

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

Volume 23 • Number 1
Summer 2015

ISSN 1057-1515

Interdisciplinary

*Exploring the Crossroads and Perspectives of
Lusophone Studies II*

Special Issue

Editors: Ivana Elbl, Maria João Dodman,
Fernando Nunes, Robert A. Kenedy

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VOLUME 23 • NUMBER 1

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

SUMMER 2015

VOLUME 23 • NUMBER 1 • 2015 (RELEASED 2017)

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

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AN IMPRINT OF BAYWOLF PRESS ✨ ÉDITIONS BAYWOLF (2012 –)
Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6
<http://www.trentu.ca/psr> (mirror); <http://www.maproom44.com/psr>

FORMERLY PUBLISHED BY THE PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (2002-2011)

Printed and bound in Peterborough, Ontario, Canada.
Design, digital setting, general production: Baywolf Press ✨ Éditions Baywolf

Pro Forma Academic Institutional Host, 2002-2017: Lady Eaton College (Trent University)



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National Library of Canada Cataloguing Data

Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v. : ill. : 23 cm

1. Portugal—Civilization—Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking—Civilization—Periodicals.
3. Brazil—Civilization—Periodicals. 4. Portugal—Civilisation—Périodiques. 5. Afrique lusophone—
Civilisation—Périodiques. 6. Brésil—Civilisation—Périodiques.

DP532 909/.0917/5691005 21

Library of Congress Cataloguing Data

Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v. : ill. : 23 cm

1. Portugal—Civilization—Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking—Civilization—Periodicals.
3. Brazil—Civilization—Periodicals.

DP532 .P67 909/.091/5691 20 92-659516

SPECIAL ISSUE

EXPLORING THE CROSSROADS AND
PERSPECTIVES OF LUSOPHONE STUDIES II



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ABSTRACTS

Christian Missionaries in Lusophone Africa: Cultural Exchange and Colonization
(*Orquidea Ribeiro*)

Western missionaries frequently considered traditional indigenous religious beliefs and practices culturally inferior, deeming that traditional customs had to be eliminated before indigenous peoples were able to convert to Christianity. Some missionaries, however, went to great lengths to preserve indigenous cultural expressions, learning the languages in order to better communicate with the people, writing grammars to facilitate comprehension and learning, collecting oral traditions, and actively participating in local life even while implementing the needs and desires of the colonial state. The present paper explores relations between missionaries and the indigenous peoples of Lusophone Africa, focusing on the contribution of mission activities to processes of imperial conquest and colonization, as well as to education, intercultural exchange and the preservation of indigenous cultures in the Christian missions.

Gestores de escolas públicas brasileiras e representações sociais de escolas eficazes: fatores contextuais de boas práticas (*Elisângela da Silva Bernado and Helenice Maia*)

With the democratization of access to schooling and the increase in duration of compulsory school attendance, problems of social inequality have come to the fore. Research on the effectiveness of schools seeks to understand what makes some schools better than others, especially those that cater to students from the most disadvantaged socioeconomic groups: the focus is on schools that make a difference. In addition to student performance, the approach to school effectiveness adopted here is based on the school's organizational and workplace atmosphere. Moscovici's Theory of Social Representations is deployed as a working framework in this pilot study, because it uses the concepts of attitude, image, and symbol and integrates them, thus promoting comprehension of the ambient reality. Discourses of school effectiveness collected from the managers of five municipal schools in Rio de Janeiro have permitted us to identify a transition dialectic between the pedagogical and the administrative spheres, involved in making schools truly effective.

Lusophone as Creole?: Cape Verdean Kriolu and Categories of Belonging (*Orquidea Ribeiro*)

Creole is usually defined as a mixture, a creative by-product of systems of encounter such as colonialism. For their part, the Portuguese have historically considered themselves especially proficient and flexible with respect to creolization processes. In fact, they based the dominant national ideology of Lusotropicalism on this special colonizing talent. However, all creoles are not the same. In this article I demonstrate through historical and textual analysis that the two identity-language discourses of "Kriolu" and "Luso," despite their similar emphases on mixture and mobility, maintain a tense but productive difference. This difference is visible in cultural phenomena such as Kriolu rap music and evident in the spatial contours of these popular narratives.

1996-2016 – A CPLP, Uma organização para quê? (*Michel Caben*)

The *Comunidade dos Países de língua portuguesa* (CPLP) (Community of Portuguese-language Countries) was founded in Lisbon on 17 July 1996, after a difficult gestation process. A seri-

ous divergence quickly asserted itself between a Luso-tropicalist / Luso-Brazilian wing that sought a community of peoples of the “same origin” rooted in “centuries of co-existence,” and a pragmatic African wing that perceived the CPLP as a tool to enhance the international standing of the CPLP’s member countries. The CPLP found itself frequently paralyzed by its consensus requirement, given that it encompassed political regimes as divergent as parliamentary democracies, one-party or hegemonic party regimes, and even ferocious dictatorships, in the recent instance of Equatorial Guinea. Nonetheless, the CPLP reinforced a space where a popular Lusophony found a means of expression.

Lusophone Potential Role in Atlantic Security (*José Passos Palmeira*)

The increase in international maritime commerce and phenomena such as piracy and illicit trafficking require security policies able to mitigate global organized crime. The Community of Portuguese-language Countries presents geopolitical characteristics that make it a significant actor in the field of security. Its member states have developed a policy of cooperation in the area of defence and are integrated into relevant regional organizations. Given Portugal’s centrality (projecting into the Atlantic through the islands of Azores and Madeira) and its location on the southern flank of the Atlantic Alliance and the European Union, the country can play the role of an intercontinental security and defence bridge. In the South Atlantic, Brazil and Angola have shown particular commitment in the field of security, and may form, with Portugal, a Lusophone strategic triangle able to act in the fight against insecurity in strategic oceanic spaces.

A organização científica do trabalho em Portugal após a II Guerra Mundial: uma síntese (*Carina Azevedo*)

It is after World War II that the study and application of scientific management reached high prominence. In Portugal, what one might call the “golden age” of scientific management began. Private and state organizations were created that aimed to disseminate these scientific principles not only within industry, but also in agriculture and administration. The logic of the time had much to do with shaping this reality. Portugal was not only entangled in the dynamics of North American technical assistance, but was being pulled into diverse economic cooperation bodies, and influenced by specific international impacts. The cumulative dynamic reflected the manner in which all these elements interlocked with the challenges that Portugal faced at the time, with the pursuit of productivity, and with an awareness of the need to overcome weaknesses revealed during World War II.

The Immigrant Portuguese Guitar: Destination – Ontario (*Nuno Cristo*)

This paper documents the presence in Ontario of a musical instrument that encapsulates like no other the symbolism of Portuguese culture, and has helped to project and preserve it worldwide: the Portuguese guitar. Primarily connected to the *fado* genre, the use of the Portuguese guitar in the diaspora often occurs in contexts that differ somewhat from contemporary practice in Portugal. I begin with a historical overview of the instrument in the broader context of North America, in particular in the USA, where Portuguese immigration preceded the establishment of a distinctive diaspora in Canada. Then I focus on Ontario, paying special attention to the three main musical contexts in which the instrument has been used: *fado*; Coimbra/erudite music; and *cantigas ao desafio*. Since I have been a maker and player of the Portuguese guitar

in the province of Ontario for over twenty years, I include my own personal experience as part of the account.

Inês de Castro and *Saudade* in Toronto: O Projecto's Community Play (*Aida Jordão*)

Inês de Castro, the Galician-Portuguese royal mistress who was beheaded in 1355 for reasons of state and whose corpse, as legend has it, was crowned Queen of Portugal by her deranged lover King Pedro, is an iconic representation of *saudade* in the Portuguese cultural imaginary. In this paper I examine a performance of O Projecto's "Pedro e Inês de Castro" to explore *saudade* in a Luso-Canadian setting. I ask why the tragic story of Inês is staged in Toronto in 2010, how the Dead Queen embodies *saudade* for community players in the context of their varied connections to Portugal, and how a collective witnessing of the representation of Inês de Castro fosters a stronger commitment to *saudade* as a marker of Portuguese-ness.

Holy Spirit *Festas* in Canada: A General Overview (*João Leal, Ilda Januário and José Mapril*)

The importance of ethnic festivals and other celebrations, especially religious celebrations, among immigrant groups in the US and Canada has already been stressed. This paper addresses the role of Holy Spirit *festas* in community-building and in the practices and discourses of identity construction among Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean origin. After a general ethnographical and historical presentation of the *festas* covering in particular the provinces of Ontario, Québec, and British Columbia, the paper stresses the role of these celebrations in the development of ethnic sociabilities and identities among Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean origin. Three specific characteristics of Azorean-Canadian Holy Spirit *festas* are also discussed: the minor role they play in the public affirmation of Azorean ethnicity; the conflictive relations between the Catholic Church and Azorean ethno-religious activists; and the residual involvement of second-generation young people in the *festas*.

Transcending Portuguese-Canadian Ethnic and Educational Liminality: Peer Mentorship and Education Facilitating Transitional Post Secondary Success (*Robert A. Kennedy*)

This research focuses on the educational success of Portuguese-Canadian university peer mentors and tutors and on their work mentoring Portuguese-Canadian students to consider higher educational aspiration. The interview data with 14 mentors/tutors and those who organize mentors and tutors suggests that mentors and peer educators in the Portuguese-Canadian community see themselves as role models, offering educational support for younger students with academic challenges. These mentors encourage students to consider post-secondary aspirations and support them through community education. The mentors benefited from the mentoring process and reported many positive effects, such as constructive influences on their own personal and academic growth, as well as an increased involvement and engagement in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae: a construção de uma identidade Portuguesa em diálogo com os Antigos (*Isabel Barros Dias*)

De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae (*The Antiquities of Lusitania*), a work by André de Resende, revised, completed and edited by Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos, is a book that attests to an extensive read-

ing of the classics by its learned co-authors and that fits the broad outlines of Renaissance scholarship. The work ignores the medieval historiographical tradition and retrieves texts from classical Antiquity, manipulating them in order to underline the antiquity and nobility of Portuguese ancestry, with special emphasis on the ancient Lusitans and their most prominent leaders, Viriatus and Sertorius. This article adopts a perspective located at the confluence of source studies and imagology, and seeks, on the one hand, to show how the co-authors construct a self-image of the Portuguese from hetero-images of the Lusitans produced in Antiquity and, on the other hand, to discuss how the recovery of ancient authors was put in the service of specific interests, which are further outlined in this analysis.

Luis de Camões' Questioning Patriotism in *Os Lusíadas* (*George Bragues*)

Luis de Camoes' *Os Lusíadas* has traditionally been read as a work of staunch patriotism glorifying the Portuguese maritime project. This paper questions that interpretation by arguing that Camões raises serious questions about Portugal's seaward expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Alerting us to this is the scene that features the "old man of Restelo" at the end of Canto IV. When this key segment is read in conjunction with the rest of *Os Lusíadas*, a more nuanced view of Camões' outlook comes into focus. While supportive of the quest for fame and glory manifested in Portugal's seafaring enterprise, Camões nevertheless emerges as a candidly questioning patriot.

PORTUGAL, LUSOPHONY, AND THE SPACES
WHERE ONE SPEAKS PORTUGUESE



Christian Missionaries in Lusophone Africa: Cultural Exchange and Colonization

Orquidea Ribeiro

Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, U'TAD

A RENEWED SCHOLARLY INTEREST in missionaries as agents of cultural imperialism has developed in recent times, associated with the role of indigenous people using and shaping Christianity and/or missions to answer and develop their particular needs. Following the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, Portugal, like other colonial powers, widened the effort to effectively occupy the African territories that were under Portuguese jurisdiction. Angola was the focus of attention as Portugal extended its control requiring settlers and military personnel and other actions that could aid in the expansion and occupation of the territory and here the Christian missions played an important role.

The role of the missionaries in the colonization of the African regions was important in terms of cultural and political domination of the local/indigenous people. Although the missionaries' aim was to immerse into local life to facilitate the task of convincing people to accept Christianity, the Bible and its teachings, religion was turned into or became a medium that was used to convince people not to resist white domination or colonization. Religion was used to implement colonial power,¹ to sustain and even promote political tyranny and oppression, but the religious missions also provided education—the relationship between evangelization and education

¹The association of religion and political power (perhaps a kind of marriage of convenience) led to the Portuguese expansion with the motto “Spreading faith and the empire” (“Dilatar a fé e o império”). The transformation of Goa into the administrative capital and the center of Portuguese political decision-making in the East and the creation/installation of a diocese in the same city prove the strategy that historian Ricardo Ventura describes as “dois momentos fulcrais desse processo de convivência entre a jurisdição civil e a jurisdição eclesiástica” (Ricardo Ventura, “Estratégia de Conversão no tempo de D. Gaspar de Leão, primeiro arcebispo de Goa: reconstituição histórica de uma controvérsia,” in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos séculos XVI e XVII: Espiritualidade e Cultura. Atas do Colóquio Internacional*, Vol. I (Porto: FLUP, 2004), 505).



reflected the educational efforts toward the production of a subservient workforce of unskilled laborers. Literacy was the prerequisite to conversion, as missionaries acquired profound insights of a particular culture and used the knowledge to implement religion, promote intercultural exchange and expand land occupation.

Annette Rosenstiel points out that

it was only by participating in the culture of the people, by making what we now term an ethnographic study of the people, and through the making and keeping of minute records of events (...) did it become possible to speak to other peoples in their own terms.²

Missionaries, due to their long stay in the African missions and immersion in the communities, got a deep knowledge of the communities being in the “field”³ long before anthropologists, with their written texts testifying to the important work they carried out, collecting information and obtaining important data, such as describing the area and surroundings of the mission, the local people, their customs and traditions, the flora, the fauna, the geographical layout, etc.. They were, in fact, the first anthropological eyes as they were placed in the different missions all over the new world, immersed among the natives, acquiring ethnographic knowledge and understanding; their findings and their experience was recorded in writing, and the texts sent to the mother country to be studied and divulged, serving different purposes.

Rosenstiel calls “this power of objectivity, of analysis” the “scientific approach,” supporting this theory by pointing out that in 1793, William Carey “emphasize[d] above all the importance to the missionary of being ‘one of the companions and equals of the people to whom he is sent.’”⁴ In the late eighteenth century, Carey grasped the basic rules for successful missionary work, but also for anthropological fieldwork: “mastery of the native vernacular, participant observation, understanding of native customs and reli-

²Annette Rosenstiel, “Anthropology and the Missionary,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 89 (1 (Jan-Jun, 1959), 108).

³Ricardo Ventura, “Estratégia de Conversão no tempo de D. Gaspar de Leão, primeiro arcebispo de Goa: reconstituição histórica de uma controvérsia,” in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos séculos XVI e XVII: Espiritualidade e Cultura. Atas do Colóquio Internacional*, Vol. 1 (Porto: FLUP, 2004), 505-517.

⁴Rosenstiel, “Anthropology and the Missionary,” 108). William Carey (1761-1834), an English Baptist missionary appointed to India who worked among the Hindus.

gious practices, systematic, minute and assiduous recording of observations, and, above all, non-ethnocentrism.”⁵ Specific “knowledge of the native language, the life and customs of the people” and understanding the indigenous people and grasping the cultural differences made the missionary records valid and valuable sources of information.⁶

In the article “Anthropologists and Missionaries: Brothers under the Skin” (1990), Van der Geest provides a comparison between the two professionals, identifying “striking similarities,” but describing the relationship between the two is “ambivalent, uneasy and fraught with contradictions” as the “differences and conflicts between anthropologists and missionaries are legendary.”⁷

Van der Geest “stereotype[s] the stereotypes”⁸ as classified in the table below:

<i>Missionaries</i>	<i>Anthropologists</i>
Destroy culture, making traditional knowledge, values and practices and (“pagan”) rituals and objects of art disappear	Preserve and record culture
Interference	Non-intervention
Religious worldview	Rational and critical scientists
Talkers (preachers)	Listeners
People who bring about change (converters)	Custodians of culture
Professional “knowers”	Professional strangers
<i>Both are guests in a foreign culture</i>	

António Custódio Gonçalves affirms that the contents of the documents produced by missionaries present the risk of being cultural projections,⁹ but

⁵Rosenstiel, “Anthropology and the Missionary,” 109.

⁶Rosenstiel, “Anthropology and the Missionary,” 108.

⁷Sjaak van der Geest, “Anthropologists and Missionaries: Brothers under the Skin,” *Man*, New Series, 25 (4) (Dec. 1990), 588.

⁸Van der Geest, “Anthropologists and Missionaries,” 589.

⁹As crónicas de viagens e os documentos escritos por [cronistas, missionários e viajantes], bem como as tradições orais por eles recolhidas, apresentam, evidentemente o risco de projeções culturais” (António Custódio Gonçalves, “Simbolização do processo

he also considers the information to be precious as the subjectivity can be minimized by critical and comparative analysis due to the knowledge regarding the context.¹⁰ Martins, however, states that the missionary writings provide important details about the traditional culture of the [African] people and the transformations that occurred after the contact with the Europeans.¹¹ In an article published in 1915, entitled “Missionary Enterprise from the Point of View of an Anthropologist,” Wilson D. Wallis points out negative aspects of missionary work, namely the wrong approach of missionaries to the local cultures and peoples and gives suggestions regarding the right way to carry out missionary work, respecting the natives and not making or introducing changes that interfere with or change the local customs:

Dignity should not forbid what necessity demands, namely, a knowledge of the stories and traditions, learned not in the attitude of scoffer and iconoclast – which is to get only the empty form without the significant contents – but with sympathy and sincere interest, nor piqued by beliefs and customs that may shock one’s finer nature to the core.¹²

Immersion in the culture contributes to the integration of the missionary and the success of his work:

The missionary who *lives* with the natives, and works with as well as for them, grows to understand them, gains their confidence, and is well on the way to

político e dinamismo sociocultural numa sociedade tradicional: abordagem histórica e sistémica,” *Análise Social*, XX (84) 5º (1984): 663).

¹⁰See Gonçalves, “Simbolização,” 663-4: “As observações dos missionários e viajantes são nos transmitidas no seu estado «bruto», no contexto de uma determinada missão ou expedição. Com tais observações, repletas de distorções etnocêntricas, os seus autores não tinham, evidentemente, a preocupação de fazer uma análise histórica ou sociológica.

As suas informações, no entanto, são preciosas, contanto que sejam repostas no contexto concreto em que foram elaboradas e recolhidas. A sua natural subjectividade, como a de todo o observador, aliás, pode ser minimizada pela análise crítica e comparada dos documentos, pelo conhecimento das condições originais, sociais e culturais dos acontecimentos no contexto próprio dos Congos, pela experiência vivida e significativa dos dinamismos socioculturais da sociedade congo actual.”

¹¹“escritos dos missionários fornecem pormenores de real valia sobre a cultura tradicional dos povos [africanos] e (...) das transformações que nela se foram operando mercê das inovações por nós introduzidas” (Manuel Alfredo de Moraes Martins, *Contacto de Culturas no Congo Português. Achegas para o seu Estudo*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1958). 22).

¹²(Wilson D. Wallis, “Missionary Enterprise from the point of view of an Anthropologist.” In: *The American Journal of Theology*. Vol. 19, Nr.2 (Apr. 1915), 269).

Portuguese Studies Review

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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Gestores de escolas públicas e representações sociais de escolas eficazes: fatores contextuais de boas práticas

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1. Introdução

Com a democratização do acesso à escola e o aumento da escolaridade obrigatória vieram à tona o problema das desigualdades sociais e de escolarização, trazendo a necessidade de acompanhar os resultados da expansão dos sistemas de ensino por meio de levantamentos educacionais. Os resultados destes levantamentos mostraram que a desigualdade de oportunidades educacionais entre os grupos étnicos, culturais e socioeconômicos é um fato incontestável, propiciando desdobramentos sócio-políticos no panorama educacional.

A constatação da desigualdade de acesso ao ensino entre os diferentes grupos sociais revelou os limites da universalização da educação. Nesse sentido, faz-se necessário registrar que foram as pesquisas de levantamento em educação que propiciaram o conhecimento sobre a correlação existente entre desigualdades educacionais e desigualdades socioculturais. Foram os resultados encontrados que constituíram a base empírica de apoio ao desenvolvimento da maior parte das pesquisas sociológicas sobre os mecanismos geradores da desigualdade escolar.

Nos Estados Unidos da América (EUA), esse campo foi impulsionado pela influência dos debates gerados com a publicação do Relatório Coleman (1966). Por meio da análise dos testes de desempenho dos alunos, os pesquisadores constataram que as características do meio familiar, especialmente o *status* socioeconômico dos pais e o pertencimento a minorias étnicas explicavam melhor as diferenças de resultados observados do que a própria escola. Para os pesquisadores, algumas características do corpo docente e os fatores



intraescolares contavam muito menos nas diferenças de desempenho dos alunos do que o próprio capital social e as aspirações educacionais familiares dos alunos¹.

Esses estudos estatísticos não forneceram apenas uma base empírica para a sociologia tradicional, mas também o desenvolvimento de uma reflexão sociológica. Além dos EUA, outros países como Grã-Bretanha e França implementaram pesquisas de levantamentos e obtiveram resultados similares que alimentaram novos desenvolvimentos teóricos da sociologia educacional.

Nos anos 60, emerge a Nova Sociologia da Educação que se desenvolve no interior da crítica e no confronto com a sociologia tradicional. As críticas feitas àquela revelaram que a longa tradição inglesa de pesquisas de levantamento tinha apenas se contentado em contabilizar rendimentos e em descrever fluxos escolares, sem conseguir propor um quadro teórico capaz de permitir uma verdadeira compreensão dos fenômenos educacionais.

A Nova Sociologia debruçou-se sobre o interior da escola, trazendo à tona a compreensão de que o sucesso e o fracasso escolares são mediados por processos complexos que envolvem os professores e suas práticas, o ambiente escolar e as relações pedagógicas, chamando a atenção para o papel da escola na produção desse fracasso, contribuindo para um novo olhar sobre os fatores intraescolares e para novos enfoques conceituais e metodológicos na investigação e explicação das desigualdades da educação.

Fazendo um balanço sobre esse primeiro momento das pesquisas de levantamento e sobre sua conexão com a produção da sociologia e da política educacionais podemos identificar algumas características relevantes.

Se por um lado, houve uma ênfase quantitativa norteando as pesquisas educacionais nos anos 60 e 70. Por outro, a conexão sociológica estabelecida pelas diferentes correntes teóricas foi fundamental para se reconhecer que as desigualdades no desempenho escolar não incidem de forma aleatória em relação à origem sociocultural dos alunos, principalmente os oriundos das camadas populares.

No debate atual, quando se abordam as relações existentes entre as desigualdades educacionais e as sociais, estas questões estão longe de serem equacionadas. A sociologia da educação produziu um legado que nos interpela à

¹N. Brooke and J. F. Soares, *Pesquisa em Eficácia Escolar: origem e trajetórias* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2008), 552.

necessidade de estudar conjuntamente as relações entre os fatores intra-escolares e inter-escolares e o desempenho escolar.

Em resumo, é possível recuperar algumas características deixadas pela fase inicial da pesquisa quantitativa. Por parte da sociologia educacional, podemos destacar o fato dessas pesquisas terem sido elaboradas com base em referenciais empíricos sobre a qual se desenvolveu a sociologia das desigualdades educacionais num momento histórico e intelectual marcado por políticas intervencionistas que fizeram parte do esforço capitalista de democratização social da década de 60. Por parte da Nova Sociologia da Educação, podemos perceber o enfoque dado aos processos que acontecem dentro das escolas e das salas de aula com o objetivo de desnaturalizar a cultura escolar, chamando a atenção para os fatores intraescolares na explicação das desigualdades educacionais.

No Brasil, o desenvolvimento de inquéritos, diagnósticos e pesquisas sociais e educacionais somente ganharam impulso no Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos (INEP) nas décadas de 50 e 60. De ordem histórica, o INEP, que foi fundado em 1937, foi um marco institucional onde se desenvolveram de forma mais estável as pesquisas de levantamento e o encaminhamento de políticas educacionais dessas décadas. De ordem política, esse instituto constituiu o âmbito responsável pelos atuais sistemas nacionais de avaliação e pela produção de estatísticas educacionais.

Em 1955, é fundado o Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisa Educacional (CBPE) com o objetivo de fazer ajustamento entre a educação e as necessidades sociais e econômicas da população brasileira nas diversas regiões geográficas. Para atingir tal objetivo, os projetos propunham a elaboração de mapas educacionais e culturais para obter informações sobre o grau em que a prática educacional correspondia à realidade social².

Nessa perspectiva, a experiência do CBPE revela a existência de uma afinidade das tendências nacionais com as tendências internacionais do pós-guerra, em termos de orientações de pesquisa, métodos e objetos de estudo, fazendo ecoar aqui, a crença internacional no papel da educação como instrumento de formação para a democracia e as preocupações do pós-guerra com o tema das desigualdades educacionais.

²Fernandes (1999) citado em A. Bonamino, *Tempos de avaliação educacional: o SAEB, seus agentes, referências e tendências* (Rio de Janeiro: Quartet, 2002), 192.

A percepção da educação como estratégia para garantir a democracia e o desenvolvimento do país vai de encontro com o clima intelectual, político e econômico da década de 50. Nesta época, o Brasil começou a se transformar numa sociedade complexa, urbano-industrial, marcada pela expansão dos meios de comunicação e por um projeto de reafirmação da nacionalidade, constituindo um solo fértil para o surgimento de projetos de democratização da educação.

A ênfase no estudo das transformações da sociedade brasileira endereçou as pesquisas sociais para o estudo das condições de vida da população menos favorecida, sua cultura, as relações raciais, a imigração, os processos de urbanização e de marginalização social. Nesse momento, a educação passou a ser pensada como um processo de integração e assimilação de grupos diferenciados social e culturalmente³.

No início dos anos 70, a crítica à situação educacional do país sofreu influências da sociologia americana e da sociologia francesa, além da produção interna dos grandes levantamentos realizados na década anterior. Nesse novo contexto, uma série de fatores (hegemonia da tecnologia educacional, dificuldades financeiras, entre outros.) levou ao esvaziamento das pesquisas educacionais quantitativas.

No contexto histórico brasileiro do pós-guerra, o impacto destas pesquisas de levantamento e suas influências sobre a política e a pesquisas educacionais e, num segundo momento, suas possíveis relações com o desenvolvimento institucional e político ao longo das décadas de 80 e 90, serviram como ponto de partida para a compreensão da educação dos anos 80 que se insere num contexto de redemocratização política da sociedade brasileira, onde é notável tanto a universalização do ensino do antigo primeiro grau quanto o aumento do processo de seletividade escolar, o crescimento da população e o aceleração da urbanização e para, nos anos 90, começarem a ser implementadas políticas de descentralização administrativa, financeira e pedagógica da educação.

1.1. Breve histórico dos estudos sobre a escola

Nos anos 60 e 70, vários estudos americanos e europeus sugeriram que as escolas tinham pouca influência na explicação da trajetória escolar discente. O

³Bonamino, *Tempos de avaliação educacional*.

Relatório Coleman (1966) baseado num amplo levantamento de dados que envolveu 645.000 alunos norte-americanos e 3.000 escolas primárias e secundárias, constatou que o desempenho escolar dos alunos era quase completamente determinado pelo seu contexto socioeconômico e que as escolas pouco ou nada podiam fazer para modificar essa realidade. Ou seja, a escola não fazia diferença no desempenho escolar dos alunos.

Posteriormente a esses estudos, Bourdieu e Passeron (1970)⁴ apontaram as escolas como simples reprodutoras das desigualdades sociais, favorecendo os favorecidos. Para estes autores, as desigualdades educacionais em vez de representar a seleção escolar dos mais capazes, expressavam o grau de conformidade simbólica de um grupo ou classe dominada à cultura do grupo que detém o controle dos significados culturais mais valorizados socialmente⁵.

O interesse pelo estudo da eficácia escolar se inscreve como um prolongamento direto de trabalhos de diversos autores, que colocaram em dúvida a capacidade das escolas em influenciar o desenvolvimento dos alunos. Bernstein⁶ frisou que a educação não pode compensar os problemas criados pela sociedade; Jensen⁷ e Coleman (1966), entre outros, sustentaram que a escola tem apenas um efeito limitado sobre a aprendizagem.

A partir do final da década de 70, pesquisadores começaram a apontar algumas críticas em relação a esses estudos. A principal delas foi que não havia sido observado o que acontecia nos processos internos das escolas (características intraescolares). Os estudos eram baseados apenas no levantamento de dados sobre as características dos alunos, dos professores e da infraestrutura dos estabelecimentos escolares, impedindo que os fatores explicativos internos às escolas viessem à tona.

Estas críticas propiciaram o aparecimento de novas pesquisas voltadas para os processos internos presentes nas escolas e permitiram demarcar uma série de fatores-chave que serviram de base, a partir do início da década de

⁴P. Bourdieu e J. C. Passeron, *A reprodução: elementos para uma teoria do sistema de ensino*, 3ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1992).

⁵Bonamino, *Tempos de avaliação educacional*.

⁶Bernstein (1970) citado em M. G. Thurler, "A eficácia nas escolas não se mede: ela se constrói, negocia-se, pratica-se e se vive," em *Revista Idéias. Sistemas de avaliação educacional* (São Paulo: FDE (Diretoria de Projetos Especiais), 1998), 175-192.

⁷Jensen (1969) citado em Thurler, "A eficácia nas escolas não se mede," 175-192.

80, a uma segunda leva de pesquisas, que tentou estabelecer uma relação entre eficácia do ensino e algumas características da escola⁸. Esta nova leva de pesquisas estava interessada em compreender o que torna as escolas diferentes, umas melhores do que as outras, principalmente aquelas que atendem um alunado de condição socioeconômica mais desfavorecida. Estes estudos começaram a resgatar a importância da escola para a compreensão do desempenho escolar dos alunos, mostrando que existem escolas que conseguem fazer o aluno aprender mais do que seria esperado, embora a sua origem social seja desfavorável.

As escolas são diferentes uma das outras. Esta afirmação se justifica pela variedade de práticas e estruturas internas, como, por exemplo, o clima, o comprometimento dos professores e a ênfase dada ao processo ensino-aprendizagem que acontece nos diferentes estabelecimentos de ensino. Partindo desta perspectiva, as escolas, mesmo sendo de uma mesma rede de ensino, terão impacto diferente na vida escolar e no futuro dos seus alunos.

A heterogeneidade presente entre as escolas indica que há escolas que conseguem agregar mais seu alunado. Percebemos isso pelo fato de que alunos oriundos de um mesmo contexto socioeconômico estudando em escolas diferentes, muitas vezes apresentam desempenhos também diferenciados. Há, assim, espaço para a formulação e implementação de políticas educacionais que melhorem o funcionamento da organização da escola para que haja mais qualidade do ensino e mais equidade no acesso e no desempenho escolar dos estudantes.

As pesquisas sobre escola eficaz se interessam justamente por essas escolas que fazem a diferença. Entende-se como escola eficaz àquela que melhora a aprendizagem dos seus alunos (qualidade), principalmente os alunos que tem sua origem socioeconômica menos favorável, e diminuem as diferenças de desempenho entre os diferentes alunos (equidade). Ou seja, os resultados escolares do aluno vão além do que seria esperado atingir em qualquer outra escola, considerando o seu nível socioeconômico-cultural⁹.

As políticas que se baseiam na fundamentação científico-pedagógica tentam aplicar nos estabelecimentos de ensino os resultados obtidos com a in-

⁸Thurler, "A eficácia nas escolas não se mede."

⁹M. E. Ferrão e A. C. Andrade, "O sistema nacional de avaliação da educação básica e a modelagem dos dados," *Coleção Estudos da Cidade, Rio Estudos* 48 (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo, 2002), 1-13.

investigação sobre escolas eficazes. Nesta perspectiva de investigação, podemos considerar duas gerações de pesquisas que remetem para paradigmas e metodologias diferentes.

A primeira geração de estudos é marcada pela tentativa de medir os efeitos dos programas de democratização e de integração racial realizados nos EUA a partir do final da década de 50. O documento fundador deste movimento é o conhecido Relatório Coleman (1966) intitulado *Inequality of Educational Opportunity*. O objetivo deste macroestudo não foi avaliar os efeitos da escola, nem suas diferenças, mas sim os efeitos da alocação de recursos escolares sobre o rendimento dos alunos. Segundo Bosker¹⁰, o objetivo do Relatório Coleman (1966) foi medir a proporção do rendimento dos alunos que se podia atribuir à escola frequentada e a proporção de desempenho dos alunos que era preciso imputar a outras causas.

O modelo adotado nessa investigação, bem como nas investigações que se seguiram nesta primeira geração, foi o de *input-output*, como grifa Bressoux¹¹. Neste tipo de abordagem a escola é estudada como se fosse uma unidade de produção, unidade que, por meio de recursos humanos, materiais e financeiros, tem por finalidade transformar os indivíduos de um determinado valor em indivíduos de um valor superior.

Os resultados destas investigações foram bastante desanimadores quanto à influência que os fatores escolares podiam exercer nos resultados dos alunos. Esta primeira geração de investigações sobre os efeitos da escola no desempenho dos alunos foi marcada pela visão de que não valia a pena fazer reformas para melhorar os recursos das escolas em pessoal e equipamentos, pois essas ações seriam insuficientes para reduzir as desigualdades escolares, evocando a expressão que ficou conhecida na época: *Schools make no difference!*

A segunda geração de pesquisas constitui uma reação a este ceticismo e tem por base uma revisão crítica dos resultados descritos na geração anterior. As críticas dirigem-se principalmente ao tipo de medida utilizada (testes de inteligência de raciocínio verbal) e ao tipo de abordagem (*input-output*) que ignorava os processos internos.

¹⁰Bosker (1994) citado em J. Barroso, “O estudo da autonomia da escola: da autonomia decretada à autonomia construída,” em J. Barroso, org., *O estudo da escola* (Porto: Porto Editora, 1996), 167-189.

¹¹Bressoux (1994) citado em Barroso, “O estudo da autonomia da escola,” 167-189.

Os estudos realizados por autores como Edmonds (1983), Purkey e Smith (1983), Mortimore (1995)¹², entre outros, decidem entrar no interior da escola, entendida não mais como uma unidade de produção, mas como uma organização social, e pela análise dos seus processos internos (liderança, clima, gestão do tempo, etc.) começam a mostrar que as escolas podem fazer a diferença.

1.2. Fatores associados à escola eficaz

Nos últimos 30 anos, as pesquisas sobre escola eficaz experimentaram um enorme avanço teórico e metodológico. Na vasta literatura sobre o tema, muitos fatores presentes nestas escolas, que melhoram o desempenho acadêmico dos seus alunos, são identificados e associados a este tipo particular de estabelecimento de ensino.

Sammons, Hilman e Mortimore¹³ apontam 11 fatores-chave nos quais as escolas eficazes estão alicerçadas: liderança profissional; visão e metas compartilhadas pelos agentes educativos; ambiente de aprendizagem; concentração no processo ensino-aprendizagem; ensino estruturado com propósitos claramente definidos; expectativas elevadas; reforço positivo das atitudes; monitoramento do progresso; direitos e deveres dos alunos; parceria família-escola; e, organização orientada à aprendizagem.

Nesta perspectiva, Edmonds¹⁴, um dos especialistas na área de investigação da eficácia escolar, procurou demonstrar que muitas escolas obtêm níveis muito diferenciados de sucesso escolar, apesar de possuírem recursos semelhantes e de servirem ao mesmo tipo de alunado.

O autor aponta as seguintes características das escolas eficazes: gestão centrada na qualidade do ensino; importância primordial das aprendizagens acadêmicas; clima tranquilo e bem organizado, propício ao ensino e à aprendizagem; professores transmitindo expectativas positivas quanto à possibilidade de todos os alunos obterem um nível mínimo de aprendizagem; e, uti-

¹²Edmonds (1983), Purkey e Smith (1983), Mortimore (1995) citados em Ferrão e Andrade, "O sistema nacional de avaliação da educação básica e a modelagem dos dados," 1-13.

¹³Sammons, Hilman e Mortimore (1995) citados em Ferrão e Andrade, "O sistema nacional de avaliação da educação básica e a modelagem dos dados," 1-13.

¹⁴Edmonds (1983) citado em T. L. Good e R. S. Weinstein, "As escolas marcam a diferença: evidências, críticas e novas perspectivas," em Antonio Nóvoa, coord., *As organizações escolares em análise* (Lisboa: Dom Quixote, 1992), 75-98.

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Lusophone as Creole?: Cape Verdean *Kriolu* and Categories of Belonging

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ON A DRY, WINDY day in late June of 2011 I sat with Jorginho in a dilapidated public park in Arrentela, a “social” neighbourhood on the south side of the Tagus river in Lisbon. The warmth of the sun waned as the afternoon and our conversation came to an end. Through a long exchange of stories underscoring the trials of everyday life, family and friends, I probed Jorginho to talk more about his experiences of migration, belonging, identity—a sense of self and place here in the Lisbon metro area. He had graciously outlined his trajectory from Praia, the capital city of the archipelago nation of Cape Verde to the outskirts of Mindelo, the capital city of another island, back to Praia, to Lisbon proper briefly, then to Pedreira dos Húngaros, an improvised neighbourhood demolished at the turn of the twenty-first century, and for the past few years here in Arrentela. Pressing on the question of identity, I asked him how he felt about living in Portugal. Jorginho paused pensively and turned to me: “*Ami é Kriolu. Kelli é realidadi.*” (I am Creole; this right here is reality).

Such apparently vague statements about “reality” actually carry some theoretical heft. Given the historical and existential milieu of most Cape Verdeans, ruminations on “being here” and “reality” not only provide insight into individual and family migrations but also suggest that belonging, in general, is a spatial practice. Moreover, Jorginho implied that *Kriolu* and Portuguese are spatial categories just as much as linguistic ones. In this article I demonstrate through historical and textual analysis that the two identity-language discourses of “*Kriolu*” and “Luso,” despite their similar emphases on mixture and mobility, maintain a tense but productive difference. This difference is visible in culture such as *Kriolu* rap music and evident in the spatial contours of these popular narratives.



“Kriolu” refers to the hybrid combination of Portuguese and West African languages. It has been spoken for over five hundred years and is the national but unofficial language of Cape Verdeans at “home” on the archipelago located four hundred miles west off the coast of Senegal and abroad in the widespread Cape Verdean diaspora. Over the past seven years I have heard similar summary statements from Cape Verdean youth in Lisbon. “I am Creole” [and hence I am not Portuguese] would seem to be an affirmation of identity politics, a commonplace sign of migrant subjectivity and a claim of difference between host and home cultures.

By the same token, the Portuguese have touted a progressive politics on immigration and citizenship. In short, what in current parlance passes as multiculturalism and European interculturality is, in fact, a long-standing pillar of Portuguese identity. Central to this national identity is “Luso,” the root of a series of key discursive words, which play with both the long history of pre-Roman settlements and the dynamics of “modern” (ca. sixteenth century) Portuguese colonial encounters. Thus, the Portuguese claim exceptionalism in their historical formation, what Ronald Chilcote described as the synthesis of the “biological processes of miscegenation and the sociological processes of interpenetration of cultures.”¹

Creole in Europe

An investigation into the (mis)alignment of “Luso” inside Portugal among creole communities is not simply an internal matter. Lusophone discourses, not unlike Francophone ones and other attempts to match nationalist desires with multicultural realities, exemplify the challenges of belonging. Europe is at the center of discussions around citizenship and belonging because it is here where mobility and the encounter are increasingly the shaping forces of identity categories and ideologies. It is here where many of the conventions of modern identity and the public sphere are both a sense of pride and a target of scrutiny. Despite its peripheral status within Europe, Portugal, through its internal debates on the Lusotropical mythology of cultural mixture and the organizational attempts to recuperate a linguistic-cultural-territorial solidarity of “Lusofonia,” illuminates distinctively the “iden-

¹Ronald Chilcote, “Developmental Nationalism and Lustropicology Concepts for Comparative Study of Portuguese Africa?” Paper given at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (29 October 1966), 9.

tity problem” of not only Europe but also the post-colonial moment, more generally.

The particular discomfort between Creole-as-mixture and Creole-as-difference provokes some, especially young residents of Lisbon, to actively invest in expressive culture. For the purposes of this article, I focus on rap music and hip hop culture. Hip hop reflects a set of future desires and designs of youth. Likewise, the hip hoppers are themselves products of long, historical forces of colonialism, nationalism, and migration.

I think it [*kriolu rap*] is a [response to] Lusotropicalism. They try to limit Kriolu by inclusion, but, for me, Kriolu is not only Cape Verde and our diaspora, but much more ... from Brazil to Jamaica.

LBC, a Cape Verdean émigré rapper living in Amadora, a neighboring municipality to the north of Lisbon, complements Jorginho’s sentiments by asserting that “Luso” and Kriolu are different. The moniker LBC is an acronym meaning “learning black connection” and it is this assertion of difference that interrupts conventional Portuguese identity formation. At first glance, LBC’s comments may appear contradictory, “to limit through inclusion,” but it is the categorization of “Luso” and its implied affiliations that rubs LBC the wrong way. Be that as it may, Kriolu is not an intervention from an unwelcome stranger but a peculiar diversion from a historically close partner. Given the long-term intimacy between Portugal and its former African colonies and the substantial embrace of multiculturalism in postcolonial Portugal by state agencies, such identity politics of Kriolu as “black” difference are not as straightforward as they may initially appear.

Scholars, politicians, and everyday folk have generally narrated the cultural story of Portuguese identity and territorial claim as a manifestation of “Lusotropicalism,” a term coined in the 1950s by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre.² Lusotropicalism refers to the cordial control of Portuguese dominion based on “soft” power that translates into racial mixture, lenient laws around civil rights relative to the rest of Western Europe, and a procliv-

²Gilberto Freyre, *Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1953). The term “lusotropicology” occasionally appears in the literature as a translation of Freyre’s idea (Richard J. Hammond, “Race Attitudes and Policies in Portuguese Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” *Race and Class* 9 (1967): 205-216). Freyre himself prided himself on poetics and did write different versions of “lusotropic” in his essays published during the 1950s.

ity toward intercultural understanding and appreciation. However, as discussed by Portuguese historian Henriques, the Salazar regime adopted the ideology of Lusotropicalism to rationalize the implementation of the new *Organic Law on Portuguese Overseas Land* (1953) as part of a strategy to maintain colonial hegemony in a moment of massive decolonization across the African continent.³ While the term “lusotropicalism” itself has lost favor due to its colonial connotations, newer ones such as “lusofonia,” literally the collective identity of Portuguese-speaking countries, have followed suit.

LBC also points to space as he suggests that Kriolu interrupts lusotropicalism by drawing attention to a different kind of collective imagination – one that moves away from “Portuguese” parameters of former African colonial encounters and moves toward blackness, i. e. Brazil and Jamaica. LBC conveys his ideas on Kriolu identity in live rap performances as well. On two occasions, I was struck by the energy LBC created in the song “M.I.N.A.O.” In the following lyrical excerpt LBC describes identity as dependent on the diasporic encounter.

What is that about “real thugs” and “real gangstas” in training who leave their kids
and women hungry in the ghetto?

When I arrived from Eugenio Lima in Kova M, I learned a lot of things
abadiu soldier right here

MINAO soldier is here to defend
all those that the state oppresses
fuck a nigga who isn't with my ideas
who doesn't know about Carlos Veiga
he barely maintains his legitimacy

he was down with the guy who killed Renato Cardoso
enough nigga

I became a soldier here / we must have a new kind of spirit

Refrain: M.I.N.A.O. / Black Anti-Oppression Mental Intellect / It's all about
preparing people for a world revolution ...

LBC, in fact, is trying out a new moniker “MINAO”, an acronym meaning “Black, Anti-Oppression Mental Intellect” and also a Kriolu phrase loosely

³Isabel Castro Henriques, “Africans in Portuguese Society: Classification Ambiguities and Colonial Realities,” in Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen, eds., *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (New York: Palgrave, 2012), 83.

translated as “not me” or “I don’t want it.” In this excerpt LBC locates his learning of the “black connection” in the Cape Verdean diaspora. It is when he moved from the impoverished neighbourhood of Eugenio Lima in the capital city of Praia to the established, Cape Verdean Kriolu improvised neighbourhood of Alto da Covada Moura (“Kova M”) that LBC began to reflect on Kriolu inside Portugal. He quickly outlines encounters involving police brutality and racial profiling in the Lisbon periphery on his way back to references to Carlos Veiga and Renato Cardoso, two opposing political figures within the same party during Cape Verde’s transition from a Marxist-style, one-party system to a multi-party, neoliberal system during the 1990s.

LBC identifies the problem of postcolonial “emplacement,” the process of making place, a project of particular importance among migrant communities,⁴ as not only a challenge of physical diaspora but also of language. The latter is signaled in the term *badiu*, a Kriolu word with emphasis in LBC’s verse, which literally means *vadio* in Portuguese or vagabond or scoundrel in English. Unlike the Cape Verdeans in past generations of migration, most young Cape Verdeans in Lisbon are *badiu*, meaning poor, working class individuals. Most were initially young men from the rural towns and later the capital city of Praia on the island of Santiago, considered to be the most “African” island by Cape Verdeans and foreigners alike. Recalling Brazilian scholar Gilberto Freyre’s 1952 visit to Santiago, sponsored by the Portuguese state, we are reminded of his impressions of the island as “so negroid: a sign that, unlike what has successfully been happening in Brazil, this place has maintained the African elements of origin.”⁵ Just as Bourgois (2003) described the impact of the *jibaro*,⁶ a symbol of Puerto Rican rural masculinity, on the East Harlem landscape of New York City in the 1980s, the Cape Verdean *badiu* has influenced the milieu of masculinity and youth in the “improvised” and “social” housing in contemporary Lisbon.

⁴Wanni W. Anderson and Robert G. Lee, “Asian American Displacements,” in Wanni W. Anderson and Robert G. Lee, eds., *Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the Americas* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press 2005), 3-22.

⁵Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina: sugestões de uma viagem à procura das constantes portuguesas de caráter e ação* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio. 1953), 290.

⁶Philippe Bourgois, *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

As an expression of diaspora, postcoloniality, gender, class, language and race, *badiu* is a keyword in the “social imaginary” of certain peripheral spaces in Lisbon. LBC most directly relates *badiu* to his personal identity, “a *badiu* soldier,” an identity marker that requires space to be meaningful. In his lyrics LBC qualifies *badiu* with two deictic expressions: “right here” and “arriving from Eugenio Lima.” While the former refers to his current presence in “Kova M,” the latter refers to migration from the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and an “improvised” neighbourhood in the capital city of Praia. This brief example of *badiu* demonstrates that emplacement involves a range of spatial references. Such heterogeneity complicates the straightforward notion of place as an easily demarcated locale rooted in autochthonous or even unidirectional diasporic practices. When asked about the song’s message, LBC began by stating: “I am Kriolu and I am *badiu*. I identify my place as a contemporary colonized person, who hasn’t realized the revolution.”

Cape Verde

The case of identity cultural politics among Cape Verdean rappers in Lisbon is not an ahistoric splash of youth rebel. Rather, these articulations of *badiu* bravura and Kriolu identification, more generally, emerge from a deep history of intercultural contact and creolization associated with the small archipelago, part of what geographers refer to as Macronesia, which includes the Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands and Cape Verde.

Despite its relatively small size, Cape Verde was a central and initial focal point of global and colonial creolization. Based on slave trade records, we know that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Spain and Portugal dominated the sea and expanded trade routes, slave ships stopped in Cape Verde before making their way to the labour camps of the New World. By the seventeenth century, the Dutch and British naval forces increasingly were successful in stealing African slaves from Portuguese vessels and selling them back to interested parties in Italy and Europe more generally. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Portuguese depended on Cape Verde, the place, and various creoles as communicative codes, to manage labour populations and products connected to São Tomé e Príncipe and Angola. Again and again, Cape Verde was the major point of mediation and encounter.

Something seems to just happen “out there” in places like Cape Verde, which has been simultaneously the most proximate to Portugal, signifying a historical place of trade, mixture and the evolutionary “Creole nation.” Chilcote went on to declare that given the parameters of socio-historical development cited above, “the Cape Verdean is the most perfect Portuguese human being.” Yet, Cape Verdeans also represent a mysterious Other with particularly strong tendencies towards identity politics. As several participants in a survey I conducted in 2013 reported, “Cape Verdeans do seem to have their *own culture*. Their presence is diverse in Lisbon but whatever and wherever it is, it seems to be something not-Portuguese.” Expressed in a different register, acclaimed Angolan fiction writer José Eduardo Agualusa, in his book “Creole,” selects Cape Verde as the place for the protagonist Fradique Mendes⁷ to give homage to an old, faithful servant. “I threw Cornélio’s head in the sea. It was a heavy, moonless night off the Cape Verde Islands. Iemanjá, the *quiandas*, all the powerful divinities of Africa’s hot waters will accompany his spirit back to the land of the Hausa.”⁸

Portugal preceded all other European countries in exchange and conflict with West and Central Western Africa. Historian Matthias Perl has argued that Portuguese creole became a recognized trade language to do business in West Africa and was disseminated to various parts of Africa, Asia and Americas. Perl wrote, “the creole Portuguese languages, or variants of a uniform creole language still in existence today, are remainders of a communicative medium that functioned on a global scale during the 16th and 17th centuries.”⁹

In a discursive shift from labour to phenotype, “creole” turned into a term of racialization. Becoming “ladinizado” and separating from Kriolu translated into a pragmatic rise in value for the slave. A number of slaves, in fact, used their knowledge of variants of Cape Verdean and (African) continental “creoles” along with Portuguese as symbolic capital in exchange for their own manumission. In sum, Kriolu carried connotations of local breed-

⁷The protagonist and the novel overall are references to Eça Queirós, one of the most famous Portuguese novelists of the nineteenth century, and his text *Correspondência de Fradique Mendes*.

⁸José Eduardo Agualusa, *Creole* (London: Arcadia, 2002), 98.

⁹Matthias Perl, “Acerca de alguns aspectos históricos do Português Crioulo em África,” *Biblios* 58 (1982), 12.

ing, labour management, emergent racial discourses and upward mobility during Portuguese colonialism.

By the end of the nineteenth century Portuguese colonial officials and scholars as well as Cape Verdean local elite became more confident that Kriolu's value as a language and a kind of person was best thought of as a transitional phase on the way to speaking and being Portuguese. Writing in the 1940s, Portuguese chronicler Augusto Casimiro explained that on the one hand, the "creole dialect" represented the "disfiguration and laziness" inherent in the "encounter between those of the Kingdom and the African ... [On the other hand,] some words gain a profound meaning and others better preserve, in either sweet or rude ways, the taste of the word."¹⁰

The Portuguese developed this paradigm of "Kriolu as a social fact" in various ways throughout the 20th century. For the most part, this approach benefited Cape Verdeans and their life chances in the empire. As Ronald Chilcote summarized,

according to the official view, [Cape Verdeans were] a culture different from and superior to the rest of Africa. As a result, Cape Verdeans were considered 'civilized' and Portuguese citizens. Speaking a creole Portuguese and proud of an indigenous literature, they had access to education. Mulatto Cape Verdeans served as administrators in the lower echelons of the African colonial service.¹¹

Curiously, then, Creole or Kriolu has come to symbolize both an identity of difference and mixture and thus speaks to the unique role of Cape Verdean presences inside Portugal.

Kriolu and Lusotropicalism

The discursive turn from essential native to productive hybrid hinged upon the idea that "creole" signified phenotypic and cultural mixture, which, in fact, was emboldened during the Portuguese colonial project. And along came Gilberto Freyre. Freyre is widely known in US anthropological scholarship as that former student of Boas, who returned home to Brazil during the rise of populist dictator Getúlio Vargas during the early 1930s and helped shape what continues to be the dominant nationalist ideology in Brazil, "racial democracy." Less known in the Americas is his experience in the early

¹⁰Augusto Casimiro, *Portugal Crioulo*. Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1940), 25.

¹¹Chilcote, "Developmental Nationalism."

1950s as an invited guest of the Portuguese Ministry of Culture. His assignment was to visit and assess the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia. Freyre went on to formulate a related theory of “Lusotropicalism,” which argues that the Portuguese were historically exceptional, due to their Moorish and generally “mixed” stock, in cultivating the colonial encounter into a creative, Dionysian dance of order and progress.¹²

The timing of the heralded Brazilian sociologist was impeccable. As poet and journalist, Rebelo de Bettencourt, stated in 1952 during one of Freyre’s visits on his worldwide tour of luso-colonialism, “It’s good for us to hear, from time to time, voices like this one [Freyre] that lead us to believe again with optimism in the highest ideals of Portugal.”¹³ For Gilberto Freyre, the Portuguese had a “special transeuropean vocation,”¹⁴ an “extra-european” dimension,¹⁵ one that “from the beginning,” he stated in his dozens of public speeches to Lusophiles, was a vocation of empathetic love under the sign of “a blackened Venus.”¹⁶ This final term refers to what Chilcote described as the idea that Portuguese were “transforming the tropics, not by introducing European values but by themselves changing into Lusotropicals in body and soul.”¹⁷

We have seen that Cape Verdeans’ identification with “Creole” afforded a certain degree of privilege towards the latter stages of Portuguese colonialism. Such associations would continue among elite groups of Portuguese and Cape Verdeans in relation to “Lusotropicalism.” However, an embrace of “lusu” would have divisive effects not only between Cape Verdeans and

¹²As Errante argues, the utility of the Lusotropicalism discourse was not only in service of an imagined antiracism but also by the late 1950s and early 1960s an attempt to essentially link Portugal to its remaining African colonies (Antoinette Errante, “Education and National Personae in Portugal’s Colonial and Postcolonial Transition,” *Comparative Education Review* 42 (3) (1998): 267-308). For example, in *Presença*, a propaganda magazine of the 1960s and 70s printed in colour, often featured a pair of children, one a “black” native of Angola or Mozambique and the other a “white” native of Portugal. Ensuing interviews and reports framed the white youth as identifying with Angola and equating this sentiment with a Portuguese identity as well.

¹³Cited in Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina*, 425.

¹⁴Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina*, 13.

¹⁵Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina*, 125-132.

¹⁶Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina*, 26.

¹⁷Chilcote, “Developmental Nationalism,” 9.

Portuguese Studies Review

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

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JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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nidade dos estados”, foi “comunidade dos países” (e uma versão inicial propunha “comunidade dos povos”). E não foi “comunidade dos países de língua oficial portuguesa”, o que era, no mínimo, verdade para os sete fundadores, mas “comunidade dos países de língua portuguesa” *tout court*, o que é altamente problemático. E, nos discursos do embaixador do Brasil em Portugal, José Aparecido de Oliveira, ou de políticos como Mário Soares e tantos outros, nem se falou da “criação” ou da “fundação” da CPLP, mas da mera “institucionalização” da CPLP, visto, segundo eles, *a CPLP, na realidade, existir há séculos...* Os discursos sobre os “séculos de fraternidade”, sobre o “sangue comum”, no limite, podiam ser aceites no Brasil com a “pequena” exceção dos 49% de brasileiros negros ou pardos, mas eram inaceitáveis para os africanos, tanto mais que houve debates acérrimos nos PALOPs sobre a eventualidade e oportunidade da adesão⁴. Quer dizer: do lado português, e do lado brasileiro no pequeno sector da opinião pública que se interessava por este assunto⁵, verificou-se um neolusotropicalismo flagrante com toques de nacionalismo. Lembro-me por exemplo de um pequeno artigo no *Expresso*, a propósito do pedido de adesão da Guiné Equatorial (já, em 1996!), cujo título era: “A Gui-

⁴Caroline Bieger-Merkli, *La “Communauté des pays de langue portugaise”. Un espace inter-culturel de coopération basé sur la langue?* (Torino: L’Harmattan Italia, 2010), 330 pp., e veja em particular 191-219; Michel Cahen, “What Good is Portugal to an African ?”, em Stewart Lloyd-Jones e António Costa Pinto, *The Last Empire. Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization* (Bristol (R.-U.) & Portland (Or.): Intellect Publishing, 2003), 83-98 (versão francesa: “Que faire du Portugal quand on est africain ?”, em *Le Portugal et l’Atlantique*, Arquivos do Centro cultural Calouste Gulbenkian (Paris-Lisbonne), 42 (2001) : 53-70).

⁵A relação do Brasil com a lusofonia e com a CPLP tem sido pouca estudada. No entanto, ver Caroline Bieger-Merkli, *La “Communauté des pays de langue portugaise”*, 231-239. Pelo menos um pesquisador brasileiro desenvolveu uma pesquisa crítica em várias publicações : Adriano de Freixo, “Brasil, Portugal e a construção do Espaço da Lusofonia”, *X Encontro Regional de História – ANPUH/RJ*, 2002, Rio de Janeiro, *Anais Eletrônicos do X Encontro Regional de História – História e Biografias* (Rio de Janeiro: ANPUH-RJ / UERJ, 2002); Adriano de Freixo, “Dez anos da CPLP: as perspectivas de integração do mundo de língua portuguesa”, *Cena Internacional, Revista de Análise em Política Internacional*, 8 (1) (2006): 35-54; Adriano de Freixo, “As relações luso-brasileiras e a CPLP: algumas reflexões em torno da ideia da lusofonia”, s.d. [2008], 18 pp.; Adriano de Freixo, *Minha pátria é a língua Portuguesa: A Construção da ideia da Lusofonia em Portugal* (Rio de Janeiro: Apicuri, 2009); Adriano de Freixo, “As relações luso-brasileiras e a CPLP: algumas reflexões em torno da ideia da lusofonia”, em Fernando de Souza, Paula Santos e Paulo Amorim, eds., *As Relações Portugal-Brasil no Século XX* (Porto: CEPESE/Fronteira do Caos Editores, 2010), 65-77.

né *espanhola* quer aderir à comunidade *portuguesa*”: imagine-se, se a Espanha quisesse também aderir a Portugal, que vitória retumbante não seria?⁶

Aliás, vou voltar a falar do caso da Guiné Equatorial, porque é uma boa ferramenta heurística para perceber o que é, hoje, a CPLP.

Vinte anos da CPLP

A CPLP vai festejar os seus vinte anos em 2016, portanto já é uma instituição com maturidade⁷. Desde a cimeira de Dili, reunida a 23 e 24 de Julho, de 2014, congrega nove Estados aqui citados por ordem cronológica de ratificação (os sete primeiros fundadores em 1997, e adesão dos demais) : Cabo Verde (7 Março), Brasil (25 de Março), Guiné-Bissau (8 de Maio), Moçambique (1 de Julho), Portugal (8 de Julho), Angola, (28 de Julho), São Tomé e Príncipe (28 de Outubro), Timor Leste (1 de Agosto de 2002), Guiné Equatorial (23 de Julho de 2014)⁸. A CPLP congrega, além dos membros de pleno direito, alguns “países observadores” (Ilha Maurícia, Senegal, Japão, Namíbia, Turquia, Geórgia). Finalmente, acolhe uma quantidade de “Observadores consultivos” que são ONGs, fundações, associações profissionais de língua portuguesa bem como algumas universidades, com os quais a CPLP assinou vários convénios e protocolos de cooperação⁹. A organização é dirigida por um secretário executivo, com mandato de quatro anos, seguindo a ordem alfabética dos nomes dos países (razão pela qual Portugal ainda nunca assumiu essa função): Angola (1996-2000), Brasil (2000-2004), Cabo-Verde (2004-2008), Guiné-Bissau (2008-2012) e Moçambique (desde 2012¹⁰). Reúne em

⁶“Guiné espanhola quer aderir à comunidade portuguesa. Movimentações da Galiza no mesmo sentido”, *Expresso*, 13 de julho de 1996. Este parágrafo é oriundo da minha comunicação, “Lusofonias/Lusotopias”, no colóquio “Espaço Lusófono’ 1974-2014. Trajectórias Económicas e Políticas”, Lisboa, 29-31 de Maio de 2014, CESA-ISEG/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

⁷A CPLP publica, de vez em quando, livros sobre a sua própria história. Veja-se por exemplo: CPLP, *CPLP 2008. Construindo a comunidade. 12 anos vitalidade e dinamismo* ([Lisboa], 2008), 209 pp.; CPLP, *18 anos CPLP Os desafios do futuro* ([Lisboa]: Secretário executivo da CPLP, 2014), 164 pp. Para uma história crítica da CPLP e da lusofonia, ver Caroline Bieger-Merkli, *La “Communauté des pays de langue portugaise”*.

⁸“Ratificação da Declaração Constitutiva e dos Estatutos da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa – CPLP”, (Lisboa, 12 de Novembro de 1998), 1 p.

⁹Ver a lista dos “Observadores consultivos” e dos protocolos e convénios assinados no site oficial da CPLP.

¹⁰Trata-se do embaixador Murade Isaac Murargy.

conferência plenária de dois em dois anos (Lisboa 1996, Praia 1998, Maputo 2000, Brasília 2002, São Tomé 2004, Bissau 2006, Lisboa, 2008, Luanda 2010, Maputo 2012, Dili 2014). A partir da Cimeira de Brasília, em 2002, foram criadas as reuniões ministeriais sectoriais, tendo posteriormente ocorrido algumas delas, embora de forma desigual, do que se poderá inferir um significado político, como revela o quadro a seguir:

Reuniões ministeriais sectoriais da CPLP, 2002 – Junho de 2015

<i>Sectores</i>	<i>Reuniões ministeriais</i>	<i>Outras reuniões e reparos</i>
Defesa	15	A 11 ^a , em Luanda sobre a situação na Guiné-Bissau, 28 de Maio de 2009.
Justiça	13	
Trabalho e assuntos sociais	12	As reuniões incidiram em particular sobre a questão do trabalho infantil. A CPLP conjuntamente com a OIT, propuseram a celebração do 12 de Junho como “Dia internacional contra o trabalho infantil”.
Desporto	9	1 reunião extraordinária e 5 conferências sobre “Juventude e desporto”.
Cultura	9	1 reunião extraordinária
Educação	8	2 reuniões extraordinárias, cuja última (2015) decidiu sobre um “Relatório de Estatísticas da Educação da CPLP”.
Turismo	7	
Ciência	6	A 6 ^a adotou um “Plano Estratégico de Cooperação Multilateral no Domínio da Ciência, Tecnologia e Ensino Superior 2014-2020”.
Ambiente	5	
Agricultura	5	1 reunião comum com a FAO.
Telecomunicações	4	
Saúde	3	2 reuniões extraordinárias e uma reunião especial sobre mulheres e HIV; elaboração de um “Plano

(continua na página seguinte)

		Estratégico de Cooperação em Saúde da CPLP”.
Assuntos do Mar	3	A 1ª adotou a “Estratégia da CPLP para os oceanos”; a 3ª incidiu sobre a “Economia azul”.
Administração interna	3	I reunião de altos funcionários.
Igualdade de género	2	
Finanças	2	A 2ª tomou posição contra a dupla imposição de empresas dentro da CPLP
Energia	1	Na 1ª reunião, a 23 de Junho de 2015, em Cascais: criação da rede de energia da CPLP e apoio a Timor contra a Austrália para a delimitação das zonas marítimas
Comércio	1	
Administração pública	1	
Propriedade industrial	–	
Pesca	–	
Economia e empresas	–	Várias reuniões profissionais.
Assuntos parlamentares	–	

Fonte: Portal oficial da CPLP, www.cplp.org, visitado aos 20-27 de junho de 2015.

Um mero olhar neste quadro ilustra a fraqueza da CPLP em matéria de economia, comércio, pesca e finanças¹¹, assim como na cooperação parlamentar e na igualdade de género. Em contrapartida, os sectores cujo domínio da língua portuguesa é um critério fundamental parecem melhor enquadrados na CPLP, quer seja a Defesa e a Justiça (nomeadamente a formação

¹¹Alguns economistas portugueses cedo alertaram para a fraqueza dos laços económicos dentro do espaço da CPLP. Mesmo que esses laços se tenham fortalecido significativamente nos anos mais recentes, evidenciam fortes desequilíbrios estruturais. Sobre “os primeiros anos”, veja-se, por exemplo, os artigos publicados na revista francesa *Lusotopie*: João Dias, “Les importations portugaises actuelles en provenance des PALOPs et l’importance de l’ancien lien colonial”, *Lusotopie* 3 (1996): 93-101; Manuel Ennes Ferreira e Rui Almas, “Les contours économiques de la CPLP”, *Lusotopie* 4 (1997): 11-33; Joaquim Ramos Silva, “Les relations économiques luso-brésiliennes au temps de la mondialisation”, *Lusotopie* vol. 6 (1999): 55-89.

de quadros), quer seja o desporto, a cultura, a educação, o turismo e também a luta contra o trabalho infantil. No entanto, a famosa questão do Acordo Ortográfico – da competência do Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa, criado pela CPLP em 1999 – careceu de discussões suficientes entre os países, de modo que Angola o recusou e, em Moçambique, embora o governo tenha dado o seu acordo de princípio, o mesmo não foi (ainda) aprovado pelo parlamento¹². Cabo Verde adotou o Acordo para uma entrada em vigor até Outubro de 2016.

No entanto, estas iniciativas só constituem a CPLP enquanto organização inter-estatal. À margem da CPLP, mas no seu espaço, algumas organizações profissionais lusófonas têm sido bastante ativas¹³.

A CPLP num triângulo de contradições

O facto é que a CPLP parece funcionar. Todavia, este funcionamento sofre de uma contradição triangular entre, por um lado, a forte “carga ideológica” de ambição lusotropicalista na sua fundação, como já foi dito, por outro lado, a modéstia dos meios financeiros de que pode usufruir e, por fim, a relação diferenciada que os seus membros nutrem com ela. Talvez essa heterogeneidade, na visão do que pode ser a CPLP, seja a principal dificuldade da

¹²O IILP, cuja formação fora decidida quando de uma reunião em S. Luís de Maranhão (Brasil) em 1989, só se tornou realidade dez anos depois (1999), durante a VI Reunião Ordinária do Conselho de Ministros da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (CPLP) em São Tomé e Príncipe. O IILP tem sede na Praia (Cabo Verde). A história do Acordo ortográfico ainda está para ser feita. É bem interessante ver as inúmeras polémicas que este Acordo ocasionou, que são todas significativas de posições políticas, sociais e culturais dos seus autores (por exemplo, António Emiliano, *O fim da ortografia. Comentário razoado dos fundamentos técnicos do Acordo ortográfico da Língua portuguesa (1990)* (Lisboa: Guimarães Editores, 2008) – este livro inclui na íntegra o Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa). Para trabalhos académicos recentes, ver nomeadamente, na coletânea de João Cezar de Castro Rocha, ed., *Lusofonia and its Future*, Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies (Dartmouth: Tagus Press & University of Massachusetts, 2013), a introdução deste: “Lusofonia – A Concept and its Discontents”, 1-12, e o artigo de Michelly Carvalho e Rosa Cabecinhas, “The Orthographic (Dis)Agreement and the Portuguese Identity Threat”, 82-95; para a recepção deste acordo em Portugal e no Brasil, ver a tese de Michelly Santos de Carvalho, *Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa e o significado da Lusofonia: análise comparativa*, tese de doutoramento em Ciências da Comunicação (Braga: Universidade do Minho, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2015), 285 p.; para a posição angolana, ver [Álvaro Gomes], *Parecer sobre o Acordo ortográfico de 1990. Redigido por solicitação do Ministério da Educação da República de Angola* (Luanda: H&I Edições, 2010).

¹³Por exemplo, a Confederação Empresarial da CPLP.

sua sobrevivência. Se a CPLP funciona, funciona sobretudo como uma organização inter-estatal e não como a comunidade que ela afirma ser. Isto foi bem visível com o abandono quase oficial em criar uma cidadania comunitária à semelhança da Commonwealth¹⁴.

Com efeito, para Portugal, a criação da CPLP foi, por assim dizer, identitária. Perdido o império colonial, a criação de uma lusofonia institucional foi mais ou menos pensada como dilatação da lusitanidade. Portugal sentia a necessidade de um espaço de projecção mais vasto do que o pequeno rectângulo metropolitano. Até a lusofonia foi feita pátria, com o uso e abuso da célebre frase de Fernando Pessoa, “*Minha pátria é a língua portuguesa*”, cujo sentido foi quase totalmente invertido no seu uso propagandístico. Vale a pena citar a passagem quase inteira:

Non tenho sentimento nenhum político ou social. Tenho, porém, num sentido, um alto sentimento patriótico. *Minha pátria é a língua portuguesa*. Nada me pesaria que invadissem ou tomassem Portugal, desde que não me incomodassem pessoalmente. Mas odeio, com ódio verdadeiro, com o único ódio que sinto, não quem escreve mal português, não quem não sabe sintaxe, não quem escreve em ortografia simplificada, mas a página mal escrita, como pessoa própria, a sintaxe errada, como gente em que se bata, a ortografia sem ípsilon, como o escarro directo que me enoja independentemente de quem o cuspiu¹⁵.

Assim, a declaração de amor do escritor à sua língua, que exprime que ele vive na e pela sua língua, completamente desconectado de um território ou de uma identidade nacional ou plurinacional, é desviada do seu sentido, em inumeráveis discursos e artigos. Ou seja, o sentido original da frase “*Minha pátria é a língua portuguesa*” é invertido, passando a significar que “*A língua portuguesa é uma pátria*” e uma identidade comuns a muita gente espalhada pelo mundo.

No momento da criação da CPLP em 1996, a confusão entre lusofonia e lusitanidade era quase generalizada nas declarações de portugueses entusiásticos e do pequeno sector brasileiro que se interessou pela CPLP, o que inco-

¹⁴José Leitão, *Estudo sobre cidadania e circulação no espaço da CPLP* (Lisboa: Grupo de trabalho alargado sobre cidadania e circulação de pessoas no Espaço CPLP, [2007]), 102 p. Este relatório, elaborado a pedido da CPLP, concluía que não se podia avançar rumo à livre circulação dentro da CPLP e a uma cidadania comunitária, e propunha um vago “Estado do cidadão da CPLP”.

¹⁵Bernardo Soares (heterónimo de Fernando Pessoa), *Livro do Desassossego*, ed. de Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Lisboa: Ática, 1982), I: 16-17.

modava fortemente os dirigentes e intelectuais africanos que afirmavam, sim, falar português mas não serem “lusófonos”¹⁶. Para estes, a ideologia da lusofonia não era mais do que a versão contemporânea do lusotropicalismo de Gilberto Freyre adaptado por Salazar e Caetano¹⁷.

Para o Brasil, a relação com a CPLP foi também identitária para um pequeno sector do Itamaraty. Mas para a diplomacia brasileira em geral, mais ou menos herdeira da “política externa independente” dos princípios dos anos sessenta (antes do golpe militar de 1964), suavizada depois numa “política externa ecuménica”, a criação da CPLP foi mais uma ferramenta, como qualquer outra e com certeza não a mais importante, para ampliar a projeção da Federação, como frisou Adriano de Freixo:

para o Itamaraty, a CPLP tem sido uma questão absolutamente secundária, apesar de uma certa mudança na inflexão da política externa brasileira em direção a uma maior aproximação com a Ásia e a África, desde o início do governo de Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, em 2003¹⁸.

No entanto, a CPLP podia, por exemplo, ser útil para uma futura integração do Brasil como membro permanente do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas. Também Portugal, agora membro da União Europeia, poderia ganhar de novo um certo interesse para o Brasil. Contudo, no essencial, as relações brasileiras com os países lusófonos continuaram bilaterais, sem ser necessária a mediação da CPLP.

Mas para os países africanos de língua oficial portuguesa, a adesão à CPLP foi *meramente* instrumental, sem qualquer afeto. Os PALOPs já tinham a sua própria organização, a Cimeira dos Cinco, na qual a presença de Portugal foi explicitamente recusada. E é bom lembrar que Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau e

¹⁶Veja-se, em particular, as declarações do escritor moçambicano Mia Couto, reproduzidas numa das poucas críticas precoces de intelectuais portugueses à ideologia da lusofonia: Alfredo Margarido, *A Lusofonia e os Lusófonos: Novos mitos Portugueses* (Lisboa: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2000), 71. Recentemente, veja-se, Mia Couto, “A lusofonia é uma ideia de políticos, que não é de todos nós”, entrevista em *Savana* (Maputo), 12 de Dezembro de 2014. Outra crítica precoce foi a de Fernando S. Neves, *Para uma crítica da razão lusófona: onze teses sobre a CPLP e a Lusofonia* (Lisboa: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2000).

¹⁷Cláudia Castelo, “O luso-tropicalismo e o colonialismo português tardio”, 5 de Março de 2013, <http://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/o-luso-tropicalismo-e-o-colonialismo-portugues-tardio>.

¹⁸Adriano de Freixo, “Dez anos da CPLP”, 41.

São Tomé tornaram-se membros da CPLP depois de aderir à francofonia, que Moçambique já era membro da Commonwealth, e que Angola atrasou repetidamente a sua criação, a partir de 1994, por não querer ser membro de uma organização com Portugal sob a presidência de Mário Soares, acusado de ser favorável à Unita¹⁹. Ora, em 1996 e nos anos imediatos, Angola ainda estava em guerra civil, Moçambique ainda curava as suas próprias feridas, o Brasil não ambicionava dirigir a CPLP, embora não existisse um verdadeiro desafio de liderança dentro da organização. Até, “A expectativa era alta por não haver um país central”, o que podia ser uma vantagem para criar uma comunidade de novo tipo, como frisou o sociólogo português Boaventura de Sousa Santos em Janeiro de 2009²⁰.

Pelo menos em duas ocasiões, pode dizer-se que Portugal conseguiu levar a CPLP a posicionamentos que não eram óbvios para todos os países fundadores, mas que foram do agrado de Portugal: a crise em Timor Leste depois do referendo de 1999 e, mais tarde, a situação na Guiné-Bissau.

Timor Leste, a lenta homogeneização dos pontos de vista

Hoje em dia, parece adquirido que os sete membros fundadores da CPLP sempre apoiaram a luta de Timor Leste para a sua segunda independência contra a invasão indonésia²¹. Na realidade, não é assim tão simples. O Estado português não reconheceu a proclamação da independência pela Fretilin pelo que, pelo direito português, Timor continuava a ser considerado um território português. Mas as poucas forças militares portuguesas presentes

¹⁹A União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola era o grupo rebelde que combatia o regime do MPLA. A UNITA foi militarmente vencida em 2002 quando seu líder, Jonas Savimbi, foi morto ao 22 de fevereiro, numa operação do exército governamental, apoiada a nível das informações e da observação satelitar pelos Estados Unidos e Israel.

²⁰Agência Lusa, “CPLP: Organização frustrou expectativas que levaram à sua criação em 1996 – Boaventura Sousa Santos”, 9 de Janeiro de 2009, <http://noticias.sapo.pt/lusa/artigo/656a3d5bof2545061534dd.html>.

²¹Depois de uma primeira proclamação da independência pela FRETILIN (Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente), em 1975, não reconhecida por Portugal, deu-se a invasão indonésia a partir de 7 de dezembro de 1975, que ocorreu sem nenhuma resistência por parte do exército português. No entanto, os elementos timorenses do exército português passaram para o lado da FRETILIN e ofereceram a primeira resistência aos Indonésios, antes da organização da guerrilha. Não se deve ignorar, no entanto, que a guerra de resistência foi também, pelo menos no início, uma guerra civil entre várias correntes timorenses.

no território não ofereceram nenhuma resistência, nem sequer simbólica, ao avanço das tropas indonésias – fato que foi ressentido, anos a fio, como uma vergonha nacional de que se evitava falar. Além disso, na mente de alguns anticolonialistas portugueses, devia adoptar-se o modelo de Goa, isto é, a reintegração de um pequeno território colonial português no grande estado descolonizado vizinho – no caso de Goa, tinha sido a Índia, no caso de Timor podia ser a Indonésia²², tal como devia acontecer com Macau em relação à China. Aliás, foi a própria essência da invasão indonésia que desencadeou a resistência e não a ideia em si de uma integração: desde o início, violentíssima e colonialista, ela foi completamente incapaz de considerar os timorenses como novos indonésios²³.

De facto, recomeçou-se a falar de Timor Leste depois do massacre de jovens timorenses no cemitério de Santa Cruz, a 12 de Novembro de 1991. Para infortúnio dos Indonésios, o massacre foi filmado pelo repórter Max Stahl que deu assim a conhecer ao mundo o que ocorreu em Díli. Os acontecimentos foram condenados internacionalmente e chamaram a atenção para a causa dos timorenses. Em Portugal, a Juventude Socialista organizou uma manifestação. Desde aí, *isto é, muito tarde*, Portugal iniciou efectivamente uma ação diplomática de internacionalização do caso timorense, cuja eficácia só se sentiu depois da demissão do ditador indonésio Suharto em Maio de 1998. Portugal restabeleceu as relações diplomáticas com a Indonésia em via de democratização, o que permitiu a retomada das negociações sob pressão das Nações Unidas. As chacinas de milícias pró-indonésias contra o resultado pró-independência do referendo em Timor, em 1999, geraram uma gigantesca mobilização popular em Portugal, por razões complexas relativas à ideia mesmo da nação na consciência popular portuguesa, que não cabe analisar aqui²⁴.

²²O próprio General Costa Gomes pensava assim.

²³Noam Chomsky, “La tragédie au Timor oriental et l’attitude des États-Unis”, *Lusotopie* 6 (1999): 247-250.

²⁴No mesmo momento, a terceira guerra civil angolana fazia centenas de milhares de mortes, e não provocou nenhuma emoção em Portugal. Para uma análise do “levantamento” português relativo a Timor, ver Miguel Vale de Almeida, “O epílogo do Império. Timor-Leste e a tarse pós-colonial portuguesa,” em M. Vale do Almeida, *Um mar da cor da terra: raça, cultura e política de identidade* (Oeiras: Celta, 2000), 205-225. Veja também Michel Cahen, “‘Portugal is in the Sky.’ Conceptual Considerations on Communities, Lusitanity and Lusophony,” em Éric Morier-Genoud e Michel Cahen, eds., *Imperial Migrations. Coloni-*

Qual foi a atitude do Brasil durante este período? Vale a pena citar as análises de Leandro Pepe e Suzeley Kalil Mathias, a propósito da posição brasileira:

... o governo brasileiro acompanhou atentamente os desdobramentos que pudessem vir à luz. Porém, não se envolveu diretamente na questão. Na época, o país buscava aproximar-se de países do sudeste asiático, pois eles apresentavam altas taxas de crescimento econômico e auspiciosos mercados consumidores. A Indonésia estava entre estes, expunha ao público consideráveis taxas de crescimento econômico e de formação de mercado consumidor profícuo. Não por acaso, a Indonésia estava entre os chamados « novos tigres asiáticos. Havia, assim, o receio de que uma posição peremptória por parte do Brasil a favor do Timor Leste pudesse azedar as relações com Jacarta. Receio este que esteve presente até o momento da efetivação da independência timorense. A primeira abordagem do governo brasileiro ao tema, segundo [Cunha^{*}] foi : "Desde a primeira hora [...] a posição brasileira foi de fidelidade ao princípio da autodeterminação, entendido este como direito do povo do Timor-Leste a expressar-se livremente sobre seu futuro, sem prejudicar as aspirações timorenses. Mas não cabia ao país assumir nenhum protagonismo naquele tema específico". O governo brasileiro não se encontrava, portanto, em situação confortável a respeito da questão timorense [porque entendia] que apoiar explicitamente a causa timorense poderia minar seus objetivos de estreitar laços com a região asiática²⁵.

O fim do regime militar no Brasil (1984-85), a demissão de Suharto na Indonésia (1988), a queda do Muro de Berlim (1989) e a consequente subida da questão dos direitos humanos na agenda política internacional, a vontade do Brasil de desenvolver um maior protagonismo nas Nações Unidas e a própria evolução em Timor Leste a partir do referendo de 1999 levaram a uma mudança de atitude do Brasil que, desde então, assumiu a liderança da intervenção das Nações Unidas no território²⁶. Mas, como pudemos verificar, essa

al Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World (Basingstoke (R.-U.): Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 297-315. Sobre a segunda independência de Timor Leste, veja M. Cahen e I. Carneiro de Sousa, eds., *Timor, les défis de l'indépendance, Lusotopie* 8 (2001), 448 pp.

* João Solano Carneiro da Cunha, *A Questão do Timor-Leste: Origens e Evolução* (Brasília: Instituto Rio Branco, Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2001), 200.

²⁵ Leandro Pepe e Suzeley Kalil Mathias, "O envolvimento do Brasil na questão timorense", *Lusotopie* 13 (2) (2006): 49-58, em particular 52-53.

²⁶ Djuan Bracey, "O Brasil e as operações de manutenção da paz da ONU: os casos do Timor Leste e Haiti", *Contexto Internacional* (Rio de Janeiro) 33 (2) (2011): <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-85292011000200003>; Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho, Rafael Duarte Villa, Thiago Rodrigues e Henrik Breitenbauch, eds., *Brazilian Participation in United Nations Peacekee-*

iniciativa não teve qualquer espontaneidade que se podia esperar do Brasil, por Timor ser uma antiga possessão portuguesa, portanto “lusófono”. Com certeza que o Brasil preferia a Ásia lucrativa à Ásia lusófona.

Uma palavra sobre os PALOPs em relação a Timor. Da parte de Cabo Verde, de Angola e de São Tomé e Príncipe, se não estou em erro, houve um apoio de princípio em relação à tomada de posições oficiais das Cimeiras dos Cinco, mas também um quase silêncio. A Guiné-Bissau de João Bernardo “Nino” Vieira estava mais preocupada com as importações de arroz da Indonésia do que em manifestar a sua solidariedade para com a Fretilin²⁷. Afinal, apenas Moçambique se manteve ativamente fiel à Fretilin e ao Governo timorense no exílio, cuja sede, justamente, era em Maputo.

No entanto, mesmo que a jovem CPLP enquanto tal não tenha sido o principal protagonista na questão timorense, parece muito razoável considerar que a sua criação em 1996 teve um efeito de “homogeneização” de posições no seio dos seus membros em relação a esse problema. Empurrados por Portugal e Moçambique, os outros membros, e em particular o Brasil, não podiam continuar de olhos fechados, sobretudo depois das chacinas das milícias indonésias após o referendo de 1999. Na viragem de 1999-2000, a causa timorense tornou-se assim um cimento da jovem comunidade. Novamente independente em 20 de Maio de 2002, o país passou a ser membro da CPLP.

A crise permanente na Guiné-Bissau

Quando da curta e violentíssima guerra civil na Guiné-Bissau em 1998, na qual o Senegal e a Guiné-Conakry intervieram com o envio de soldados para salvar o poder do presidente “Nino” Vieira, ameaçado pela rebelião da maioria do seu exército, liderada pelo antigo chefe do Estado-Maior, Ansumane Mané²⁸ – o “general Brik-Brak” muito popular entre a população –, a CPLP

ping Operations, Brasiliana (Journal for Brazilian Studies) (King’s College London), 3 (2) (Março de 2015), 196 pp.

²⁷O interesse em importar arroz da Indonésia não provinha apenas da insuficiente produção bissau-guineense, mas também, ao meu ver, da vontade de enfraquecer a economia orizícola da etnia balante, que dominava o exército.

²⁸O presidente Vieira, a 30 de janeiro de 1998, tinha exonerado o Chefe de estado maior, antigo herói da luta anticolonial, acusado de tráfico de armas com os rebeldes do Movimento das Forças Livres da Casamança (Senegal), quando tudo indicava que era o próprio poder que tinha organizado este tráfico desde 1982. A. Mané recusou servir de bode expiatório e atacou a presidência a 7 de junho de 1998. A intervenção de soldados senegaleses e

foi marginalizada pela intervenção das forças militares da Ecomog sob liderança nigeriana²⁹. Por detrás dessa rivalidade CPLP-Ecomog, jazia uma rivalidade entre França e Portugal pela disputa da hegemonia na Guiné-Bissau. No entanto, a intervenção da Ecomog também não teve sucesso e o país não estabilizou durante a conturbada presidência de Kumba Yala, marcada por um período instável que assistiu ao regresso ao poder de “Nino” Vieira, desta vez eleito contra o seu antigo partido, o PAIGC. Num contexto em que a Guiné-Bissau era cada vez mais descrita pelas organizações internacionais como um *Narco-State*, “Nino” Vieira acabou por ser assassinado a 2 de março de 2009, um dia depois de um atentado bombista ter morto o chefe do exército, o general Batista Tagme Na Wae³⁰. A CPLP, na sua reunião ministerial de Defesa, realizada em Luanda a 28 de Maio de 2009, condenou unanimemente o assassinato do Chefe de Estado, e insistiu para que se mantivessem as eleições previstas para 28 de Junho do mesmo ano. Este consenso foi importante numa situação de urgência³¹. No entanto, não foi por uma decisão da CPLP mas por um acordo bilateral (mesmo se ao abrigo da União Africana) que Angola enviou uma força militar para a Guiné, denominada Missang, em nome da irmandade entre o PAIGC e o MPLA do tempo da luta anticolonial. A Missang foi formalmente constituída a 21 de março de 2011 com o objetivo de apoiar a reforma do setor militar guineense, ao mesmo tempo que o governo de Luanda oferecia uma linha de crédito para o sucesso da mesma – mas é claro que assim Angola preparava também a sua entrada económica na Guiné, em particular no sector da bauxite. A CEDEAO e a CPLP (na prática, Angola, Nigéria e Senegal) deviam agendar um conjunto de reformas³².

guineenses (Conacri) para salvar o presidente reforçou o apoio da população ao campo rebelde. O centro cultural francês foi incendiado, por ninguém acreditar que o Senegal pudesse intervir sem a autorização e apoio da França. Mas as tropas estrangeiras mostraram-se incapazes de vencer os rebeldes e tiveram que ser vergonhosamente retiradas.

²⁹ECOMOG: Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group, o braço armado da CEDEAO (Comunidade económica dos estados da África ocidental).

³⁰International Crisis Group, “Guiné-Bissau: Para lá da Lei das Armas”, *Briefing África* 61 (25 de Junho de 2009).

³¹CPLP, *Declaração Ministerial sobre a Guiné-Bissau* (Luanda, 28 de Maio de 2009), 1 p.

³²International Crisis Group, “Para além dos compromissos: as perspectivas de reforma na Guiné-Bissau”, *Relatório África* 183 (23 de Janeiro de 2012), 44 pp.

No entanto, a 12 de Abril de 2012, militares guineenses atacaram o governo, alegadamente para prevenir uma ação angolana contra aquelas medidas, a pedido do Primeiro-ministro guineense Carlos Gomes Júnior, tendo saqueado a sua casa, compelido o presidente interino Raimundo Pereira a pôr-se em fuga e, no dia seguinte, assumiram (mais uma vez) o poder.

Angola retirou rapidamente as suas tropas e a Guiné-Bissau foi caminhando com grandes dificuldades rumo à estabilização.

Embora a CPLP tivesse sido, permanentemente, protagonista da crise na Guiné, e os seus estados membros – incluindo os governos civis da Guiné, quando os havia – tenham estado de acordo sobre as posições a estabelecer, não se pode dizer que a CPLP foi a organização mais eficaz no tratamento da crise.

Com o fortíssimo crescimento de Angola, com base exclusiva nas altas cotações do petróleo e a consolidação da sua elite riquíssima a partir de 2002-2005³³, com a forte entrada do Brasil em África, em particular em Angola, a partir de 2003 (1º governo de Lula), e depois com a crise em Portugal, a CPLP – ou melhor, não a CPLP como tal mas o “assunto da CPLP” – tornou-se um palco de expressão das novas relações de forças entre países “lusófonos”. Aliás, sempre existiu uma certa consciência dessa realidade na diplomacia portuguesa. Como escreve Armando Marques Guedes no prefácio a um livro publicado pelo Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros de Portugal, “toda a produção institucional, e o grosso dos esforços de conceptualização prospectiva quanto à Lusofonia, têm sido marcados ora por falta ou excesso de ambição, ora por incertezas. Vive-se, antes do mais, num limbo de indefinição”³⁴.

Proponho-me analisar, neste estudo, dois episódios: o da crise das relações diplomáticas Portugal-Angola, em 2012-2014, e o da polémica entrada da Guiné Equatorial como membro de pleno direito na CPLP em Julho de 2014.

Portugal, o parceiro “estratégico” que nunca foi

Salvo durante os mandatos de Mário Soares, os vários governos portugueses foram sempre de um seguidismo impressionante (e confrangedor) para com

³³Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, *Magnificent and Beggar Land. Angola Since the Civil War* (Londres: Hurst and Co, 2015), 292 pp.

³⁴José Filipe Pinto, *Do Império Colonial à Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa: Continuidades e Descontinuidades* (Lisboa: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2005), 744 pp.

Angola. Com base na ideia de que “Angola é muito importante para Portugal” e sem ver que, durante esses anos, “Portugal não era importante para Angola”, a política angolana de Portugal esforçou-se sempre por agradar ao máximo ao governo do MPLA. Ora, a eficácia de tal política foi nula porque, quanto mais a política do governo português se revelava favorável, mais as exigências do governo do MPLA subiam, no conteúdo e na forma³⁵. No entanto, a nível das relações diplomáticas, depois do fim da guerra civil angolana (2002), começou a falar-se em relações “estratégicas” entre os dois países. Portugal estava tanto mais interessado num Acordo deste teor, que mais de cem mil portugueses tinham entretanto emigrado novamente para Angola³⁶. Contudo, Portugal tornou-se “importante para Angola” a nível financeiro, como espaço privilegiado de extraversão para a alta elite angolana, cuja figura de proa é Isabel dos Santos, a filha do presidente José Eduardo dos Santos. Grandes empresas portuguesas bem como o governo, afundados numa longa crise, acolheram com bons olhos a exportação de capitais angolanos, sem averiguar atentamente a origem destes³⁷. Esta situação iria ser a causa de uma relativamente breve, mas violenta crise nas relações entre os dois países. Como a Justiça em Portugal é independente do Estado, entretanto foi lançada uma investigação sobre a origem de uma parte dos capitais. Ora, para o governo angolano, incapaz de aceitar tal concepção – independência da Justiça –, esse processo não passava de um complot de políticos portugueses, até mesmo dos do governo “contra Angola”. Pelo menos num ponto, o governo angolano tinha razão: o segredo da instrução não foi preservado e o lançamento da investigação foi conhecido. No entanto, bem se sabe que este tipo de fuga de informação, regra geral, é organizado pelos próprios funcionários para impedir que pressões políticas fechem o caso.

Em Julho de 2010, o presidente português Cavaco Silvo visitou Angola durante cinco dias – a mais longa visita de um presidente português. Tratava-se de desbloquear assuntos relativos a dívidas angolanas para com peque-

³⁵Michel Cahen, “What Good is Portugal to an African?”

³⁶Este fator faz lembrar a recusa de Portugal, mesmo depois de 1974-75, em votar a favor das sanções contra o regime do apartheid na África do Sul, receando que a comunidade portuguesa neste país – cujo regime do apartheid propositadamente exagerava a sua importância, falando até de “quase um milhão” de pessoas – tivesse que voltar de maneira precipitada para Portugal ...

³⁷Jorge Costa, Francisco Louçã e João Teixeira Lopes, *Os donos angolanos de Portugal* (Lisboa: Bertrand Editora, 2014), 144 pp.

nas e médias empresas portuguesas operando em Angola, de contatar a comunidade portuguesa estabelecida no país e, sobretudo, de avançar rumo a um acordo de “parceria estratégica” entre os dois países. Porém, a 9 de novembro de 2012, o semanário *Expresso* tinha anunciado que o Departamento Central de Investigação e Acção Penal (DCIAP) tinha aberto investigações a Manuel Vicente, vice-presidente de Angola, e Manuel Hélder Vieira Dias ‘Kopelipa’, chefe da Casa Militar do presidente de Angola, também por suspeitas de branqueamento de capitais. Em Dezembro de 2012, o DCIAP tinha confirmado o caso. A notícia dessas investigações causou grande perplexidade, tanto em Angola como em Portugal, dado serem visadas duas das figuras mais relevantes do Estado angolano, e tanto mais que o *Expresso* é tido como muito próximo do PSD, no poder em Lisboa. O *Jornal de Angola* de 12 de Novembro falou de uma “campanha contra Angola [que] partiu do poder ao mais alto nível [tanto mais que a] PGR portuguesa é amplamente citada como a fonte da notícia. [As] relações entre Angola e Portugal são prejudicadas quando se age com tamanha deslealdade.”³⁸

Todavia, a 6 de Fevereiro de 2013, por ocasião da visita do então ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros de Portugal, Paulo Portas, a Angola, o *Jornal de Angola* ainda teceu loas às relações entre Portugal e Angola, provavelmente porque tinha sido anunciado em Lisboa a substituição da diretora do DCIAP, visando impedir a publicação deste tipo de informação. Dizia o editoralista num texto intitulado “Crescemos juntos” :

Os amigos conhecem-se nos momentos difíceis. Os angolanos sabem estender a mão da amizade a todos os que precisam, sem olhar a conveniências ou retornos. Portugal é um país amigo e mais do que isso: o executivo definiu-o como um parceiro estratégico. [Portugal] tem muito para oferecer a Angola nesta fase da reconstrução nacional [e a] colaboração de quadros especializados portugueses e conhecedores de Angola não é o menos importante, pelo contrário. [O que está em jogo] é tão grandioso que os pequenos acidentes de percurso, as atitudes disparadas com acrimónia por sectores da política portuguesa, as faltas de respeito e as deslealdades que prosperam em Lisboa contra Angola e magoam, não vão conseguir destruir a nova relação que nasceu com o 25 de Abril de 1974³⁹.

³⁸Ana Dias Cordeiro, “Jornal de Angola denuncia campanha contra Luanda ‘do poder ao mais alto nível’ em Portugal”, *Público* (Lisboa), 12 de novembro de 2012.

³⁹Celso Filipe, “Os 21 dias que mudaram a relação entre Portugal e Angola”, *Jornal de Negócios* (Lisboa), 27 de Fevereiro de 2013.

O editorialista dirigia-se sobretudo a “sectores da política portuguesa”, e não ao próprio governo. Mas sobreveio mais uma fuga, publicada no *Expresso* de 23 de Fevereiro, a saber que o próprio Procurador-Geral da República de Angola, João Maria de Sousa, estava a ser investigado pelo Departamento Central de Investigação e Acção Penal (DCIAP) por suspeitas de fraude fiscal e branqueamento de capitais. Desta vez, a 27 de Fevereiro, o *Jornal de Angola* atacava fortemente Portugal:

Todos os investidores estrangeiros são bons para Portugal, menos os angolanos. Não há qualquer desconfiança dos que compram aeroportos, portos, companhias de aviação, de electricidade, posições maioritárias em bancos. Mas se algum angolano anunciar que vai investir num determinado sector, uma matilha ruidosa de comentadores avançados lança logo calúnias sobre o comprador e envenena os possíveis negócios com intrigas e desconfianças inaceitáveis. As elites portuguesas corruptas decididamente não querem nada com os investidores angolanos. Vai sendo tempo de respondermos na mesma moeda. E quem já investi, que leia os jornais, oiça as rádios e televisões. Que lance um olhar, nem que seja de desprezo, para os angolanos que essas elites políticas e económicas elegeram como os seus heróis. Um país que valoriza lixo humano como se fosse ouro de lei não tem condições para receber um euro sequer de investimento. Quem promove bandidos a heróis não é de confiança⁴⁰.

A imprensa oficiosa angolana continuou a atacar repetidamente Portugal e agora também em casos sem relação alguma com assuntos financeiros. Assim, quando a viúva de Agostinho Neto, Maria Eugénia Neto foi condenada por difamação contra a historiadora portuguesa Dalila Cabrita Mateus⁴¹, o diretor do *Jornal de Angola* disse que a Justiça portuguesa tinha “dois pesos e duas medidas”, porque, num outro processo, uma queixa de generais angolanos contra o livro de Rafael Marques (ativista angolano ligado à Open Society de Georges Soros), *Diamantes de sangue*, tinha sido indeferida⁴². No dia 25 de Abril, aniversário da Revolução dos Cravos, o *Jornal de Angola* realçou que: “Não é de estranhar que seja em Madrid [e não em Lisboa que] hoje se

⁴⁰Filipe, “Os 21 dias.”

⁴¹M. E. Neto tinha declarado que Dalila Cabrita Mateus era “desonesta” e “mentirosa”. Dalila Cabrita Mateus, *Purga em Angola* (Lisboa: Edições Asa, 2007), 208 pp.

⁴²*Público*, “Jornal de Angola volta a atacar a Justiça portuguesa e as ‘elites corruptas’”, 22 de Abril de 2013 [artigo não assinado]. Rafael Marques, *Diamantes de sangue. Corrupção e tortura em Angola* (Lisboa: Tinta-da-China, 2011), 230 pp.

realiza um grande fórum de investidores europeus interessados em Angola”⁴³.

Apesar das apressadas visitas de ministros portugueses, apesar do vice-primeiro ministro português, Paulo Portas ter declarado que o “sistema judicial português não é lugar adequado para dirimir questões internas de outros Estados”⁴⁴, apesar do próprio ministro português dos Negócios estrangeiros, Rui Machete, a 4 de Outubro de 2013, ter apresentado desculpas públicas (pelo trabalho da Justiça do seu próprio país ...) ⁴⁵, o governo angolano manteve firme a sua recusa em avançar. A 15 de Outubro de 2013, o presidente angolano anunciou, durante um discurso na Assembleia Nacional, o fim das discussões sobre a referida “parceria”, alegando desentendimentos a alto nível e um ambiente político desfavorável⁴⁶. Apesar das ameaças veladas sobre o fim das exportações de capitais angolanos para Portugal, os investimentos da elite angolana não pararam, mas a comunidade portuguesa em Angola e, em particular as pequenas e médias empresas, corriam o risco de retaliações sob forma de investigações por putativas fugas ao fisco, ou perante incumprimentos potenciais das suas obrigações, à face da lei angolana ...

Vale a pena, no entanto, ler longos extratos deste discurso do presidente angolano, para avaliar o que se pode chamar “psicologia” da relação do poder angolano com Portugal:

... eu tenho fé que a esperança que se renova todos os dias e a confiança na construção de um futuro melhor para todos são fortes e serão o denominador comum que continuará a cimentar a unidade necessária à consolidação da Nação angolana e à construção da nova sociedade democrática, inclusiva e próspera [...].

Ora, Angola está integrada na economia internacional e sofre os efeitos dos seus constrangimentos. [...]

⁴³João Manuel Rocha, “*Jornal de Angola critica ‘elites corruptas e ignorantes de Lisboa’ num texto sobre o 25 de Abril*”, *Público* (Lisboa), 25 de Abril de 2013.

⁴⁴Rocha, “*Jornal de Angola critica.*”

⁴⁵Diogo Cavaleiro, “Machete pede desculpas a Angola por investigações judiciais, MP garante autonomia”, *Jornal de Negócios*, 4 de Outubro 2013.

⁴⁶António Tomás, “The Angola-Portugal Connection: A Relationship of Mutual Dependency”, *Perspectives. Political Analyses and Commentaries*, Cidade do Cabo, Henrich Böll Stiftung (Regional Office Southern Africa) 3 (2014): 14-18; numerosos artigos na imprensa portuguesa, como Rosália Amorim e Luísa Meireles, “Angola anuncia fim da parceria estratégica com Portugal”, *Expresso*, 15 de Outubro de 2013.

De facto, o grande objectivo da política económica para a presente legislatura consiste na promoção da diversificação da nossa economia, por forma a tornar o nosso processo de desenvolvimento menos vulnerável e mais sustentável. [...]

Angola tem reafirmado na sua política externa o primado do respeito pela ordem constitucional e a resolução pacífica dos conflitos e diferendos, em especial no nosso continente, onde ainda prevalecem situações preocupantes no Mali, na República Centro Africana, no Sudão e Sudão do Sul, na Somália, em Madagáscar, na Guiné Bissau e na República Democrática do Congo.

O nosso país continuará a ser um membro activo da União Africana, da SADC, da CEAC e da CPLP e apresentou a sua candidatura a Membro Não Permanente do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas para o período 2015/2016.

No plano bilateral, Angola tem relações estáveis com quase todos os países do mundo. Com muitos deles tem uma cooperação económica crescente e com benefícios recíprocos.

O nosso país tornou-se um destino turístico e de investimento estrangeiro porque o seu prestígio e a confiança dos seus parceiros está a crescer.

Só com Portugal, lamentavelmente, as coisas não estão bem. Têm surgido incompreensões ao nível da cúpula e o clima político actual, reinante nessa relação, não aconselha a construção da parceria estratégica antes anunciada! [...]

Neste processo de luta contra a corrupção, há uma confusão deliberada feita por organizações de países ocidentais para intimidar os africanos que pretendem constituir activos e ter acesso à riqueza, porque de um modo geral se cria a imagem de que o homem africano rico é corrupto ou suspeito de corrupção.

Não há razão para nos deixarmos intimidar.

A acumulação primitiva do capital nos países ocidentais ocorreu há centenas de anos e nessa altura as suas regras de jogo eram outras. A acumulação primitiva de capital que tem lugar hoje em África deve ser adequada à nossa realidade.

A nossa lei não discrimina ninguém. Qualquer cidadão nacional pode ter acesso à propriedade privada e desenvolver actividades económicas como empresário, sócio ou accionista e criar riqueza pessoal e património.

O cidadão estrangeiro pode criar empresas de direito angolano e integrar-se na economia nacional.

Um simples levantamento dos resultados das empresas americanas, inglesas e francesas no sector dos petróleos ou das empresas e bancos comerciais com interesses portugueses em Angola mostrará que eles levam de Angola todos os anos dezenas de biliões de dólares.

Por que é que eles podem ter empresas privadas dessa dimensão e os angolanos não?

As campanhas de intimidação que referi antes são feitas persistentemente contra os africanos porque não querem ter concorrentes locais e querem continuar a levar cada vez mais riqueza para os seus países.

Nós precisamos de empresas, empresários e grupos económicos nacionais fortes e eficientes no sector público e privado e de elites capazes em todos os domínios, para sairmos progressivamente da situação de país subdesenvolvido.

Isto não tem nada a ver com corrupção, nem com o desvio de bens públicos para fins pessoais. Há que separar o trigo do joio.

As nossas leis que regulam essas matérias são claras e devem ser continuar a ser aplicadas com rigor⁴⁷.

É impressionante constatar como o presidente angolano continua a utilizar algumas “palavras” marxistas para justificar o capitalismo selvagem. Considerando que uma burguesia nacional é necessária para o desenvolvimento do país e que “os angolanos” têm direito a serem burgueses pela via da “acumulação primitiva de capital”, justifica-se a concentração de riqueza num número reduzidíssimo de membros da elite ligada à presidência, o que “não tem nada a ver com corrupção, nem com o desvio de bens públicos para fins pessoais”. Todos os países percebem isso, salvo Portugal com quem “têm surgido incompreensões a nível da cúpula”.

O que é interessante é o “dois pesos e duas medidas” do presidente e do governo angolano. Pouco depois, rebentou no Brasil um grande escândalo a propósito de uma rede de prostituição organizada, durante sete anos, por um general angolano, Bento dos Santos Kangamba, sobre o qual a Procuradoria-Geral brasileira fazia um inquérito⁴⁸. Tinha ordem de prisão no Brasil e o nome na lista de procurados na Interpol...⁴⁹ Ora, não houve qualquer reação das autoridades angolanas a propósito dos artigos na imprensa brasilei-

⁴⁷República de Angola, *Estado da Nação: O discurso do Presidente da República de Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos* (Luanda, 15 de Outubro de 2015), 13 pp.

⁴⁸Walter Nunes e Ernesto Paglia, “General angolano chegava a pagar US\$ 100 mil por sexo com brasileiras”, *Fantástico*, edição da Globo, 18 de Dezembro de 2013. A Globo descreveu assim o general Bento dos Santos Kangamba: “é general da reserva das Forças Armadas angolanas. Herói da guerra civil, líder político do partido do poder, o MPLA, ele é um dos maiores empresários do país. Com negócios na África e em Portugal, dono do time de futebol que é o atual campeão angolano, o general Bento tem forte ligação com o presidente José Eduardo dos Santos, no poder há 34 anos. Ele é, simplesmente, casado com uma sobrinha do chefe de estado de Angola?”

⁴⁹*Público*, “General angolano acusado por tráfico internacional de mulheres”, 25 de Outubro de 2013 [artigo não assinado].

Portuguese Studies Review

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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Potential Lusophone Role in Atlantic Security

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1. Introduction

The attacks in the United States (US) on 11 September 2001 marked the beginning of a new era in international (in)security. The model of conventional defence was not proven effective enough to deal with new threats of transnational nature. In 2010, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) revised its Strategic Concept, becoming an “armed wing” of the United Nations (UN) Security Council in peace enforcement missions, an actor with a global vocation.

The founding Charter of the United Nations calls for the necessity of regional cooperation as a way to preserve peace or resolve international conflicts. In this context, this paper considers whether the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP),¹ as defined by its objectives and the strategic potential of its members, will be able to be an actor in the matters of Atlantic security. The analysis will focus mainly on the role of Portugal, Brazil and Angola whose geopolitical interests are centred in the Atlantic Ocean basin.

2. International security

The world order has changed significantly since the Cold War. The new geopolitical reality is largely induced by the relative decrease of influence of the military compared to economic and financial powers. NATO² survived the

¹CPLP: *Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa*. CPLP is an organization founded in 1996 and currently has 9 Member States: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor (since 2002), Equatorial Guinea (since 2014), Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe.

²NATO is a political-military organization founded in 1949 and now has 28 Member States: Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United



dissolution of the Warsaw Pact (1955-1991) and in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 bombings in the United States redirected its mission to combating transnational terrorism. The UN has seen its role limited both by the aristocratic decision-making processes in the Security Council (five permanent members with the right to veto)³ and by the lack of its own military forces, finding itself restricted mainly to peace-enforcement missions. The so-called “Blue Helmets” are multinational forces prepared only for peacekeeping missions).

In this situation, the contribution of regional organizations should be seen as a welcome element. The Charter of the United Nations (Article 52, Paragraph 1) states that:

nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of agreements or regional entities, designed to deal with matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security that are susceptible to regional action, provided that such agreements or regional identities and their activities are compatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.⁴

Regional organizations may be able act in the humanitarian field, as peacekeepers, or even in preventing and combating organized crime.

NATO’s new strategic concept, adopted in Lisbon in 2010, concurs. Paragraph 28 of the 2010 document states:

the promotion of Euro-Atlantic security is best assured through a wide network of partner relationships with countries and organizations around the globe. These partnerships make a concrete and valued contribution to the success of NATO’s fundamental tasks.⁵

UN recognizes in its founding Charter that international security is not confined to the action of its constituent bodies and the Atlantic Alliance stresses the importance of partnerships to achieve its security objectives. In 2006, in Praia (Cape Verde), the member states of the CPLP signed a defence cooperation protocol, whereby

Kingdom and United States.

³China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and United States.

⁴Charter of the United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index>.

⁵NATO, *Strategic Concept for the Defense and Security of the Members of the NATO* (Brussels: NATO, 2010), 26.

the Feline exercises allow the interoperability of Member States' armed forces and the training for the same job in humanitarian operations and peace support, either in the framework of the CPLP either within the framework of regional and sub-regional organizations, and, in any case, always under the aegis of the United Nations.⁶

The CPLP cooperation agreement involves states controlling vast maritime areas. Robert Kaplan considers such maritime spaces to be today's most disputed regions in terms of global geopolitics.⁷

3. *Lusophone community*

The Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) was established in 1996, in Lisbon, by seven Portuguese-speaking States, joined after its independence in 2002 by East Timor and in 2014 by Equatorial Guinea. The CPLP is connected to all United Nations-recognized geopolitical regional quadrants: Africa (Angola, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe), Asia-Pacific (East Timor), Europe (Portugal) and the Americas (Brazil). The member states are linked to three oceans—Atlantic, Indian and Pacific—and their combined area of maritime jurisdiction amounts to about eight million square kilometres (2.5% of the sea surface of the globe).

The objectives of the CPLP, as enshrined in its statutes, are as follows:⁸

- The political-diplomatic coordination among its members in matters of international politics, in particular with the objective of strengthening its presence in international forums;
- The cooperation in all fields, including education, health, science and technology, defence, agriculture, public administration, communications, justice, public security, culture, sports and media;
- The materialization of projects of promotion and dissemination of the Portuguese language, notably through the International Institute of the Portuguese Language.

⁶CPLP Cooperation Protocol in the field of Defense, <http://www.cplp.org/id-145.aspx>.

⁷Robert Kaplan, "O Mar do Sul da China é o futuro do conflito," *Foreign Policy* (Lusophone edition) 24 (2011): 70 – 81.

⁸CPLP statutes, http://www.cplp.org/Files/Filer/cplp/CCEG/IX_CCEG/Estatutos-CPLP.

The CPLP seeks to find its own path, with goals similar to the Commonwealth in terms of economic cooperation and the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF) in matters of cultural cooperation.

The geostrategic value of the combined jurisdiction of the member states of the CPLP is obvious given that, with the exception of the Indian Subcontinent, its scope largely corresponds to that of the former Portuguese Empire, even in terms of the logic of control of raw materials and key oceanic channels, of which Malacca (Malaysia) was one of the past symbols. At a time when the sea lanes are reclaiming their strategic relevance, the deepening of cooperation among the CPLP members has growing utility in such areas as security and defence.

Among the Portuguese-speaking countries, Brazil, one of the BRICS (together with Russia, India, China and South Africa) and one of the emerging Mercosur powers of the twenty-first century, clearly offers the greatest capacity for action. A candidate for a permanent place on the UN Security Council should this body be restructured, Brazil is increasingly perceived as a relevant actor in the international system. Angola, located on the opposite side of the South Atlantic from Brazil, is a regional power with relevance in southern Africa and the African continent in general. Angola has registered very high growth rates since the end of the civil war in 2002. Brazil and Angola are among the major global oil producers⁹ and their role as alternative markets to the Middle East and unstable and unpredictable producer countries like Venezuela continued to grow.

The South Atlantic is an obvious area of the enlargement of NATO influence. Portugal, Brazil and Angola form a strategic triangle within the CPLP, capable of projecting Lusophone ideals that, although rooted in language, are also ambitious at the political level. In 2006 Portugal coordinated an important military exercise in the archipelago of Cape Verde, which has sparked political-military interest, notably by the United States. The scope of the long-established PALOP (African Countries of Portuguese Official Language)¹⁰ has been expanded when Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe took the opportunity provided by the

⁹Brazil is the eleventh largest producer of oil and Angola the sixteenth ([https:// www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2241rank](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2241rank)).

¹⁰PALOP: *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*.

summit of the CPLP held in East Timor in 2014 to create the Forum of African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (FORPALOP).

Geographically and demographically smaller African states, such as Equatorial Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe, see their potential enhanced because of the wealth of their oil reserves and the strategic position of their respective territories. Similarly, Cape Verde Islands have a strategic value not only because of the increase in maritime traffic, to which they can provide logistical support, but also because the proliferation of acts of piracy and illegal trafficking requires greater surveillance of international waters. The globalization of world trade underscores the strategic importance of the states located in its main routes, for example of Guinea-Bissau, whom internal instability left open to international drug trafficking.

Of the two remaining members of the CPLP, Mozambique, located in the southwest of the Indian Ocean, garners strategic importance from its proximity to the passage to the Atlantic and the significant international maritime trade route represented by the Mozambique Channel). East Timor is situated in one of the four main corridors between the Indian and Pacific oceans.¹¹

4. CPLP cooperation in Defence

The defence cooperation among the CPLP members began in 1998, with annual meetings of the ministers of the relevant portfolio, and was institutionalized in the statutes of the CPLP in 2001.¹² The CPLP Defence Cooperation Protocol, approved in 2006,¹³ built on and incorporated the following:

- Permanent Secretary for Defence Affairs (SPAD),¹⁴ based in Portugal (1999), integrating a core group of representatives of the heads of the General Staffs of the armed forces;
- Strategic Analysis Centre (CAE),¹⁵ with headquarters in Mozambique (1998);

¹¹Mozambique and East Timor are underrepresented in the present analysis because they are not bordering the Atlantic Ocean.

¹²See António Sacchetti *et al.*, “A cooperação técnico-militar no âmbito da CPLP,” in *Instituto de Defesa Nacional*, “O mar no espaço da CPLP,” *Nação e Defesa* 128 (Lisbon: IDN, 2011).

¹³Equatorial Guinea is a recent member (2014) and so is not yet entered in this group.

¹⁴SPAD: *Secretariado Permanente para os Assuntos de Defesa*.

¹⁵CAE: *Centro de Análise Estratégica*.

- Joint and combined military exercises, with the *Feline* series begun in 2000 in Portugal;
- Exchange policy within the framework of military training, aimed at “fostering adoption of doctrine and procedures capable of common application“ in the Portuguese-speaking countries (Declaration of Brasilia, 2001);¹⁶
- Annual meetings at the level of Defence Ministers, Chiefs of the Armed Forces, Directors-General of National Defence Policy and the Military Information Services directors.

The CPLP has a permanent secretariat for Defence Affairs and is endowed with a Strategic Analysis Center, based in Maputo (Mozambique). The Council of Ministers of Defence meets each year, and since 2000 there have been annual military exercises. The aim of the exercises (“Feline”) is to promote interoperability between the armed forces of CPLP member states with a view to their possible participation in humanitarian missions and peacekeeping, under the aegis of the United Nations.

The *Feline* military exercises involve ground troops or are held at the level of command posts. They aim at fostering “interoperability of Portuguese-speaking armed forces, enabling them—if this be the political will of the CPLP countries—to participate in humanitarian actions and peacekeeping, under the aegis of the United Nations“ (Lisbon Declaration, 2002).¹⁷ The CAE¹⁸ has stressed themes such as “the CPLP role in preventing regional crisis” and “the multidisciplinary character of the fight against terrorism” and identified the need to equip the CPLP with “a mechanism of early warning/notice for crisis prevention” (Declaration of Bissau, 2004)¹⁹.

Defence Ministers defined priorities such as “cooperation in the field of maritime surveillance and supervision” (Bissau 2004), and expressed their concerns with regard to situations such as the drug trafficking in western

¹⁶Declaration of the IV Meeting of Defense Ministers of the CPLP, Brasilia, 2001, <http://www.cplp.org/Default.aspx?ID=387>.

¹⁷Declaration of the V Meeting of Defense Ministers of the CPLP, Lisbon, 2002, <http://www.cplp.org/Default.aspx?ID=387>.

¹⁸Center for Strategic Analysis, <http://centrodeanaliseestrategiacplp.blogs.sapo.pt/>.

¹⁹Declaration of the VII Meeting of Defense Ministers of the CPLP, Bissau, 2004, <http://www.cplp.org/Default.aspx?ID=387>.

Africa, stressing that it “must be countered by Guinea-Bissau, but also by the international community, in a joint effort.”²⁰

The security in the Gulf of the Guinea presents an opportunity to test the CPLP capacity to intervene in scenes of potential conflict, given the convergence of interests in this region of some member states of the organization (Angola, Equatorial Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe).

5. *Lusophone strategic triangle*

By its potential, manifest or latent, Portugal-Brazil-Angola represents a Lusophone “strategic triangle” able to act on Atlantic security. Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and Equatorial Guinea, in archipelago conditions, and Guinea-Bissau as a state seeking to mitigate its internal weaknesses, will play subsidiary roles at regional levels.

5.1. Geopolitics of Portugal. The geopolitics of Portugal is anchored today in three “large spaces”: the European Union (EU),²¹ NATO and CPLP. The sea is a constant in Portuguese geo-strategy and represents a power factor in its foreign policy. Portugal is associated with the sea, as much by geography as by history. Portugal’s maritime explorations and empire-building in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which transformed a small peripheral kingdom into an imperial power have been dubbed by some authors the “first globalization”. Geographically Portugal is an archipelagic country, based on the “national strategic triangle”: Lisbon-Azores-Madeira. This feature gives it one of the largest exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of Europe and the world, a fact which should not be underestimated when considering Portugal’s maritime potential, both economic and political. The “Portuguese sea” is both a border and a bridge between the European, American and African continents, which gives it a particular geopolitical relevance.

When it signed the 1949 Washington Treaty, Portugal was set on the path of its geopolitical destiny. Despite its authoritarian political regime, Lisbon sat down at the table with the Allies who saw in the North Atlantic the

²⁰Declaration of the VII Meeting of Defense Ministers of the CPLP, Bissau, 2004.

²¹The European Union is an entity with roots in the European communities of 50 years of the 20th century and now has 28 Member States: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal (since 1986), Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom.

main stronghold of their security in the face of threats from the East. Portugal's entrance into NATO was followed by bilateral agreements with the United States that enabled the establishment and operability of American military depots and personnel on the Base of Lages (Azores). The agreement followed the long-standing tradition of Portuguese alliance policy that always favours the dominant maritime power (initially England, then the United States).

Since 2012, the Naval Striking and Support Forces NATO (Strikfor NATO), has been based in Lisbon and assumed in 2014 the duties of the first Joint Headquarters Maritime/Expeditionary (JHQ_M/E) reporting to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR)—one of NATO's two strategic commanders.

After the integration in EU in 1986, Portugal's position in Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) was consistent with its transatlantic link, favouring NATO as the main guarantor of European defence, in a very close relationship with the United Kingdom.

In 2003, the Azores hosted the Summit of the heads of American (Bush), British (Blair) and Spanish (Aznar) governments, which preceded the controversial military US-led intervention in Iraq that divided the European partners between supporters and opponents of the American initiative. Subsequently, José Manuel Barroso, the Portuguese Prime Minister who hosted the Lages Summit was chosen to serve as President of the European Commission (2004-2014). Although this may be a sign of Euro-American cooperation in the field of security and defence, it can also reflect a strategy of increasing power integration of Brussels and Washington.

Portugal has an active presence in the various international forums related to the sea, in particular, at the global level, the International Maritime Organization (IMO)²² and the International Oceanographic Commission established within the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). The commemorations of the 500 years of the arrival of Vasco da Gama to India (1498) served as a pretext for the organization of the Lisbon World Exposition, with the theme "The Oceans, a Herit-

²²The IMO is a specialized agency of the United Nations with responsibility for the safety and security of shipping and the prevention of marine pollution by ships. The origin of the organization dates back to 1948 and currently has 170 member states.

Portuguese Studies Review

PSR

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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A organização científica do trabalho em Portugal após a II Guerra Mundial: uma síntese

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Nota introdutória

A história da organização científica do trabalho (OCT) em Portugal relaciona-se com a própria história do desenvolvimento económico do País no século XX e com a sua abertura ao exterior. Isto porque além da tentativa de melhorar a eficácia do País em termos industriais, agrícolas e administrativos ser o motivo da sua introdução em Portugal, o facto da OCT se encontrar profundamente relacionada com o clima de crescimento económico internacional acaba por ser a sua causa. De facto, a OCT provém das lógicas que procuram utilizar as melhorias da produtividade como instrumento para o desenvolvimento económico, sendo introduzida em Portugal através da importação destas mesmas lógicas para o País e implementada tendo em vista o desenvolvimento económico nacional. Se antes da II Guerra Mundial a OCT era já utilizada com o objectivo de aumentar a produção, diminuir os custos que lhe estavam associados ou elevar os salários – dependendo das necessidades e objectivos em presença –, após a Segunda Grande Guerra a sua difusão encontra-se enredada nas dinâmicas internacionais do período, sobretudo naquelas que se encontram relacionadas com a produtividade, fazendo com que a OCT seja introduzida no País quase de forma camuflada, envolvida no cenário da assistência técnica, das lógicas do *management*, da atenção aos trabalhadores, da Reforma Administrativa, das concepções católicas sobre o trabalho ...

Um desenvolvimento implantado no tempo e no espaço

De uma forma geral, a introdução da OCT em Portugal no período em estudo apresenta sete origens distintas que se cruzam e articulam. Por um lado, algumas empresas estrangeiras com sucursais em Portugal implementam as técnicas de organização do trabalho já utilizadas nas suas sedes, procedendo,



para tal, ao envio de técnicos estrangeiros a Portugal com o intuito de familiarizar os funcionários nacionais com os novos métodos de trabalho, enviando, igualmente, técnicos portugueses ao estrangeiro com o mesmo fim. Em segundo lugar, algumas empresas nacionais – cientes dos benefícios das melhorias na organização do trabalho colocadas em prática nas empresas anteriormente referidas ou cujas chefias ou quadros eram conhecedores das suas vantagens –, enviam técnicos ao estrangeiro para a frequência em cursos de organização do trabalho existentes em muitos países europeus, regressando estes depois às empresas de origem onde colocavam em prática os ensinamentos adquiridos, muitas das vezes mediante a formação de núcleos de Organização e Métodos (O&M). O crescimento do sector da consultoria apresentou, também, um impacto interessante no processo de difusão da OCT, facilitando e impulsionando as trocas de *know-how* e a difusão das possibilidades de aplicação destes métodos, bem como dos benefícios que poderiam ser alcançados pela sua utilização.

A criação do Instituto Nacional de Investigação Industrial (INII) é outro dos elementos a ter em conta – o principal, segundo Torres Campos¹ –, tendo permitido a difusão das técnicas de OCT junto do patronato e dos quadros técnicos da época através das suas inúmeras acções de formação em solo nacional, do auxílio técnico à indústria e do envio de jovens licenciados ao estrangeiro, dando corpo a um movimento no qual participaram «*milhares de pessoas e muitas centenas de empresas.*»² Mas não só o INII seria responsável pela formação de um grande número de técnicos no estrangeiro. Também a inserção de Portugal nos organismos de cooperação económica do pós-guerra conduziu à participação de muitos recém-licenciados nas acções de formação realizadas ao abrigo da Organização para a Cooperação e Desenvolvimento Económico (OCDE) e da Agência Europeia de Produtividade (AEP), bem como de outros organismos europeus, destacando-se a importância atribuída à formação em organização científica do trabalho administrativo (OCTA). Da mesma forma, o clima geral de crescimento económico e a necessidade de expandir e melhorar a competitividade das empresas nacionais, principalmente devido ao efeito EFTA – como são apelidadas as consequênci-

¹José de Melo Torres Campos, *Memória do Portugal no meu tempo. 1932-2010* (s.l.: Companhia das Cores, 2011), 97.

²Torres Campos, *Memória*, 97.

as da adesão de Portugal à European Free Trade Association –, conduziram ao aumento da importância atribuída à aplicação de métodos de trabalho que permitissem um melhor desempenho económico. Por último, o impacto das concepções cristãs sobre o trabalho não é, também, de menosprezar no processo de desenvolvimento da OCT no País, não obstante o seu impacto ser bastante relativo e difícil de isolar, tal como o de outros movimentos internacionais ligados à reforma da administração.

Torna-se, assim, visível que a história da OCT em Portugal entre 1945 e 1974 se desenrola ao sabor de várias variáveis que dão sentido à «manta de retalhos» com a qual os diversos factores em presença se assemelham.

As variadas relações apresentadas não são, porém, uma característica nacional, sendo que a própria evolução da OCT foi feita mediante o contacto entre diferentes realidades nacionais, e a sua adaptação às lógicas que foram pautando o século XX acaba por criar a realidade com a qual nos deparamos ao estudar o caso português, conduzindo à relação entre a OCT e a produtividade e permitindo que esta se difunda de forma bastante subtil e sub-reptícia como instrumento para a obtenção das desejadas melhorias da produtividade. A evolução histórica da OCT e a forma como esta é difundida na Europa explica, igualmente, a multiplicidade do *one best way*: a variedade de técnicas existentes, escolhidas caso a caso mediante os propósitos pretendidos, bem como a diversidade de métodos difundidos nas acções de formação e nos estudos desenvolvidos.

A compreensão da expansão internacional da OCT é, assim, fulcral, sendo sobretudo através dela que pode ser entendida a forma como esta é introduzida no País. De facto, após a II Guerra Mundial e sobretudo nos países que receberam a ajuda Marshall, o processo de introdução da OCT nas várias realidades nacionais encontra-se bastante relacionado com a acção do Programa de Assistência Técnica e Produtividade (AT&P), da OECE/OCDE e da AEP, bem como dos organismos nacionais que com eles contactavam – no caso português a Comissão Técnica de Cooperação Económica Europeia/Externa (CTCEE) –, sem esquecer o papel dos vários consultores que se especializam no aconselhamento sobre a utilização da OCT, quer se trate daqueles que se encontravam ligados a firmas de consultoria, quer de técnicos de O&M de empresas estrangeiras ou de funcionários de empresas internacionais com filiais em Portugal.

Os consultores constituíram, de facto, um dos veículos da difusão da OCT no País, sendo que a expansão do sector alertou o patronato para os benefícios que podiam provir da sua utilização, criou uma reputação baseada nos bons resultados obtidos e funcionou – principalmente antes da criação do Instituto Nacional de Investigação Industrial (INII) e dos outros organismos que se dedicaram ao estudo e difusão destes métodos – como uma reserva de *know-how* essencial. Tratou-se, assim, de uma relação vantajosa para ambas as partes, sendo que a OCT se desenvolveu na esteira da expansão do sector e este utilizou estes métodos para atingir os propósitos de melhoria da produtividade e aumento do rendimento procurados pelo patronato e para aumentar a sua clientela. Os desafios da reconstrução e reconstituição económica europeia não são, também, alheios ao aumento da procura dos serviços de consultoria no velho continente sendo que Portugal, País que havia entrado numa época de crescimento relevante, se apresentava como um mercado apetecível para a expansão do sector, tal como é visível nas páginas da revista *Indústria Portuguesa*.

A conjuntura do País é, na verdade, essencial para compreensão da forma como a afirmação da OCT ganha corpo em Portugal, sendo que este processo se encontra profundamente relacionado com as lógicas da época e com a entrada em cena de diversos agentes e factores que acabam por conjugar-se e criar condições para a expansão destes métodos no País. Recuperando alguns dos dados constantes de investigações anteriores, lembramos que as primeiras experiências de racionalização em solo nacional têm início na transição do século XIX para o século XX. Porém, os anos iniciais da I República constituem a época na qual a maioria destas iniciativas ganha forma, resultando da acção de mestres e contramestres estrangeiros presentes nas fábricas ou de simples melhoramentos originados pela observação dos processos de fabrico em vigor, não sendo, contudo, baseados em métodos científicos de estudo do trabalho. As primeiras referências concretas à OCT, apesar de apenas teóricas, iniciam-se após a I Guerra Mundial, estando inseridas, maioritariamente, em publicações de cariz técnico dirigidas a elites bem definidas, entre as quais constam os médicos, os engenheiros e os industriais. Estes textos têm, assim, origem numa elite cultural presente nestes círculos profissionais e que possui contactos internacionais que lhe possibilitam o conhecimento da realidade e da bibliografia estrangeira.

A partir da II Guerra Mundial, encontramos-nos perante um mundo novo. Os principais impulsos dos quais deriva a difusão da OCT no País con-

tinuam a provir do estrangeiro, porém, a tónica encontra-se agora presente nas lógicas da assistência técnica norte-americana aos países europeus, nas dinâmicas decorrentes da inserção de Portugal nos organismos de cooperação económica, no impacto que algumas dinâmicas internacionais apresentam no País e na forma como todos estes elementos se relacionam com os desafios que Portugal enfrentava na época, com a procura da produtividade e com a tomada de consciência da necessidade de ultrapassar as debilidades reveladas pelo conflito e pelos estudos preparatórios dos Planos de Fomento. De facto, as novas lógicas do período acabam por influir nas opções feitas relativamente à OCT: a abertura do País aos organismos internacionais criados na época e os contactos dela decorrentes tiveram como consequência experiências de transferência de *know-how* em termos de organização do trabalho, nomeadamente através da organização de missões de estudo e acções de formação; a criação de organismos nacionais que apresentavam, entre os seus objectivos, o propósito de estudo e aplicação da OCT e que beneficiaram da emergência de uma geração de quadros – entre os quais se destacam os engenheiros – que apoiava a modernização do País defendendo um novo rumo para o desenvolvimento económico; os desafios lançados pelo impacto da emigração e da Guerra Colonial no encarecimento relativo da mão-de-obra; as consequências da adesão à EFTA no que diz respeito à necessidade de melhorar a competitividade da indústria portuguesa a nível internacional e, por último, o quadro de desenvolvimento industrial – numa época em que o Estado passara a atribuir uma maior importância ao fomento do sector – e de expansão da Administração do Estado que careciam da aplicação de métodos mais eficazes de organização do trabalho para aumentar a sua eficiência. Todas estas condições se conjugaram para permitir que o período que se inicia após a II Guerra Mundial, que testemunhou ganhos de produtividade mais relevantes, constitua a época de maior desenvolvimento da OCT em Portugal, durante a qual o leque de possibilidades da sua aplicação chega, inclusivamente, a ser alargado.

A afirmação da organização científica do trabalho no “novo mundo” saído da guerra

De facto, é no período que medeia o fim da Segunda Grande Guerra e a Revolução de 1974 que a OCT adquire maior expressão em Portugal, tendo sido criados vários organismos dedicados ao estudo destes métodos, nomeadamente alguns núcleos de O&M em empresas e organismos estatais, desenvol-

vendo cada um deles, à sua medida, acções de formação e outras iniciativas de estudo e difusão da OCT. Porém, não nos deparamos, em grande medida, com uma aposta directa na OCT como instrumento de viabilização e desenvolvimento económico de empresas, serviços ou do próprio Estado. Constata-se sim, que, dadas as características da sua difusão internacional, esta acaba por chegar a Portugal de forma camuflada, não sendo implementada autonomamente mas pelo facto de se encontrar inserida no que genericamente se designava como «métodos de produtividade» e «técnicas modernas de gestão», em voga na época. Esta realidade é bastante visível ao nível das acções de formação realizadas no estrangeiro e, também, daquelas que são organizadas no País pelo INII, pela Comissão de Produtividade da Associação Industrial Portuguesa (COPRAI), pelo Centro de Estudos de Gestão e de Organização Científica (CEGOC) ou por outras entidades que apostaram na difusão da OCT. Nestas, os métodos ligados à OCT não surgem isolados nos conteúdos programáticos, sendo raras as formações que incidem unicamente sobre estas técnicas. Porém, a forma como os princípios de gestão de empresas e de pessoal, bem como as bases da reforma administrativa – de uma forma geral ligadas ao conceito de produtividade – se encontravam fundadas na OCT, fez com que esta se tornasse presente nas principais acções de formação que incidiram sobre as questões do *management* e da produtividade ao nível do sector secundário ou administrativo. Um exemplo bastante evidente desta realidade é dado pelo sector administrativo do Estado. De facto, se até à II Guerra Mundial o sector secundário era aquele no qual mais incidiam estas técnicas, a partir do final do conflito a Administração Pública abre-se à sua acção, pelo facto da assistência técnica norte-americana se preocupar com a modernização do Estado e das suas estruturas como factor essencial para o desenvolvimento económico da Europa Ocidental num cenário de Guerra Fria. Na esteira deste objectivo surge a OCT, integrada num conjunto de outras técnicas tendentes ao aumento da eficiência dos serviços públicos.

Além da Administração Pública, a OCT passa, igualmente, a ser alvo de estudo a nível agrícola, tendo o Centro de Estudos de Economia Agrária da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CEEAA) desenvolvido importantes investigações ligadas, sobretudo, à cronometragem e ao estabelecimento de tempos-padrão em algumas actividades agrícolas. Estas tiveram, porém, de enfrentar algumas dificuldades derivadas quer das próprias características do sector –

nomeadamente da impossibilidade de isolar e prever certas variáveis tendo em vista a sua cronometragem –, quer das resistências dos trabalhadores agrícolas que, entendendo estes estudos como mais uma forma de controlo do patronato, falseavam os resultados. Mas a introdução da OCT na agricultura levantava ainda a questão da reforma agrária – sempre recusada pelo Estado também em função dos *lobbies* agrários –, sendo que o emparcelamento necessário à mecanização não chega a ser colocado em prática. A alteração dos métodos de trabalho agrícolas, sobretudo contando com todas estas dificuldades, não era, igualmente, entendida como necessária devido ao facto de não se fazerem sentir dificuldades sérias de obtenção de mão-de-obra numa época na qual esta permanecia relativamente barata apesar do êxodo rural, da emigração e do recrutamento militar.

Não podemos, também, ignorar na compreensão das resistências Mas outras resistências marcariam o desenvolvimento da OCT no País. De facto, esta colocava em causa algumas das prioridades do regime, nomeadamente a manutenção dos equilíbrios sociais sobre os quais o mesmo assentava e lutava por manter após as vicissitudes do período da II Guerra. Além disso, o próprio controlo da produção e a estabilidade da moeda, preços e salários, necessária ao alcançar desses mesmos equilíbrios, poderia tornar-se difícil com a adopção de métodos que tivessem como consequência a transformação dos sistemas de produção, o aumento, ainda que teórico, dos salários – pelo facto de neles serem repercutidas as melhorias na produtividade – e as alterações dos preços ao consumidor, que deveriam diminuir devido à redução dos custos de produção. Além disso, também a própria organização corporativa do Estado se via ameaçada, sobretudo pelo facto da difusão da OCT se encontrar, em Portugal, dependente de organismos que escapavam a essa mesma estrutura, nomeadamente as associações industriais e comercial. De facto, é interessante verificar que, simultaneamente à constante protelação da criação do Centro Nacional de Produtividade pelo facto – entre outros motivos – de nele poderem ter lugar estas associações, não era impedida a sua intensa acção em prol do desenvolvimento da OCT. Não é possível, também, ignorar, na compreensão das resistências que a OCT teria de enfrentar, que esta se encontrava assente numa lógica de internacionalização para a qual o regime olhava com desconfiança. O perigo de ingerência estrangeira nos destinos do País, a introdução de métodos adoptados em países nos quais era permitida a liberdade de expressão e associação e nos quais as críticas

operárias ultrapassavam o registo que poderia ser considerado seguro pelo regime, o perigo dos transtornos e alterações que estes métodos poderiam trazer ao mundo fabril e o risco de que estes pudessem contribuir para um crescimento industrial que poderia escapar ao que era desejável, faziam com que o regime temesse a introdução da OCT no sector secundário, sendo que, de facto, a nível administrativo, os receios nunca se mostraram tão fortes.

A OCT debateu-se ainda com resistências do meio patronal, sendo que alguns dos dirigentes da indústria olhavam com receio para os pressupostos da campanha pela produtividade. Por um lado, partilhavam a mesma apreensão acerca das consequências da introdução de métodos de OCT na indústria devido ao seu possível impacto junto dos trabalhadores. Por outro lado, o perigo de que a aplicação de métodos de OCT pudesse conduzir à inevitabilidade de apostar num maior grau de mecanização ou, inclusivamente, na robotização era algo que não era aceite com tranquilidade pelas chefias, que não entendiam a necessidade da sua utilização, não pretendiam confrontar-se com os problemas sociais e laborais que daí poderiam advir – devido ao facto da mecanização pressupor o risco de despedimentos –, nem ver-se a braços com os custos que lhe estavam inerentes, principalmente em sectores que se encontravam baseados em mão-de-obra intensiva e relativamente barata. A mecanização assume, igualmente, um papel relevante ao nível da Administração Pública, sobretudo na contabilidade, sendo que, também a este nível, as resistências são menos evidentes, apesar da introdução de máquinas de calcular e dos primeiros computadores alterar as lógicas que pautavam as formas de organização do trabalho nos escritórios.

No que diz respeito ao sector agrícola, a mecanização debatia-se, também, com fortes resistências não só no que dizia respeito à não compreensão da sua necessidade numa época em que a mão-de-obra era relativamente barata, – tornando-se um pouco mais dispendiosa apenas na década de 1960 mercê do impacto da emigração, do êxodo rural e do recrutamento militar –, mas também porque implicava alterações no regime de propriedade na medida em que as parcelas teriam de apresentar uma dimensão viável para a introdução de tractores e de outras alfaías agrícolas.

Além disso, é preciso não esquecer que a aplicação da OCT implicava, igualmente, a realização de investimentos em projectos de estudo do trabalho e a sua entrega a firmas de consultoria ou a núcleos de O&M, pressupondo este processo custos associados ao pagamento dos serviços ou à instalação

dos núcleos de estudo nas empresas. Da mesma forma, pressupunha a abertura das fábricas à presença de engenheiros, classe que tentava ainda marcar a importância do seu saber e cuja presença nos estabelecimentos produtores nem sempre era positivamente encarada pelos contramestres e outros responsáveis pela produção. O perigo da exposição dos segredos de fabrico e a ameaça que poderia constituir ao poder dos contramestres e à hierarquia da fábrica apresentavam-se como alguns dos factores que faziam com que parte do patronato olhasse com desconfiança para a introdução da OCT. No lado operário verifica-se, igualmente, a existência de uma profunda oposição por parte do clandestino Partido Comunista à Campanha pela Produtividade desenvolvida ao abrigo do Plano Marshall, sobretudo no que diz respeito aos impactos negativos que os métodos usados apresentavam na saúde física e mental dos trabalhadores, ao perigo de desemprego e à ameaça do «imperialismo» norte-americano.

Assim se compreende a multiplicidade de visões sobre a OCT presentes na época, variando entre o profundo entusiasmo dos seus apoiantes, as resistências daqueles que nela anteviam os perigos anteriormente expostos e a passividade daqueles que a aceitavam ofuscados pelos benefícios das melhorias da produtividade sem, por vezes, compreenderem que a OCT se encontrava nela enredada. Desta forma, entre avanços e recuos, voluntarismos e receios, impulsos e resistências, a OCT vai trilhando caminho, muitas das vezes de forma bastante subtil, pelos meandros do Portugal do Estado Novo.

Esta mesma multiplicidade de perspectivas pode ser entendida na análise dos debates que na Assembleia Nacional (AN) se referem à OCT. Estas referências iniciam-se logo em 1945 nas discussões sobre a Lei n.º 2005, encontrando-se também presentes nos debates relativos aos Planos de Fomento e à criação do Instituto Nacional de Investigação Industrial, bem como nas propostas de lei de autorização de receitas e despesas, nas leis de meios e nos debates relativos à formação profissional e ao ensino técnico, relacionando-se também, apesar de em menor medida, com as temáticas da mão-de-obra, emigração, extensão agrícola, psicologia e saúde mental. Esta análise permite entender três aspectos importantes. Em primeiro lugar, não existem debates sobre a OCT, mas sim discussões relativas a temas ligados à industrialização, ao planeamento económico ou a temáticas que, de uma forma ou outra, focavam os trabalhadores e os impactos do trabalho no seu bem-estar, nas quais são abordadas questões relativas à OCT. É, também, visível a forma

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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LUSO-DESCENDANTS AND CULTURE IN
CANADA



The Immigrant Portuguese Guitar: Destination—Ontario

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Introduction

Due to constraints of transportation, and often abject poverty resulting in material deprivation, immigrants tend to take with them what they value most. These items might include: traditional/ritual attire and objects of nationalist significance in order to perpetuate a sense of identity; photographs that will remind them of their places of origin and family members left behind; or musical instruments as tools of group aggregation and cultural transmission. But they also carry another type of baggage, one that they transport in their minds, actions, and aspirations: their own culture.

Historically, the Portuguese have been active in the exploration and colonization of various areas of the world, and definitely contributed to the spreading of elements of European culture across the five continents since the sixteenth century. They also brought back and integrated in their own culture objects and intangible elements from distant places. However, my study looks at a more recent condition of the Portuguese: immigration to a foreign country, a diaspora. In this context, I document and analyze the practice of the Portuguese guitar in North America, and especially in Ontario.

Concepts defined

When approaching the topic of Portuguese immigration to North America one must distinguish between at least two areas of origin, continental Portugal and the Azores Islands, as these two main groups of people see themselves as expressing their culture in many diverse ways. In fact, linguistic/cultural divides are very much present in the lives of people from different regions of continental Portugal and among all the islands, including Madeira. One might regard Portuguese culture as a complex multi-faceted heritage, with points of contact, but also many independent traits. Never-



theless, for the purpose of this study, I only use the larger concept of continental versus Azorean.

The term “diaspora” is used in this essay to refer to well-established communities of immigrants in the United States and Canada, belonging to the same national origin. Thus the communities of Portuguese people in North America might be categorized as ethnonational diasporas, and while borrowing a theoretical framework proposed by Stéphane Dufoix, one might consider them as organized in a “centroperipheral mode,” since they have close connections with the home country and through official institutions such as the embassy and the consulate.¹

One of the musical contexts in which the Portuguese guitar is currently used, *fado*, is defined here according to the application to UNESCO’s Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.² A type of urban song heavily dependent on poetry and with a place connection to Lisbon, Portugal’s capital, *fado* has been explicated by ethnomusicologists as a “performative genre”³ in which the singer expresses deep emotional states of mind, in particular the sentiment of *saudade*, a bittersweet amalgamation of longing, yearning, nostalgia and melancholy. *Saudade* is of particular importance to immigrants, who have left behind their places of origin and loved ones, permanently conditioning their life experiences in the diaspora. As philosopher Eduardo Lourenço claims, *saudade* is exemplified by Portuguese immigrants who live absence as if it were a “supreme presence.”⁴

Another concept used in my study, “Portugueseness” refers to the generic quality of being Portuguese which serves the “official” discourse conveyed by the so-called “leaders of the community.” As described by Dufoix, an immigrant community:

¹Stéphane Dufoix, *Diasporas* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 62.

²<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00563> Accessed 9 September 2013. The scientific committee elaborating this application included musicologists Rui Vieira Nery and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo Branco.

³Salwa El-Shawan Castelo Branco, “Vozes e guitarras na prática interpretativa do fado,” in Joaquim Pais de Brito, ed., *Fado: Vozes e sombras*, [Exhibition Catalog MNE]: 125-140 (Lisbon: L94/Electa, 1994), 125.

⁴Eduardo Lourenço, *Portugal como destino seguido de mitologia da saudade*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Gradiva 1997 [2001]), 87, 91.

[...] is never merely the sum of all those who come from the same country: this would be a simplistic and false representation. Its unity rests on signs, values, and rules controlled by community authorities. Those who embody them have the right to speech and influence by their natural or acquired rank, but they are themselves as much *created* by the community that recognizes them as *creators* of the community they represent.⁵

The local Portuguese community is in fact a complex patchwork of regionalisms, organized around ideals of localized areas of origin and soccer teams' favouritisms. These micro divisions are also present within the larger Azorean portion of the population.⁶ Thus, being "Portuguese" is not a homogeneous concept or experience; nevertheless some agglutinating elements can be identified, in particular language and history. As noted by Debbie Pacheco, in the context of a diverse cosmopolitan environment such as Toronto, the majority of the Portuguese immigrants being from Azorean extract are not represented by the dominant view of "Portugueseness," which is continental and "associated with the Portuguese spoken in the regional area of the Continent surrounding the capital city of Lisbon."⁷

In order to document and analyze the practice of the Portuguese guitar in North America, I used a variety of sources available.⁸ I concentrated my efforts in Ontario, where I have witnessed first hand and participated in Portuguese guitar performance since I immigrated to Canada in 1985. Nevertheless, I give an overall account of the presence of the instrument both in the USA and the rest of Canada, with information regarding geo-historical dis-

⁵Dufoix, *Diasporas*, 73.

⁶Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, "The Portuguese Diaspora," in Carlos Teixeira and Victor M. P. da Rosa, ed., *The Portuguese in Canada: Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, ON, CAN: University of Toronto Press 2009), 25.

Based on data from 2009, it is estimated that Azoreans represent between 60 and 70 per cent of all Portuguese living in Canada and Ontario has the largest concentration of Portuguese immigrants, about half of the total in the country.

⁷Debbie Pacheco, "Contested Belongings: Crowding the Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora in Canada." MA diss., University of Toronto 2004, 77, 78 n. 28.

⁸These include: published works by authors in the fields of the social sciences, ethnomusicology, organology, and journalism; as well as newspaper articles, field recordings, commercial recordings (LPs, Cassettes, CDs, DVDs), American and Canadian archival websites and other Internet resources, informal inquiry, expert consultation, and empirical knowledge acquired over more than twenty years of working as a player/composer/maker of the Portuguese guitar in diverse musical contexts in Ontario and abroad.

tribution, past and current players, makers and musical contexts. My research is not limited to the use of the Portuguese guitar by the population of Portuguese origin, since the instrument has been practiced by “others,” thus asserting a potential musical life beyond the ethnic diasporic constraints within the American “melting pot” and the Canadian “multicultural mosaic.”

Brief organology

The Portuguese guitar is a pear-shaped chordophone belonging to the cittern family, equipped with six double courses of metal strings over a movable bridge and tuned to a specific tuning called *afinação do fado corrido* (non-stop *fado* tuning).⁹ Currently there are two main models of the instrument with differences in form, size, and sound: the Lisbon Portuguese guitar (GPLx) and the Coimbra Portuguese guitar (GPCo).¹⁰

These variants were developed at diverse times from previous models, generally with smaller bodies. The GPLx appeared circa 1920 and the GPCo later, circa 1940. Since then they have been used in separate musical practices: the GPLx in *fado* and the GPCo in music related to the university students of Coimbra, and cultivated/experimental compositions.¹¹ The two models are tuned to different pitches: the GPLx to the higher, dD, aA, bB, ee, aa, bb and the GPCo to the lower, cC, gG, aA, dd, gg, aa (from low to high).

The GP has a deceiving name and is commonly confused or thought to be a development of the mid-eighteenth century English *guitar* that was introduced in Portugal sometime after the 1750s.¹² According to Pedro

⁹*Fado corrido* is one of the foundations of the genre and essentially a fixed form of accompaniment in 2/4 time and fast tempo. For more information on this tuning see Nuno Cristo, “The Portuguese Guitar: History and Transformation of an Instrument Associated with *Fado*,” MA. thesis, York University, 2014, 49 n. 89, 31, 148-149. <http://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/handle/10315/27635>

¹⁰In an attempt to simplify the naming of the different types of Portuguese guitar, I have decided to use the following abbreviations: GP as the generic *Guitarra Portuguesa* or Portuguese guitar; GPLx as the Lisbon model; GPCo as the Coimbra model; and GP *citara* as the older form with tuning pegs and small body.

¹¹I use the term “cultivated” as resulting from an intellectual creative or learned process.

¹²Panagiotis Pouloupoulos. “The Guitar in the British Isles, 1750-1810” Phd. thesis, University of Edinburgh 2011, 50, 209. Accessed 6 2013. <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/5776>

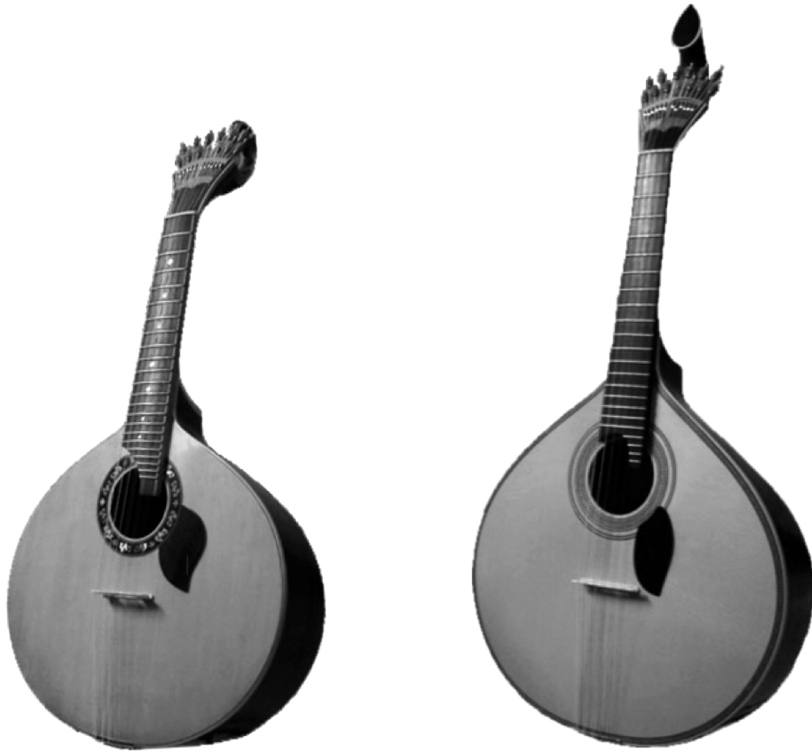


Fig. 1. GPLx by Nuno Cristo, Toronto, 2011.

Fig. 2. GPCo by Gilberto Grácio, Lisbon, 1995.

Source: Photos by Nuno Cristo © 2011.

Caldeira Cabral (1999) the GP we know today is the result of a complex evolutionary process involving a pre-existent Portuguese cittern called *cítara* in combination with formal and mechanical elements borrowed from the English *guitar*, although preserving in its interior the simple arrangement of transversal braces of the Renaissance citterns.¹³

¹³Cabral published a brief essay on the origin of the instrument in Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982 [1966]), 263-272, which was later developed into a full study published in 1999 (Pedro Caldeira Cabral, *A guitarra portuguesa. Um século de fado* Collection (Amadora: Ediclube, 1999)).

One of the most striking features of the “modern” GP is no doubt the fan-shaped tuning system called *leque* (fan), an anonymous Portuguese creation dating back to circa 1870.¹⁴ This new design replaced the original flat head with wooden tuning pegs system and the so-called “Preston mechanism” at one point adopted in Portugal. When the GP reached North America (USA) probably in the mid-nineteenth century, and began to be made locally, the wooden peg tuning system was no doubt the most commonly used, nonetheless there is also evidence that geared tuning guitar type devices were also employed in those early GP days in the New World.¹⁵

The Portuguese guitar as a national symbol

Of all the instruments belonging to the Portuguese music tradition that would be potential candidates for the status of national symbol, the GP has definitely been the one that captured the imagination of an important slice of society and arguably was made to occupy such a distinguished position. But this has been quite a recent process and far from a smooth one or homogeneously recognized. Since the days of aristocratic attribution under the name *cítara*, from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century,¹⁶ the instrument’s popularity came tumbling down the social ladder only to survive at the hands of peasants, the blind, beggars, or in barber-shops, taverns, and brothels among prostitutes, sailors and delinquents. Once a cultivated instrument, the *cítara* was by the beginning of the nineteenth century as disqualified as it gets in the hierarchy of organological preferences. At that time, if the *cítara* had any symbolic qualities, these would have been related to poverty, disgrace, and moral decadence.¹⁷ Paradoxically, it was this marginalized condition and its connection to the lowlife of society that permitted the development of the *cítara* into a newly-

¹⁴Cabral, *A guitarra portuguesa. Um século de fado* Collection, 140.

¹⁵Although the use of wooden pegs declined in Lisbon at the end of the nineteenth century, the practice was maintained in the Azores well into the first half of the twentieth century as per surviving examples in museums and private collections. See Fig. 3.

For more information on tuning systems used in the GP, see Cristo, “The Portuguese Guitar: History and Transformation of an Instrument Associated with Fado,” 29.

¹⁶Cabral, *A guitarra portuguesa. Um século de fado* Collection, 60, 137.

¹⁷Cabral, *A guitarra portuguesa. Um século de fado* Collection. 139.

named instrument, the *guitarra*,¹⁸ which circa 1840 started to be used in the emerging musical genre we now call *fado*.



Fig. 3. GP cítara by Augusto César Furtado, Horta, Faial, Azores.

Note: Instrument made in the early twentieth century, belonging to a private collection. Similar *cítara*-type GPs made as early as the eighteenth century can be found in several museums and private collections both in Portugal and abroad.

Source: Photo by Nuno Cristo © 2013.

¹⁸This is the form I refer to as GP cítara. For a complete organological family tree of the GP see Cristo, "The Portuguese Guitar: History and Transformation of an Instrument Associated with Fado," 143.

Soon the *guitarra* (GP *cítara*) became symbolically indispensable to the performance of the urban song form born among the lower classes and outcasts of late nineteenth century Lisbon. The haunting nature of the chant and the bohemian environment where *fado* began to crystallize as a musical genre, attracted male aristocrats who enjoyed partying with friends at bullfights in the company of talented prostitutes.¹⁹ In a previous development, the upper classes had adopted since the end of the eighteenth century a similar instrument coming from England under the name *guitar*,²⁰ which was readily translated as *guitarra*, the same denomination used later in reference to the GP *cítara*. The English instrument became so popular among the Portuguese bourgeoisie that by 1795, Oporto's Chapel Master António da Silva Leite published a method for it, with the title *Estudo de Guitarra* (*Guitar Study*).²¹ This work has been at the centre of the widespread notion that the GP is just a local (Portuguese) development of the English *guitar*.²²

But let us return, or rather advance, to the period when in the mid-nineteenth century the GP *cítara* and *fado* met what was left of the English *guitar* tradition in the *salons* of the aristocracy. This is exactly the moment that marks the beginning of a process in which both the GP and *fado* became charged with a symbolic value of national dimension,²³ at least in the minds of some sectors of the Portuguese society. The connection of the genre and its emblematic GP with aristocratic families at first, and later with royalty, helped to cement the ideal of a national song accompanied by a uniquely Portuguese instrument. In the meantime the English *guitar* had

¹⁹José Pinto Ribeiro de Carvalho "Tinop," *História do Fado* (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984 [1903]), 29; Cabral, *A guitarra portuguesa. Um século de fado* Collection, 138.

²⁰Pedro Caldeira Cabral, "Construtores da Guitarra Portuguesa." In *Guitarra Portuguesa Website* (2007b). http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=39&Itemid=116 Accessed 12 October 2010.

For more information on the question of the GP's origins see Cristo, "The Portuguese Guitar: History and Transformation of an Instrument Associated with Fado," 21-27.

²¹António da Silva Leite, *Estudo da guitarra*, Oporto. Facsimile (Lisbon: IPPC. 1983 [1796]).

²²Pedro Caldeira Cabral, "História da guitarra portuguesa." In *Guitarra portuguesa Website* (2006a) http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=116 Accessed 10 September 2013.

²³Cabral, *A guitarra portuguesa. Um século de fado* Collection, 134.

already exited the stage of popularity due to the introduction of the pianoforte.

It is thus in the historical era of romantic nationalism that the GP starts to enjoy a privileged position among the panoply of musical instruments used by the Portuguese upper classes. Nevertheless the general population never upheld such a distinction. When Portugal became a republic in 1910, the all-important patronage given to the GP players/composers ended abruptly and the instrument's survival was once again in question, though its symbiotic relationship with *fado* secured the continuation of its practice and "modern" development. Theatre, recordings, radio, film and TV helped to disseminate the concept of this musical nationalism since the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁴ However it was only in the 1960s, with the art of GP player/composer Carlos Paredes (1925-2004) that the instrument really emerged as a true mirror of Portuguese musical identity and completely emancipated from *fado*. Curiously, Carlos Paredes used a model of GP idealized circa 1940 by his father Artur Paredes (1899-1980), the GPCo, a new conceptual design distinct from the instrument used in *fado* at the time, and symbolically attached to the university town of Coimbra. After the Revolution of the Carnations in 1974,²⁵ the GPCo became ever present in the public arena, both in Portugal and abroad, representing the country at official events with soloist performances. By then, Pedro Caldeira Cabral (born 1950) was also involved in demonstrating his tireless research and compositional work. He toured worldwide with a project to dignify the GP as a concert instrument, independently from *fado*.²⁶ Although the cultivated GP is currently very much considered a national treasure by the more informed layers of Portuguese society, the symbolism of the instrument is still attached to the *fado* genre as a definite marker of "Portugueseness," particularly in the diaspora context.

²⁴For more information on the GP's historical development see Cristo, "The Portuguese Guitar: History and Transformation of an Instrument Associated with Fado," 49-59.

²⁵The revolution, on 25 April 1974, put an end to a forty-eight year period of repressive dictatorship and a return to a democratic regime, which led to profound socio-economic-political changes in Portugal including the process of decolonization.

²⁶Cabral also uses the GPCo model.

The role of the Portuguese guitar player in the diaspora

As people move in considerable numbers and are able to organize themselves as well-defined immigrant communities in a host country, they tend to transplant important aspects of their cultures, such as religious celebrations, secular rituals, sport activities, gastronomic gatherings, and pastimes. In many of these arenas, music plays an essential role in the development of the communities as it brings people together, thus reinforcing the connections between its members. Music is also a channel of ideological discourse, especially if accompanied by lyrics, and might function as a booster of nationalistic sentiments. As pointed out by Lundberg “musicians—and other expressive specialists—have an important status as qualified bearers and interpreters of their groups’ cultural identities.”²⁷ And their role is commonly understood in ethnomusicology “as representatives and mediators of tradition, ethnicity and, in extension, identity.” [...] “But there are deeper dimensions to the symbolic meaning of music of a more individual or personal character.”²⁸ Certain musical instruments are infused ²⁹ over historical periods with symbolic charges often of national dimension; this is the case of the GP.

The Portuguese guitar’s geo-historical context in North America

As I mentioned above, the Portuguese have been literally around North America as explorers since the sixteenth century, but it was much later in the mid-eighteenth century that communities of Sephardic Jews and Azorean sailors settled permanently in the region of New England,³⁰ and since the first quarter of the nineteenth century in California; these were mainly immigrants from the Azores Islands.³¹

²⁷Dan Lundberg, “Music as Identity Marker: Individual vs. Collective,” in Maria de São José Côte-Real, ed., *Migrações Journal Special Issue Music and Migration* (Lisbon: Observatório da Imigração, ACIDI I.P., 2010), 32.

²⁸Lundberg, “Music as Identity Marker: Individual vs. Collective,” 34.

²⁹Lundberg, “Music as Identity Marker: Individual vs. Collective,” 32.

³⁰Caetano Valadão Serpa, *A gente dos Açores: Identificação; emigração e religiosidade. séculos XVI – XX* (Lisbon: Prelo Editora, 1978), 173.

³¹<http://www.loc.gov/r/hispanic/portam/chron2.html> Accessed 16 September 2013.



Fig. 4. Cumulative distribution of GP practice in the USA and Canada since circa 1900

Source: Based on data collected from various published and online sources. Nuno Cristo © 2016.

It is possible that the first settlers in New England, either Portuguese Jews or Azorean seamen, brought with them the GP in its old *cítara* form, or that the instrument had also been used by some crew member belonging to an explorer vessel. However, the earliest evidence that I could find of GP presence in North America is an article on a 1896 newspaper about novelty instruments including the “Portuguese guitarra,” for the enjoyment of privileged women in the East Coast.³² The writer describes “those imported

³²*The Sunday Herald*, Syracuse, NY, 6 September 1896: 18. The same article appears in *The Journal*, Utica, NY, 13 September 1896: 12. The name “Portuguese zither” appears in an earlier newspaper, *San Francisco Call* Vol. 68, N° 148, 26 October 1890: 8, although it is not clear what instrument this might have been. Judging by the numerous of newspaper advertisements, at the end of the nineteenth century (at least since 1891) the “Portuguese guitarra” was quite a popular instrument in England, being imported (from Portugal), taught and performed by local enthusiasts. “Andrade’s Genuine Portuguese Guitarras” were advertised in *The Era*, London, England 9 May 1891: 22. This refers to GP maker João Miguel

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Inês de Castro and *Saudade* in Toronto: O Projecto's Community Play¹

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THE QUESTIONS THAT GUIDE my research on Inês de Castro in the theatre are these: how is she represented and gendered on stage, and what bearing does this have on what she signifies in the Portuguese cultural imaginary? With this particular case study of a play recently performed in Toronto, O Projecto's *Pedro e Inês de Castro*, I examine Inês as a symbol of *saudade* and interrogate the embodiment of the character in one performance at a Portuguese-Canadian community centre. I draw some connections between the general feeling of *saudade* at any Portuguese-Canadian cultural event and *saudade* in the staging of *Pedro e Inês de Castro*. In doing so, I explore how the Inesian theme evokes feelings of *saudade* in performers and spectators, how community actors transmit (or not) this emotion, and gender the discussion by considering how this predominant affective trope enables the subjectivity of the female protagonist. I was present as a spectator and thus employ an auto-ethnographic approach for this analysis, with a certain amount of speculation as to the reception of the piece.

The legend of Inês and Pedro

Since she was laid to rest in her Royal tomb in 1355, theatre artists have told the tragic story of the Galician noblewoman who was assassinated for political reasons and became Queen of Portugal after death. In the absence of verifiable historical details, artists have imagined Inês de Castro and, over

¹A version of this paper was presented at the Lusophone Studies Association Inaugural Conference: Exploring the Crossroads and Perspectives of Lusophone Studies, (Toronto, York University, October 2013), and consequently became a part of my doctoral dissertation, "Inês de Castro in Theatre and Film: A Feminist Exhumation of the Dead Queen," (Toronto, Centre for Drama, Theatre and Performance Studies, University of Toronto, 2014).



the centuries, created a palimpsest that embodies beauty, love, innocence, and *saudade*. In so doing, they have perpetuated the legend of Inês and Pedro, and the myth² of the great Portuguese love story made possible by the absence of the beloved. Pedro I's passionate relationship with the illegitimate daughter of the Galician noble, Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, and the Portuguese lady, Dona Aldonça Valadares, and his obsession with Inês beyond death is woven into the nation's cultural fabric. What follows is one version of the tale that has come down to us.

The beautiful Inês de Castro arrives in Portugal in 1340 as the lady-in-waiting of Constança of Castile, the betrothed of Dom Pedro, the Crown Prince of Portugal. Inês and Pedro fall in love, but their affair is denounced by Pedro's father Afonso IV who sends Inês into exile. When Princess Constança dies in childbirth (or of the black plague), Inês returns to live with Pedro and they have four children.³ Many years later there is a revolt in Castile led by Inês's brothers.⁴ Afonso IV, wanting to avoid Portugal's involvement in Castile's civil war is advised to eliminate Inês. On January 7, 1355, when Pedro is away hunting, the King and his courtiers go to Coimbra and, despite a moving plea for mercy from Inês, they decapitate her. Pedro swears to avenge Inês's murder and declares war on his father. When Afonso IV dies and Pedro is crowned King of Portugal, he reigns as a cruel *justiceiro* and tracks down Inês's assassins. He tortures Pero Coelho and Álvaro Gonçalves and kills them by ripping out their hearts, one through the chest and the other through the back. It is said that he bites into each heart before throwing it to the dogs. Insisting that he has married Inês secretly, Pedro builds two intricately sculpted Royal tombs in the Monastery of Alcobaça for himself and his late beloved. He then exhumes Inês's body and leads a grand procession from Coimbra to Alcobaça to transfer her remains to the Royal tomb. Some say Inês is dressed in royal robes and crowned, her skel-

²Manuel Sito Alba suggests that the legend of Inês and Pedro is one story within the "esquema esencial del conjunto de relatos que se refieren al *eterno retorno*." Thus, the myth of the eternal return, where earthly acts reoccur in a cyclical pattern, integrates the legend of the lovers: "Notas metodológicas sobre la leyenda de Pedro e Inês de Castro" (*Arbor*, 383, Nov. 1977), 28.

³Afonso dies in infancy; Dinis, João and Beatriz live to adulthood and figure prominently in events regarding royal succession.

⁴The main instigator was João Afonso Albuquerque, son of Dona Teresa de Albuquerque who raised Inês. Inês's brothers are Álvaro and Fernando de Castro.

al hand kissed by the King's subjects.⁵ They cry, "Salve, Inês, Rainha de Portugal!" Inês's remains are laid to rest in her marble coffin and when Dom Pedro dies in 1367 he occupies his tomb, next to his beloved, Inês de Castro.

The legend of Inês and Pedro is a spectacular account that conflates historical fact and fiction and is frequently retold to consolidate the myth, which, like the mystery of Dom Sebastião, the disappeared King of the sixteenth century, is a cornerstone of Portuguese culture.⁶ In Portugal and in Toronto's many Portuguese schools, children are first introduced to the Inesian love story in the fourth or fifth grade⁷ and, significantly, they learn that Inês was Pedro I's Queen (not Blanca or Constança, his legitimate wives, or the mistress Teresa Lourenço who was the mother of Dom João I), and that the sculpted tombs in the Monastery of Alcobaça stand as monuments to their great love. This is reinforced in secondary school with classics of Portuguese literature featuring Inesian lore; the legend of Inês and Pedro, with its adultery, bloody revenge and necrophilia, is ranked firmly alongside other tales of tragic lovers such as Romeo and Juliet, Tristan and Isolde, or Abelard and Heloise. In Portugal and the diaspora, the story becomes a national signifier and a marker of identity, strongly allied with the national sentiment of *saudade*.

⁵For a comprehensive discussion of the historical veracity of these events, see Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, "História e Lenda," *Inês de Castro, um Tema Português na Europa*, 2a edição, revista e atualizada (Lisboa: ACD Editores, 2004), 13-70. While the marriage of Inês and Pedro may have occurred, it is highly unlikely that the corpse (or decapitated head) of Inês was ever crowned; neither was the ceremony of the *beija-mão* documented.

⁶Dom Sebastião (1554-78), attempting to conquer Africa, fought and was allegedly killed at Alcácer-Quibir in 1578; because his body was never found, however, he was expected to return and end the Spanish rule under the Philippine Dynasty (1580-1640); Sebastianism, a messianic movement of hope emerged: José Hermano Saraiva, *Portugal: A Companion History* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1997) 61-64. Jorge de Sena observes that only King Sebastian can compete with Inês de Castro as a historical figure with "status" in Portuguese literature: "Inês de Castro," *Estudos de História e de Cultura*, Vol I (Lisboa: Edição da Revista "Ocidente" 1963-1967), 128.

⁷My own nephew was in a play about Pedro and Inês when he was in elementary school; he played the assassin. Prior to 1974 the history curriculum was biographical in intent, glorifying the lives of royal and noble figures; after the Revolution that introduced democracy to Portugal, the focus shifted to documenting major historical moments. The story of Inês and Pedro is a remnant of the pre-revolutionary curriculum. See, "História," *Currículo Nacional do Ensino Básico: Competências Essenciais*, Ministério da Educação, Portugal, 96, 99, <http://www.dgicd.min-edu.pt/ensinobasico/index.php?s=directorio&pid=2>.

Saudade in the Portuguese cultural imaginary

In *Mitologia da Saudade*, Eduardo Lourenço discusses *saudade* as an expression of national identity with its roots in the epic poetry of Camões and its modern manifestation in Fernando Pessoa. The word *saudade* defines a feeling that is simultaneously painful and pleasurable, and, as Lourenço suggests, is neither melancholic nor nostalgic – where melancholia sees the past as definitively past but nostalgia is fixated on an object or moment in a specific point in the past, something out of reach but recuperable – but contains elements of both so paradoxically “que ... se tornou um labirinto e um enigma para aqueles que a experimentam, como o mais misterioso e o mais precioso dos sentimentos.”⁸ Neither Lourenço nor literary critic António José Saraiva claims that *saudade* is unique to the Portuguese but they agree that the sentiment is strongly associated with Portuguese-ness. In discussing Camões’s embodiment of *saudade*, Lourenço observes that “*todos os portugueses partilham, essa inexplicável mistura de sofrimento e de doçura a que chamam saudade*”⁹ (italics mine) and A. J. Saraiva notes that “[é] improvável que se trate de um sentimento exclusivamente português; mas é certo que tem na nossa língua e na nossa literatura uma presença saliente e quase obsessiva.”¹⁰ Saraiva notes that *saudade* first appears as *soidade* in the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* of 1415, is made popular in the *cancioneiros* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and gains a nationalist foothold through the fifteenth century musings of Dom Duarte who insists that *saudade* is “inexistente noutras línguas e intraduzível.”¹¹ Finally, in the sixteenth century, Bernadim Ribeiro publishes *Menina e Moça* (which becomes known as *Livro das Saudades*) and Camões, who “conceptualizou-a e utilizou-

⁸Eduardo Lourenço, *Portugal como Destino, seguido de Mitologia da Saudade* (3rd edition, Lisboa: Gradiva, 2001), 92. For more on *saudade* and its significance in a Portuguese context, see also Lourenço’s *O Labirinto da Saudade: Psicandlise Mítica do Destino Português* (Lisboa: Dom Quixote, 1978), Maria das Graças Moreira de Sá, *Estética da Saudade em Teixeira de Pascoas* (Lisboa: ICALP, 1992), and the conference proceedings *Actas do I Colóquio Luso-Galaico sobre a Saudade* (Instituto de Filosofia Luso-Brasileira, Viana do Castelo: Câmara Municipal, 1996).

⁹Lourenço, *Portugal como Destino, seguido de Mitologia da Saudade*, 149.

¹⁰António José Saraiva, *A Cultura em Portugal, Teoria e História, Livro I, Introdução Geral à Cultura Portuguesa* (Amadora: Livraria Bertrand, 1981), 87.

¹¹António José Saraiva, *A Cultura em Portugal*, 87-88.

a como ponte dialéctica entre o sensível e o inteligível platónicos,”¹² takes *saudade* to lofty emotional and intellectual heights.

Inês de Castro as a symbol of saudade in medieval and Renaissance Portuguese texts

Concurrently with the development of *saudade* as a national sentiment, Inesian texts made the Dead Queen a figure affectively connected to the nation through a narrative alliance with *saudade*. Royal chronicles, based largely on oral tradition and romances of the time¹³ establish Inês as a figure of beauty, innocence and *saudade*, traits that are central to the Inesian works of the most influential Portuguese poets and playwrights. Fernão Lopes¹⁴ named the Inesian episode of Portuguese history “o grande desvairo”, testified to the great and true love of Pedro and Inês, “Por que semelhante amor, qual elRei Dom Pedro ouve a Dona Enes, raramente he achado em alguma pessoa”, and wrote a vividly descriptive account of the transfer of Inês’s body from Coimbra to Alcobça.¹⁵ Rui de Pina¹⁶ is credited, significantly, with first documenting Inês’s mercy speech to Afonso IV, and how she used her children as shields to protect her from the King’s murder sentence.¹⁷

¹²António José Saraiva, *A Cultura em Portugal*, 88.

¹³See, for example, the ballad of Isabel de Liar, “Yo me estando en Giromena”, in the *Cancionero de romances*, Amberes, s.a., c. 1547, but believed to have existed in the fifteenth century. Cited in Gloria Beatriz Chicote, “Yo me estando en Giromena: un processo de descontextualización inconcluso,” *Inês de Castro: Studi. Estudos. Estudios*, ed. Patrizia Botta (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1999), 56. Machado de Sousa lists eight *romances* that are believed to originate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; all were published in later *Cancioneiros* or *Romanceiros* — “A la Reina de los cielos,” “Don Pedro a quien los crueles,” “Dos ricos paços de Coimbra,” “Romance de Dona Inês,” “Yo me estando en Tordesillas,” “Yo me estando en Giromena,” “Romance de la venganza de Doña Isabel,” and “En Ceuta estaba el buen Rey” — *Inês de Castro, um Tema Português na Europa*, 503-504.

¹⁴Lopes was named Royal Chronicler in 1434 and the *Crónica del Rei D. Pedro* is believed to have been written circa 1440, or eighty-five years after the death of Inês de Castro, but his ‘testimony’ is respected because Lopes knew Dom João I, the son of Pedro and Teresa Lourenço, and had the means to gather information about Inês and Pedro “cuja memória era recente no seu tempo”: António de Vasconcelos, *Inês de Castro: Estudo para uma série de lições no curso de história de Portugal* (Porto: Edições Marques Abreu, 1928), 28.

¹⁵Fernão Lopes, *Crónica do Senhor Rei Dom Pedro, Oitavo Rei destes Regnos* [c. 1440] (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1981?), Ch XXVII 125, Ch XLIV 199, 200-201.

¹⁶Rui de Pina was Chronicler beginning in 1490, which dates his chronicles to at least one hundred and thirty five years following Inês’s death.

Dona Ines ... com o rosto trãsfigurado, e por escudo de sua vida, e pera sua innocencia achar na ira de elRey alguma mais piedade, trouxe ante si os tres innocentes Infantes seus filhos netos delRey, com cuja apresentação, e com tantas lágrimas, e com palavras assi piedozas pedio misericórdia, e perdão a elRey que elle vencido della se dis que se volvia, e a leyxava ja pera nõ morrer como levava determinado.¹⁸

Pina's account of Inês's alleged interview with Afonso IV has been reproduced again and again in other chronicles, history books, poetry, plays, paintings, and films. As Jorge de Sena notes, Pina gives Inês character status in the narrative as she defends her right to love – previously invoked by Fernão Lopes – and this is how she will thereafter be represented.¹⁹ Cristovão Rodrigues Acenheiro in his *Chronicas dos senhores reis de Portugal*, allegedly written in the 1530's, elaborated on Pina's account by adding dialogue, perhaps influenced by Garcia de Resende's ballad published in 1516 (see below). In Acenheiro, Inês pleads,

Senhor, porque me querês matar sem causa? vosso filho he Príncipe a quem eu não podia, nem poso registir; havê piedade de mym, que sam molher; não me matês sem causa: e senão avês pyedade de mym, havê piedade destes vosos netos, samge vosso.²⁰

Notably, Inês names herself as “woman”, gendering her position and the power relations within which she is supplicant, a rhetoric that would be employed by António Ferreira and Camões.

In Resende's “Trovas à morte de Dona Inês de Castro”,²¹ Dona Inês's voice is heard from the afterlife articulating her desires and parodying her male

¹⁷Vasconcelos, *Inês de Castro: Estudo para uma série de lições no curso de história de Portugal*, 31.

¹⁸Rui de Pina, *Chronica de ElRey Dom Afonso o Quarto do Nome, e Settimo dos Reys de Portugal* [c. 1490], (Lisboa: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1653), Ch. LXIV.

¹⁹Sena, “Inês de Castro”, 266.

²⁰Christovão Rodrigues Acenheiro, *Chronicas dos senhores reis de Portugal* [c. 1535]: *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza: dos reinados de D. João I., D. Duarte, D. Affonso V, e D. João II*, Publicados de ordem da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa, por José Corrêa da Serra (Lisboa: Na officina da mesma Academia, 1790-1824), Tomo 5: 109.

²¹*Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, Folios 221b-222b [1516]: *Poesia de Garcia de Resende*, editor José Camões, (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1999). 1516 is the date of publication of the *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende* but Sena argues the “Trovas” were written circa 1501: “Inês de Castro”, 272-277.

enemies, giving the character control of her story. The ballad's representation of Inês as an innocent woman condemned by State powers is reproduced in later dramatic works and carries the burden of *saudade* into the next few centuries. Through the publication of the *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, the ballad brought the court poetry/song about the loves of Inês and Pedro to print in a proto-theatrical form: it is a long monologue spoken by Dona Inês and framed by the Poet's introduction and summary. However, it is not until António Ferreira pens *Castro* in the 1550's²² that the famed Dead Queen appears in Portuguese theatre proper incarnating *saudade*. *Castro* is the first tragedy written in Portuguese with a Portuguese theme, a neo-classical landmark of dramatic literature widely studied in Lusophone countries. The play presents Inês as a tragic heroine whose rhetorical skill during a heart-rending scene convinces King Afonso to reverse his decision to have her assassinated. With her children at her feet (as above), she softens the monarch's resolution but, as in Resende, fails to persuade the King's Counsellors who pursue her and kill her. It is devastating because Ferreira's Inês is a heroine who assumes responsibility for her adulterous actions but claims innocence in the name of Love. When she dies, Love dies, and readers and spectators mourn. The integrity and passion of Ferreira's Inês elevate the tragic heroine from victimhood to a symbol of love and *saudade*. A spectator or reader of this tragedy invariably feels that peculiar blend of melancholia and nostalgia noted by Eduardo Lourenço (see above) because the events are definitively in the past but recuperable as living emotions evoked by the strong female character.

José Hermano Saraiva questions the importance of the Inesian event in Portuguese history, "porque alcançou esse doloroso episódio tão ampla repercussão na memória dos portugueses?" and, among other factors, identifies the verses about Inês de Castro in *Os Lusíadas* as perpetuators of the legend.²³ Canto III, stanzas 118 to 137, are studied by Portuguese-speaking students worldwide and the characterization of Inês conveyed by the poetry

²² António Ferreira, *Castro* [ms circa 1556, pub. anon. 1587 and 1598]. Introdução, notas e glossário de F. Costa Marques (4^a ed., revista, Coimbra: Atlântida, 1974). Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Adrien Roig and Jorge de Sena all speculate that *Castro* was written between 1550 and 1557 though the first anonymous (and posthumous) publication of the play was in 1587; a second version appeared in 1598: Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares, *Téatro clássico no século XVI: A Castro de António Ferreira, Fontes – Originalidade* (Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1996) 14.

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

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Festivals, migrant sociabilities and identities: Holy Spirit *festas* in Canada¹

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THE IMPORTANCE OF migrant festivals and other celebrations, especially religious celebrations, in the US and Canada has already been stressed. The available literature covers a wide range of festivals: ethnic parades and festivals, ethnic commemorations of US and Canadian holidays, diasporic celebrations of home country national days, multicultural festivals, and religious home country celebrations recreated in the new migratory context.²

¹Acknowledgments: This paper is based on extensive fieldwork in Ontario, Québec and British Columbia, funded by FCT through the project “Ritual, Ethnicity, Transnationalism: Holy Ghost Festivals in North America” (PTDC/CS-ANT/100037/2008). We thank Andrea Klimt, Glória de Sá, Catarina Faria and Miguel Moniz for their comments on an early version of this paper and Miguel Moniz for his careful revision of the paper.

²See, for instance, Jo Anne Schneider, “Redefining Boundaries, Creating Contacts: Puerto Rican and Polish Presentation of Group Identity Through Ethnic Parades,” *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18, 1 (1990): 33-57; April Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade. Inventing the Norwegian American Through Celebration* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press Amherst, 1994); Ramón Gutiérrez and Geneviève Fabre, *Feasts and Celebrations in North American Ethnic Communities* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Nicholas Harney, *‘Eb Paesan’! Being Italian in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 143-156; Jürgen Heideking, Geneviève Fabre and Kai Dreisbach, eds. *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation. American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early 20th Century* (New York-Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001); Ellen Litwicki, “Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries: Ethnicity and Assimilation,” in Amitai Etzioni and Jared Bloom, eds., *We Are What We Celebrate. Understanding Holidays and Rituals* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2004), 213-245; Gayle McPherson, Malcolm Foley and Aaron McIntosh, “Parading Conspicuous Identity: St. Patrick’s Day, New York,” in David McCrone, and Gayle McPherson, eds., *National Days. Constructing and Mobilizing National Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).



The diversity of perspectives adopted is also wide. While some authors focus on issues related to modes of management of “authenticity” and transformation in migrant festivals, others stress their importance as ritual devices for the appropriation of space in urban settings.³ The role of migrant festivals in asserting alternative economies of status has also been pointed out. As Bramadat has written those “events create their own temporary power microcosms in which the rules that govern society the rest of the year are suspended and a different system of social status and prestige comes into effect in which the relative newcomer might be better.”⁴ Nicholas Harney has also written on the conflicts between the Catholic Church and ethnic activists in relation to patron-saint *feste* recreated by Italian immigrants in Toronto.⁵ Despite the diversity of approaches, an aspect widely stressed by the different authors is the role of festivals in community building and in practices and discourses of identity construction among immigrant groups. For Nicholas Harney, “the feste are central ritual events in the celebration of Italianness in Toronto (...). Religious institutions provide an organizational framework in which the forms of groups can be constructed. Religious rituals also nourish and encourage a sense of communal solidarity.”⁶ Kazinitz and Freidenberg-Herbstein have also written on the importance of the New York Puerto-Rican parade “as an ethnic assertion by a group with the potential for political power” and as “an expression of ethnic pride.”⁷

This paper addresses the role of Holy Spirit *festas* in community building and practices and discourses of identity construction of Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean origin. The recreation of the *festas* is one of the key features of Azorean ethnicity all over North America, where almost 290 *festas* take place each year (approximately 200 in the US and 86 in Canada). While *fes-*

³See Paul Bramadat “Toward a New Politics of Authenticity: Ethno-Cultural Representation in Theory and Practice,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 37, 1 (2005): 1-20, Nicholas Harney “The Politics of Urban Space and Nicholas Harney, “The Politics of Urban Space: Modes of Place-making by Italians in Toronto’s Neighborhoods,” *Modern Italy* II, 1 (2006), 25-42.

⁴Bramadat, “Toward a New Politics of Authenticity,” 1.

⁵Harney, ‘*Eh Paesan!*’

⁶Harney, *Eh Paesan!* 147.

⁷Philip Kazinitz and Judith Freidenberg-Herbstein, “The Puerto Rican Parade and West Indian Carnival: Celebrations in New York,” in Constance Sutton and Elsa Chaney, eds., *Caribbean Life in New York: Sociocultural Dimensions* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1987), 329, 31.

tas in the US have already been the subject of a number of studies and monographs, the literature on Canadian *festas* has been slow to develop.⁸ This paper aims to fill this gap. At the same time it hopes to contribute to debates related to the interplay between migrant festivals and practices and discourses of identity.

The empirical data upon which this paper is based derives from information collected through a research project centered on the Holy Spirit *festas* in New England and Canada carried out between 2008 and 2013. The project involved an extensive survey of existing *festas* in both areas. Given the limited budget of the project, the extensive survey carried out in Canada was not able to cover the *festas* in the provinces of Manitoba and Alberta. The extensive survey was based on semi-structured interviews with the *festas*' organizers. In some cases these interviews were carried out during the period dedicated to the *festas* and were complemented with informal conversations with participants and the observation of the *festas*. A dozen of case-studies were also carried out. In Canada these case studies centered on *festas* in British Columbia (José Mapril) Ontario (João Leal and Ilda Januário) and Québec (Ilda Januário). The case studies included interviews with *festas*' organizers, informal conversations with participants, but, mostly, detailed ethnographic observation of the *festas*. In some cases, additional information was collected among the Catholic priests of the so-called Portuguese Parishes and among directors of other Portuguese-Canadian ethnic associations. Wherever available, printed information on the *festas* (leaflets, books, mostly produced by Holy Spirit Brotherhoods) was also used.

The first section of the paper gives a general ethnographic and historical presentation of the *festas* covering in particular the provinces of Ontario,

⁸On Holy Ghost *festas* in the US see Tony Goulart, ed., *Holy Ghost Festas. A Historic Perspective of the Portuguese in California* (San Jose CA: Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, 2002); João Leal, "Travelling Rituals. Azorean Holy Ghost Festivals in Southeastern New England," in Kim Holton and Andrea Klimt, eds., *Community, Culture and the Makings of Identity. Portuguese-Americans along the Eastern Seaboard* (Dartmouth MA: Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, 2009), 127-144; *Actas do IV Congresso Internacional sobre as Festas do Espírito Santo* (San Jose CA: Portuguese Heritage Publications of California, 2010); João Leal, *Azorean Identity in Brazil and the United States: Arguments about History, Culture and Transnational Connections* (Dartmouth MA: Tagus Press at University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth); João Leal, "Festivals, Group Making, Remaking and Unmaking," *Ethnos* 81 (4) (2016): 584-599 [DOI 10.180/00141844.2014.989870, 2015].

Québec and British Columbia. After addressing aspects related to the historical development of the *festas* the paper presents their organizational structure and ritual composition. The second part of the paper proposes an interpretative framework combining the analysis of the religious meanings of the *festas* with the role they play in community building and practices and discourses of identity construction among Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean background. Finally, the paper addresses some particularities of Azorean-Canadian Holy Spirit *festas* in the wider North American context. Issues such as the minor role played by the *festas* in the public affirmation of Azorean ethnic identity, the debates and controversies surrounding the role of the Catholic Church in the feasts and the future prospects of Holy Spirit celebrations in Canada will be addressed. It is argued that these and other aspects of the Holy Spirit *festas* do provide important clues for the understanding of Azorean communities in Canada. At the same time they may contribute to the discussion of issues related to the role of festivals in community building and ethnic identity construction among migrant groups.

Holy Spirit festas in Canada

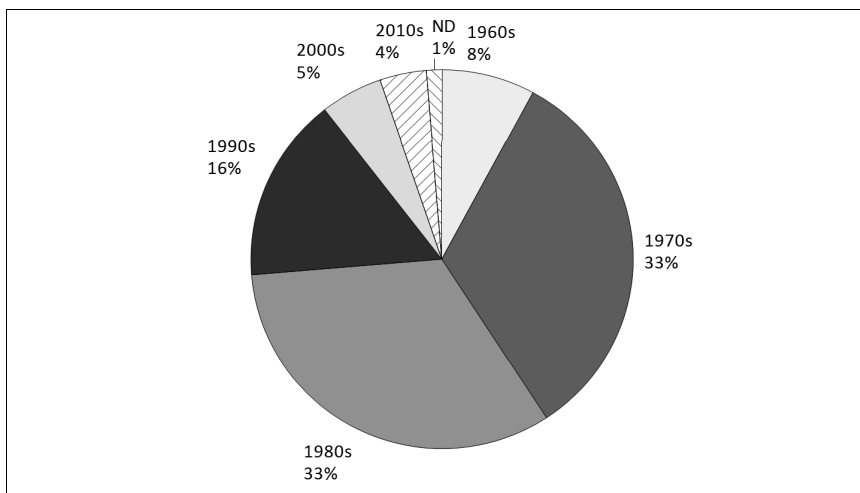
Large-scale Portuguese immigration to Canada started in the late 1950s and intensified between the 1960s and the 1980s, with the number of new immigrants decreasing significantly in the following years. As a result, according to the 2011 Canadian Census, 429,850 people of Portuguese ethnic origin live in Canada.⁹ Although exact numbers are not available, between 60% and 70% of Portuguese immigrants in Canada are estimated to be of Azorean origin. The majority of the immigrants are low-skilled workers, who work in factories or in civil construction (mostly men) and housekeeping (women).

Given their importance in the Azores, Holy Spirit *festas* were from the outset a major aspect of the processes of settlement of Azorean immigrants in Canada.¹⁰ As mentioned above, the total number of Holy Spirit *festas* that

⁹See Carlos Teixeira and Vítor da Rosa, eds., *The Portuguese in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2nd ed. rev, 2009) for a general presentation of Portuguese communities in Canada.

¹⁰Holy Spirit *festas* can be viewed as a travelling ritual. Having originated in the early fourteenth century in continental Portugal, in the fifteenth century, they travelled to the Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores. Beginning in the seventeenth century the *festas* migrated from both the Azores and continental Portugal to Brazil, where they can be found in several states. With the expansion of Azorean immigration to the USA and

take place in Canada every year is 86.¹¹ Although some *festas* were founded in the 1960s, most of them were initiated in the 1970s and 1980s (see Graphic 1), i.e., during the decades characterized by greater Azorean immigration. After the 1980s, the number of newly founded *festas* decreased.

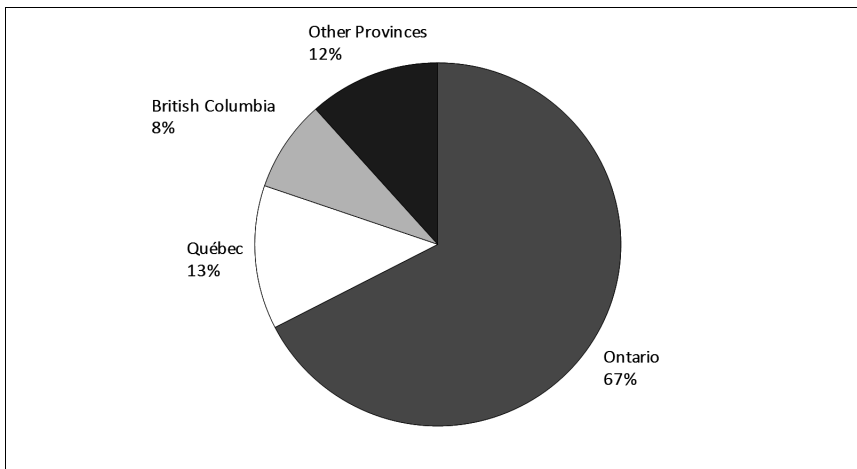


Graphic 1. Foundation years of Holy Spirit *festas* (British Columbia, Ontario, Québec).

The majority of the *festas* take place in the province of Ontario (see Graphic 2). Toronto is the city with the highest number of *festas* (eighteen), followed by Cambridge (six), Hamilton (four), Mississauga and London (three). There are *festas* in eighteen other medium sized and small towns in Ontario, most of them located in the southern part of the province. In Québec the total number of *festas* is eleven and in British Columbia seven. There are also *festas* in Winnipeg (Manitoba), Edmonton and Calgary (Alberta).

Canada, from the 1880s to the 1980s, the ritual also travelled to North America (see Leal, “Festivals, Group Making”).

¹¹The research on Holy Spirit *festas* was conducted in the provinces of Ontario, Québec and British Columbia, where seventy-six *festas* take place each year. To these *festas* must be added the *festas* that take place in the provinces of Manitoba and Alberta, which were not covered by the current research. The specific information given in this article about Holy Spirit *festas* applies only to the provinces of Ontario, Québec and British Columbia.



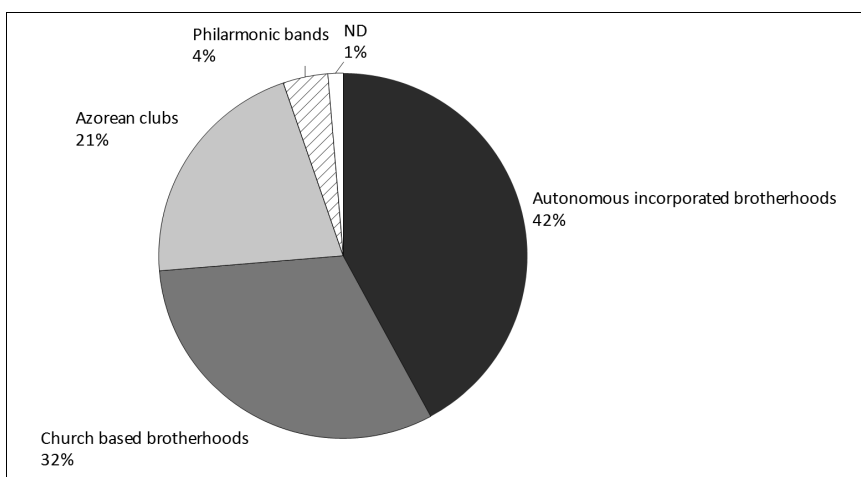
Graphic 2. Geographical distribution of Holy Spirit *festas* (Canada)

The geographical distribution of the *festas* follows the pattern of distribution of Azorean—and Portuguese—immigrants in Canada. The province with the highest number of *festas* (Ontario) is the province where there are more Azorean and Portuguese immigrants (282,865, according to the 2011 Canadian Census). Toronto, which is the North American city with the highest number of Portuguese immigrants (171,545), is also the city that hosts the highest number of *festas* in North America. The number of *festas* in other provinces also reflects their relative importance in the geography of Azorean immigration in Canada. While Québec and British Columbia are home to 57,445 and 34,660 Portuguese immigrants, provinces such as Manitoba and Alberta have smaller numbers of Portuguese immigrants.

In Canada, Holy Spirit *festas* are organized according to three organizational models (Graphic 3). While the majority of the *festas* (43%) are organized by independent incorporated brotherhoods, 32% are organized by church-based brotherhoods and 25% by Azorean clubs and philharmonic bands. Although reserving an important role for the individual sponsorship of the *festas*—through the *mordomos* (or *imperadores* [emperors])—the brotherhoods and their board of directors are the main bodies in charge of the ritual. Besides the organization of the *festas*, the majority of independent and church-based brotherhoods, as well as clubs and philharmonic bands, carry out activities throughout the year. Most of these are fund raising activ-

ities, but other initiatives have a more autonomous character. While the *festas* and year round activities organized by church-based brotherhoods take place in church facilities, independent brotherhoods (and other organizations) have their own halls or have access to rented halls.

The majority of Azorean-Canadian Holy Spirit *festas* take place on Pentecost and Trinity Sundays (at least 49%). Some *festas* take place in June in connection with Saint Peter's and Saint John's holidays with a residual number of *festas* taking place during the summer months (July, August) (see Graphic 4).

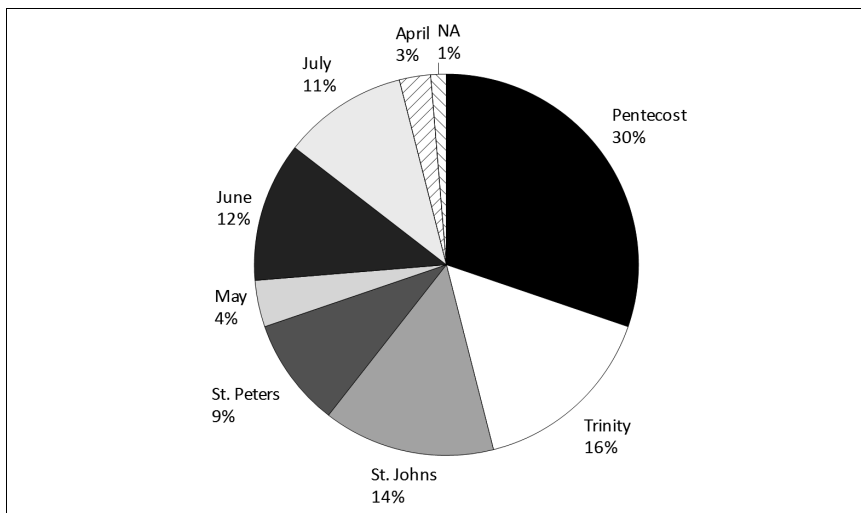


Graphic 3. Organization of the *festas* (British Columbia, Ontario, Québec)

As to the ritual script of the *festas*, some general remarks can be made. As in the Azores and in other Azorean Diasporic contexts in North America, the ritual focus of the Azorean-Canadian *festas* is centered on the Holy Spirit crown, a silver crown topped by a dove representing the Holy Spirit. The *festas* are also characterized by their duration. Despite culminating on a specific date (e.g. Pentecost or Trinity Sunday) the feasts usually include an important number of preliminary rituals that take place during a period of seven to eight weeks (usually beginning after Easter Sunday) prior to the final weekend. The ritual sequence of the *festas* consists of a number of ceremonies centered on the crown that include, besides prayer sessions and processions, the crowning of the *mordomo* (or emperor) of the *feira* (and/or

members of his family). The *festas* also involve the sharing and consumption of large quantities of food, organized around the principles of gift and counter-gift.¹² These foods include, most notably, the *sopas do Espírito Santo* (the Holy Spirit soup), as well as gifts of raw beef, bread, wine, and different varieties of sweet bread (*massa sovada*).

Some of these common elements of Holy Spirit *festas* take specific forms in Canada. Most *festas* tend to involve a large number of crowns, especially in the case of Toronto, where some brotherhoods have seven or more crowns. In addition to the crowns owned by the brotherhoods, other privately owned crowns are often involved in the celebrations. Although some of these crowns were initially brought from the Azores, contemporary crowns are mostly purchased from Portuguese jewellery shops located primarily in Toronto.



Graphic 4. Dates of Holy Spirit *festas* (British Columbia, Ontario, Québec).

The preliminary rituals prior to the *festas* are organized around the *domingas*. During the seven or eight weeks preceding each *festa*, Holy Spirit crowns circulate among members of the brotherhood. Each brother keeps the crown at his/her house for one week and holds one or more prayer ses-

¹²Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le Don. Forme et Raison de l'Échange dans les Sociétés Archaïques" [1923/24], in *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (Paris: PUF, 1983), 145-279.

sions in honour of the Holy Spirit. On each of these seven or eight Sundays prior to the feast, the crown is taken to the church, where, in a small ceremony that takes place after the mass, it is passed on to another member of the brotherhood. In some *festas*, besides the weekly circulation of crowns during the *domingas*, there is also a year-round circulation of crowns among the brotherhood's members.

Crownings do not usually occur at the *domingas*, but rather take place on the day of the *feira*—sometimes called *feira grande*—after the mass. In some cases, besides the *mordomo* and other members of his family, the queen of the *feira*—an adolescent girl wearing a glamorous dress with a cape who is accompanied by two maids of honor—is also crowned. Given the large number of crowns owned by the brotherhood or from personal collections, other individuals are also crowned during the ceremony. Processions are another important part of the *festas*, but, in comparison to those in the US, there are some differences, which will be addressed later in the paper.

There are two notable aspects regarding the circulation of food during the *festas*. The first is that the distribution of the *sopas do Espírito Santo* takes place as a free meal that's open to the public. It is usually served at the brotherhood's premises after the mass of the coronation, is attended by hundreds of people, and is usually accompanied by an outdoor *arraial*. The second aspect relates to the role of *pensões* in the *festas*. A *pensão* is both the designation given to the monetary contribution of each member of the brotherhood to the *feira* and to the portion of raw beef, bread, wine and sweet bread given to each brother as an offering for his or her monetary gift. Most of these offerings are distributed among the members of the brotherhood on their premises on the day prior to the *feira*, but in some cases, they are also distributed to homes by volunteers accompanied by a small red flag representing the Holy Spirit.

Continuities and Transformations

Most of the Azorean-Canadian Holy Spirit brotherhoods (or the clubs and other associations that organize them) are under the direction of migrants from São Miguel (45%). Fourteen percent are operated by immigrants from Terceira and there are also some *festas* organized by migrants from other islands of the Azores, such as Pico, Santa Maria, Flores, and Graciosa, albeit in

smaller numbers (Graphic 5). Nineteen percent involve some kind of collaboration between people from several islands, especially among migrants from São Miguel and Terceira. Although there is some evidence of participation of *continentais* (immigrants from continental Portugal) in the *festas*, this seems to be a minor trend. The correspondence between the specific Azorean origins of the *festas* and the demographics of Azorean settlement in Canada must be stressed. Although no exact figures are available, it is usually assumed that the overwhelming majority of the Azorean immigrants in Canada come from São Miguel, with smaller groups of immigrants coming from other islands.

Given their Azorean origin, migrants running the *festas* in Canada try to emulate Azorean models of celebrating the Holy Spirit. Since the majority of the immigrants come from São Miguel, this means that the majority of the *festas* seek to reproduce the *Micaelense* model of Holy Spirit *festas*. This is most evident in the case of *domingas* and *pensões*, which are defining traits of Holy Spirit *festas* in São Miguel.¹³ The same applies to *festas* organized by immigrants coming from other Azorean islands. Even in the cases where these *festas* are influenced by the *Micalense* model—a point to which we will return later—their organizers usually emphasize specific aspects of the *festas* connected with particular ways of celebrating the Holy Spirit in their islands of origin. These include, most prominently, the different modes of preparing the *sopas do Espírito Santo* and recipes for making sweet bread, as well as some ritual practices that are characteristic of particular islands, such as the *folia* in Santa Maria.

Despite the inspiration of Azorean models for Holy Spirit celebrations, *festas* in Canada are also characterized by a number of transformations, both in their organization and in the composition of the rituals.

These transformations are most evident in relation to the organizational framework of the *festas*, characterized by a diminished role for the *mordomo* (or emperor) and the increased importance of the brotherhoods (and other associations) in the organization of the *festas*. In the Azores, the *mordomo* (or emperor) plays a more prominent role, and the *irmandades* (brotherhoods) assume less formal responsibilities. The two models of brotherhoods preval-

¹³João Leal, *As Festas do Espírito Santo nos Açores, Um Estudo de Antropologia Social* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1994).

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Transcending Portuguese-Canadian Ethnic and Educational Liminality: Peer Mentorship and Education Facilitating Transitional Post Secondary Success

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Introduction

Mentoring and tutoring Portuguese-Canadian students has been an important educational conduit to encourage their pursuit of post-secondary education.¹ Portuguese-Canadian post-secondary peer mentors and peer educators are also a successful segment of the population, representing a positive trend of success in higher education. They are a part of the population that has accomplished their goal of entering post-secondary institutions, and they are keen on encouraging their peers to continue their education beyond secondary school. This article highlights the positive educational achievement of Portuguese-Canadian university peer mentors and tutors and how they are mentoring Portuguese-Canadian students to consider higher educational aspiration. Portuguese-Canadian peer mentors and educators “lead by example” and model post-secondary student success. This research may be part of a trend of Portuguese-Canadian students who have entered post-secondary institutions, achieved their goal of pursuing higher education, and are sharing their success with those in the community. Though not conclusive, the interview data points to these Portuguese-Canadian students who succeed in higher education taking an interest in their community and wanting to give back in order to ensure that their younger peers feel confident in pursuing post-secondary education. The mentors interviewed also wanted to show mentees “the ropes”, providing mentees with the confidence to enter post-secondary institution. Members from two organizations were inter-

¹Christina Kwiczala and Benjamin Kutsyuruba, “A Case Study of a Community-Based Tutoring and Mentoring Program for Portuguese-Canadian Students,” *Portuguese Studies Review* 20 (2) (2012).



viewed for this research: the *York University Portuguese Association* and *Working Women*.

York University Portuguese Association. The Portuguese-Canadian mentors and peer educators interviewed were part York University Portuguese Association (YUPA) or associated with “Working Women” and their partnership connected to the YUPA’s *Adopt-A-Student* program.² This annual event takes place in the Greater Toronto Area at universities such as York University. At York, the program highlights matching secondary school students with YUPA as well as Ontario Latin American Student Organization (OLAS) members. This event involves bringing students from various Greater Toronto Area high schools onto the York University Keele campus. According to the YUPA website,

Every year [YUPA] works with the working women's centre to take high school students to our classes as well as facilities on campus and answer any questions they may have regarding continuing education. This year [YUPA] and [OLAS] worked together to speak with the [S]panish and [P]ortuguese community. We provided residence tours and even had 2 special guest speakers who spoke with the students regarding the importance of going against the stereotypes and working towards their goals in life.³

YUPA promotes networking opportunities that bring together Portuguese-speaking students at York. Their main goal is to promote post-secondary education and host various fundraising events for first-year scholarships for Lusophone students.⁴

Working Women. The organization has been serving women and families in Toronto since 1974. One of their mandates is education and learning and, as a charitable organization, they provide a variety of programs and services.⁵ According to their website,

²“Adopt-A-Student Day,” *YU Connect – Portuguese Association*, accessed March 13, 2015, <https://yorku.collegiatelink.net/organization/YUPA/calendar/details/1539>.

³Jessica Cunha, “Adopt-A-Student,” *YU Connect – Portuguese Association*, last modified November 13, 2011, <https://yorku.collegiatelink.net/organization/YUPA/news/details/594>.

⁴“About Us,” *YU Connect – Portuguese Association*, accessed March 13, 2015, <https://yorku.collegiatelink.net/organization/YUPA/about>.

⁵“Working Women Community Centre 2012-2013 Annual Report,” *Working Women Community Centre*, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://www.workingwomencc.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/WWCC-Annual-Report-2013.pdf>.

Adopt-a-Student Day gives students a chance to:

- Tour a university campus
- Sit-in on lectures and laboratories
- Learn about different aspects of university life beyond academics (e.g. social events, clubs)
- Use and experience different university facilities (e.g. health and fitness, library, cultural)
- Get information about course and tuition options and scholarship and bursary opportunities

Most importantly, high school students learn from an experienced University student and get mentoring on how to balance social and work lives, thereby establishing a support network at the school even before officially attending it.

This initiative is a collaborative effort between *On Your Mark* and the Portuguese Student Association & Latin American Student Association at different Universities in Toronto. It is in line with these organizations' efforts to make higher education more prevalent in the Portuguese-speaking communities and Spanish-speaking communities. *Adopt-a-Student Day* is a perfect vehicle towards realizing our common goal of making higher education more accessible to, and prevalent in, the Portuguese-speaking and Spanish-speaking communities.

This year was our 10th year anniversary holding the event! We hosted 52 students from schools across the city and they were welcomed in University of Toronto and Ryerson University. As the event continues to grow, we hope to be able to host more and more students in years to come!⁶

Differentiating Peer Leaders, Peer Educators, and Peer Mentors

Arguably, in practice, there are overlaps between the roles of post-secondary undergraduate peer leaders, peer educators, and peer mentors. Peer education, mentoring, and leadership may be amalgamated into an overall program that encourages an educative approach to student development, engagement, and retention, facilitating student success in terms of academic performance and engagement. Clear definitions of these concepts are important in order to understand the similarities and differences between these types of supporting roles and their importance in assisting Portuguese-Canadians students in their transition to university.

⁶“Adopt-A-Student Day 2014,” *Working Women Community Centre*, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://www.workingwomencc.org/programs-services/on-your-mark/adopt-a-student-day-2014/>.

Peer leaders are post-secondary peers who lead, organize, counsel, advise, and facilitate student activities (e.g., student learning, orientations, programs, and other initiatives⁷). Peer leadership may be based on a more cooperative, non-hierarchical, and guiding approach that encourages student development and the acquisition of future leadership skills in other contexts.⁸

Peer educators are those who educate peers through Supplemental Instruction (SI), Peer Assisted Study Sessions (PASS), Structured Learning Assistance (SLA), and other curricular, co-curricular, or extracurricular education.⁹ Curricular programs include Emerging Scholars Programs (ESP), Peer Led Learning (PLTL), Video-based Supplemental Instruction, and various types of tutoring. Peer educators also conduct various types of curricular and co-curricular tutoring, such as Peer Assisted Study Sessions (PASS), Peer Assisted Learning Strategies (PALS), and Peer Tutoring (PT), mainly in the UK and Australia.¹⁰ Formal peer educators can be associated with courses, de-

⁷Joseph Cuseo, "Peer Power: Empirical Evidence for the Positive Impact of Peer Interaction, Support, and Leadership," *Source for College Transitions*, 7 (4) (2010): 4-6; Steven C. Ender and K. Kay, "Peer Leadership Programs: A Rationale and Review of the Literature," in *Peer Leadership: A Primer on Program Essentials*, ed. Suzanne L. Hamid (Columbia: National Research Centre for the First-Year Experience and Students in Transition, 2001): 1-11; Fred B. Newton and Steven C. Ender, *Students Helping Students: A Guide for Peer Educators on College Campuses* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2010); Stephanie R. Ganser and Tricia L. Kennedy, "Where it all Began: Peer Education and Leadership in Student Services," *New Directions for Higher Education* 157 (2012): 17-29; Stuart Hunter and M. M. Heath, "The Building Blocks of the Peer Leader Program: Recruitment, Selection, and Training," in Susan Hamid, ed., *Peer Leadership: A Primer on Program Essentials*, Monograph No. 32, (2001), 37-52; Jaime L. Shook and Jennifer R. Keup, "The Benefits of Peer Leader programs: An Overview from the Literature," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2012 157 (2012): 5-16.

⁸Robert Kenedy, "Examining Global Perspectives of Peer Leaders, Peer Educators, and Peer Mentors" (in progress).

⁹David R. Arendale, "Postsecondary Peer Cooperative Learning Programs: Annotated Bibliography," annotated bibliography (University of Minnesota, 2005/2012).

¹⁰Stuart Capstick and Hugh Fleming, "Peer Assisted Learning in an Undergraduate Hospitality Course: Second Year Students Supporting First Year Students in Group Learning," *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport & Tourism Education* 1 (1) (2002): 69-76; Keith J. Topping, "Reaching Where Adults Cannot: Peer Education and Peer Counselling," *Educational Psychology in Practice* 11 (4) (1996): 23-29; Keith J. Topping, "Trends in Peer Learning," *Educational Psychology* 25 (6) (2005): 631-645; Keith J. Topping & Stewart Ehly, "Peer Assisted Learning: A Framework for Consultation," *Journal of Educational & Psychological Consulta-*

partments, or faculties¹¹ and may be related to curricular Cooperative Learning (CL) between students.¹² Peer educators also facilitate the acquisition of critical skills such as writing, time management, exam taking, and other skills.¹³

Peer mentors are those who pastorally and/or formally mentor students based on academic/curricular, co-curricular, or extracurricular criteria. Peer mentors may guide, coach, or facilitate the first-year and overall student transition socially, emotionally, and psychologically, as it pertains to academic or non-academic aspects of the post-secondary life.¹⁴ Peer mentoring can overlap between education and leadership, and is probably the most basic type of guidance for facilitating student success.¹⁵

Diagram 1 below suggests that, in practice, there are overlaps between peer leadership in terms of the connections to both peer education and peer mentoring.¹⁶ More specifically, peer leadership is central to both mentoring and educating peers in terms of promoting the notion of leading by example, as well as guiding mentees, which will be discussed in the findings and discussion of the interview data.

tion 12 (2) (2001): 113-132.

¹¹F. Quinn, R. Muldoon and A. Hollingworth, "Formal Academic Mentoring: A Pilot Scheme for First Year Science Students at a Regional University," *Mentoring & Tutoring*, 10 (1) (2002): 21-33.

¹²Robert Slavin, "Class Size and Student Achievement: Is Smaller Better?," *Contemporary Education* 62 (1) (1990): 6-12.

¹³Robert Kenedy, Vivienne Monty, and Marilyn Lambert-Drache, "Transitions through Pastoral Peer Mentoring: A Qualitative Analysis of the Challenges and Successes," *Journal of the First-Year Experience & Students in Transition* 24 (1) (2012): 79-100; Kenedy, "Examining Global Perspectives".

¹⁴Penelope Bidgood, "Peer Mentoring and Peer Tutoring," *MSOR Connections* 11 (3) (2004): 12-16; Kenedy, Monty, and Lambert-Drache, "Transitions through Pastoral Peer Mentoring"; Topping, "Trends in Peer Learning"; Maureen Woodd, "Mentoring in Further and Higher Education: Learning from the Literature," *Education + Training* 39 (9) (1997): 333-343.

¹⁵Caroline P. D'Abate, Erik R. Eddy, and Scott I. Tannenbaum, "What's in a Name? A Literature-Based Approach to Understanding Mentoring, Coaching, and Other Constructs That Describe Developmental Interactions," *Human Resource Development Review* 2 (4) (2003): 333-338.

¹⁶Kenedy, "Examining Global Perspectives".

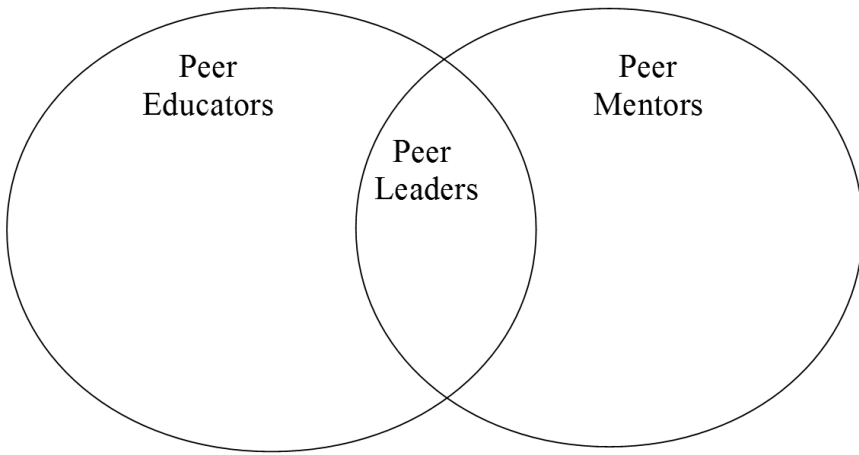


Diagram 1. Peer Leader, Educator, and Mentor.

The literature on post-secondary peer mentorship and peer education suggests that mentors and educators contribute to the transition of students through the educational system in order to help them reach their academic potential.¹⁷ Studies have suggested that post-secondary mentors are important at primary and secondary educational levels in order to promote the successful transition to post-secondary education amongst underrepresented students.¹⁸ Encouraging Portuguese-Canadian youth to mentor those in their community has been an ongoing concern in order to support more educational and political involvement both inside and outside the community.¹⁹ Portuguese-Canadian youth mentoring each other to succeed educationally has been a continuing goal of community groups such as the Por-

¹⁷Alexander Astin, *What Matters in College? Four Critical Years Revisited* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1993); Fred B. Newton and Steven C. Ender, *Students Helping Students*; Kenedy, Monty, and Lambert-Drache, "Transitions through Pastoral Peer Mentoring"; John H. Russel and Rodney R. Skinkle, "Evaluation of Peer-Adviser Effectiveness," *Journal of College Student Development* 31 (5) (1990): 388-394; Jaime L. Shook and Jennifer R. Keup, "Benefits of Peer Leader Programs."

¹⁸Eunyoung Kim, "Navigating College Life: The Role of Peer Networks in First-Year College Adaptation Experience of Minority Immigrant Students," *Journal of The First-Year Experience and Students in Transition* 21 (2) (2009): 9-34; William Smith and Pidi Zhang, "The Impact of Key Factors on the Transition From High School to College Among First- and Second-Generation Students," *Journal of The First-Year Experience and Students in Transition* 22 (2) (2010): 49-70.

tuguese-Canadian Congress, who have worked to encourage youth and their peers in order to promote ongoing educational success.²⁰

There is a need for research that examines proactive ways in which Portuguese-Canadian peer educators and mentors attending post-secondary institutions are guiding mentees and encouraging them to pursue higher education. Apart from Kwiczala and Kutsyuruba, who examine the role of peer tutors, much of the literature on the Portuguese-Canadian community has focused on ethnic identity and language maintenance patterns.²¹ Research about the Portuguese-Canadian community has traditionally highlighted the experiences of Portuguese immigrants, rather than focusing on their second- and third-generation children.²² Past studies on Portuguese-Canadian youth and education have highlighted their academic underachievement and being marginalized within Canadian society economically, with the lowest overall levels of education among any minority group in Canada (including Aborigines).²³ It is often pointed out that Portuguese-Canadians

¹⁹Robert Kenedy and Fernando Nunes, "An Analysis of Civic Identity and Participation Among Portuguese-Canadian Youth in Québec and Ontario," *Portuguese Studies Review* 20 (2) (2012) 101-141; Kwiczala and Kutsyuruba, "Case Study of Tutoring and Mentoring Program."

²⁰Robert Kenedy and Fernando Nunes, "An Analysis of Civic Identity"; Portuguese-Canadian Congress, *Thinking Civically Youth Leadership and Civic Engagement Final Report* (Portuguese-Canadian National Congress, 2007).

²¹Manuel Armando Oliveira and Carlos Teixeira, *Jovens Portugueses e luso-descendentes no Canadá: trajetórias de inserção em espaços multiculturais* (Oeiras, Portugal: Celta Editora, 2004).

²²Grace Anderson and David Higgs, *A Future to Inherit: The Portuguese Communities of Canada* (Canada: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); Winona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto: Gender, Immigration, and Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Nunes, *Portuguese-Canadians from Sea to Sea: A National Needs Assessment* (Toronto: Portuguese-Canadian National Congress, 1998); Domingos Marques and João Medeiros, *Portuguese Immigrants: 25 Years in Canada* (Toronto: West End Y.M.C.A., 1980); Fernando Nunes, *The Portuguese in Canada: From the Sea to the City* (Toronto: Portuguese National Congress, 1998). Carlos Teixeira and Victor Da Rosa, *The Portuguese in Canada: Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Kwiczala and Kutsyuruba, "Case Study of Tutoring and Mentoring Program."

²³Fernando Nunes, "Portuguese-Canadians and Academic Underachievement: A Community-based, Participatory Research Project," Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 1999); Nunes, *Portuguese-Canadians from Sea to Sea*; Fernando Nunes, "Integration or Return? Towards an Effective Emigration Policy and Practice for a Neglected Diaspora," in Vlado Sakic, Howard Duncan and

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LITERATURE, HISTORY, AND CONSTRUCTIONS
OF IDENTITY



***De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*: a construção de uma identidade Portuguesa em diálogo com os Antigos**

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AS *ANTIGUIDADES DA LUSITÂNIA*, no título original, em latim, *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*, é uma obra comumente atribuída a André de Resende (c. 1500-1573), postumamente revista, completada e publicada por Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos (1523-1599), dois intelectuais humanistas e eruditos, detentores de sólidas formações clássicas.¹ Tal como refere Rosado Fernandes, o mais recente editor e tradutor da obra, é impossível conhecer ao certo a dimensão da intervenção de Mendes de Vasconcelos no texto.² Este último terá trabalhado sobre os rascunhos deixados por André de Resende que, nas palavras de Mendes de Vasconcelos, eram textos “cobertos de rasuras e embaraços” acrescentando ainda, pouco adiante, “levei até ao fim a obra por ele começada, encontrando apoio em parte nos seus apontamentos e em parte nas novas inscrições que eu próprio encontrei”³. Estamos assim perante uma obra que deve ser entendida em termos de co-autoria e que, além disso, terá sido fruto de dois longos processos de pesquisa e de trabalho.

¹A edição usada é a seguinte: André de Resende, *As Antiquidades da Lusitânia* (introdução, tradução e comentário de R. M. Rosado Fernandes) (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2009) – daqui em diante *AL*. A obra é composta por 4 livros: I – etimologia do nome Lusitânia, geografia do território, gentes, povos e nações que habitaram o território, com especial destaque para os Lusitanos; II – Os rios da Lusitânia; III – Os povos que anteriormente dominaram a Lusitânia com base sobretudo em historiadores gregos e romanos; IV – Cidades e inscrições lá encontradas. De um V livro, sobre a cidade de Évora, é-nos dito que só havia umas 20-25 linhas – *cf.* descrição do espólio de André de Resende, depois revisto e completado por Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos, existente na carta “Ao mui sábio e piedoso rei de Portugal D. Henrique, primeiro deste nome, faz votos de plena felicidade Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos” – *AL*, 59-63 (o resumo do que André de Resende deixou encontra-se nas p. 61-62).

²*AL*, 8 (introdução de Rosado Fernandes).

³*AL*, 61 e 63 respetivamente (carta de Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos ao Cardeal-Rei D. Henrique).



Por um lado, da parte de André de Resende, o livro é o resultado de cerca de 50 anos de recolha de informações dispersas. Pelo outro lado, o trabalho de revisão e de complemento terá demorado mais de um decénio a Mendes de Vasconcelos, o que prova que também este não terá sido um trabalho superficial.

O livro configura-se ainda como um exemplo cabal do espírito e dos métodos de trabalho próprios dos intelectuais do Renascimento. É evidente o conhecimento alargado e erudito de textos clássicos, com os quais se dialoga, bem como a curiosidade pela pesquisa de campo, com a inerente valorização e interpretação de vestígios e testemunhos, arqueológicos e outros, que trouxessem informações sobre o passado do território português e as civilizações que por aí se detiveram.

Em termos ideológicos, *As Antiguidades da Lusitânia* apresenta-se como uma obra empenhada na defesa da antiguidade, da nobreza e da especificidade da identidade portuguesa. A análise deste ponto de vista torna-se assim especialmente interessante e frutífera desde uma perspectiva imagológica. O tema encontra-se subjacente a toda a obra mas é particularmente evidente em algumas passagens específicas, nomeadamente, quando se procura caracterizar as populações mais antigas do Ocidente peninsular, com especial destaque para os Lusitanos, ou quando se exalta o valor e as boas razões dos seus chefes mais importantes, Viriato e Sertório.

No caso dos generais que com maior sucesso fizeram frente às forças do Império romano é notório o modo como se procura sublinhar a bondade dos seus motivos e o sucesso dos seus feitos. No caso concreto de Viriato, é especialmente destacado o antecedente que consistiu na perfídia de Sérvio Sulpício Galba (c.190 aC.-135 aC.) contra os Lusitanos, pois o pretor romano das Hispânicas, para se vingar de uma derrota face aos Lusitanos, atraí-os com promessas falsas para em seguida os massacrar desarmados e indefesos. Este facto é referido e condenado por vários autores romanos citados nas *AL*, amplificando-se nesta obra a relação de causa-efeito entre a crueldade de Galba e a posterior revolta dos Lusitanos comandados por Viriato. As vitórias deste líder, também referidas por vários autores romanos, são sublimadas. O facto de este ser chamado em diversas fontes de “chefe de ladrões” é referido⁴ mas naturalmente não desenvolvido. Curiosamente, a historiografia anterior ao

⁴Nomeadamente em *AL*, 150.

séc. XVI tinha retido precisamente este traço. A *Estoria de Espanna* de Afonso X de Castela e de Leão (nomeadamente na sua “versão primitiva”, de cerca de 1270-74) dedica a Viriato dois simples capítulos, na sequência, também, dos assassinatos perpetrados por Sérgio Galba. O primeiro destes capítulos é, significativamente, intitulado “43. De cuemo se leuanto el ladron Uiriato”.⁵ O valor militar do chefe lusitano não é diminuído, mas o retrato que se desenha é o de um salteador e o modo como é designado nem sempre é o mais abonatório:

fuera primeramente pastor, e depues tenedor de caminos, et desi ayunto muy grand gente e començo a fazer mal descubiertamente por las tierras, robando-las e destruyendolas todas. E quando los de Roma lo sopieron, enuiaron sobrel yuezes e consules; y el uencio los unos e mato los otros, e a algunos dellos fizo que uiniessen a so mandamiento.

[...]

Uiriato, aquel ladron que de suso oyestes, gerreo con los romanos catorze annos, e desbaratoles muchas huestes, e mato muchos omnes onrados dellos. Encabo mataron le los sos a traycion, aquellos en que se el mas fiaua; e cuydaron auer de los romanos gualardon, mas ellos non gele quisieron dar por la traycion que fizieran en matar so sennor.⁶

A segunda redação da *Crónica de 1344*, um texto português que terá sido redigido nos anos 80 do séc. XIV, usa como fonte a tradição afonsina e, no que se refere às passagens que se reportam a Viriato, não introduz alterações significativas, limitando-se a traduzir o já referido na obra do rei Sábio⁷. Tal demonstra que em finais do séc. XIV a ideia de uma ligação identitária privilegiada de descendência dos Portugueses relativamente aos Lusitanos ainda não se teria estabelecido de modo suficientemente marcado para implicar o branqueamento destas informações.

Em finais do séc. XVI, a perspectiva já é, definitivamente, outra, verificando-se uma nítida valorização dos antepassados do período romano, com es-

⁵*Primera Crónica General de España* (ed de Ramón Menéndez Pidal / reed. de Diego Catalán) (Madrid: Gredos, 1977), vol. I, 28a – daqui em diante *PCG*.

⁶*PCG*, I, 28b e 28b-29a, respetivamente.

⁷*Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, (ed. de Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra) (Lisboa: IN-CM, 1951-1990). As passagens sobre Viriato encontram-se no Vol. 2, cap. LXVI e LXVIII.

pecial destaque para Viriato, cuja heroicidade é sublimada.⁸ O *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* ignora as fontes cronísticas peninsulares anteriores, optando por se apoiar nas fontes latinas,⁹ bastante mais desenvolvidas e diversificadas, que cita com bastante fidelidade. Mantém as referências a Viriato como “chefe de ladrões” ou como “pastor e salteador”,¹⁰ expressões também veiculadas pelas fontes compulsadas, porém, logo a seguir, estas citações dos Antigos são comentadas com observações como as seguintes:

Deve-se também reparar aqui a que ponto o grande orador minimiza as vitórias de Viriato.

Volto à designação de salteador que me parece ter sido sugerida pelos Romanos no seu ódio, bastante invejoso, ao grande homem.

A sua ousadia bem sucedida foi favorecida por muitos depois da última injúria dos Romanos, e como cada dia que passava maiores se tornavam as suas tropas, tendo-se finalmente reunido um exército regular, foi ele eleito como chefe, e com o exército avançou já intrepidamente não para o latrocínio mas para a guerra e para a libertação da pátria. Com efeito, Justino celebra a sua admirável coragem e moderação a ponto de, depois de ter travado tantas batalhas, nem sequer usar armas mais cuidadas do que as dos outros nem mudar o vestuário ou a alimentação, de tal modo que qualquer soldado parecia mais rico do que o próprio chefe. Este equilíbrio de alma não costuma existir nos hábitos dos ladrões.¹¹

Outro ponto especialmente eloquente de *As Antiguidades da Lusitânia* é o capítulo que, no livro I, se intitula “Qual a índole do povo Lusitano”. É aqui mantido o método dialógico-argumentativo, idêntico ao das passagens acima

⁸Sobre este assunto, veja-se José Mattoso que considera que a base da nação portuguesa é de caráter político, sem fundamentos geográficos ou étnicos, e apresenta a valorização dos Lusitanos e de Viriato como um fenómeno renascentista: “A tese beirã das origens nacionais não tem antecedentes menos vagos. Remonta aos antiquários renascentistas, que procuraram no classicismo greco-romano os fundamentos das suas teorias. Os antepassados dos portugueses seriam, então, como também pensava Oliveira Martins, os lusitanos, mas sem a identificação com os celtas. O seu herói seria Viriato, e a resistência dos lusitanos à ocupação romana representaria a longínqua expressão da vigorosa luta nacional pela independência” (José Mattoso, *A Identidade Nacional* (Lisboa: Fundação Mário Soares e Gadiva, 1998), 69-70).

⁹As fontes do *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* são apresentadas na introdução da edição de Rosado Fernandes (pp. 14-18). Apesar de terem sido usados alguns textos medievais, é claro o predomínio das fontes Greco-latinas e Renascentistas.

¹⁰AL, 150 e 151, respetivamente.

¹¹AL, 153 e 153-154.

citadas, sendo referidos vários autores Antigos, cujos testemunhos foram colecionados. No entanto, o respeito pelas autoridades clássicas não impede o confronto pois os seus relatos e opiniões são discutidos. Um bom exemplo deste procedimento é a apóstrofe a Tito Lívio sobre a descrição que este efetua de uma batalha na qual primeiro os Lusitanos estavam a vencer mas depois, na sequência de uma promessa de instituição de jogos em honra de Júpiter, a sorte muda e os Romanos acabam por derrotar os Lusitanos¹². Nesta passagem sobressai uma viva indignação relativamente aos números apresentados por Tito Lívio:

Quem não achará abertamente suspeito, ó Tito Lívio, que, num combate de cinco horas e de resultado duvidoso, em que os primeiros desorientados foram os Romanos, passado algum tempo as forças se equilibrassem; que o propretor, no momento crítico, promettesse jogos em honra de Júpiter, o que sem dúvida costumavam fazer os que desesperavam completamente da vitória; que morressem doze mil Lusitanos e fossem aprisionados quinhentos e quarenta, quase todos cavaleiros, enquanto do exército romano apenas se perdessem setenta e três homens? Também dizes que o propretor se chocou em linha de batalha compacta contra uma coluna longa e embaraçada pela multidão de animais, com soldados repousados contra homens fatigados pela longa marcha, o que aceitamos, para que se acredite com fundamento que os Romanos mataram muitos milhares de Lusitanos. Mas não sei se conseguirás persuadir alguém de que numa chacina em que morreram doze mil, os Romanos só tenham perdido setenta e três homens.

Que coisa em verdade desorientou os Romanos? Por que razão, depois de um espaço de cinco horas com resultado duvidoso, as forças se equilibraram daí a pouco tempo? Os Romanos combateram desde a terceira à oitava hora com resultado duvidoso; depois, em pouco tempo a batalha equilibrou-se.

Se os Romanos estavam tão invulneráveis a combater, se os Lusitanos tinham os gládios tão enfraquecidos e as forças esvaídas, porque esteve o resultado da batalha incerto durante cinco horas seguidas? Porque matavam e não eram mortos? Que significa as forças terem-se equilibrado, senão que até essa altura os Romanos estiveram em inferioridade? Como consegues convencer de que em situação tão duvidosa se perderam doze mil Lusitanos, ao passo que do exército romano somente setenta e três?¹³

¹²A passagem encontra-se em *Ab Urbe Condita*. Para uma tradução em Inglês, ver *The History of Rome by Titus Livius* (translated from the original with notes and illustrations by A. M. George Baker) (New York: Peter A. Mesier *et al.*, 1823) – Vol. 5, Book XXXV – disponível em linha em <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/livy-the-history-of-rome-vol-5> [última consulta a 7 de fevereiro de 2015].

Já não encontramos idêntica indignação quando a desproporção numérica é ao contrário, nem mesmo quando os contornos do episódio podem parecer de uma heroicidade excessiva, como é o caso da seguinte referência retirada das *Historiarum adversus paganos* de Orósio:

Mas não nos afastemos de Orósio. Este, fundamentando-se em Cláudio, conta que trezentos Lusitanos travaram um combate contra mil Romanos, no qual morreram setenta Lusitanos e trezentos e vinte Romanos. Já os vencedores se afastavam, dispersos e em segurança, quando um deles, que ia a pé e, longe dos outros, se tinha deixado ficar para trás, foi apanhado por cavaleiros que por ali andavam. Com a lança, porém, trespassou ele o cavalo do primeiro e de um só golpe de gládio arrancou a cabeça do próprio cavaleiro, pelo que semeou um tal terror em todos, que muito desdenhosa e calmamente se afastou dos que reunidos observavam de longe.¹⁴

As considerações laudatórias são ainda desenvolvidas, sem que se verifique uma ponta de dúvida sobre os traços menos verosímeis deste ou de qualquer outro episódio:

Estariam à nossa disposição exemplos semelhantes de valentia, se os Romanos exaltassem mais moderadamente a sua. Como, todavia, não temos outros historiadores dos nossos feitos, somos obrigados a aceitar tudo o que lhes agrada dizer a nosso respeito, quer tenham sido imparciais quer parciais. Por vezes, contudo, a verdade escapa sem querer aos descuidados.¹⁵

Outro excelente exemplo da discussão mantida com os autores antigos apresenta-se pouco depois quando são recordados os grandes chefes dos Lusitanos, Viriato e Sertório, verificando-se mais um momento de indignação contra uma observação considerada como menos adequada:

Justino, por seu lado, faz-se engraçado no último livro, quando diz: «Em tão grande fiada de séculos não tiveram nenhum grande chefe além de Viriato, que durante dez anos atormentou os romanos com diversas vitórias. As suas qualidades estão mais próximas das dos animais do que das dos homens»¹⁶. Vejamos,

¹³AL, 93-94.

¹⁴AL, 95. A tradução é bastante fiel. O episódio encontra-se nas *Historiarum adversus paganos* – ver Orósio, *Le storie contro i pagani* (a cura di Adolf Lippold) (Verona: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla & Arnoldo Mondadori editore, 1998). A passagem encontra-se no livro V, 4, 5-6 (vol. II, 23).

¹⁵AL, 95.

¹⁶Ver Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Liber Historiarum Philippicarum et Totius Mundi Origines et Terrae Situs* | *Abrégé des Histoires de Trogue Pompée* (texte établi et traduit par Marie-Pierre

Justino, porque consideras as qualidades dos nossos mais próximas das dos animais que das dos homens? Porque durante dez anos atormentaram os Romanos? Porquê? Considerá-las-ias, creio, mais próprias de deuses do que de homens, se fossem os Romanos a atormentarem os Lusitanos com vitórias duvidosas. É ou não verdade o que acima dissemos, que os escritores latinos rebaixaram sempre e de toda a maneira que puderam os nossos feitos?¹⁷

Este capítulo dedicado à índole do povo Lusitano divide-se, *grosso modo*, em duas partes. Uma primeira parte, mais extensa, incide sobre a valentia do povo lusitano e seus feitos militares, mormente contra os Romanos. A sua segunda parte, mais breve, refere-se a outras características, nomeadamente as reportadas por Estrabão:

Estrabão anotou cuidadosamente os costumes, tal como os conheceu no seu tempo e que nem eram maus então nem motivo de vergonha para nós agora. Muitos se modificaram com a religião, muitos outros ainda persistem. Passarei a expor alguns.¹⁸

O *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* aponta os seguintes costumes, referidos por Estrabão:

- a habilidade em fazer embuscadas (no que grandes chefes antigos também foram hábeis);
- o uso de punhais (hábito que ainda existia, mesmo em jovens);
- o costume de levar dardos ou lanças consigo quando saem (o que ainda acontecia);
- o facto de beberem água (ainda hábito nas crianças antes da puberdade, e nos nobres e nos reis, que se abstêm de vinho);

Arnaud-Lindet) – texto latino e tradução francesa disponíveis em linha em <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/index.html> A passagem em causa encontra-se no livro XLIV, 2, 7 (<http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/trad44.html>) [última consulta a 7 de fevereiro de 2015]. Nas *AL*, a passagem é considerada difamatória, mas a mesma também pode ser lida como uma forma de sublinhar o caráter corajoso e aguerrido dos Lusitanos: “7 In tanta saeculorum serie nullus illis dux magnus praeter Viriatum fuit, qui annis decem Romanos uaria uictoria fatigauit ; adeo feris propiora quam hominibus ingenia gerunt. Quem ipsum non iudicio populi electum, sed ut cauendi scientem declinandorumque periculorum peritum secuti sunt”; “7 Dans une si grande suite de siècles, aucun chef ne fut plus grand chez eux que Viriate qui, pendant dix ans, épouisa les Romains avec des victoires variées; tant leur cœur les rapproche plus des fauves que des hommes ! Ils suivirent Viriate, non qu’il eût été choisi par un vote populaire, mais en tant qu’il savait se garder des dangers et qu’il était habile à les écarter.”

¹⁷*AL*, 96.

¹⁸*AL*, 96.

- que tinham entretenimentos espartanos – “realizavam hecatombes e competiam em lutas gímnicas” e casavam “segundo um ritual à maneira grega” – o que é usado como base para aludir à “origem grega dos Lusitanos”,¹⁹ um tema que podemos reencontrar, por exemplo, logo no início do livro primeiro quando se reflete sobre o nome “Lusitânia” e se remete para tempos especialmente remotos e para personagens da mitologia greco-latina. Também podemos reencontrar este tema no início do livro III, quando se faz referência aos povos que dominaram a Lusitânia antes dos Cartagineses e dos Romanos. Como é sabido, o estabelecimento de raízes o mais antigas possível era um modo muito comum de sublinhar a vetustez e os pergaminhos de um povo.

Na introdução a estas passagens afirma-se explicitamente que se passará a expor “alguns” dos costumes referidos por Estrabão. Naturalmente que fica a interrogação sobre o que serão “os outros” hábitos que se opta por omitir. Uma comparação com a obra de Estabão permite, de facto, verificar quais as características não referidas.

Estrabão, na sua *Geografia*²⁰ dedica todo um livro, o livro III, à Península Ibérica. Faz uma descrição detalhada da geografia da Península, indica as cidades mais destacadas, os rios, refere a fertilidade das terras, o que produzem, os minérios existentes, as indústrias e o comércio e também refere os povos que habitam as diversas zonas e respetivos hábitos e características. A passagem onde os Lusitanos são mais especificamente comentados e que esteve na base das informações veiculadas no *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* está no cap. III. Podemos aí encontrar as características apontadas na obra portuguesa, como a propensão para fazer emboscadas e o uso de punhais ou os jogos e os casamentos semelhantes aos dos gregos. Porém, como se suspeitaria, outras características são, significativamente, esquecidas ou distorcidas.

No que toca a distorções, é possível referir o hábito de beber água, o que é louvado nas *Antiguidades*, comentando-se que reis e nobres se abstêm de vi-

¹⁹AL, 97, 98 e novamente 97, respetivamente.

²⁰Strabo, *The Geography* (Greek text with facing English translation by H. L. Jones), (Harvard University Press–Loeb Classical Library, 1917-1932), versão disponível em linha em <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/home.html> (daqui em diante *Geo*) [última consulta a 7 de fevereiro de 2015].

nho. Porém, Estrabão diz ainda que também bebem cerveja e que o vinho que têm é rapidamente consumido em festas²¹...

No *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* refere-se ainda brevemente que “alguns costumes se modificaram com a religião”. Esta alusão terá decorrido do facto de Estrabão contar com algum detalhe as práticas sacrificiais e divinatórias dos Lusitanos²². Estas informações terão sido consideradas indesejáveis porque, de facto, não estão isentas de crueldade e, sobretudo, porque o hábito de consultar augúrios terá sido um dos costumes pagãos mais persistentes e, conseqüentemente, dos mais combatidos pela igreja. Por conseguinte, não seria desejável recordar a antiguidade da sua prática.

No que se refere às restantes omissões, são descartadas algumas informações inócuas, como o facto de comerem sobretudo cabra e de consumirem bolotas durante dois terços do ano, ou de comerem sentados, terem barcos de couro ou o que usam como moeda... Mas são sobretudo silenciadas informações menos abonatórias e que, de alguma maneira, poderiam colidir com as normas e a moral vigentes, como é o caso dos seguintes costumes:

- que usam o cabelo de modo semelhante ao das mulheres²³
- dançam de modo “promíscuo”²⁴
- usam roupas grosseiras e camas de lixo²⁵
- a crueldade da justiça que praticam²⁶

²¹“They also drink beer; but they are scarce of wine, and what wine they have made they speedily drink up in merry feasting with their kinsfolk” (*Geo*, III, 3, 7).

²²“The Lusitanians are given to offering sacrifices, and they inspect the vitals, without cutting them out. Besides, they also inspect the veins on the side of the victim; and they divine by the tokens of touch, too. They prophesy through means of the vitals of human beings also, prisoners of war, whom they first cover with coarse cloaks, and then, when the victim has been struck beneath the vitals by the diviner, they draw their first auguries from the fall of the victim. And they cut off the right hands of their captives and set them up as an offering to the gods” (*Geo*, III, 3,6); “.. to Ares they sacrifice a he-goat and also the prisoners and horses” (*Geo*, III, 3, 7).

²³“[...] let their hair stream down in thick masses after the manner of women, though before going into battle they bind their hair about the forehead” (*Geo*, III, 3, 7)

²⁴“The dinner is passed round, and amid their cups they dance to flute and trumpet, dancing in chorus, but also leaping up and crouching low. But in Bastetania women too dance promiscuously with men, taking hold of their hands” (*Geo*, III, 3, 7).

²⁵“All the men dress in black, for the most part in coarse cloaks, in which they sleep, on their beds of litter” (*Geo*, III, 3, 7).

²⁶“Those who are condemned to death they hurl from precipices; and the parricides they stone to death out beyond their mountains or their rivers” (*Geo*, III, 3, 7).

Portuguese Studies Review

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

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JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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Luis de Camões' Questioning Patriotism in *Os Lusíadas*

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DESPITE THE NUMEROUS TRANSLATIONS of *Os Lusíadas* that have been produced over the centuries, the name of Luis de Camões resonates only at the margins of the Western literary heritage. While Harold Bloom includes Camões in his well-known catalogue of the Western canon, the sixteenth century Portuguese poet was not among the twenty-six authors he emphasized as core to the tradition.¹ If we look at his standing in more quantitative terms, by tracking the number of instances he is cited in major reference works of Western literature, Camões does not make it into the list of top twenty figures, unlike others in his poetic genre such as Virgil, Homer, and Dante.² Indeed, Camões' citation score places him on a par with Luis de Gongora y Argote, Francois Villon, and Hugo von Hoffmansthal, not exactly the most recognizable company.³ Confirming this is how relatively few times Camões' name comes up among the 5.2 million books digitized by Google.⁴ George Monteiro had it right when he observed that of, "the great epic poets in the grand Western tradition, Luiz Vaz de Camões remains the least known outside of his native land."⁵

Camões' obscurity beyond Portugal is hardly news to students of the Lusophone universe. The problem is accounting for it. One likely factor is that literary reputation tends to be correlated with the economic and political power of the nation with which an author is associated. Camões wrote

¹Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1993).

²Charles Murray, *Human Accomplishment* (New York, Harper Collins, 2003), 142.

³Murray, *Human Accomplishment*, 562-573.

⁴The reader can compare the proportion of references to Camões between the years of 1800 and 2000 versus those of other significant poets at Google Ngrams, <https://books.google.com/ngrams>. The pattern is essentially the same if one instead inputs "Camoens"; a historical English rendering of his last name.

⁵George Monteiro, *The Presence of Camões* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).



just as Portugal's hold on its maritime empire was beginning to wane, a point from which the country would undergo a centuries-long trajectory of decline that would eventually see it reduced to a relatively poor and peripheral bit of the European scene. So too, the epicentre of global trade steadily shifted westward towards the United States in the epochs after Camões wrote (only recently has it begun to move back towards the East). This has made Camões' account of da Gama's discovery of the route to India appear less significant than what Christopher Columbus accomplished in making the Americas known to Europe. Alternatively, some might argue that Camões, though a very talented poet, does not truly deserve to be in the top tiers of Western literature. While it would admittedly be difficult to argue that Camões was equal to Virgil, his guide in writing *Os Lusíadas*, the praise that his poetry has received in the past from the likes of Voltaire, Tasso, Edgar Allen Poe, Herman Melville, Emily Dickinson and William Blake suggests that Portugal's greatest author is currently being undervalued. Partly this is because the universal aspects of Camões' epic – his explorations of love, justice, heroism, suffering, and divine providence – are wrapped within a narrative in which the peculiarities of Portugal's history and destiny loom ostensibly large. Reflecting this is Clive Willis' verdict on Camões: "for all the universality and learning of his experience, of his treatment and of his appeal, his theme in *Os Lusíadas* remains stubbornly, fundamentally, patriotically Portuguese."⁶

More critical than Camões' patriotism is the kind of patriotism that he seems to exhibit. There are more than a few passages in his epic poem where Portugal's greatness is pitched so high that his homeland is portrayed as having the divinely sanctioned mission of conquest to spread the principles of Christianity and the benefits of European civilization to supposedly inferior cultures. Camões opens *Os Lusíadas* by announcing he will tell of kings: "Who magnified Christ and Empire, Bringing ruin on the degenerate Lands of Africa and Asia."⁷ Such an imperialist world-view is diametrically at odds

⁶Clive Willis, "The Lusíads and the Literature of Portuguese Overseas Expansion" in Stephen Parkinson, T. F. Earle, Claudia Pazos Alonso, eds., *A Companion to Portuguese Literature* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 81.

⁷Luis Vaz de Camões, *The Lusíads*, trans. Landeg White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), I. 2. In general, I defer to White's translation. On occasion, however, I do advance my own where I think a more literal rendering of the text better captures Camões' meaning at critical junctures.

with the prevailing ethos of our secular and post-colonialist age. Nowadays, religion is deemed to be separate from politics. The diversity of peoples in the world are regarded as worthy of equal respect and so accorded the right to independently run their own communities in line with their cultural traditions. To appreciate Camões today, the typical reader must look past the pro-imperialist statements and focus on the purely aesthetic elements of his tale, such as his adaptation of classical motifs and symbols to Vasco da Gama's journey. Not everyone is willing to do that, which perhaps explains the trend among literary critics towards favouring Camões' sonnets over *Os Lusíadas*.

Yet Camões' *magnum opus* cannot simply be read as a flag-waving, Bible-thumping apologia for colonialism. Examine *Os Lusíadas* with a more suspicious eye and one will find that Camões is intent on raising serious questions about Portugal's maritime project. Tipping off the reader to this is the Old Man of Restelo scene at the end of Canto IV.⁸ There, just as da Gama and his crew are boarding the ships, Camões depicts a venerable figure who gives a heart-felt and sweeping critique of the quest for fame, glory, and empire. It is the last word as the expedition departs for India. Though the tension between this episode and the over-all patriotic tenor of *Os Lusíadas* has been noted by astute readers, it has failed to shake the orthodox interpretation of Camões as an ardent celebrant of Portuguese expansionism. By using the Old Man of Restelo scene to illuminate other portions of *Os Lusíadas*, we shall arrive at a more nuanced view of Camões' outlook. His love of country is not to be denied, but it is tempered by profound reservations. Camões is a questioning patriot.

The Old Man's Speech

The Old Man of Restelo scene is part of the account that da Gama is portrayed giving to the King of Melinde about Portugal and its history. Prefacing the old man's appearance is a description of the crowd that gathered to say goodbye to the sailors at the Restelo beach on the outskirts of Lisbon. The mood is one of sadness and foreboding, with the multitude of family, friends, and onlookers figuring the crew will never return. "The people considered us already lost,"⁹ da Gama says. Up to this point, da Gama's narrative

⁸Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 94-104.

⁹Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 89.

has mostly emphasized the character and actions of kings, queens, princes, and princesses alongside a select group of nobles and military commanders. Da Gama relates the key points of Portugal's past the way history has traditionally been written as a series of events spearheaded by political and military elites. Only on two occasions does da Gama depart from this approach. He alludes to "the commoners"¹⁰ supporting King João I against the Castilian threat to Portuguese independence at the 1385 Battle of Aljubarrota. He also blames "the mob"¹¹ for instigating King Afonso IV to order the murder of Ines de Castro. However, the standpoint of ordinary persons comes much more to the fore at the ships' departure in a telling moment of social history. Da Gama does not merely depict the populace as a undifferentiated mass, but rather makes their sentiments come to life with concrete illustrations of "mothers, sweethearts, and sisters"¹² expressing their anguish. A mother asks her son why he is leaving her to fend for herself in her old age; a wife wonders whether her husband truly cares about their love.

It is out of this crowd that the old man emerges. By this, Camões wants us to understand that the speech the old man is about to deliver emanates from the common people, albeit a reasoned and philosophically informed articulation of the emotions affecting the crowd. The old man's position is reminiscent of Niccolo Machiavelli's sketch of himself as someone whose lowly status offers an invaluable perspective on political life akin to the way, "those who sketch landscapes place themselves down in the plain to consider the nature of mountains."¹³ Having already shown us the view from atop the mountain, Camões will now use the voice of the old man to tell us how things look from the plain so as to offer a more complete picture of Portugal's situation. As his speech makes clear, the old man brings a notable measure of learning to this task, displaying a familiarity with classical and Biblical texts as well as political lessons drawn from a reading of history. Precisely because of his advanced age, though, he does more than convey insights from the reading of books, embodying also the prudence acquired from experience. "So we heard him clearly from the sea", da Gama says,

¹⁰Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 22.

¹¹Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, III.124.

¹²Camões, *Os Lusíadas* IV. 89.

¹³Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 2nd ed., trans. Harvey Mansfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4.

“With a wisdom only experience can impart.”¹⁴ The old man may have a theoretically derived outlook, but it is the empirical knowledge he symbolizes that cements his intellectual authority.

The speech itself can be broken down into four parts. The first part involves a critique of the pursuit of fame. In the second part, this negative appraisal continues, but now on mostly Christian premises. In the third part, the old man offers an alternative orientation for Portugal’s foreign policy away from India and the East. The fourth part returns to the theme of fame, though with more emphasis on the ambition that fuels its pursuit and with a notable reliance on pagan mythology. Between the third and fourth parts, there is a peculiar transition in which the old man essentially condemns Camões. On the whole, the speech extends over ten stanzas. It may very well be a mere coincidence that this is the same as the number of commandments proclaimed by Moses. Still, one finds it hard to deny the gravity that this curious fact adds to the old man’s address.

Starting, then, with the opening assault on fame, we should note that the latter is identified with honour, pride, vanity, and glory throughout the speech. This makes perfect sense, for all these terms designate a quality that corresponds to the essence of fame, namely that situation in which a person is recognized by others, whether for their distinctive accomplishments, estimable traits, high offices, or notable possessions. Constitutive of fame is the pleasure we derive in thinking well of ourselves precisely because others happen to think well of us. Nowadays, we are apt to call this self-esteem, invoking it to observe, for example, that individuals are more effectively motivated by praise than by shame to perform well at school or work. We appeal to it also in explaining the insecurities to which people can succumb when they seek to found their self-worth on the good opinion of others rather than themselves. Camões, though, never alludes to the insecurities supposedly reflected in the desire for a good reputation, evidently seeing it as part of the constitution of human nature that individuals cannot be fully satisfied of their own value unless it is confirmed by their fellows. Indeed, Camões presents this tendency as a driving force in the human soul, mighty enough to prompt the most uncertain and dangerous endeavours.

¹⁴Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 94.

Its core, Camões suggests, is what he describes in Portuguese as the “gloria de mandar.”¹⁵ These are the first words out of the old man’s mouth, which translate to the glory of ruling. What better way, Camões basically asks, is there to receive the acknowledgement and respect of others than to be part of the ruling group wielding political authority over them? And does it not follow from this that the more individuals one commands, the greater one’s fame and honour? That this is the overriding impulse behind da Gama’s expedition is later corroborated when the old man insists it is being undertaken, “So history will flatter as you as ‘Seigneurs’ (or titles more copious) India’s, Persia’s, Arabia’s, Ethiopia’s,”¹⁶ a blatant reference to King Manuel I’s pretensions to those territories. Nothing other than the love of command can explain the calamities that the old man predicts will come from the chase after honour. “Subtly, manifestly, you consume the wealth of kingdoms and empires!”¹⁷ It costs a great deal, in other words, to rule a mass of people over a large expanse. True, much wealth can be gained in the process as well, but the old man’s point is that it will not ultimately compensate for the sacrifices, the flow of revenues only serving to obscure the drain on resources that must inevitably sink the whole enterprise. Included in the price of governing an extensive domain are the costs borne at the individual level by all those involved. These consist, the old man says, not only in the marriages wrecked by the adulteries that couples commit when separated by travels, but more searingly by the countless injuries and casualties necessarily incident to the establishment of a far-flung empire. Death from shipwreck was a real possibility too. Still, the larger problem is that the subjects of such a regime do not willingly acquiesce to rule by foreigners. Force must be deployed to deal with the resistance, with all the dangers that entails.

Perhaps this is what is meant when the old man calls their prospective misery a just punishment – what the Portuguese must suffer for taking what belongs to others.

And all this, the old man inveighs, for the sake of something so insubstantial. The reward is the fleeting breath in which renown is uttered, the paltry words in which fame is recorded – in the end nothing more than “a

¹⁵Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 95.

¹⁶Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 101.

¹⁷Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 96

name”¹⁸ Partly to blame for this are the very people that the old man represents, for it is their “popular cant”, as he himself describes it, that burnishes the lust for dominion as honour and glory. In giving philosophical expression to the perspective of the common people, it turns out that the old man transcends it by cutting through the tension between their longing for peace and safety on the one hand and their veneration of those who display courage and boldness on the other. For it must be remembered that in complaining how they were being separated from their sons and husbands, the crowd at the beach was, for all intents and purposes, demonstrating a preference for the relative peace and safety of a less adventurous foreign policy, the precondition, after all, of united families. By siding with this preference against the people’s simultaneous attractions to honour, the old man claims that the risk-averse ways of peace reflect their more fundamental disposition. Deep down, to use a cliché of departing politicians, the populace wants to spend more time with their families. They would rather not make sacrifices for a larger cause.

So why is the way of peace being rejected for the sake of fame? That brings us to the second part of the old man’s address, where he offers a Christian response to that question. We are thus told that the quest for glory is rooted in original sin. Now if we consult the relevant passages in the Book of Genesis, we find that the sin consisted in Adam and Eve’s defiance of God’s will in eating from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Part of what is objectionable, then, about da Gama’s venture is that it represents a search for a type of knowledge that does not properly belong to humanity, but is reserved for God. In nevertheless seeking it, da Gama and his crew are aiming at nothing less than to be like the divine. Recall what the serpent says to Eve in order to entice her to eat from the forbidden tree: “For God knows that in the day you eat from it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God.”¹⁹ In the Christian account, this wish is what took humanity out of paradise and consigned us into our current state of pain, scarcity, conflict, and death – though Camões has the old man alluding to that Edenic state as the golden age which the pagans of old, such as Hesiod and Ovid, wrote of, as if a Christian view will not suffice, or at least must be inter-

¹⁸Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 96.

¹⁹Genesis 3:5.

preted through another lens, for us to comprehend the soaring ambition that impels human beings to make a name for themselves. Before adumbrating that pagan alternative, however, the old man continues in a Christian vein by noting that the contempt of death that must be summoned in the boldest pursuits of honour and fame runs against the character of Jesus that the religion of the Portuguese calls upon them to imitate. Jesus was far from embodying the martial virtues required to attain glory. Though he died for humanity, he did so reluctantly without drawing a sword in battle and with a view to conquering death once and for all. Christianity asserts the value of life and so, in principle, is disposed to view war as a “vainglorious business” where “ferocity and brute force are labelled strength and valour.”²⁰

Historically, of course, this pacifist component of Christianity was cast aside whenever it encountered heretics and disbelievers. With a suddenness that suggests Camões intended to hit his readers over the head with that contradiction, the old man goes from invoking Christian doctrine in the cause of peace to justifying a new crusade. Here, in the third part of his speech, the old man proposes a different course of action for the Portuguese, reminding them of the threat of Islam still emanating from North Africa. “You ignore the enemy at the gate”, he says, “in the search for another so far away.”²¹ What is striking about the old man’s case for a change in Portugal’s foreign policy is the conditionality with which it is conveyed. He does not insist that the Portuguese must turn their sights against neighbouring Muslims. Instead, he recommends doing so *if* the Portuguese are looking for a crusade. Similarly, the shift to North Africa is advanced as the better option, *if* the Portuguese are seeking honour or *if* they crave wealth. All these “if” statements indicate the old man’s acknowledgement that he cannot appeal to Christianity without making concessions to human ambition. He recognizes that he cannot simply leave it at decrying the pursuit of honour and fame. Another outlet for this drive must be offered. Though Christianity declares pride a sin to be countered, the practical reality that comes to view here is that it is forced to treat that passion as something to be channelled towards more appropriate objects.

²⁰Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 99.

²¹Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV. 101.

Portuguese Studies Review

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

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JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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Stepping onto an Unknown Island: The Forgotten Radio Scripts of Antonio Callado

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TRANSLATIONS AND original radio-drama scripts written by Antônio Callado and broadcast by the BBC during World War II have been discovered in British archives and are revealing of the early intellectual life of this important Brazilian journalist, novelist and playwright. As this material was unknown to biographers and critics until now, it can change the way we look at his literary production.

Antônio Callado (1917-1997), who began his career in journalism in the 1930s and was hired by BBC in 1941 to work in the Overseas Broadcasting Service during the war, had a prominent career as journalist and writer. He became widely known with his book *Quarup* (1967)¹ and his political engagement got him put in jail on different occasions during the Brazilian Military Dictatorship (1964-1985). He had a relevant intellectual role in Brazilian left-wing movements against the dictatorship but was nevertheless capable of an irreverent self-criticism when ironically addressing the frivolity of Brazilian intellectuals and the dilemmas of political engagement, as in the novels *Bar Don Juan* (1971)² and *Expedição Montaigne* (1982)³. He is considered as an author of political novels, frequently in a reductionist way, though his literary production has many other important dimensions.

The spectacular discovering of this new *corpus* of documents tells us that the literary career of Antonio Callado did not begin in the 1950s, with the plays *O Fígado de Prometeu* (1951)⁴ and the novel *Assunção de Salviano* (1954)⁵,

¹Antônio Callado, *Quarup* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967).

²Antônio Callado, *Bar Don Juan* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1971).

³Antônio Callado, *Expedição Montaigne* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1982).

⁴Antônio Callado, *Teatro Completo* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000).

⁵Antônio Callado, *Assunção de Salviano* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Olympio, 1954).



but earlier, with his radio-dramas transmitted in the 1940s. Thus official accounts on Callado's life and work that cite his production of the 1950s as his first are mistaken. These accounts include the website of Academia Brasileira de Letras, the reference in the production and reproduction of canonical discourses on Brazilian literature—and an institution of which Callado was himself a member.

This article is, therefore, about forgetfulness and rediscovery. It is about the absence of accounts on a constituent moment in the life of one of the brightest Brazilian intellectuals of the twentieth century. A silence that is, I argue, due to the narrative Callado produced about himself—his intellectual identity and the aesthetic and thematic choices he made throughout his career—a narrative powerful enough to convince critics, biographers and literary historians.

This article is, firstly, a reporting on the finding of documents concerning Antonio Callado's early intellectual life in England while working at the BBC during the Second World War. These documents include notes, letters, translations and original scripts. Secondly, it is an effort to discuss the possible implications of these new documents in our understanding of Callado's life and literary production. Finally, I will assess possible explanations why Callado's works from the 1940s were successfully forgotten: obliterated from his accounts of himself and those of his critics and biographers.

1) An unknown island

In March 2014, I was writing a conference paper about Callado's last novel, *Memórias de Aldenham House* (1989)⁶, when something grabbed my attention. It is well known that Antonio Callado worked as a journalist and correspondent in England during World War II. In 1989, he published a novel mixing up fiction and memory about this period of work in the BBC Latin American Service at Aldenham House. The novel takes place during the war period in Britain and one of its protagonists is a left-wing journalist who goes to Europe to escape political persecution in Brazil, which at that time was under the rule of the populist dictator Getúlio Vargas. The story unfolds with the narrator occasionally giving way to the voice of the protagonist's diary. It is quite clear from the beginning that Callado is recounting his own

⁶Antônio Callado. *Memórias de Aldenham House* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1989).

experiences as a war correspondent in Britain, either through the adventures of the protagonists or through situations and dialogues involving other characters.

It is also well established that Callado's experience in England marked his life and production, being important enough to lead friends and other Brazilian intellectuals to call him a "gentleman", using the English word instead of the Portuguese equivalent (*cavalheiro*). In fact, this is a term that will follow him to the end, as we see in his obituary in the Brazilian weekly news magazine *Isto É*, entitled "Um *Gentleman* indignado"⁷. The influence of literature in English in Callado's novels—notably Conrad, Bernard Shaw, James Joyce and Graham Greene—is often remarked upon by critics.⁸ This influence is visible not only through direct references to these writers but also through the recurrent presence of British characters in his plots, or at least that of English native speakers.

Considering the importance of Callado's experience as a journalist at the BBC in Britain to his life and work, it was quite striking to realize that there was no biographical account of this seminal period other than *Memórias de Aldenham House*. The novel is a complex piece of literature that overlaps fiction, memoirs and socio-historical insights on the problematics of Brazilian (and Latin American) political culture and identity. When writing the conference paper about the book I realized that all of these three dimensions were crucial to assess the narrative and that the different possible critical readings of the story rested upon the importance attributed to each of these dimensions, or the relative overlooking of any of them. Some articles previously written about *Memórias de Aldenham House* have tended to focus on Callado's literary influences,⁹ or on the sociological and historical considerations he makes through his characters and throughout the plot (Agazzi,

⁷*Isto É*, 5 February 1997, "Um gentleman indignado—Antonio Callado morre aos 80 anos como exemplo de integridade intelectual".

⁸See: Ligia Chiappini Leite, *Quando a pátria viaja: uma leitura dos romances de Antonio Callado* (Havana: Casa de las Americas, 1984) and Ligia Chiappini Leite. *Antonio Callado: seleção de textos, notas e estudos*. (São Paulo: Nova Cultural, 1988); Marcos Martinelli, *Antonio Callado: Um Sermonário à Brasileira* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2006); e Albert Von Brunn, "Ulisses entre a Selva e os Vitorianos: Antonio Callado e James Joyce," *Alceu* 4 (2004):106-114.

⁹Von Brunn, "Ulisses entre a Selva e os Vitorianos: Antonio Callado e James Joyce", 106-114.

2003; 2011).¹⁰ Of course these are very important aspects of the narrative and are still not completely exhausted. Nevertheless, I thought at that time that there was an important lack of considerations on the biographical aspects of the novel, one of the three dimensions I cited above. The two most systematic biographical essays about Callado mention his experience in England during the war as determinant but do not investigate further.¹¹ As a matter of fact, without the archival research, nobody was even aware of the existence of documents in England covering this period. In March 2014, after having faced this lack of accounts on Callado's youth as a war correspondent (he was 24 when arrived in London), I became convinced that archival work was something worth pursuing.

After considering some possibilities I finally contacted BBC Archives and exchanged a couple of emails with a young archivist, who finally confirmed there were two files with documents concerning Antonio Callado covering the period mentioned. What really grabbed my attention was that I was then informed that the files could not be seen at that moment because they had not been vetted yet, which meant that no one had seen those documents since they were gathered and archived in the 1940s. In fact, as I could confirm and register with my camera, the vetting and official opening of that documentation for research was done the day before I arrived in England, and the work was done by the archivists to make it possible for me to consult it. As a friend, a Brazilian historian, said to me some weeks after on the phone: "the only possible analogy to finding an unseen file in an archive nowadays would be that of finding an unknown island some centuries ago". I was then stepping onto an unknown island.

The two files mentioned by the archivist were full of notes, letters, contracts and receipts, through which I could find many translations and original scripts. Curiously, some of the scripts did not have Callado's name on them. Therefore, the access to the two files with contracts and receipts

¹⁰Giselle Larizzatti Agazzi, "A História do Lado de Lá: Uma leitura de Memórias de Aldenham House", *Via Atlântica* 6 (2003): 189-201; and Giselle Larizzatti Agazzi, "Um Romance Policial Latino Americano e os Fantasmas do Passado", *Diálogos Latino Americanos* 18 (2011): 1-14.

¹¹See the already mentioned Ligia Chiappini Leite, *Quando a pátria viaja: uma leitura dos romances de Antonio Callado*, 1984 and Marcos Martinelli, *Antonio Callado: Um Sermonário à Brasileira*, 2006.

proved to be crucial to track and find Callado's works. Through them, I could trace, find, collect, photograph and organize the material in order to analyze it for a dissertation on Callado's life and intellectual production during the 40s—a crucial period of formation that influenced all his career.

1.1 The case of "Jean e Marie." One good example of Callado's radio-drama scripts of this period is "Jean e Marie", written to be broadcast by the BBC's Latin American Service on 14th July 1943,¹² on the anniversary of the French Revolution (Bastille Day). It is very illustrative of the sort of script Callado was writing at that moment and reveals that many themes and issues addressed in his future literary production were already present in his scripts from the 1940s. The two eponymous protagonists are a French couple living in a village in the territory of occupied France. The storyline begins with Jean quoting Verlaine's poem *Il Pleure dans mon coeur*,¹³ which gives the tone of the narrative, with Jean's melancholic digressions on poetry and quotations of Mallarmé and Verlaine in contrast with Marie's pleas for his engagement in the resistance against Nazi occupation.

Jean is firstly presented as a poet who does not want to engage in politics and who does not mind interacting with the Nazis, occasionally receiving a German captain as a guest in his house. Such a relation with Herr Schwartz makes the whole village believe that Jean is a collaborator. Jean's poetic musings are perceived by Marie as futile escapism, and the question of the engagement of artists comes up many times throughout the script. Marie cannot bear the idea that her husband is, if not a real collaborator, at least someone whose political apathy betrays the memory of the revolution of 1789, since the action takes place on 14th July—as mentioned, the anniversary of French Revolution.

The tension in the plot increases to the point that the villagers, with the support of Marie, attack Jean, accusing him of treason. Before his resilient apathy, she realizes that the refusal to resist Nazi invasion is morally unbearable. Marie has now resolved to abandon Jean. At the climax, Jean decides to leave the house, and Marie, with the whole village, is convinced that he is

¹²Box Latin American Service: Brazilian Scripts – Features and Dramas, 1941-1944, BBC Written Archives Centre at Reading, UK.

¹³Paul Verlaine, *Fêtes galantes, Romances sans paroles, Poèmes saturniens*. (Jacques Borel (ed). Paris: Gallimard, 1973).

a traitor. However, before Jean has left, Marie discovers a bomb hidden in a volume of Rimbaud's poems. Jean then reveals himself, saying that he acted like a collaborator in order to better conspire against the Nazis, by winning the trust of the Gestapo's Herr Schwartz. The bomb is intended to explode a Nazi factory and he pleads with Marie to not reveal his disguise to the village. It is clear now that Jean had bravely endured the humiliation of being treated as a traitor by the village and by his own wife in the name of resistance. The last words of Jean are a quotation of a Mallarmé poem about Verlaine's death, "Un peu profond ruisseau calomnié la mort";¹⁴ suggesting—albeit only to a well-informed audience—that Jean's destiny is death, even though this is not explicit in the storyline. He is now seen by Marie as a revolutionary martyr, someone who has abdicated his own life and honour for the sake of France, and Marie's last words in the script, full of guilt and grief, are: "Jean. Jean d'Arc!" thereby making an analogy between Jean, the protagonist, and Joan of Arc, the French saint-martyr who had a prominent political role in the fight against English domination during the Hundred Years' War.

The story is a romantic eulogy of the resistance against Nazi occupation. It has, nonetheless, some moments of remarkable sophistication. For example, the tension between poetry and revolution, or between aesthetics and politics, is posed in a very sagacious way, with the quotations from Verlaine and Mallarmé (and the reference to Rimbaud) functioning as indexes in the plot. The story begins with Verlaine's *Il Pleure dans mon coeur*, a poem in which some verses are revealing of the very denouement of the story: "Quoi? Nulle trahison? Ce deuil est sans raison"¹⁵ [What? No treason? It is pain without reason]. It is as if Callado was hiding an index of the plot's end in the first line (in fact, Jean is not a traitor—"nulle trahison"). It is the same with Jean's last words, quoting the last verse of Mallarmé's poem *Le tombeau* (The Tomb) "*Un peu profond ruisseau calomnié la mort*";¹⁶ indicating that the poet of the story (Jean) is going to die. This is reinforced by the words of Marie ("Jean d'Arc!") bonding political engagement and Christian mysticism.

¹⁴Stéphane Mallarmé, *Poems*. (Trans. C.F. MacIntyre. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957). 92.

¹⁵Paul Verlaine, *Fêtes galantes, Romances sans paroles, Poèmes saturniens*. 181.

¹⁶Stéphane Mallarmé, *Poems*.

The relationship between mysticism and revolution, as I will show, is something that is present in many different moments of Callado's fiction, and even in his life as a journalist and left-wing militant. This is an interesting solution to a dilemma faced by many Brazilian intellectuals of his generation, brought up in a society very much influenced by Catholicism while politically and intellectually seduced by Marxism.

Another striking detail is the fact that the bomb that reveals Jean as a revolutionary/saint-martyr/hero, at the turning point, is hidden in a book of complete works of Rimbaud, the volume being a mere casing for the bomb. It seems that Callado was concerned about creating a potent symbolic articulation between aesthetics and politics, using the bomb inside Rimbaud's book as an index of the "explosive" and "incendiary" political implications of bold aesthetic enterprises as capable of transcending the frontiers between art and life.

Callado, thus, operates on different levels, or layers of meaning. There is, firstly, the tension between politics and aesthetics on the level of the characters, which I would call the first layer. Here, Jean is the poet committed with speculation regarding the nature of poetry and the metaphysical aspects of creativeness, as when he, in one of the first lines, wonders if Verlaine was fully aware of the quality and extension of his poetry at the moment of its conception. Marie, on the other hand, is absolutely devoted to fight the Nazi invasion, and in her lines political resistance is almost synonymous with Frenchness. This is reinforced by the fact that the commemoration of the French Revolution is the event that makes the village unite against the Nazis. The main conflict of the plot is then the confrontation between the two lovers, Jean (poetry/art) and Marie (politics/society). The tension is solved when the bomb (hidden inside Rimbaud!) is found and the braveness of Jean (his political commitment) is revealed behind his hitherto apparent apathy.

In a second layer of meaning, the bomb (Rimbaud) is precisely the index of what was a serious aesthetic problem, namely the philosophical dilemma of the social and historical dimension of art versus its autonomy. This was not exactly new in the 1940s but still crucial for Callado's generation. The dilemma has important implications in the debate about the engagement of art (and of artists) versus the idea of art as something radically isolated from life, marked by idealistic purity of aesthetic forms, perfect in unity and

beauty, a denial of everyday life. This was a position found in many artistic movements of the nineteenth century, such as: “romantics, French symbolism, and aesthetes of the “art for art’s sake” tendency (*l’art pour l’art*).”¹⁷ It constitutes a problem complex enough to demand that Herbert Marcuse addresses it in aporetic terms, presenting art as an ambivalence. According to Schweppenhäuser:

Art, said Marcuse, is ambivalent. On the one hand it negates existing reality and refuses to be anything other than beautiful illusion; it follows no laws but its own, which differ significantly from the industrialized commodity-producing societies’ reality principle, which follows the logic of the subsumption and realization of surplus value. But on the other hand, art transfigures existence, granting mankind consolation. According to Marcuse, this ambivalence need not be understood as an ontological constant. It is a historical consequence of class society.¹⁸

For Marcuse, art is an autonomous dimension, though a dimension that can subvert everyday life (*art transfigures existence*) at the same time that its autonomy is historically and socially constituted. The question is tackled by Antonio Callado in his radio-drama *Jean e Marie* in a very interesting way. The bomb (Rimbaud) that Marie finds, which is intended to destroy a Nazi factory, can be assumed as a symbolic claim that poetry (and art in extension) has the power to subvert (explode) the conventions of everyday life. Here, Rimbaud (poetry) conceals a weapon, an aesthetic and still political weapon with a revolutionary reach. At the end of the plot, not only is the romantic tension between Jean and Marie solved (he is not a collaborator and thus he is worthy of her love), but the very tension between the autonomy of art and its historical and social constitution is solved (in the sphere of fiction), as art can be used to subvert the same social context that makes it possible.

The most important thing is to keep in mind that this question, raised in a radio-drama script of 1943, permeates the whole life and work of Antonio

¹⁷Douglas Kelner, “Introduction: Marcuse, Art and Liberation,” in D. Kelner, ed., *Art and Liberation: Herbert Marcuse – Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse, Volume 4* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 22.

¹⁸Gerhard Schweppenhäuser, “Afterword: Art as Cognition and Remembrance: Autonomy and Transformation of Art in Marcuse’s Aesthetics,” in D. Kelner, ed., *Art and Liberation: Herbert Marcuse – Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse, Volume 4* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 459.

Callado. He always positioned himself as an engaged writer, a left-wing intellectual, which is exactly why he was arrested three times during the Brazilian Military dictatorship (1964-1985). The first imprisonment was in 1965, together with seven other intellectuals who were publicly protesting against the regime in Rio de Janeiro. The second jail sentence was in 1968, one year after publishing *Quarup*, in the aftermath of the Institutional Act number five (AI5) that instituted censorship in Brazil. He had one last spell in prison in 1978 when arriving from Cuba, where he was part of the jury of the literary award *Casa de las Americas*.

The relationship between mysticism and revolution, so evident in the script of 1943, is also something present in many of Callado's novels. For instance, the protagonist of *Quarup* (1967), Nando, is a Catholic priest that went to the Xingu region in the Brazilian countryside to catechize its natives. The character goes through a series of ordeals until he loses his faith and engages with politics to become a left-wing guerrilla fighter. The transcendent mysticism of the protagonist is, through a reality shock, turned into revolutionary idealism. The issue is also tackled in *Memórias de Aldenham House*, when the character Monygham theorizes about the relationship between Latin American religiousness and political engagement, suggesting that there is a sort of secret desire for martyrdom hidden beneath the heroism of those who dare to rebel against a disproportionate power. Monygham, the character who is an engineer and British spy in Latin American countries, says:

Você não avalia, Perseu, o problema que pode representar um homem como Falcundo, dotado, sem dúvida, daquele temperamento que, em nossas aulas, era considerado "heróico"? (...) Não estou brincando, não. A coragem, nem é preciso dizer, é uma virtude decente, meritória, mesmo nos quadros de uma organização fria, de espionagem, digamos. O heróico é que são elas, o elemento primitivo, *démodé*. Não se pode mais tolerar hoje em dia, na seriedade da vida moderna, e sobretudo da guerra moderna, essa coragem de porre que é o heroísmo. (...) Essa história do heroísmo me fascina, não nego. Na transição europeia do cristianismo para o agnosticismo, houve o momento em que se tornou urgente eliminar de uma vez por todas os excessos do martirologio como arma dos santos contra o poder político. O martirologio acabara por se tornar insuportável.¹⁹

¹⁹Antônio Callado, *Memórias de Aldenham House*, 231.

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

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Subscription Information: The *Portuguese Studies Review* (an imprint of Baywolf Press ✻ Éditions Baywolf) appears in two issues a year, in (1) August-September and (2) January. The PSR Editorial Office is presently located at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, K9L 0G2, Canada. The *Portuguese Studies Review's* e-mail address is psr@trentu.ca. To contact Baywolf Press, direct inquiries also to psr@trentu.ca. All e-mail relating to the PSR is copied to the Baywolf Press office. Please visit our website at <http://www.trentu.ca/psr> or <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> for more information on subscriptions. Special rates are featured on our website, as is information for subscription agencies and resellers.

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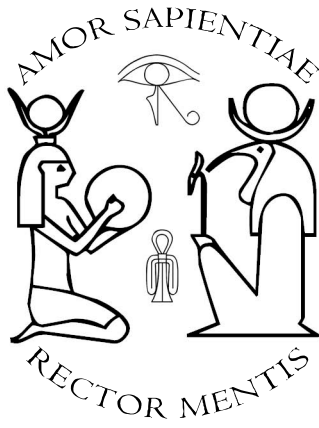
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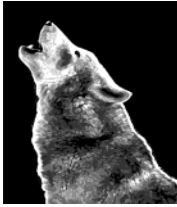
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Baywolf Press



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Lorenzo de' Medici, 1475

PREPARED IN MAY 2017
FOR
BAYWOLF PRESS
IN
PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO

VOLUME 23 • NUMBER 1

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

SUMMER 2015



ISSN 1057-1515