitants go about naked, shamelessly. Meanwhile, other reports described these inhabitants as wild animals, needing training and domestication. It is clear that from the beginning of colonization epistemology, which kept Europe at the centre of referrals and allowed its portrayal as a ‘model’ of society, was built upon the duality human / animal, civilized / wild. Thus, the logic of domination is established and exceeds the conquest of the newfound lands: it mainly reaches the bodies of their ‘wild’ inhabitants. Such binary discursive formation not only justified the settlement of the Portuguese in the territory, but also allowed them to legitimize the annihilation of part of that culture and the obliteration of habits such as nudity. From the colonialist viewpoint, the naked body was the driving force behind sodomy and other sins. Subsequently, it was subject to punishment.

Although the ‘heinous sin’ was already known in the West, it was now somehow more related to the cultures taken as inferior and uncivilized – namely, that of Blacks and Indians –, than to the Western culture. The key then was to adversely reclassify (homo)erotic practices, both those related to Europeans and (especially) those of the colonialists. However, these were mitigated in the new lands in such a way that punishment and repression became more severe in the Kingdom than actually in the overseas Lusitanian colony. Fearful of the threats of the Reformation, the Catholic Church, via the Tribunal of the Holy Office, deployed their moral and doctrinal control mechanisms, in an attempt to extinguish all deviant habits, encompassing all social classes. Once again, the Portuguese were those

⁴ Likewise, many centuries ago, sodomy was associated with the enemies of Western Christianity, such as the Turkish Caliphs, Islam and the Qur’an, as well as with the ‘heretics’: the Cathars, the Templars and the Albigensians, a powerful order of the Catholic Church that was dissolved, among other charges, on account of alleged sodomist practices (FIGARI, 2007, p. 534).

who suffered most with the punishments, since these Catholic Tribunals did not have a fixed office in Brazil.

Recently, the participation of Brazilian Kelly Baron in Portuguese television programme *Big Brother VIP*, broadcast by TVI, reflected this historical and cultural difference. In one episode, the Portuguese contestant Macau imitated a monkey while the Brazilian contestant showered. Moreover, that same participant reported to colleagues that Kelly had shown ‘it all’ to him – meaning the body of the Brazilian. In this context, the actions and the discourse of Macau are noticeably disqualifying for the Brazilian, as he used gestures depicting wildness to disqualify her as a result of the experience that she supposedly had with her own body and her sexuality. On another occasion, also shown in this programme, the contestant Raquel stated: ‘She [Kelly] lives in a country where *Big Brothers* are just orgies. This is a completely different country. (...) She thinks it will happen here as it happens there. (...) But here she is in a more conservative country’⁵. It is important to note the image that Raquel has of the sexual practices in Brazil and how the contestant denounces the conservatism that influenced the sexual practices in Portugal from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Further studies are necessary to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the facts described above. However, building upon the body of research conducted by Mott (1994b), it can be stated that the historical composition of (homo)sexuality in Brazil is essentially sustained by three pillars: the Indian and the African sexual paradigm – both prone to the freedom of relationships and cultural diversity –, and the hegemonic sexual model, originating from the Old World, which is characterised by Judeo-Christian morals, and strongly marked by sexphobia. However, both the first and the second model had a totally neutral relationship with nudity, striving for polygamy and sexual freedom, covering for a large number of ‘sexual inverts’ of both sexes (*ibid*). Underlying these was the moral and doctrinal control of the Catholic Church, ready to monitor and punish the practices considered to be ‘counter-natural’ and ‘outside the natural cannon’. This is clearly a control mechanism of the discourses about (homo)sexuality.

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SESSION 31

EDUCATION
AND IDENTITIES:
DECOLONISING
THOUGHT 1

Abstract: Nowadays society, school and their subjects are facing complicated issues imposed by the crisis impacting the strong social models that provide meanings, either being scientific, political, religious or educational. In addition, there is the impact of the globalization that helped to shake the cultural diversity and enhance it, causing the rising of new identities marked by fragmentation. The present study is based on the analysis of the various aspects of the globalization phenomenon and its influence on the school environment, on the post-critical theories which supply the elements to the analysis of this moment and to understand the importance of the centrality of culture in the post modern age, as well as the identity formation process. In such a scenario, a research was done aiming to get to know which are the elements that may have contributed to the formation of a Physical Education Teaching that is aware of cultural diversity. Therefore, the qualitative pedagogical research was chosen due to its compromise to the construction and interpretation of the logic that impact the educational actions and the identity of the educator. The material obtained from the semi-structured interviews was confronted with the theory of the critical multiculturalism comprised in Cultural Studies. Starting from the analysis of the conceptions of the teachers from public schools, who put the multicultural Physical Education curriculum into action, the possible relationships between the personal experience, the viewing of the contemporaneity and the pedagogical acting were derived. Thus, it was derived that the elements that helped to build the Physical Education teaching, which is aware of the cultural diversity, may have been generated by a life marked by the clashing of socially unfair situations and by adhering to the bodily practices produced by minorities. Perhaps this may have been the reason that made the teachers to adhere to a proposal of a way of teaching that questions the forms of power that values the hegemonic bodily cultural heritage and discriminate against the repertoire of the minorities.

Keywords: Physical Education; Culture; Identity; Cultural Diversity; Multiculturalism

Introduction

Currently, the social, political, economic and cultural transformation together with the arrival of globalization has generated a series of impacts and relocation among several social spaces and their subjects.

Globalization involved an extraordinary transformation that made the old structures of the states and national communities to

“I’ve come from the same place they have”: relationships between personal experiences and a multiculturally oriented Physical Education

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fall down and gave place to a growing hybridization of life and its relationships.

The school is one of the social loci that were the most affected with this new configuration of the world. Daily experiences show how society is disturbed by the persecutions, prejudice, violence, poverty, excessive work and many other factors that push the subjects related to education.

In face of so much turbulence and transformation we understand that the old identities, which have balanced the social world for so long, are declining, that is, are undergoing an "identity crisis".

Hence, we understood the need of some thinking about the diverse identities and their post modern constructions and then we directed this study to the identity of the Physical Education (PE) teacher who is linked to the practices that are taught, learned, discussed, built and signified inside the school. The teacher is connected, through his actions and speeches, to the process of signification², and therefore He produces culture together with the other subjects of the education. The teacher is a producer and a Carrier of culture and the school is the place where this production is materialized as a curriculum.

Thus, the present study's scope is to verify, among the PE teachers in public schools who develop a multi cultural practice and are aware of the cultural diversity, which are the elements that have influenced the constitution of their identity and outlined their current conceptions. We want to question them why they followed the path of the multicultural pedagogy.

1. Education and culture

1.1. Identity policy and the cultural diversity

When we approach the Cultural Diversity field, we think about the modern society linked to different ways of manifestations (linguistic, ethnic, racial, gender) and we associate them to the Idea of an "identity policies". That is, the right to have the recognition of the identity some groups which are considered as being subordinated to hegemonic identities inside the school domain.

Hall (1997) says that one's identity is established through discursive processes under historical circumstances and personal experiences which lead the subject to assume some determined temporary positions as a subject. Identity can be understood as being an ensemble of characteristics through which the groups define themselves as a group and, at the same time, shows what they are not.

1.2. Schooling as a cultural policy

As per cultural studies, schooling is a form of cultural policy that introduces, prepares and legitimizes particular forms of social life, once the school, as a social institution, has its own culture with social practices that express particular meanings, and it is important to point out its relevant contribution so that certain behaviors are introjected.

Giroux (1995) states that educators, in the XXIst century, cannot ignore the difficult issues related to multiculturalism, race, identity, power, knowledge, ethics and work that the schools are already facing. Such issues have an important role to define the meaning and the scope of schooling, and what it means to teach and in the way how the students must be taught to live in a world that will be much more globalized, high tech and racially diverse than in any other age in the history. Therefore, the acknowledgment of this fact brought out the interest to investigate some of the teachers who participate in the afore mentioned studies aiming to analyzing their personal and professional routes, in order to identify some elements that could make part of a teaching identity aware of the cultural diversity. Thus, the following leading question has arisen: Which were the personal and educational

experiences that could have influenced the teaching process to make it sensible to the cultural diversity?

The relevance of this study resides in the fact that we live in a historical moment in which the relationship among different identities are being questioned and exposed because the growing cultural diversity associated with the effects of globalization and to the advances in the communication technology are causing the emergence and the fragmentation of new identities, destabilizing any project of formation that establishes a model of subject to be attained. Then it is necessary to analyze the way how the teachers' identities are formed and what processes are involved. It is also necessary to question in to what extent the identities are fixed or, in an alternative way, they are fluid and transitory.

1.3. Multicultural Education

According to Moreira e Candau (2003) the road to a cultural education are based on the acknowledgment of the diversity and the cultural differences, as well as on the analysis of the challenge of the relationships of power, which are always implied in situations when distinct cultures coexist in the same space.

Candau (2010) also emphasizes that if the school culture is, in general, marked by the homogenization and by a monocultural character, making the differences to be invisible, we tend to erase them, all of them are pupils, they are all alike. Nevertheless, the difference is a part of the educational activity. It is in the "ground", in the base of the educational processes, but it needs to be identified, revealed and valued. It is necessary to enhance our capacity to assume it and work with it. Therefore Candau (2010) proposes some elements that she considers to be important to go towards the construction of pedagogical practices that take the intercultural perspective. Such elements are:

- a) Recognize our cultural identities;
- b) Unveil the cultural daltonism in the schooling everyday;
- c) Identify our representation of the "others";
- d) Conceive the pedagogical practice as a process of cultural negotiation.

1.4. Cultural studies

According to Silva (2007), Cultural Studies can set the basis of pedagogical actions which are compromised to the construction of a democratic and egalitarian school based on the principle of multiple cultural and social identities living together. But, for this to happen it is necessary to question the unbalanced relations of power that are manifested in the prejudiced and excluding attitudes towards women, homeless people, people with different looks out of the stereotyped pattern, sexual orientation and ethnicity that were not used live together inside the school environment.

1.5. Critical Multiculturalism

Candau (2010) refers to the critical multiculturalism as intercultural and defends the promotion of an education that acknowledges "the other", to create a dialogue among different social and cultural groups. It is an education for a cultural negotiation that faces the conflicts caused by the asymmetry of power among the different social and cultural groups inside our society. This education is capable to be in favor of the construction of a common project through which the differences are dialectally included.

2. Methodology

2.1. Method of Research

The methodology of this Project was based on the qualitative pedagogical research, because its basis is the teachers and their experiences in the classroom, bringing representations and different meanings to the several subjects of the educational process.

Kincheloe (2003) also advocates the pedagogical research when reinforces that the investigation is a way how the teachers can resist the current trend of the domination of the school curriculum by the "technical patterns" based on the "specialized research" and imposed from top down by the administrators and policy makers.

2.2. Building the road

For the present research, five PE teachers were interviewed and they were chosen because they work is aware of the cultural diversity. It was important to show men and women that teach in the Elementary School level, follow a cultural pedagogy, put the cultural curriculum into action and study its basis. Those teachers also formulate teaching actions together with their colleagues, always under the multicultural perspective, and register their teaching experiences maintaining a constant dialogue between them. They build their curricula in view of various teaching environments without discrimination, they share their practices, evaluate their intentions, study the ethnography of various bodily practices and keep an environment that is friendly to the several different narrative. At the end, they establish solid basis on which they can work this issue in their everyday school life consolidating the political-pedagogical project of the school they work for. Such didactical actions rely on the curriculum justice, on the social basis of its contents, on the cultural criticism, on the anti-hegemonic practices, on overcoming the cultural daltonism, on the collective work in spite of the difficulties the teachers have to face to steadily build the political-pedagogical project of the school.

3. Analysis

The analysis and the interpretation of the material resulting of the interviews of the five teachers working in Public Schools were developed in the following the steps: reading and re-reading the full content of the transcriptions and comparing it to the Cultural Studies and to the Critical Multiculturalism. This allowed the realization of the facts that were common to the group. Once those facts were connected, they allowed the definitions of the axes that guided the process of building the teaching identity, as follows: academic background, conception of education, confrontation of the cultural diversity, conception of PE and personal experiences relate to bodily practices. From the analysis it was possible to make several considerations about the development of a teaching practice that is sensible to the cultural diversity. It is worth to be said that the analysis was transitory and specific to the reality of the five teachers, nonetheless it was very important to bring to the surface this questioning of the new social configurations, the diversity of subjects that live together inside the school, the attitude towards the cultural curriculum. This study was also an attempt to understand how the teachers' identity was built.

We close our analysis with the bodily practices as the axes of the study and will work with this issue because the material that was collected presents some hints that the bodily experiences of the subjects that were interviewed seem to be a very important element in the formation of a teaching

practice which is sensible to cultural diversity.

In face of the purposes of the present study, teacher nr. 1 reports his experiences with "capoeira". Capoeira is a kind of fight (or martial art) that, in some periods of the Brazilian history, was marginalized and was refused by the society and gets several different significations. From the start of his cultural manifestation, this teacher had to face the prejudice. He tells: " then, when I was 15 I started training "capoeira", and when I arrived home and told "I am training "capoeira" my world fell down on my head. How come I've chosen "capoeira!". For the teacher's family, at that time, "capoeira" had a negative meaning, it was something like a fight of street rascals, trouble makers and tramps. Such statements show a speech full of prejudice and discrimination towards a cultural practice that was not accepted by the society, by the school and much less by the families. Nevertheless, as this identity is transitory and fluid, nowadays, "capoeira" has many different significations.

In this narrative we can see that a cultural manifestation was not agreed by the family and, as the teacher reported, it was considered as a subversive practice. The legitimated bodily practices were only the manifestations accepted and agreed by the society, once they were practiced inside special places, such as Euro American sports which were, and still are, prevalent in the curriculum of many schools. Such sports are part of the knowledge of groups with greater powers.

Likewise, teacher nr.2 tells that some practices are still not accepted by the society and even inside the schools. He tells that when he was a high school student "capoeira" could not be practiced inside schools. His contact with this martial art happened when he was in the University. But currently he teaches "capoeira" in a school and continues to enhance his knowledge about it.

Continuing his narrative, teacher nr. 2 tells that, as the lessons go on, both boys and girls feel much more secure to take part into the "capoeira" practices as well as to talk about it. This practice gave a voice to the silent students.

For this exact reason, Neira (2007) believes that a lot of attention is required when a teacher is selecting the activities, the thematic projects, the contents of the learning process, the way to evaluate, and mainly to think about his position in relation to the characteristics of the social day to day. All those elements convey aspects of an ideology that, without the due attention, can collaborate to build subordinated identities, reinforcing the social prejudice and injustice.

Teacher nr. 3 tells us the following example: when he was mapping the activities of 3rd graders, it was suggested to play hopscotch. The students told that this was a baby's play. Some of the students didn't want to play it because they considered it too babyish. Then the teacher realized that it would be good to question the representations embedded in the kids' speech. He discussed this specific representation, but it could be a representation of a different kind like gender, racial, ethnical, economical or linguistic issue.

Teacher nr. 3 understands that the dialogue inside the classroom is extremely important to initiate critical didactical actions, which are participatory and transformational, because it allows the deconstruction of certain speeches and positions.

This very same issue was brought by teacher nr. 4 in relation to hegemonic practices. As an example of an anti-hegemonic practice he mentioned the action of blowing soap bubbles. The teacher highlights the "importance of working with football and understand how important it is for the Brazilian society", but he also mentioned the importance of the discussions about the soap bubbles blowing with a group of students. We can notice that the anti-hegemonic practices are present in the curriculum that the teacher puts into action.

Teacher nr. 5 shares the same worries as the others when he mentions hegemonic and anti-hegemonic bodily practices: "certain practices have its origins inside one group, but they keep their presence in the society or in the media, they are hegemonic..."

As we can derive from the words of the teachers that were interviewed, teachers who are compromised with a democratic and equalitarian process should discuss the various bodily manifestations, questioning their history, their intentions, the subjects, their meanings and their changes along the years, without privileging some in detriment of others.

4. Final considerations

The analysis of the material that was collected and compared to the theoretical frame of the Cultural Studies and Critical Multiculturalism allows us to guess that the elements that contributed to build a PE teaching, that is aware of the cultural diversity, has a relationship with the life trajectory of the interviewed teachers, mainly

when they took a different position and were subjected to prejudice because of their anti-hegemonic bodily experiences.

Those teachers have a life history marked by subjugation inside and outside the school, inside the school, as pupils, among friends, outside they had their different behavior judged in various moments, like in games in the streets, in community spaces, in popular dancing parties, and even in the university. Their identities were created amongst all the difficulties they faced in those environments. Later, during their professional activities, they revealed themselves as being educators worried about the issues of equality, democracy, and social transformation. This is the process of providing signification along their life history.

Their bodily life experiences and their representations, assessed in the moment they occupied the place of being different, were decisive in the formation of their identities. This may have led them to worry about the situation and to fight to avoid the same situation they have already experienced. The fact that they had to go through outstanding moments may have influenced their actions as teachers as well as their way to question their activities. Some examples the teachers recalled are related to silencing, denial, prejudice and regulations: "capoeira belongs to tramps", "messages to some pupils", "the life in poor and rich neighborhoods", "live together with black people", "the segregation of hegemonic practices", etc.

Those recalls may have led those teachers to take a position of thinking and breaking with the social patterns related to the social relationships. Therefore, they try not to silence like them were silenced in some occasions, but understanding and demonstrating to their pupils that the world is surrounded by relations of power spread by the society and explaining that such relations are present in the school environment. Another very important point, that the data show, is the recognition of the "other", independently of their fragilities and social situation. The teachers outlined the importance of hearing the multiple subjects of the schooling process, praising the construction of the curriculum starting from the people by valuing their ideas and visions of the world.

The analysis indicate how much the teachers, hereto quoted, are compromised with the development of a cultural curriculum of the PE, in spite of the difficulties they may face, they share the ideology of the Cultural Studies and Critical Multiculturalism when they state that the education needs to understand and respect the cultural diversity.

The present research reinforces the idea that, with a contextualized study of the bodily practices of the PE, it is possible to get a wider view of the interests of particular social groups allowing a new view of their members and, as a consequence, of their education. When the anti-hegemonic bodily practices are accompanied by history of the battles that their representatives fought, by recognition and by dignity, there will be the right conditions to see, to listen to, and finally understand the "other".

As per our discussion, the data that were analyzed reinforced the importance of providing the

maximum number of situations and occasions, moments and ways, to pupils of all ages, in public or private schools, and share the experiences of power that exist in social loci. The results of this study call the attention to the adoption of some didactical postures:

1. Questioning the educational ready to use models that don't take into consideration the diverse realities and subjects, as well as their cultural background, life experiences, visions of the world and different ways to relate to each other;
2. The importance of socializing the bodily cultural knowledge of all pupils;
3. The importance of meeting all the pupils to establish the educational route to be settled;
4. Using collective loci as a fundamental occasion for the democratic concept;
5. Questioning the speeches that are strange to the practices and functions of the school, making it very clear that the proposal is to create subjects that are critical, participant and that transform the social relationships in favor of equity, democracy and share the life in society;
6. To constantly question the relations that insist in remaining hidden inside the school environment;

The present study was very important to make us think about the huge machinery that is working inside the contemporary society and influences the educational process, and consequently, the PE. Through recent theories and researches made by authors, who care about trying new alternatives to a good education that would be democratic, equalitarian, and fair for everybody, we questioned not only the rhetoric and the practice of various subjects, but also questioned our own practice inside the school territory. Therefore, the present study has shaken our conception of teaching, has destabilized our didactical actions and opened the space to new views on how to deal with cultural diversity inside the school. From this study on, we firmly believe in the relevance of this kind of research and we outline how important it is to continue with it in the future.

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Abstract: To the detriment of the diversity of cultural manifestations which are present in our current society, homogenizing and functionalist curriculum proposals are predominant. In the Physical Education (PE) field the coexistence of different curricula and the lack of opportunities to the group of teachers go along with the critical thinking on this situation, it has influenced an educational practice distant from the cultures of the students and, therefore, colonized by the cultural production of specific groups. Considering this question, from a bibliographical study, we have analysed different curricula in the PE field with the aim of meditating on the proposals which are presented (or not) as alternatives to the questioning to the social unjust planning to identify the one which compensates to the interests of subaltern groups. Once interpreting the curriculum proposals, we have identified that the one Neira and Nunes (2006, 2009), Neira (2001), cultural curriculum of Physical Education, anchored to the assumptions of Cultural Studies and of Critical Multiculturalism, shows potentiality to reduce the social unjust for it creates spaces and provides conditions to the voices and subdued gestures which could be recognized.

Keywords: social justice; Physical Education; body culture.

1. Introduction

The complexity of the social and cultural panorama of the beginning of this century oppose the visions and practices in daily school which highlight the ordinary and the homogeneous but at the same time take no notice of the differences. The damages of the diversity of cultural manifestations which are present in our current society, homogenizing and functionalist curriculum proposals are predominant.

Our professional procedure leading The Municipal Secretary of Education of São Paulo (MSE – SP) has made us to identify, in the PE field, the coexistence of different curricula that, without dispensing the communal considerations, has influenced an educational practice distant from the cultures of the students and, consequently, colonized by the cultural production of specific groups.

The Physical Education field has been showing, along with its history, different models of curricula. We comprehend that each curriculum proposal trying to educate certain kinds of people presents specific features. Each of these curricula intents to go certain ways which diverge from the others as each mode projected establishes different bases and arrival points. This manner the following questioning is, in our point of view, relevant: Which PE to put into action aiming social justice?

Physical Education at schools colonized by the objectifications of non-critical curriculums and the alternatives so that voices and subdued gestures could be recognized

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Neira and Nunes (2006) have identified the prevailing developmental and psychomotor curriculum at schools. Rosa and Reta (2010) have pointed that the subject of PE, until today, has accustomed to the traditional valorisation of biological and medical aspects and to the recent valorisation of socio-cultural, political and philosophical features. Paradoxically, when almost all the political-pedagogical projects of the municipal schools in São Paulo are pledged to the democratic, participative and critical formation of individuals, it reveals to us a strange fact that it still remains, in great part of them, the feeling of praise to intrinsic values of scientism, individualism, autonomy, efficiency and competitiveness which are present in the conception of the PE curriculum at these same schools.

As it was shown, from a bibliographical study, we have analysed the curricula in the PE field: developmental, psychomotor, healthy (non-critical curricula), surpass-critical, emancipatory-critical (critical curricula) and cultural (post-critical curriculum) aiming to consider the proposals which are presented (or not) as alternatives to the questioning to the social unjust planning to identify the one which compensates to the interests of subaltern groups.

Subsequent, we have presented a summary of the features which constitute the PE curricula identified as non-critical, critical and post-critical and after that our momentary concerns.

2. Non-critical Physical Education curricula

Tani et al. (1988) believe in the developmental curriculum in the PE field, in which all human behaviour can be appropriately classified as contributor to one of these three domains: cognitive, social-affective and motor. In this integrated and systemic view and with the contributions of the knowledge that come from scientific areas, the PE work with the movements or motor skills targets to develop affection, socialization, cognition and physical qualities involved. Investigating the dual aspect of the movement: external (observable, characterized by a dislocation of the body) and internal (which occurs in the nervous system), the authors note that in the PE the observable behaviour is still excessively emphasized.

The authors recognize that not only the maturation performs in the process of development, but also the motor experiences are valid enough to justify what is usually called learning movement. They are based in Gallahue model. It means that, to conquer the motor skills of the highest level, we must consider a taxonomy for motor development, taking as reference the hierarchical classification of the movements of the human beings during their life cycle and a plan of practical activities set from a *continuum*, from the basic motor skills (mobility, manipulation and balance) to the culturally determined movements (sport, dance etc.). Regarding the assessment of the proposal Tani et al. (1988) focuses on the developmental progression of children.

In interpreting the above reported proposal, we do not recognise student participation through dialogue, respect and appreciation of their cultural heritage body. We agree with Freire (1991) who expressed disagreement to the saying that we can and should standardize the movements of children.

Nonetheless, Freire (1991) argues in his work, a proposal for a PE curriculum in which motor skills, developed in a game and toy context considering the knowledge that the child already has, they may develop without the monotony of the exercises suggested by some authors.

In this psychomotor perspective it is necessary that the school invest in order to make the children build and strengthen their body and intellectual structures. It is not the case of a child learning this or that ability to be able to jump or to write, but that through it, they can fully advance. Freire (1991) emphasizes that the integration between the fantasies of the child and the real activity of school teaching is indispensable. In this sense the PE, without becoming a supplementary discipline on the

other ones, embodies the idea that all knowledge gained is the basis for a more elaborate one and it seeks to develop motor skills distinguishing what will be the consequences of this fact that can be cognitively, socially and affective. It is necessary to recognize that giving a physical instruction to a person does not mean that we are providing them with better moves. Being human “is more than moving, it is to establish relations with the world in such a way that people can change from instinctive to cultural, from necessity to freedom, from doing to understanding, from sensitive to consciousness” (Freire, 1991 , p . 147) .

By these statements , the author considers essential not to characterize the utility value of PE and to understand that in cognitive terms, the motor coordination, as well as other subjects (space, time, strength, speed, resistance, pace etc.), always act in the development of knowledge that feeds cognition, as much as affection and socialization. In this case, the PE professional should be a student of the bodily action: understand that when playing, the child activates the resources they acquired; hold the search for other acquisitions of higher level and benefit from language as an important factor of awareness. To do so, the PE teacher must create activities with games that allow the child to become aware of their body and actions. Regarding the evaluation process, “it is not enough to measure to evaluate, for it does not take into account the means that the student uses to reach to their results, these means are the most relevant elements which indicative the progress of their knowledge” (Freire, 1991 , p . 196).

Whether the two PE approaches documented in the previous paragraphs, lead us to divergences between them, Bracht (1996) ensures us that both allow us to see the movement, not as a social and historical construction, but as natural and universal element, thus, not historical, but neutral. Characteristics, moreover, that also trace the conception of science that supports both proposals. In the same meaning of the author’s analysis we question: what is the contribution of the school for the development of the students if by developing games and plays it does not permit a discussion on the historical and cultural conditions in producing such events?

As the previous proposals, we recognize that the healthy curriculum fits into the middle of the non-critical curricula. It is the updated movement of the paradigm of physical fitness that strengthened the idea of health promotion.

Mattos and Neira (2000) when finding recreational feature in most High School PE classes they have offered a teaching proposal aiming at helping teens to acquire knowledge that is necessary for the maintenance of health, the management of leisure time and the acquisition of a broad and diverse vocabulary usage. The authors assert that the increasing incidence of obese adolescents and young people, with difficulties related to the lack of movement, has led to the recommencement focused on Health and Physical Fitness searching for a better quality of life. They recommend the development of skills on self-knowledge and self-care, as well as the development of health consciousness in its collective dimension.

The authors refer to the competences of High School PE and they have organized them into four groups: 1 - Knowledge of the body, physical fitness and health. 2 - Gymnastics. 3 - Sports, games and fights. 4 - Rhythm and expression through movement. They emphasize that the PE learning more than reproduction of movements and the attendance in the classes, therefore the evaluation should focus on the acquisition of academic knowledge, “which does not mean tests with questions that verify the memorization of concepts” (MATTOS and NEIRA, 2000, p. 24). Relating to the methodology of teaching here proposed, the “discovery” refers to teaching students to solve their own problems in order to remain unwilling to be monitored within certain standards.

Neira and Nunes (2006) in relation to the proposal for high school students – the healthy curriculum – they highlight the lack of questioning in relation to the social conditions that stimulate

stress or other diseases resulting from the pace of work or poor living conditions. Accordingly, we reaffirm that the psychomotor, developmental and health curricula do not make clear the issue related to the type of information/knowledge which is being transmitted, not even who produced it, thus do not allow a discussion on which knowledge is valid to be in the curriculum and to which group it supports.

3. Critical Physical Education curricula

We have shown up to here the functional character of PE curricula. The thing is that we draw attention to the ways of selecting and organizing knowledge. After all, what counts as knowledge? What are the values and interests involved in the selection process of this knowledge? Among the curricular proposals of PE, to which we had access, we consider that surpass-critical and emancipatory-critical curricula approach to the critical stance, for its the discussion of decision criteria of content and appreciation of the heritage of knowledge of each location, we are referring to the proposal of Soares, et al (1994) and the one of Kunz (2001), whose main features we present below.

Soares, et al (1994) present basic elements for the formation of a PE pedagogical theory - surpass-critical - embodied in the suggestion of a teaching program. They bring theoretical and methodological issues of PE, taking it as an area of study, work field and specifically as school subject which will lead, pedagogically, with themes related to body culture: as games, gymnastics, fights, acrobatics, mime, sports and others. They deal with knowledge methodologically (understood as temporary) in order to promote understanding of the principles of the materialist dialectic logic. In a way, they propose an emerging pedagogy, stating that the issues of body culture, treated in school, express a sense/meaning where they interpenetrate, intentionality/goals of man and intentions/goals of society.

This perspective highlights specific characteristics: it is diagnostic (refers to reading data from reality), judicial (judges from an ethic that represents the interests of certain social class) and teleological (determines a target where you want to get). It refers to a curriculum able to embrace a larger and committed pedagogical thinking to the interests of the popular classes having as axis the finding, interpretation, understanding and explanation of the complex and contradictory social reality.

The methodology is seen as a way of ordering the student thinking about the social reality. It has the potential to develop the dialectic logic, in which the student performs a new reading of reality after being “provoked” to confront his everyday knowledge with scientific knowledge. This implies in the search for coherence between the selection and organization of content. To do so, some principles are considered: the social relevance of content; contemporary content and adaptation to socio-cognitive possibilities of the student. To study this proposal well it is also necessary to preserve the principle of confrontation and opposition of knowledge, in other words, to share meanings constructed in the thinking of the student through different references. It is important that students understand that the man was not born jumping, leaping, throwing, swinging, playing etc. all these body activities were built in certain historical periods, as answers to certain motivations, challenges or needs. The assessment here is understood as a complex methodological element that is related to the pedagogical project of the school, after all, it is determined by the “dialectically interrelated project with everything the school embodies, modifies and reproduces and that it is the way the capitalist life goes on” (Soares et al , 1994, p. 98).

Kunz (2001) says the “possibilities of knowing the world are restricted to a world already fully “colonized” by cultural objectifications of the so-called scientific and technological evolutions of the modern world” (p.111). However, he proposes that the school education must be rooted in a critical

conception because “it is by the critical inquiry that one comes to understand the authoritarian structure of the society institutionalized processes which form false beliefs, interests and desires” (KUNZ, 2001: .122). He insists that the teacher should use their power of explanation, in other words, to let the students describe situations and problems, express and perform movements in communicative and creative ways. To the author the teaching practice which guides itself with the assumptions presented in the emancipatory-critical pedagogy is explained in its practice through communicative didactic and it highlights “three top attributes of human heuristic capacity: know how to do, know how to think and know how to feel” (p.75).

Given the idea above, in relation to the critical curricula in PE, from its proponents, it was possible to confirm the need to understand the relationships established between the manifestations of body culture and of socio-political problems that involve them in order to make the population aware of how to participate in the management of their cultural heritage. Though, Bracht (1996), when making his analysis, highlights that the technical character of the curriculum a socio-political character was added. Neira (2011), what is obvious in the critical curriculum is the placement of the meanings of cultural groups that historically appreciated the social advantages over those coming from minority groups. To Nunes and Rubio (2008), “when the process of signification is not in evidence, cultural diversity enters school evaluated by the knowledge of scientific rationalism” (p. 67).

To think the school as an open space for dialogue implies, in our view, to deal with different meanings. Once in usage, these senses/meanings referring to the things from the world can be reflected in a comparison of different positions. In partnership with the commitment to social justice, we consider important to question the forces that act upon such circumstances, discussing different cultures. However, such arguments have not materialized in the proposals above.

4. Post-critical Physical Education curricula

Neira (2011) recognizes that “a school will not be able to achieve its social function reasonably, while the PE continues to build walls around it” (p.12). Opposing to the “biologically established” curricula, the author stands up for a curriculum of PE which can build a more democratic and just society. Basing on the theoretical assumptions of Cultural Studies we can face bodily manifestations as a territory of dispute and, he presents the cultural curriculum of PE, which among other features will schematize body practices, questioning the social markers presented in them: condition of class, ethnicity, gender, religion, among others.

To Neira and Nunes (2006, 2009), Neira (2011) a PE cultural curriculum which is engaged in the fight against social inequality, understands the school as a space that transfers the cultural heritage and reconstructs the culture, without distinguishing between the knowledge from the different groups. More than that, the school here is designed so that students feel challenged to consider their own body culture, their heritage which is available socially and the discourses conveyed by the media.

With such purpose, this curriculum strengthens the excluded sectors from the population to make them suitable to participate in a democratic process embodied in participatory procedures of: planning, selection of subjects of study, evaluation, production and re-planning. In turn, the pedagogical practice is linked to the context of the community life; it provides conditions for the experience of how the body culture is represented on the social scene and offers possibilities of interpretation, analysis and production on the body cultural heritage.

To the authors, the teacher is the one to mediate the process of teaching and learning by adopting an investigative approach during the didactic action, allowing the recognition of discourses that cross the cultural roots of bodily manifestations: fights, sports, gymnastics, dances and plays. To fulfil such

purpose, the following principles must be tracked: justice curriculum; decolonization of curriculum, cultural blindness, social anchoring of knowledge.

Based on curricular justice, it is possible to understand the importance of a balanced distribution of the various manifestations of body culture from its social group of origin. The teachers, who explore the decolonization of the curriculum, are aware that a curriculum that denies the knowledge of economically disadvantaged groups simultaneously puts into circulation the impression that the incessant underprivileged condition of these subjects in society is deserved (NEIRA, 2011). Thus, to avoid the cultural blindness and its consequences, we can use a variety of teaching activities in order to recognize the students' readings and interpretations about the object of study. Finally, adopting the social anchorage of knowledge is to engage in the study, research and analysis of the bodily manifestation in question; by selecting appropriate teaching materials and preparing specific activities, comprehending that, above all, the bodily manifestations were produced in a specific socio-historical context and suffered many transformations as a result of their intimate interrelations with the wider society.

According to what Neira (2011) has shown us, in terms of teaching guidelines, the steps of the work are not pre-defined, there is not a single order of occurrence, neither prevalence of one action over the other, nor the success of all students is guaranteed at the end of the route. It is about, as the author rightly said, the construction of the "brickwork" that contributes to the PE curriculum development. The author refers to some pedagogical actions as to: theme, map, re-signify, deepen and broaden, record and evaluate, produce.

In the PE cultural curriculum the teaching activities focus on issues, not content. In the approach of a particular topic, the teachers and their students access different discourses and produce new meanings. While the teachers organize educational activities and question their students, they, with their personal and collective positions, reconstruct the knowledge by changing, reshaping and enriching the classes (NEIRA 2011, p.105).

To select, organize and size the topic of study that will be developed, the teacher gathers information from the mapping. According to Neira (2011) as we map, at the same time, we can question so that, this "will develop even deeper analysis and access other views/knowledge, enabling the construction of personal and collective syntheses" (p. 116).

The evaluation in the cultural curriculum is characterized by the record of the didactic actions which were done, followed by the reflection on them, resulting in the redesign and feedback to the students. It is also materialized in the produced items by the students during the classes or from them.

5. Partial Considerations

By analysing the PE curricula: non-critical, critical and post-critical, we understand that the one proposed by Neira and Nunes in relation to the PE cultural curriculum, anchored in the expectations of Cultural Studies and of Critical Multiculturalism, articulates the pedagogical school project and the context of community life, providing conditions for the experience of the ways the body culture is represented on the social scene as well as offering possibilities for interpretation, analysis and production on the body cultural heritage thus avoiding the conscious or unconscious reproduction of the dominant ideology. We, therefore, believe that the cultural curriculum, unlike the others, has the potential to reduce social injustice, since it creates opportunities and builds the conditions to the voices and subdued gestures which could be recognized by the students.

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Abstract: Exerting an increasing influence on the analysis of schooling, the Cultural Studies questions what individual the hegemonic educational project is forming, considering the present society marked by inequality and cultural diversity. This theoretic field advocates that culture, permeated by relations of power, settles identity politics and definitely influences what is valued or not by the school curriculum. Being corporal practices cultural texts produced by gestures, its problematic in Physical Education curriculum encourages students to take certain perspectives as individuals. Based on these assumptions, the interest to investigate how the lessons of this curriculum component mobilizes identity issues arouse, aiming to understand the processes of meaning undertaken by students in relation to corporal manifestations and those who practice them. Therefore, we explored the everyday life of an Elementary School to observe the Physical Education lessons and interview the students. The analysis of the transcription of the interviews and of the registers of the observations demonstrates that the set of activities developed enabled the engagement of students in different ways, contributing to modify their representations regarding the corporal manifestation, positioning themselves as individuals and leading them to identity recognition.

Keywords: Curriculum, Culture, Physical Education, Identity, Corporal Culture

1. Curriculum, physical practices and Cultural Studies

Investigations of the curriculum ratify its decisive role in the constitution of identities. The access to certain knowledge and not to others, making use of certain activities and not of others, ends by placing the student in a particular way before the “things” of the world, strongly influencing the construction of the student’s representations¹. I accept the fact that the curriculum forges identities according to the project of the intended individual (SILVA, 1996), all research that evidences its possible effects becomes relevant.

The curriculum can be comprehended as a field of specific knowledge and historically acknowledged by means of constant reconstructions (PACHECO, 2006). Considering that all curricular decisions are political decisions and that the curriculum can be seen as a territory of dispute in which several groups act to validate knowledge (SILVA, 2007), it can be said that by promoting contact

¹ “Representation includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meaning is produced, positioning each person as an individual. It is through the meanings produced by the representations that men and women give meaning to experience and to what they are.” (WOODWARD, 2000, p. 17)

“There are people who dance well, there are people who dance poorly. I dance poorly”: influences of the Physical Education curriculum in positioning the individual

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with certain cultural “texts” the curriculum influences ways of interpreting the world, interacting and communicating ideas and feelings.

Assuming that amongst the most fundamental human rights is self-expression, we can have an idea of the importance of the proposition of pedagogical situations that encourage interaction through a variety of languages, amongst them the corporal one. It is also through corporal practices² that individuals interact, communicating through its expressive content (SOARES, 2001). The meaning of each corporal practice is built by different needs, interests and possibilities present in the different cultures³ at different times of history. When we play, dance, fight, do gymnastics or play sports, men and women also take ownership of the repertoire of gestures that characterizes the corporal culture⁴ in which they are part of. The manifestations of systematized gestures, according to Wiggers (2005), can be understood as cultural artifacts of a particular group, distinctive elements of its people and, consequently, in traces of the cultural identity of those who participate in it.

In terms of this present research, the concern is focused on corporal practices as cultural artifacts allocated in the Physical Education curriculum, in other words, transformed into objects of study. By employing gestures laden with meanings, the game, sport, dance, gymnastics, fighting, amongst other manifestations, are conceived as corporal texts, configuring forms of expression, production and reproduction of cultural meanings (NEIRA, 2011).

Beginning from the perspective of Cultural Studies⁵, the Physical Education curriculum can also be imagined under the model of what is textual. “Text” involves practices, institutional structures and the complex forms of activity that these require, legal conditions and the politics of existence, certain power and knowledge fluxes, as well as, specific semantic organization of multiple aspects. Simultaneously, this “text” only exists within a network of inter textual relations (textual network of corporal culture, school culture, and pedagogical practice). This is an ontologically mixed entity and for which there can be no “right” or privileged way of reading.

Cultural Studies provide subsidies to assert the political nature of the Physical Education curriculum. They encourage a more rigorous research that seeks to uncover how the processes of identification / differentiation locked inside occur. In Cultural Studies, revealing the mechanisms by which certain representations are built is the first step to rewrite the discursive processes and achieve the development of other identities (NELSON; TREICHLER & GROSSBERG, 2008).

It is clear that the gestures expressed by corporal practices put out representations of the world that members of social groups, that produced and reproduced them, own. Consequently, the interpretation of these texts implies producing new meanings about how those who practice them perceive and explain the mysteries of life, daily life, their relationships etc., creating a new text.

In time, Silva (2001) reminds us that the individual of interpretation can produce distinct meanings of those thought by the author of the representation. How representations are constructed culturally, are always dependent on the kind of social relationships from which they emerged. The cultural representations creates true effects about the objects to which they refer. Therefore, each social group uses representation to set everything around them, their own identity and that of others, doing it by means of power struggles included in the representation. (WOODWARD, 2000).

From the perspective of Cultural Studies, the representation incorporates all the features of

2 The term “corporal practices” includes jokes, dances, wrestling, gymnastics and sports.

3 According to Williams (1992), culture is a whole way of life of a social group as its structure for the representation and power. It is a network of established practices and representations that influences every area of social life.

4 “Corporal Culture” is the part of the culture that comprehends the recognized meanings to the corporal practices (NEIRA, 2011).

5 Costa, Silveira and Sommer (2003), as the most important contributions of the Cultural Studies those that have enabled the extended the notions of education, pedagogy and curriculum beyond the school walls, the denaturalization of theories discourses and disciplines apparatus installed in the school.

ambiguity, uncertainty and insecurity attributed to language. The representation is, therefore, a linguistic and cultural system closely linked to power relations. In this situation, there is a close link between representation and identity. It is through representation that the identity (and the difference) are linked to systems of power, acquire meaning, are fixed and disturbed, stabilized and subverted. It is through their endless forms of inscriptions that the other is represented.

The game of cultural power to define meanings and set boundaries gains visibility when analyzing the corporal culture. In the arena of fights through imposing feelings, certain corporal manifestations are continuously kept on the margins of society, while others are emphasized, aggregating positive meanings to them.

It is in this sense that the Physical Education curriculum can be conceived, as well as the broader culture, as a battlefield for validating the meanings attributed to corporal practice and to those that practise it. While some have historically been forgotten or discredited, others have a legitimate and important presence during lessons.

This is what led us to observe and register in a field diary lessons taught to a 9th grade class of a public county school in the city of São Paulo, as well as interview the students⁶ in an attempt to capture the elaborated representations. Trying to identify possible effects of the Physical Education curriculum in the individual's representations about corporal practice in context, the empirical⁷ reference was submitted for a critical analysis.

2. Analysis

During the period⁸ of observations, the theme addressed was the salsa⁹. In a group used to a curriculum that elected hegemonic practices¹⁰ lessons, the choice of subject of study raised some discomfort. The unusual choice was due to the mapping performed by the teacher, through which he found that one of the students was attending classes of this dance and one of the students mentioned that their parents danced frequently.

During the course of the lessons it was noticed gradual student engagement. When it comes to activities in which corporal experiences are required, it is assumed that breaking the initial resistance is a strong indication of a change of representation of the corporal manifestation. After all, as argued by Woodward (2000), the representations of individuals directly influence their actions.

At first there were only 4 pairs dancing (of a total of 36 students) and only 2 boys. However, during the lesson, some students were encouraging themselves - some with stimulus of the teacher - and tried to learn a few basic steps. At the end of lesson, half the students in the classroom had experienced dancing in pairs (21/08/12).

Before starting teaching the spin, the teacher suggested that students who, somehow, had already mastered the basic steps, taught others who had not yet tried or who were still unable to execute them, with cues and dancing together. The strategy helped involve more students – which were previously watching - Practice (28/08/12).

The participation of two female students seems to have stimulated the class and three students - that in other lessons only watched – took risks learning some steps with colleagues (04/09/12).

6 After explanations, the teacher and responsible for the students, signed a consent form. Students who attended the last school day were interviewed.

7 Transcription of the interviews and records in field diaries.

8 August to December 2012.

9 Rhythm assigned to a Cuban band rooted in Mexico, which hybridizes to dance gestures mambo, cha-cha-cha and rumba.

10 Football, volleyball and basketball.

As the colleagues became involved, students who initially showed some rejection, reviewed their approach to the salsa, gradually participating in activities. A case of fairly emblematic change of representation occurred during a visit to a dance school for a performance of special lesson. Besides the participation of students who systematically refused to dance, the way they engaged within the practice was very intense. They did not complain or threaten to abandon it.

At the time, those who already participated felt comfortable to introduce more refined movements, as “molejos and gingados”¹¹. They remained attentive to the explanations and tried to clarify specific questions with the teacher. Another situation that provided evidence of the modification of the representations was the opportunity to arrange an experience of salsa in the schoolyard, demonstrated by two female students who usually remained alienated in classes. The dance seems to have been the way they chose to interact with colleagues.

The same occurred during the performance of a salsa workshop for the other classes of the school, it was the students’ initiative for the events of Children’s Week. Those who participated in the experiences took prominent roles in the workshop, demonstrating the movements and helping colleagues from other classes. A part of the group that avoided dancing during lessons remained in the workshop even though other options were available. This suggests that corporal practice has become, to some degree, and for a few moments, an important knowledge to the members of the class. Those who knew the techniques could share them, while those who did not know could enjoy the status of belonging to the group responsible for the workshop.

The process of opening the study to increase knowledge of the salsa raised by pedagogic practice analyzed, may have been the triggering factor for new meanings, promoted by the dialogue between the meanings that the student possesses and those served by the curriculum. This process constitutes as fundamental element in the construction of the identity of the individual, because in the perspective of Hall (2005), the construction of identity occurs through the clash between the meanings contained in the circulating speeches and those initially assigned by the individual.

Still regarding the experience to increase knowledge of the corporal practice the object of study, it is interesting to analyze the positioning of students:

Interviewer: “Tell us a little about the salsa.”

Student 1: “The salsa? Oh, I think it’s a dance a little different from others, right? But... It’s kind of sensual and it is different from funk, samba, classical, rock. It is man and woman close together. It’s a little different.”

Interviewer: “But samba you can also dance together...”.

Student 1: “But, I don’t know ... salsa for me is like this! There are the right steps... several steps. It is ... You can present it ... Salsa is cool!”

Interviewer: “What did you not know before, what did you see ... what do you think of these people who dance salsa? People who dance salsa with some frequency. What do you think of them?”

Student 1: “Oh ... before having salsa in school, I thought it was ... just guys practicing since they were children, but after I saw it, that is possible to learn, that it a mix of several dances ... possible to dance.”

Interviewer: “But who dance these dances?”

Student 1: “Ah! It depends on each person. There are people who dance well, there are people who dance poorly, I dance poorly.”

It is still interesting to acknowledge the change of the meaning attributed to the dance. Even in the absence of close contact with the corporal practice, the student owned representations about it

11 Movements used in a variety of dances and fights such as Capoeira.

and the ones who practice it. Based on the work developed the initial concepts have changed. When the interviewee perceives that salsa is not only for certain kind of people - as previously thought - and that everyone can dance it, he or she demonstrates certain approach to the cultural manifestation and the review of their representations through dialogue. Perceiving that salsa is a mixture of several of dances may have helped to develop the idea that “others can dance.”

If we take into account the didactic activities built into the curriculum, it was expected that the student made explicit more substantial arguments that justified the change of representation (social and cultural, historical elements, which he perceived and made sense by studying the salsa). The didactic activities developed by the teacher made it possible the deconstruction of concepts involving corporal practice, commonly based in unreliable speeches, as a result, perhaps, of the lack of knowledge of the relationships that cross any cultural artifact.

Another occurrence worthy of note was the discussion about the history and origin of salsa when controversial issues about the features and the discourses that surround the dance were raised. The question of sensuality acquired great importance. The debate involved the participants to the point of presenting ideas like “salsa can even be sensual, but the salsa we dance at school is not” (STUDENT 02). This position confirms the impression that activities that take place in Physical Education lessons provide, somehow, room of new meanings of corporal practice.

As suggested by Woodward (2000), besides room that inspires openness to new meanings, in the process of identity constitution, the individuals need to clarify these meanings through dialogue with other individuals of the community - in this case, the group itself - to be able to recognize the several identities. Therefore, we can infer that the opportunity that the lessons offered to interchange meanings was of crucial importance to review the representations regarding the dance and, consequently, the identity conferred upon it.

The participation of the individual, explains Hall (2005), is not an action that has a beginning and an end in itself, but consists in acting on the logic of the discourses socially constructed and to which it has access, approaching them to their own experiences and analyzing them. It is what is observed in the perspective of one of the interviewees:

Interviewer: “Talk about the salsa.”

Student 3: “Wow! I loved studying salsa. It is very good! I felt really good dancing salsa, although I have a Northeastern family and I really like forró¹². A bit different the two. Salsa is kind of sensual, forró is not... forró is ... forró is not so sensual, you dance close, but not sensual... salsa is, there is more swing... Sometimes I think it makes sense, but sometimes I do not think so. “

Interviewer: “How was the experience of practicing salsa?”

Student 3: “Oh ... was a very good experience because it's another dance. I never danced salsa. Now, with the teacher's lesson, I dance ... use to dance, right? Because the year is over. I use to dance salsa quite a lot and the more you dance, the more you want to dance. I even looked for a dance school, but it was too expensive. “

Interviewer: “And dancing salsa...? People dancing salsa are sensual?”

Student 3: “I think so. I think so. “

We can notice the approach to the manifestation of this corporal culture in a theme during the lessons. When comparing the salsa and forró, the interviewee demonstrates the usage of recognized discourses to appropriate himself to new meanings. By using elements of his own cultural identity, the individual gives new meaning to salsa from the experienced aspects and the speeches brought

12 Typical rhythm and dance from the Northeast part of Brazil.

into lessons. The fact that he tried to deepen his knowledge with extracurricular activities evidences a positive representation of the dance, triggering the interest of appropriating this corporal practice.

The highlighted cases enable us to analyze different individual perspectives, incited by the theme of salsa in Physical Education lessons. In seeking to establish closer contact with this corporal manifestation through extracurricular activities, one of the interviewees demonstrates that the process of giving new meanings to salsa led him to want to take the role of dancer. His colleague, on the other hand, even considering a flexible condition to the demands of the practice - “Oh! It depends on each person. There are people who dance well, there are people who dance poorly”, so defined his individual perspective:” I dance poorly.”

If the teaching activities developed appear to have enabled the construction of a positive representation of salsa verified by the assumed individual’s perspective, the same can not be said with regard to the dancers. While some interviewees only referred to the sensuality of dancers, others provided evasive answers when questioned about who are the people who dance salsa. This indicates the need for further deepened work towards cultural groups that produce and reproduce the demonstration.

Throughout the lessons some situations emerged in which students conveyed explicit positions about salsa, the ones who practices and ways to dance it, which is worth to be rendered problematic:

The female students did not want to dance with one of the boys, according to the teacher, they “avoided dancing with him, in order not to imply that, somehow, they would correspond to the affections of the boy. Perhaps this fact evidences certain representation of the female students about “dancing together” (Dairy, 28/08/12).

Near the end of the lesson, once again, two boys could not dance because there were no girls “available” and willing to dance with them. The boys did not accept dancing together (Dairy, 04/09/12).

Students made many comments related to the content of the video presentation. Many related some dance moves with insinuations about sex and male and / or female ways of dancing. Most comments were made jokingly (they seemed embarrassed with the theme of sexuality) (Dairy, 14/09/12).

Fragments of the field diary suggest that the meanings the individuals make of the elements present in that corporal culture and of the discourses generated from them, can influence their perspectives. Therefore, identifying and rendering problematic the situations and discourses conveyed and, as seen, influence the representations is a fundamental pedagogical position to offer students, in addition to technical knowledge experienced, also information that help in the deconstruction of certain meanings. The lack of activities performed for such purpose certainly contributes to the legitimacy of questionable representations of salsa.

Even though this has not prevented the interpellation of the individuals and the consequent meaning of salsa, as the data presented previously demonstrate, the question that arises is that by failing to inquiry certain discourses related to the corporal practice, the curriculum misses an excellent opportunity to deconstruct the meanings that contribute to legitimize the hegemonic posture (SILVA, 2007).

In the reports of lessons, observations there are also indications that the great interest of the students fell upon the experiences of the dance, while the activities that aimed to question the dancer/ students were targeted by some resistance. To promote a politic of recognition it would be desirable to intensify the deconstruction process of stereotypes or spread of discourses anti-hegemonic. Throughout the semester, the teacher tried to organize a meeting of the students with someone that dances salsa and that could talk about his or her experience with the dance culture, however, all

attempts, for several reasons, were not accomplished. Although it has stimulated the research and a better understanding of the manifestation, discussion of those who practice it did not occur.

Nevertheless, by providing various forms of participation, the pedagogical work observed allowed that the students who did not participate effectively in the experiences found other ways to interact with the manifestation (surveys, preparation of materials, assisting the videos, discussions, organization of the workshop, etc.). Even without the corporal experiences, these activities allowed students access to other representations, leading them to the redefinition of dance and, most probably, the assumption of other individual perspectives. However, both the absence of a more incisive questioning about those who practice the manifestation as a restricted participation in the activities may cast doubt on the solidity of the compiled representation. This is not a problem, since the process of redefinition is constant, never concludes.

Clearly it can happen even to those who actually participated in all the activities, but it is reasonable to think that in a context in which discourses about the ones who participated in the practices were not questioned, waive experiences can have significant effects, especially the persistence of pejorative vision about who dances salsa. Unfortunately, this was not detected in the interviews, because there was no concern to identify the individuals that did not participate in experiences to, subsequently, analyze their representations.

3. Considerations

The analysis of the process of signification of a corporal practice, curriculum object of teaching Physical Education and how to configure individual's roles proved to be an interesting bias case study, especially when we take into account the lack of studies on the this thematic.

The receptiveness of students to the work developed indicates that the process of democratic choice of the theme of study is configured as a first step to increase knowledge. The opening for the perspective of the individual can raise opportunities for dialogical signification of the representations, leading to acknowledgement of identities. For the curriculum to fulfill its educational role, it is necessary to offer sufficient elements so that corporal practice teaching object is understood, providing students with subsidies for new meanings. The discontinuity of the dialogue or the lack of elements that provides a deeper analysis of the manifestation - so that not only to approach it to the students, but assist them to understand it as an artifact of culture - is not sufficient for a process of acknowledgement of identities to occur.

The results indicate that the meanings that the individual made in relation to the elements of corporal culture and the discourses generated from them can directly influence the roles they take. Comments about the corporal practice and postures that put in evidence certain ways do redefine it, demonstrating that the discourses that go around influence the individual's positions, not only in Physical Education classes, but in their daily activities.

In this aspect, it seems interesting to highlight that, despite the lessons privileging the corporal experiences, the process of giving a new meaning and even ownership held by the students allowed them to take on certain individual perspective in relation to cultural expression, even without comprehending the characteristics of those who practice it.

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Abstract: The human being is situated in the world and is provided with intelligence and the capacity to reflect on it, aiming to transform it through the work and political actions. The participation of man as subject in society, culture and history is achieved as he is educated to raise the awareness of his responsibilities as a citizen. Therefore, man is the element and the subject of education, which is always a transformative political action. Environmental education is defined in the Treaty on Environmental Education for Sustainable Society, as a dynamic process in permanent construction, which is guided by values that promote social change. This educational proposal finds equivalence in the constitution and in the practices of Afro-Brazilian culture, more specifically, the Candomble. The orishas are “intelligent forces of nature” and “spiritual regent” entities. As intelligent forces of nature, they are linked to the cosmos, ritually identifying themselves with the elements and manifestations of nature. As spiritual regent entities, they are linked to people, functioning as archetypes of the human personality. As complex beings, the orishas allow multiple classifications, according to their genealogy, characteristics and ritualistic methodology. Their greater identification, however, is the link of each one of them with nature and its elements.

Once the relation between these understandings was found, that made it possible to discuss the relationship between the culture of Afro-Brazilian religions and environmental education. The research aimed to analyze the contributions of Candomblé religious culture in the city of Belém-PA for the construction of a model of environmental awareness, which understands the importance of the natural environment to their followers and everyone else. Candomblé is based on liturgical and philosophical principles that contribute to the formation of an ecologically aware human being, since for the Afro-Brazilian religious worldview, man and nature are seen as one, i.e. the followers of Afro-Brazilian religions constitute a kind of individual with multiple and critical thinking, and also aware of his role in society and the environment.

Keywords: Afro-Brazilian Culture. Candomblé. Ecology. Environmental Education.

Introduction

Within the context of the current social-environmental crisis, characterized by globalization and exacerbated exploitation of natural resources, and by the devaluation of ancient cultural customs, environmental education has been established as one of the most discussed topics in the environmental area of education

Environmental education and candomble: African religiosity as environmental awareness

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and culture in recent years. Educators and researchers have investigated the subject thoroughly, reevaluating cultural values and changing their pedagogical practices, by then solely directed to the transmission of knowledge, when, in fact, environmental education objects not only the rational use of natural resources, but also the appreciation of culture and the formation of citizens that are able to reflect and participate in the discussions and decisions on environmental issues.

The area of the waterfall with the forest, the animals, the entire cycle that happens in nature has an Orisha in charge of it. An Orisha is energy in movement, life and “asé”. So that you can worship your Orisha, it is required the element that he represents in our world, that is, Ossãe represents the leaves, Oya the winds and lightning, Yemonjá the seas, etc. So, when you don't respect those elements, you are disrespecting the Orisha, who in addition to being a God, is also your ancestor. (Yalorixá Rosalidia Sutelo)

In this argument, we can identify the connection within the set of traditional understandings, involving the cultural and environmental elements of religion; it is in this connection that we can suggest some reflexions and compositions between environmental education and the religious culture of African array. According to candomble, nature is a sacred space of communion between the spiritual and the material worlds, which must be respected and taken care of. This concept aligns the millennial cult to one of the biggest concerns of today: the preservation of biodiversity.

The most remarkable aspect of these religions, concerning the environmental issue, lies on the fact that nature is a central element in their way of perceiving the divine, because it is in the rituals and worship of the orishas that the African array reveals itself more intensely. The operation and interpretation of beliefs and values in this tradition take place in the relationship of man with his ancestry, myths and dogmas, which occurs through the constant handling of the natural elements such as water, fire, earth and forests, in short, the life force materialized by Orishas in environments. Namely, these elements make us assume that the afro-religions have a worldview that is strongly involved with the ecocentered¹ bias.

According to the highlighted aspects, the issue that motivates this research exceeds the scope restricted to religion; the problem prints a reflection on a broader scope leading to specific questions of citizenship, society and environment. Thus, it is necessary to analyze these issues under other parameters, moving beyond politics, ethics or even the preservation of the environment. So, the question that remains is the one that questions which elements exist in the Afro-Brazilian culture of Candomblé that able to develop attitudes towards this complex situation currently observed. For Santos (2007) cultural studies agree on the pragmatic idea that it is necessary a reassessment of interventions and steady relations in society and in nature that provided by the different understandings.

Second Pelicioni and Philippi Jr (2002), environmental education (EE) is a process of political education which enables the acquisition of knowledge and skills, as well as the formation of attitudes which necessarily become citizenship practices that ensure a sustainable society. Because of the complexity of environmental issues, the need arises for the educational processes give conditions for people to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes so that they can meaningfully intercede in decision-making processes. EE, in its aspects of policy education, aims at the participation of citizens in the search of alternatives and solutions to local, global and regional environmental problems. It should not lose sight of the numerous and complex political, ecological, social, economic and cultural challenges it has to face, either in the present, or in the future moment, under a medium and long-term view. The political aspects of environmental education involves the field of autonomy, citizenship and social justice, whose importance turns them into goals that cannot be achieved in a distant future, but must

¹ Term used here based on the concept of self-centeredness, according to which this man is the center of everything, Ecocentrism is the environment and everything that is inserted in it, including the man himself.

be built daily in affective, educational and social relations (REIGOTA, 1997).

According to Layrargues (1999), the promotion of environmental education through the resolution of local problems, carries a highly positive value, because it shirk the demobilizing trend of the perception of global problems, far from local reality, and assumes that it is essential that citizens participate in the organization and management of their environment and goals in everyday life. According to Castro and Canhedo Jr. (2005), it is up to EA, as a pedagogical political process, to form for the practice of citizenship, developing interdisciplinary knowledge based on an integral view of the world, allowing each individual to investigate, reflect and act on causes and effects of environmental problems that affect the quality of life and health of the population. Interdisciplinarity aims at overcoming the fragmentation of different fields of knowledge, seeking fields of convergence and promoting the connection between the various understandings.

Taking into consideration the religious aspects of Candomblé and the concepts and objectives of environmental education, it makes possible to discuss the relationship of belonging between the Afro-Brazilian religions and nature. According to Gonçalves et al (2008), the process of anthropomorphization of deities seems to have modified the character of divinized nature. Thus, Ogun is no longer the iron or all metals, but the owner of them; Yemanjá is not the ocean, but the owner of the sea, Oshun is not the River, but the owner of fresh water. This perception turns out to establish an association of possession between the deity and nature, in different nuances, as Rodrigues (2005) mentioned when dealing with the difference between fetishism and idolatry.

Anyway, the anthropomorphization process assigns a new reading between the orishas (protecting lords) and nature (seen now as an object of the orishas). Such process had begun still on the African territory, with the political expansion of some communities and the growing development of activities such as manufacture, metallurgy, etc. In Brazil, the references to nature have been symbolically preserved on the altars of the orishas and in many ritual elements. There is also the importance established to the leaves that serves to attest the linking between the Afro-Brazilian religions ritual and the natural elements:

(...) The plants are used to washing and sanctify objects, purify the head and body of priests in the stages of initiation in the religion, cure disease and avert evils of all sources. But, the ritual leaf is not simply the one found in nature, but one that goes through the transformational power implemented by the intervention of Ossaim, whose prayers and incantations delivered by the devout provide the release of the axé they contain (PRANDI, 2005, p. 103).

Environmental awareness is essential for followers of the Orishas. The African and Afro-Brazilian religion worldview identifies the orishas as being nature itself, so it is natural that in candomblé gatherings, people learn to conserve and coexist with nature, turning each Ilê (temple) into a center of resistance to the carelessness towards the environment, and in which each habitat or natural element is related to an Orisha, which, in his turn, has as one of his features to preserve the planet with its nature and humanity. In the rituals of Candomblé, the use and identification with the elements of nature are essential. Without nature there are no Orishas. As Prandi (2005) highlights, candomblé retains the idea that plants are sources of axé, the vital force without which there is no life or movement and without which the cult cannot be accomplished. “Kosi Kosi ewê Orisha”, which can be understood as “one cannot worship Orishas without using the leaves”, summarizes well the importance of nature to candomblé. All the rituals require the use of resources from nature, from the preparation of the land for the construction of a candomblé temple, to the periodic festivities that take place on the terraces. In the candomblé temples, this analogy between nature and religion, in which these elements are closely linked, constitute fertile ground for the process of respect and environmental conservation

(ARAÚJO, 2009)

So that each ecosystem have its representative, the Supreme Being Olodumaré, designated each divinity with an attribute to assist him in the great work of world construction and perpetuation of humankind. In this way, the forces of nature become reflections of the Orishas fume (emanações) on the planet, making it possible the union between the sacred with the man. Preserving, taking care of and maintaining the natural environment, is a fundamental condition for the followers of Candomblé. The rituals can only take place, and are made, propitiated through leaves, baths and natural elements embodied (consagrados) by the Orishas.

Candomblé enables its participants, readings of the world, of harmonious human relations and egalitarian cohabitation, in which everyone can live with self-confidence, dignity and respect and, also, that one must respect his host planet. In the same way as the Iyaôs, when secluded for their initiation, go through the cycles of death and rebirth, likewise in religions, it is necessary to be reborn for new ideas, values and cultures. It is necessary that, the knowledge of the traditional communities, the followers of the Afro-Brazilian religions, the forest communities and groups that carry the respect for nature, be multiplied, thus creating a “network of environmental awareness”. The Earth protects, the waters heal and calm, the leaves carry wisdom. Nature is generous with humanity. What remains to people in general is exercise what they have learned. How can that be done? By giving back! (A Gaxéta)

According to Santos (2008), Mother Nature, through the orishas, restores the balance of human action towards nature, in the practice of worshipping. During the rites, the religions determines which images be worshipped in communion with nature, since it is the material mirror of Orum (the spiritual world). So, the mission of the religion is to take care of nature in all its aspects. Hence, The Afro-Brazilian community finds in its structure the ancient engines: place, society, gestures and memory constitute a single unit.

Yalorixá Rosalidia Sutelo (Oya Nyrolê), belonging to Jeje nation, was interviewed. During the interview, Iya (mother in Yorubá language) Rosalidia showed to have some knowledge on environmental issues, since she has novices who are university students who transmit to her some notions on environmental issues. However, when the interview went deeper in the religious matter, Iya Rosalidia proved to possess significant knowledge on the relationship of candomblé with nature, by pointing out almost all her answers that the importance of a balanced environment is vital for the development of religion, because the orishas are the nature itself.

Yalorixá Oneide Monteiro (Nangetu), from The Angolan nation, was interviewed. The interview with Iya Oneide was very interesting. Because she is the oldest priestess among all the others who were interviewed, in her answers, she transmitted information based on her empirical knowledge of the religion, namely, she answered the questions in a colloquial way, lacking any scientific content. In spite of that, she was able to explain the connection between candomblé and nature. For instance, when she was asked about what environmental education is, according to the religion, her answer was:

“Environmental education means not littering or mistreating your home, your temple, or the area where you live. It also means taking care of all that you use and are that they are orishas! And reaping some leaves to make a bath, but picking up only the necessary amount in order not to cause any harm to the plant and prevent its death.”

Yalorixá Virginia Lunalva (Ominisaá), from The Ketu nation, was interviewed. Concerning Iya Lunalva, the interview was a bit more time consuming, because she in addition to already developing projects with her NGO, Aciyomi, she is also involved with a number of councils and working groups

regarding the causes of traditional communities of candomblé temples. Thus, she provided a range of knowledge, not only about the fundamentals of the religion, but also about how it is currently developed. For, environmental education in candomblé is:

“all the learning developed within the Ilês (temples); It is the primary education that the novices receive, because it is through this education that the values that the candomblé has, and thus, it is developed the notion of respect for nature in a worldview”.

In addition, Iya Lunalva pointed out that the way of thinking developed by the notion of respect that there is in Candomblé can help in protection of the environment through the transmission of values that occur in everyday daily life in the temples, where the love and affection, that there must be by orishas, are developed. Through these feelings that are engrained in followers, the idea that the environment should be protected is developed, that is, for the important role that the environment represents for the Afro-Brazilian spirituality, religion must be responsible for structuring its awareness. In candomblé, the ruin of natural elements is seen as religious and spiritual failure, that is, the end of everything.

In General, all the interviewed Iyas demonstrated to have the the notion that the environment is directly related to the Orishas, i.e. independently of the nation, the orishas are the very nature, and to develop the religion, there is the needs of a balanced environment. Iya Lunalva highlighted in her speech:

“The cult of orishas has plenty of grounds capable of responding not only to the needs of environmental conservation, but also the sustainable and educational developments, much more than the capitalist form currently developed.”

The use of environmental resources in the religious practices of candomblé is done in a balanced and aware way, and can characterize this process as a kind of sustainable management. Each element or item used in the rituals represents an Orisha: the land, the water, the plants, the lightning, the rain, the entire ecosystemic cycle is considered sacred and by making use of these elements, the followers of the candomblé receive the energy of the orishas, the asé, preserving and renewing the vital energy of themselves and the environment.

Ritual baths, such as the abôns and amacis, for example, use the leaves of sacred plants in candomblé, as cited by Iya Oneide, “at the time of reaping, rather than the plant itself, only the necessary amount of sheets are picked up “, conserving in this way, the vital principle of the environmental resource. This handling ensures the use of the resource in various moments of the rituals. This type of use can be considered sustainable development, which, in the Afro-Brazilian worldview, is called respect. The cult of orishas transmits a coherence which is the connection with nature, producing the practice of conservation, through the feeling of belonging to nature, instead of possessing it. By taking into consideration the information obtained in the research and what environmental conservation or nature means for the Afro-Brazilian religions, one can mention the Brazilian Basic Vocabulary of natural resources and environment, which says that:

The rational use of renewable natural resources (air, water, soil, flora and fauna) and the achievement of maximum income of non-renewable resources (minerals), aims to produce the greatest sustainable benefit for current generations while maintaining its potential to meet the needs of future generations (IBGE, 2004, p. 84).

One can notice that the candomblé fits that definition of rational use of resources with a view to environmental conservation, since each existing resource in nature represents an Orisha that must

be preserved to maintain the link with the divine and ensure somehow the livelihoods on the planet. Once a line of reasoning between the topics and, according to the idea transmitted in the interviews, all the orishas are closely linked to the environment. Thus, as one destroys an element of nature, a chain reaction is caused, that can be regarded as a punishment of the orishas to such violation. Thus, it is correct to consider the possibility of knowing the philosophical and ethical principles of candomblé to substantiate an environmental education that contributes to the formation of an environmental awareness. For BOTELHO (2008, p. 214), this training “in addition to promoting respect for socio-religious practice inherited by African and Afro-Brazilian black individuals, can even provide educators with a pedagogical that is more supportive towards the environment issues”.

Santos (2007) states that the distinction resides in the fact that the beliefs are a forming part of our identity and subjectivity; while ideas are something that are exterior for us. While our ideas are born of the doubt and remain in it, our beliefs are born from the absence of doubts. Deep inside, that is the distinction between being and having: we are our beliefs, we have ideas.

Another factor that was constantly mentioned during the interviews is the issue of sustainability that not only is of great environmental importance, but is also characterized by a great challenge, therefore there is the need of using environmental resources in a rational way, to LEFF (2001, p. 15) the matter of sustainability arises in the context of globalization as a mark of a change in thinking and as a signal that reorients the civilizing process of humanity. The correct use of natural resources, with the guarantee of management and conservation, are candomblé practices so that they can be used by future generations in their rituals, in order to keep their own orisha in its vital principle. After all, this principle rules not only the dogmas and foundations of religion, but also the lives of human beings, since it is from nature that is obtained all the livelihood of mankind.

Within the vision presented by the interviewees, one can emphasize that the knowledge brought by them by religion fits perfectly in what Carvalho (2008) means when he claims that environmental education is a “field of interactions between culture, society and the physical and biological basis of life processes, in which all terms of this relationship change themselves dynamic and mutually,” and thus it cannot be seen separately. Culture and nature are inseparable and, by taking into account, for instance, the traditional communities that develop their cultures according to the Biodiversity present in their territory, in order to constitute of the Candomblé cults, they are the primordial elements for the construction of cultural identity of the Afro-Brazilian traditional communities.

In this way, the practices developed by the candomblé and environmental education are the result of two factors: the complexity of the educational process present in religion and the complexity of the eco systemic theory empirically related to the orishas, where if both are analysed by the environmental pedagogic scope, resulted in an interesting conception dictated by LEFF (2002) that suggests that this complexity.

“is the act of understanding the world, as a part of the very being of each subject” [...] and of contemplating the world as power and possibility, understanding reality as social construction mobilized by values, interests and utopias, and more, “a dialogic process that unfolds every communicative rationality built on the basis of a possible consensus of sense of values”.

Final Considerations

Environmental education is defined in the Treaty on Environmental Education for Sustainable Society, as a dynamic process in permanent construction, and which is guided by values that promote social change. In this Treaty were defined the three pillars of environmental education: sustainability, complexity, and interdisciplinary. This new proposal finds equivalence in the grounds and candomblé

practices, which contribute to the formation of an environmentally conscious individual. In addition, the basis defined in Treaty strengthens the man-nature interaction which already exists in Afro-Brazilian cults that can be considered a cultural identity. This factor confirms that cultural and ecological studies besides presenting a certain degree of interconnectedness also become an important instrument for analysis of contemporary society.

The ancestry is linked to nature in African religions, whose inheritance transmits the reverence to the “nature” of the Afro-Brazilian religions rites, being responsible for its followers. More than present in nature, the orishas are a divine representation of natural elements and phenomena. This relationship fosters in the religion followers a sense of belonging since, as to candomblé, we are all direct descendants of the orishas that rule us, consequently we must worship, love and protect our ancestors through their representations in nature. In the Afro-Brazilian worldview, the man-nature relationship is symbiotic, so that one must be adapted to the other, and, through the development of this view, the conservation and environmental awareness arises. This value of belonging to nature favors the formation of an environmental conscience, which empirically comprises the multidimensionality, sustainability and interdisciplinarity that essential to the mitigation of environmental problems.

However, with the slavery in Brazil, the African culture was underestimated and subtracted, cause the arousal of many misperceptions. These factors bring fear, prejudice and even the denial of the Brazilian identity construction with the African culture, leading to the deletion of these people’s contributions to society as a whole. In this moment of great environmental crisis, the rescue of the Afro-Brazilian worldview is essential as it brings contributions of the African people to society, with a consequent correction of misguided interpretations of their religious practices, which significantly contribute to environmental conservation and construction of a new thinking.

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SESSION 32

EDUCATION AND
THE CONSTRUCTION
OF OTHERNESS IN
POST-COLONIAL
CONTEXTS

The early morning wind
Never comes alone
In one hand it brings the sun
In the other, a hummingbird
(Beto Coimbra and Caíque Botkay)

The beauty of the childhood blows winds of hope

Cássia Oliveira

We brought the music “O vento da madrugada” (The early morning Wind), from Beto Coimbra and Caíque Botkay, created for ‘*História de Lenços e Ventos*’ (*Scarves and Winds’ story*), a play considered in the Brazilian children’s theater as a watershed, with the intention to reflect over the childhood as an interpolating school’s life that possibilities thinking of education as art. Nowadays, school life is a problem that needs to be recognized, faced, comprehended and reframed through the refuge in the way we think the childhood. We bring “O vento da madrugada” to imagine the childhood as something that, despite being invisible, it takes everything out of the place (Jardim, Eduardo, 2011, p. 138). This association of thinking with the image of the wind was introduced by Xenophon in his comment about Socrates, and was also affirmed by Sophocles in *Antigone*, when he considers that thinking is as fast as the wind. The wind as a metaphor of thinking has a critical and destructive character.

I approach this issue through the music “O vento da madrugada”, and we deep, therefore, in the creation processes that do simultaneously with the old and with the new, the known and the unknown.

O vento da madrugada (The early morning wind)

Nunca chega só (Never comes alone)
Numa mão traz o sol (In one hand it brings the sun)
Na outra, um beija flor (In the other, a hummingbird)
Ele é misterioso (He is mysterious) Mas não é medroso (But not afraid)
Já fez voar um rato, um gato (He already made fly a rat, a cat)
Uma escada, um telhado (A ladder, a roofing)
Mas que vento guloso (What a greedy Wind)
Ele não é medroso (He is not afraid) Ele traz o sol (He brings the Sun) (Beto Coimbra e Caíque Botkay)

This compositions describes perfectly the process of experiencing the creative destruction – image that becomes relevant for the reflection about creation and destruction, of the ways to notice, to feel, to live and to think the education.

I quote the music to bring the question of the relation between esthetics and policy. The authors, when they say that the wind “Never comes alone/In one hand it brings the sun/In the other, a

hummingbird”, they put ourselves against beauty and that, face to face with her, we say “it’s beautiful!”. When judging the beauty, there is a coincidence between the rational (cognitive or ethic) and emotion. This judge broaden our way of thinking, felling and seeing “the wind”, because the imagination presented in poetic language provides us another sensible manner of esthetic appreciation of the “wind”. Through her (the esthetic appreciation), we, the audience, present the judgment, and not the artists. When the judgment is exposed, we look forward the aggregation of other audience, the readers, the listeners. The capacity of communicating our judgments allows us to think of the “wind” from a plural optic. This plurality of understandings is “the base through where is created the space that allows the arising of beautiful things” (Jardim, Eduardo, 2011, p. 148), de sensitively realize that the wind never comes alone, as it brings the sun and the hummingbird; it is mysterious.

This intersubjective experience may secure us to break up with a conditioned thinking. It is this esthetic dimension that brings with her the value of the policy and the ethics in the sense of life, i.e., when life gets thinking power, becoming an esthetic experience. Here, we specifically treat of the esthetic experience promoted through the meeting of the adult with the child: what makes us sensible to children? What takes us to listen and to dialogue with children? Thousands of people come and live with children, but why do we react to her, so many times, with coldness? What is this weird familiarity?

In our everyday life, we got used not to notice that we live surrounded by the esthetic experience. We do not notice, for example, that the familiarity is an art that results of the choice of the ones who will be able to be part of this common space, the ones who will be able to tell us what do they see and who can say about what is seen, the ones who have competence to notice the properties of the space and of the time and talk about them.

We choose places and moments to meet and move away from others. However, many times, the meetings provoke in others feelings different of well-being and pleasure; they may be disturbing and unmanageable. That’s exactly there, so, where inhabits one of your greatest qualities: of meeting the unexpected e the capacity to promote surprise. In this sense, the esthetic experiences may vary in depth grade, depending as much as of the intrinsic characteristics of the situating of the meeting as of the perceptions manners of the ones involved on it.

Therefore, we can understand better the astonished, horror and indignation view to the undisciplined and uncivilized of children and teenagers in the school’s space: children dealing drugs and using weapons “in wars”; abandoned children; children committing crimes, assaults, robbery and using drugs; the ads with model-children; consumerist children; children alone or ordering their parents; children announcing the weakness of authority. Uncountable authors nowadays engage themselves in writing about the childhood extinction.

Against these everyday scenes, sometimes, we choose the option for the reassurance of our ideas. When these scenes became incomprehensive, they make us look for other ways of thinking of us and we choose for the option of the powerful experience of the unexpected and of the surprise.

With the stories narrated by children, we also confront ourselves with other logics, “with other narrative times, with colors of different hues, with faces of diverse features” (Nogueira, Monique Andries, 2013, p. 121) – everything very far from the frenetic sequence of news on the TV, on the internet, the ugliness of violent-children and the known violence.

We have also found the possibility of waiting the unexpected, exercising the thinking provoked by life surprises through a sensible thinking that integrates feelings, sensations to mental activities. When rupturing the feeling and the thinking, the good and the evil, we highlight the esthetic experience faced to the life productions as art works. Children of today allow us to do this thinking exercise.

However, this kind of experience takes us to the relation between our thinking and the evil

that exists, such as wars, violence, freedom privation, and so many other manifestations present in the dilemmas that scare us. The way of thinking is neither linear nor progressive. “It does not conduct to the vision of truth or to the silent intuition of a last and ineffable reality. It does not have an end, so the dialogue of the thought may always be restarted” (Jardim, Eduardo, 2011, p. 126). Among the activity of thinking and the evil that exists, we put significance to the events, which make us “deal with what has irrevocably passed and [we] reconcile with what irrevocably exists” (p.126), continuing to feel the life with intensity.

The contrast between the reflection and rashness capacity, i.e., the total capacity to submit the events to a comprehension of the life out of the conventional way, means to trivialize the evil.

Actually, in my opinion is that the evil is never “radical”, it is only extreme and it does have neither depth nor demonic dimension. It may invade everything and destroy the whole world precisely because it propagates as a mushroom. It “challenges the thought”, as I said, because the thought tries to hit the depth, to touch the roots, and in the moment, it occupies of the evil, it frustrates itself for not finding anything. This is its “triviality”. Only the good, has depth and may be radical”. (Arendt, Hannah *apud* Jardim , Eduardo, 2011, p. 113).

The discovery of the phoneme of the triviality of the evil by Arendt makes us inquire if the capacity of thinking outside the bonds of certainties and conventions is one of the conditions to abstain ourselves of doing bad things. Therefore, exactly because the thought is kept tied to the standards that induce to obey the precepts and conduct codes – which is also a social life condition – it may contribute to the practice of bad things. In order to deal with the relation of the evil and the thought, Arend attributes importance to the Kantian esthetic for the elaboration of political judge notion. Kant subordinates the sensible experience to the cognitive, to the rational and to the ethical one, e considers, in a first moment, that the imagination illuminates the cognitive activities; in a second moment, “recognizes the capacity of imagination, selects the group of data of the sensible experience, offering them to the cognitive evaluation, resting on an autonomous faculty and *a priori*”, i.e., not empiric, not determined by the sensibility (Rosenfield, Kathrin H., 2013, p.8).

At this perspective, Kant investigates the beauty from the proposition, apparently simple and ordinary, of someone who shouts “this is beautiful!”. He puts this shout in the scope of a judgment that gives taste to the right of been analyzed at the same level of other logical or ethical judgments (Kant *apud* Rosenfield, 2013, p.28).

From this observation, Arend considers that judging, as well as thinking and willing are totally invisible activities. The “practice of good or bad actions does not result of the ownership – or lack of – any knowledge or to adhere to a philosophic doctrine. It is also not derived from disobedience to the “moral codes”, but from the moral meaning of the activity of thinking. The thought is done in the silent dialogue of itself, which requires harmony of two in one (Jardim, Eduardo, 2011, p.125).

Therefore, it is possible to consider the reflection capacity over the unexpected of life requires us to undress our certainties and bonds, to shelter the obscure, without reducing the unknown to something which is already known neither to dissolve the known in the unknown. It is considered that, sometimes, the child may reach the adult in this reflection capacity: making company to him in the dialogue of himself, even when alone. The child may contribute to the adult to build a relationship of friendship with himself, as the activity of thinking presumes friendship.

To share life experience with children may become a double positive esthetic experience: for the child, the listening and dialogue empower love and stimulate the thinking; for the adult, they may result in an exercise that empowers the unknown. Therefore, we must be friends of ourselves. This esthetic experience may be done through approximations of child with adult, because the

surprise brought through situations, facts, moments may permit the meeting of the thought with the unexpected. We look for the meaning of life in this game of opposites in the relations between knowing and not knowing, the acting and not acting, in which we seek and lose our own life.

This identity of opposites is the image of childhood's beauty which links the thought to life as an artwork, with the sense of "becomings" subjective that establish through individuals and social groups, that is, they are possibilities or not of a process of singularization which exists in the procedure movement – this procedure existence which gives the power of creation and re-creation – singularities that may rupture dominant stratifications and conformist traditions. This view makes us closer to the post-colonialist thought as it recognizes that schools, as well as cities, are immersed in the process of deep social changes.

The childhood blows wind of hope

What makes us think that the beauty of childhood blows wind of hope? To answer this question, it cannot search for a cause neither to try to achieve a goal, but to bet in the human capacity of reflection. Therefore, we go return to Agamben, who incites the thinking that suggests that, to learn our time, that is fundamental introducing the discontinuity through the "interpolation of the present in the inert homogeneity of the linear time, the contemporaneous puts in action a special relationship between times" (Agamben, 2009, p.70). For him,

contemporaneous is the one who keeps a fixed view in his time, so he notices on it not the lights, but the dark. All the times are, for who experiments contemporaneity, obscures. Contemporaneous is, exactly, the one who knows how to see this obscurity, which is capable of writing deeply in the shades of the present. But what does it mean "to see the darkness", "to notice the dark?" (2009, p.62).

[...] we cannot talk in a return to the conditions lost in history, but only that it is possible to notice among the lights of the present the dark which is inherent, an origin which is not away from history, but ensures a non-nostalgic view to the past and seeks a future without hopes but the own capacity of rethinking the present (2009, p. 21,22).

The poet Manoel de Barros, in his book *O Fazedor de Amanhecer (The Morning Maker from 2001)*, writes: "Too bright things make me dark". There is a reflection about the relation between the bright and the dark. The darkness that we see when we look the night is a special dark, because the moonlight and the light coming from the stars and illuminated bodies that we notice in the dark sky cannot be thought apart from the day, which is a special brightness, because the sun light we notice in the bright sky does not allow us to keep a fixed look on it. Therefore, we must both: to notice a light in the darkness as well as to look for a shade in the brightness. When we look for light in the darkness, we can notice what becomes obscure due to brightness. In this way, we can say that the comprehension of obscurity implies that non-lived in a whole lived, what we could not yet experience. Therefore, being contemporaneous means "to receive in your own face the beam of darkness that comes from your time", to "return to a present where we have never been" (Agamben, 2009, p.64,71).

The words of Agamben invite us to think the articulation between the beauty of childhood and the time of hope from the concept of contemporaneous. Maybe, it may be needed to build the childhood concept, as Agamben suggests us, not as a chronologic place or as something at a development phase, but as an interpolating strength that seeks to become what constitutes in incompleteness. Here, the childhood approaches what thinks Benjamin when referring to the importance of memory. For him,

the memory has to take in account the great difficulties that “weigh over the possibility of narration, over the possibility of common experience, so, over the possibility of transmission and of thinking” of contemporaneity (Benjamin *apud* Gagnebin, 2006, p.54).

In order to give attention to the present, Benjamin recurs to memory. For the author, it involves remembering what one wants to forget. In this sense, the Benjaminian thinking memory means to adopt a perspective that “the tense and unhappy experiences that live in the present make us more alert to the world where we live” (Benjamin *apud* Gagnebin, 2006).

This way, childhood is comprehended as an interpolating strength which points to be what is constituted in incompleteness, permitting the interlace between the childhood concept and the contemporaneous concept, associated to a time conception which is a certain experience of culture. The production of other cultures is not possible without breaking with the notion that time is liner, continuous, homogeneous, rectilinear. Time is shown as a historic necessity of the human being to constitute himself as human. “The man is not a historic being because it has gone over time, but, by the opposite, only because he is a historic being he can go over the time, to temporize himself” (Agamben, 2005, p. 121).

This way, we evoke, simultaneously, the human history and the history of every single individual in his time, which is constituted by lines (chronologic life time, from birth to death) and jumps (time to change the time during human life). The history of each individual points to the origin of humanity, when it projects the non-ending of human existence. This projection is the reminder of that life is not endless, which brings time as a human being problem. So, time appears as continuous when refers to its chronologic sense, which brings the situation from birth to death, and as discontinuous when refers to the meaning of human life as mode and place of existence.

The “time” is brought to the center of reflection of the esthetic experience to think in the meeting of adult with children, in the esthetic thinking and in the change. From this point of view, the interpolation strengthens in the moment the meeting brings stories between adult and child associate to time experience, a conception of history.

From this perspective, to share life with others allow us to understand the continuous time when it approaches the child of the childhood theory with the sense of progress, evolution, so the man keeps an infinite linear time. It seeks to understand the discontinuous time when it approaches the child of the childhood theory with the sense of situating human life as experience capable of changing the finite time, with the sense of incompleteness, of not knowing.

The childhood’s theory with the sense of incompleteness treats the difference of ways of being a child, as a reminder that the speeches of human beings have a dimension of incompleteness and singularity. It lives of this fragility, i.e., there is “an endless return, a walk always restarted a multiplicity of routes” (Gagnebin, 2006). From this point of view, life in the present invites us to think of it out of the bonds that fasten us to the past, but listening to its appeal, to be alert of the happiness call. This means the transformation of present so history complies with its requirement of transmission in the time-now.

So, we can say that this comprehension of childhood theory, identified above, acquires the sense of situating the way of living human life as a beauty that the esthetic experience help us to recognize, to face, to understand and to re-mean it. It understands childhood as a possibility of transporting continuous time in discontinuous time, the nature in history and culture, because human time is history.

This dimension of possibility of transforming time in history may be captured by the fragments of stories narrated by children through its culture production, of toys and games of the child, which are the materialization of historicity kept inside objects.

Therefore, the toy and the games make us look to our culture and history as a reminder that we must reflect over of ways of living life in present time.

In order to make childhood to get dimension of power of life, enabling the invention of time with dimension of “hope”, is necessary to understand that life in the esthetic regime of arts cannot be opposed to the politic. This capacity of inventing a life to come is the central question to notice the junction of childhood with school life from the esthetic relationship with politics.

This makes it possible to think school life as an arts work. This esthetic dimension (invention) brings a political dimension of creation and ethic in the meaning of life, i.e., when life gets the power of thinking which makes the own life a challenge. Where there is a challenge enables power, relationship with difference and otherness.

According to this perspective, we think of the fusion of art with school life, understanding that life at school’s environment is full of challenges, enabling to learn what we can still be in the future. The reminders of schools, of disorder behaviors, of conversation circles in school’s environment paint with art the words that cross about knowledge themes, of love, fear, humiliation, suffering, passion, freedom, hopes and hopeless, myths and traditions, fights to build the school. In this art of school’s life the word retains the power of the visible and gains the dimension of making to see life, culture and politics.

In this sense, it is worth highlighting the coexistence of collective actions, where the “esthetic practices” are constructive of ways of life of a community and interfere in the way of being of individuals.

This comprehension of school’s life outlines a public school that has being going through a process of change. It is worth to highlight that this change is not regarding its deep deterioration, evidenced by the speeches that emphasize its deterioration, neither is fruit of the justifications that explain the non-possibilities of making changes due to the school’s reality and of the Brazilian public education system, and even less is linked to the idea of changes provoked in the school by the Brazilian education policy in the federal, state and municipal spheres. We highlight the changes that were originated by esthetic experiences, these changes that occur through the pulsation of school’s life, in the moments that enable to the school the reflection of the conditioned thinking.

The indiscipline and the incivility at school are for us, educators, like a hit which is given in the present at school’s door, and that take us to enjoy this moments of thinking, particular of a congress, to share with you some sparks, in the form of questions, that are kept alive in many of us, educators:

- How to listen children without hierarchy in the dialogue between them and adults?
- How has your school being sheltering the discussion of sexual rights of the child and teenager?

Which experiences from your school in which children share with professors and schools directors regarding processes of creation and inovation in the school’s space?

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“Nothing is more wonderful than the art of being free, but nothing is harder to learn than how to use than freedom.” Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Abstract : The theme of Democracy in Brazilian schools acquires a new meaning after the 1988 Constitution, which determines the democratic management of public education. School Reform Law 9394/96 deepens this concept by defining the role of education professionals in preparing the school education program and Obtaining the participation of the community in School Councils . The new legislation expresses the need to invent democracy in schools , since democracy is never simply granted, but earned .

Keywords: democratic management, comprehensive schools, Instituting movements

Introduction

Brazilian education in colonial and imperial periods were marked by an aristocratic character. Despite guaranteed rights as in our first Constitution of 1824 , its expansion has been slow due to lack of specific appropriations for the area and the existence of slavery, which limited school access to free men and excluded most of the population of the school benches. Dominant interests in the period did not grant the large majority of the population access to basic rights of citizenship, despite the Constitution.

The Brazilian colonial inheritance transfers to the emerging country of the Proclamation of the Republic a precarious educational situation: in 1890 , 85 % of the population was illiterate, dropping to 75 % in the next decade . This percentage drops in the 1910s , yet over half (65 %) of the population aged 15 or more had been totally excluded from school in 1920 (Ribeiro, 1982, p.78 -9). This fact did not quite constitute a social problem due to the scarce industrialization of the period.

The Brazilian process of urbanization and industrialization intensifies after World War I, increasing the demand for more and better schools. Throw in this factor the cultural and educational movement in the ‘20s and ‘30s, and it becomes possible to understand the educational leap occurred in the first Vargas (1930-1945) government, which adopts the national developmentalist economic model, silted with the need for a large increase in the number of primary and secondary schools . The 1934 Constitution devotes for the first time a chapter on education, giving the Union the competence to draw the guidelines of national education and

The invention of democracy in Brazilian schools

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the states to manage their education systems.

With the creation of the public school system, Brazilians finally put into practice the idea that education is a right for all citizens. The theme of democracy is not exactly a novelty for educators, having been widely exploited by Teixeira in his works and in the Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education in 1932, along with several other contributions. The Pioneers were concerned with the organization of the nascent public school system, convinced that democracy can be learned in school. Not just in theory - but as a practice, through the participation of students in the Alumni Student Groups and teachers in the administration of their schools democracy.

The Vargas Dictatorship (1937-1945) interrupted this process, and the country returned to democratic normality only after this period. The Coup brings a new Constitution, which keeps the right to primary education, establishing the compulsory teaching of crafts in all schools (art.128) and creates a program of pre-vocational and vocational education for “the lower classes”, considered the first duty of the State (art.128). Despite the increase in resources for education and the expansion of the school network, the major educational problems of the period are the initial selectivity, the lack of jobs, and later on, the high retention rates that affect approximately half of the students enrolled in the first grades throughout 1930-1945 (RIBEIRO, 1982, p.120;129-30).

Expansion is present in elementary schools, but 25.8% of the school age population remained out of schools in 1955. Added to this, high retention rates complete the picture of social selectivity operated throughout the school system, bringing very little change to our education system. Immediately after the end of primary school students faced the barrier of an Admission Examination to junior high. High school, despite the increase in number, could meet only 18.2% of the population in 1945. As for illiteracy, there is a percentage decrease during the period: from 56% in 1940 to 50.5% in 1950 and 39.4% in 1960 (Ibid.p.123-30).

The concentration of population in urban areas increased considerably since 1940, exacerbating the problem of illiteracy. After the Vargas fall, a new constitution comes into force in 1946, determining competence of the Union to legislate on the guidelines and bases for national education. Two years later, Congress receives a prospect for a new educational reform, approved only after years of intense debate, under the number 4,024 in 1961, during the short Quadros government. Juscelino Kubitschek took office in 1956, leading the country to its golden period of economic development based on industrialization with a wide opening to foreign capital. The need to increase the educational level of the population, coupled with a movement of progressive sectors linked to the Catholic Church and to Socialist parties, gives rise to a broad movement of appreciation of popular culture and adult education between the years 1958 and 1964, to which contributed Paulo Freire and many other educators.

The accentuation of the distance between the political model, based on populism created by Vargas, and the economic model, based on the internationalization of the economy, generated a political crisis that culminated in the 1964 Coup (Romanelli,1982,p.58-9), precipitating a long military dictatorship (1964-1985). Intending to reorganize the country politically and culturally, the government arbitrarily imposed two laws aiming at education reform: Law 5540/68, establishing the system of credits and classificatory nature of vestibular testing in higher education, and Law 5692/71, the reforming primary and high schools, now called 1st and 2nd degree schools. This extends compulsory education from 4 to 8 years, suppressing the entrance examination. Secondary and technical schools are merged into one school, vocational trait, and adult education courses are restructured.

Despite the obvious attempt to break the elitist and exclusionary character of our educational system, the expansion of basic education was restricted to states and municipalities with material

and human resources to meet this change. For the same reasons, mandatory professionalization has not occurred satisfactorily in public schools, or even in private ones, who chose to continue with their traditional preparatory for college character, meeting the aspirations of student families. Confronted with evidence of dualism in the Brazilian education system, Law 7044/82 ends the compulsory professionalization of secondary schools .

Only the technical schools, who were equipped in physical and material aspects, in fact attended to the question of professionalism among high school students. Despite the shortcomings, the vast majority of public schools offering secondary courses followed vocational character, which made the middle classes depart from them towards private schools. Practically only teenagers coming from the popular classes remained in the secondary public school system. But to meet this new demand and the interests of the business class at the same time, the curriculum organization in that level of education lost its introductory character and was structured around the preparation for the work market. This made it difficult for the public classes to continue their studies at the college level.

The military dictatorship begins gradually to be replaced by a slow political opening. The 1988 Constitution, the highest point of the democratization process, provided the tone for the desired changes in Brazilian society. Containing major advances in the social area, some of its articles paved the way for the enactment of the Statute of Children and Adolescents in 1990, and the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education in 1996, during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration (1995-2002).

A New Era

The Federal Constitution of 1988 granted to education 18% of the total federal funds. Art. 7^o considers a right of urban and rural workers, among others, free assistance for children and dependents from birth to six years of age in day care centers and preschools (XXV), and determines the prohibition of work for teenagers under fourteen (XXXIII). Art. 206, I, provides equal conditions of access in schools for all. And art. 208 guarantees free and compulsory primary education, including those beyond compulsory school age, providing for the gradual increase in the number of high schools. A visible change of perspective can be seen in the new Constitution - a respect for the interests of all citizens, not just its guarantee for a minority. This is definitely a considerable advance. But the persistence of high rates of child and juvenile labor, prohibited by law but tolerated by custom, prevents a more significant advance.

The progressive extension of compulsory and gratuity to high school brings an increase in the number of seats in that level, but constant allegations of decline in the quality thereof can be heard, attested by the arrival on the scene of national examinations (such as Saeb and ESMS). These were adopted during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) government, pursuant to the recommendations of the World Bank for developing countries in education.

Art.205 of the Constitution guarantees education as a citizen right and a duty of the State, to be promoted and encouraged with the cooperation of the family and society. Article 206 (V) determines the democratic administration of public education, ensures the enhancement of professional education () and guarantees quality standards for national public education (VII). But the retention of students in the early grades remains a specter to haunt the ideal of democratization of school, and elementary school teachers continue to be underpaid.

No doubt the Constitution provides some advances in the design of education as a social practice, especially when indicating the cooperation of society in its promotion. Its reflexes can be felt in the attempt to democratize school management, despite the strong resistance from county politicians

against the election of principals and the participation of local community members in school boards.

These principles are unfolded and extended Law No. 9.394/96. Despite some criticism for its final version, the Act retains some biases but contains undeniable advances (DEMO, 1999), regarding the political commitment to the working classes. Access to basic education regardless of age (Art. 4, I), the extent of obligatory and free education to high school (II), free day care assistance to children from 0-6 years (IV), increasing the supply of adult education and the democratic management of public schools, a subject to which we will return later on.

Education was the great achievement of the 1990's in Brazil. The progress achieved can be felt by significant evolution of the Human Development Index (HDI) of Brazil during that period. In the early 90's, two out of ten children between 7-14 years of age were out of school; among the poor, one in four children. The creation of Fundef (Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education), the Bolsa Escola (School Grant) and the school reform made a difference, granting international prominence to the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government.

Today, 98 % of Brazilian children attend school, a percentage close to that of more developed countries. Until the mid 1990's, Brazil was producing large batches of illiterates every year, hundreds of thousands of children and teenagers who reached the age of 14 without having ever attended a classroom and without learning how to read. The effective universal access to primary education nearly ceased entirely the formation of new contingents of illiterates.

The huge impoundment of students in middle schools led to a progressive increase in education-around 10% per year. This means doubling the number of those who complete elementary school: today, only approximately half of the children and youth enrolled do so. Enrollment in high school, before stagnating from lack of students, exploded soon after, due to the growing wave of graduates from elementary school.

In the early 1990's, there were about 3.7 million students enrolled in high school. Less than ten years later, there were 9.1 million. Technical schools totaled 140 and the federal universities were greatly expanded with the granting of public funds for this purpose. The Fundef was converted into FUNDEB, expanding basic education to high school and including Youth and Adult Education (EJA). And the transformation of Bolsa Escola into Bolsa Família (Family Grant) has lifted millions of Brazilians out of poverty. There were significant social advances during the Lula da Silva Government (2003-2010).

The challenge of implementing democratic management in public schools was detailed in Law 9394/96. Article 14, § I, brings the following principles: "involvement of education professionals in the preparation of the school education program" and § II: "school community participation in local school councils or equivalent". As these councils did not exist in most schools until the promulgation of the Law, its creation is occurring in a very slow pace in the over 5.000 different municipalities.

On the other hand, Art. 13, § VI, states that "teachers will cooperate by jointly supporting school activities together with the families and the community." Given the precariousness of teaching in Brazil, forcing professionals to have more than one job, the challenge was maimed without one wing to make the flight possible. But that does not mean we were subtracted from our responsibilities.

The Act, in turn, determines the direct transfer of funds in order to allow each school to develop its pedagogical project, according to the number of students regularly attending it, (art.75, § 3), and schools are always struggling to meet the requirement, thus enabling them to the resources in question. The Political Pedagogical Project requires the participation of all segments of the school community for its definition and implementation, which has not always happened. To comply with the law, many schools and even systems simply copy this project design from others, without taking into account the local peculiarities and needs.

Conclusion

The new legislation and the reform that followed it launched the challenge of inventing democracy in Brazilian schools. Inventing because it never actually came into practice before, although ardently defended in theory since the 1930's. The mishaps of dictatorial periods were not enough to kill the seed planted by the New Education Pioneers in 1932. However, as we have seen, some stains still need to be removed so that the progress made in the letter of the law might be fully met. The first and perhaps the most difficult one reclines on the traditional practice of patronage. The extirpation of the idea that the position of school principal is a political office to be fulfilled by parties and politicians needs to be completed to avoid sudden changes every time new groups emerge after elections, interrupting important work being painfully carried out by the latter. This practice is still quite common in the country, resulting in discontinuity of actions at schools and launching to the ground plans aiming at establishing new values and practices.

We are aware that the implementation of a fully democratic management in schools is an idea to be permanently pursued by the school community, because we know from experience that the election of principals by the school community does not automatically produce a democratic management. It is necessary to engage all segments of the school (principals, directors, faculty, student body, staff, parents and surrounding community) in this challenge, enhancing real and not just formal participation of all parts. As these actions are not part of the traditions of most of our schools, there arises a need for instituting a movement to implement new habits, new mentalities. And we know very well the difficulties of producing such a movement and keeping it alive.

Even schools that have adopted the principle of democratization face all sorts of difficulties in its implementation. These are bureaucratic requirements, financial and material difficulties, and all sorts of issues arising from instituting new ideas that seek to take root in the feuds of old established ideas.

These difficulties and obstacles need to be overcome, not only because they are prescribed by legal requirements, but also and primarily because of an ethical and moral principle. We believe it is necessary to (re)invent democracy at schools. For, after all, democracy is an invention, a legacy of British and French philosophers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for humanity. But this legacy is nothing but a cluster of ideas if it cannot be transformed into an invention and achievement for each and every one of us. In this struggle against authoritarian ideas there is no room for paternalism or naive thoughts. No one will give us a free democracy for our enjoyment - it will only exist if we invent it in our daily personal and professional life, making it instituted and nurtured into our minds.

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Keywords: Education, Cultures and identities

This paper seeks to investigate the relationship of education with factors connected to differences, such as race, color, regional origin, gender, generation and social class in different cultural processes and socialization instances. This is a research with an interdisciplinary character, privileging as central thematic the relationships between education and culture in different social contexts.

Our research problem is the reception and the perception of the difference and its consequences to the docent work and to the school as a whole. We look forward investigating how the reception is done and if exist differences in treatment in relation to students and professors from different ethnicities, genders, age groups or migrants, both internal and external.

The school's routine and the docent work pass through a process of significant changes through the XX century which configure a reality marked contradictorily by ruptures and continuities. In the bow of this process it is possible to verify the increasing importance attributed to the subjective aspects of education and docent work.

This way, this work involves a circulation through the disciplines: education, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, language, politics, history and even geography. This route is necessary in order to analyze the change, which involves a multiplicity of factors, refers to the exam of ruptures, such as: family ties, pertinence groups, behaviors, values, culture, production relationship, among others, that historically have done its ways and its characteristics.

According to Konder (2006, p.20): *Marx remembers that the educator is also educated: before exercising his forming influence, he, himself, is formed by the system in which he is inserted.* And he affirms that the educator, in the dialogue with his students, transmits not only knowledge, but also convictions. (KONDER, 2006, p.20). Such affirmations endorse the importance of studying the subjective aspects of teaching, the context in which professors are inserted, the interpersonal relationships and its values and religious convictions.

Remember Claparède (1973) to whom: the "education custom-made" is the dream of everyone that think it is an absurd to teach the same thing in the same moment, with the same methods, to different students. We question, is there any master custom-made? How does the school, homogenizing by principle and definition, treats the differences? Hybridism, ethical and racial diversity, new political and cultural identities: these are

Multiculturalism and cultural diversity at school's routine

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terms so directly related to the label multiculturalism.

Nowadays debates in the area of education, multiculturalism arises as an answer to this question. However, we cannot forget that multiculturalism is at the same time a theoretical body and a political field. According to authors such as Semprini (1999) and Grant (2000), for referring to the necessity of understanding the society as constituted of plural identities, based on the diversity of races, genders, social class, cultural and linguistic standards, skills and other identity markers, the multiculturalism constitutes an epistemological rupture with the modernity project, which believes in homogeneity and “natural” evolution of humanity leading to an accumulation of knowledge that would bring to the construction of universal progress.

According to Hall:

The old identities, that for so long have stabilized the social world, are in decline, making new identities to emerge and breaking up the modern individual, until now seen as a unified subject. Therefore, the so called “identity crisis” is seen as part of a larger process of change, which is shifting structures and central processes of modern societies and shaking the reference boxes that used to give individuals a stable anchorage in the social world. (HALL, 2006, P.7).

On the other side, it is necessary to take in account that the multicultural project is inserted in a post-modern view of the society, in which the diversity, the discontinuity and the difference are noticed as central categories. On the same way, contrasting to the modern and illuminist perception of identity as an essence, stable and fixed, the multiculturalism notices it as decentered, multiple in a permanent process of construction and reconstruction. Therefore, if the cultural diversity follows the human history, the political tone in cultural differences is dated of the intensification of economic globalization processes.

The multiculturalism term designates a fact, societies are composed of culturally distinct groups, but also a policy that seeks the pacific co-existence of different ethnic and cultural groups. The debate about cultural differences and the ways to deal with them begins in the US, mainly from the studies about immigrants and their insertion in the North-American culture. Especially after the 70s of the XX century, when discussions over the multiculturalism, followed debates about post-modernism and about the effects of post-colonization in the contemporaneous world.

Considering the polysemy of the term multiculturalism and its diverse approaches, it is important to highlight that in its most critical approach, also called critical multiculturalism or critical intercultural perspective (CANEN, 1999, 2001; CANEN & MOREIRA, 2001; MCLAREN, 2000), it seeks going beyond the valuation of cultural diversity in folkloric or exotic terms, (the one which, according to Stuart Hall (2003), “celebrates the difference without making any difference”) to question their own construction of differences, and therefore, of stereotypes and prejudices against the ones noticed as “different” in the middle of unequal and excluding societies.

A multiculturally sensitive classroom provides every student with opportunities to achieve his or her potential. It allows students to understand and appreciate their own culture while recognizing its similarities and differences to other cultures and perspectives in society.

Developing a multicultural approach to education is an ongoing process, not an instantaneous accomplishment. There is no limit to how multiculturally competent a teacher can become because improvement is always possible.

Multicultural education relates to education and instruction designed for the cultures of several different races in an educational system. This approach to teaching and learning is based upon consensus building, respect, and fostering cultural pluralism within racial societies. Multicultural education acknowledges and incorporates positive racial idiosyncrasies into classroom atmospheres.

Adopting the critical multiculturalism as the guiding horizon of education and of the formation of professors in multicultural and unequal societies, such as Brazil, but also as Portugal and the United Kingdom, means to incorporate, in the curricular speeches and in the discursive practices, challenges to the notions that seek the essentialization of identities, understanding them as, an opposite, as constructions, always temporary, contingents and unfinished (CANEN, 2001; CANEN & MOREIRA, 2001; MCLAREN, 2000; SILVA, 2000).

The place of work of the professors allows a constant contact with cultural elements of the community where the school is located, such as clothing, gestures, accents, music, religious expressions, etc.. Such cultural plurality may be seen as an ally or even as an issue to the docent work. This professional, for instance, sees himself in situations that he must choose between the reception, the tolerance or even the rejection to certain culture elements that he has contact at his everyday work.

As an empirical reference, it was used the data of a research of qualitative approach, proceeding to a deep analysis of a certain environment looking forward to contributing to get to know more about the reality of a society. Therefore, we analyzed a public school of fundamental education in the municipality of Nova Iguaçu, located in Baixada Fluminense, metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro. This school is located in a neighborhood near the center of Nova Iguaçu, it has 33 employees, and 2 students shifts (morning and afternoon), attending 188 students of Infant's Education from the 5th year of Basic Education, and basically attends students from poor stratifications.

The data for this research was collected with interviews semi-structured, aiming professors, staff and also with participant observation, in the period between the months from February to July 2010. The interviews allowed the registration and the analysis about the subjects at school, regarding sex, age, religious, formation, time performing in the education area, function at school and questions related to the school's curriculum and diverse culture manifestation at school in contact with the values of the respondents.

At many moments it was noticed the presence of proper elements of the community's culture where the school is located. Many professors live in other municipalities and find in Nova Iguaçu the opportunity to teach in a public school. Regarding students, most of them lived very close to the school, but among them, there are the ones who moved recently to the neighborhood, as they migrated from other municipalities or even from other states of Brazil.

The observed class was the one of the 5th school year, which has only 26 students between 10 and 14 years old. The teacher of this class is 42 years old, teaching for eight years in public schools. This professional is natural from Rio de Janeiro, but from the west zone of the capital, and moved a few years ago to Nilópolis, a municipality next to Nova Iguaçu.

The questions which involved local culture and the contact with migrant people are present in class. In the class we researched, there are some migrants and children of migrants, especially the ones coming from the Northeast Region of Brazil, despite being famous for tourism due to the pleasant weather and beautiful beaches, this is a region where the negative indexes predominate: high child's mortality, low level of education and low income. All this make the north-eastern migrants and their children to be stigmatized.

Many times this stigmatization extends to the north-eastern culture. We may quote, for an example, what occurred during a Brazilian history class, when, during the exposition about the sugar mills, one of the students declared herself as a migrant from the state of Paraíba and said that 'rapadura' is a sweet very appreciated in her homeland. The teacher took advantage of her statement to tell the class that she likes 'rapadura' a lot as well, and got the reaction of many students saying they do not like this kind of sweet.

Equally worth mentioning are the episodes in which kids coming from the North-East are discriminated for their accent or for the use of words which are not common in the South-East region of the country. Common examples are the cases in which kids ask to go to the “casinha” (little house) instead of asking to use the toilet, or when they refer to their parents as “mainha” and “painho”, while in the South-East of Brazil, it is used simply mãe (mom) and pai (dad).

Such cases always render lots of mockery and accusations. “So-and-so does not know how to speak properly” or “So-and-so speaks weird” are phrases repeatedly heard in such occasions. It is worth highlighting that the municipality of the mentioned school is located in the metropolitan region of the city of Rio de Janeiro has a low level of economic development, its students are coming from poor stratifications and usually they are children of migrants.

Another subject which is highlighted in the cultural diversity is the religiousness. During the interviews with teachers, the words repeatedly were related to acting always with respect of different religious belief, despite being related, by 2 of the responders, of having already suffered from discrimination in public environment for having a religious different than from the majority. We observe that students who follow Afro-Brazilian religious are much stigmatized.

The observed teacher declares herself as evangelic religious and affirms that she acts with respect with the diversity of religious at school. She did not deny, however, the fact of bringing with her, the values and beliefs and to expose them at school. So, many times it was noticed that the religious values of this professional were made present, such as the celebrating of the Christian Easter, which involved the whole school. Another moment, she talks about aliments and makes a question to the class regarding who created the aliments, receiving the unison answer that it was God who created all the things. At this moment, prevailed the thought of the teacher, ignoring the different beliefs among students.

The model which prevails in class is still the one of assimilation. As Watt (2006) states:

The assimilationist approach to the cultural and ethnic diversity may be summarized as “when in Rome, do like the Romanians, or suffer the consequences”. The classical assimilationist approach sees the ethnic and cultural diversity as a source of division and of conflict and tends to presume that minority ethnic groups are insufficient and needy of cultural capital. This approach promotes the absorption of minorities in a system of “common” values which was seen as the only way to go.

The observations done during fieldwork raise some questions, such as: how does the docent, who professes a religiosity, deals with class themes that are oppose to his/her belief? Are the relationship of this teacher with students and colleagues of other ethnics, regional origins, social class and/or religious are of reception or exclusion? Is the docent practice influenced so it goes through the principle of this differentiation in class? How is diversified culture taught by the teacher at school? Are the existent texts regarding multi and inter-culturalism enough for these questions?

Learners from diverse multicultural groups, children with disabilities, and gay and lesbian youth will continue to present challenges to schools and those providing educational and support services. The development of educational curriculums that enhance awareness, knowledge, and skills for students is vital if schools are to provide culturally relevant, respectful, and affirming teaching environments. To that end, the development of culturally sensitive assessment and intervention strategies, multicultural consultation, and professional training needs to take place. Structured along the lines of awareness, knowledge, and skills development, such actions will enhance diversity within the school environment. The diverse student and community can be conceptualized as a wonderful and exciting element of the world we live in, and not as a hindrance to the educational process. The authentic involvement of parents as active and

empowered members of the school community will link school staff with the diverse learner, further increasing and affirming cultural diversity within our school settings.

This reflection looks forward to contributing to improve the docent practice facing the cultural plurality in which this professional is inserted nowadays. This plurality may be marked by many interest conflicts and divergences, but we do believe that the reflection makes us closer to the postures adopted and the view of the other over the practice in class may enrich and contribute to more tolerant and receptive attitudes facing differences of thinking.

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Abstract: The article reports the results of a survey conducted under the Post-doctoral internship of the Languages and Cultures Department of the University of Aveiro (Universidade de Aveiro), which analyzed the social representations of Portugal and the Portuguese in the History textbooks of Brazilian elementary school and the possible existence of stereotypes. Methodologically, this study is aligned to content analysis in order to detect any discrepancies between the recommendations of the proposed documents and the discourse of history textbooks approved by the Brazilian National Textbook Program (Plano Nacional do Livro Didático Brasileiro) of 2008. The conclusions of the study point to the fact that it can be said that despite the normative concerns of Brazilian education towards fighting inequality of treatment and stereotypes, and that these normative concerns are transposed into the teaching of history, it can be seen that part of the stereotypes regarding Portugal and the Portuguese which were present in the historical evolution of Portugal's relations with Brazil, are still present in Brazilian elementary school textbooks for the subject of History.

Keywords: Cultural studies; Social representations; Portugal; History; Textbooks

1. Introduction

The present article reports the results of a survey conducted under the Post-doctoral Internship of the Languages and Cultures Department of the University of Aveiro (Universidade de Aveiro), which analyzed the social representations of Portugal and the Portuguese in the History textbooks of Brazilian Elementary School and the possible existence of stereotypes.

The urgency of the study was associated to the fact that in legislation, Brazilian society assigns special attention to combating stereotypes, prejudice and racism, extending this concern to the educational context. Given these references for best practices, the identification of a stereotype in the social representations of Portugal and the Portuguese in the textbooks analyzed, will be synonymous to a contradiction between the proposed legislation and the reality of Brazilian education.

2. Theoretical path

2.1. Normative concerns of Brazilian education towards fighting inequality of treatment and stereotypes

The promotion of equal rights and the appreciation of diversity

Social representations of Portugal and the Portuguese in the history textbooks of Brazilian elementary education

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through fighting against stereotypes, prejudice and racism, are concerns of the Brazilian state, finding themselves expressed in the “Preamble” of the Federal Constitution. The same line of thought is reinforced in Title I: “Fundamental principles” and in Title II “Fundamental Rights and Guarantees”. The normative determinations of Brazilian education have reproduced what is expressed in the Federal Constitution. The concerns regarding the promotion of equal rights and the appreciation of diversity, are expressed in the Directives and Bases of National Education and were further detailed in the Curriculum Parameters for elementary education. Still within the scope of the promotion of equal rights and the appreciation of diversity, through education, particular attention has been devoted to textbooks. This is recorded, for example, in the National Textbook Program (PNLD) of 2008.

Considering what is stated in the Brazilian Federal Constitution and in the Brazilian education documents referenced, the subject of History, as an integral part of the elementary school curriculum, as well as its textbooks, has a contribution to make in promoting the premises leading to the promotion of equal rights and the appreciation of diversity. The subject of History, according to the National Curriculum Parameters (BRAZIL, 1998), must enable the perception of others and ourselves, in a duality that provides coping with heterogeneity and the distinguishing characteristics of groups and cultures, their values, interests and identities. This process of recognition of differences should not be based on “relations of domination, submission, prejudice or inequality” (BRASIL, 1998: 35). To achieve this, the subject of History, should avoid working with simplifications, whether they be of heroic characters, groups or periods, in this case reducing study to the identification of dates and facts. For their part, history course textbooks cannot, according to the PNLD public notice of 2008, express, induce or reinforce prejudices and stereotypes, as well as associations that depreciate ethnic or racial groups, or devalue their contribution to the community.

2.2. Social representations of Portugal and the Portuguese in the historical evolution of Brazilian society

The construction of Brazilian history and its people has, since the beginning, been accompanied by social representations in relation to Portugal and the Portuguese, conditioned by the influence of political events, but also by economic and socio-cultural events that occurred in both countries. Within the bibliographic references consulted, elements can be found, which enable one to state that, historically, various demonstrations of anti-Portuguese feelings occurred in Brazil. From the ideas of Rocha-Trindade and Metin (2009), it can be noted that after independence, Brazil divided by different ways of understanding its position towards Portugal, lived periods of strong anti-Lusitanian feelings. This would have occurred with greater frequency towards the late XIX century and early XX century. But according to Hahner (1976), it is possible to further adjectivize the anti-Portuguese feeling after Brazil’s independence, nicknaming it “lusophobia”. To this feeling of “lusophobia” can also be associated the immigration of the Portuguese to Brazil, which for Lessa (2002), initially blended with the conquest and colonization, it was intensified after the independence and went into the XX century.

In contemporary times, Portugal, especially since its integration into the European Union, transformed itself, looking now to appear to Brazil as an exporter of productive investments, some in high-tech sectors, and no longer as a mere exporter of under qualified manpower for small companies in commerce, services and agriculture. Portugal, symbolically, also becomes a gateway for Brazilians traveling to Europe and a country of immigration, moving on to receive Brazilians who wish to improve their lives in the old continent. For Mendes (2003), anti-Portuguese prejudice is seeing a decline in Brazil, noticing on the part of intellectuals and young Brazilians a new curiosity for Portuguese culture, being recognized as a manifestation of novelty and no longer as an exponent of archaism.

2.3. Dimensions of the Portuguese identity based on the ideas of Eduardo Lourenço

To help in understanding the presence of stereotypes regarding Portugal and the Portuguese in Brazilian society, the study also presented some peculiarities of the Portuguese expansion, especially those associated to the Lusitanian relationship with Brazil and vice versa. This reflection was done based on the ideas of Emeritus Professor Eduardo Lourenço. The author finds in several of his works, the Portuguese identity in a space mediated throughout its history by the following dimensions: **Portugal**, associated to a proposed mythological image of the country; Empire, as a negotiating space between the imaginary and the concrete space of commerce, of power, of evangelization and of culture; and **Europe** which enables Portugal, to amplify and reinforce what the Portuguese are and have. Within the dimension of Portugal the author states that the country suffers from a hyperidentity solidly anchored in the conviction of its former greatness the loss of which was compensated over time in the Messianic plan. Portugal demonstrates simultaneously a superiority complex over other peoples, to whom a destiny of greatness would not have been conceded - support posture of hyperidentity - and an inferiority complex, explained by considering themselves a small, poor and peripheral nation within Europe (LOURENÇO, 1990). To hide this feeling of being a fragile country, Portugal appealed to a belief in a mystical destiny, which suspends the present and focuses on what happened (or could have happened) and on the future in which is projected this destiny of greatness, which was interrupted by the decline of the empire (LOURENÇO, 1990). Portugal is currently experiencing a time when, despite no longer being “the center of the world” (LOURENÇO, 2008), for the first time “lives itself and even begins to be seen by others” (LOURENÇO, 1999, p.142). Therefore, Portugal must prepare for a sincere and free confrontation, so that it may evaluate what it has and what it still needs (LOURENÇO, 2000).

In the context of the dimension: Empire, for Eduardo Lourenço, the history of the West revolves around an imperial idea, a universal vocation. Portugal, demonstrated since the beginning an impulse for non-European destinations (LOURENÇO, 1990). This image, created by Portugal, of apparent consecration of their role as “discoverer of new lands and new heavens” (LOURENÇO, 1999), was not real and arose mainly from Portuguese imaginary (LOURENÇO, 1988). During its colonial experience, Portugal served itself symbolically of the potential magnitudes of the colonies (LOURENÇO, 1976). They were aggregated to Portugal creating a large imaginary nation, as a compensatory space to hyper-compensate or hide its evident metropolitan smallness (LOURENÇO, 1976, p. 29). The end of the five-hundred-year empire and return to the space of the XV century between the Minho and Guadiana rivers, had little practical consequences, since, as was already stated, it had not existed in practice but only in the imagination (LOURENÇO, 1992). Still concerning the reflection that Eduardo Lourenço proposes about the empire, and this time regarding Brazil, for the author, there is a distance between Brazil and Portugal, which more than physical, is eminently a cultural distance which separates the imaginaries and the cultural discourses of the two countries. Brazil chose early to withdraw from the past and be exclusively the future. (LOURENÇO, 2000).

In the context of the European dimension, Eduardo Lourenço states that for centuries the West lived spontaneously in the conviction that they would be the subject of a tendentiously universal history. However despite this western feeling, only by the domination of the sea, Western history became for the first time world history (LOURENÇO, 1990). The outward expansion of Europe took place due to a number of factors, such as: commerce (LOURENÇO, 2000), the thirst for power, scientific curiosity, religious effervescence, the exploitation of the wealth and labor of others (LOURENÇO, 2000). For over five centuries Europe has exported itself “through its commerce, its *savoir faire*, its ideas, its fashions, and its religion” (LOURENÇO, 2000, p. 52). However its outward

expansion from itself ended up removing it from the position of the privileged player in world history. Faced with globalization, Europe lost the ability to be an active political player and intervenor in the destinies of the world. (LOURENÇO, 2001b).

In the context of the European expansion, Eduardo Lourenço states that before the XIX century, apart from the English, the departure of Europeans from Europe did not constitute a real immigration (LOURENÇO, 2000). “The Iberian colonists until a later period were hyper-Castilian or hyper-Portuguese, or simply Spanish and Portuguese from the new world - all but emigrants. And the least emigrant of all were the Portuguese who would set out to a territory which they already considered as theirs and in it act as if they had never left home” (LOURENÇO, 2000. p. 47).

The Portuguese colonization is treated as self-justified by the need to civilize the colonized people. Thus providing an external cause, while the Portuguese are presented as an innocent agent. It occurs as non-colonization, since there are no differences between the metropolis and the colony (LOUREÇO, 1976). In the case of Brazil, considering the traditional relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, it can be stated that a *sui generis* colonization took place. We talk about auto-colonization, because in Brazil’s case the colonizer/colonized distinction does not apply, nor could you speak of an actual colony, because it is from the Portuguese self-colonization that Brazil and the Brazilians emerged. In the process of Brazil’s auto-colonization the Bandeirantes are particularly relevant, recognized as “the Portuguese of Brazil” and considered as “the authors of the auto-colonization of which Brazil and the Brazilians are a result of” and “agents” “of one of the most monstrous genocides in human history” against the Indians that according to Eduardo Lourenço were “assimilated”, “decimated” and “repelled”. However Brazil’s origin is rooted in other protagonists, involving at first the (forced) presence of Africans and later by a diverse European or Asian emigration of fertile dynamism (LOURENÇO, 2000).

2.4. The context of Brazilian public policies within the History textbooks

The production, distribution and consumption of textbooks for the subject of History in Brazil, have been over time, regulated by various normative determinations, in an effort to avoid stereotypes and discrimination. To understand the context of the production, distribution and consumption of textbooks in general and specifically for History books in Brazil, as well as seek to understand the mechanisms for the evaluation of History books, aiming to avoid stereotypes and discrimination, we present a brief characterization of its evolution in the Brazilian educational context, as well as the development of the selection criteria defined by the Brazilian Ministry of Education for the textbooks of the subject.

This report is based on the “Characterization of the History area” presented in the “National Curriculum Parameters for History and Geography 1st - 4th grade. The introduction of history as an autonomous school subject occurred in 1837. The Brazilian state, which was organizing itself politically, needed to search in the past, a reference for the future and the teaching of history was a propaganda vehicle that legitimized its existence, creating the foundations of the national unity (ZAMBONI, 2003). History is reported as an indisputable truth, and the occurrences presented as a continuous and linear succession of events (SILVEIRA, 2010).

In the late XIX century, new challenges arise for the teaching of history, now associated with the transformation occurred by the abolition of slavery, the establishment of the Republic and the ideas of patriotic nationalism, the search for the rationalization of labor relations and the migratory current (BRAZIL, 1997). It is desired that History assume a role of modeling a citizen for work (civilizational process) within the context of a nation (patriotic process) (BRAZIL, 1997). The curricular reforms

made by Francisco Campos in 1931 and Gustavo Capanema in 1942, continued to have as guiding principles in the teaching of history, the formation of national consciousness and the strengthening of the principle of nationality as essential promoters for political life. This vision will underlie the official teaching of history in Brazil until the 70s (ABUD, 1998; ZAMBONI, 2003).

Law n. 5.692/71 substitutes History and Geography as autonomous subjects, for Social Studies, as there was an emptying and/or dilution of its objects of study (BRASIL, 2001).

The process of democratization of the 80s is marked by curricular reforms, influenced by historiographical views that propose the revising of the formalism of the traditional historical approach, maintained in the presentation of the historical process in a Eurocentric space-time axis, according to an evolutionary, sequential and homogeneous process. The aim now is to stimulate the students' awareness of the issues associated with social history, culture and daily life. The goal is that they assume their condition of a regular person, an integral part and agent of History (BRASIL, 1998).

This fact was noted in the production of the textbooks, for example, with regard to the renewal of content and language, seeking conciliation between the visual, oral and written.

During this period, the subjects of history and geography are again taught individually.

The textbooks, rooted in traditional practices for teaching history, were criticized, especially with regard to the simplified texts, content laden with ideologies and exercises that do not require reasoning (BRAZIL, 2001).

In facing students coming from contrasting realities, socially and culturally different, the need arises to rethink the design of a History that has no relation to the present, is sequential and based on a singular past. The textbooks should incorporate these new perspectives and ratify the need for a selection of significant historical content, seeking to change mindsets and rupture intolerance and prejudice.

3. Methodological references

The study used the content analysis that according to Laurence Bardin (1977), is used in the qualitative scope, when the intention is to go beyond the immediate significance, considering the presence or absence of a particular characteristic of content or a group of characteristics in a particular process of communication. To Bardin (1977), the analysis of content seeks in certain situations, a correspondence between the linguistic structures and psychological or sociological structures of communication, whether verbal or non-verbal. For example, in this study we tried to evidence the representations of Portugal and the Portuguese (structure of social representation), present in the content of the History textbooks in Brazilian elementary school (linguistic and semantic structure). Given the fact that Bardin (1997) states that the analysis of content applies to all forms of communication, regardless of the format, the study set out to work with the type of linguistic communication associated with written code (text), as well as visual/iconographic communication (diagrams, photos, tables, maps, drawings).

In this research, the analysis of content will be performed using descriptive procedures, this involved working with data, organizing them, searching for patterns and regularities; dividing them into categories; synthesizing them, finding out what is important and what should be communicated (BOGDAN e BLIKEN, 1994).

3.1. Universe

The present study used the evaluation of the Ministry of Education of Brazil for the books about the History of Brazil, in elementary school, from the 5th to 9th grades, under the National Textbook

Program (2008) as an aid for the selection of the books used in the study. The articles with the best evaluation each year were selected:

APOLINÁRIO, Maria Raquel. *Projeto Araribá - história*: 9th grade. São Paulo: Moderna, 2007.

BRAICK, Patrícia Ramos. MOTA, Myriam Becho. *História - Das Cavernas ao Terceiro Milênio*: 8th grade. São Paulo: Moderna, 2006.

OLIVEIRA, Maria da Conceição C.; MIUCCI, Carla Miucci Ferraresi; Santos, Andréa Paula. *História em projetos*: 6th grade. São Paulo: Ática, 2007.

CARDOSO, Oldimar Pontes. *História Hoje*: 5th and 6th grade. São Paulo: Ática, 2006.

3.2. The categorical analysis

In the study the categories were established, first, considering an initial quick/surface reading of the text, with the intention of obtaining a global perception of its content, in order to try to perceive a common thread in the various texts, detecting regularities in discourse and searching for meanings beyond the text sequence. The process of building categories later involved, the need to carry out multiple readings of the data and revisions of the categories defined previously, due to the clarification that was sought, aiming at deepening the analysis that the study set out to perform. The categories were divided into units of meaning (context and record) grouped by analogies of meaning (BOGDAN and BIKLEN, 1994).

The categories and subcategories are presented in the tables below:

	Categories	Africa/ Asia	Brazil
Portugal	Circumstances of the expansion	*	
	Objectives of the expansion	*	*
	Slavery	*	*
	Nature of the administration	*	*
	Religious influence	*	*
	Relationship with the local people	*	*
	Influence received from the local people	*	*
	Economic circumstances of the expansion and colonial presence	*	*
	Funding of the expansion and colonial presence	*	
	Internal situation in Portugal before, during expansion and colonial presence	*	*
	Relationship with other European people before, during expansion and colonial presence	*	*
	Consequences of the presence of the Portuguese		*
Brazil	Preceding independence		
	After independence		

4. Analysis and interpretation of data

The analysis of the data allowed for some interpretations, which subsequently will be crossed

with the objectives having the final considerations in mind. In the textbooks examined for the study, **Portugal is displayed as having weak political stance.** The country arises from the donation of territory by the King of Leon and Castile, as a result of services rendered in the fight against the Moors and the conquest of their territories. Portugal's *precarious independence* is put at risk at various times, the first time a loss was avoided as a result of the alliance of the Portuguese monarchy with representatives of the commercial sector who would promote the process of expansion with evidently commercial intentions and the second time, Portugal ended up falling into the domain of the Kingdom of Castile. A third episode of a possible loss of independence occurs with the French invasions, in which the king of Portugal is forced to flee to Brazil. At the time the country ended up being ruled by a representative of England, which in practice put Portugal under the control of England. The *territorial vulnerability* of the Portuguese is also expressed in the attacks of multiple countries to their colonies, losing in the East almost all of their forts and trading posts attacked and conquered by the English, Dutch and French. In Brazil the attacks are led by the Dutch, French, English and Spanish. When dividing the large colonial cake in Africa the Portuguese Empire despite having roots in overseas expansion, is pointed out as already being in decline. The Portuguese seek to achieve an *alliance with the bourgeoisie as a way to ensure the expansion*. Portugal has its *intentions of expanding diluted* in the purposes of the commercial sector of Europe that simply sought access to wealth, by means of an advance to the south of Africa and the search for a sea route to the east, facing what was then a serious economic crisis. In this process, Portugal is associated with the *beginning of economic globalization and strategies of domination* and exploitation exacted upon the peoples of the African, Asian and American continents by the European people. In their expansion project the Portuguese counted with the *support of the Catholic Church*, in addition to the support of the bourgeoisie. The church not only supplied soldiers, but also provided financial resources for the undertaking. In Brazil, the Portuguese counted with the Catholic Church to keep the colony within the rules of European society, convincing the natives to adopt the Portuguese culture. *European navigators and research conducted in Portugal by foreign scholars enabled the Portuguese to achieve the knowledge necessary to the consolidation of the expeditions.* The exchange of information and experiences, as well as the study of knowledge about navigation left by ancient peoples, allowed the development of innovative vessels, new maps and the perfecting of nautical instruments. An example of the concealment of the Portuguese contribution to the expansion process, is in the statement that the conquest of the city of Ceuta in northern Africa was carried out by the Portuguese in service of Infante Dom Henrique. The devaluation of the performance of the Portuguese in the expansion process can be signaled when referring to northern Africa, the Portuguese in the service of Infante Dom Henrique, conquered the city of Ceuta. It is possible to identify in the text the Portuguese actions being associated with the aid of external entities. The arrival of Vasco da Gama to the Indies had the help of an Arab pilot who led the boats to the destination and the Bandeirantes become the main people responsible for the territorial expansion of the Portuguese colony in the Americas and for the discovery of metals and precious stones in the interior of Brazil. Brazil would not be a Portuguese colony, but instead a huge country conquered by the Bandeirantes. It is further stated that Portugal's overseas space besides the military and administrative organization, also featured a religious organization favoring the Portuguese presence. Another detail that devalues the Portuguese initiatives is associated with the need to pay large sums in exchange for the support of several organizations with which Portugal maintains relations. Portugal obtained the Vatican's support, by the lifetime payment of amounts to the Vatican and the Portuguese paid fees to African leaders to implement the trading posts, build forts and do business. In exchange they had guaranteed security and support for commerce and even the slave trade.

The image of the protagonists of Portugal's history and the moments of its intervention in the historical process are caricatured, when it is claimed that Vasco da Gama reached India with only three ships and a crew of badly dressed and smelly men who instead of appearing as ambassadors of a powerful kingdom, are mistaken for pirates. The Raja also considers the Portuguese gifts very poor. Associated with a cartoonish vision, one can also present the replacement of Bartolomeu Dias, who after his pioneering journey to the southern end of the African continent, received orders to prepare the necessary vessels for one to India and when he finished, saw the command of the expedition being delivered to the noble Vasco da Gama. The king wanted the first commander to represent Portugal in India to be a noble and not just a navigator. On the other hand, it is stated that the possibility of Lisbon falling into French hands and the Bragança dynasty being overthrown from the power, left prince Dom João and the Portuguese Court in panic. To anticipate such an event, they gathered what they could and embarked hastily en route to Rio de Janeiro. The day of the departure is described as having torrential rains and at the moment of the escape queen mother Dona Maria I, characterized as suffering from mental issues, shouted: "Do not run so much! They'll think we're fleeing."

The Portuguese expansion in addition to being associated with the commercial side, is also considered a process of violence. The Portuguese were among the main *controllers of the slave trade*. The *commercialization of people from Africa was a major source of profits* for the Portuguese Crown. The organization commerce of people captured in Africa to Portuguese America was operated by commercial companies. Still in the context of a dynamic of violence associated with the presence of Portugal in Brazil, it is stated that relations between the American colonies and European metropolis were conflicting since the beginning of colonization. This was a result of the *brutality of the conquest* and the natives' resistance to it. The people sent by the court to Portuguese America had the role of organizing the colonial economy for *the enrichment of the metropolis*. First there occurred a *conquest with the genocide of the Indians and later a colonization using African slavery*. Both the indigenous, as well as the Africans resisted slavery throughout the whole time in which slavery existed in Brazil and to escape it went to *war against the Portuguese colonists*. The enslavement of both the indigenous and Africans, became common, in some regions African slavery predominated and in others indigenous slavery. To free themselves from the domination of the Portuguese which reduced them to slavery, thousands of indigenous and black slaves *escaped and migrated*, many of them *dying along the way*. Apart from attempting the political and economic dominance of Brazil, the Portuguese also tried to *enslave and culturally subjugate the native peoples*, trying to impose their habits, their beliefs and values. The presence of blacks in Portuguese America is also deeply marked by cultural violence and slavery.

Portugal is presented as a country that cannot convert wealth, fruit of the expansion, in favor of their development. While the Portuguese consolidate the process of expansion in Africa and Asia and ships from France, Flanders and Germany come to Lisbon seeking salt and spices, *the common people live poorly and are poorly fed*. From the extraction of pau-brasil (Brazilwood), the first product that caught the interest of the Portuguese, to the production of sugar in the mills and the discovery of the mines, all *profits went back to Portugal*. However *the country depended on the taxes collected from the exploitation in Brazil to sustain its economy and pay its debts to England*. The country does not always make the most consensual decisions when it comes to the agreements they conclude. The examples of the fumbled agreements with the Netherlands and England are detailed.

Most of the sugar produced in Brazil was bought by the Dutch. After being refined it was sold in Europe at high prices, generating huge profits for the Dutch economy. However the deal weakens and the Dutch, who had invaded Brazil, ended up signing a peace treaty, in which they give up Portuguese America, but in return receive a compensation of four million cruzados, plus the ownership of two Portuguese colonies. Upon leaving Brazil, the Dutch started producing sugar in the Antilles, which is closer to Europe, this allows the sugar they sell to be cheaper than that produced by the Portuguese. This competition caused the sugar to stop yielding large profits which until then had been sustaining Portugal's wealth. Tax privileges are granted for goods from England after the coming of D. João VI to the colony and the Brazilians are pressured to keep it the same after the independence. The consequence of this decision led Brazilian society to become, for a long time, a consumer of British manufactures.

The obtainment of profits with the intensive exploitation of Brazil's natural resources is presented as the main concern of the Portuguese in Brazil, being that this exploitation ended up not bringing advantages to the development of Brazil and Portugal. At the heart of this situation was the carelessness of Portugal with the administration of their colony in Latin America. The Portuguese initially hoped to find precious metals and stones near the coast. Since this did not happen, they began to cut down pau-brasil (Brazilwood) which quickly became almost extinct. Following this time the colonial society of Portuguese America turns to the sugar mills. When sugar stopped yielding the large profits which until then had been sustaining Portugal's wealth, the interest in precious metals and stones became even more urgent. At that moment they explore the interior of the territory avail themselves of the Bandeirantes for this purpose. This process of exploitation of natural resources in Brazil was accompanied in parallel by the carelessness of their administration. The king of Portugal began the colonization of Brazilian territory, based on the logic of delivering the administrative tasks to his friends and the friends of his friends. This caused problems associated with corruption, which the Portuguese were not able to fight off effectively. Patronage and nepotism were typical behaviors of officials from the Portuguese state. The neglect of public goods was frequent in the colony. To control the attitudes of the colonists and see to it that they would effectively guarantee Portugal's interests, the King of Portugal sent employees to America. However they would end up getting close with colonial society and in exchange for privileges and bribes, would rarely bother the powerful colonists. The king himself did not care much about corruption as long as taxes were paid and his power over the colony was recognized.

The colonial movement arises in Brazil, led by people with great economic power and who had been born in the colony, who felt rejected and harmed by the policies implemented by the metropolis. They aimed for a reduction in the economic intervention of the metropolis in Brazilian political and administrative affairs and to reduce taxes. And later start to question the very domination of the metropolis over the colony. This sentiment of political independence was stimulated by external events, such as the Enlightenment ideals, the independence of the United States and the French Revolution, whose political, economic and social proposals were transmitted by Brazilian students studying in Europe.

In Portuguese America the best known rebellions are: the Inconfidência Mineira which had as its main reason the payment of taxes, the Conjuração Baiana which sought to declare independence, establish a republic and abolish slavery and the Insurreição Pernambucana (1817) that took down the governor of Pernambuco, established a republican government, created new laws, determining the end of certain taxes, freedom of press and religion and maintaining the right to own private property,

including slaves. All these movements *were violently crushed by the colonial government*.

In addition to the marks left by slavery and by the generalization of the consequences of corrupt practices, the Portuguese management also brought to Brazil's future, the unequal distribution of land and income, and foreign debt, initiated immediately following Brazil's independence. Still within the scope of the consequences of Portugal on Brazil, a population increase due to the entrance of immigrants, mainly young, unskilled and derived largely from Portugal's rural areas, is presented.

The consequences of Portugal's colonization are also not indicated as being positive for its former colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Although Portugal was the last country to carry out decolonization, these former colonies exhibit low indicators of human development.

5. Final Considerations

Given the overall objective of the research of describing the nature of the representations of Portugal and the Portuguese conveyed in Brazilian textbooks for the subject of History, it can be said that despite the normative concerns of Brazilian education towards fighting inequality of treatment and stereotypes, and that these normative concerns are transposed into the teaching of history, it can be seen that part of the stereotypes regarding Portugal and the Portuguese which were present in the historical evolution of Portugal's relations with Brazil, are still present in Brazilian elementary school textbooks for the subject of History.

The findings of this study point to an analysis in the history textbooks in Portuguese basic education, of the representations of Brazil and the Brazilians.

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SESSION 33

EDUCATION
AND IDENTITIES:
DECOLONISING
THOUGHT 2

Abstract: The present work aims to unveil the construction process of the Quilombola educational policy in Brazil and, from this, to bring relevant empirical data to describe this new scenario of education in the country. To achieve this end, we opted for the approach of a methodological case study with the Quilombola community of Campinho da Independência, located in the municipality of Paraty (Rio de Janeiro), combining field research (interviews with administrators, political leaders, and ethnographies) as well as an analysis of official documents. We realize that the life experiences of the community point towards dilemmas and singular options for reflection on how the Quilombola school education has been designed and built by descendants of slavery themselves, concurrent to or even before the publication of respective legal texts. Above all, the empirical analysis of this reality coupled with the description of the processes related to the preparation of legal texts, announces a decolonial mode of education in the Brazilian scenario as a field still in dispute and construction. Quilombos are Afro-descendant groups who have developed resistance practices in the maintenance and reproduction of their characteristic ways of life in a given area of common use whose identity is defined by a memorial to slavery, as well as the sharing of experiences and values. Quilombola is the adjective that refers to the meaning of a quilombo.

Keywords: Quilombola schools; Quilombola educational system; Decolonial education.

1. Introduction

This work aims to illustrate the emergent theme of Quilombola school education in Brazil from two different conjunctures that complement each other. In the first category we will present subsidies that punctuate the process of building the national policy for this type of education, represented by the National Curriculum Guidelines for Quilombola School Education (Brazil, 2012). In the second category, we present empirical data on the experience of Quilombola education, which approximates the decolonial perspective suggested by Walsh (2005), in a remnant of a Quilombo community located in the southern region of the state of Rio de Janeiro: Campinho da Independência, located in the municipality of Paraty.

The methodological procedures adopted for the development of this qualitative work are from a research project conducted between the years 2009 and 2012 in anthropology combined with education, which comprised the following steps: 1) analysis of official documents that refer to the subject of education for

The quilombola schools and educational system: the announcement of a decolonized mode of education in Brazil

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ethnic-racial relations and Quilombola school education, 2) literature review on the broad field called Quilombola education, 3) a case study in a Quilombola community which combined ethnography and semi-structured interviews with administrators and professionals in the area of education and political leaders.

2. Policy of education in Quilombola schools

In less than a decade, the Brazilian government introduced in political debate and in its programs and activities the theme of diversity education. Diversity policies gained visibility within the political-governmental space and, based on these principles some laws were enacted, among which include the Federal Law 10,639 of 2003 mandating the teaching of history including African-Brazilian and African culture in all schools throughout the country. These initiatives, along with other actions and circumstances enabled the expansion of public and academic debate about education in the Quilombola communities, helping to legitimize the entry of their knowledge, cultures and traditions in schools in the perspective of breaking with what Mignolo (2003) titled “coloniality of knowledge”.

Because the Law 10.639 of 2003 and their respective guidelines did not address the specifics of Quilombola education, in May 2010 during the National Conference on Education (CONAE, 2010) the authors emphasized the need to formulate specific policies in education to meet the demands of Quilombola communities.

Accordingly, in November of 2010 the First National Seminar on Education¹ was held in Brasilia, aimed at “building the foundations for the National Plan for Quilombola Education” and “support the National Education Council in the production of National Curriculum Guidelines for Quilombola Schools and Education”.

On December 14, 2010 Resolution CEB / CNE No. 7/2010 was issued to establish the National Curriculum Guidelines for Elementary School for the following nine years, including the specifics of Quilombola School Education:

Article 39 of The Indigenous and Quilombola Schools Educational system are respectively offered in educational units registered in their lands and cultures, and, for these populations, specific rights are guaranteed in the Constitution that enables them to enhance and preserve their cultures and reaffirm their ethnic origins.

With the deliberations of the National Conference on Education (CONAE, 2010) and in compliance with CNE / CEB 07/2010 and the CNE / CEB 04/2010 establishing the General Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education, the Board of Elementary Education of the National Council of education introduced a commission responsible for drafting the National Curriculum Guidelines for Quilombola education Schools.

Thus, the Guidelines adopted in June 2012 and approved by the Minister of Education in November of the same year have the function of guiding education systems so that they can implement the Quilombola Schools and Educational system, therefore maintaining a dialogue with the sociocultural and political reality of Quilombola communities and movements.

¹ In that same event, a Quilombola advisory committee was created as a special additional committee to the Board of Basic Education, formed by eight members, including some of which are Quilombolas as well as other academics and government representatives. The event brought together 240 people, among them education managers of Secretary of State and Secretary of Municipality, Quilombola community leaders, school teachers and administrators; as well as regular teachers and researchers of education for ethnic-racial relations.

3. Introducing the community studied

The Quilombola community² of Campinho da Independência is located on the margin of the Rio-Santos highway (right side of the BR 101 km 119) in the municipality of Paraty (RJ) with approximately 100 families and 295 inhabitants today.

On the grounds of Campinho da Independência there is a community restaurant that serves tourists, a simple hostel building, belonging to one of the residents, a Catholic church, a Protestant church, a crafthouse to sell artisanal handiwork, the headquarters of the Quilombo Residents Association of the (AMOQC) where there is also the headquarters of the Cultural center Manoel Martins, a health clinic, and the Campinho da Independência Public School.

The school has been open since 1980 and it was built on an area donated by one of the residents. It currently offers classes that cover from kindergarten to elementary school, all the way to the fifth grade, in two different sessions, morning and afternoon. The student body is made up of children from five communities surrounding the Rio-Santos highway, among which two are Quilombolas: Campinho da Independência and Cabral.

According to data from the Municipal Department of Education, out of 155 students 66 are Quilombola slave descendants. The schools director is the daughter of the first teacher to ever lecture at Campinho da Independência Public school when it still occupied the local Church. She has been in this administrative position for the last six years.

With the titling of their land in 1999 the community entered a new cycle which affects not only its lifestyle but also its political organization. Public policies that until then had never reached the community are beginning to reach their territory. They have also begun to design projects for cultural³ development that enabled the construction of a house for the making of and sales of handmade craftwork, the implementation of a cultural center, a program for ethnic tourism, the development of griots⁴, and a project for the teaching of agro-ecology among others. All this movement puts the community of Campinho da Independência in the forefront of mobilization in black rural communities even among the most traditional ones.

Based on the information we have presented up to this point we begin experimentation to demonstrate the unfolding of Quilombola school education in the context presented. We emphasize that we do not correlate this data with the recent policy expressed by the National Curriculum Guidelines for Quilombola Schools educational system, since the results presented are very recent and their relationship with local realities are complex and not completely linear

Mainardes (2006) reminds us that policy texts are results of disputes that often express specific positions and local experiences. Following this logic, after policy texts are defined, their applications will be subject to reinterpretations and new local disputes.

4. The battle for a Quilombola school

Before we get into the experience of Campinho da Independência, it is here that we situate the understanding of the Quilombola communities as individuals who have had their stories and knowledge

2 Quilombola communities include African descent groups who have developed resistances in the maintenance and reproduction of their characteristic ways of life in a given common area called Quilombos. Its identity is defined by a memorial to slavery as well as the sharing of experiences and values from African culture (ARRUTI, 2009).

3 Culture centers are initiatives undertaken by civilians that are being enhanced by the Federal Government through a Cultural Program in conjunction with the State Government. The funds may be used for conducting courses and workshops or for the production of plays, concerts, and other cultural events as well as the purchase of equipment etc...

4 The griots can be described as storytellers whose mission is the enhancement of local culture through oral tradition.

silenced and made invisible over time (Oliveira; Candau 2010). This fact, in the perspective of a set of researchers called “Modernity/ Coloniality”⁵ would name these individuals as “Other” (Walsh, 2006). The marks of this colonial past, where the otherness, differences and specificities of the “Other” was/ is denied can be understood, especially in the very processes of exclusion and silencing that occur and result in/from the school system as stated by Candau and Russo (2010):

School education in the Latin American continent played a key role in the cultural homogenization process, which had the function of consolidating a culture of western and Eurocentric base that silenced voices, knowledge, and culture of certain groups (Candau; Russo 2010 p .16)

In this sense, we believe that the experiences lived by the the Quilombo communities, in relation to the struggle for a new educational model, tends to announce a counter-hegemonic perspective of education that is considered decolonial (Santos, 2009).

The debate over Quilombola school education in Campinho da Independência emerges from a context of identity struggle waged first with the school located there and second with the Department of education in the town of Paraty. This relationship is marked by a history of conflict around the demand for educational models that reflect and legitimize their local culture, their political demands and their livelihoods.

It is important to emphasize that such a debate could only begin in 1994, the year the Quilombolas founded AMOQC and began to organize politically. Since then, they began to demand a collective title to their lands in view of the application of Article 68 of the Federal Constitution of 1988⁶ which occurs only during 1999.

Based on the emergence of young political leaders in the AMOQC organization, in tune with the discourses of blacks who are more willing to participate in the political articulations that marked the beginning of the Quilombola national movement, clashes with the local school became even larger. A milestone that started this debate was the intent to legitimize and implement the Cultural center in 2005, since this tied the possibilities of multiple and differentiated educational practices.

What were initially workshops⁷ destined for school children, held in community grounds with the purpose of strengthening self-esteem and reaffirming old identity ties, became a project designed by the community to be experienced at the local school. The main reason for this initiative in the eyes of community leaders as well as teachers and the school board was that students were much more interested in the activities offered in the workshops of the Cultural center than the school-related activities. According to one of the leaders in the community:

The teachers used to call me in to the schools and say: “We need to do something about these kids. We can’t handle them like this anymore. All they want to do is talk about jongo dance, about chitas skirt, and about drums.... I cannot lecture them anymore” (December 2009).

This opens up a space for discussion on the basis of an alleged monopolization of the students’ attention to the workshops at the expense of their focus on classroom content. What for the children of the Quilombola community meant the awakening of a new and important time for recovery of traditional lost knowledge, to the school it signified the beginning of a period of clashes with the community.

5 The group is composed of the following researchers: Enrique Dussel, Walter Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Ramón Grosfoguel, Catherine Walsh, Edgardo Lander, Nelson Maldonado-Torres.

6 The Constitutional text states: “To the remnants of Quilombo communities who are occupying their lands, the property outright is recognized, and the State shall send them their respective titles” (Article 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act / ADCT-CF88).

7 The workshops were: Capoeira from Angola, Jongo dance, ceramic arts, percussion and drums, manufacture of basketry.

This became the crucial point for the AMOQC organization to realize that the learning provided by the various activities undertaken by the workshops at the Cultural center could not only guide and open new possibilities for the school curriculum and content, but could also serve as a platform for the development of a new pedagogic model very appropriate to the specific needs of the community. At that point in time, which happened from around 2005 until the beginning of 2010, the discussion turned to a reflection of a Quilombola pedagogical model still to be created, which would sustain a proposed “differentiated education”. It is possible to identify two moments in the discussion process.

In the first moment, the AMOQC organization asked that the activities being done at the workshop were brought into the school setting with the objective of making school content more meaningful and appealing to the students. The workshops in schools, developed based on the culture, traditions and collective memory of the community would bring elements of everyday life to Quilombola youngsters into a curriculum which would include their perspectives and struggles. In this case the diversity in the school context through the insertion of Quilombola knowledge would move in the direction of social inclusion, moving away from a sense of recognition before the public sphere linked to a policy of diversity or difference, as proposed by Moehlecke (2009).

But what initially was thought by the leaders as a partnership with the school with the intention of bringing their history, traditions, culture, and knowledge to the resistance and conflicts which emerged from the schools resistance to these inclusions into their model of education resulted in a demand for a new “Quilombola School”. Migrating from an initial proposal for multicultural pedagogy where there is no supremacy of one culture over another, as proposed by Candau (2008), providing a hybridization of cultures for a particular pedagogical proposal toward the Quilombola issue.

The whole issue experienced by the community with the local school leads us to the discussion brought by Arroyo (2012). For the author, groups such as the Quilombola communities, while affirming of specific knowledge, alternative learning and developmental processes, political and cultural awareness, shall resist this dominant hegemonic educational model, on which the educational institution is still substantiated. This happens because such groups re affirm themselves through the means of their differences. In this sense, they believe that throughout the history of the formation of society they were subjected to unequal relations of power/knowledge/ domination subjected to the destruction of their ways of thinking about reality and about themselves. Furthermore by not having their cultures, identities and memories recognized; they don't consider themselves as producers of the history of intellectual and cultural values.

Secondly, the AMOQC comes to understand that a “Quilombola school model” is based on a process of collective construction, something that is thought of by the community, albeit in partnership with the school. This educational model points to, among other things, contemplation and legitimization of both their traditional knowledge as well as their own pedagogies. From this perspective, they criticize the knowledge legitimized by the school and its decontextualized practices according to their local reality and their agrarian struggles, the racism still present in the school context, the incipient public policies that they now acknowledge, but more importantly they notice and guarantee the right of communities such as their own to work on a model of education geared towards their specific requirements. They struggle for a school that is in fact from the Quilombo, and not just in the Quilombo. This second stage in the press by the community towards an educational model specific to Quilombolas notes an epistemology that is of typical resistance. An experience that goes against what Walsh advocates (2009) “design of a defferentiated model of education built from the bottom up, by people who have suffered a historic submission and subordination”.

The current refusal of the community for this hegemonic educational model or any attempt at dialogue with the local school can also be explained by the way the Department of Education of Paraty

conceives the Public School located in its territory.

While inside a Quilombo⁸, the Quilombolas are still dependent on the coordination of Rural Education of Paraty, which, in turn, does not bring in its political pedagogical project - applying uniquely to all schools inside this context - historical, political, social and cultural rights of African-Brazilian population, perhaps, the specificities of the remaining Quilombo communities.

Both the school board and the Municipal Secretary of Education, insist on stating it as a rural school, claiming to disagree with the label Quilombo school, since this could mean an exclusion of non Quilombola children. What we can see here is the perpetuation of a silencing and denial of a culture that is found disenfranchised historically and socially in the school environment having as support the argument of the heterogeneity of the public assisted. In general, we can conclude that in Paraty there is neither a differentiated attention to schools in quilombola territories as actions towards a differentiated Quilombo school (Arruti, 2009), which brings serious challenges for the community of Campinho da Independência that relates to the implementation of a Quilombo school in their territory.

On the other hand, the experiences lived by the community in its relationship with the school and with the Municipal Education sparked a new leadership in political decision-making whose idea of a Political Pedagogical Project towards the school, which will include the community, moves to a discussion about the school that should be incorporated into the Community Policy Project. Given the above, we present the speech of one of the political leaders of the community “you cannot think of an educational model for the Campinho da Independência community all the way from Brasília. The implementation of this school must start with our people, right here” (April 2010). It is in the context of struggle, resistance, political and social activism, that the debate on the Quilombo school at Campinho da Independência community gains momentum and sustains itself.

5. Final considerations

The preparation, approval and dissemination of legal texts nationwide regarding Quilombola education, preceded by similar policies within some states and municipalities, produced significant impacts on their national extension. First, they consolidated a vocabulary that began to guide not only the official policies, but also public debates and controversies over some terms such as: Quilombola school education, Quilombola students, and schools that serves Quilombolas and Quilombola teachers. Second, they consolidated specifics of education in ethnic-racial relations in Quilombola school education. Finally, they also impacted the pedagogical practices of schools in Quilombo territory - in some states creating continuing education courses for teachers and developing teaching materials based on local this demand.

In this sense, the experience lived by Campinho da Independência community, regarding the implementation of a Quilombola school, does not intend to offer a definition of what would be called “Quilombola school education”. However, such experiments identify dilemmas and unique options for reflection on how this form of education has been designed and built by the Quilombolas themselves, even before the publication of the legal texts.

Another extremely important issue that arises in this context is to reflect on the way in which specific educational policies have been conceived and developed, and to what extent we can understand dialogues, confrontations and/or approximations of these policies with the actual experiences of

8 According to the National Curriculum Guidelines for School Education Quilombola (Brazil, 2012) the term Quilombo school contemplates both schools that are located in Quilombola territories such as schools serving students from such communities as well as regular students.

Quilombola communities. We believe that only from this will we have a broader understanding of the major advances, barriers, limits and shortcomings present in legal texts, especially in the implementation of these policies within the schools located in the remnants of the Quilombos or at schools which Quilombola students attend. It is important to understand that the Quilombola school education is a recent idea, still developing and fighting for the attention of the main social change-makers. The development of specific policies for this type of education represents a learning process - both for the Quilombolas and for the policy-makers themselves - as the announcement of a decolonized mode of education in Brazil.

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Abstract: With the recent and numerous changes in the social context of the world, the Brazilian education was called to reply to new challenges. In this context, the cultural curriculum of Physical Education, inspired by the theoretical framework of Cultural Studies and Critical Multiculturalism, emerges as an alternative to the homogenizing curriculum proposals, and is interested in cooperating in the formation of critical citizens and in building a more democratic society and which is sensitive to differences. Through the cultural curriculum, body practices are understood as forms of expression and communication, produced amidst power relations of different sorts and that show the cultural heritage of different groups. Escaping the technical logic, in the cultural curriculum socialized knowledge come from schematization and problematization of body practices, in order to enable the deconstruction of implicit meanings in discourses that disqualify certain representations, especially those from the popular culture. To this end, it is necessary to pay attention to the selection of the topics that will be part of lesson planning, also to the pedagogical appointments which will enable to question the crucial points of bodily manifestation in the study and finally to the process of decentralization of teacher pedagogical practice.

Keywords: Physical Education; cultural curriculum; Schematization; Problematization.

1. Contemporary school and the Physical Education curriculum theorizing

Taken as a live scenario of interactions, the contemporary school faces the great dilemmas of modern society, highlighting those imposed by globalization and neoliberalism. A globalized world is one that operates in the network, enabling exchanges, exchange of knowledge, adoption of behaviours and cultural models. However, the leading role in this world is uneven, because different groups have different chances to demonstrate their ideas in public spaces (GIMENO SACRISTÁN, 2008).

On the other hand neoliberalism, as an ideological-discursive hegemonic construction seeks to build a social order ruled by the principles of the free market (GENTILI, 1996). Though, in doing so, it consolidates certain individualistic values of competitiveness and acceptance of inequality, justifying that unequal results come from a person's lack of capacity of effort. That is, according to the neoliberal perspective, success and failure are private.

In this society - noticeable by globalization and neoliberalism – we can notice some contradictions with respect to the universe of the school. If, on the one hand, major institutional and educational

Cultural physical education and the decolonization of the curriculum: interweaving paths to schematization and problematization of body practices

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reforms expanded the access and the schooling time of previously excluded social groups, on the other, they strengthened an educational market logic, whose emphasis is on competition and on individual value. Thus, we can see a school culture that advocates for equal opportunities, accepting anyone, but it uses a competitive and meritocratic ideology, that puts aside the socialization process the ones who do not achieve the expected results.

Therefore, students from the dominated cultures are the ones who suffer most and, and it is not for nothing, they create their own tools of resistance inside the school, since by means of cultural reproduction mechanism, the curriculum is invested with authority to convey the codes of the dominant culture. In the eyes of Pérez Gomez (1998), the transmission occurs according to the logic of the curricular uniformity, evidenced by the rhythms, methods and didactic experiences, favouring groups that, precisely, need less schooling to develop skills required by society.

Observing this background, recently, some curricular proposals emerged with the aim of responding to the demands posed by cultural diversity. Although many of them only reused the old conceptions in a different way¹, others effectively pledged to deconstruct the discourses that legitimize the current social setting through a radical critique to the strategies of domination which are present in society, considering and recognizing the inequalities of origin. Here, we can highlight the ones anchored in the post-critical theory of education.

The post-critical theories recognize the critical thinking² and adopt it. However, in contrast to the critical theories, they do not limit the power analysis to the field of economic relations of the capitalism, they expand them to include processes of domination centralized in other things, such as, gender, ethnicity and sexuality. Furthermore, post-critical theories of education look carefully to the metanarratives, the notions of progress, independence, emancipation and liberation of the subject, besides, disagreeing with the universal, essentialist and fundamentalist principles of the modern thinking (SILVA, 2011).

Considered as one of the components of the curriculum, the Physical Education was established under the guidance of modernity, prioritizing committed practices with the modes, values and concepts of the dominant culture. Thus, analysing the curriculum theorizing of the area over the past decades³, we notice the existence of positivist proposals, whose principles and objectives are related to the formation of universalized subject, initializing from body practices, predominantly white, Euro-American, heterosexual, Christian and male (NUNES; Rubio, 2008). Therefore, proposals which do not match with the social role in which the school has been assuming in contemporary times, that is, to form the citizen to act critically in the public sphere, in order to build a more democratic society and sensitive to differences.

It is in this meaning that the cultural curriculum of Physical Education, based on the references of Cultural Studies and Critical Multiculturalism, has been the one which is trying to be prepared to the challenge of developing a pedagogy that seeks to prevent the conscious or unconscious reproduction of the dominant body culture (NEIRA, NUNES, 2009). It is, so, a decolonized curriculum, which besides highlighting the knowledge and social practices of the dominated groups and of the popular culture, it recognizes its historical of struggle, valuing the diversity of the population identity.

1 As the NCP (National Curricular Parameters) when discussing the cultural plurality. In this neoliberal document, the achievement of equality is provided, simply, by accessing all of the participants in the educational process to the hegemonic curriculum (LOPES, 2001).

2 The critical thinking was founded with the analyses of the educational phenomenon, having its basis on the theoretical construction of historic-materialism.

3 According to Nunes and Rúbio (2008), the curriculum theorizing in the area of Physical Education can be organized based on the following curriculum models, each projecting universal identities: the gymnastics curriculum, which designed the sanitized subject; the technical and sporting curriculum, which designed the winning subject; the globalizing curricula (developmental and psychomotor) and healthy which projected the competent subject; the critical curriculum which designed the emancipated subject.

2. The Physical Education cultural curriculum: the Cultural Studies and the critical Multiculturalism as theoretical assumptions

According to Escosteguy (2004), the cultural studies arise from the establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Studies (CCS) at the University of Birmingham, UK, in the mid-1960s. The analyses undertaken by CCS, initially, approach to Marxist and neo-Marxist frameworks, however, around the 80's; they were influenced by the poststructuralist⁴ thought, more specifically, by some intellectuals such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. With the post-structuralism, the cultural studies sought new forms of knowledge for a better understanding of cultural practices and power relations⁵ that permeate through them.

In the understanding of the cultural studies, culture cannot be understood as the accumulation and transmission of knowledge, not even, as an aesthetic, intellectual or spiritual production. Culture must be understood and analysed based on its broad scope, in the constitution of all aspects of social life (Hall, 1997).

According to Hall (1997), cultural studies recognize that capitalist societies spot divisions of class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, among others. However, in accordance with the author's understanding, culture is not only established for these boundaries, but also for the affirmation that they exist by minority groups opposite dominant groups. This way, from the perspective of cultural studies, culture can be defined as an area of struggle for meaning.

From the Cultural Studies point of view, the curriculum constitutes an important strategy for cultural policy, making it impossible to conceive it by neutral bias, for its regulatory regimes in the production of identities⁶. So, to Silva (2011) the curriculum is understood as a cultural artefact, since, as any other social invention, it attempts, discursively, to define meanings, standardize subjects, as well as to put it inside the culture.

One of the major contributions of the Cultural Studies to the Physical Education was to provide it with necessary support to the recognition of the set of forces that act in the curriculum decisions of the area, which influence the social representations on the body practices and subjects who take part in it.

The critical Multiculturalism - another theoretical field that helps to substantiate the cultural curriculum of Physical Education - seeks to enforce the way of seeing the world from those groups with less symbolic power, that is, with lower power socializing in the media. Such intent occurs by compensatory actions aimed at bringing into the social experience, precisely, those groups which, in addition to facing disadvantages, they often end up being blamed - by the dominant discourses - by the subaltern status itself.

Bhabha (1998) believes that multiculturalism arose from the clash of groups within the societies whose historical processes were marked by the presence and confrontation of culturally different people. These people, when subjected to the artifices of cultural homogenization of the dominant group, noticed in the claimed moves a chance to express their voices. Thus, unlike what happened with Cultural Studies, Candau (2008) emphasizes that multiculturalism is not an academic product,

4 Post-structuralism is a genre of social theorizing which is about language and signification process, acting to challenge the regimes of truth and emphasizing the invented character of the subject.

5 In accordance with Foucault (1988), power should be understood as a multiplicity of the relations of the immanent forces, which form chains or systems. Thus, power is not an institution or structure, and it is not a certain power which few are gifted. To the author, the power comes from several points which, in turn, are transitional and unstable.

6 According to Hall (1997), the identity is composed from identifications and placements of the subjects in the symbolical systems of each culture. In other words, it is determined and must be understood in the meaning systems. In coherence with the poststructuralist framework, the individual is not endowed with a prior or original identity, as for, he builds it with the basis of the discursive and institutional apparatuses.

since its production is mainly owed to the struggles of the discriminated and excluded social groups, as well as social movements.

Through a critical multicultural political project⁷, culture is understood as a field of constant construction and reworking, in which the difference is not isolated in its matrix, either it is stated a homogeneous identity. This fact results in a cultural hybridization process that, according to García Canclini (2003), it is able to create new structures, objects and cultural practices, as well as the constitution of renewed identities.

The Critical Multiculturalism foresees the achievement of equality through a significant modification of the existing curriculum. In this scenario, the curriculum needs to promote cultural diversity as a critical policy, whereby the recognition of differences and the analysis of asymmetrical power relations represent the starting point of didactic actions targeting social justice and the establishment of democratic identities. These ideas are consistent with what McLaren (2000) called “Pedagogy of dissent” and Candau (2008) called it “Pedagogy of the conflict.”

Therefore, a physical education curriculum multi-culturally oriented has as its objective the analysis of the cultural repertoire socially available without any restriction, as well as the production of critical cultural body practices inside the school. From this perspective, we break up, definitely, with the supposed cultural binaries, which put the hegemonic body practices (football, volleyball, basketball, handball) on advantage condition in the curriculum, rather than practices of subaltern groups (*capoeira*, card games, funk, among others).

Together, the theoretical fields of the cultural studies and the critical multiculturalism inspire Physical Education to look at the body culture⁸ under the influence of power relations, taking “the school experience as a field open to debate, the meeting of cultures and the confluence of body manifestations of various social groups” (NEIRA, 2011a, p. 15). In this view the body practices are understood as forms of expression and communication, produced amidst power relations of different hues and that express the cultural heritage of the different groups. Then, the body is designed as a textual support and gestures as a language in which the different groups express their representations and constructions.

More precisely, through cultural curriculum, physical education classes are no longer construed as an exclusive space for children and young people to move, as it has as a major goal to schematize and problematize the historically situated body practices - the plays, dances, fights, gymnastics, sports etc. -, in order to discuss its occurrence in a wider society and, above all, who are the people who take part in it. We aim, therefore, to encourage a dialogue between the school and the expression of body culture that is outside, esteeming the production of the various groups.

3. Schematization and problematization: interweaving paths

According to Neira (2011a), the cultural curriculum of Physical Education must be constantly compromised with the students and with the problem of their existential situations. For this reason, the pedagogy that characterizes the cultural curriculum targets the genesis and the contextual development of the body practices, enabling the deconstruction of implicit meanings in discourses that disqualify certain bodily manifestations, especially those from the popular culture.

⁷ According to Candau (2008), in a multiculturalism purposive approach, a political project represents a way of acting in a social dynamic scenario, as well as, to design public policies and to build pedagogical strategies. For this same author, three political projects of multicultural practice are evident: the conservative one, the assimilationist one, and the critical one.

⁸ In accordance with Betti (2009), the term physical culture refers to a portion of the general culture that covers some cultural forms historically constituted under, both materially and symbolically material scope, through the exercise of human movement - play, sport, gymnastics, dance, fight etc.

Escaping the technical logic⁹, in the cultural curriculum of Physical Education the socialized knowledge come from schematization of the body manifestations. In accordance with Freire (1980) and Corazza (2003), to scheme involves addressing the multiple possibilities that may arise from the readings and interpretations of the social practice of a particular manifestation, in order to obtain the best possible compromise of the object of study in a factual reality, social, cultural and political. Such act prevents any taxonomic organization of the curriculum, as well as, it points to the fact that all knowledge is worth acquiring:

[...] the case of reading the football manifestation, we could address issues, such as the labour market, training, marketing, football toys etc. Perhaps the themes of football toys lead the students to discuss the videogame and, later, the cyber-athletes subjects. (NEIRA; NUNES, 2009, p. 262).

Thus, since from the planning, with the choice of body expressions and of the themes that will be covered in class, the cultural curriculum of Physical Education presents democratic procedures and search for tuning with the culture of the arrival of learners - commonly seen as subordinate by the dominant culture (GIROUX; SIMON, 2005) - and with the institutional objectives described in the political-pedagogical school project, in order to avoid the homogenization and standardization of diversity.

However, it is from the problematization of the themes of body culture selected for further study which the teaching contents emerge and, with them, the possibility of increasingly thorough analysis of social reality, of access to other representations and of construction of personal and collective summaries. We have, this way, a dialectical methodological design, similar to the pedagogy proposed by Paulo Freire¹⁰.

As Neira has highlighted (2011b), the questioning triggered by readings of body manifestations, initially, make it possible for students to access the representations of colleagues, so that later on, due to the collective effort to solve the doubts against a phenomenon not yet understood, they can broaden their interpretations on the topic being studied.

While pedagogical stance immanent to the cultural curriculum of Physical Education, the questioning allows us to doubt the thoughts, gestures and apparently natural and inevitable attitudes in the social life. When discussing with the students a given body practice, the teacher will open space for the meanings attributed to them, the asymmetric conditions of gender, ethnicity, consumption, age, besides the characteristics of the cultural groups that produced and reproduced it, can be analysed and, accordingly, discussed the dominance mechanisms, regulation and resistance instilled therein, as well as the directions they receive or have received in different contexts.

In the pedagogical action on the problem, the teacher leaves the position of the knowledge holder and, in a sharing work with the students, he penetrates through different paths to achieve deeper readings of the surrounding reality. That is, driven by the need to understand the trajectory and organization of the social practices, teachers and students develop an archaeological genealogy¹¹ of

9 According to Saviani (1992), the technicist pedagogy is based on the non-critical theories of education, recognizing the school as an instrument of social equalization and, consequently, it can enable the homogenization of ideas and the overcoming of marginality. In the Physical Education, the gymnastic, technician-sport, developmental, psychomotor and healthy curricula are examples of technicist proposals.

10 To Paulo Freire, the content of the popular education cannot be given by the educator or the politician, although their commitment is with the popular classes and their struggles, even if their vision and reading of the world have a supposed line with the people – under penalty of being re-editing, in its action, the banking conception. Thus, it is in the reality and consciousness from it that Freire locates the place of search of the programmatic content of education (CORAZZA, 2003).

11 Based on the ideas of Nietzsche and Foucault, Neira and Nunes (2009) refer to the archaeological genealogy as a method by which it allows the analysis and interpretation of the contexts of thought and the set of truths that validate or deny the cultural manifestations.

the scheming body manifestations, making use of a rigorous ethnography¹². In the words of Neira (2011b):

When the cultural curriculum of Physical Education undertakes the analysis of styles of the electronic dance accessed by the students or investigates the fitness centre that promote the practice of yoga, it gives the learners a better understanding of their own dances and adornments, as well as the people who attend the yoga classes. Teachers and students, when questioning about the factors which involve these manifestations in contemporary society, they unveil a web of power relations based in varied interests. The debate within the curriculum exposures the attempts made by the government to legitimize certain representations disseminated socially (p. 121).

It is about, for that reason, an educational action that aims to trigger the transformations, according to the lines proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1995). Thus, as the representations and conflicts emerge, the work will be reorganized, always open to new reformulations.

It is not by chance that Neira and Nunes (2009) approached, metaphorically, the cultural curriculum of physical education to a game of *capoeira*. As the way the *capoeirista* (*capoeira* player), that by reading the gestures of the opponent, he selects the necessary knocks for his action, the teacher, when making a carefully conduction of the positions and discourses that circulate in his classes, he gives teaching activities that help to problematize what is identity and what distinguishes in body practices. Moreover, if in *capoeira*, the singing and the drumming provide a basis for new moves, never imagined in the cultural curriculum, when it discusses a particular social marker found in a body practice, the process gets out of hand, since there is no possibility of predicting the questions that will be raised.

4. Transitional considerations

Given the above, three key points emerge around the cultural curriculum of Physical Education, being carried out, they collaborate to the curriculum decolonization of the area. The first of them refers to the care that the teacher should have when choosing the physical manifestations and the topics that will be part of his lesson planning, avoiding personalised and subjective approaches, which may be detached from the body cultural heritage available in the community and body practices produced by subjugated groups.

The second point is about the need for educational referrals - the teaching activities and the ethnographies - that help questioning the crucial points of the studies of the body manifestation, in particular the relations of power instilled in their representations. When the representations of certain body expressions are not problematized – or when this process occurs in a superficial way - it tends to specify the meanings present in cultural practices, reducing the chances of reading, interpretation and deconstruction of hegemonic discourses, also, the choice of future paths to be followed by the curriculum.

Finally, once emphasized the open nature of the cultural curriculum of the physical education, in which the teaching referrals are constantly redefined according to the schematizations and questionings, the third and final point refers to the importance of decentralization of pedagogical action of the teacher. In this sense, the cultural curriculum defends a teaching environment that is

¹² Ethnography, conceived as a didactic action of the cultural Physical Education curriculum, means to approach the body practices and to put a magnifying glass that allows seeing the dynamics of the relationships and interactions that constitute its operation. Ethnography is, therefore, an exercise in reading the various cultural texts and it requires the involvement of the teacher and the students, in investigations that sometimes can be individual, and sometimes collective, about the many aspects that composes them (NEIRA, 2011a).

no longer seen as a private space in which the full responsibility belongs to the teachers, suggesting to identity struggles, discomforts and disputes collectively built through divergence. This way one contributes to the decolonization of a pedagogical practice that, every now and then, insists on acting as a mechanism of reproduction and assimilation of knowledge – hushing the coercively conflicts – in detriment of an understanding as a research activity, social and cultural analysis, criticism and defence.

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Abstract: The contemporary society has undergone several economic, political, social and cultural changes, which were triggered by a number of factors ranging from advances in tech and a revolution in information exchange to the democratization of relationships. To meet the demands generated by such transformations, the governmental institutions responsible for developing educational policies have started restructuring their curricula. Curriculum reform is a complex process that goes beyond the concept of didactic transposition since the central issue here is the type of individual to be shaped. In line with the national trend, the Secretaria Municipal de Educação de São Paulo* has since 2007 subsidized teacher development programs so that professional practice follows the Curricular Guidelines. With the awareness of the role played by the curriculum in the development of individuals comes the interest to investigate the individual as described in the aforementioned official document as well as the representations generated by teachers in regard to the proposed curriculum. This paper aims at presenting the preliminary and partial results of an analysis of the curricular document. Based on Cultural Studies and on critical multiculturalism it is possible to observe that the local curriculum is a rich proposition which is committed to social justice and democracy. It stands for an anti-hegemony pedagogy which intends to develop individuals who are able to critically interpret the world, create, reconstruct and transform their reality.

Keywords: Curriculum, Physical Education, desired individual

1. Introduction

The contemporary society has undergone several economic, political, social and cultural changes, which were triggered by a number of factors ranging from advances in tech and a revolution in information exchange to the democratization of relationships. To respond to the demands generated by such transformations, the governmental institutions responsible for developing educational policies have started restructuring their curricula.

It is through the curriculum that certain views about the school, the society and the individual are produced, disseminated, *and* validated, and this will influence identities development. According to Silva (2011), the curriculum involves different actions of the educational process, ranging from the school's infrastructure to the choice of contents, activities to be carried out in class and attitudes and opinions which ultimately determine what might be expected or not from the individual being educated. The curriculum is always the final result of a selection

Curricular guidelines for Physical Education in the city of São Paulo: propositions and possibilities

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which is underlain by the options and positions that better defines the desired individual for society. This clearly demonstrates the intimate connections between the curriculum and power issues and therefore its neutrality is questioned. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to notice that there are social forces behind the attempt to control and regulate the curriculum given the central role it plays in educational reforms.

After public education started being offered to different cultural groups and considering the many changes in the contemporary world which demand new ways to relate and communicate with people, there has been an increasing concern for developing curricula that are able to include all the students, as well as their different identities and forms of interaction. Another great concern is to fight exclusion, which has been so evident throughout the history of education and is now so greatly condemned, so that it does not continue to benefit only those who meet the set performance standards, expelling those who do not fit the established pattern. This touches not only the basic concern to guarantee students' enrollment in educational institutions, but also the concern to offer the necessary conditions for them to stay during the entire schooling process. Under discussion is also the need for a type of education that is *deeply* connected to the students' *context* and to the contemporary reality, which includes the *identity validation* of different social groups. The debate and the curriculum reformulations have been intensified in the last decades in order to meet the new demands of the multicultural society.

If the curriculum is at the core of education, it will then be responsible for, in great part, creating new meanings and new cultural identities according to the multicultural reality of the society. Thus, the need to analyze and constantly discuss and reflect upon the curricula and the kind of individuals to be developed. This aspect is addressed in this paper based on the curriculum of Physical Education of the city of São Paulo.

2. Curricular Guidelines for Physical Education

From 2005 to 2012, the Municipal Education Secretariat of São Paulo (SME/SP) implemented a program called *Ler e Escrever (Read and Write)* in all elementary schools. The program's overall objective is/was to help students gain full command of the reading and writing skills through an interdisciplinary program, rather than through one single subject, Portuguese, in this case. (SÃO PAULO, 2007).

In 2007, the government published the "Curricular Guidelines and Learning Expectations for the Elementary Level" in order to lay the foundations of this program for all areas of learning. The guidelines for Physical Education are based on a cultural perspective which is grounded on Cultural Studies and critical multiculturalism. This article aims at presenting the preliminary and partial results of an analysis of the curricular document, more specifically: the purpose of teaching Physical Education in Elementary levels and the General objectives of Physical Education in the Elementary level.

2.1 Perspectives on Physical Education that lay the foundation for the curriculum proposal and the desired individual

Physical Education's object of study is human motor skills. The SME/SP perceives it as a means of communication and self-expression and when within the Social Sciences framework, seen from a cultural angle, this subject pedagogically deals with any cultural production which can be physically expressed – the physical culture. From this perspective, people share the ways they feel, perceive and perform in the world.

Cultural Studies state that every social action communicates and expresses meanings that vary according to the context. Different social groups will give meaning to physical expressions according to their reality and culture. It is through cultural production, including physical expression, that human beings communicate, create, understand, and give incorporate such meanings. It is from this perspective that Neira and Nunes (2008) consider the use of gestures something that legitimates physical expression as a text to be read and interpreted.

Given that culture shapes humans and that every gesture is differently constructed and internalized among different cultures, it is difficult to standardize forms of movement. It is noticeable that SME/SP's proposal is aligned with this principal and clearly states that every physical text has its peculiarities, which makes it difficult to measure and compare social groups' different productions. In order to preserve the diversity of social groups, any pedagogical practice that tries to impose patterns existing in dominant groups must be avoided.

The document states that reading and interpreting activities carried out during Physical Education classes means reading and interpreting the gestures which are typical of physical practices as are the representations, explanations and feelings attributed to them by different groups. These contributions greatly differ from the task of refining motor skills in writing, which has mistakenly been supposed to do so. As officially stated, Physical Education may contribute to the students' understanding of their own repertoire of gestures and the different meanings, representations and body codes which belong to different cultures, if the context in which they are produced and recreated is taken into consideration.

Another aspect identified in the SME/SP document is the aim of shaping an individual that is able to contextualize bodily expressions having in view the participation in public life. In order to do so, there is a concern with the detailed study of bodily practices available or not to the students and of whether the ones available are fully articulated with the Pedagogical Project of the school, and reflects the commitment "with socialization and critical broadening of the students' cultural universe." (SÃO PAULO, 2007, p. 35). Such perspective is in line with the following principles advocated by Freire (2011): work, critical extension of the knowledge arising from the students' cultural background, and the need for their involvement to transform social reality.

As a way to provide conditions for the students fight for social change, Giroux (1992) highlights Physical Education as a space to build a more democratic and fair society and

[...] should guarantee the students' access to the whole body of culture historically accumulated by allowing experimentation with the various forms through which it is presented in society, analyze the factors which contributed to help certain physical practices to take their present privileged position in society, as well as reflect upon the information conveyed by means of mass communication and upon the knowledge of human movement reproduced by historically disadvantaged cultural groups at school. (SÃO PAULO, 2007, p. 35)

It is clear that the official discourse aims at providing instruction which leads students to recognize and reflect upon the relations of power that permeate the bodily practices. The Curriculum Guidelines for Physical Education of SME/SP are aligned to Cultural Studies and critical multiculturalism for its perception and analysis of relations of power, for the search for a space where a number of productions of social groups can be explored, for the appraisal of those who have had their knowledge and expertise disregarded throughout history and for the awareness that there are other teaching spaces outside the school that need to be analyzed.

The municipal proposal is concerned to bring into the school the different voices of the cultural groups so that they are analyzed in the same way they are represented in the social sphere.

[...] Aiming at having the voice of various cultures ‘speak up’ in time and space – from family, neighborhood, city, state, country, to international, infant, child, adult, southern, northern, northeastern, urban, rural, African, indigenous, immigrant, and many others who live in the contemporary Brazilian society, besides questioning the relations of power in gender, ethnicity, religion, social class, age, consumption, place of residence, period of schooling, professional occupation etc. that characterize bodily practices. (SÃO PAULO, 2007, p. 37).

Physical education is closely connected to contemporary discussions about the importance of legitimizing cultural diversity. It is moving towards gaining recognition among different groups, of relations in which students take someone else’s sociocultural place, and can thus build something together through dialogue (CANDAUI, 2008).

2.2 General objectives of Physical Education for elementary schools

The Curriculum Guidelines has a sub item which presents the general objectives of Physical Education for Elementary School. Objectives, many of each intersect, were grouped based on Cultural Studies and critical multiculturalism information for better understanding.

1. Objectives that lead to shaping of individuals who are sensitive to cultural diversity, who seek recognition and respect for the different groups and that promote solidarity and open dialogue.

One of the goals of critical multicultural perspective is to promote respect for cultural diversity (CANEN; MOREIRA, 2001). A society in which there is inequality, discrimination and prejudice against many historically oppressed groups, asks for developing individuals who are sensitive to these aspects. It is basically to recognize value and respect the different knowledge and constructions of different cultural groups. *In other words*, “to reduce prejudices, stimulate positive attitude towards the ‘different’ one, to encourage individuals to have other perspectives, to foster empathy” (p. 30). To achieve so, it is also necessary to develop the ability to talk. The dialogue could lead to the expansion of knowledge, enables the collective construction and the cultural negotiation, and raises awareness against oppression.

1.1 Objectives which focus on valuing and legitimizing of different cultural groups.

- To recognize and legitimize as valuable the features and qualities of the representatives of various cultural groups which are expressed by the manifestations of body culture.
- To assume, both to himself and to his colleagues and individuals in society, that they belong to a particular social group, respecting and valuing the diversity of its forms of physical expression.
- To recognize and legitimize the diversity of body culture expressed through different forms, and understand it as a cultural heritage of humanity.
- To understand the practices of body culture as a legitimate form of expression of social groups.
- To observe the manifestations of body culture, giving them aesthetic value.
- To value and perceive the expressions of body culture as a means of resistance in the struggle for social equity.

1.2 Objectives that move towards the training for dialogue and collaborative and supportive individuals.

- To participate in the proposed activities, solve conflicts through dialogue, respect individual differences and foster values that emphasize collaboration and solidarity.
- To adopt attitudes of solidarity and cooperation during physical experiences, establish balanced relations

with others without discriminating against them for personal, physical, sexual, ethnic or social characteristics.

- To understand the need and importance of collective agreements for the implementation of bodily practices, as well as accessing the body of knowledge accumulated throughout history.
- To encourage the sharing of opposing ideas and opinions about bodily practices, and to perceive dialogue as a tool for building democratic societies.

2. Objectives that allow students to broaden their communication strategies and help them understand and perceive the physical manifestations as expressions of their identity as cultural groups.

Its main objective is to help students understand their own identity, as well as other people's identities. This helps them be in contact with different perspectives and characteristics and understand that identities are hybrid, a perspective that leads to questioning the idea of superiority among cultural groups (CANEN; OLIVEIRA, 2002). Therefore, social relations which are more open to other individuals and to social justice are more feasible.

- To expand and enhance communication strategies through gestures.
- To notice expressions of their own individuality and of other individuals in physical manifestations which comprise the various cultural groups in society.
- To broaden his perception about himself and other people to allow a more autonomous, sympathetic and collective array of gestures.
- To understand that the way individuals participate in bodily experiences reflects the cultural identity of a group.
- To perceive himself, others and the world around him through expression, exchange and exposure of his preferences and his colleagues' whereas participating in the construction of their body identity and group.

3. Objectives that point to critical training.

The school aims at shaping individuals that can critically reflect, analyze and have an opinion about the situations around them. In order to do so, students must be able to relate bodily cultural practices to the social, historical and political aspects behind them. They need to understand that social relations involve issues of power that place the groups and subjects in a certain way in the social network. Thus, it is possible to have students reflect and analyze where they stand and how different social groups are constructed in the symbolic struggle for critical stand.

3.1 Objectives that take students to a deeper comprehension of historical, political and social aspects that are beyond the limited view of the motor aspect of physical practices.

As McLaren and Giroux (2000) point out, students must learn that cultural texts are socially produced, which means that they underwent and will keep undergoing changes during history.

- To understand the body culture as historical, social and political manifestation of a certain group.
- To relate the historical and social transformations to built images about the body, understanding these images as a process of cultural construction which may be reconstructed by all social actors.
- To stimulate discussion and reflection about the aspects which involve the production of knowledge about the body culture and its relationship with the world in a collaborative and investigative way.

3.2 Objectives which focus on shaping students who are able to analyze the implications, criticize and take a stand in regard to the discursive processes that permeate the body practices in different sectors of society.

The Curricular Guidelines for Physical Education of SME / SP expect students to be able to

identify ethnocentrism and stereotypes (CANEN; MOREIRA, 2001), which allows us to understand the oppressive social structure and the processes of construction of cultural identities. Thus, it is expected that individuals who are able to identify and challenge the way they operate are developed.

- To analyze, interpret and criticize the beauty standards and consumerism advertised through the media, understanding the reasons for their production, correlating them to their personal experience and recognizing their influence in the formation of identities.

- To identify and adopt a critical attitude toward discursive practices about the body culture that circulates in society and regulate behavior.

- To coherently discuss the body image as a symbol of contemporary society, recognizing the intentions underlying hegemonic conceptions.

- To articulate the gained knowledge with the ways through which cultural industry creates commercial products based on cultural expressions, taking a critical attitude in regard to the ways they are advertised in the different social classes.

- To strengthen the capacity for critical reading about the stereotypical constructions of bodily practices.

3.3 Objective that indicates the claim for an investigative individual.

It aims at shaping students who seek for other sources of information and other issues about the subject of study to broaden knowledge.

- To be interested in research as a way to deepen the reading of gestures, involving brainstorming questions about body issues and the search for the sources of information necessary.

4. Objectives that aim at developing a creative student, who builds and reframes bodily practices; individuals who simply do not accept the hegemonic impositions, but rather create and recreate their practices.

- To understand, create and adapt both form and content of the manifestations of bodily culture, considering equitable participation of all components of the group and/or school.

- To plan and systematize body practices preserving their playful sense, adapting them according to the needs of the group.

- To build knowledge about the bodily culture in a collaborative way starting from the selection and discussion of the information obtained.

5. Objectives that lead to shaping an individual who is the agent of social transformation.

Based on the prerogatives of the cultural curriculum, students should be prepared to participate and fight for democratic and public spheres (GIROUX, 1992), aiming at changing the present social structures to a fair one, which are less oppressive and unequal. In order to do so, they should engage in actions which can be either related to their relationships and aspects of their classroom or related to their community, according to their possibilities.

- To promote campaigns based on the acquired knowledge, empowering and involving neighboring communities aiming at social transformation

- To develop hypotheses about the ownership of body culture manifestations by corporate and political groups, proposing enlightening social actions.

- To legitimize Physical Education classes, as well as the school, as a space for collective participation, aiming at cultural production and social transformation.

3. Considerations

Given that it is a school system in evidence and is considered the largest in Brazil¹, the municipal curriculum unfolds as a fruitful proposal which is committed to social justice and democracy. As a proposal which deals with the constructions and meanings of the various cultural groups is supported, you lead the way to destabilize the hegemonic discourse and benefit the oppressed groups.

Based on Cultural Studies and on critical multiculturalism the Curricular Guidelines for Physical Education are committed bringing to evidence the relations of power involved in cultural bodily expressions, aiming at shaping a critical individual who understand the social context and the discourses in bodily practices. It breaks with the idea that Physical Education is only connected to motor aspects, during the mere trial of bodily practices.

Finally, it stands for an anti-hegemony pedagogy which intends to develop individuals who are able to talk, respect and notice the differences in cultural groups, individuals who are able to critically interpret the world, create, reconstruct and transform their reality. These aspects are of single importance for the formation of an individual who is part of a multicultural, globalized and unequal context, an individual who critically stands for and challenge situations and discourses that maintain the *status quo*, the situations of inequality and oppression, and someone who seeks more democratic and fair alternatives.

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¹ According to official website, it attends almost 1 million students in 546 elementary schools.

Abstract: This text aims to analyze as, following the institution of Basic Education Development Index, IDEB, the Education Ministry tries to guide the school population conducts. Created in 2007, IDEB is an Index aiming to measure each school, as well as each, network institution. It is calculated, based on students' performance on external assessments and on approval/quitting taxes measured by School Census. Following it, traced performance goals for each school and public network till 2022. I try to show how IDEB institutionalize itself and works, from the school unit to the Brazilian Nation set, in order to achieve the goal to improve educations quality.

Keywords: IDEB; Brazilian education; government.

1. Directing school population¹ conducts: the mobilization for quality on Brazilian Basic Education following the establishment of IDEB

The current paper focus its analysis on how, the responsible institutions for the management of Brazilian education, make use of statistics knowledge to formulate and implant public policies in several government layers, with the discourse of education quality improvement. Thus, I advocate the point, that educational statistics have been an important strategy to direct the conducts of Brazilian school population.

I show, and try to problematize, the institution of Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica – IDEB (Basic education development index) and its potential to guide the conducts from the cultural studies perspective, in a post-structuralist view, from where we can understand the conduct's guiding of subjects produced by discourses, and mainly through Foucault's thinking, allows us to denaturalize, try to see and perceive through other perspectives, how the IDEB is institutionalized. In doing this analysis, I look for possibilities, not explanations, justifications or correct interpretations, but to give it a look "less in terms of truth and precision and more regarding effective exchange." (Hall, 1997,p.39),

During the last years, Brazil has been able to almost universalize the access to elementary school (Ensino fundamental). According to IBGE²/Pnad data, the enrollment of students ages 6 – 14 refers

¹ I use the expression school population to refer to all the groups that take part on school education.

² IBGE- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Brazilian Institute on Geography and Statistics) responsible organ for official statistics in Brazil. The data of Pnad refers to a national house sampling survey. Data from 2012 available at www.todospelaeducacao.org.br (accessed on 20/09/2013).

Directing school population conducts: the mobilization for quality on Brazilian basic education following the establishment of IDEB¹

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¹ This paper was published with the support of a lecturer scholarship assigned by the Doctoral Program in Cultural Studies.

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to 98,2% of the population on the age range mentioned and the enrollment of students ages 15 to 17 refer to 80,6%. Nevertheless, the country has had serious problems regarding their permanence and their success in school. IBGE also shows us the index of students quitting school, 1,4% (beginners) and 4,1% (final years) and a failing index of 6,9% (beginners) and 11,8% (final years). Looking at these numbers we can say that 24,2% of students weren't successful at their studies at that year. Thereby, through the Education Ministry, the country is adopting several policies, aiming to minimize these difficulties, as well as, qualify the education in all levels. One of these policies, is an evaluation system to check students performance on several learning levels, aiming to know, monitor and implant strategies to qualify the education. There are other actions that interchangeably contribute to this evaluation system, and that are established directly or indirectly on the National Educational Plan, like the school census and the participation on PISA evaluations.

The first National Educational Plan – PNE was elaborated in 1962, and proposed qualitative and quantitative goals for an eight years period, restrictive to federal government. The second one, was approved in 2001 in answer to the Guidelines and Basis on National Education Law (Lei de diretrizes e bases da educação nacional/ lei nº 9394/96) valid for the decennial 2001/2010. This plan already established the creation of an information and monitor system on student's performance, described through goals and axis. On the axis regarding the Elementary Education (Ensino Fundamental) the items 5 and 26, show as one of the objectives and priorities, the educational information and evaluation.

5. Development of information and evaluation systems on all education levels and types, inclusively professional education, contemplating also the improvement on the data collection and diffusion, as necessary tools for the educational system management and improvement.

One of the goals being:

26. Provide the progressive ascension of the students performance level in all education systems, on a monitoring system that uses the index of the National Evaluation System for Basic Education and the evaluation systems from the states and cities that might be developed.

The third National Educational Plan, for the 2011/2020³ decennial, establishes the creation of IDEB by law what will be mentioned later in this text.

The chart bellow shows some of the actions taken by Education Ministry:

1998	ENEM's creation – National Exam for High School (ensino fundamental)
2000	PISA first edition with Brazil's participation
2001	National Education Plan (decennial – 2001/2010 I)
2004	PROUNI's creation (scholarship program for higher education)
2005	Creation of Brazil's test Creation of elementary school of 9 years
2007	Creation of IDEB – Basic Education Development Index
2010	National Education Plan (decennial – 2011/2020)
2011	National Program to Literate on the Right Age – PNAIC
2013	Creation of ANA – National Evaluation of Literacy

Chart 1 – Actions /Policies implanted by MEC

3 The Educational National Plan lies pending in National Congress and hasn't been approved until today.

I bring, in this paper, a discussion about the institution of IDEB – Index of Basic Education Development, an index that aims to measure the quality of each school or educational network and, its potential to guide the school population conducts. IDEB is measured based on students performance on external evaluations (Prova Brasil) and on school approval indexes, checked through school census.

Basic Education School Census consists of a national education statistics data survey, coordinated by INEP⁴ and happens every year, on the Basic Education National School Census Day, and it aims to establish the reference date to declare information to School Census. On this day all the country's Educational Institutions should answer the Census, through the system Educacenso⁵. It happens in a collaborative way among Union, states and cities, taking part country's public and private schools. It's the main tool to collect information about Basic Education and, covers its different levels and modalities⁶. The data collected refers to the institutions, the enrollment, teaching and the school movement performance.

Based on this information, the Education Ministry pictures a national panorama of Basic Education, that is the source to create the public policies and accomplish programs on educational area, including transfer public resources like: school lunch and transport, school books, libraries, Direct money at school(DDE/ Dinheiro Direto na Escola) and resources to maintain and develop Basic Education and to Valorize Education Professionals(Fundeb). Besides this, the data on school performance (passing or failing) and from school movement (quitting) are used to calculate IDEB.

To implant actions on Brazil's education, on the last years, it was necessary to know the education reality, quantifying it and making it possible to work on and, over it. Popkewitz & Lindblad(2001, p.115) state that “ over time, with information, numbers provide means to reason about the relation between social and educational phenomena. The numbers define routes to sign progress, or identify potential places to intervene through policies.” Once known the reality, it's possible to be modified and, statistics is the science that produces the numeric knowledge about the reality in focus.

To Foucault, the political emergence of statistic as a state guideline, is related to the art of governing. The modern state had structured “an informative machinery”, once the art of governing “didn't follow anymore costumes and tradition but rational knowledge (Gil 2007, p.21). As the power technologies moved from the disciplinary power to the biopower⁷, on XVIII century, statistics had become a necessary knowledge about the global mass and its processes and phenomenon. According to Foucault:

“(.....) A concrete knowledge, precise and measured, related to the State's power. The art of governing, characteristic of the State's reason, is closely related to what is called statistic or arithmetic policy – in other words, the awareness of the respective strengths of different States. This knowledge was essential for a good govern.” (Foucault, 2006, p.376)

4 The National Institution for Educational Studies and Surveys Anísio Teixeira (ANEP) is a federal autarky connected to Education Ministry and its mission is to promote studies, surveys and evaluations about the Brazilian Educational System. Its objective is to help the formulation and implementation of public policies for the educational area, using parameters of quality and equity, as well as, produce clear and trustable information for managers, researchers, educators and general public.(www.inep.org.br, accessed on 15/09/13)

5 The School Census is elaborated by Educacenso, that is an on-line system developed by INEP – Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira that keeps a centralized and unique data from public and private schools, teachers, early child education helpers and students. It intends to update data faster. The system offers individual data and it allows getting educational follow-up on students and teachers. (<http://portal.mec.gov.br>)

6 The levels on Brazilian Basic Education are: Educação Infantil (Early child education) Ensino Fundamental (Elementary School) and Ensino Médio (High School). The modalities are: Teenagers and Adult Education. On Ensino Médio (High School) it can be Regular or Technical.

7 For Foucault (2003) on the second half of the XVIII century a power technology is established that doesn't have, anymore, the individual as the center of the power, but the population as a group. This kind of power is called biopower.

IDEB was created in 2007 by Education Ministry, using data collected on 2005. The scale index goes from zero to ten and it is measured every two years. Based on it, the Ministry established performance goals to each school and each public education institution until 2022. The target for the country is 6,0 (six) and had taken in account the results obtained by the 20 best placed countries in the world, based on the Organization to Cooperation and Economic Development (OCDE). The Decennial National Plan on Education (2001-2020) establishes besides the legal creation a set of strategic goals, from which I highlight:

Art.11 The Basic Education Development Index – IDEB will be used to evaluate the education quality, based on the school performance data checked by Basic School Education Census, combined with the data regarding students performance, checked on the national evaluation on school performance.

The IDEB is calculated by the National Institute on Educational Studies and Researches Anísio Teixeira – INEP, bound to Educational Ministry.

On the set of strategic goals, showed attached to PNE, the item 7 talks about the IDEB goals to be reached until 2022 and establishes as strategies, among others:

7.2) Fix, follow and publish IDEB's results from schools, public basic education network and the education systems of the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Cities.

7.3) Associate the technical and financial help, to the setting of intermediate goals, on the terms and conditions established, according to a voluntary pact among the entities, prioritizing systems and educational networks where IDEB is bellow national average.

7.24) To orient the policies of the educational networks and systems, in order to seek the IDEB's goals, looking for minimizing the differences among schools with the lowest levels and the national average, obtaining this way learning equity.

7.25) Compare results obtained on IDEB with the average results in mathematics, reading and science obtained through tests of Students Evaluation International Program – PISA, as a way of external control on the convergence between the education evaluation processes applied by INEP and education evaluation processes internationally accepted.(MEC/BRASIL)

The goals that were highlighted, show that IDEB is used by the government to take decisions when establishing education policies, among them, the financial ones, and how this index can be used as a yardstick, in international assessments Brazil applies to. In other words, IDEB expresses a statistical knowledge used to govern, as states, Traversini and Lopez:

“If numbers, measures, indexes and taxes acquire importance in government actions, including political, economical, social, educational areas the reason is that they will be used on the creation of standards, strategies and actions in order to rule, manage and improve individual and collective behaviors in all these issues.” (TRAVERSINI;LOPEZ 2009,p.149)

The wide dissemination of the indices by the media, through different tools and technologies, allows all and everyone to be able to reach this information. This way, the conduct of each subject of the school population is guided, as each one can be aware of the indexes, on the institutional level (school) as well as on the federal level (country). This encourages the school population to think, and act to maintain and/or modify and improve the results. The indexes produced by statistic knowledge, being available to govern and society, allows its regulation, normalization, and will conduct the subjects behaviors.

Contemporaneously, statistics can be considered a governing technology allowing us to recognize ourselves as subjects, belonging to a population with specific actions to be produced and mobilized,

that meaning, when we look to the statistic data we should be able to take a position regarding it. In this way “the individuals and the communities are invested in government technologies and tools that make their formation and their education, in a broader view, a kind of unbridled competition, whose progress is measured by the sum of the points, as in a mileage program, shown as productivity indexes.”(GADELHA, 2009,p.180-181)

The following chart shows Brazilian performance (national result):

IDEB - Results and Goals

Beginner years on Elementary School

	IDEB Observed				Goals				
	2005	2007	2009	2011	2007	2009	2011	2013	2021
Total	3.8	4.2	4.6	5.0	3.9	4.2	4.6	4.9	6.0
Administrative Dependence									
Public	3.6	4.0	4.4	4.7	3.6	4.0	4.4	4.7	5.8
State	3.9	4.3	4.9	5.1	4.0	4.3	4.7	5.0	6.1
City	3.4	4.0	4.4	4.7	3.5	3.8	4.2	4.5	5.7
Private	5.9	6.0	6.4	6.5	6.0	6.3	6.6	6.8	7.5

Final years on Elementary School

	IDEB Observed				Goals				
	2005	2007	2009	2011	2007	2009	2011	2013	2021
Total	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.1	3.5	3.7	3.9	4.4	5.5
Administrative Dependence									
Public	3.2	3.5	3.7	3.9	3.3	3.4	3.7	4.1	5.2
State	3.3	3.6	3.8	3.9	3.3	3.5	3.8	4.2	5.3
City	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.9	5.1
Private	5.8	5.8	5.9	6.0	5.8	6.0	6.2	6.5	7.3

Source: <http://ideb.inep.gov.br/resultado/resultado/resultadoBrasil.seam?cid=2537725>

Chart 2 – IDEB- Brazil results

The chart shows IDEB’s indexes reached by Brazil, from 2005 to 2011, and already gives the goals projected year after year to the country. The green color shows that the index is in accordance to what is expected and projected. Similarly, are presented, state, city and school charts. Thus, the school population subjects are expected to take an active participation attitude, knowing that the improvement of basic education is a commitment of us all and will only happen with the help of whole society, an idea that goes back to educational policies starting on 1990s.

The following chart shows the performance of a city school:

IDEB- Results and Goals

Parte superior do formulário

Result: UF: _____

School RS _____

City: School name: _____

Ivoti ESC MUN ENS FUN CONCORDIA _____

Educational Net:

Level / Year: _____

: 4ª série / 5º ano _____

Municipal _____

Chart 3 – IDEB/ School Results

The official taxes and indexes checked by the State, among them - IDEB are produced and published, and once known are used on Governing actions, setting up strategies used when conducting the implantation, monitor and evaluate the public policies. According to Foucault(1998a) the concerns about government turn up on the XVI century, considering questions of multiple dimensions like: government itself, souls and behavior government, children government, state government by the princes, in other words [...] how to govern and be governed, how to be the best governor as possible, etc.(FOUCAULT, 1998a,p.278), namely the concerns had emerged in a context of great political, economic, social and, religious changes that marked the XVI century. In his studies Foucault shows how the concept of government expands in its particularities and comprehensiveness. In this sense, the government practices may be “[...] multiples as many people can govern: the family father, the monastery superior, the pedagogue, the teacher related to the child or the disciple. (FOUCAULT, 1998ap.280) Even being multiple, these practices spread themselves on the social area and can be defined as three kinds of government:[...] self government (moral), the art of properly govern a family (economy) and the science of well govern the State (politics). (FOUCAULT, 1998, p.280)

The governmentality may be understood as a political rationality that allows a power technology to operate, which can be macro or micro, when reaching totality, and at the same time, concern to each one within a whole. From Foucault’s studies, it’s possible to understand that Modernity had privileged the State’s governability, as, its government tactics, allowed to define what is the State’s competence or not. The governmentalization process allows to rationalize, organize and centralize actions on the State institutions. People’s education is one of these actions that is the State’s responsibilities – macro power technology. From Foucault’s writings we can also understand education as each one’s responsibility – micro power technology. If by one hand, it’s the State’s duty to implant and manage educational policies, on the other hand, it’s the Brazilian citizen duty to attend school and help to qualify the Brazilian education.

When the Education Ministry announces a “search for better teaching and learning strategies in order to improve the education quality⁸” and for this does external evaluations that allow the IDEB’s formulation, it’s looking for, besides qualifying the institutions, capture the subject-student in order to transform him in a good contemporaneous student and citizen.

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